

MOZART AND THE PRACTICE OF SACRED MUSIC, 1781-91

a thesis presented by

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Abstract

Traditional accounts of Mozart's *oeuvre* have regarded the final decade of the composer's life as a fallow period for the composition of sacred music, broken only by the production of two divergent large-scale works and a small motet. While a number of articles have challenged this picture through the redating of various fragments and copies, there has yet to be a comprehensive study that integrates these discussions with recent developments in the assessment of non-autograph sources. The present thesis attempts to provide a detailed re-evaluation of the place of sacred music in Mozart's thinking during his residence in Vienna.

A common explanation for Mozart's apparent silence is the introduction in 1783 of a city-wide *Gottesdienstordnung* by the Emperor Joseph II, reducing the number of services at which instrumentally-accompanied sacred music could be performed. The severity of the restrictions has been exaggerated, and there is evidence to suggest that the provisions of the *Gottesdienstordnung* were ignored at prominent churches in Vienna, including St. Stephen's Cathedral. In its scale and technical demands, the contemporary Mass in C minor, K. 427 is a telling indication of where Mozart's aesthetic sensibilities lay.

Mozart's associations with the *Hofkapelle* and St. Stephen's Cathedral are the most important examples of the composer's interest in sacred music in Vienna. A number of previously inaccessible sources from both institutions provide new evidence on the origins of the "Coronation" Mass K. 317 and the context of Mozart's petition to become adjunct *Kapellmeister* at the Cathedral in 1791.

The early textural history of the Requiem K. 626 has been widely misunderstood, and the development of the work is reconsidered within the framework of the obsequies for Mozart held on 10 December 1791, an occasion at which part of the Requiem is said to have been performed. Newly uncovered documentary and musical sources provide evidence for the dissemination of Mozart's sacred music during the composer's lifetime, and suggest that Mozart may have been associated with St. Michael's, the church where the composer's obsequies were eventually held.



In Omnibus Glorificetur Deus M^{pia}

AUTOGRAPH OF THE KRÖNUNGSMESSE K. 317
BIBLIOTEKA JAGIELLOŃSKA, KRAKOW

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Abbreviations

- Angermüller, *Dokumente* Angermüller, Rudolph. *Antonio Salieri: Dokumente seines Lebens*. 3 vols. Bad Honnef: K.H. Bock, 2000.
- Biba1783* Biba, Otto. "Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783." In *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Jahrbuch für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte*, 7-67. Eisenstadt, 1971.
- Deutsch, *Dokumente* Deutsch, Otto Erich, ed. *Mozart: die Dokumente seines Lebens*. Vol. X/34, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961.
- Duda, *Sm WV* Duda, Erich. *Das Musikalische Werk Franz Xaver Süssmayrs: Thematisches Werkverzeichnis*. Vol. 12, *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000.
- Eibl, *Addenda* Eibl, Josef Heinz, ed. *Mozart: die Dokumente seines Lebens. Addenda und Corrigenda*. Vol. X/31/1, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978.
- Eisen, *Neue Dokumente* Eisen, Cliff. *Mozart: die Dokumente seines Lebens. Addenda, Neue Folge*. Vol. X/31/2, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997.
- Fr Konrad, Ulrich, ed. *Fragmente*. Vol. X/30/4, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002.
- Gugitz, *Auszüge* Gugitz, Gustav. "Auszüge aus Kabinettsakten..." Vienna, Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Acc. Nr. 4237.
- K Köchel, Ludwig Ritter von. *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke W. A. Mozarts*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1862. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2006.
- K⁶ Köchel, Ludwig Ritter von. *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts*. 6th ed. Edited by Franz Giegling, Alexander Weinmann, and Gerd Sievers. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1964.

- KBZ* Tschink, Kajetan, ed. *Kritische Bemerkungen über den Religiösen Zustand der k. k. Staaten*. 7 vols. Vienna: Sebastian Hartl, 1786-88.
- KK* Herzog, Mathias, ed. *Zeitungsblatt für Geistliche, oder Der Katholische Kirchenboth aus Wien*. 3 vols. Vienna: n.p., 1784-86.
- MBA* Bauer, Wilhelm A., Otto Erich Deutsch, Joseph Heinz Eibl and Ulrich Konrad, eds. *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*. 8 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005.
- MVC* Edge, Dexter. "Mozart's Viennese Copyists." PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2001.
- NMA (KB)* Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*. Edited by the International Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955- . (Kritische Bericht)
- RGZJ* Hollerweger, Hans. *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich*. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1976.
- Sk, Skb* Konrad, Ulrich, ed. *Skizzen*. Vol. X/30/3, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998.
- Tyson* Tyson, Alan. *Dokumentation der Autographen Überlieferung. Abteilung 2: Wasserzeichen-Katalog*. Vol. X/33/2, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992.
- ÜGR* Hoffmann, Leopold A., and Kajetan Tschink, eds. *Über Gottesdienst und Religionslehre der Österreichischen Staaten*. 7 vols. Vienna: Sebastian Hartl, 1784-86.
- WK* Wittola, Marc Anton, ed. *Wienerische Kirchenzeitung*. 6 vols. Vienna: Joseph Edlen von Kurzbek, 1784-89.

Library sigla are those of RISM.

ONE

The Sound of Reform Catholicism in Mozart's Vienna

...tengo una voce in me, che mi dice quello, che come legislatore et protettore della religione mi conviene di fare o di tralasciare; e questa voce, coll'ajuto della grazia divina...non può mai indurre in errore.

Joseph II to Pope Pius VI, 15 August 1782

Wir haben jetzt zwei Päpste.

Archduchess Maria Christine¹

On Sunday, 4 August 1782, Wolfgang Amadè Mozart and Constanze Weber were married in St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna.² For Mozart, this service was the culmination of a professional and personal journey begun more than twelve months before, with the composer's dismissal from the Salzburg court and determination to settle in the Imperial capital. Having broken with the home life of his father and sister, Mozart had been faced with the responsibility of establishing himself as a freelance musician in an unfamiliar city, a task that he had managed so far with modest though growing success and increasing recognition. While pursuing a demanding schedule of concerts, teaching and composition, Mozart had found time to complete *Die Entführung* for Vienna, which had premiered three weeks earlier to great applause. Meanwhile, he and Constanze had pursued a relationship clouded by strong parental opposition and custodial intrigue. In the event, the nuptials were hastily organized and required special dispensation; under these circumstances, it is not

¹ Quoted in Zölestin Wolfsgruber, *Christoph Anton Kardinal Migazzi, Fürsterzbischof Von Wien*, 2nd ed. (Ravensburg: H. Kitz, 1897), 679.

² Portions of this chapter appeared in earlier form in my paper, "Lieder der neuen Religion: Mozart and Reform Catholicism," presented at the Forum on Music and Christian Scholarship, Princeton University, 18 February 2005.

surprising that the ceremony was an emotional one for all concerned, as Mozart reported to his father three days later:

bey der Copulation war kein Mensch als die Mutter und die Jüngste schwester. – H: v: thorwart als vormund und beystand von beyden; – H: v: Zetto |: Landrath :| beystand der Braut; und der gilowsky als mein beystand. – als wir zusam verbunden wurden fieng so wohl meine frau als ich an zu weinen; – davon wurden alle, sogar der Priester, gerührt. – und alle weinten, da sie zeuge unserer gerührten herzen waren.³

As procedure dictated, the venue for the service had been determined by the residence of the bride: for Constanze, living five minutes' walk away on Petersplatz, the Cathedral was her parish church.

The wedding of Mozart and Constanze took its place in the cycle of more than one hundred services conducted at St. Stephen's every day, which ranged from the smallest private devotion to the most elaborate festivity.⁴ Most of these rites formed part of the daily recitation of the Missal and Office, but there were also a significant if variable number of pastoral services: on the day of Mozart's marriage, there were two funerals, five other weddings and seven baptisms in the Cathedral, including one for Josepha, daughter of the composer Ignaz Umlauf.⁵ Although it is unclear whether music was provided for Mozart's marriage – if it was, the composer did not mention it – there were daily opportunities at St. Stephen's to hear both organ- and instrumentally-accompanied items. Charles Burney, who visited Vienna in 1772, could report that

...there is scarce a church or convent in Vienna, which has not every morning its *mass in music*: that is, a great portion of the church service of the day, set in parts, and performed with voices, accompanied by at least three or four violins, a tenor and base [sic], besides the organ; and as the churches here are daily crowded, this music, though not of the most exquisite kind, must, in some degree, form the ear of the inhabitants.⁶

³ *MBA*, iii.219.

⁴ For an overview of religious services in Vienna's major churches at this time, see *RGZJ*, 55.

⁵ These services are documented in Vienna, Pfarrarchiv St. Stephen, Prot. Mort. 34, f. 102, Copulations=Buch 74, f. 269-270 and Prot. Bapt. 98, f. 20. I am grateful to Michael Lorenz for his assistance in locating this documentation.

⁶ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London: T. Becket et al., 1773), i.222.

Given that Burney was only in Vienna for two weeks, investigating all kinds of music-making, one may question the extent to which these assertions were based on personal experience. There is no doubt, however, that the larger ecclesiastical institutions maintained extensive and well-funded music programs. Those of the *Hofkapelle* and St. Stephen's were the most renowned, but a number of other churches in the inner city, including St. Peter's, the Schottenkirche, the Minoritenkirche and the Kirche am Hof supported musical performance of a similar ambition and splendour. As Mozart and Constanze were married on a Sunday, their ceremony took place during the musical highpoint of the week at the Cathedral, with High Mass at 11 a.m., Vespers at 4 p.m., a setting of the Litany at 5 p.m., and the remaining daily offices chanted by up to 16 vicars throughout the day.⁷

While the Holy Roman Empire as Burney knew it was presided over by the aging Empress Maria Theresia, the Empire of 1782 was now under the control of her son, Joseph II. The new emperor, who had been sole ruler since his mother's death in November 1780, was now in the process of reforming Viennese society at such a fundamental level that his name has become attached to a large body of political and social ideals subsumed under the title *Josephinism*. Due to the moral, financial and political influence wielded by the church, religious matters occupied a central place in Joseph's reform program, and the Emperor's ecclesiastical decrees had become the subject of intense debate in theological, academic and popular circles. By August 1782, the Emperor had already forbidden the importation of liturgical books, restricted the number of religious processions, instituted a strict censorship regime and banned the use of "unnecessary" church lighting and decoration. Rather incongruously, from a modern perspective, Joseph had simultaneously introduced an Edict of Toleration granting complete religious freedom to Protestants and easing the restrictions

⁷ This information comes from a census ordered by the *Erzbischofliches Consistorium* in 1782 (in A-Wda, Liturgie 2, Gottesdienstordnung 1781-2); see *RGZJ*, 117-18.

on Jews. Church music was, so far, unaffected by the reforms, but it was soon to become a central concern in the Emperor's attempts to reform religious life in the Imperial capital. The practice of music in churches, monasteries and convents consumed a large proportion of the financial, temporal and artistic resources available to those institutions, and Joseph was to make clear that those resources were better directed towards more "useful" ends.

Two weeks before Mozart's marriage, on 22 July 1782, the Emperor had ordered the establishment of a Religious Commission (*Geistliches Hofkommision*) whose responsibility it was to deal with the day-to-day implementation of the Emperor's plans, and to act as an advisory body. Nine months later, on Easter Sunday 1783, the Archdiocese of Vienna, acting under the Commission's orders introduced a new order of services (*Gottesdienstordnung*) for the city, which redefined fundamentally the religious experience of clergy and laity alike. Where there had been fewer than ten large parishes serving the needs of Vienna's 209,000 inhabitants, there were now twenty-eight.⁸ Where some churches had been offering mass every hour or even half-hour, there was now an officially sanctioned procession of masses distributed throughout the city. Where the congregation had formerly expected to remain all but silent during the service, there were now prescribed hymns in the vernacular. Most importantly, for those whose livelihood was supported by music-making, the performance of instrumentally-accompanied masses was now only permitted on Sundays and holy days, with instrumental vespers forbidden entirely. As dramatic as these reforms were, they represented the culmination of several decades of state intervention in the character of religious services and their music, and Joseph II was in many respects following the lead of his mother in seeking to moderate liturgical opulence.

⁸ RGZJ, 138. See the listing of new parishes in Anon., *Neue Pfarreintheilung in der k. k. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien und allen Vorstädten inner den Linien* (Vienna: Johann Thomas von Trattner, 1783).

I. SACRED MUSIC REFORM UNDER MARIA THERESIA

The initiation of church music reform in the eighteenth-century is generally credited to the famous encyclical of Pope Benedict XIV, *Annus qui*, proclaimed on 19 February 1749.⁹ Benedict, who stood godfather to Joseph II, was concerned for the physical and spiritual condition of churches during the celebrations associated with the upcoming Jubilee year, and issued a set of recommendations covering liturgical practice, the singing of plainchant, the use of instruments, and issues of musical style. The bull is a relatively tolerant document, recognizing the disagreement caused by the presence of the organ and other instruments in church, but ultimately approving their use, subject to limitations. The strongest condemnation is reserved for music of a “theatrical” nature, which for Benedict seems to encompass works in which the text is not readily audible, performances by singers that are too dramatic in character, and compositions that incline the listener more towards enjoyment than devotion. After acknowledging the contemporary use of “figurative or harmonic chant accompanied by the playing of instruments” in both the church and the theatre, the Pope set forth a permitted instrumentarium to ensure that sacred music was not contaminated by its secular relative:

Hominum prudentum, & illustrium Magistrorum artis musicae consilium exposcere Nobis curae fuit; consentaneum autem cum eorum sententiis est, ut Fraternalitas Tua, Si in tuis Ecclesiis instrumentorum usus introductus est, cum organo musico nullum aliud instrumentum permittat, nisi barbiton tetracordon maius, tetracordon minus, monaulon pneumaticum, fidiculas, lyras tetracordes: haec enim instrumenta inserviunt ad corroborandas, sustinendasque cantantium voces. Vetabit autem tympana, cornua ventatoria, tubas, tibias decumanas, fistulas, fistulas parvas, psalteria symphoniaca, cheles, aliaque id genus, quae musicam theatralem efficiunt. Praeter haec autem, de usu instrumentorum, quae in Ecclesiasticis musicis permitti possunt, nihil monebimus, nisi ut illa adhibeantur solummodo ad vim quamdam verborum cantui quodammodo adjiciendam, ut magis magisque audientium mentibus eorum sensus infigatur, commoveanturque

⁹ A complete translation is given in Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. To 1977 A.D.* (Collegetown, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1979), 92-108. Some aspects of Hayburn’s translation are unreliable, including the rendering of *tuba* as “tuba.”

fidelium animi ad spiritualium rerum contemplationem, & erga Deum, Divinarumque rerum amorem incitentur...¹⁰

A few paragraphs later, the Pope singles out brass instruments for special condemnation with a quotation from the sixteenth-century Bishop Lindanus: “The blare of trumpets, the buzzing of horns and other noises make us tremble; nothing is omitted that can render the words incomprehensible. Bury their sense and duly cover them with earth.”¹¹ It is important to note that Benedict’s strictures do not represent direct orders to the relevant church musicians, but rather guidelines to be locally introduced and enforced by the clergy, in keeping with the exhortatory nature of papal encyclicals. The Pope even cited the legendary request of Charlemagne for Roman singers in order to increase the musical legitimacy, almost a millennium later, of Benedict’s own request in the eyes of his bishops. Although the document provided an unprecedented specificity in the expectations of the Holy See towards church music, its interpretation proved rather variable throughout the Catholic world, even at the heart of the Holy Roman Empire.

When *Annus qui* arrived in Vienna in early 1749, Empress Maria Theresia had seen almost a decade in power, and during that time she had already initiated a series of reforms designed to bring the Empire to terms with changing political realities. Under her father, Charles VI, the imperial court had conducted itself according to an elaborate ceremonial code derived from the now-extinct Spanish line of the Hapsburg dynasty, and foreign visitors often remarked upon the backward-looking nature of social interactions in the Hofburg. In both the sacred and secular realm, the aural experience of court participants played an essential part in the construction of this conservative self-image, and a number of surviving rubrics testify to the elaborate nature of vocal and instrumental music employed during

¹⁰ *Magnum bullarium romanum. Benedicti Papae XIV. Bullarium* (Rome: Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1753, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1966), iii.36-7.

¹¹ “Tubarum clangore, cornutorum stridore, alioque strepitu vario, ne quid praetermittere videantur, quod cantici verba semel obscuret, sensumque sepe liat, & adobruat.” *Bullarium*, 37.

official ceremonies. By the late 1730s, however, the court's splendour had become tarnished by increasingly serious military and financial difficulties in which the Empire found itself. With her father's unexpected death in 1740, Maria Theresia assumed control of a realm suffering heavy territorial losses from the Prussians, Bavarians and Turks, and the birth of Joseph five months into her reign was a rare piece of good fortune in an otherwise bleak environment.

During her first decade as Empress, Maria Theresia issued a number of decrees designed to strengthen the bond between church and state, expand Imperial supervision of religious matters, and reduce "unnecessary" liturgical celebration. In 1745, she ordered the introduction of prayers for the royal family during mass, initially in Tirol and Vorderösterreich, and eventually for the entire Monarchy.¹² That same year, strict punishments were introduced for those who behaved inappropriately on Sundays and holy days.¹³ More importantly, from the musical perspective, a new service order for funerals was introduced in April 1747. The *Trauerordnung* permitted the singing of "ein hohes musicalisches oder Choral-Ambt" only on the first of three days prescribed for the exequies, and further regulations banned masses in the room of the deceased and restricted the decoration of the tomb.¹⁴

Maria Theresia again turned her attention to religious matters in 1752-3. Processions in Tirol were restricted, new restrictions introduced on concerts and plays during Advent and official mourning periods, and fasting was encouraged. At the same time, more than 20 holy days had their status downgraded to *Halbfeiertagen*, which necessarily had an indirect negative influence on the performance of concerted church music. The reform of the

¹² *RGZJ*, 54.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

liturgical calendar enjoyed the support of Benedict XIV, who had already produced scholarly writings on the matter and who subsequently issued a bull in support of the Empress' proclamation.¹⁵

Reforms such as these were part of Maria Theresia's attempts to reduce the outward splendour of church services, while encouraging a more devout and personal religiosity. Both Maria Theresia and her consort Francis disliked state ceremonial to varying degrees, and Francis, who had been initiated as a Freemason, even completed a miniature depicting himself as a Franciscan monk.¹⁶ The approach of the Empress to liturgical matters was influenced, no doubt, by the enormous expense of the visual and aural resources employed in church, and the need to curtail them in the face of more pressing social and military expenses.¹⁷ Yet she was also reacting to developing ideas about the nature of religious worship, especially as articulated in the writings of the librarian and early Enlightenment figure Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750). Muratori, who had dedicated two of his works to the Empress' father, Charles VI, advocated the toning down of elaborate ceremony, the encouragement of "useful" work on the part of religious orders, and the development of a tolerant, enlightened religious life based on virtue and love of one's neighbour. His writings, including *Della carita Christiana* (1723), *Della regolata divozione de' christiani* (1747) and *Della pubblica felicità oggetto de buoni principi* (1749) made it clear that the State had an

¹⁵ Ibid., 59. The *Halbfeiertage* required attendance at church for the observance of the feast, but did not involve the shop closures and other restrictions practiced on the *Vollfeiertage*. On the orders of Maria Theresia, St. Joseph's Day was saved from oblivion, hardly surprisingly.

¹⁶ The picture is reproduced in Beales, *Joseph II*, facing 172.

¹⁷ By the end of Francis Stephan's rule, the number of court-attended church services per year had declined from 86 to 78 (Ibid., 36). The reorganisation of the Viennese Hofkapelle in the early 1750s led to a major reduction in the available budget for music at court; see the transcription of *Hofkapellmeister* Reutter's 1751 contract in Ferdinand Stollbrock, "Leben Und Wirken Des K. K. Hofkapellmeisters Und Hofkompositors Johann Georg Reuter Jun.," *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1892): 180-2. For an excellent account of Hapsburg ceremonial in the eighteenth century, see Elisabeth Kovács, "Kirchliches Zeremoniell Am Wiener Hof Des 18. Jahrhunderts in Wandel Von Metalität Und Gesellschaft," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 32 (1979): 109-42. See also Beales, *Joseph II*, 157-8.

essential role in the promotion of the religious well-being of its subjects, and affirmed the right of the monarch to reform the church within his dominions.¹⁸

These developments form the background for Maria Theresia's first official proclamation concerning a specifically musical issue: the so-called "ban" on trumpets and timpani in church. This decree has been the subject of considerable confusion, much of which is due to the ambiguous wording of the original documents and contradictory evidence from ecclesiastical and musical sources. The first reference to the Empress' resolution does not, in fact, originate with her, but derives from a proclamation signed by the Archbishop of Vienna, Johann Joseph Fürst Trautson (1704-57), on 24 December 1753; see Figure 1.1.

Demnach Ihre Päbstl. Heiligkeit die Trompeten und Paucken alleinig für Militar Instrumenta ansehen, und durch eine Bullam solche in denen Kirchen aufzuheben befunden, solche Bullam auch Ihre Kayl. Königl. Majst. unser allergnädigsten Landesfürsten und frau frau in dero Erblanden allermildest recipiret, und deroselben gemäß in dero Hof=Kirchen und Capellen die Trompeten und Paucken bereits abgeschaffet haben; Alß wird auch allen eingangs ernannten hiemit anbefohlen, daß in keiner Kirchen, und bey keiner andacht, auch bey keiner Procession usw. die Paucken und Trompeten gehalten werden sollen.¹⁹

At this stage, then, Maria Theresia had already ordered the instruments removed from those churches under her direct control, such as the Hofkapelle, but had not extended the order to

¹⁸ *Della regolata divozione de'christiani* was translated into German as early as 1751, and 22 editions of this translation had appeared by 1795, including eight from Viennese publishers. See E. Zlabinger, "L. A. Muratori Und Österreich," in *La Fortuna Di L. A. Muratori* (Florence: Olshki, 1975), 109-42. Benedict XIV's papal bull *Annus qui* explicitly cited Muratori in support of the Pope's ban on theatrical instruments (*Bullarium*, iii.36). On Muratori and other reformers more generally, see Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 395-406. Leopold Mozart owned copies of Muratori's work; see Rudolph Angermüller, "Leopold Mozarts Verlassenschaft", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 41 (1993): 1-32.

¹⁹ A-Wda, Liturgie 2, Gottesdienstordnung 1621-1781.

24. XII. 1753

Von Ew. Hochwürden und Gnaden Herrn Offlen et
 Vblis Archi Epypalis Constry Viennensis conynu Dellen farrn
 Prelaten, Ansfantn, Pectoren, Eroren, Guardianis Mann- und
 Weib, ynjestlich Clofner Postfarrn, und Postfarrinnen, Kirchn-
 Directorn auß Pfarrern und Pfarr-Parsonfarrn in- und vor der
 Pfarth sinmit anzuführen; Annuach Ew. Kästl. Gnädigkeit die
 Fremgötn und Vächtn alniniy für Militar Instrumenta
 anzuführen, und durch einen Bullam solch in dunn Kirchn auß-
 zuführen befürdten, solch Bullam auß Ew. Kästl. Gnäd. Majest.
 unper Dlenzquäntistn Landtsfürstin und Frau Frau in dno
 Kellawdn allermildest recipirnt, und Ergalln ynmaß in
 dno Hof- Kirchn und Ergalln die Fremgötn und Vächtn
 berrnt abyngehofft haben; Dels wird auß allen ninyanz
 nruamntn sinmit anbefolten, das in künnt Kirchn, und
 by künnt andacht, auß by künnt Procession unch die
 Vächtn und Fremgötn ynfaltn werden sollen.

Ex Consto 5 dno 24 Xbris 1753
 Franc: Ant: Eppus

Josef Leopold Fürst v. Sickingen
 Constel Rath und Not.

Figure 1.1. The Consistorium's proclamation banning trumpets and drums. A-Wda.

other religious institutions within the city.²⁰ The extent of her influence on Trautson, who was now issuing a similar edict for the archdiocese of Vienna, remains unclear. The Archbishop was, in fact, a leading early figure in Enlightenment Catholicism himself, and his pastoral letter of 1752, which criticized current religious observance, is a central document in the history of the reform movement.²¹ As we shall see, one of Maria Theresia's leading courtiers was later to attribute the ban explicitly to Trautson. Whatever the truth, the arrival of the Archbishop's decree was rather inconvenient for Viennese churches, coming as it did on the eve of the Church's second-largest feast. Considering the traditional prominence of trumpets and timpani during the Christmas season, one wonders whether Trautson and the Empress had timed the introduction of the restrictions for maximum effect.

Two weeks later, on 8 January 1754, Maria Theresia issued her own decree, which essentially covers the same ground as that proclaimed by Trautson's *Konsistorium*:

Demnach nach Gesinnung und Rathe Sr. päpstlichen Heiligkeit die Trompeten und Paucken in den Kirchen allschon untersagt worden. Als haben Ihre kaiserl. königl. Majestät allergnädigst zu verordnen befunden, daß in allen hiesigen großen und kleinen Kirchen sowohl in als vor der Stadt bey der haltenden Kirchenmusik, ingleichen auch bey den Processionen die Paucken und Trompeten unverlängt eingestellt werden sollen.²²

Finally, on 26 January, the Empress issued a *Generale*, extending the ban to all provinces of the Monarchy.²³ The explicit invocation of the Pope in all three proclamations may have

²⁰ According to the diary of Maria Theresia's *Obersthofmeister* Count Khevenhüller, the ban first took effect in the Hofkapelle on 21 December; see Rudolf Khevenhüller-Metsch and Hans Schlitter (eds.), *Aus Der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch Des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, Kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters 1742-1776*, 8 vols. (Vienna: A. Holzhausen, 1907-72), iii.156.

²¹ Reprinted in Peter Hersche (ed.) *Der aufgeklärte Reformkatholizismus in Österreich* (Bern: Lang, 1976). See RGZJ, 62-3.

²² Thomas Ignaz Freyherrn von Pöck (ed.) *Supplementum Codicis Austriaci, oder Chronologische Sammlung, aller vom 20ten Oktober 1740. als vom Anbeginne der...Regierung der...Mar. Theresiae, bis letzten Dezember 1758...Generalien...* (Vienna: Johann Thomas von Trattner, 1777), v.830.

²³ 'Nach Gesinnung, und Rath Sr. päpstl. Heiligkeit werden in allen grossen und kleinen Kirchen der Residenzstadt Wien, sowohl in, als vor der Stadt die Pauken, und Trompeten bei der zu haltenden Kirchenmusik, imgleichen auch bei den ProzeSSIONen eingestellt, und ein gleiches in den gesammten Erbländen zu beobachten verordnet.' Joseph Kropatschek (ed.), *Kaiserl. Königl. Theresianisches Gesetzbuch, enthaltend die Gesetze von den Jahren 1740 bis 1780*, 9 vols. (Vienna: Johann Georg Mößle, 1789), ii.266. The

appeared somewhat disingenuous, for *Annus qui* had advocated far more than a mere ban on trumpets and timpani, and it had taken Vienna more than four years to respond to Benedict's papal bull. Nevertheless, the fact that the reforms to the church calendar were also introduced in January 1754, after consultation between Maria Theresia and Benedict XIV, shows that the Empress did consider it important to maintain good relations with Rome in liturgical matters, and the contemporary reforms to church music should be seen in this light.

The three proclamations have commonly been interpreted as bans on the presence of music of any kind involving trumpets and timpani. The import of these reforms was recognized by not only the affected musicians but also the national pilgrimage church of Mariazell, and both unsuccessfully petitioned the Empress to reverse her decision.²⁴ Yet there is much evidence to suggest that trumpets and timpani did indeed continue to be used during the thirteen years in which the ban remained in force. One commentator has suggested that the real intention of the decrees was to prohibit the trumpet fanfares that commonly preceded and followed the celebration of high Mass and served as interludes during the *Te Deum*.²⁵ Yet the forcefulness of the petitions produced at the instigation of the ban suggests that some clergy and musicians genuinely believed a total removal was

original of Maria Theresia's decree is in AVA, A-Cultus 11 Gen. 3/1754. 'Monarchy' here refers to the Austrian crown lands, including present-day Austria and parts of Hungary, Slovenia, Italy and elsewhere.

²⁴ The petitions are preserved in AVA, A-Cultus 11 Gen. 61/1754 and 101/1754, together with Maria Theresia's responses. A celebratory service at St. Veit in Krems involving two choirs of trumpets and timpani earned the church the 'sharp rebuke' of the responsible *Landesregierung* in 1753; see Riedel, "Geschichte Der Musikpflege," 327. A study of the sources for Reutter's trumpet sinfonias suggests that they received no performances in the *Hofkapelle* after the early 1750s; see A. Peter Brown, "The Trumpet Overture and Sinfonia in Vienna (1715-1822): Rise, Decline and Reformulation," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). However, a baptismal service at the *Hofkapelle* in June 1754 included trumpets and timpani, and the *Piaristenkirche* in Vienna reintroduced those instruments in 1755 with no response from the authorities; see Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Aus Der Zeit Maria Theresias*, iii.179. and Otto Biba, *Der Piaristenorden in Osterreich. Seine Bedeutung Für Bildende Kunst, Musik Und Theater Im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert* (Eisenstadt: Institut für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1975), 113.

²⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Liturgie Und Kirchenmusik", in *Joseph Haydn in Seiner Zeit* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländische Landesregierung, 1982), 123.

envisaged. It may be that eighteenth-century readers had the same difficulties with the interpretation of the decrees as their more recent counterparts, and music directors may have exploited the ambiguity of Imperial intention in order to maximize the timbral possibilities available.

Perhaps the most convincing testimony for the continued use of “military instruments” in Viennese sacred music during this period is found in the numerous newly-composed masses and other works that call for trumpets and timpani. Although the dating of mid-century repertoire is highly problematic, due to a lack of surviving autographs and other documentation, it is possible in a number of cases to determine the provenance of a particular composition. Georg Reutter, who simultaneously held the posts of first Kapellmeister at court and Kapellmeister at St. Stephen’s Cathedral, produced at least five masses between 1756 and 1766 that include trumpet and timpani parts.²⁶ In addition, three psalm settings and two Te Deums involving those instruments apparently originated in the same decade.²⁷ Marianne von Martínez (1744-1812), who wrote four masses in the early 1760s, scored for trumpets and timpani in all but one of those works.²⁸ Dates on the original performance parts and contemporary reports show that works by both composers involving

²⁶ See the thematic catalogue in Norbert Hofer, “Die Beiden Reutter Als Kirchenkomponisten,” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1915). Those masses said by Hofer to date from 1756-66 are: 53a (St. Theresia, 1756), 61 (St. Michael, c. 1759), 56 (Missa in C, 1762), 67 (St. Thekla, c. 1762), 46 (St. Petrus und Paulus, c. 1764), 72 (St. Ludovici, 1766). Albrechtsberger wrote several sacred works during this period that call for trumpets and timpani (A.I.1, A.I.2, A.II.3, C.II.15, F.I.1, G.I.1, H.I.10, J.25), but as he was in Melk, the ban might not have been enforced; see Dorothea Schröder, *Die Geistlichen Vokalkompositionen Johann Georg Albrechtsbergers*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K.D. Wagner, 1987).

²⁷ Hofer Psalmen 26 (1760), 30 (1762), 100 (c. 1765), Hymnen 30 (1756), 31 (1765).

²⁸ The autographs of all four masses survive in A-Wgm: an untitled Mass in C that is evidently her first (I/1618, undated but before August 1760), Seconda Messa (I/1638, dated 1 August 1760), Terza Messa (I/1639, dated 10 August 1761) and Quarta Messa (I/1640, dated July 1765). No satisfactory study of Martínez’s life and work exists, but see the rather idiosyncratic accounts in Irving Godt, “Marianna in Italy: The International Reputation of Marianna Martines (1744-1812),” *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 538-61 and Godt, “Marianna in Vienna: A Martines Chronology,” *Journal of Musicology* 16 (1998): 136-58.

“military music” were heard in the Hofkapelle while the ban was in force.²⁹ An order of service compiled for the Hofkapelle in 1745, which contains sporadic entries through 1756, makes no mention of any change in instrumental forces.³⁰

Maria Theresia continued to implement musical reforms throughout the 1750s. A few months after the “military instrument” ban took effect in January 1754, the Empress proposed to her Kapellmeister, Georg von Reutter, a still more restrictive regime, in which the court church music would be regularly performed “alla romana,” following the unaccompanied practice of the Sistine Chapel.³¹ Reutter, understandably concerned for the welfare of his musicians, requested that instrumental doubling of the vocal parts be allowed, and to this Maria Theresia agreed. In practice, the Hofkapelle seems to have maintained this restriction for an even shorter period than the trumpet ban, although a number of contemporary works by Reutter do seem tailored to the Imperial request.³² Of greater long-term import were Maria Theresia’s efforts in 1755-56 to introduce a German-language hymn into the liturgy, especially in those churches with modest musical ambitions.³³ While hymnbooks had been printed in Vienna since the mid-seventeenth century, it was only with the creation of a favourable Imperial environment for their use that a steady increase in production occurred, eventually resulting in the official *Katholisches Gesangbuch* produced at Maria Theresia’s request during the last decade of her rule.

²⁹ For Reutter, all but Hofer 56 are found in contemporary performance parts from the Hofkapelle (now in A-Wn). For details of performance dates on these parts, see Hofer, “Die Beiden Reutter”. The original parts for one of Martínez’s masses is in A-Wstm.

³⁰ A-Wn, Inv. I/Hofmusikkapelle 15. The entries for 1754-56, found scattered throughout the book, concern minor liturgical details such as the omission of the gradual (f. 30r) during the celebration of Corpus Christi.

³¹ A-Whh, OMeA Prot. 23, f. 323, 353.

³² These works include a Miserere in B flat for double choir “all’ uso Romana” and a Miserere à 4 voci in A minor.

³³ AVA, A-Cultus 11 Gen. 59/1756; for further references see *RGZJ*, 472.

In 1767, Vienna suffered an outbreak of smallpox, which claimed the life of Maria Theresia's daughter Josepha and seriously threatened the health of the Empress herself. Her eventual recovery provided her son, Joseph, with his first opportunity to dictate the course of Viennese church music. In mid-June, the Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Christoph Migazzi (1714-1803), submitted a petition to the Emperor, signed by more than 50 of the city's leading clergy, requesting permission to include trumpets and timpani in the various services celebrating Maria Theresia's convalescence; see Figure 1.2. The head of the Austro-Bohemian Chancellery, Count Chotek (1707-1771) followed, with an advisory letter to the Emperor citing public demand for the change. Joseph determined that the instruments would be permitted at the celebration, and, further, that they could be used in other sacred contexts, subject to official permission; see Figure 1.3.³⁴

Two services for the Empress followed on 14 June: one in St. Stephen's Cathedral, featuring "various choirs, trumpets and timpani," and another in the Hofkapelle, at which trumpet and drum fanfares were also heard. Our source for this information is Maria Theresia's *Obersthofmeister* and *Oberstkämmerer* Count Khevenhüller (1706-76), who remarked on the presence of these instruments in his diary:

Dise bruyante Musique wurde vor einigen Jahren auf Veranlassung des seeligen Cardinals Trautsohn edictaliter verboten; allein bei gegenwärtiger so erfreulichen Epoque wurde von denen Stellen ingerathen und von dem Hof approbiret, daß bei denen Te Deum und dergleichen feierlichen Begängnissen, sonsten aber nicht, sich die Trompetten und Paucken wieder dörffen hören lassen; welche Verordnung bei dem Volck, so auf derlei Demonstrationen immer zu sehen pflaget, ein ungemaines Vergnügen erwecket hat.³⁵

On 16 June, a more detailed proclamation came into effect:

Ihre k.k. Majestät hätten allergnädigst zu bewilligen geruhet, daß die Trompeten und Pauken bei den für die von dem...erhaltene Genesung abzuhaltenden Lob- und Dankgesängen (De Deum) [sic] überhaupt gebraucht, für das Künftige aber solche bey allen Processionen erlaubt werden, auch Die Regierung einverständlich mit dem Ordinariate in den ausserordentlichen

³⁴ AVA, A-Cultus 11 Gen. 40/1767.

³⁵ Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Aus Der Zeit Maria Theresias*, vi.246.

Joanes Bapt. Lehner curatus benjoseph
 D.S. Stephanum
 Simon Jacobus Bangerke
 in conf. Reg. Cur. ad S. Blasii directus
 I. Caspianus Capuc. p. l. Guardianus ad S. Mariam
 P. Christianus Rieger Sodus Pro-
 bationis ad S. Anna Minister
 P. Joannes Labacher Curat.
 ad S. Philippi in S. Joseph
 Anna Juliana Bugin
 Obv. St. Elizabeth
 Fr. Leo Kurb Sodus Sacramentalium
 S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Koehus Müller ad S. Martini Curatus
 Josephus Fittinger Benef. Curatus in Domo Orphan.
 Maria Eleonora de S. Maria
 Obv. ad S. Joseph ad S. Joseph
 Maria
 Josephus Wurmegg v. l. Paroch.
 adm. ad S. Agniti in S. Maria
 Josephus Heising p. l. Administrator
 in Academia Michaeli Technica
 Fr. Maria Joseph David
 Curatus ad S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Georgius Pickler
 Vicarius in S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 P. Antonius Wenzel Superior ad S. Mariae
 Maria Antonia von Blumeyen
 Obv. ad S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Maria Francisca Wogner
 Obv. ad S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Antonius Holzhausen
 Archep. Curia dioc.
 ad S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Fr. Ernestus Schöber p. l. Curat.
 Eugenius Hofmann Hosp. div. S. Alp. Curat.
 ad S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Fr. Augustus Panner Cur. Reg. S. Pauli ad
 S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Fr. Johannes Edwark ad S. Mariae in S. Joseph
 Obv. ad S. Mariae in S. Joseph

Figure 1.2. First page of signatures on Cardinal Migazzi's petition to allow trumpets and drums.

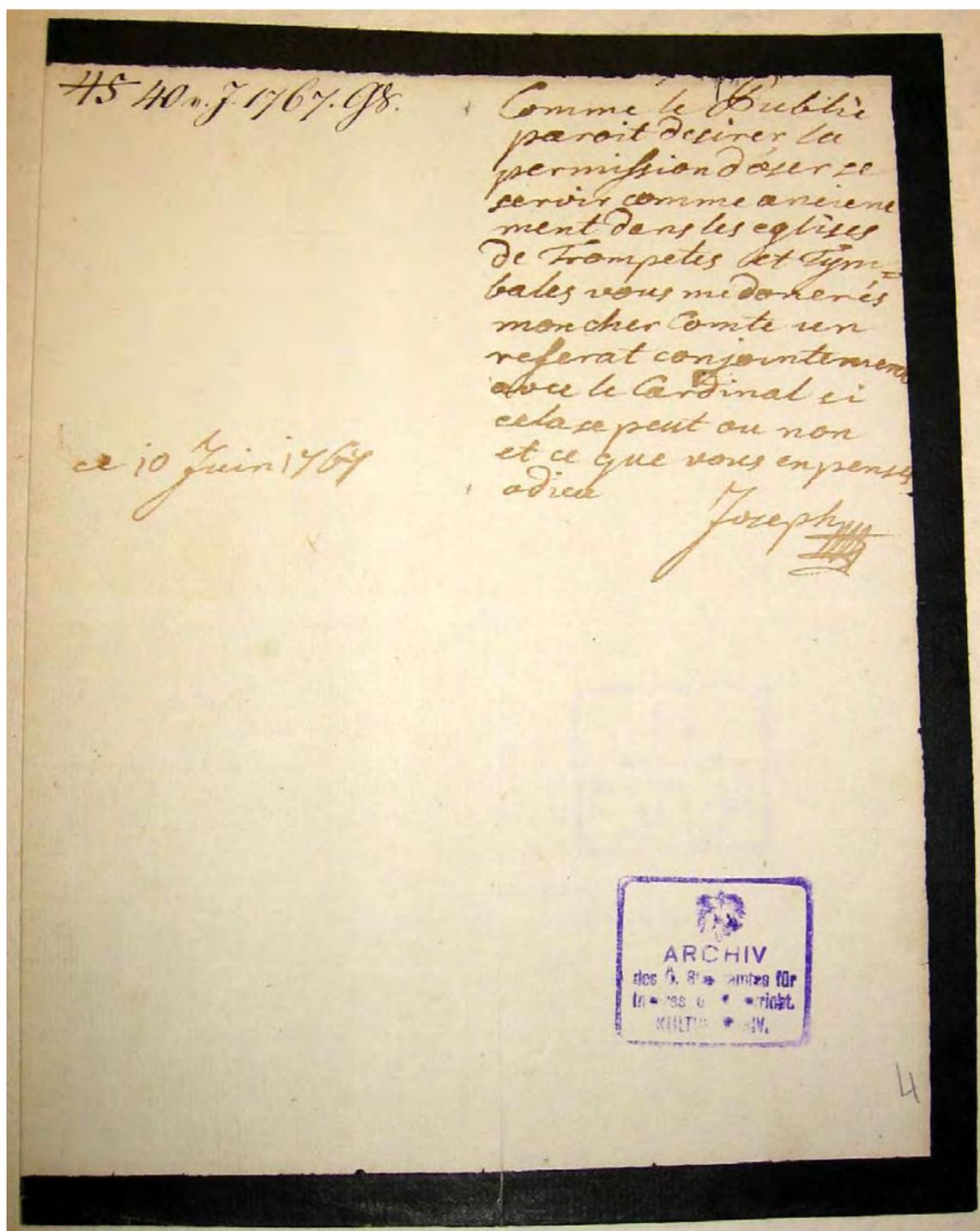


Figure 1.3. Joseph's note of permission to allow trumpets and drums. AVA, A-Kultus 11 Gen. 40/1767.

Vorfallenheiten und Feierlichkeiten die diesfällige Erlaubnis ertheilen möge; jedoch wollen allerhöchst Dieselbe allergnädigst, daß es in denen übrigen Fällen bei dem untern 8. Januar 1754 in Sachen ergangenen allerhöchsten Verbot sein Bewenden haben solle.³⁶

In view of Joseph's later proclamations, it is something of an irony that his first venture into the realm of church music effected a *lessening* in officially imposed restrictions. Whether his actions, represent a carefully thought-out philosophy of sacred music or an impulsive reaction to public demands is an uncertain question, as is Maria Theresia's involvement in an initiative bearing her name but clearly derived from her son. In his early years, Joseph had received a wide-ranging education, including musical instruction from Reutter,³⁷ and participated in the expected religious observances, both public and private.³⁸ Interestingly, the young Archduke's reading included "a part of the works of the learned Muratori," although it is not known which of the author's voluminous writings are meant, or what Joseph thought of them.³⁹ Later in life, the Emperor participated in liturgical and extra-liturgical performances of sacred music together with other members of the family.⁴⁰ Yet if

³⁶ *Sammlung der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Landesfürstlichen Gesetze und Verordnungen in Publico-Ecclesiasticis* (Vienna: Johann Thomas von Trattner, 1782-9), i.2-3. This specification differs somewhat from Joseph's original opinion, written in the Emperor's idiosyncratic French on the back of Count Chotek's letter: "L'usage des Trompetes et Tymbales est a accorder generalement pour tous les Tedeum, qu'on tiendra pour la guerison de S:M: de meme qu'a l'avenir on en pourra faire usage dans toutes les processions et dans les eglises les Regences ou Gouverno [sic] joint a l'ordinaire pourront dispenser dans les cas on Ceremonies de plus grande fete ou publicite ce que l'on doit faire conaitre dans les pays que la defense reste et qu'on n'en accorde que conjointement au temporell et eclesiastique la permission de dispenser dans des cas Majeures." I am grateful to Bruce Brown for his assistance in the transcription and interpretation of this document.

³⁷ "A 6½ Reutter donnera sa leçon en musique les lundi et mercredi; mardi, jeudi et samedi cette heure est destinée pour la danse. Il finit par quelques amusemens jusqu'à 8 heures." Quoted in Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, iv.523. On Joseph's musical education, see also Clemens Höslinger, 'Zum Musikverständnis Josephs II.', *Internationaler Musikwissenschaftlicher Kongreß zum Mozartjahr 1991*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), i.33-42, here 35-6.

³⁸ On Joseph's education, see Beales, *Joseph II*, 43-68 *passim*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁰ On 5 August 1762, Joseph took the organ part in a performance of Hasse's Litanie della BVM (Müller 173/3), with his mother and a number of his sisters singing the solo roles. See Leopold Kantner, "Hasses Litanei Für Den Kaiserhof," in *Colloquium "Johann Adolf Hasse Und Die Musik Seiner Zeit," Siena 1983*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987), 419-28. In September 1772, Joseph, together with the Duke of Braganza and Count Rosenberg "sang, or more accurately miaowed. They performed in the empress's presence [falsetto?] the *Stabat* of Pergolesi...then some *grandes messes*, some *Misereres* and no doubt a *Dies irae* or two as well"; letter of Leopoldine Kaunitz to her sister Eleonore Liechtenstein, 27 Sep 1772, quoted in

Maria Theresa is to be believed, Joseph's lack of religious conviction during the latter part of the co-regency was nothing short of scandalous, as the Empress complained to the Marquis d'Herzelles in March 1771:

...he has on his own authority dispensed himself from Lent...One dare not talk in his presence about religion, the clergy, the authority of the church. His maxims are enough to make one's hair stand on end. Unhappily he trumpets these fine principles with which he is imbued in every theatre-box, and everyone is aware of it, more even than I am. On this point, he adopts an astonishingly decided and partisan attitude. His confessions are rare; his prayers scarcely edifying; he seldom hears a complete Mass, and often misses it; no spiritual reading or conversation...⁴¹

This remarkable passage should be seen in the context of Maria Theresa's own increasing religiosity in the years following the death of her husband, which played a part in the frequent conflicts between the Empress and her son over matters of state. It is worthy of note, however, that Maria Theresa subsequently refrained from issuing further orders related to military instruments, apparently content to let Joseph exercise discretion in the matter. On at least one occasion, the *Landesregierung* did grant official permission for the use of trumpets and timpani in Viennese churches, but the general impression is for a rather lax enforcement of the Imperial requirements for notification and consent.⁴² A representative example is the inauguration of Vienna's *Waisenhauskirche* in December 1768, which featured the first known appearance of Mozart's music in liturgical context. All of the works written by the twelve-year-old composer for this occasion included passages for "military instruments," of which a striking example is the muted trumpets in the *Crucifixus* of the Mass in C Minor K. 139/47a – not to mention the mysterious "trumpet concerto for a boy"

Beales, *Joseph II*, 198. That same month, Charles Burney reported, "The whole imperial family is musical; the emperor perhaps just enough for a sovereign prince, that is, with sufficient hand, both on the violoncello and harpsichord, to amuse himself, and sufficient taste and judgment to hear, understand, and receive delight from others." Burney, *Present State of Music*, i.252.

⁴¹ Quoted in Beales, *Joseph II*, 205.

⁴² On 8 September 1767, the *Wienerisches Diarium* reported a service at which "die dabey angestimmte und mit Erlaubnis des Hofes mit Trompeten und Paucken besetzte Musik war...von Leopold Hoffmann, K.K.Hofmusici..."; transcribed in Wilfried Scheib, "Die Entwicklung der Musikberichterstattung im Wienerischen Diarium von 1703-1780 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wiener Oper" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1950), 216.

mentioned by Leopold Mozart.⁴³ Both Maria Theresia and Joseph were present for the inauguration, yet there is no surviving evidence to suggest that approval or even mere notification of the instruments' use was sought or provided by the church authorities. Permission would have been similarly required when Leopold conducted his son's *Dominicusmesse* K. 66 at the Kirche am Hof in August 1773, but again there is no evidence that such documents were ever prepared.⁴⁴

During her final decade, Maria Theresia continued to issue edicts in religious matters, notably the jointly organised expulsion of the Jesuits in 1773. As far as sacred music was concerned, however, the Empress seems to have let the Archdiocese manage its own affairs. From the perspective of Joseph, who became sole ruler at her death in November 1780, Maria Theresia's most important historical legacy in the area of church ritual lay more in her unprecedented desire to restrict musical aspects of the service than in the practical consequences of her edicts. If the historical evidence for the efficacy of the trumpet and timpani ban is ambiguous, it is partly a consequence of the administrative regime under the Empress, which often combined high-minded ideals with a general disinclination to produce specific regulations and follow through on their implementation.⁴⁵ This characteristic trait underlies the musical restrictions in place from late 1753 until June 1767, which included, at best, an inconsistent ban on trumpets and timpani in the *Hofkapelle*, an increasingly overlooked ban on the same instruments in Vienna and the *Erblanden*, and a short-lived

⁴³ Although the Offertorium presumed to have been performed at the service is now lost, the inclusion of trumpets in its scoring is confirmed by Leopold Mozart's 1768 list of his son's works: "Ein grosses Offertorium à 4 Vocibus etc: 2 Violinis etc: Clarini etc:"; *MBA*, i.289. The trumpet concerto K. 47c is not in this list, and is known only from Leopold's mention of it a month before the premiere: "der Wolfgang: hat ihm zu diesem Fest eine *Solenne Mess, offertorium*, und ein Trompeten Concert für einen Knaben dazu componirt und dem Waisenhaus verehrt. Glaublich wird der Wolfgang: selbt [sic] tactieren. Es hat alles sein Ursachen." *MBA*, i.285.

⁴⁴ This performance is known through Leopold's letter of 12 August 1773: "bey den Jesuitern auf dem Hof ist eine messe in der octav S: Ignatii vom Wolfg: produciert worden, nämlich die P: Dominicus Messe, ich hab tactiert und die Messe hat erstaunlich gefallen." *MBA*, i.486.

⁴⁵ For a thoughtful discussion of this issue, see Beales, *Joseph II*, 474-5.

attempt at “*alla Romana*” style that never went beyond the *Hofkapelle* and allowed instruments in any case. One must also speculate on the role of the reform-inclined Archbishop Trautson, who instigated the first official enactment of the ban outside the *Hofkapelle*, and to whom Count Khevenhüller attributed the edict without any mention of Maria Theresa’s own *Hofreskript* and *Generale* on the subject. The fact that Cardinal Migazzi went to such lengths in convincing Joseph to allow trumpets and timpani in the 1767 celebrations suggests that the ban still maintained its force in some quarters, but the precise extent of its influence remains unknown, as does Maria Theresa’s ultimate intention for “*dise bruyante Musique.*”

In his apparent overruling of his mother’s wishes, at least in their codified form, Joseph was playing his own role in the peculiar administrative regime in effect throughout the 1760s and 1770s, which acted as a constant check on the Emperor’s wider ambitions. Yet even as sole ruler, from late 1780, Joseph seems never to have ordered a full retraction of the trumpet and timpani ban, or the removal of its disregarded requirement for Imperial supervision. He may have concluded that more fundamental structural changes were required for the successful implementation of his reform agenda in religious music, in order that Imperial edicts be observed consistently.

II. THE NEW GOTTESDIENSTORDNUNG

Upon his accession to sole rule, the Emperor immediately instigated a series of edicts designed to weaken the distinction between ecclesiastical and imperial authority and further advance the cause of *Staatskirchentum*, the developing idea of a “national church” primarily subject to the will of the secular ruler. Embarking on this project in early 1781, the Emperor

could cite not only Muratori for philosophical support but also the later writings of Johann Nicholas von Hontheim (1701-90), auxiliary Bishop of Trier.⁴⁶ Published under the pseudonym Justinus Febronius, Hontheim's *De Statu Ecclesiae et de Legitima Potestate Romani Pontificis* (1762) argued that a reconciliation between Lutherans and Catholics in Germany could only be achieved through a reduction in the power of the Pope. Not surprisingly, *De Statu Ecclesiae* was condemned in 1764 by the then holder of that office, Clement XIII, but the favourable reception of the book in some ecclesiastical quarters led Hontheim to issue a number of new editions and supplements, the last appearing in 1777. The natural consequence of the proposed reforms was increased authority for provincial rulers, both sacred and secular, in matters of ecclesiastical administration, and Hontheim's half-hearted retraction in 1778 did nothing to diminish the influence of his work in progressive cities from Mainz to Salzburg.

On 29 March 1781, two weeks after Mozart's arrival in Vienna, Joseph took the first step as sole ruler in his program of liturgical reform. From henceforth, the importation of liturgical books from outside the Empire was banned, with booksellers enjoined not to sell volumes from the usual sources in Rome, Venice, and Kempten, on penalty of confiscation.⁴⁷ This decree was followed by a confirmation of Maria Theresia's 1767 law that Imperial *placet* was required before the publication of papal bulls could proceed throughout the Empire.⁴⁸ Having dealt with some of the external challenges to the reform program, the Emperor's *Hofkanzlei* produced a general statement of philosophy for its future direction:

⁴⁶ Joseph explicitly cited Febronius in a letter of 1781 to his cousin, the archbishop-elect of Trier. See *Ibid.*, 192n47.

⁴⁷ AVA, 60 Gen 55/3/1781; *RGZJ*, 93.

⁴⁸ Kropatschek, *Theresianisches Gesetzbuch*, v.210. In 1774, Maria Theresia had already proclaimed that a passage in the breviary concerning the Pope should be pasted over, and further imports forbidden (*Ibid.*, vii.59). For more details on these laws, see *RGZJ*, 101.

Die katholische Religion gewinnt ungemein vieles, wenn sie nach und nach in ihre ernsthafte, einfache und mit dem vorhabenden Endzwecke eines öffentlichen Gebethes zu Gott übereinstimmende Verfassung bey dem culto externo wiederum zurückgeführt wird; denn eben derley übertriebene Anwendung des unschicksamen Gepräuges ist der Vorwurf in allen protestantischen Büchern, woraus sie den Schluß ziehen, dass unsre Frömmigkeit vielmehr äußerliche Zeichen, als auf die innerliche Andacht gegründet seye.⁴⁹

With the Edict of Toleration, proclaimed in October 1781, the Emperor proceeded to demonstrate his regard for Protestant concerns in the most direct way possible: Lutherans and Calvinists were now granted an unprecedented, if limited freedom of worship, and enhanced civil rights.⁵⁰ All this was too much for the Papal nuncio, Count Garampi (1725-92), a student of Muratori, who wrote a letter of complaint to the Emperor.⁵¹ The official response, prepared by Joseph's chancellor Prince Kaunitz, is one of the few extended public statements from the Imperial authorities on the philosophy underlying the reforms. According to Kaunitz, the Emperor was convinced that the responsibility of correcting religious abuses (*Misbräuche*) lay with the monarch alone, since Papal power carried not the slightest influence in the state. Indeed, the monarch's absolute power obliged him to intervene in all similar matters, and this extended to the external character (*äußere Gestalt*) of the church service, provided that belief (*Glaube*) was not affected.⁵² From a letter by Joseph written to his advisor, Franz Josef von Heinke (1726-1803), we learn that these abuses include the popularity of endowed masses, where the funds could be better spent elsewhere, and the excessive number of priests and services in general, which lead "mehr zur Unandacht als zur Auferbauung."⁵³

Central to Joseph's notion of the church's place in society was its role as a contributor to the public good, through charitable activities, the provision of food and

⁴⁹ AVA, 11 Gen 59/5/1781; *RGZJ*, 95.

⁵⁰ *Publico-Ecclesiasticis*, ii.137. People of Greek orthodox faith were also permitted to worship freely.

⁵¹ On Garampi, see Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Garampi, Giuseppe Conte", *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/g/garampi_g_c.shtml>, accessed 27 December 2004.

⁵² *Publico-Ecclesiasticis*, ii.150-52.

⁵³ *RGZJ*, 91.

medical care, the housing of orphans and other secular endeavours.⁵⁴ Among the most active providers of these services were the various monastic orders of the city, yet their great wealth and exclusive membership made them easy targets for criticism. In one of the boldest moves of his rule, the Emperor ordered the suppression in on 29 November 1781 of all monasteries of a purely contemplative nature, since they were “dem Nächsten ganz und gar unnütz” and “nicht gottgefällig sein können.”⁵⁵ Those monasteries that were not members of contemplative orders were required to maintain a presence in public education, health or pastoral care, or they would face closure as well. The proceeds from the sales of their property and effects were used to create a Religious Fund, still extant in Austria today, for the support of public churches. Garampi, the Papal Nuncio, reported these developments to Rome, and stated that he could not, in good conscience, administer the Easter sacrament to Joseph, since the Emperor was a “Jansenist heretic,” and even suggested the possibility of excommunication.⁵⁶ These reports prompted the Pope, Pius VI, to make the journey to Vienna himself, the first papal excursion beyond Italy since 1533. Pius arrived in the city on 22 March 1782, and during his month-long residence at the Hofburg he presided at services, held private discussions with Vienna’s senior clergy, and bestowed public blessings.⁵⁷ The primary reason for his visit, however, was to assess Joseph for himself and attempt to rein in the Emperor’s more ambitious plans for religious reform. Joseph, for his part, received the Pope courteously, but refused to back down on his reform program. Pius eventually departed the city with a more favourable impression of Joseph than the papal nuncio had provided,

⁵⁴ On the closure of monasteries in Vienna, see Derek Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 192-204.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 192-3.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁵⁷ Among these activities was a mass at St. Stephen’s Cathedral, at which Reutter’s *Missa in E flat* (Hofer 62) was performed; for a discussion of this occasion see Chapter Four. Lorenzo da Ponte, newly arrived in Vienna, produced a number of sonnets in honour of the Pope’s visit; *Alla Santità di Pio VI. Pontefice Massimo nella sua venuta a Vienna. Sonetti dell’ Abate Lorenzo da Ponte, Veneziano* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1782).

yet the Pope was unable to extract any promises from the Emperor beyond an undertaking to respect Catholic dogma and preserve the dignity of the Holy See.⁵⁸ Joseph was later to pay an equally inconclusive visit to Rome himself, but the true nature of his religious convictions was already revealed in a letter written to Pius in August 1782:

...senza andare e cercare i testi tanto della Sacra Scrittura, che dei Santi Padri...tengo una voce in me, che mi dice quello, che come legislatore et protettore della religione mi conviene di fare o di tralasciare; e questa voce, coll'ajuto della grazia divina e col carattere onesto ed equo, che mi sento, non può mai indurre in errore.⁵⁹

This sense of supreme confidence in the rightness of his actions, bolstered by a genuine belief that he was performing divinely sanctioned work proved characteristic of Joseph as he contemplated one of his most ambitious religious reforms of all: the imposition of a centralised and highly specific order of services for the city of Vienna, complete with major reorganisation of parish boundaries. In musical terms, the production of a new *Gottesdienstordnung* in April 1783 has become virtually synonymous with Joseph's reforms as a whole, since the document contains by far the most frequent references to musical performance of any Imperial decree, and its effects on that discipline were profound and wide-ranging.

A year into his office, Joseph seems to have determined that fundamental changes were necessary in the observance of church services, both in their quality and quantity. In order to prepare for the reforms, the Episcopal consistory of Vienna commissioned a survey in February 1782 from the churches of the city, requiring them to state the number, type and duration of services held each day, in addition to the number and origin of the

⁵⁸ See Elisabeth Kovacs, *Der Pabst in Teutschland: die Reise Pius VI. im Jahre 1782* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1983) and Hans Schlitter, *Die Reise des Papstes Pius VI. nach Wien und sein Aufenthalt daselbst: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beziehungen Josefs II. zur römischen Kurie* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1892).

⁵⁹ Letter of 15 August 1782, quoted in Ferdinand Maass (ed.), *Der Josephinismus: Quellen Zu Seiner Geschichte in Österreich 1760-1850. Amiliche Dokumente Aus Dem Wiener Haus-, Hof- Und Staatsarchiv*, 5 vols., vol. 71-75, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1951), ii.391.

responsible priests.⁶⁰ Joseph himself took the opportunity in May to ban “excessive, and at any rate inappropriate finery, decoration or lighting” in churches, chapels, and even private houses.⁶¹ Yet the administration of such an ambitious and complex project required the services of a specially constituted body, and on 22 July the Emperor fulfilled this need with the establishment of the *Geistliches Hofkommission*.⁶² Chaired by the *Staatsrat* Baron Kressel, the Commission was populated with Imperial administrators and reform-minded religious figures, including Heinke, *Hofrat* Matthias von Hann, and Franz von Rautenstrauch, abbot of Braunau.⁶³

One of the primary tasks of the Commission in its first incarnation was the formulation of a centralized *Gottesdienstordnung* for Vienna, which could later be extended to wider areas of the Monarchy. Previously, the responsibility for the conduct of services had been in the hands of the church authorities alone, but now the Commission was entrusted with the task of devising an entirely new liturgical observance for the city, based on Joseph’s detailed instructions. In September 1782, the Emperor prepared a directive for Baron Kressel on the nature of the new service order, including the first explicit reference to the place of church music in his design:

Sind die Hochämter durchgehends auf Sonn- und gebotene Feyertage allein einzuschränken, an allen übrigen Werktagen aber ganz aufzuheben, und dadurch die Musik sammt andern Beköstigungen des Personalis und der Assistenten zum Besten des Religions Fundi gröstentheils in Ersparung zu bringen...Die Foundationen, welche auf Hochämter, gesungene Messen und

⁶⁰ *RGZJ*, 117.

⁶¹ “aller übermäßiger, dem Geiste der Kirche ohnehin nicht angemessener Aufputz, Prunk oder Beleuchtung in den Kirchen und Kapellen”; *Generale* of 14 May 82, quoted in *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁶³ According to Joseph, the *Komission* was responsible for “all jenes, was auf das zeitliche wohl, gute ordnung und ruhe des staats einen einfluss hat, mithin auch der äußerliche disciplin, mit einem worte alles, was nicht die glaubenslehre, administration der sakramenten und die disciplinam internam angeht,” quoted in F. Walter, *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung. II Abteilung: Von der Vereinigung der österreichischen und böhmischen Hofkanzlei bis zur Errichtung der Ministerialverfassung (1749-1848)* (Vienna: A. Holzhausen, 1950), iv.76. Baron Kressel was privately troubled by extent of the reforms he was to implement, and by May 1783 remained in the post “no longer with the hope of doing good, but merely of diminishing evil”; Beales, *Monasteries*, 201-02.

dergleichen gemacht worden sind in mehrere Meßstipendia zu verwandeln, und nach Bedarf in der Stadt sowohl als auch auf dem Lande zu vertheilen.

The Emperor went on to prescribe a ban on “all litanies, blessings, [and] vespers with music,” with the exception of a midday rendition of the Litany of the Saints in German and its associated prayers.⁶⁴

Although Joseph’s proposals for the restriction of instrumental music in church were ambitious enough, there were those who wanted the reform taken to its logical extreme. The Commission had established a wider body, the Lower Austrian *Geistliche Fialalkommission*, who provided its own opinion on the directive sent to Kressel in a submission of late October.⁶⁵ According to the *Fialalkommission*,

[es] ist ungeistlich...wenn man den Pracht und die Feyerlichkeit des Gottesdienstes weiter erstrecken will, als sie zum geistlichen Nutzen und zur Auferbauung des Volks gerichtet. Nun ist es aber ausgemacht, daß eine Messe, bey der anpassende Lieder gesungen werden, die Aufmerksamkeit des Volks auf den Gottesdienst, auf den Unterricht und die Erbauung desselben ungemein mehr befördere als das prächtigste Hochamt, wobey die Musik die Aufmerksamkeit der meisten bey nahe ganz an sich reißt. Aus diesem Grunde könnte die Musik...nicht allein an Werktagen, sondern vielmehr noch an Sonn- und Feyertagen, die eigentlich dem Gebethe und der Andacht des Volks gewidmet sind, abgeschafft werden.⁶⁶

Although the general principles expressed in this document seem entirely in accord with Joseph’s inclinations, the proposition was rejected by the *Hofkommission* as likely to cause discontent among the people and not appropriate to present circumstances.⁶⁷

After receiving further advice from his *Hofkanzlei*, Joseph eventually produced a directive for all of Lower Austria on 14 December, effecting a complete reformulation of religious life in the Imperial capital and surrounding areas.⁶⁸ Effective from the beginning of

⁶⁴ AVA, 37 Gen A 1783 277/9/1782; transcription in *RGZJ*, 547-9.

⁶⁵ AVA, 37 Gen A 1783 124/12/1782.

⁶⁶ Transcription from *RGZJ*, 478.

⁶⁷ Kressel to Joseph, 13 November 1782; *RGZJ*, 127.

⁶⁸ See Wolfgruber, *Migazzi*, 710-11. The opinions of the *Hofkanzlei* together with Joseph’s directive are in AVA, 37 Gen A 1783 124/12/1782; transcription of the latter in *RGZJ*, 549-51. Count Kolowrat, the *Obersten Kanzler*, advocated the complete replacement of instrumentally-accompanied church music with communal hymns, while Prince Kaunitz recommended the production of a new hymnbook that would cater to more “enlightened” congregations. In the introduction to his directive, Joseph termed Kolowrat’s suggestions “ganz ausschweifend.”

Lent, the number of parishes in Vienna proper would increase from four to nine, with similar expansion outside the city walls. All high masses were banned, with the exception of those on Sundays and holy days, and low mass limited to a length of half an hour. Those monasteries and convents that had survived the closures could no longer hold sermons, high mass or post-midday devotional services, and Vienna's 121 *Brüderschaften* were merged into a single body whose funds were to be directed to the poor.⁶⁹ All processions, except for Corpus Christi and those in Holy Week, were banned.

Not surprisingly, Cardinal Migazzi objected strenuously to these restrictions, but he achieved far less success in changing current Imperial policy than he had with the petition of 1767. After a fruitless meeting with Joseph on 16 December, and an unsuccessful conference with the Lower Austrian *Landesregierung*, Migazzi produced another petition to the Emperor on 21 January 1783, requesting the relaxation of several regulations.⁷⁰ Among these requests was an appeal for the continuation of instrumentally-accompanied psalms at Vespers, which were evidently slated for removal:

Eure Majestät geruhen allergnädigst zu erlauben, daß ich unterthänigst bitte, daß die Vesper, welche an größeren Festtagen von dem Erzbischofe gehalten wird, mit der bisherigen Feierlichkeit noch ferners abgehalten werden dürfe...

In response to this letter, Joseph wrote a number of annotations directly onto Migazzi's manuscript; see Figure 1.4. Facing the above passage, the Emperor wrote:

Wenn die Täge werden benennet werden und es die vorgeschriebene Andachten nicht behindert, so kann auch der Erzbischof die von ihm abzuhaltende Vespren mit aller Instrumental-Musik nach Gutbefinden, besonders wenn er dazu die Unkosten für die Musik aus eigenem bestreitet, halten.⁷¹

⁶⁹ On Viennese *Brüderschaften* and their musical life, see Geraldine M. Rohling, *Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Brüderschaften: A Study of Music and Liturgical Piety* (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1996); the figure of 121 is from Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, 417.

⁷⁰ The *Landesregierung* had declared that "Der musikalische Pomp kostet viel und nutze der Andacht nicht nur allein nichts, er schadet sogar"; AVA, 37 Gen A 1783 115/1/1783; *RGZJ*, 134.

⁷¹ A-Wda, Liturgie 2, Gottesdienstordnung 1783. Reinhard Pauly somewhat obscures the meaning of this passage by omitting the first phrase in his translation, thus making it appear that Joseph's permission was

Tempting as it is to interpret the Emperor's last remark as a sarcastic comment directed specifically at Migazzi, it does reflect Joseph's concern at the expense involved in maintaining large ensembles. He had already indicated to Baron Kressel that the budget for church music should be heavily reduced, to make better use of the Religious Fund, and the directive to Migazzi adopts a pragmatic solution aimed at transferring expenditure from public to private sources.

Although the proclamation of December 1782 contained much detailed information on the proper conduct of services, a more systematic treatment was required for everyday use. In particular, there was a need for a comprehensive public statement on the role of music in church services, taking into account the private determinations of the Emperor and the *Hofkommission*, and making explicit the performative restrictions implied by the reduction in high masses. The *Hofkommission* therefore entrusted the Archdiocese of Vienna with the responsibility of producing a new *Gottesdienstordnung* for the city, detailing the precise order of services at churches of different kinds, the musical accompaniment permitted, and the conduct required at special services such as the forty hour prayer. A central feature of the new order was to be the regular progression of masses throughout the churches in each parish, suppressing what was thought to be wasteful duplication.⁷²

The *Gottesdienstordnung* underwent extensive revision before reaching its final form, yet the directives concerning church music seem to have remained fairly stable from the

unqualified; see Pauly, "The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II", *Musical Quarterly* 43 (1957): 372-82, here 377.

⁷² According to the church census, St. Michael's held a mass every 15 minutes throughout the day; *RGZJ*, 118.

outset; see Figure 1.5. One exception concerned the service of Vespers, where the Consistory under Migazzi proposed allowing St. Stephen's Cathedral to hold more festive renditions than the city's other churches. When the document was presented to Joseph for his approval, the Emperor reminded Migazzi of the requirement that special music must be the administrative and financial responsibility of the Archbishop alone. In the final version, the reference to the Cathedral was removed, replaced by a clause explicitly banning instrumental music from vespers.⁷³

On 25 February 1783, the new *Gottesdienstordnung* was proclaimed throughout the city by means of circulars and a specially produced booklet. The Consistory also produced a hymnbook for the new service order, with its contents derived from Maria Theresia's *Katholisches Gesangbuch*; see Figure 1.6. The new arrangements did not come into force immediately, but became effective on Easter Sunday, 20 April, giving church musicians time to comprehend the profound changes occurring in their employment conditions. Both the circulars and the booklet consist of the *Gottesdienstordnung* proper, detailing the observance of mass, vespers, the various litanies and other services, followed by the *Andachtsordnung*, listing the churches of the city and the times at which these services could be heard. Migazzi made yet another attempt to stop the introduction of this scheme on 6 April, but Joseph rebuffed him with a sarcastic proposal that the *Ordnung* should include Jesuit symbols and other Papal references, "...dem der Kardinal sich unmöglich wird entschlagen können."⁷⁴

The musical provisions of the *Gottesdienstordnung* were the single most important influence on the practice of sacred music in Vienna between April 1783 and March 1791, when the strictures of the scheme were relaxed by Joseph's brother Leopold. The extent of

⁷³ Draft submitted to Joseph, dated 11 March 1783, reply dated 13 March, both in A-Wda, Liturgie 2, *Gottesdienstordnung* 1783.

⁷⁴ A-Wda, Liturgie 2, *Gottesdienstordnung* 1783.

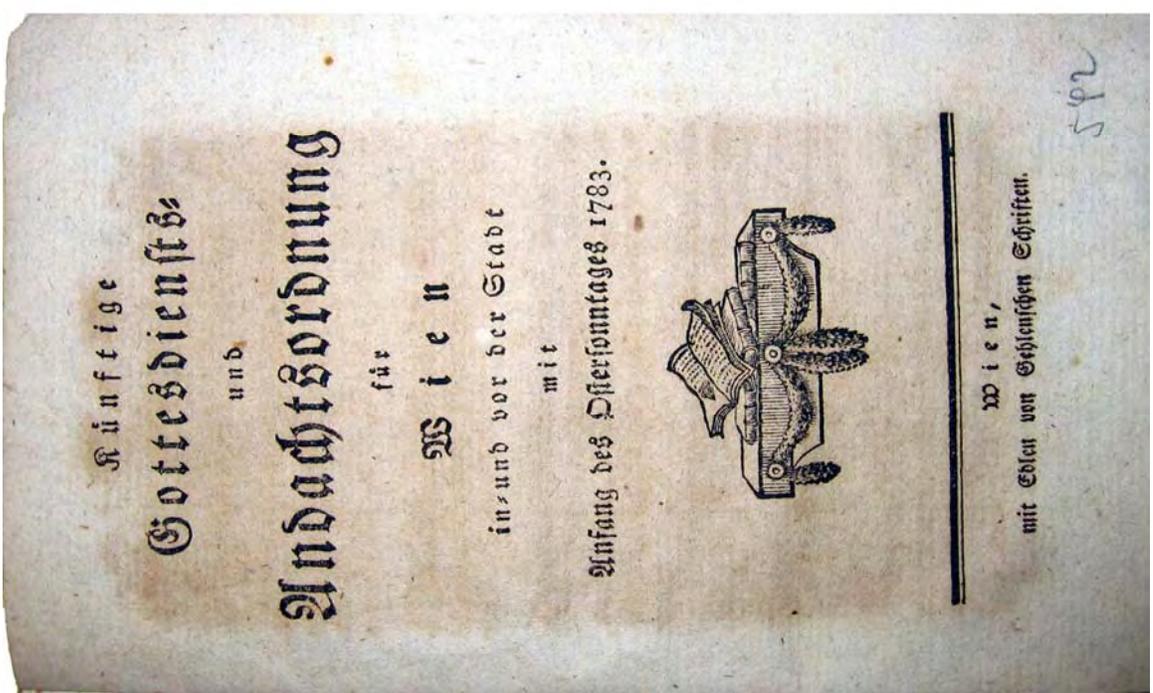
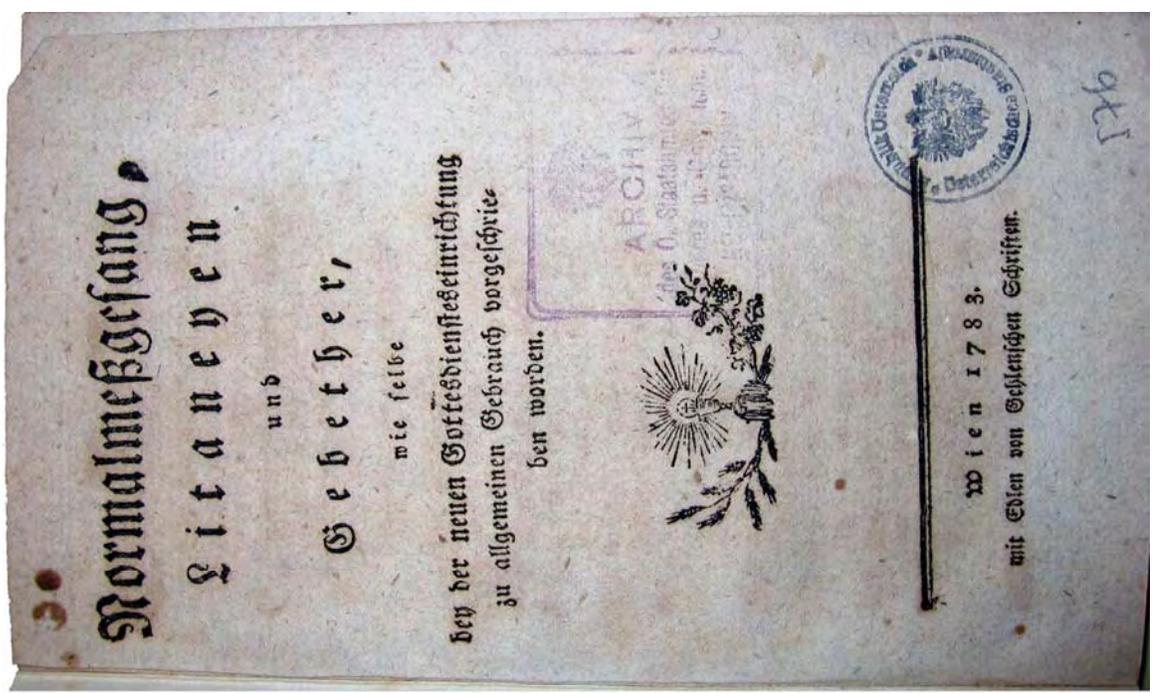


Figure 1.6. Title pages of the service and hymn booklets produced for Vienna's new *Gottesdienstordnung*.

the restrictions was the natural outcome of the Emperor's directive to Kressel of September 1782 and the *Hofdekret* of three months' later, which envisaged a major reduction in the number of permitted high masses. With the issue of the new service order, the implications of those decisions were made explicit:

In den Pfarren der Stadt und Vorstädte

...Täglich wird in einer jeden Pfarrkirche nur eine Segenmesse an Werktagen mit Aussetzung des Ciborii, an Sonn- und Feyertagen aber mit Aussetzung der Monstranze gehalten, wobey das vorgeschriebene Normalgesang mit der Orgel abgesungen wird.

Bey St. Stephan, und in jenen Kirchen, wo ordentlicher Chor ist, wird täglich eine Choralmesse mit oder ohne Orgel, nach Beschaffenheit der Zeit, ohne Instrumentalmusik gesungen.

An Sonn- und Feyertagen wird in jeder Pfarrkirche das Hochamt mit Instrumentalmusik, oder wo keine dergleichen ist, choraliter gehalten.

...In jenen Kirchen, wo ordentlicher Chor ist, wird die Vesper täglich choraliter, in feyerlicheren Festtagen auch mit der Orgel, ohne Instrumentalmusik gehalten, also zwar, daß an Sonntagen die Vesper zwischen der Christenlehre, und oben angesetzten vorgeschriebenen Gebethern gesungen wird...

Für die Nonnenklöster Kirchen ist folgende Einrichtung getroffen

In ihren Kirchen, wo ordentlich Chor ist, kann täglich eine Choralmesse als ein Konventualamt mit der Orgel gesungen werden...Eben diese Ordnung betrifft auch die Mannsklösterkirchen, und alle übrige öffentliche Kirchen, wo keine Pfarr ist...⁷⁵

It is important to note that the new order constituted a “restriction” on church music only in terms of comparison to the previous, unacknowledged service regime – nowhere does the *Gottesdienstordnung* actually “ban” existing practices. In assessing the impact of the service order on Viennese sacred music, we must be attuned throughout this dissertation towards the various observances in use before April 1783, and the potential for inconsistency between official pronouncements and the reality of weekly performance.⁷⁶

The least radical of the changes, in musical terms, was the introduction of a prescribed hymn with organ during low mass at parish churches. Given the prevalence of

⁷⁵ *Künftige Gottesdiensts- und Andachtsordnung für Wien in- und vor der Stadt mit Anfang des Ostersonntages 1783* (Vienna: Gehlen, 1783), 1-8.

⁷⁶ Otto Biba's study, though excellent, is hampered by his use of the 1786 legislation, which was not entirely applicable to the situation three years earlier. See Biba, “Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783”, *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. F. Heller (Eisenstadt: Österreichisches Institut für Kulturgeschichte, 1971) 1-71, here 8-10.

hymnbooks prior to 1783, this directive was likely to be a mere codification of existing practice. More noteworthy was the stipulation that churches supporting choirs could no longer perform instrumentally-accompanied masses outside Sundays and feast days, but must limit themselves to chant with optional organ accompaniment.⁷⁷ If Burney's testimony concerning the daily rendition of instrumental masses in Vienna was still accurate a decade later, this rule represented a serious setback to the livelihoods of church musicians. With the institution of the new *Gottesdienstordnung*, the number of masses per week at which concerted music could be heard dropped from seven to one or two, depending on the placement of feast days during the week.⁷⁸ The order for vespers was equally restrictive: concerted settings had no place anywhere in the new regime, and organ accompaniment was permitted only on Sundays and feast days. Instrumental vespers had been a regular feature on Sundays and one other day of the week in many churches, and these were now abandoned. As we have seen, musical renditions of the various litanies were removed entirely, bringing to an end the vocal performance of a rite particularly associated with Lent.

The introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung* was, of course, the most important event for church music in the early years of Joseph's sole reign. However, a number of the Emperor's edicts prior to 1783 had exerted a limited influence on the nature of musical worship: the March 1781 ban on the importation of foreign liturgical books had the potential to limit access to the more recent French and Roman antiphoners, although the reasonably static nature of chant by this stage would have reduced this difficulty. The repeated restrictions on public processions would have impacted on the livelihoods of the musicians who participated in them, brass players in particular. The suppression of

⁷⁷ *Choraliter* in this context implies chant and possibly congregational hymns.

⁷⁸ The restrictions are evidently meant to cover both the mass proper and ordinary, so the performance of a solo motet or offertory in the context of an otherwise *choraliter* service would also be disallowed.

Cistercian, Dominican and other contemplative orders, many of whom maintained active choral establishments, would have severely damaged the richness of musical life in the city's monasteries and convents. A similar fate awaited the endowed services of the various *Brüderschaften*, now abandoned with the amalgamation of their parent organisations.

The extent to which clergy and parishioners outside the higher echelons of ecclesiastical administration were aware of the developing intentions for the city cannot be determined easily, but the radical reorganisation of parishes and service times, the removal of decorations and the repeated suppression of “ostentatious” piety by early 1783 inevitably left its own mark on the populace. P. Peter Unterthan, chaplain to a parish near Vienna, preached a sermon one week after the introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung*. Although the oration includes more than a little rhetorical licence, Unterthan's characterisation of the public mood likely rests on a factual basis:

O wie beklemmt waret ihr, und sie heut vor acht Tagen, da die neuen von unserm theuresten Monarchen getroffenen Anstalten in Ansehung des Gottesdienstes ihren öffentlichen Anfang genommen haben? O welches Geschrei erschall aller Orten! welches Klagen! Nun wird der katholische Glauben unterdrückket; nun geht die Religion zu Grunde; nun sind wir endlich gar Lutherisch geworden: so rief der Pöbel Wiens; so heulte das andächtige Weibervolk; so ertönten die Mauern dieser prächtigen Kaiserstadt; so schrieen – o ich erröthe, wen ich daran gedenke – selbst einige der Priester...⁷⁹

A highly revealing report is provided by Count Garampi, the Viennese papal nuncio, who had complained to Joseph in late 1781 about the Emperor's religious reforms. Garampi produced a confidential dispatch every week for the Holy See, and these writings are of particular interest for their unique perspective on contemporary politics and public life.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Peter Unterthan, *Rede am weissen Sonntage. Ueber die neuen von dem Kaiser gemachten Einrichtungen in Ansehung des Gottesdienstes...* (Vienna: Christian Friederich Wappler, 1783), 6. The name of the author may be a pseudonym.

⁸⁰ On Garampi, see Dries Vanysacker, *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi, 1725-92: an enlightened ultramontane* (Brussels: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1995); Umberto dell'Orto, *La Nunziatura a Vienna di Giuseppe Garampi, 1776-1785, Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 39* (Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1995).

The dispatch for 5 May 1783 is an enormous document of some 80 pages, in which Garampi included an account of the *Culto pubblico nelle chiese*:

Non potevasi scegliere giornata meno a proposito per introdurre la nuova forma di Culto, nè eravi contrattempo, in cui più si azzardasse di mettere a cimento la docilità del Popolo, quanto la Pasqua. Sentissi pertanto un malcontento e disapprovazione universale nelle Chiese, e fuori; giacchè perdè in detto giorno la Messa per non poter attendere l'ora prescritta, chi rammaricavasi di vedersi sottrarre le solite devozioni, e chi trovavasi imbarazzato coi nuovi Canti, che doveano introdursi.

I Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori, che sono qui in grandissimo numero, afflitti nel dover perdere la frequenza dell'esercizio della loro professione; i poveri Preti rimasti nell'ultima indigenza, mancanti, non solo delle consuete Limosine di Messe, ma anche di Altare, e Chiesa, per poterla celebrare almeno per divozione. Pareva in certo modo a ciascuno, che il Governo cercasse tutte le vie per introdurre una nuova [deleted: divozione] Religione; e non mancarono imprudenti, i quali borbottassero, che dopo di aver perduta libertà e danari, si venisse ora a voler toglier loro anche la Religione, e dio. Perfino certi venditori delle nuove Canzoni, che stavano alla Porta delle Chiese, annunciandole al Popolo, che passava, innavvertentemente le chiamavano Canzoni della nuova Religione.⁸¹

Evidently, the new service order was poorly received in a wide range of professions related to Viennese religious life, and Garampi's vivid account of the difficulties faced by the new scheme may have been read in Rome with some satisfaction. Rather less satisfied, undoubtedly, were Vienna's church musicians, who now faced substantial financial difficulties after the *Gottesdienstordnung* made many of their services redundant.

How much interest did Mozart take in all these proceedings? Due to his former directorial and compositional responsibilities at Salzburg Cathedral, Mozart was well acquainted with the demands of running a sacred musical institution. The extent to which he took an interest in the plight of his professional colleagues during the upheavals of 1781-3 is an open question, since there is only one ambiguous reference to the Emperor's specifically musical reforms in any of the composer's surviving writings. If Mozart did attend church on a regular basis, however, it is reasonable to assume that he encountered concerted sacred

⁸¹ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna 182, f. 160. I am once again indebted to Bruce Brown for his assistance in the transcription of this document. The book that the vendors were selling was presumably the new *Normalgesang*. See also dell'Orto, *La Nunziata*, 473-81.

music in some form, and experienced first-hand the consequences of Joseph's liturgical reforms.

Despite their shared experiences, Mozart and Vienna's church musicians found themselves in substantially different work environments, even when one takes into account the compositional ambitions of many *regens chori*. On the one hand was Mozart, the freelance artist, active in public concerts and the distribution of primarily secular music; on the other, a class of instrumentalists and singers indebted to a religious institution for support, performing a highly specialised repertoire. For Mozart, newly freed from the constraints of working under an uncongenial employer in a declining principality, church music may have represented one of the less attractive possibilities for professional advancement. Yet the very availability of a large body of instrumentalists and singers, many of whom were active in secular music as well, made it advantageous to establish contacts within this world, particularly for the possibility of recruitment into orchestral rosters.⁸²

What of Mozart's religious activities more generally? As a resident of Vienna since the inception of Joseph's sole rule, the composer was ideally placed to observe the quickening pace of reform, albeit from the perspective of a recently-arrived outsider. Yet the surviving evidence in Mozart's letters offers only a few hints as to the composer's attitude towards church matters and the place of religion in his life more generally during the early 1780s. One reason for the paucity of evidence, particularly in regard to Mozart's church attendance, was the ubiquitous and theoretically obligatory nature of Confession and Communion, services so common as to require no special mention. For the composer, however, there were particular incentives in revealing his religious observance, and the occasional references to it

⁸² An ambitious series of subscription concerts such as those put on by Mozart in the 1780s must have required a considerable number of instrumentalists. Little is known at this stage about how Mozart went about recruiting these performers.

in the family correspondence took on an increasingly strategic character as events proceeded. Mozart's arrival and settlement in Vienna had presented him with a novel opportunity: the prospect for the first time of complete freedom in religious matters, away from the direct supervision of his parents and Leopold in particular. Mozart's father, for his part, combined a healthy scepticism for the Church's institutional structures with a devout private piety, and he continued to concern himself with his son's religious development during periods of separation. These efforts took on a heightened significance with the entry of Constanze Weber into the Mozart circle, as Leopold became concerned over the state of Wolfgang's morals. Thus we encounter several instances of Mozart informing his father of religious events in the city, with the implicit or explicit intention of demonstrating his interest, or at least observance, of church ritual and the maintenance of spiritual well-being. These references, together with a small number of additional documents, can be used to gain some insight into Mozart's attitudes towards the Catholic Church.

III. 'SEYN SIE NICHT GAR ZU ANDÄCHTIG'

In attempting to discover the nature of Mozart's religious outlook in the early 1780s, we must remember that the vast majority of the composer's day to day actions, thoughts, and conversations, even those bearing on music, are now unknown to us. This inevitable lack of documentation is problematic enough when attempting to discover the date on which a Mozart piano concerto was first performed, for example, but becomes an especially complex matter in the case of a highly personal matter such as religion. There is evidently material that was once extant but is now apparently lost: in addition to the well-known loss of all Leopold Mozart's letters to his son after January 1781, at least four letters known to have

been written by Wolfgang to his father in 1781-2 are now missing.⁸³ The best we can do in these circumstances is to construct reasonable inferences and conjectures based on the small amount of surviving material.

Between 1781 and the introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung* in April 1783, Mozart was connected with at least two Viennese churches, although the precise extent of these contacts is unknown. The first of these is St. Stephen's Cathedral, site of Mozart and Constanze's marriage on 4 August 1782. As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, the choice of venue was determined by the residence of the bride, and the hurried circumstances of the wedding were preceded by discussions between Mozart, Constanze's guardian Johann Thorwart, and the St. Stephen's authorities.⁸⁴ The issue of Constanze's residence may have caused some trouble for Mozart: the list of his Viennese residences in the marriage entry at the Cathedral does not mention all the locations at which he is known to have lived, and Frau Weber's apartment is documented only as a residence "unter dem Tuchlauben." This may imply that Mozart was concealing the fact of his earlier co-habitation with his future bride and her family during 1781.⁸⁵

In contrast to the splendours of St. Stephen's, the other church Mozart is known to have attended in 1781-3 maintained a much lower profile. The visit of the Salzburg court to Vienna in early 1781 coincided with the season of Lent, and among its observances was a communion administered on Maundy Thursday by Archbishop Colloredo himself.⁸⁶ This

⁸³ *MBA*, iii.161, iii.212, iii.230, iii.243. See also Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 351-2, 649-50 for discussion of this problem and evidence that *MBA* likely underestimates the number of lost letters written in the first half of 1781.

⁸⁴ See Chapter Four. The marriage contract, signed on 3 August, is now in GB-Lbl, Zweig 69. For a colour facsimile of the last page see the exhibition catalogue, *Mozart: Prodigy of Nature* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library and London: British Library, 1991), 57.

⁸⁵ Vienna, Pfarrarchiv St. Stephan, Copulations-Buch Tom. 74, f. 270, transcription in Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 180-81.

⁸⁶ Where this service took place is unfortunately unknown. One possibility is the Church of St. Elisabeth (*Deutschordeuskirche*), which adjoined the building in which the Salzburg court was staying.

sacrament required a confession, and so Mozart volunteered, or was perhaps ordered, to find a priest who could speak Italian in order that the *castrato* Ceccarelli could participate as well.

As Mozart reported to Leopold, this search led to the rediscovery of an old acquaintance:

denn ich komme eben davon her [d.h. beichten], weil Morgen als den Gründonnerstag der Erzbischof die ganze Hofstaat selbst in Höchster Person abspeisen wird. Ceccarelli und ich giengen also heute Nachtisch zu den theatinnern, um den Pater froschauer⁸⁷ aufzusuchen, weil dieser Italienisch kann. – ein Pater oder frater der eben auf dem Altar stund und leuchter Putzte, versicherte uns aber, daß sowohl er als noch einer der Wälsch kann, nicht zuhause gespeist und erst um 4 uhr nach hauß kömmen. – Ich sorgte also für diesmal für mich allein, und ließ mich in ein zimmer zu einen herrn hinauf weisen, und Ceccarelli erwartete mich unten im Hof – was mich gefreuet, war dieses, daß, als ich zu dem geistlichen Herrn leuchterPutzer gesagt, daß ich vor 8 Jahren auf diesem Chor ein Violin=concert gespielt habe, er gleich meinem Namen genennt hat.⁸⁸

The institution to which Mozart refers, the Theatines, was a monastery built in 1704-7 on the corner of Tiefer Graben and Wipplingerstraße, about ten minutes' walk from the Salzburg court's lodgings on Schulerstraße; see Figure 1.7.⁸⁹ The building that Mozart and Ceccarelli first entered was the monastery's chapel, dedicated to the founder of the Theatine order, St. Cajetan. As mentioned in the last sentence of the quotation, Mozart had played a violin concerto for the fathers during his 1773 visit to Vienna, the same visit that saw Leopold conduct his son's *Dominicusmesse* at the Kirche am Hof.⁹⁰

On 2 August 1782, Mozart again attended confession at the Theatines, this time in the company of Constanze, so that the couple could perform the required devotions for their upcoming marriage:

Ich habe lezthin vergessen ihnen zu schreiben daß meine frau und ich zusamm am Purtiunkula tage bey den Theatinern unsere Andacht verichtet haben... wir sind auch schon eine geraume

⁸⁷ Felix von Froschauer zu Moosburg (1743-1810), preacher at St. Cajetan and (from 1791) Stadtpfarrer in Wels; information from the Portheim-Katalog in A-Wsa. The commentary in *MBA* does not identify Froschauer. Leopold, returning to Salzburg after his 1785 visit to Vienna, mentioned meeting Froschauer in a letter to Nannerl; *MBA*, iii.389.

⁸⁸ *MBA*, iii.104-5.

⁸⁹ See Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien* (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1997), s.v. "Theatiner-Kloster."

⁹⁰ "Am fest des hl: Caietani haben uns die H: Patres zum speisen und zum Amt eingeladen, und weil die Orgel nichts nutz war ein Concert zu spielen, so hat der Wolfg: vom H: Teiber ein Violin und ein Concert entlehnt, und hat die Keckheit gehabt ein Concert auf der Violin zu spielen." *MBA*, i.486.

Zeit lediger allzeit mitsammen so wohl in die hl: Messe als zum Beichten und Communiciren gegangen – und Ich habe gefunden daß ich niemalsen so kräftig gebetet, so andächtig gebeichtet und Communicirt hätte als an ihrer Seite; – und so gieng es ihr auch; – mit einem Worte wir sind für einander geschaffen – und gott der alles anordnet, und folglich dieses auch also gefüget hat, wird uns nicht verlassen.⁹¹

If Mozart's assurances about his regular attendance at confession and communion are accurate, and not simply an attempt to placate his father's concern about the necessity of religious observance, one must naturally ask where the composer and his fiancée participated in these rites. Given Mozart's past association with the Theatines and the two attested examples of his attendance there in 1781-2, the St. Cajetan Chapel emerges as a likely candidate.⁹² There are other possibilities: Frau Weber's house stood literally in the shadow of St. Peter's, the late Baroque church completed in the same year as the Theatines, and Mozart's residence on Graben was just over the road. A few minutes' walk away was St. Stephen's Cathedral, with the most extensive music program of all the public churches. If, however, the Theatines was Mozart's regular place of worship, perhaps due to his acquaintance with "Pater Froschauer," the composer's religious life was to experience an unexpected disturbance. Four months after he and Constanze had made their confession and received communion together at the St. Cajetan chapel, Joseph II ordered the closure of the Theatines, as part of his rationalisation of the city's monasteries and convents. In 1783, the chapel was deconsecrated, and in 1784 the entire building was sold.⁹³

⁹¹ *MBA*, iii.220.

⁹² Unfortunately, nothing is known of the Theatines' musical ambitions; there is no entry for them in the 1783 petition of church musicians, to be discussed in the following chapter. As of 1719, the order only accommodated five or six laity and a maximum of ten priests; Antonio Bormastino, *Historische Beschreibung von der Kayserlichen Residentz=Stadt Wienn und Ihren Vor=Städten* (Vienna: Johann Michael Christophori, 1719) 81-2. On his name-day, October 31, 1781, Mozart performed a thanksgiving ("es war aber eben mein Nammens=tag – in der frühe verichtete ich also meine Andacht..."); *MBA*, iii.171. The location of Mozart's devotion is unknown.

⁹³ The sale of the monastery's effects raised 63,050 fl; see Sebastian Brunner, *Mysterien der Aufklärung in Österreich 1770-1800* (Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1869), 371. The edifice was demolished in 1899; see Czeike, "Theatiner-Kloster".

Mozart was concerned with reassuring his father of his religious credentials on several occasions, apparently in response to accusations of neglect and second-hand reports reaching Leopold concerning his son's behaviour.⁹⁴ As early as June 1781, Mozart was entreating his father:

wegen meinen Seelenheyl seyen sie ohne Sorgen, mein bester vatter! – ich bin ein fälliger Junger Mensch wie alle andere, und kann zu meinem trost wünschen daß es alle so wenig wären wie ich. – sie glauben vielleicht sachen von mir, die nicht also sind; – der hauptfehler bey mir ist daß ich nach dem scheine nicht allzeit so handle, wie ich handeln sollte. – daß ich mich geprahlt hätte ich Esse alle fast=täge fleisch, ist nicht wahr; aber gesagt habe ich daß ich mir nichts daraus mache, und es für keine sünde halte; denn fasten heisst bey mir sich abrechen; weniger essen als sonst. – Ich höre alle sonn= und feyertäge Meine Messe, und wenn es seyn kann, die werktäge auch, das wissen sie, mein vatter...übrigens seyn sie versichert daß ich gewis Religion habe.⁹⁵

This passage, evidently provoked by an accusation of Leopold's, was written in the context of Mozart's recent break with the Salzburg service, and reflects the complicated path Mozart chose to negotiate of professing filial obedience while asserting his own independence. Leopold may have consciously or unconsciously regarded his son's acquiescence as a necessary feature of good moral makeup, and the best Mozart could do in reply was to profess his religious credentials, even in the face of accusations of rebellious and impious behaviour. The issue was to raise its head again with Mozart's betrothal to Constanze, and after the famous passage in the December 1781 letter describing his fiancée for the first time, the composer continued:

wenn sie aber glauben könnten ich könnte sie vergessen – das würde mich recht sehr schmerzen. Ich soll denken, daß ich eine unsterbliche Seele habe – nicht allein denk ich das, sondern ich glaube es; – worinn bestünde denn sonst der unterschied zwischen Menschen und vich?⁹⁶

In the face of passages like these, the account of the joint confession at the Theatine church in August 1782 appears designed to convince Leopold of the moral rectitude in his son's actions, with the main point being the positive religious effects that flowed from Mozart and

⁹⁴ A provocative treatment of this subject more generally is David Schroeder, *Mozart in revolt: strategies of resistance, mischief, and deception* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁹⁵ *MBA*, iii.129.

⁹⁶ *MBA*, iii.179.

Constanze's association. Particularly interesting is the quasi-biblical language Mozart adopted for the final sentence in the August letter, of the God who orders all things never forsaking the devout betrothed couple. This statement of belief may be seen as an attempt by Mozart to portray his marriage as a divinely ordained and sanctioned event, ultimately outside the control of Leopold. Given the vicissitudes leading up to the marriage, Mozart himself may have found it congenial to view the occasion in a similar light.

What role did Constanze really play in the religious life of her husband? In view of the central importance Mozart evidently attached to her in the composition of C minor Mass, this is an important but almost unanswerable question. The nature of Constanze's religious background is entirely unknown, although her probable upbringing at the Notre Dame College in Mannheim would have provided a standard Catholic education.⁹⁷ Much later in life, she was to request a Catholic funeral for her Protestant second husband and later masses for his soul, but by then the circumstances of her life were radically different.⁹⁸ One of the very few insights we have into Constanze's religious life in the early 1780s is an entry that Mozart made in her prayerbook:

Derjenige, welcher in diesem Büchel all die Bildchen umgewandt und auf jedes was darauf geschrieben hat, ist ein – – – – – nicht wahr Constanz? – Nur ein einziges hat er verschont, weil er gesehen, daß sie es doppelt hat – und er sich daher Hoffnung macht, dasselbe zum Andenken zu bekommen; wer schmeichelt sich dieses? – – – –
Der Trazom – und von wem hofft er es zu erhalten?
Von der Znatsnoc.

⁹⁷ See Erich Valentin, "Das Testament der Constanze Nissen: mit biographischen Notizen über Constanze und Georg Nikolaus Nissen", *Neues Mozart-Jahrbuch* 2 (1942): 138. Constanze's father, Fridolin Weber, copied out the text of a Latin hymn that may have been of his own composition. Still extant in A-Sm, the autograph leaf with a note of authenticity by Constanze is discussed in Rudolf Lewicki, "Aus dem Mozarteums-Archiv", *Mozarteums Mitteilungen* 2 (1920): 124-25.

⁹⁸ See Peter Unkelbach, "Constanze Nissen Und Salzburgs Fürsterzbischof Augustin Gruber: Eine Kontroverse Aus Dem Jahre 1826 Zu Katholischen Begrabnisfeierlichkeiten Fur Den Evangelischen Danischen Legationsrat Georg Nikolaus Nissen," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 43, no. 3-4 (1995): 78-80; Franz Martin, "Beiträge über Mozarts Witwe", *Neue Mozart-Jahrbuch* 3 (1943): 113-16; Rudolph Angermüller, "Eine (kleine) Stiftung von Constanze Nissen (1836)", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 44, no. 3-4 (1996): 69-76. Angermüller was apparently unaware of Martin's earlier publication of the relevant documents.

Seyn Sie nicht gar zu andächtig, gute Nacht.⁹⁹

The explanation for this rather obscure riddle appears to be the following: illustrative engravings were often not bound into books, but were simply interleaved at the appropriate points. Mozart disturbed the order of the devotional pictures, wrote something on each of them, but then noticed that there were two copies of a particular engraving, and wished to keep one as a souvenir. The names at the end are, of course, “Mozart” and “Constanz” in reverse, another example of Mozart’s well-known love of wordplay.

Unfortunately, the prayerbook is no longer extant, and the above quotation is only known from Nottebohm’s *Mozartiana*, which was based on documents in the Breitkopf und Härtel archives that are themselves presently unavailable.¹⁰⁰ Thus the form in which Breitkopf received the quotation is also uncertain.¹⁰¹ The book may have been one of the numerous printed anthologies produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for private devotion, or it may have been handwritten, like Leopold Mozart’s surviving prayerbook.¹⁰² The question of where and when Constanze received the book is presently impossible to answer. For Mozart’s entry, Nottebohm gave the date “Wien 1781,” which was adopted without comment in *MBA*, yet one suspects this is merely a guess based on the

⁹⁹ *MBA*, iii.189.

¹⁰⁰ Gustav Nottebohm, *Mozartiana. Von Mozart herrührende und ihm betreffende, zum grossen Theil noch nicht veröffentlichte Schrifstücke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1880), 3. On the fate of the Breitkopf & Härtel archive, see Rudolf Elvers, “Breitkopf und Härtels Verlagsarchiv,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 17 (1970): 24-8. Despite the roundabout transmission, the reliability of the other documents in *Mozartiana* suggests the note is authentic.

¹⁰¹ There is no mention of any prayerbook in the printed materials section of Mozart’s *Verlassenschaft*; see Ulrich Konrad and Martin Staehelin, allzeit ein buch: *Die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts* (Weinheim: VCH, 1991). Constanze’s *Verlassenschaft*, transcribed in Valentin, “Testament der Konstanze Nissen,” 141-5, does not mention books at all. There has been remarkably little study of Mozart and Constanze’s libraries and the fate of non-musical items after their owners’ deaths. A number of items from Mozart’s library do survive in A-Wn and D-W.

¹⁰² In A-Sm; reproduction of one page in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 341.

flirtatious nature of the material. There seems no reason not to extend the suggested dating into the first half of 1782, up to the point of Mozart and Constanze's marriage.

It would be of great interest to know the circumstances under which Mozart wrote this note, for there is no other hint of devotional books in the composer's household.¹⁰³ The exhortation to "not be too devout" may imply that Constanze had recently finished performing or attending some kind of service, or at the least that the book lay open and Mozart assumed as much when he visited Frau Weber's apartment. Indeed, it is tempting to connect the note to the services that Mozart claimed he and Constanze attended together, but the lack of testimony from Constanze herself on the matter leaves us with a rather one-sided view of the couple's religious life. Ultimately, Constanze's prayerbook stands as an isolated example of what may have been a larger phenomenon, offering a rare glimpse into an otherwise poorly documented facet of the couple's relationship.

If Mozart and Constanze did indeed attend church on a regular basis, they would have inevitably come into contact with reforms introduced by Joseph II, resulting in them singing more hymns, lighting fewer candles, worshipping at plain altars and much else besides. Yet only one reference can be found to the church reforms in all Mozart's surviving correspondence. It has its origins in a letter written by Leopold on 20 September 1782, now lost, which described *inter alia* the Archbishop of Salzburg's famous pastoral letter.¹⁰⁴ This letter, one of the central documents of Reform Catholicism, proposed a series of liturgical and musical reforms even more stringent than Joseph's, provoking the natural reaction that Colloredo was simply kowtowing to gain Imperial approval. Mozart, in his response to Leopold's report, evidently thought so too:

¹⁰³ Mozart did apparently leave a short note to Constanze on another occasion, although the text is known only from Nissen's biography (Undated note; *MBA*, iii.246). Mozart at his death did possess a 1679 Vulgate Bible from Cologne, but the origins of its acquisition are unknown.

¹⁰⁴ Reprinted in Hersche, *Aufgeklärte Reformkatholizismus*.

Daß die ohnöthigen bildereyen in den kirchen, die vielen opfertafeln, und instrumental=musique etc: |: was hier geschehen wird :| bey ihnen schon abgekommen sind – war mir etwas Neues. – da glaubt der <erzbischof> vermuthlich sich *dadurch* bey dem <kaiser> einzuschmeicheln; aber ich glaube schwerlich dass diese seine Politique von grossem nutzen seyn mag.¹⁰⁵

Mozart's use of "instrumental=musique" appears to conform to other uses of the term we have encountered throughout this chapter, implying not only instrumental pieces but also choral works accompanied by an ensemble. If this is true, then the mention of paintings, tablets, music, "etc." in one phrase may seem rather dismissive and indicative of little regard for the musical and liturgical tradition to which Mozart had contributed over the past decade. It is possible that Mozart did indeed feel that way about sacred music at that point in time. However, the fact that he had likely begun work on the C minor Mass by September 1782 suggests that the dismissive tone and references to "useless" paintings are meant sarcastically, as so often when Mozart mentioned Archbishop Colloredo.

A notable feature of this passage is Mozart's knowledge of reforms that were yet to be implemented in Vienna ("was hier geschehen wird"), and one must naturally wonder where he heard about them. In the same month that this letter was written, Joseph prepared his directive to Baron Kressel, setting out for the first time his views on church music, but none of this material was made public. Most paintings and votive tablets were indeed eventually banned, but not until February 1784.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that Mozart was referring to the ban of May 1782 on all "unnecessary" decoration in churches, but that directive had already passed and did not specify particular items in the same way that composer named them. We must consider the possibility that Mozart had "insider" knowledge through his various aristocratic contacts, and perhaps church contacts as well.

¹⁰⁵ *MBA*, iii.231.

¹⁰⁶ AVA A-Cultus 11 Gen 412/2/1784; *RGZJ*, 485.

One obvious place to start is with the Emperor himself. Any attempt by Joseph to reduce the prestige of sacred music conflicted with an aspect of Mozart's own profession, and Mozart repeatedly complained about the Emperor's stinginess.¹⁰⁷ There are several documented meetings of the two, among the most interesting of which for our purposes is the famous duel between Mozart and Clementi. At this occasion, Joseph's use of the term *La santa chiesa Catholica* to address Clementi, with his Roman origins, might be taken as an ironic comment on the Emperor's current difficulties with the Holy See in carrying out his reform program.¹⁰⁸ For his part, Mozart does not mention any conversation with Joseph on the subject of church music, and may have felt disinclined to discuss such a controversial subject to avoid offending such an important prospective employer. Yet the potential conflict between Mozart's support for Joseph's social policies and distrust of the Emperor's musical restrictions creates a most interesting dynamic for the religious works of the 1780s and 90s, and we shall be returning to this issue at several points in the following chapters.

A number of other Mozart patrons held influential positions in the reform of the church under Joseph II. The long-serving *Staatskanzler*, Prince Kaunitz, heard Mozart play at Laxenburg in July 1782, and if Mozart is to be believed, became most annoyed at the Emperor's failure to keep local talent.¹⁰⁹ As we have seen, Kaunitz was responsible for the extended justification of Joseph's reforms produced in response to the criticisms of the Papal Nuncio. The deputy *Staatskanzler*, Graf Cobenzl, was also associated with Mozart, and invited the composer several times to his estate in the Vienna Woods during 1781.¹¹⁰ When the Pope began organising for his trip to Vienna, it was Cobenzl who informed Mozart of some of the gossip surrounding the visit:

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., iii.201, iii.238.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., iii.193.

¹⁰⁹ *MBA*, iii.221. Mozart had earlier formed an acquaintance with Kaunitz' private secretary; *MBA*, iii.135.

¹¹⁰ See the commentary in *MBA*, vi.75.

Unterdessen will ich ihnen benachrichtigen, daß der Papst hieher kommen soll; davon ist die ganze Stadt voll. – ich glaube es aber nicht; denn, graf kobenzl hat mir gesagt daß der kayser diese visite nicht annehmen wird.¹¹¹

When the Pope arrived, ten weeks' later, Mozart's reported the event in a tone that could be a comment on the commotion stirred up by the visit, a dismissive reference to the man himself, or both:

Nun muß ich schliessen; nur noch, daß gestern Nachmittag um halb 4 uhr der Pabst hier angekommen ist - eine lustige Nachricht.¹¹²

There were, no doubt, many opportunities at the various social occasions frequented by Mozart to discuss Joseph's reforms with well-informed people, although the conversations are now lost to us. One of Mozart's earliest communications to Salzburg after his arrival in Vienna was a copy of private correspondence between Joseph and Kaunitz concerning portraits of the royal family, procured by Mme. Lamotte.¹¹³ In contrast to his easy access to members of the secular nobility and bourgeoisie, Mozart seems to have had little to do with senior church figures such as Migazzi, or members of the *Geistliches Hofkommission*. Given the professional areas in which Mozart was now promoting himself, the choice to cultivate primarily secular patrons was a natural decision.

With the introduction of the new *Gottesdienstordnung*, the lives of Vienna's church musicians changed dramatically. The decision of Joseph II to radically reduce the amount of paid work for singers and instrumentalists caused economic hardship in the short term, for there was no equivalent to the Religious Fund set up to compensate defrocked monks and nuns after the forced closure of their Houses. Mozart, in effect, had resigned from the

¹¹¹ *MBA*, iii.190.

¹¹² *MBA*, iii.199. This "lustige Nachricht" is followed by a "trauerige": the death of Frau von Auerhammer's husband.

¹¹³ *MBA*, iii.95-7.

Salzburg service at just the right moment to avoid the similar decline now beginning in the aftermath of Colloredo's 1782 pastoral letter.

The introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung*, as initially disruptive as it was, came as the last step in a logical progression of letters, directives, drafts and proclamations stretching back to the first months of Joseph's sole rule. Perhaps the most striking detail to emerge from these documents is the extraordinary consistency of the Emperor's vision, and the skill of the administrative machine in bringing it to fruition. As intractable as the Emperor could be in the face of criticism, the sense of moral righteousness one sees in his writings and actions was entirely genuine, spurred on by the "voice" that he described to Pius VI. What did prove problematic in the longer term for Joseph was his tendency to micro-manage trivial details and his belief that the issuance of a proclamation would immediately correct what he saw as errors.

For Joseph, ultimately, musical expenses in church were an "excess," the needless expenditure of financial resources on a fleeting aural experience that obscured the religious message and diverted funds away from more useful causes. The one area of church music that Joseph did approve was the singing of hymns, since their accompaniment required only a small expenditure, and the entire congregation became involved in singing. The Emperor seems not to have been concerned about the human impact of his reforms, for no consideration was given to potential loss of income in the documents associated with the new order of service. Joseph cannot fail to have been unaware of the consequences, since he designed the original structure of the order in September 1782, but if he gave the matter any thought he may have convinced himself that the musicians would find other employment. It should be noted, however, that the Emperor ultimately rejected the most radical proposals of the *Landesregierung* and his own *Hofkanzlei*, which had advocated the complete removal of

instrumentally accompanied music from church services. Despite the scale of Joseph's social experiment, in which all visual and aural aspects of the religious experience were to come under the control of a central authority, the retention of "high" church music on Sundays and feast days represents an important concession to the venerable music traditions of the Imperial capital.

TWO

Responses to the *Gottesdienstordnung*

*‘Was kümmern wir uns um die neue
Gottesdienstordnung – wir sind nicht
gleich den Wienern von der neuen Lehre.’*

Kritische Bemerkungen, 1787¹

*Kein so schlechtes Lied, das nicht immer
noch eine volle Kirche nachgesungen hätte.*

Johann Tauber von Taubenfurt, 1780²

I. VIENNESE SACRED MUSIC, 1783-91

The introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung* was awaited with trepidation in many quarters.

Writing on Holy Saturday 1783, the chronicler of the Ursuline convent described the mixed feelings of her colleagues on the eve of the new order:

So erfreulich als die Auferstehung unsers Erlösers, vor alle Menschen ist, so war doch, dieses Jahr bei uns dies gloreyche Fest, mit Freud und Traurigkeit vermengt, in dem damit der Schluß von allen unsern feierlichen Festen ist gemacht worden. Alle Klosterfrauen, besonders die Musicantinen haben, dabei nebmlich unter der Auferstehung bitterlich geweint...In allen diesen izigen Begebenheiten, ist nichts andersts zu thun, als den Willen und die Zulassung des Allerhöchsten anzubeten, und mit Demuth anzunehmen.³

It may have been similar anxieties that impeded a performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* the previous day. The composer Joseph Martin Kraus, visiting from Sweden, wrote in his diary, "Ich hörte bei den Barmherzigen Brüdern in der Leopoldstadt das bekannte Stabat mater

¹ KBZ, ii.272.

² Johann Tauber von Taubenfurt, *Über meine Violine* (Vienna: Kurzböck, 1780), 55.

³ Quoted in Christine Schneider, *Der Niedere Klerus im Josephinischen Wien: Zwischen Staatlicher Funktion und Seelsorgerischer Aufgabe*, vol. 33, *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte* (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1999), 113.

dolorosa von Haydn – aber hatte mir viel, viel mehr erwartet. Die Exekution war mittelmässig.”⁴

How justified were Viennese church musicians in fearing for their future? The existing literature has depicted the effects of the reforms in a strongly negative light, and the erroneous notion that Joseph II “banned” instrumentally-accompanied sacred music is still found in recent studies.⁵ Denis Arnold, for example, claims that “...Haydn and Mozart produced fine masses in the year before the abolition of elaborate church music by the Emperor Joseph II in 1783.”⁶ Christoph Wolff writes, “The reforms initiated by Joseph...imposed painful restrictions on concertante Latin church music in Austria, causing it to be in effect banned from 1783 on. For a time scarcely any new church music was written in Vienna, but after 1790 it was once again an attractive field for composers.”⁷ Less radical but equally incorrect accounts of the reforms have also appeared. Bruce MacIntyre claims that “from 1783 onwards instrumentally accompanied masses in Vienna were

⁴ Irmgard Leux-Henschen, ed., *Joseph Martin Kraus in Seinen Briefen* (Stockholm: Svenskt Musikhistoriskt Arkiv, 1978), 110.

⁵ Studies of the contemporary liturgical context and its relationship to Mozart include: Karl Gustav Fellerer, “Liturgische Grundlagen der Kirchenmusik Mozarts,” in *Festschrift Walter Senn zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ewald Fässler (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1975), 64-74, Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Die Kirchenmusik W.A. Mozarts* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985), 31-46, Konrad Küster, *Mozart: eine Musikalische Biographie* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1990), 234-57, Andreas Lindner, “Die Auswirkungen der Josephinischen Reformen auf die Musikpflege in den Oberösterreichischen Stiften,” in *Festschrift Leopold Kantner, Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2002), 313-31, Bruce C. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 43-4, Reinhard G. Pauly, “The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II,” *Musical Quarterly* 43 (1957): 372-82, Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, “Katholische Kirchenmusik im Spannungsfeld Zwischen Gottesdienst und Kunst im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution und des Vormärz,” in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bayreuth 1981*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mähling and Sigrid Wiesmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 234-41, Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, “Mozarts Kirchenmusik. Musikalische Tradition - Liturgische Funktion - Religiöse Aussage,” in *Mozarts Kirchenmusik*, ed. Harald Schützeichel (Freiburg i. Br.: Katholische Akademie der Erzdiözese Freiburg, 1992), 31-36, Walter Senn, “Das Angebliche Fugenverbot des Fürsterzbischofs von Salzburg Hieronimus Graf Colorado,” *Acta musicologica* 48 (1976): 205-27.

⁶ Denis Arnold and John Harper, “Mass (III),” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 29 November 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁷ Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 86-7.

restricted to only the Hofkapelle and St Stephen's Cathedral when the archbishop officiated."⁸ These misconceptions have their origins in an account by the Berlin critic Friedrich Nicolai of a visit to Vienna in 1781. Nicolai was not present in the city when the *Gottesdienstordnung* was introduced in 1783, and must have relied on second-hand reports when writing this passage:

Bey der neuen Anordnung des Gottesdienstes im Jahre 1783 ist die figurirte und Instrumentalmusik aus den Kirchen zu Wien ganz verbannet worden. Nur bloß in der Kaiserl. Hofkapelle werden noch Messen in Musik aufgeführt; und bey St. Stephan wird, wenn der Kardinal-Erbischoff pontificirt, noch musicirt, er muß aber die Musik besonders bezahlen.⁹

Nicolai's claim may be easily dismissed: there is no reference in the *Gottesdienstordnung* to such arrangements at the *Hofkapelle* or the Cathedral, and the passage was explicitly rejected by the Viennese demographer Ignaz de Luca in 1794:

Die Kirchenmusik sondert sich in die Choral- und Instrumentalmusik. Die Chormusik ist nur in den Kirchen in Uebung, wo Chor z. B. in der Metropolitankirche, und in den Mönchkirchen gehalten wird. Die Instrumentalmusik ist unter Josephs Regierung nicht erloschen, sondern nur beschränkt worden. Man hört sie alle Sonntage in Pfarrkirchen, in den übrigen Kirchen findet sie bey hohen Festen statt. Nicht bloß in der Metropolitankirche, sondern fast alle Pfarrkirchen haben ihre eigene Kapelle...Herr Nicolai ist sehr irrig daran, wenn er glaubt, daß der Kardinal Erzbischof, wenn er pontificirt, die Musik besonders bezahlen muß.¹⁰

The importance of de Luca's statement that *Instrumentalmusik* was not extinguished, merely restricted under Joseph can hardly be overestimated, and we shall see repeated confirmation of it in this dissertation. Although instrumental litanies and vespers mostly disappeared, the provision for instrumental masses on Sundays and feast days remained entirely unaffected.¹¹ Such eucharistic services were the focal point of the church week, and included the musical

⁸ Bruce C. Mac Intyre, "Religion and Liturgy," in *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, ed. Cliff Eisen and Simon Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 414.

⁹ Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise Durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, 12 vols. (Berlin and Stettin: n.p., 1783-96), iv.549-50.

¹⁰ Ignaz de Luca, *Topographie von Wien*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Thad. Edlen von Schmidbauer und Komp., 1794), i.381-82.

¹¹ The position of instrumental vespers is rather ambiguous. Although there was no provision for them in the *Gottesdienstordnung*, Joseph did grant permission for Migazzi to hold them as long as they were not supported by state subsidy, as we have seen in the previous chapter; see also *RGZJ*, 163n31. A 1786 setting of vespers by Johann Georg Spangler, *regens chori* at the *Michaelerkirche* will be discussed in the final chapter.

performance of the mass ordinary and additional items such as the offertory, gradual and motet. Many of the smaller and private chapels in the city did close, but the music-making there was invariably small-scale and of little interest to a composer like Mozart. The closure of the former chapel in the Trattnerhof was actually of benefit to Mozart: converted into a hall, it served as the venue for the composer's three subscription concerts of 1784.¹²

Clearly, a more nuanced approach to the problem of church music in 1780s Vienna is required, and an explanation of the post-1783 framework in which the music was heard is necessary. The *Gottesdienstordnung* in its original form stayed in force in Vienna until 1791, when Leopold II permitted a modest relaxation of its strictures. Outside Vienna, the policy initially varied according to the political orientation of the authorities, but in 1786 all of the *Erblanden* were ordered to adopt a service pattern closely based on the Viennese model.¹³ Churches were required to purchase the new service order and hymn texts, and a market sprang up for supplying these in various formats. In late 1783, an advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung* announced the availability of the local editions:

Im deutschen Zeitungskomtoir in der Singerstrasse Nr. 931 ist zu haben:

Directorium Romano Viennense, seu Ordo Missas celebrandi, & horas canonicas recitandi, juxta Ritum Missalis & Brevarii Romani, ac Proprii Viennensis, adjunctis etiam Festis ex Proprio Passaviensi. Pro Anno Domini 1784. 17 kr...

Neue Gottesdiensts- und Andachtsordnung für Wien in und vor der Stadt.

Normalmeßgesang, Litaneyen, und Gebether, wie selbe bey der neuen Gottesdiensteinrichtung zu allgemein Gebrauch vorgeschrieben worden.

– Beyde in verschiedenen Bänden und Preisen.

Ordnung und Lieder zusammen gebunden, mit und ohne Noten in allerley Einband.

Noten zum Meßgesange besonders.

Normalmeßgesang samt Predigtlied, 1 kr.

Normalmeßgesang besonders, 1 kr.

Normalmeßgesang samt Predigtlied mit Litaney und Gebeter im grössern Druck.¹⁴

¹² Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 197.

¹³ See *RGZJ*, 150-68.

¹⁴ *Wiener Zeitung* (1783): Nr. 101.

In addition to the *Gottesdienstordnung*, the hymnbook, and the annual *Directorium*, clergy and musicians had various missals, breviaries, antiphoners and Cardinal Migazzi's 1774 *Rituale Viennense* at their disposal.¹⁵ Occasionally Joseph issued additional decrees pertaining to sacred music, such as a curious order that monks should refrain from chanting too loudly in order to protect their health.¹⁶ Such decrees were distributed to churches and regularly collected in anthologies.

Any consideration of church music in Vienna during Mozart's time must begin with a series of reports and catalogues compiled in 1783 and admirably addressed in an article by Otto Biba.¹⁷ The production of the documents was prompted by a letter from Karl Frieberth, the *regens chori* at many Viennese churches, to Joseph II, written a month after the introduction of the new service order. Frieberth, writing anonymously on behalf of Vienna's church musicians, outlined the emotional and financial distress caused by the regulations and begged Joseph to restore the former pay arrangements; see Figure 2.1. In response, the *Landesregierung* was ordered to investigate the truth of Frieberth's claims and formulate a reply. On 21 June, the *Landesregierung* ordered that all churches in the city should provide an account of their sacred music arrangements, listing names, positions and rates of pay both before and after the introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung*. The responses of the various churches are mostly extant, and they provide a fascinating glimpse into a musical world that is otherwise little-documented and still less studied. Figure 2.2 shows part of the submission by the *Michaelerkirche*, a page of particular interest because it lists the musicians employed for funerals and obsequies at St. Michael's. Eight years later, it would be this ensemble that

¹⁵ *Rituale Viennense ad Usum Romanum Accomodatum, Autoritate et Jussu... Cardinalis... Christophori e Comitibus Migazzi...* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1774).

¹⁶ Albrecht Huber, *Sammlung der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Landesfürstlichen Gesetze und Verordnungen in Publico-Ecclesiasticis*, 5 vols. (Vienna: Trattner, 1782-88), v.34. For a contemporary satire on chant singing in Vienna, see Joseph Richter, *Bildergalerie Klösterlicher Misbräuche* ([Vienna]: n. p., 1784), 122-25.

¹⁷ *Biba*1783. See, however, *RGZJ*, 479n34.

C. N. 477. 180. de 1783. 1997.
 Euer Majestät!
 Die pämtlichen Mitglieder der Kreiscommuniß der pömlischen Fortkünstler
 legen sich Euer Majestät zu Füßen, mit wiederholter inderhöchster Bitte
 ihrer flehentlichsten Vorstellung eine gnädigste Aufmerksamkeitz zu erlangen.
 Euer Majestät haben zu Beförderung einiger sehr samten Absichten
 die Realpforte betroschend den Müpikalischen Gottesdienst auf das allernützlichste
 dem - und freyortägliche Hochamt einzuschränken beschloffen, und zwar nur
 in demen Pfarren, wo sonst eine ordentliche Müpik war.
 Gnädigster Monarch! der Jammer ist nicht zu beschreiben, in welchen sich
 solche Kirchenbesitzer, und fast schon bis zur Verzweiflung gedruckte Fort-
 künstler befinden; indeme ihnen meistens nur eine - jedoch nicht aber gar
 keine Kirchenbedienstung mehr übrig bleibt.
 Dießes fland wird hier den Umständen nach mehr dazugefügt. In in einigen Kir-
 chen, wo Müpik wird, wie z. B. der Mufanten, Völkern etc. die stärkste,
 und beträchtlichsten Bezahlungen - in jenen, wo nicht mehr Müpik
 wird z. B. der Academißchen etc. gar alle Bezahlungen zurückgezogen
 worden, welche doch wirkliche Müpikstiftungen sind: die dinstags Kirchen gläubigen,
 das, wenn Kreiscommuniß nicht die allerhöchste Befehlshabung mittelst, obhuldigkeitz-
 zahlungen / die kleinste gefaltete den adelichen Geldern monatlich in den Pfarren
 auszugeben / nicht folgen lassen zu sollen, und zwar schon mit Ostern Pomtag angefangen.
 1997. pres. d. 21. in May 1783.

Figure 2.1. Opening of Friberth's petition to Joseph II. St. Pölten, NÖLA, C Norm 477/1783.

provided obsequies for Mozart and allegedly premiered part of the Requiem, as we shall see in the final chapter.

The voluminous financial information in the 46 submissions was compiled into a 96-page summary by the *Hofbuchhaltere*y, and presented to Joseph together with recommendations by the *Landesregierung* on 4 January 1784. The *Regierung* opined that, since the funds previously allocated to music had been reassigned, there was nothing that could be done. Joseph agreed, and ordered a response sent stating that financial expenditure on church music was entirely at the discretion of the individual churches. Based on the *Hofbuchhaltere*y's calculations, the total yearly expenditure on church music in Vienna was to decline from 27944fl 42xr to 14030fl 42¼xr, a reduction of nearly 50%.¹⁸ These cuts, while severe, need to be put in context. Firstly, the *Hofbuchhaltere*y's figures relied entirely on the individual churches' own estimates, estimates that were taken at a time when the employment situation was very much in flux. Secondly, the figures do not take into account the abolition of the *Bruderschaften* in late 1783, a development that again altered the landscape due to the brotherhoods' former prominence in sacred music. Thirdly, two of the most important ensembles in the city, those of the *Hofkapelle* and St. Stephen's Cathedral, were not included in the study since they were under the direct supervision of Joseph II and the Vienna city council respectively. Fourthly, the summary figures mask the individual circumstances of each church, and the relative reductions could vary based on the extent of the various music programs and their sources of support. Amongst the hardest hit was the program at St. Michael's, whose support declined 43% from 2554fl 18xr to 1456fl 11xr, while at the other end of the scale the Carmelite church (St. Joseph) reduced its payments only 20% from 950fl 25xr to 760fl.¹⁹ Finally, while a number of smaller chapels and non-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15, 51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

parish churches did close, as we have noted, virtually all of the musicians who formerly played in them held multiple posts, allowing many to retain a reduced rather than eliminated income. All this might go some way to explaining why no further protests against the musical provisions of the *Gottesdienstordnung* are known after the rejection of Frieberth's petition in January 1784. In the lively musical economy of Vienna in the 1780s, many musicians no doubt obtained work outside church environments. Some may have abandoned the profession entirely: a former *Kirchen-Musikus* called Georg Greiner applied in September 1783 for permission to open a cheesemonger's shop (*Käfsstechergewerb*) on the Landstrasse.²⁰

Perhaps the most intriguing prospect in the post-1783 environment is the possibility that the restrictions of the *Gottesdienstordnung* were simply ignored in practice. Evidence for this comes not only from musical sources but also from the contemporary religious literature. Joseph II's partial relaxation of censorship laws in 1781 had allowed Vienna to become one of the Empire's great publishing centres, and an enormous number of books, journals, newspapers and pamphlets on every subject appeared in the city during Mozart's lifetime.²¹ Reform-minded commentators soon produced critiques of sacred music, following a well-worn path of indignation against the "theatrical" nature of the service, the disturbing noise of trumpets and drums and the tendency of congregations to become distracted by the sounds emanating from the organ gallery. The most well-known of these critiques are the anonymous pamphlet *Über die Kirchenmusik in Wien*, which appeared in the first half of 1781, and a chapter in Joseph Richter's *Bildergalerie Katholischer Misbräuche* from 1784.²²

²⁰ A-Wsa, Alte Registratur, A2/106 (13 September 1783).

²¹ See Leslie Bodi, *Tauwetter in Wien: Zur Prosa der Österreichischen Aufklärung, 1781-1795* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 43-57.

²² Anon., *Ueber die Kirchenmusik in Wien* (Vienna: Sebastian Hartl, 1781), Joseph Richter, *Bildergalerie Katholischer Misbräuche* ([Vienna]: n. p., 1784), 63-70. A review of the former appeared in *Die Wiener-Wochenschrift*, Nr. 15 (22 June 1781), and a translation is available in Jane Schatkin Hettrick, "Colorful Comments on Church Music in Vienna around 1780," *The American Organist* 34 (2000): 77-81. Other contemporary accounts of Viennese sacred music include: Anon., *Die Bürgersmädchen* (Vienna: Kurzbeck,

More celebrated than Richter's text is the accompanying satirical engraving depicting the performance of a *Stabat mater*, now available in a number of modern studies.²³ Printed defences of concerted sacred music are very rare: the only extended justification of which I am aware is a long response by Patrizius Fast, *Chormeister* at St. Stephen's Cathedral, to an attack on the genre by the jurist and professor Josef von Weissenegg.²⁴ Fast was a leading reactionary against Imperial attempts at religious reform, and his rejoinder compared church music to an ornate garden filled with flowers and fruit trees in its capacity to awaken a love of the Creator.

In addition to the individually published items, a number of religious periodicals were active in the city. Their primary focus was not musical and all were Josephinian in orientation, but once this is borne in mind they become a useful source for the state of sacred music in Vienna and beyond. The two leading journals, Marc Anton Wittola's *Wienerische Kirchenzeitung* and Leopold A. Hoffmann's twice-renamed *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien* both carried a mixture of religious news, opinion pieces on doctrinal questions and, particularly in the latter, a large number of *Predigtkritiken*. These anonymous articles were effectively reviews of recent church services, critiquing the content

1781), 16-17, Anon., *Ueber die Abschaffung der Weihnachtmetten und Veränderung in eine Tagandacht...* (Vienna: n. p., 1781), 4-13, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, ed., *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1784* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1783; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974), 188-89, Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise Durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, iv.544-52, Gustav Gugitz and Anton Schlossar, eds., *Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien* (Graz: Leykam-Verlag, 1923), 281-82, Anon., "Ueber den Stand der Musik in Wien," in *Wiener Theater Almanach für das Jahr 1794* (Vienna: Kurzbeck, 1794), 177-79, Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, ed. Otto Biba (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1976), 97-8.

²³ Among others, Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), John A. Rice, "Vienna under Joseph II and Leopold II," in *Man and Music: The Classical Era*, ed. Neal Zaslaw (London: Macmillan, 1989), 126-65, Daniel Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740-1780* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995). The caption in the first-cited mistakenly describes the engraving as Richter's frontispiece.

²⁴ Josef Maria Weisssegger von Weissenegg, *Beiträge zur Schilderung Wiens*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Kurzbeck, 1781), 78-85, Patrizius Fast, *Katholischer Unterricht und Erörterung aller Zweifel, welche in den Beyträgen zur Schilderung Wiens aufgeworfen werden* (Vienna: Erzbischöfliche Cur, 1781), ix.31-32, x.3-15. The anonymous *Über die Kirchenmusik in Wien* refers to Weissenegg's book.

and delivery of the sermon and offering opinion on anything else the writer wished to note, including music.²⁵ The political orientation of the journals meant that the contributors were particularly attuned to what they termed *Misbräuche* – in other words, any departure from the *Gottesdienstordnung* – and the reviews therefore provide valuable evidence of the extent to which the musical restrictions were obeyed or disobeyed in practice. The typical style and sense of indignation is well-captured in a 1787 review from the parish church of Barzdorf in Silesia:

“Was kümmern wir uns um die neue Gottesdienstordnung – wir sind nicht gleich den Wienern von der neuen Lehre” – so sagte man uns, als wir unsere Verwunderung darüber bezeugten: daß in der Pfarrkirche dieses Ortes trotz dem k. k. Verbothe zwei – auch drei Messen zugleich gelesen werden; – daß öfters anstatt des vorgeschriebenen Meßliedes die lauretanische Litanei gesungen wird; von jenem aber, wenn wir es auch zuweilen anstimmen hörten, nie mehr als einige Strophen und zwar ohne Begleitung des Volkes, das unterdessen im Kochemischen Himmelschlüssel²⁶ bethet, gesungen werden; – daß an Sonntagen das Hochamt mit Instrumentalmusik gehalten wird.²⁷

In the following chapters we shall encounter much evidence from the religious journals to suggest that the restrictions of the *Gottesdienstordnung* were often ignored in Vienna.

The most fundamental measure of the viability of church music in the 1780s is, of course, the number of newly written sacred works, for it is difficult to imagine why a composer would undertake such tasks without at least the possibility of performance. It is commonplace in the literature to cite Haydn’s apparent silence in the genre from 1782 to 1796 and Mozart’s from 1783 to 1791 as evidence for the negative impact of Joseph’s reforms, but the argument is not really valid. Firstly, it is unwise to take the experience of just two composers as indicative of a wider phenomenon – especially two composers whose

²⁵ On the *Wochentliche Wahrheiten*, see Bernhard M. Hoppe, *Predigtkritik im Josephinismus: die "Wöchentlichen Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien" (1782-1784)*, vol. 2, *Studien zur Theologie und Geschichte* (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1989).

²⁶ The reference is to *Der goldene Himmelschlüssel*, a popular prayerbook of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries compiled by P. Martin von Cochem (1634-1712).

²⁷ *KBZ*, ii.272-73. “Barzdorf” may be Bernartice u Javorníka, a town in the Czech Republic on the Polish border. According to the 1786 *Gottesdienstordnung*, instrumental masses were not permitted in small communities such as Barzdorf.

conditions of employment differed significantly during the 1780s. Secondly, the claim that Mozart did not engage in sacred music between the C minor Mass and *Ave verum* is factually incorrect, as we shall see in the following chapters. Finally, this kind of *post hoc* reasoning is dangerous as long as other potential explanations for the alleged compositional silence are ignored. Daniel Hertz writes that it “may have been mainly a coincidence that Haydn and Mozart wrote no concerted church music from 1783 to the end of the decade.”²⁸ Perhaps the most significant impact of the *Gottesdienstordnung* was not the imposition of any practical barrier to the performance of new sacred music, but rather the creation of an official climate of disapproval. In this context, the response of composers was to vary as Joseph’s popularity and influence declined and new employment opportunities became available.²⁹

Table 2.1 is an attempt to list all sacred works encountered during research for this dissertation that appear to have been written in Vienna during the decade 1781 to 1791.³⁰ The task of compiling such a list is hindered by the large-scale loss of autographs and the widely scattered nature of the sources, and it is certain that the table documents only a portion of the sacred music written in that decade. The table will however go some way towards revising the common opinion that “hardly any church music was written in Vienna.” The decade from 1781 to 1791 is marked at one extreme by Joseph II’s accession to sole rule and at the other by the first attempts of Leopold II to lessen the strictures of the *Gottesdienstordnung*. The decade also coincides, of course, with Mozart’s residence in the city, and the table provides a much-needed context for the major sacred works of the

²⁸ Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School*, 21.

²⁹ For a reevaluation of Mozart’s place in the Viennese church music scene, see Otto Biba, “Mozarts Wiener Kirchenmusikkompositionen,” in *Internationaler Musikwissenschaftlicher Kongress zum Mozartjahr 1991*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Tutzing: Schneider, 1993), 43-55.

³⁰ For the purposes of this dissertation the list is limited to liturgical sacred music, omitting works that were clearly intended for concert use such as Mozart’s *Davide penitente*. Joseph Haydn is included on account of the wide dissemination of his music in Vienna and his role in the traditional if debatable concept of a “Viennese Classical style.”

Table 2.1. Sacred Music Written in Vienna, 1781-91.

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
Albrechtsberger, Johann Georg (1736-1809)			
<i>Masses</i>			
Missa dei Patris	A.I.10	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.454*	1781
Missa in D	A.I.11	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.440*, A-WIL No. 5*	30 October 1783
Missa Sancti Augustini	A.I.17	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.493*	5 August 1784
Missa Praesentationis BVM	A.I.23	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.270*	25 November 1784
Missa Desponsationis BVM	A.I.25	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.451*	August 1785
Missa Visitationis BVM	A.I.20	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.485*	13 May 1786
Missa Solennis	A.I.12	A-GÖ, s.s.*, A-HE, Ia No. 2*	4 July 1788
Missa Sancti Leopoldi	A.II.1	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.484*	?1780s
Missa pro hebdomada sancta	A.II.5	A-HE, Ia nr. 13*	?1785-90
Missa in E \flat	A.II.4	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 39130*	?1780s
<i>Graduals</i>			
Adorabo ad templum sanctum	B.I.11	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.280*	22 April 1781
Sancti festa celebremus	B.I.12	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.297*	26 May 1781
Fac nos innocuam	B.I.14	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.259*, A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 1096*	6 May 1783

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>(Albrechtsberger, continued)</i>			
Posuisti domine	B.I.1	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.463*	18 May 1783
Veni sancte spiritus	B.I.26	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.272*	4 June 1783
Benedictus es domine	B.I.31	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.274*	7 June 1783
De quacumque tribulatione	B.I.17	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.461*	18 June 1783
Constitues eos principes	B.I.2	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.420*	25 June 1783
Protector noster	B.I.28	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.460*	10 July 1783
Venite filii audite me	B.I.30	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.298*	24 July 1783
Os justi meditabitur	B.I.18	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.292*	25 August 1783
Liberasti nos Domine	B.I.35	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.431*	20 November 1783
Dilexisti justitiam	B.I.13	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.291*	1783
Commovisti domine	B.I.32	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.458*	20 February 1784
Pascha nostrum immolatus	B.I.3	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.290*	10 April 1784
Omnes Deo Salvatori	B.I.4	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.296*	21 December 1784
Exsurge domine	B.I.25	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.457*	23 February 1785
Laetatus sum	B.I.27	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.278*	2 March 1785
Benedicam dominum	B.I.33	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.462*	8 July 1785
Vias tuas Domine	B.I.5	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.455*	10 September 1785
Qui operatus est	B.II.18	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.573*	1783-5
Angelus suis Deus mandavit	B.I.19	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.459*	23 February 1787
O quam suavis	B.I.15	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.456*	1787
Tenuisti manum	B.I.21	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.277*	27 March 1790
Si observaveris	J.13	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 39027*	1791

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>(Albrechtsberger, continued)</i>			
<i>Offertories</i>			
Benedictus sit deus pater	C.I.2	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.261*	11 June 1783
Justus et palma florebit	C.I.16	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.418*	1783
In te domine speravi	C.II.12	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.254*, A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 39028*	1783
Meditabor in mandatis tuis	C.I.30	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.467*	3 March 1784
Dextera domini	C.I.9	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.419*	26 August 1784
Diffusa est gratia	C.I.17	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.468*	9 November 1784
Scapulis suis	C.I.28	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.467*	1784
Justitiae domini	C.I.18	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.457*	24 February 1785
Laudate dominum	C.I.23	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.246*	1 March 1785
Si ambulavero	C.I.19	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.469*	10 June 1785
Domine in auxilium	C.I.21	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.443*	18 July 1785
Sperent in te omnes	C.I.14	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.470*	19 October 1785
<i>Antiphons</i>			
Regina coeli	F.I.15	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.445*	13 April 1782
Regina coeli	F.I.23	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.446*	26 April 1782
Alma redemptoris mater	F.I.20	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.603/1*	5 September 1783
Alma redemptoris mater	F.I.16	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.603/2*	6 December 1783
Ave regina	F.I.5	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.492*	28 January 1784

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>(Albrechtsberger, continued)</i>			
Ave regina	F.I.10	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.492*	28 January 1784
Regina coeli	F.I.24	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.410*	1784
<i>Litanies</i>			
Litaniae de SS. Nomine Jesu	J.8	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2.444*	1782
Bonno, Giuseppe (1711-88)			
On the possibility that Bonno's numerous works for the <i>Hofkapelle</i> date from the 1780s, see Chapter Three			
Eybler, Joseph (1765-1846)			
Missa Sancti Hermani	HV 1	A-Ws, 701/710*	1781
Veni Sancte Spiritus	<i>deest</i>	A-Ws, 701/710*	1781
Numen aeternum	<i>deest</i>	A-Ws, 701/710*	1781
Ferrarese, Adriana (del Bene, 1759-after 1803)			
Motet		lost; cited in inventory of Italian Congregation	c. 1788-90

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
Frauenberger, Ernest (1769-1840)			
Missa in C		A-KR, H 133/37*	1791
Friberth, Karl (1736-1816)			
Missa		unidentified; cited in A-Wgm, 10907/139	1789
Motet		unidentified; cited in A-Wgm, 10907/139	1789
Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von (1714-87)			
De Profundis		A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17325	?c. 1787
Habegger, Johann Baptist (d. 1795)			
Te Deum in C		H-Bb, 47144, A-VOR, 457	1782
Haydn, Joseph (1732-1809)			
Missa in C "Mariazeller"	XXII:8	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. J. Haydn 58*	1782
Libera me, domine	XXIIIb:1	A-Ed*	?c.1777-90

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
Henneberg, Johann Baptist (1768-1822)			
Ad te domine levavi		A-Ws, B3/169*	c. 1790
Regina coeli		A-Ws, C3/29	c. 1790
Lickl, Johann Georg (1769-1843)			
Missa in C		A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 42534	?1783
Mombelli, Domenico (1751-1835) and Luisa (Laschi, 1760s-c. 1790)			
Motet		lost; cited in inventory of Italian Congregation	c. 1788-90
Duet		lost; cited in inventory of Italian Congregation	c. 1788-90
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadé (1756-91)			
Missa in C minor	K. 427	D-B, Mus. Ms. Autogr. W. A. Mozart KV 427*	1782-83
Kyrie in G	K. 196a	A-Sm*	?1787-89
Gloria in C	K. 323a	D-B, Mus. Ms. Autogr. W. A. Mozart Anh. 20*	?1787-89
Kyrie in D	K. 422a	A-Sm*	?1787-89
Kyrie in C	K. 258a	A-Sm*	?1789-91
Kyrie in C	K. 323	A-Sm*	?1790-91

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>(Mozart, continued)</i>			
Ave verum corpus	K. 618	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18975*	1791
Requiem in D minor	K. 626	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17561*	1791
Müller, Wenzel (1759-1835)			
“Große Messe” for Servitenkirche		unidentified; cited in Allg. Theaterz. 28 (1835): 642	?c. 1786
Pasterwitz, Georg von (1730-1803)			
Magnificat in C		A-KR, Part. schr.*	c. 1785-90
Magnificat in B \flat		A-KR, Part. schr.*	c. 1785-90
Missa in C minor	Messen 2	A-KR, Part. schr.*; A 2/9*	c. 1788-90
Missa Coelestini	Messen 3	A-KR, Part. schr.*; A 2/10*	1766, rev. c. 1790
Qui seminant in lacrimis	Einlagen 128	A-KR, D 4/196*	1790
Dolorosa et lacrimabilis	Einlagen 90	A-KR, D 4/196*	1790
Requiem in C minor	Messen 11	A-KR, Part. schr.*; D 45/40*	c. 1790
Te Deum in C		A-KR, F 17/31	1790-91
Missa in C	Messen 4	A-KR, Part. schr.*; A 2/12*	c. 1791
Angelis suis	Einlagen 17	A-KR, C 54/70	1791
Deus meus	Einlagen 108	A-KR, Part. schr.*; D 30/487	1791
Intonuit dominus	Einlagen 87	A-KR, D 30/485*	1791
Justitae domini	Einlagen 23	A-KR, D 14/44*	1791

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>(Pasterwitz, continued)</i>			
Meditabor in mandatis	Einlagen 20	A-KR, D 14/43, D-B, Mus. Ms. Aut. Pasterwitz 1*	1791
Scapulis suis	Einlagen 18	A-KR, D 14/42, D-B, Mus. Ms. Aut. Pasterwitz 2*	1791
Sederunt principes	Einlagen 8	A-KR, C 53/49	1791
Super flumina Babylonis	Einlagen 75	A-KR, D 14/61*	1791
Tribulationes cordis	Einlagen 19	A-KR, C 54/71	1791
Exsurge domine	Einlagen 22	?A-KR, CZ-Pnm, XLVI B 374 ^a	1791
Vesperae pro Defunctis		A-KR, Part. schr. *, E 23/117	1791
Rieder, Ambros (1771-1855)			
Missa in D	II/1	?A-HA, 46	1784
“mehrere kleine Motetten”		unidentified; cited in A-Wgm biography	c. 1784
Vexilla regis	II/2	A-HE, IV d 5*	1789
Missa in B \flat	II/3	unidentified; cited in A-Wgm biography	1790
Salieri, Antonio (1750-1825)			
Missa in D	N. 2	A-Wn, HK 484*	?1788
Te Deum “Coronation”	N. 64	A-Wn, HK 491*	1790
Mater Jesu in hora mortis	<i>deest</i>	D-Po, Salieri 1	?1790

^a Kaas apparently saw a source for the work in A-KR and gives the date 1791, but no such manuscript is listed in RISM. The copy in CZ-Pnm (from Kloster Strahov) is also dated 1791.

<i>Work</i>	<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Principal Source(s); *=autograph</i>	<i>Date</i>
Spangler, Johann Georg (1752-1802)			
Vesperae de Confessore		D-B, Ms. Mus. Autogr. G. Spangler 2*	1786
Dies sanctificatis illuxunt nobis		A-Wgm, I 8252*	1787
Salve numinis amator		A-Wgm, III 1459/Q 20857	?1780s
Süssmayr, Franz Xaver (1766-1803)			
Alleluja	SmWV 127	H-Bn, Ms. Mus. IV.10*	c. 1789-91
Teyber, Anton (1756-1822)			
Salve Regina		A-Wgm, I 8495	?1780s
Weigl, Joseph (1766-1846)			
Missa in E \flat	G. 1	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 19409*	22 November 1783
Missa in F	G. 2	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 19408*	6 April 1784
Offertorium S. Francisci Seraphici	G. 18	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 19410*	?c. 1783

composer's maturity. The C minor Mass and the Requiem are indeed exceptional in terms of their artistic achievement and the circumstances of their composition, but an awareness of the sacred music written alongside Mozart's will help to confirm the viability of the genre at this time and dispel the mystique surrounding the Requiem in particular.

Many of the works listed in the table and the basis for their dating will be discussed in future chapters, but it is sufficient to begin here with the remarkable productivity of Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, *regens chori* at the former Carmelite church in Leopoldstadt.³¹ Far from serving as a hindrance, the new *Gottesdienstordnung* seems to have inspired Albrechtsberger to begin an ambitious series of offertories and graduals for various feasts of the church year. The survival of a large number of autographs and the composer's habit of meticulously dating many of his scores allows us to chart Albrechtsberger's progress in some detail. Beginning with *Fac nos innocuam*, a gradual in honour of the church's new patron saint St. Joseph, Albrechtsberger completed over 30 mass propers between 1783 and 1785 before scaling back production; see Figure 2.3.³² In addition, Albrechtsberger wrote at least six masses between 1783 and 1788, beginning with two *brevis* settings in 1783-84, continuing with three masses for Marian feasts and finishing with a large-scale *Missa solemnis*. In addition to his duties at St. Joseph, Albrechtsberger served as second organist in the *Hofkapelle* from 1772, but there is scant evidence that his sacred music was heard in the court chapel until he advanced to the position of first organist in 1791.³³

³¹ On Albrechtsberger's biography, see Dorothea Schröder, *Die Geistlichen Vokalkompositionen Johann Georg Albrechtsbergers*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K.D. Wagner, 1987), i.1-52.

³² It is not clear why Albrechtsberger changed the designation of the piece from gradual to offertory in the autograph.

³³ The earliest sources from the *Hofkapelle* for Albrechtsberger's music are sets of parts for the Magnificat in D E.I.2 and the *Missa Desponsationis* A.I.25 in A-Wn, HK 6 (c. 1780) and HK 1 (c. 1790) respectively. Many further works by Albrechtsberger entered the repertoire of the *Hofkapelle* in the 1790s.

The recovery of several autographs from the collection of Louis Dité allows us to refine a number of details in Dorothea Schröder's thematic catalogue of Albrechtsberger's sacred music.³⁴ Notably, the gradual *Si observaveris* J.13, incorrectly described by Schröder as a motet, can now be dated to 1791 on the basis of a partially autograph set of parts bearing performance dates from that year to 1801; see Figure 2.4. It is possible that the parts were used at the *Hofkapelle* or St. Stephen's Cathedral, where Albrechtsberger succeeded Mozart as adjunct *Kapellmeister* in December 1791.³⁵ The Mass in E flat A.II.4, previously known only in copies, survives in an autograph set of parts that also appears to date from this time.³⁶

Albrechtsberger's increased production of mass propers may be related to an interesting decision taken by the Carmelite authorities in 1783. As Mathias Eisterer explained in his history of the monastery,

Mit allerhöchster Verordnung vom 21. April 1783...wurden sämtliche Stiftungen bei der Karmeliterkirche, welche sich auf Novenen, Litaneien, Rosenkränze, Bruderschaften u. dgl. Bezogen, für aufgehoben erklärt. Hierauf beschlossen die Karmeliten, vom Ertrage der betreffenden Stiftungskapitalien von nun an alle Sonn- und Feiertage das Hochamt musikalisch zu halten, während vordem nur die Bruderschaftsandachten musikalisch gehalten, dagegen die Ämter an Sonn- und Feiertagen nach Ordensvorschrift choraliter gesungen wurden. Die gestifteten musikalischen und gesungenen Litaneien, Vespere u. s. w. wurden nicht mehr gehalten, sondern bloß die stillen Messen gelesen.³⁷

In other words, Joseph's financial restrictions caused an *increase* in the amount of sacred music heard at his namesake's church every Sunday and feastday. Although instrumental litanies and vespers were generally no longer heard, the performance of instrumental masses on those days was entirely consistent with the *Gottesdienstordnung* and the new parochial

³⁴ On the Dité collection, see the following chapter.

³⁵ The offertory is designated for St. Leopold (15 November), and the first performance date on the parts is 15 November 1791. The second date, 26 December 1791, corresponds to St. Stephen; it is possible that the parts were used at St. Stephen's Cathedral that day, two weeks after Albrechtsberger succeeded Mozart. The paper is very likely contemporary to the performance dates: the principal watermark is similar to Duda FV-1 and FV-2, found in Süßmayr manuscripts from 1792-94.

³⁶ The parts are incomplete: only Violino Primo, two copies of the Soprano and an Alto part now survive. The watermark is Tyson 62, found with various staff rulings in works by Mozart from 1782 to 1791.

³⁷ Quoted in Karl Pfannhauser, ed., *Johann Georg Albrechtsberger: Messe in Es-Dur (Missa Sancti Josephi)*, vol. 8, *Österreichische Kirchenmusik* (Vienna: Doblinger, 1951).

Organo. *Graduale.*

And:

Si observaveris.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for organ, titled "Organo. Graduale." and "Si observaveris." The score is written on ten staves in G major and 4/4 time. It features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The notation includes many accidentals (sharps and naturals) and dynamic markings such as "6", "5", "4", and "3". A "Solo" marking appears on the third staff. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a fermata.

Figure 2.4. Autograph *Organo* part for Albrechtsberger's gradual *Si observaveris*, 1791. A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 39027.

status of the church. Albrechtsberger's series of mass propers suited the revised performance schedule very well.

Albrechtsberger's good relations with Mozart are well-attested. Leopold reported Albrechtsberger giving the eleven-year-old the opportunity to play the organ at Stift Melk in 1767.³⁸ Stadler in his autobiography recalled Mozart improvising on a theme provided by Albrechtsberger, clearing any doubt in the latter's mind that Mozart was capable of remarkable feats in this arena.³⁹ Mozart, writing to Constanze from Dresden in April 1789, commented unfavourably on the Erfurt organist Johann Wilhelm Hässler: "er [hat] nur Harmonie und Modulationen vom alten Sebastian Bach auswendig gelernt, und ist nicht im Stande eine fuge ordentlich auszuführen – und hat kein solides Spiel – ist folglich noch lange kein Albrechtsberger."⁴⁰ Mozart owned a copy of a set of organ fugues by Albrechtsberger,⁴¹ and apparently endorsed him for the position of adjunct *Kapellmeister* at St. Stephen's Cathedral, as we shall see in Chapter Four. Perhaps the most interesting encounter between the two composers occurred in 1788, when Albrechtsberger tested a newly completed organ by Franz Xaver Chrismann at the church of St. Laurenz am Schottenfeld. According to an account of the occasion by Ludwig Kraus, the priest at St. Laurenz nearly four decades later, the examination took place before an audience, and Mozart was jointly responsible for the evaluation of the instrument:

Der große Organist Albrechtsberger spielte sie in Gegenwart des unsterblichen Mozart zuerst an einem Nachmittage vor einer zahlreichen, kunstverständigen Versammlung, wie dieses die noch vorhandenen damals im Drucke deßhalb erschienenen Musik-Stücke beweisen, und Beyder einstimmiges Urtheil fiel dahin aus: "Diese Orgel behaupte unter allen Orgeln Wiens den ersten

³⁸ *MBA*, i.238.

³⁹ Otto Biba, "Nachrichten über Joseph Haydn, Michael Haydn und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in der Sammlung Handschriftlicher Biographien der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien," in *Studies in Music History Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 162.

⁴⁰ *MBA*, iv.83.

⁴¹ Ulrich Konrad and Martin Staehelin, *Allzeit Ein Buch: die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts*, vol. 66, *Ausstellungskatalog der Herzog August Bibliothek* (Weinheim: VCH Acta humaniora, 1991), 89-90.

Platz, theils des überaus leichten Spieles und der besonders lieblichen Töne, theils der eigenen, vor der bisher gewöhnlichen ganz abweichenden Struktur wegen, da z.B. ein sieben-jähriger Knabe mittels eines einzigen, leicht beweglichen Hebels den Wind in die Orgel treiben kann u.s.w.⁴²

Kraus was not the parish priest in 1788, and there seems to be no earlier evidence that Mozart was in attendance. Nevertheless, the program for the examination survived into the nineteenth century, and was cited by the *Signale für die musikalische Welt* in 1869. In its mixture of original works and arrangements from a wide timespan, Albrechtsberger's selection of repertoire strikes a distinctly modern note:

Das erwähnte Programm nennt als "Clavierstücke, die man Personen vom Stande, oder sonst von einem Ansehen, auf der Schottenfelder Pfarrorgel (unentgeltlich wie es sich von selbst versteht) spielen wird; "Mit Begleitung der Register etc. – Aufgeführt wurde: "Ein Zusammengetragenes." Allegro von der Sinfonie Laudon; Andante von einem Anonymen; Finale. Wird extemporiert mit der völligen Orgel über ut re mi fa so la. Man hat dabei eine confuse Nachahmung von verschiedenen Instrumenten, und fast wie von einem Gesange." Sonaten von Bach, Albrechtsberger und Haydn; Fuge a 3 von Bach; Variazioni von Haydn. Zum Beschluß eine Sinfonie von Gasman.⁴³

It is impossible to know if such meetings between Mozart and Albrechtsberger are indicative of regular contact. We can be sure however that the two composers engaged in "shop talk" when they did meet, and these exchanges would have informed Mozart of the latest developments in sacred music from the perspective of a leading practitioner.

Several Viennese composers of Mozart's generation were active at least fitfully in sacred music. Albrechtsberger's student Joseph Weigl produced two masses in 1783-84 during his apprenticeship at the *Burgtheater* under Salieri.⁴⁴ The first is set on a particularly large scale, featuring four trumpets, an independent viola part and an *Agnus dei* in the rare key of E-flat minor. The multi-movement offertory *Francisce pauper humilis* is undated in its

⁴² Ludwig Kraus, *Die Pfarre und Kirche St. Laurenz im Schottenfelde* (Vienna: Anton Strauß, 1826), 9.

⁴³ Quoted in Karl Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau in der Zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 35, *Dissertationen der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Verlag Notring, 1969), 93.

⁴⁴ Most of Weigl's church music was written in the 1820s and 30s as part of his duties at court; see Franz Grasberger, "Joseph Weigl (1766-1846). Leben und Werk mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kirchenmusik" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1938).

autograph but appears consistent with the masses in its paper and handwriting.⁴⁵ Evidently it was intended for a Franciscan institution or feast-day, but the circumstances of its composition, like those of the masses, remains unknown. Anton Teyber, resident in Vienna from about 1781 to 1787 and again from late 1791 wrote much church music that seems mostly to post-date Mozart's lifetime. The only possible exception I have encountered is a *Salve Regina* for solo alto that survives in a set of parts from the collection of Archduke Rudolph. Stylistically, the work is throughly "modern," and the watermarks are consistent with a date in the 1780s.⁴⁶ The fact that most of the Teyber manuscripts in Rudolph's collection derive from the composer's *Nachlass* leads to the possibility that these are the "original" parts for the work. Ignaz Umlauf was involved with sacred music on a constant basis during the 1780s: from 1783 he was responsible for the *Hofkapelle's* choirboys and in 1788 was appointed substitute *Kapellmeister* and music librarian.⁴⁷ It is surprising, then, that Umlauf seems to have written no music for his charges until about 1792, when he wrote a coronation mass and two offertories.⁴⁸ A set of parts for a Litany in C, possibly deriving from St. Pölten Cathedral, appears to date from the 1780s, but the set is probably not associated with Umlauf and so at best provides a *terminus ante quem*.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ The watermark consists of three moons | BV over C under a canopy (cf. Duda BV/C-2 and BV/C-3).

⁴⁶ The parts are written on a variety of Italian and non-Italian paper. Watermarks in the former include Tyson 97, three moons over REAL over A | W (cf. Tyson 76), and three moons over REAL | GB under canopy.

⁴⁷ On Umlauf's biography, see James de Groat, "Leben und Singspiele des Ignaz Umlauf" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1984), 1-66.

⁴⁸ On the mass see the following chapter. The two offertories, which may possibly be associated with the coronation services of the 1790s, are in A-Wn, HK 2842 and HK 2843. *Ferte lauros triumphales* ("No. 2") bears several performance dates beginning with 13 May 1793. *Ad aram pietatis* ("No. 1") has performance dates beginning with 26 December 1801 but was certainly copied earlier: the first Violino Primo part is marked "Sigr: de Kreibich," referring to the violinist Franz Kreibich who died in 1797. The watermarks are also suggestive of a date in the early to mid-1790s.

⁴⁹ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 23115. Watermarks include Tyson 67, three moons over REAL | GFA under canopy and the single mark PS in the timpani part, possibly equivalent to Tyson 80. The parts form part of a large collection of sacred music sold to the ÖNB by "Dr. Collins" on 14 October 1940; see the library's card for A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 22518. The former owner of the collection was one Johann Amand Schminder in "Grosspechlarn" or St. Pölten (cf. Mus. Hs. 22275), and several manuscripts have references to St. Pölten Cathedral (Mus. Hs. 22722 and 22757).

A number of works are known through citations in biographical sources or catalogues but have yet to be located. Ambros Rieder recalled writing several works around 1784 for the parish church in Lichtenthal: “...ich war mit 13 Jahren kühn genug, mehrere kleine Motetten und eine kleine Messe zu verfertigen, deren Aufführung jedoch jedesmal für mich ein Freudesfest war.” In the accompanying list of works, Rieder confirmed that the mass dated from 1784 and mentioned another mass written in 1790.⁵⁰ He also recalled studying in the 1780s with Leopold Hofmann, *Kapellmeister* at St. Stephen’s Cathedral, and the highly positive picture Rieder paints is in marked contrast to the Cathedral’s own negative evaluation of Hofmann, as we shall see in Chapter Four:

Ein glücklicher Zufall für mich machte, daß sich der verstorbenen Capellmeister von St. Stephan in Wien Herr Leopold Hoffmann, in Döbling ein Landhaus mit einem niedlichen Gärtlein kaufte, welches er während der schönen Sommermonathe hindurch zu bewohnen pflegte. Er erlaubte mir den Zutritt in sein Haus, daselbst öfters recht hübsche Musiken gegeben wurden; dies war für mich ein neues Feld, um mir mehrere musikalische Kenntnisse und – einen gereinigteren Geschmack im Vortrage zu sammeln. Dieser menschenfreundliche Mann unterstützte mich nicht nur in meinen Compositionen mit seinen ausgebreiteten Erfahrungen, sondern erlaubte mir auch dieselben vorzuweisen, belehrte mich über die Reinheit der Harmonie und gab mir die Mitzler’sche deutsche Übersetzung des von dem unsterblichen Meister Johann Joseph Fux verfassten Gradus ad Parnassum zu lesen, um selbst darin studiren zu können.⁵¹

Wenzel Müller, the probable composer of the infamous “Twelfth Mass,” is said to have written a “große Messe” early in his career “für die P. P. Serviten in der Roßau.”⁵² As Müller only arrived in Vienna in the 1780s, there is a good chance that the work dates from that decade. Karl Frieberth, *regens chori* at the *Universitätskirche*, the *Kirche am Hof* and the *Minoritenkirche* is known from a biographical sketch to have written a “Solo-Messe” and

⁵⁰ Gertrude Beneš, “Ambros Rieder: sein Leben und sein Orgelwerk. Nebst einem themat. Verzeichnis seiner Werke” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1967), 117-23. Rieder described the 1784 mass as a “Missa in D-Dur für 4 Singstimmen, 2 Violinen, Orgel und Violon,” and the 1790 mass as a “Missa in B-dur für 4 Singstimmen, 2 Violinen, 2 Oboen, 2 Horn, Orgel und Baß.”

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁵² See Karl Pfannhauser, “Epilegomena Mozartiana,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1971/72* (Salzburg: 1973), 308. No work by Müller survives in A-Wr, although there are several sets of parts in the archive dating from the 1780s.

“Mottett” in 1789.⁵³ The autographs of these works and much further music by Friberth went to his son-in-law Anton Riedel, after which their fate is generally unknown. Despite his prominence in Viennese sacred music, very little is known about Friberth’s work: although a few autographs survive, no catalogue has yet been attempted.⁵⁴ The archive of the *Minoritenkirche* preserves just one work by Friberth, while the archives of the *Universitätskirche* and the *Kirche am Hof* have yet to be catalogued and made generally accessible.⁵⁵

The works of several further composers of the 1780s have yet to be investigated. It is likely that the prolific Tobias Gsur, *Kapellmeister* at the *Schottenstift*, was active in composition during this decade, but the large collection of his music still at the monastery awaits further study.⁵⁶ Carl Martinides, *regens chori* at the parish church in Lichtenthal and Joseph Preindl, organist at St. Joseph and the *Michaelerkirche* are further possibilities.⁵⁷ Perhaps the most interesting candidate is the deeply religious Johann Wanhal, who did not hold a church position. Wanhal, who lived opposite Mozart for several years, was a prolific composer of sacred music, and most of his output in this genre has been catalogued.⁵⁸

⁵³ A-Wgm, 10907/139. A “solo” mass is one scored for solo voices in addition to the usual *tutti* forces. See also Ingrid Fuchs and Leopold Vobruba, “Studien zur Biographie von Karl Friberth,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 34 (1983): 57-8.

⁵⁴ Surviving autographs of Friberth’s sacred music include A-Wst, MH 10215/c (works for Corpus Christi, title page only), D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. C. Friberth 1 (Vexilla Regis, post-1800) and S-Smf, s.s. (Missa in D, 1774).

⁵⁵ A-Wm, 466 is a set of parts for the motet *Eia dilecti fideles*.

⁵⁶ Possible candidates for a date in the 1780s include *Salve regina* (A-Ws, C3/12), *Veni sancte spiritus* (B4/72), *Veritas mea* (F29/6), and two settings of *Regina coeli* (C3/22, 24).

⁵⁷ A mass and a *Tantum ergo* by Martinides are still preserved in the church’s music archive; A-Wlic, 133 and 134.

⁵⁸ Alexander Weinmann, *Themen-Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Johann Baptiste Wanhal*, 2 vols., vol. 11, *Wiener Archivistudien* (Vienna: Musikverlag L. Krenn, 1988). Many relevant sources are missing from this catalogue. See also Bruce C. MacIntyre, “Johann Baptist Vanhal and the Pastoral Mass Tradition,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 112-32.

Unfortunately, with the near-total loss of Wanhal's autographs it is impossible to determine the provenance of his work.⁵⁹

Viennese choirmasters continued to add music both old and new to their collections in the 1780s. Most of the copying was done "in house," but professional copyists were also contracted. The copyist Johann Schmutzer, for example, produced several sets of parts for the *Augustinerkirche*.⁶⁰ An advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung* from 1799, discovered by Otto Biba, gives some idea of the range of sacred music that was then available in Vienna:

Musikalien-Nachricht.

Es sind grosse Anzahlen von Messen, Gradual. Offertor. Vespen, Psalmi, Mottet. Requiem, Litan. Stabat Mater, Missere, Simphonien, Regina coeli, Alma, Ave regina, Te Deum Laudamus, von den berühmtesten Meistern, als von Capel. Albrechtsberger, Arbesser, Arraja, Aumon, Berti, Brazner, Bredieri, Brixi, Boog, Bonno, Caldara, Campungani, Christian, Corri, Ditters de Dittersdorf, Ehrenhardt, Fillenbaum, Fini, Fux, Gallo de Venet. Galuppi, Gasmann, Giomelli, Graun, Giacomelli, Gluck, Grottendorfer, Gsur, Haidn Gius., Haidn Mich., Hosse, Hofmann, Holzpauer, Kerzelli, Leo, Luchi, Majo, Magiore, Maturo, Misliweczeck, Morr, Monterisso, Naumann, Novotni, Ordenetz, Pampani, Perez, Pergolesi, Paratti, Pirk, Reinhari, Reitter, Riepl, Roi, Sabatino, Sachini, Seuche, Shrameck, Siani, Majest. neapol. Signorilli, Schmidt, Stadler Abée, Starzer, Steffan, Stock, Thuma, Wagenseil, Wanhal, Vinci, Vingorilli, Zechner, Ziegler; einzeln, oder zusammen um den billigsten Preise zu verkaufen; nähere Auskunft giebt der Hausmeister in der Leopoldstadt gegen der Jägerzeil, von dem Theater gegenüber, im Welischen Hause Nr. 474.⁶¹

Whether speaking of its text, the enforcement of its regulations, or its effect on new composition, there has been a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the *Gottesdienstordnung* and its implications for Viennese sacred music. There is no doubt that it caused much short-term hardship and led to a major reconfiguration of the financial arrangements for church musicians, but the longer-term negative impact on composition and

⁵⁹ Paul Bryan states without supporting evidence that Wanhal's large-scale *Stabat mater* "was probably created sometime in the mid-1780s"; Paul Bryan, *Johann Wanhal, Viennese Symphonist: His Life and His Musical Environment*, vol. 23, *Thematic Catalogues* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), 36n117.

⁶⁰ A-Wa, 740, 743, 753 and 761; all sets are for music by Reutter and are signed "Schmutzer." On Schmutzer, see *MVC*, 981-87.

⁶¹ *Wiener Zeitung* (1799): 4074 and 4123. I am grateful to Otto Biba for providing me with a copy of this advertisement. Names are transcribed exactly as they appear in the original. It is not clear who was selling all this music or where it had come from; the house was owned by Barbara von Neuhaus and the nearest church was St. Johann Nepomuk.

performance has been exaggerated. In seeking to reform the content of Viennese church services, Joseph II was setting himself against a tradition of musical splendour that stretched back to the Counter-Reformation, and universal compliance with the new order was not guaranteed. Observance of the *Gottesdienstordnung*, after all, required the cooperation and self-regulation of clergy, musicians and congregations, for Joseph and the *Hofkommission* were not in a position to “police” services across the city. Given the prominence of music in Viennese cultural life, it is not surprising that the new order was sometimes disobeyed to the benefit of musicians and listeners. The simultaneous reverence and dismissal of authority that this conduct entails was well-characterised in Joachim Perinet’s satirical essay on the Viennese character, published in 1787:

...mit den Alten unzufrieden, trachtet er immer nach Neuerungen, und verachtet doch jede Verbesserung, beobachtet die weisesten Verordnungen höchstens ein Vierteljahr, und wünschte dann wieder hervorzuwählen, was er einst zu vergraben, selbst mit Hand anlegte. Stündlich spricht er von Religion, aber im Grunde hat er keine, er ist der Priester jeder Gottheit, und jeder Priester ist sein Gott.⁶²

II. THE C MINOR MASS, K. 427

Mozart continued to take an interest in his Salzburg sacred music after the move to Vienna, although his initial requests for the scores were not marked by a particular sense of urgency or specificity. On 27 June 1781, Mozart wrote to Leopold, “mir ist ganz lieb wenn ich nach und nach meine Messen bekomme,” and a week later reminded his father, “wegen den Messen habe ihnen schon letzthin geschrieben.”⁶³ In March 1782, Mozart concluded a list of required music from Salzburg with a request for “etwelche sparten von meinen Messen.”⁶⁴ At

⁶² Joachim Perinet, *Annehmlichkeiten in Wien* (Vienna: n.p., 1787-8), i.8.

⁶³ *MBA*, iii.135-36.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, iii.199.

this stage, Mozart appears to have wanted his masses for promotional purposes, perhaps with a view to gaining a *regens chori* position or impressing influential figures such as Bonno.⁶⁵ By the time of the last and most detailed appeal, however, the Sunday concerts at van Swieten's had begun, and Mozart justified his request on the grounds that such works would enliven the music-making. On 12 March 1783, after asking Leopold to send an oboe concerto, Mozart continued:

mit dieser gelegenheit könnten sie mir wohl noch was mitschicken. – zum beyspiell; meine Messen in Partitur – meine 2 Vespere in Partitur – daß ist alles nur, um es dem B: van suiten hören zu lassen. – er singt den Discant, ich den alt |: und spiele zugleich |: Starzer den Tenor – der Junge Teyber aus italien den Baß. – und unterdessen das *tres sunt* vom *Haydn* – bis sie mir was anders von ihm schikken können; – das *Lauda Sion* möchte gar zu gerne hören lassen. – das *tres sunt* muß von *meiner hand* in Partitur geschrieben da seyn. – die fuge in te Domine speravi, hat allen beyfall erhalten, wie auch das *Ave maria*, und *tenebrae* etc: – ich bitte sie erfreuen sie unsere Sonntägliche Musikalische übung *bald* mit etwas.⁶⁶

The reference to the final fugue from Michael Haydn's *Te Deum* MH 145, the *Ave maria* MH 72 and Eberlin's *Tenebrae factae sunt* shows that Mozart already possessed the volume of "Kirchenmusik von verschiedenen Meistern" that had been copied primarily by his father.⁶⁷ Leopold responded to his son's request for further music from Salzburg within the month, for Mozart wrote on 29 March:

das Packet Musique habe richtig erhalten; – ich danke ihnen dafür; – bitte wegen dem *Lauda sion* nicht zu vergessen; und was wir halt noch gerne haben möchten, wäre, einige von ihren besten kirchenstücken, mein liebster vater; – denn wir lieben uns mit allen möglichen Meistern zu unterhalten; – mit alten und mit Modernen. – ich bitte sie also uns recht bald etwas von *ihnen* zu schicken.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ At the time André acquired Mozart's scores from Constanze, the autographs of the masses K. 257, 258 and 262 all bore the date "1781". André subsequently changed these dates to 1775 and 1776; see *NMA KB I/1/1/3*, 6-7, 27-28. Whether "1781" was an addition or itself a correction to previous dates cannot be established, and it is not clear if Mozart was responsible for this date.

⁶⁶ *MBA*, iii.259.

⁶⁷ Now in GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 41633.

⁶⁸ *MBA*, iii.262.

Determining the identity of the works that Leopold sent is difficult, since most of Mozart's own music later ended up in the composer's possession in any case. One strong possibility is Mozart's copy of the Haydn offertory *Tres sunt* MH 183, which was rediscovered by Reinhard Pauly in the archive of the *Hofkapelle* and authenticated by Pfannhauser in 1955.⁶⁹ The score bears the annotation "183/33" in red ink, thought to be an indication that the manuscript was sold at the van Swieten auction of 1804.⁷⁰ It is likely then that van Swieten acquired the manuscript from Mozart, or from Constanze in the years following her husband's death. No copy of Haydn's *Lauda sion* MH 215 from the Mozart family is known, but further testimony for Mozart's interest in Haydn's sacred music comes from Niemetschek's biography: "Seine liebste Unterhaltung war Musik; wenn ihm seine Gemahlinn eine recht angenehme Ueberraschung an einem Familienfeste machen wollte, so veranstaltete sie in Geheim die Aufführung einer neuen Kirchen-Komposition von Michael oder Joseph Haydn."⁷¹ Neukomm, probably writing under the influence of this passage, wrote in 1809: "Mozart erkannte ihn [Michael Haydn] für den größten Kirchenkomponisten – seine Frau konnte ihm keine angenehmere Überraschung machen als mit einer Mich. Haydn Partitur."⁷²

Two weeks after asking Leopold for some of his own church music, Mozart repeated the request with greater intensity:

wenn es wärmer wird, so bitte ich unter dem dache zu suchen, und uns etwas von ihrer kirchenMusik zu schicken; – sie haben gar nicht nöthig sich zu schämen. – Baron van suiten, und Starzer, wissen so gut als sie und ich, daß sich der Gusto immer ändert – und *aber* – daß sich die

⁶⁹ See Karl Pfannhauser, "Aufsehenerregende Mozart-Funde," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, no. 14 (1955): 4-5, Karl Pfannhauser, ed., *Michael Haydn: Tres Sunt. Offertorium Pro Festo SS. Trinitatis, Musica Ecclesiastica* (Vienna: Josef Weinberger, 1956).

⁷⁰ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 34233. See Andreas Holschneider, "Die Musikalische Bibliothek Gottfried Van Swietens," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Kassel 1962* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 175.

⁷¹ Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des k. k. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, aus Originalquellen*, Second ed. (Prague: Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1808; reprint, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978), 99-100.

⁷² Quoted in Pfannhauser, ed., *Michael Haydn: Tres Sunt*.

Verränderung des gusto leider so gar bis auf die kirchenMusic erstreckt hat; welches aber nicht seyn sollte – woher es dann auch kömmt, daß man die wahre kirchenMusic – unter dem dache – und fast von würmen gefressen – findet. – wenn ich, wie ich hoffe, im Monath Julio mit meiner frau nach Salzburg kommen werde, so wollen wir mehr über diesen Punkt sprechen.⁷³

This passage is a rare example of Mozart expressing an opinion about his father's compositions, and the reference to Leopold's sacred music being stored in the attic offers a compelling if rather poignant example of the priority given to Wolfgang's music in the household. Whether or not Leopold ventured into the attic, it has been suggested that he did send his son an example of his own music: the autograph score of the *Litaniae de Venerabili* in D, Carlson IB2, now in the Konsistorialarchiv in Salzburg.⁷⁴ The score contains many corrections in Wolfgang's hand, particularly to the horn parts. Walter Senn dated the corrections to the Viennese period on the speculative grounds that Mozart would not have made such modifications, particularly ones written so hastily, while under the supervision of his father. Senn further speculated that Constanze retained the score after her husband's death and took it with her to Salzburg, where it remained until it was sold by persons unknown to the *Dommusikverein und Mozarteum* in 1852.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the original parts for the litany are lost, so it is not possible to determine whether the changes in the score could have been followed in Salzburg performances prior to Mozart's departure in 1780. It is not clear why Mozart would have wanted to perform a litany in Vienna, since the *Gottesdienstordnung* had no provision for instrumental settings of any kind and the van Swieten circle was performing, as Mozart related, with keyboard reductions only. Senn's assumption that Leopold did not authorise the corrections is unproven, and the form of the dynamic markings actually suggests a date around 1775, according to Plath.⁷⁶

⁷³ *MBA*, iii.264.

⁷⁴ A-Sd, Gb 127.

⁷⁵ *NMA* X/28/3-5/1, viii.

⁷⁶ Wolfgang Plath, "Beiträge zur Mozart-Autographie II: Schriftchronologie 1770-1780," in *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 253.

There is no sure way of identifying the “Messen in Partitur” that Mozart requested from Salzburg in March 1783, although the “2 Vespers in Partitur” are very likely K. 321 and K. 339 since the remaining candidate, K. 193, is older and does not include the full complement of psalms.⁷⁷ Although Mozart did eventually receive the autographs of most of his sacred music after Leopold’s death in 1787, it is impossible to determine which scores were sent to Vienna in 1783. There are however a number of non-autograph manuscripts that Mozart may have used to perform his sacred music in Vienna, and at least one of them is of Salzburg origin. The manuscripts appear in the list of “Authentische Abschriften in Stimmen” prepared in 1833 by Johann Andrè and his assistants as part of their catalogue of works that do not appear in Mozart’s *Verzeichnis*; see Figure 2.5.⁷⁸ The catalogue mentions three “authentic” copies of Mozart’s sacred music, but only one of these, a set of parts for *Misericordias domini*, K. 222 is known to survive today. This set, in the hand of a Salzburg copyist and bearing the “Nissen number” 29, was very likely in Mozart’s possession in Vienna, and may be related to the Viennese dissemination of *Misericordias* around the time of Mozart’s death.⁷⁹ A set of parts for the Mass in C K. 337 could conceivably have been associated with Mozart’s later activities at St. Stephen’s Cathedral and the Baden Pfarrkirche, or with early performances of the mass by the *Hofkapelle*.⁸⁰ A manuscript of the disputed Mass in G K. 140 was not a set of parts, but rather a score, as Andrè noted: “Diese Messe

⁷⁷ See also *MVC*, 836-37.

⁷⁸ See *MVC*, 445. Two of the manuscripts appear in the earlier Andre-Gleißner catalogue; *Ibid.*, 1074-76.

⁷⁹ D-F, M 299b. For more on this manuscript and the early distribution of K. 222, see the following chapter and Chapter Five. On “Nissen numbers,” see *MVC*, 1024-26. Mozart also had a score copy of a mass by Eberlin, now D-F, Mus. Hs. 2359, in his possession in Vienna; see Wolfgang Plath, “Mozartiana in Fulda und Frankfurt,” in *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 133.

⁸⁰ See the following two chapters. Plath speculated that a score of K. 337 in the hand of an Andre copyist, D-FUL, M 301, might be based on the lost parts; *Ibid.*, 142. Andre lacked the autograph of K. 337, which was then in the possession of Joseph Schellhammer, and so one can understand why he might have desired a score of the mass. Score copies of K. 337 were however obtainable in printed and manuscript form by the time M 301 was probably copied, so the lost parts need not have been the source. Further work on the provenance of this copy will require a detailed study of its readings.

- IX. 1780 *Misericordias Domini* für Solorant, alt, Tenor u. Bass, mit Begleitung von 2 Violin, Violine, Bass, u. Orgel. — Nach Pag. 434 des genannten Ms. Mozart's ist ein viele Compositoren 1780 in München gufforbar.
- X. 1781-1782 *Missa* für Solorant, alt, Tenor u. Bass, mit Begleitung von 2 Violinen, Violine, Bass, u. Orgel (zusätzlich beim Agnus dei obligat ist); 2 Oboen, 2 Fagotten, 3 Hörner u. Trompeten u. Pauken.
Ihre Höhe von in dem Jahre 1779 u. Jofen gufforbar.
- XI. 24 1770 *Missa brevis* für Solorant, alt, Tenor u. Bass, mit Begleitung von 2 Violin u. Orgel.
Ihre Messe spielt in in padibus - Aufschiff; sie spielt, ohne ob. fassung von, in die roten Jofen des Decembris 1770 zu stellen. Die Prognostik spielt von Mozarts Grund zu Jofen.

The image displays three musical staves, each representing a different manuscript copy of a piece from Andre's 1833 catalogue. The first two staves are for Soprano (Sro.) and Organ (Orgel). The first staff (IX) is for *Misericordias Domini* and the second (XI) is for *Kyrie eleison*. The third staff (X) is also for *Kyrie eleison*. The notation includes notes, rests, and lyrics. The tempo markings are *Andantino* for the first two and *Andante* for the third. The lyrics are: *Misericordias Domini* and *Kyrie eleison*.

Figure 2.5. Three "authentische Abschriften" in a copy of Andre's 1833 catalogue. GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 32412.

erhielt ich in Partitur-Abschrift; sie scheint, ihrer Auffassung nach, in die ersten Jahre des Decennii 1770 zu fallen. Die Paginierung scheint von Mozart's Hand zu seyn." Coverage of these sources in the *NMA* is mixed: the score of K. 140 was mentioned by the work's editor, Walter Senn, but the extant parts for K. 222 and the parts for K. 337 were unknown to the respective editors, Hellmut Federhofer and Monika Holl.⁸¹

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Mozart's request for music from Salzburg is the attempt to address the controversial topic of "wahre kirchenMusic."⁸² Mozart appears to be saying that there is a particular style of sacred music regarded as uniquely appropriate for the liturgy and of eternal aesthetic value, but now neglected due to changing tastes. Just what musical characteristics constitute this style is not explained, although it is a fair assumption that the familiar tropes of contrapuntal learning and an avoidance of "theatrical" display were part of the picture. Leopold's sacred music, sharing the attic with other worm-eaten scores, was apparently considered "true," although Leopold was of course the recipient of this letter. The timing of Mozart's thoughts on the matter is potentially significant, for the new *Gottesdienstordnung* had only been announced a few weeks before, and was to take effect about a month later. No less significant of a coincidence was the fact that Mozart himself had been engaged on a sacred work for the past few months, one cast on a nearly unprecedented scale: the Mass in C minor, K. 427. In its utter rejection of contemporary liturgical expectations, and in its prominent juxtaposition of contrapuntal learning and

⁸¹ *NBA KB*, I/1/1/1, 100.

⁸² On this topic, see Winfried Kirsch, ed., *Das Palestrina-Bild und die Idee der "Wahren Kirchenmusik" im Schrifttum von ca. 1750 bis um 1900: eine Kommentierte Dokumentation*, vol. 2, *Palestrina und die Kirchenmusik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: G. Bosse, 1999), Jen-Yen Chen, "The Tradition and Ideal of the *Stile Antico* in Viennese Sacred Music, 1740-1800" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000). For an excellent study of the concept in contemporary protestant debates on sacred music, see Jürgen Heidrich, *Protestantische Kirchenmusikanschauung in der Zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts: Studien zur Ideengeschichte "Wahrer" Kirchenmusik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001).

virtuoso display, the mass occupies a provocative position when set against Joseph II's own ideal of "wahre kirchenMusic."

The origin of the C minor Mass is a famously unsolved problem. Mozart's only known reference to it appears in a letter to Leopold of 4 January 1783:

– für dem Neue=Jahres Wunsch danken wir beyde, und bekennen uns freywillig als ochsen das wir ganz auf unserere schuldigkeit vergessen haben – wir kommen also hinten nach, und wünschen keinen NeuJahres Wunsch, sondern wünschen unsern allgemeinen alletags=Wunsch – und damit lassen wir es beruhen; – wegen der Moral hat es ganz seine richtigkeit; – es ist mir ohne vorsatz aus meiner feder geflossen – ich habe es in meinem herzen wirklich versprochen, und hoffe es auch wirklich zu halten. – meine frau war als ich es versprach, noch ledig – da ich aber fest entschlossen war sie bald nach ihrer genesung zu heyrathen, so konnte ich es leicht versprechen – zeit und umstände aber vereitelten unsere Reise, wie sie selbst wissen – zum beweis aber der wirklichkeit meines versprechens kann die spart von der hälfte einer Messe dienen, welche noch in der besten hoffnung da liegt. –⁸³

The nature of the "Moral" to which Mozart refers is not clear, nor the matter on which he has "versprochen." Evidently Constanze and the couple's marriage were involved in some fashion, but Mozart's expression is obscure and his wife's prior illness is otherwise unknown.⁸⁴ It must however be remembered that Leopold's side of the correspondence has been lost, so we do not know the context in which Wolfgang was responding. Leopold, in any case, knew his son more intimately than any modern commentator, and was in a better position to understand Wolfgang's often discursive and unpredictable prose. Given the timing, is it possible that one motivation behind the ongoing composition of K. 427 was Mozart's desire to craft a response, or even a challenge, to the new *Gottesdienstordnung*? We do not normally think of Mozart as engaging in political action of this sort, but the coincidence of the new order of services, Mozart's thoughts on "wahre kirchenMusic" and the continuing work on the mass is striking. If, as Niemetschek claimed, church music was

⁸³ *MBA*, iii.247-8.

⁸⁴ The only surviving reference to Constanze's health at this time appears a letter of November 1782. Mozart had intended to leave for Salzburg, "allein Meine frau hat heute einen Starken kopfweh bekommen, und obwohl sie mit allem gewalt weg-will, so traue ich es mir doch nicht bey dieser Witterung mit ihr zu wagen." *MBA*, iii.241.

Mozart's "lieblingsfach," then it is possible to envisage the composer reacting in a creative way to the new restrictions on its use.⁸⁵

Constanze, for her part, is known to have recalled the events surrounding the C minor Mass on a number of occasions. According to the material that she sent Breitkopf & Härtel for their abortive Mozart biography,

Als seine Frau zum ersten Male schwanger war und er sie zu seinem Vater in Salzburg führen wollte, gelobte er (doch war er wenigstens in spätern Jahren durch aus nicht, was man andächtig nennt) wenn Beydes glücklich von Statten gienge, dort eine Messe zu schreiben. Er schrieb sie, und sie gefiel ihm selbst so wohl, daß er sie Meistern, die ihn seit dem besucht haben, immer *cum amore* zeigte.⁸⁶

The information that Mozart proudly showed the mass to other "Meister" is otherwise unknown, and their identity is a matter of speculation. The van Swieten circle is a possibility, as is Michael Haydn in Salzburg. Constanze's reference to her husband's lack of religious devotion in his later years is also otherwise unattested.

On 2 May 1800, Johann Anton Andre wrote a now-lost letter to Constanze regarding works that were missing or incomplete from the *Nachlass* he had recently purchased.⁸⁷ Evidently, Andre enquired about the incomplete state of K. 427, and asked, rather surprisingly, whether it was due to Mozart reusing the work in the Requiem.

Constanze and Nissen replied on 31 May:

wegen der Messe zum Davide penitente ist sich in Salzburg, wo sie gemacht oder aufgeführt ist, zu erkundigen. den Schluß der Messe hat er gewiß nicht ins Requiem verwandt. Als er die Messe machte, war nicht von dem Requiem, welches viele Jahre jünger ist, die Rede.⁸⁸

Nearly three decades later, the Novellos visited Constanze in Salzburg. Vincent Novello was particularly interested in *Davide Penitente*, and as he noted:

⁸⁵ Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 117.

⁸⁶ Martin Staehelin, "Neue 'Beyträge zu Mozarts Lebensbeschreibung'," *Neues musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 9 (2000): 96.

⁸⁷ On this letter, see *MVC*, 1042-45.

⁸⁸ *MBA*, iv.356.

...the widow was so kind as to procure me a very fine MS. copy of the *complete* work in score, which was formerly in the possession of Mozart's own son – the latter was so good as to write his name in the title page, as did also Mozart's widow and her sister, and with these three rare Autographs of the Mozart family I now prize this volume as one of the most valuable MSS. in my possession.⁸⁹

The copy of the oratorio that Constanze gave Novello remained with the firm until the 1980s, when it came to the British Library; see Figure 2.6. It has little textual significance, but as a document signed by Constanze, her sister Sophie and Mozart's son Franz Xaver it retains considerable historical interest. A few days before, Novello had asked Constanze about the origin of the work, and recorded her answer as follows:

The 'Davidde Penitente' originally a grand Mass which he wrote in consequence of a vow that he had made to do so, on her safe recovery after the birth of their first child – relative to whom he had been particularly anxious. This Mass was performed in the Cathedral at Salzburg and Madame Mozart herself sang all the principal solos.⁹⁰

This is the only reference to a performance of K. 427 at Salzburg Cathedral, and it is unclear whether the probable error originated with Constanze's memory or with Novello.

The Mozart biography published under Nissen's name in 1828 gives the following explanation for the composition of the mass:

Und dieser Mann, wie gebrauchte er die kurze Zeit in Salzburg? – Er vollendete die Messe, die er für seine Frau gelobt hatte, wenn die Entbindung glücklich vorübergehen würde, und von welcher er im Januar schon die Hälfte fertig hatte. Diese Messe wurde den 23sten August im Kapellhauser probirt und den 25sten in der St. Peterskirche producirt, wobey seine Frau die Solo's sang.⁹¹

From these various reports, the number of events with which the mass can be associated is wide-ranging, and the events in question span more than a year: Constanze's illness, the couple's marriage, the introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung*, the birth of Raimund Leopold and the journey to Salzburg. The common thread running through most of these episodes is, of course, Constanze, and her association with K. 427 is only strengthened by her

⁸⁹ Vincent and Mary Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829*, ed. Rosemary Hughes and Nerina Medici di Marignano (London: Novello, 1955), 117. The original diaries are now in GB-LEbc.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁹¹ Nissen, *Biographie*, 476.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. At the top, there are several staves with the signature 'Vincent Novello' and '4 Crown Hill' written vertically. Below this, the title 'Davide' is written in a large, decorative cursive script. Underneath the title, the text '2. Soprani e Tenore Concertanti.' is written. Further down, the word 'Cantata' is written in a similar decorative style. Below that, the names 'Con' and 'Cori' are written. At the bottom of the page, there is a signature 'Del Signore Amadeo Wolfgang Mozart.' followed by a note: 'Consiglio di Padova: Con Missa composta da Antonio Vivaldi. per l'Opera di Novello 1829'. Below this, another signature reads 'Sophie Haibel Wittner in der Musikverein Chor-Regentin Haibel' and 'Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart'.

Figure 2.6. Score of *Davide*, signed by Constanze, Sophie Haibl and W. A. Mozart Jnr. GB-Lbl, Add. 65429A.

participation in the first performance of the mass. Did Mozart design the first soprano part for Constanze from the outset? The writing for this soloist is of exceptional virtuosity, requiring a range from *a* to *c*³ if one includes the incomplete *Et incarnatus*. One might wonder if Constanze was up to the task, or consider the possibility that Mozart maintained an idealised picture of her vocal abilities.

As is well known, one of the *Solfeggi* K. 393 closely resembles the *Christe* in the C minor Mass, and although the *Solfeggio* bears no title, two of its contemporaries are headed “per la mia cara Costanza” and “per la mia cara consorte.”⁹² According to Constanze, the soprano aria *In te spero* K. 440 was headed “per la mia cara sposa”,⁹³ but since Mozart’s heading has been heavily deleted in the autograph, it is no longer possible to verify her transcription. The soprano part in the *Bandl-Terzett* K. 441 is marked “Konstanz” and the lost autograph of *Caro mio Schluck und Druck* K. Anh. 5 had the soprano part marked “C.”, undoubtedly a companion to Mozart’s “M.” Mary Novello recorded Constanze’s response to a question about Mozart’s operas:

She told us that Mozart when he finished an opera brought it to her and begged she would study it, after which he would play it over and sing with her, so that not only the songs but the words she knew by heart, but one air in the ‘Idomeneo’ he preferred to hear her sing and on that account she prefers it also, ‘se il Padre perdei’...⁹⁴

Constanze’s testimony is borne out by a Lausch keyboard arrangement of Susanna’s *Al desio, di chi t’adora* K. 577 from the 1789 *Figaro* containing an autograph vocal cadenza by Mozart. Vincent Novello, to whom Constanze gave the manuscript, recorded the circumstances of the acquisition:

She also met with a Copy of the charming song ‘Al desio’, which she said Mozart wrote expressly for Signora Morichelli (who was once in England) in addition to the other delightful song for Susanna in ‘Figaro.’ The MS. copy she showed me was the identical one from which Mozart had

⁹² The variety of paper-types in the *Solfeggi* (Tyson 56, 58, 60, 62) suggests that they were not all written at once; most are on Viennese paper but K. 393/3 is on paper-type Tyson 62-II, characteristic of Salzburg.

⁹³ *MBA*, iv.229.

⁹⁴ Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, 94.

often accompanied her (Madame Mozart) when she used to sing it to him, and contained a little cadenza at the end in his own handwriting and which he had written on purpose for his wife and at her request.⁹⁵

In the 1790s, Constanze appeared in several public concerts as a soloist in excerpts from *Lo sposo deluso* and *La clemenza di Tito*,⁹⁶ and at an undetermined point she acquired a manuscript collection of *Canzonette diverse*, now preserved in Salzburg.⁹⁷ Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch* notes that "Madame Mozart... spielt Klavier, und singt ganz artig."⁹⁸ Clearly, Constanze was capable of singing some of her husband's more challenging vocal works to his satisfaction, and Mozart's apparent dedications to her of K. 393 and K. 440 speaks to his confidence in her abilities.⁹⁹

When did Mozart start work on K. 427, and how well does the forensic evidence square with the biographical contexts established above? The general scholarly consensus dates the commencement of the project to the second half of 1782, placing it with the "Haffner" Symphony K. 385, the Rondo in A K. 386, the first of the "Haydn" Quartets K. 387 and, rather less certainly, the Piano Concerto in A K. 414. The mass was evidently underway by January 1783, when Mozart mentioned it in the letter to Leopold quoted above. This letter, however, provides at most a *terminus ad quem* for the beginning of work on K. 427, together with an indication that composition had proceeded to a significant degree. We shall never know, however, precisely what lay behind Mozart's reference to the "half" of a mass already in existence, either in terms of its overall conception or in the state of the individual movements at that time.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Ibid., 217-18. See *MVC*, 2076.

⁹⁶ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 416-21.

⁹⁷ Cliff Eisen, "The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library," in *Mozart Studies 2*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 119-21.

⁹⁸ Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 43.

⁹⁹ The sketchleaf Skb 1782b, which contains a number of sketches related to the C minor Mass, was headed by Mozart "Vom Pimberl und vom Stanzerl." "Pimberl" is presumably a reference the Mozarts' pet dog.

¹⁰⁰ Schmid's inference that Mozart must have been at work on the *Credo* by this point cannot be confirmed by the available evidence; Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Bildintentionen in Mozarts C-Moll-Messe," *Acta mozartiana* 42 (1995): 2.

The autograph score of the C minor Mass is a complex document consisting of several paper-types of various date and provenance. The most common paper-type found in the score is Tyson 56-II, which Mozart used for the Kyrie (with the exception of its last page), a replacement bifolium in the *Laudamus te*,¹⁰¹ the second half of the *Quoniam* and a large final stretch covering most of the *Cum sancto* together with the *Credo* and *Et incarnatus* in their entirety. This paper-type is found in a wide variety of works by Mozart dating from mid-1781 to early 1788. Edge has suggested that Mozart made at least four separate acquisitions of this paper, the first by August 1781, a second before the end of 1782, a third in the summer of 1784, and a final purchase in mid-1787.¹⁰² It would be interesting to know whether the paper for the Kyrie originates with the first or second acquisition, but on present evidence it is not possible to distinguish between the two subtypes.¹⁰³ There is some evidence to suggest that Mozart did not write the movements entirely in order: the last page of the *Kyrie*, the abandoned *Gratias* on its reverse, and all of the *Gloria* are on paper of type Tyson 11, found principally in works of 1768-71. It seems that Leopold sent his son some spare leaves of this paper in the early 1780s, and the earliest known score to make use of it is the Horn Concerto K. 417, dated 27 May 1783.¹⁰⁴ By this date, of course, the C minor Mass was well under way.

¹⁰¹ It appears that f. 15-18 as originally drafted were all of type 56-II. When orchestrating this part of the movement Mozart decided to revise the material on f. 18, removed the entire outer bifolium (f. 15/18, now in D-Cv) and replaced it with a new bifolium of type Tyson 60-I. Thus, only the inner bifolium (f. 16-17) was of type 56-II in the final version.

¹⁰² *MVC*, 413. The presence of type 56-II in the Kyrie appears to contradict a communication from Tyson to Monika Holl, reported in the *NMA* introduction. Speaking of the bifolium on which the rejected draft of the *Laudamus* is written, also of type 56-II, Holl writes that it “gehört zu einer...Papiersorte, die Mozart erst für die nachfolgenden Sätze des Gloria verwendete.”; *NMA* KB xiii.

¹⁰³ Given the unusually wide range of values for the total span (187.5 to 189.5), it is likely that type 56-II is actually a conflation of two or more subtypes. In the Kyrie of K. 427, for example, the TS is consistently 188+/189-.

¹⁰⁴ *MVC*, 418.

A number of commentators have speculated that the mass was begun in connection with upcoming state occasions: the visit of Pope Pius VI to Vienna, for example, or the 1200th anniversary of the Archdiocese of Salzburg.¹⁰⁵ As the papal visit took place in March and April of 1782, Mozart would have had to begin work on K. 427 considerably earlier than is generally assumed, and the composer's apparent lack of interest in Pius' arrival speaks against this theory. The anniversary celebrations in Salzburg took place in September 1782, which is again rather early. A year later, however, it was Salzburg that saw the partial premiere of K. 427, and the question naturally arises whether the mass was intended for that city from the beginning. Mozart's sacred music continued to be performed in Salzburg after his departure in 1780 – on 13 April 1783, for example, the Litany K. 125 was heard at the Cathedral – and Leopold no doubt continued to promote his son's works in this genre.¹⁰⁶ Whether or not Mozart maintained a specific Salzburg ensemble in mind when working on the mass, the fact remains that the lavish scoring of K. 427 is not matched by Mozart's previous music for the Cathedral or St. Peter's.¹⁰⁷ The orchestration is closest to that of the *Dominicus* Mass, but K. 66 like Mozart's other works for the Abbey appears to lack trombone parts. Although the florid first soprano part is anticipated in many respects by the *Regina coeli* K. 127, the unusual disposition of the vocal *concerti* as SSTB and the division of

¹⁰⁵ Schmid, "Bildintentionen," 2, Neal Zaslaw, "Mozart's Salzburg Sacred Music and His Mass in C Minor, K. 427," in *Mozartiana. The Festschrift for the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Ebisawa Bin*, ed. Yoshiko Tokumaru (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2001), 578.

¹⁰⁶ *MBA*, iii.265; Karl Pfannhauser, "Nannerl Mozarts Tagebuchblätter: eine Forschungsstudie zur Gleichnamigen Publikation von Walter Hummel," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 8 (1959): 15. A set of parts for K. 275 in A-Sd, A 1153 probably dates from 1780s; the watermarks include three moons over REAL | GFA, three moons over REAL | GF under canopy and A over HF over REAL | three stars in large crest.

¹⁰⁷ The sole example of double-choir writing in Mozart's *oeuvre* prior to the C minor Mass is found in the offertory *Venite populi* K. 260. Michael Haydn's Vespers MH 321, written in July 1782 for the 1200-year anniversary of the diocese matches the instrumental demands of K. 427 exactly (including the flute), but the vocal forces are the usual SATB *sol*i and *ripieni*. The *Missa a due chori* (*Missa Hispanica*) MH 422 is scored for SATB *sol*i and SATBSATB *ripieni* with an orchestra matching K. 427 in all except the flute, but it was not written for Salzburg.

the *tutti* forces between four-part, five-part and double four-part are unprecedented in Mozart's Salzburg sacred music. In Vienna, double-choir textures were not unknown but certainly rare, and the bass trombone was not a usual member of the Viennese church orchestra at this time.¹⁰⁸ It may be that Mozart had in his mind an "ideal" ensemble that could be replicated in practice only imperfectly, even by the combined forces of St. Peter's and the Salzburg *Hofkapelle*.

Much has been made of the stylistic archaism present in some movements of the mass, allegedly inspired by Mozart's study of "old music" under the encouragement of van Swieten.¹⁰⁹ As early as 1826, Stadler observed that the mass was "ganz in Händels Manier geschrieben."¹¹⁰ While one would not wish to play down the potential impact of Handelian choral writing on Mozart's compositional thinking, our knowledge of the stylistic influences on K. 427 will remain incomplete as long as the contemporary "native" traditions of Catholic sacred music in central Europe remain little understood. Much of what seems self-consciously retrospective about the C minor Mass may reflect aspects of contemporary traditions that Mozart did not have the opportunity or inclination to explore in Salzburg. Example 2.1 shows the opening of a duet from a litany by Albrechtsberger, written in the same year as Mozart began work on the C minor Mass. The ritornello, with its imitative beginning and subsequent *Fortspinnung* would not be out of place in a work written half a century earlier, but the piece owes its origins not to an abandoned past but rather to a

¹⁰⁸ Reutter's Mass in D (Hofer 80) is scored for two four-part choirs in the *Amen* of the Gloria; see the following chapter. The *Missa Sancti Bernardi* (Hofer 74) is scored for five-part choir, SSATB. On the question of trombones in Viennese church orchestras, see *Biba* 1783, 70-71. The *Waisenhausmesse* K. 139, written for Vienna, includes a bass trombone part, but early performance material from the *Hofkapelle* for Mozart's masses shows that only alto and tenor trombones were normally employed. The single exception is the parts for the Requiem, A-Wn, HK 2879, which include a bass trombone part.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, Silke Leopold, "Händels Geist in Mozarts Händen: Zum 'Qui Tollis' aus der C-Moll-Messe KV 427," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1994* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 89-99.

¹¹⁰ Maximilian Stadler, *Vertheidigung der Echtheit des Mozartischen Requiem* (Vienna: Tendler und von Manstein, 1826), 10.

Andante

Violino I

Violino II *f*

Soprano

Basso

Org. e Cont. Solo

Vln. I

Vln. II

Org. e Cont.

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

S. Solo

B. Solo

Org. e Cont.

Je - su Rex pa - tri - ar - cha - rum, Je - su, Je su, Je - su Rex pa - tri - ar - cha - rum, Je - su,

Example 2.1. *Jesu Rex patriarcharum* from a litany by Albrechtsberger, 1782. Source: H-Bn, Mus. Ms. 2444.

continuous if not exactly living tradition of stylistic conservatism in Viennese church music. The fugue shown in Example 2.2, with its obvious affinity to the *Cum sancto spiritu*, is another example of the potential for exploring stylistic parallels that are closer to Mozart both temporally and geographically, although the counterpoint is the kind satirised in *Ein musikalischer Spaß*.

Liturgically speaking, the mass was going against the grain not only in Vienna but also in Salzburg. In August 1782, Archbishop Colloredo issued a long *Hirtenbrief* in commemoration of the 1200th anniversary of the archiepiscopate that became one of the most famous documents of eighteenth-century reform Catholicism.¹¹¹ Among Colloredo's plans was the forced introduction of hymns from Franz Seraph von Kohlbrenner's *Der heilige Gesang zum Gottesdienste in der römisch-katholischen Kirche*:

Wir verordnen demnach und befehlen hiermit gemessenst, daß mit Anfange künftigen 1783 Jahres in allen Kirchen unsers Fürstlichen Erzstiftes, wo kein ordentlicher Chor gehalten wird (also nur mit Ausnahme der Stifts= und Klosterkirchen) bey allen Lob= und Seelämtern, gesungenen Messen, bey Litaneyen, vor und nach der Predigt, bey Processionen, vor und nach der Christenlehren, vor und nach der Schul und bey jeder anderer schicklichen Gelegenheit diese Liedersammlung fleißig und nirgends eine andere Musik, oder Gesang mehr gebrauchet werden soll; gleichwie auch Wir, wenn Wir in eine der obgedachten Kirchen kommen, nichts anders, als Gesänge aus nur gedachter Sammlung hören wollen.¹¹²

To ensure compliance, Colloredo demanded quarterly reports from each parish documenting its adherence to the policy. Unlike Joseph II, however, the Archbishop seems to have been concerned about the financial impact on the principality's instrumental musicians, for he ordered that they be retained at that same rate of pay and reassigned as singers and

¹¹¹ On Colloredo's reforms, see RGZJ, 284-301, Josef Schöttl, *Kirchliche Reformen des Salzburger Erzbischofs Hieronymus von Colloredo im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Hirschenhausen: Verlag der Südostbayerischen Heimatstudien, 1939), Martin Schimek, *Musikpolitik in der Salzburger Aufklärung: Musik, Musikpolitik und Deren Rezeption am Hof des Salzburger Fürsterzbischofs Hieronymus Graf Colloredo*, vol. 151, *Europäische Hochschulschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1995).

¹¹² Franz Anton Gilowsky, ed., *Sr. Hochfürstl. Gnaden des...Hieronymus Joseph Erzbischofs...zu Salzburg...Hirtenbrief* ([Vienna]: Sebastian Hartl, 1782), 62-3.

instructors to the choir.¹¹³ The policy was short-lived: petitions were sent asking for instrumental music to be re-introduced, and there were reports of people crossing into Bavaria in order to hear polyphony. In January 1788, Colloredo partly relented and allowed the use of instruments again on certain feast-days.¹¹⁴ Since St. Peter's Abbey maintained a choral foundation, it remained unaffected by the order in any case.

The *Hirtenbrief* was widely distributed throughout Europe. In Vienna, it was reprinted in 1782 with a glowing preface by none other than Franz Anton Gilowsky (b. 1756), cousin of Mozart's doctor and best man Franz Xaver Wenzel Gilowsky (1757-1824); see Figure 2.7. Franz Anton was in no doubt about the worth of the document:

Ich erhalte hier vielleicht den ersten Abdruck dieses edlen Geschenks meines Landesfürstens. Warmes inniges Theilnehmen an der mit selben in meinem Vaterland eintretenden glücklichen Epoche bemächtigt sich in eben dem Augenblick meines Herzens, als in selbem der Wunsch rege wird; diesen des Deutschlands ersten Erzbischofes so ganz würdigen Hirtenbrief in jedermanns Händen zu sehen, oder selben doch wenigst durch gegenwärtige, auf das eifertigst besorgte Auflage, in den k. k. Erblanden zu verbreiten, und gemmeinnützlich zu machen.¹¹⁵

In 1783-84, Franz Anton ran an unsuccessful private postal service in Vienna that sent him bankrupt.¹¹⁶ In August 1786, Mozart lent 300fl to a "Franz Gilowsky" who was probably Franz Anton, but Gilowsky had apparently disappeared by the following year and the debt is listed as unrecoverable in the composer's estate inventory.¹¹⁷ Given the shared Salzburg heritage and Mozart's friendship with Franz Xaver Wenzel, it is possible that the composer

¹¹³ Ibid., 64-5. On the effects of the reforms at Stift Nonnberg, see Theodor Aigner, "Der Letzte Geistliche Landesfürst Salzburgs, Hieronymus Graf von Colloredo, und das Stift Nonnberg," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1980/83* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 280.

¹¹⁴ Reinhard G. Pauly, "Michael Haydn's Latin Proprium Missae Compositions" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1956), 116-17.

¹¹⁵ Gilowsky, ed., *Hirtenbrief*, i.

¹¹⁶ Gugitz, "Auszüge," s.v. "Gilowsky, Anton v."

¹¹⁷ See Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 257, 494, Franz Martin, *Hundert Salzburger Familien* (Salzburg: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, 1946), 190-92, Heinz Schuler, *Mozarts Salzburger Freunde und Bekannte*, ed. Richard Schaal, vol. 119, *Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 1996), 107-15.



Figure 2.7. Title page of the Viennese edition of Archbishop Colloredo's *Hirtenbrief*.

knew of Colloredo's *Hirtenbrief* not only through his father's reports but through Franz Anton's advocacy.

As we know very little about Mozart's church-going, it is difficult to determine how often the composer observed the effects of liturgical reform in person. Many of Mozart and Constanze's attested visits to Viennese churches involved no music at all, as the purpose was the baptism of their children. Thus the couple attended the Kirche am Hof for the baptism of Raimund Leopold in June 1783, St. Peter's for the baptisms of Karl Thomas in September 1784 and Theresia in December 1787, and St. Stephen's Cathedral for the baptisms of Johann Thomas Leopold in October 1786 and Franz Xaver in July 1791.¹¹⁸ Further evidence of church visits in Vienna only begins to accumulate around 1790, as Mozart's friendship with Anton Stoll became established and the composer applied for a position at St. Stephen's Cathedral.

Mozart was in Salzburg from late July through late October 1783, and so would have had the opportunity to observe the effects of Colloredo's reforms first hand. As with Vienna, however, the evidence is sparse. Apart from the mass at St. Peter's that included the performance of K. 427, the only liturgical event Mozart is known to have attended was early morning mass with Nannerl and Constanze on 29 July. Nannerl noted in her diary that Constanze accompanied her to mass at the Mirabel chapel on the following two days, but after this there is no further mention of Mozart or Constanze in the context of Nannerl's regular church-going.¹¹⁹ Mozart did continue to work on the C minor Mass while in Salzburg: the *particelle* with the wind and brass parts for the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Qui tollis*, *Jesu Christe – Cum sancto*, *Sanctus* and *Osanna* are all on Tyson paper-type 62-II, characteristic of

¹¹⁸ See Emil Karl Blümmel, "Mozarts Kinder: Eine Matrikenstudie," in *Aus Mozarts Freundes und Familien Kreis* (Vienna: E. Strache, 1923), 1-8. The couple's fifth child, Anna, received an emergency bedside baptism due to her precarious condition, and died within an hour of her birth.

¹¹⁹ *MBA*, iii.282-83.

that city. This would seem to imply that much of the work was still in draft form when Mozart left Vienna. With the loss of the main score for the *Sanctus*, *Osanna* and *Benedictus*, however, it is impossible to tell where the principal work on these movements was accomplished.¹²⁰

It was long thought that the rehearsal and first performance of the mass took place in August 1783, due apparently to a faulty interpretation of Nannerl's diary in Nissen's 1828 biography. With the recovery of the relevant part of the original document in the 1950s, it became clear that Nannerl's entries referred to events in October, as Pfannhauser first noted.¹²¹ The first reads, "den 23^{ten}...in CapelHaus bey der prob von der mess meines bruders. bey welcher meine schwägerin die Solo Singt. nachmittag ein grosses schüssen, mein Bruder bestgegeben."¹²² There seems no way of verifying that the "mess" was indeed K. 427, but there is no other reference in the surviving diary to Nannerl attending the numerous rehearsals conducted at the *Kapellhaus* by her father and brother in the 1770s, so the music evidently had some particular significance. Other possible attendees include Michael Haydn, the boys' keyboard teacher, Joseph Hafeneder, their violin teacher, and Leopold Mozart.¹²³ It is conceivable that this rehearsal was preceded or followed by additional rehearsals for

¹²⁰ Schmid states in relation to these three movements: "Daß die Sätze wirklich in Salzburg entstanden sein müssen, erweist das Papier. Mozart benutzt zehnzeiliges Salzburger Papier im Gegensatz zum zwölfzeiligen Wiener Papier."; Schmid, "Bildintentionen," 3. Given the loss of the *Hauptpartitur*, it is difficult to see how Schmid could make this statement. He goes on to describe the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* as movements "die vergleichsweise knapp ausfallen und sicher kürzer sind, als der erste Plan vorgesehen hätte." (Ibid.) With the ambitious double-choir texture of the former and the fully-developed sonata structure of the latter, it is again difficult to see them as constrained by time pressure.

¹²¹ Pfannhauser, "Nannerl Mozarts Tagebuchblätter," 13-15. The surviving sections of the complete diary are given in facsimile and transcription in Geneviève Geffray, ed., *Meine Tag Ordnungen: Nannerl Mozarts Tagebuchblätter 1775-1783, mit Eintragungen Ihres Bruders Wolfgang und Ihres Vaters Leopold* (Bad Honnef: K. H. Bock, 1998). A schematic presentation of the diary entries for the summer of 1783 is found in Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 408-22. See also Michael Lorenz, "Franz Jakob Freystädtler (1761-1841): Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu seiner Biographie und Seinen Spuren im Werk Mozarts," *Acta Mozartiana* 44, no. 3/4 (1997): 89n28.

¹²² *MBA*, iii.290.

¹²³ On the *Kapellhaus*, see Heinz Schuler, "Salzburger Kapellhauslehrer zur Mozartzeit: Eine Quellen-Studie," *Acta mozartiana* 35 (1988): 26-33.

sections of the ensemble, but it appears from Mozart's afternoon hosting of the *Bölzelschießen* that the upcoming performance was not a constant preoccupation.

Three days later, Nannerl recorded, “den 25^{ten} [recte 26^{ten}]¹²⁴ zu st peter in amt mein bruder sein amt gemacht worden. die ganze hofmusik war dabey. Nachmittag Hagenauer bestgeber, Catherl gewohnen. tomasellj, ceccarellj, hermesin in capucinerberg in beurlauben bey uns. Bologna mit uns in der comedie. auf dem abend geregnet.”¹²⁵ Nannerl's terse presentation of the day's events may be frustrating in its lack of information about the performance, but her style here is entirely consistent with the rest of the diary. As the surviving pages contain entries and annotations by both Leopold and Wolfgang, it was clearly not an entirely private document, and as such was not an appropriate vehicle for Nannerl to record her own thoughts in any detail.¹²⁶

It is difficult to believe that the St. Peter's musicians would have been permitted to use the *Kapellhaus* unless the *Hofkapelle* were involved in some capacity, so Nannerl's reference to the “ganze Hofmusik” being “dabey” implies not merely its attendance but also participation.¹²⁷ In the 1783 *Hofkalender*, 26 October was not listed among the *Hof- und Kirchen-Feste*, so there was less potential conflict with the *Hofkapelle*'s duties at the Cathedral the same morning.¹²⁸ There was precedent for the *Hofkapelle* and St. Peter's ensembles

¹²⁴ The previous entry is also noted at the 25th, and the following as the 27th, so October 26 was clearly intended.

¹²⁵ *MBA*, iii.290.

¹²⁶ *pace* Solomon, who sees these “laconic” entries as emblematic of “the levelling of all events in the ebb and flow of Salzburg quotidian life.” Solomon's mistranslation of the following day's entry turns the tenor Michelangelo Bologna into a foodstuff: “Afternoon, papa, I, Gretl, and Henry ate bologna at Bird Inn in Gnigl.” Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1995), 272.

¹²⁷ Croll states that the monthly total of *Trinkgelder* at St. Peter's in October 1783 was “eine rund doppelt so hohe Summe als sonst üblich”; Gerhard Croll, “Zwei Mozart-Messen in der Stiftskirche St. Peter,” in *Das Benediktinerstift St. Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts*, ed. Petrus Eder and Gerhard Walterskirchen (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1991), 138. Croll provides no figures to support this assertion, and the suggested association of the payments with the *Hofkapelle* is not verifiable since the abbot directed funds to a wide variety of recipients; P. Petrus Eder, personal communication.

¹²⁸ Franz Mehofer, *Hochfürstlich=Salzburgischer Hofkalender, oder Schematismus auf das Jahr...1783* (Salzburg: Franz Prodiger, 1783).

combining: on 31 August 1782, the double celebration of the 1200th anniversary of the diocese and the 50th anniversary of Abbot Beda's entry into St. Peter's was commemorated with Michael Haydn's *Applausus* MH 323, performed by members of both groups.¹²⁹ Although there were political implications for the *Hofkapelle* in performing a work by a rebellious former colleague like Mozart, there were close ties between St. Peter's and the court, and the Archbishop attended services there on a number of occasions. As the St. Peter's ensemble numbered about 20 musicians in total as of 1783, extra players were certainly needed if the demands of the C minor Mass were to be met.¹³⁰

26 October was the feast of St. Amandus, Bishop of Worms. Amandus, whose relics were brought to Salzburg by St. Rupert, founder of St. Peter's Abbey, is frequently confused with another St. Amandus, Bishop of Maastricht.¹³¹ The celebration of the feast was limited to Salzburg, and occurred simultaneously with the more generally celebrated feast of St. Evaristus. A number of Salzburg composers wrote works in honour of the saint: Michael Haydn, for example, wrote a *Missa Sancti Amandi* MH 229 in 1776. The 1783 Salzburg *Propriae sanctorum* prescribes for 26 October:

Translatio S. AMANDI Episcopi & Confessoris. Duplex.
Missa. Sacerdotes tui. ut in comm. Conf. Pontif.

¹²⁹ Gerhard Croll, "Die Mozarts, Johann Michael Haydn und das Stift St. Peter," in *St. Peter in Salzburg: das Älteste Kloster im Deutschen Sprachraum*, ed. Heinz Dopsch and Roswitha Juffinger (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesregierung, 1982), 150-51.

¹³⁰ See Petrus Eder, "Die Sankt-Petrischen Musikanten," in *Das Benediktinerstift St. Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts*, ed. Petrus Eder and Gerhard Walterskirchen (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1991), 98, 118-19. The list of the ensemble as it stood in 1781 (118) omits the two *Altists*, Joseph and Kajetan Russegger. It is possible that a number of the *Choral* singers also took part (see *Ibid.*, 106), though certainly not in the numbers proposed in Zaslav, "Mozart's Salzburg Sacred Music," 579. A not entirely reliable collection of data on the musicians is Rudolph Angermüller, "Musiker der Erzabtei St. Peter, Salzburg, von 1586 bis 1922," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 31 (1983): 61-102. On the organists, see Petrus Eder and Gudrun Nöchel, "Sanktpetrische Organisten von 1743 bis 1815," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 49, no. 3/4 (2001): 53-66.

¹³¹ See, for example, *NMA* I/1/1/v, x; Robert Levin, "A New Completion of Mozart's Mass in C Minor, K. 427/417^a," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2005* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006), 240n2.

Oratio. Laeta nos, quaesumus, Domine, Beati Amandi Confessoris tui, atque Pontificis festivitas semper excipiat, quae & jucunditatem nobis suae glorificationis infundat & tibi nos reddat acceptos. Per Dominum nostrum.
Comm. S. Evaristi Papae & Mart. ut in Missali Romano suo loco.¹³²

In 1783, 26 October was also the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost, and the problems of reconciling the liturgical requirements of the day with the C minor Mass are well-known. On some saints' days the Credo was omitted, a practice that would have harmonised conveniently with the unfinished state of K. 427. With very few exceptions, however, the Credo was prescribed if the feast fell on a Sunday, as it did in 1783.¹³³ From the St. Peter's formulary for that year, it is clear that the Credo was to be included on 26 October:

E 26 Dom. † 5 Octobr. 20 post Pent. Translat. S. Amandi E. C. Wformat. & Patron. Ad S. Petr. dupl. 2 cl....[Missal] Sacerdotes. Sed privat. tant. (in M. solenn. Com. Dom. tant.) Gl. Cr. Secret. & Postcom. ppr. Praef. Ss. Trinit. In fin. Ev. Dom.¹³⁴

We can only guess at how Mozart coped with the need to provide this section of the ordinary. Riedel states that it was the practice in many parts of France, Bavaria and Salzburg to break off the *Credo* after the *Et incarnatus*, and this might explain why Mozart drafted the *Credo* no further than this movement.¹³⁵ As Riedel fails to give any examples of this practice, however, the assertion is of limited utility as it stands. Abbot Beda, who presided at the service, merely noted in his diary: "25. et 26. pro festo transl: S. Amandi, quod incidis [?] in Dom. 20. pent: et in nostra eccl[es]ia menstrua, ante et post prandia[m] cu[m] processione omnia p[er] me fuerunt peracta."¹³⁶

¹³² *Missae Propriae Sanctorum Metropolitanae Ecclesiae et Archidioecesis Salzburgensis*, (Salzburg: Johann Joseph Mayr, 1783), 19. See also *NMA* I/1/1/v, x n10.

¹³³ Wolff speculates that K. 427 would have been accommodated under the tradition of "Kyrie-Gloria" masses lacking the Credo, Sanctus and Agnus; Christoph Wolff, "Mozarts C-Moll-Messe und 'der Höhere Pathetische Stil der Kirchenmusik'," in *Intermedialität: Studien zur Wechselwirkung Zwischen den Künsten*, ed. Günter Schnitzler (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 2004), 163-64. The Kyrie-Gloria tradition was well-established in Italy, Bohemia and Dresden, but less so in Austrian lands at this time; neither Mozart nor the Haydn brothers wrote one, and K. 427 includes a Sanctus in any case.

¹³⁴ *Directorium officii divini omnibus sub regula SS. P. Benedicti militantibus, specialiter tamen Monasterio S. Petri Salisburgi accommodatum* (Salzburg: Johann Joseph Mayr, 1783). I am grateful to P. Petrus Eder for providing me with a transcription of this passage.

¹³⁵ Riedel, "Mozarts Kirchenmusik. Musikalische Tradition - Liturgische Funktion - Religiöse Aussage," 24.

¹³⁶ A-Ssp, Hs A 177, f. 610. The St. Peter's *Directorium* marks 26 October as a *festā abbatis*.

One of the chief documents supporting a 1783 performance of the C minor Mass is an incomplete set of parts for K. 427 that is said to have been used at the premiere.¹³⁷ The parts are presumed have been part of the collection of sacred performance material once owned by Leopold Mozart, and sent by Nannerl to Stift Heilig Kreuz in Augsburg soon after the death of her father.¹³⁸ There is little doubt that the set, which consists of an organ part and three trombone parts, was once more extensive than it appears today, for a score copy of K. 427 by Pater Matthäus Fischer (1763-1840), the Heilig Kreuz organist from 1784 until 1803, is unlikely to have been based on any other source.¹³⁹ Although the copy of K. 427 is by far the best known of the score copies, Fischer compiled full scores of many Mozart sacred works based on the parts sent by Nannerl; see Table 2.2.¹⁴⁰ After the secularisation of the abbey in 1803, Fischer became *regens chori* at the church formerly attached to the institution, and the parts donated by Nannerl remained under his control. Unfortunately, the Heilig Kreuz collection had a chequered history in the nineteenth century. Johann André, forced to deal with the loss of the autograph *Hauptpartitur* for the Sanctus and Benedictus,¹⁴¹ somehow located the Fischer copy of K. 427 and removed it from the church along with

¹³⁷ D-As, H1 10. See, for example, *NMA I/1/1/v*, xii, H. C. Robbins Landon, "Mozart's Mass in C Minor, K. 427," in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. E. K. Wolf and E. H. Roesner (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1990), 419-23.

¹³⁸ *MBA*, iv.298.

¹³⁹ On Fischer, see Ernst Fritz Schmid, "Mozart und das Geistliche Augsburg," in *Augsburger Mozartbuch, Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben* (Augsburg: J. A. Schlosser, 1943), 190-95. The Fischer copy of K. 427 dates no later than 1802; Robert Levin, personal communication and Levin, "A New Completion," 239.

¹⁴⁰ On the Augsburg holdings, see Josef Mančal, *Mozart-Schätze in Augsburg*, vol. 3, *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* (Augsburg: B. Wissner, 1995). Fischer seems to have been particularly interested in fugues: of K. 337 he scored only the fugal *Benedictus*, and he initially scored only the *Cum sancto* and *Osanna* of K. 427 before deciding, probably after some time, to score the entire work. The original deleted foliation of these movements can still be made out, and the paper on which they are written differs from the rest of the score.

¹⁴¹ The circumstances of the loss are unknown. Schmid surmised that Mozart left the score behind in Salzburg, but it is difficult to envisage Mozart doing this either intentionally or accidentally; Schmid, "Bildintentionen," 4. More likely it was related to the preparations for *Davide penitente*, during which the Sanctus and Benedictus likely became separated from the main score. Annotations on the surviving *particella* for those movements show that the manuscript had also become separated and was only reunited with the main score by André; see *NMA I/1/1/v*, xii.

Table 2.2. Matthäus Fischer's *Spartierungen* of works by Mozart.

<i>Work</i>	<i>Score Location</i>	<i>Source</i>
Litaniae K. 125	Augsburg, ?Erich Gackowski	?lost parts sent by Leopold Mozart, 1778 (see <i>MBA</i> , ii.381)
Missa in G K. 140	D-As, Hl 11 (olim Gackowski)	D-As, Hl 11
Litaniae K. 243	D-Admg, 10	Augsburg, private collection; ?=parts sent by Leopold in 1778
Cantate Domino	D-As, Hl 21	?lost Mozart family parts; contrafactum of Regina Coeli K. 276
Vesperae de Dominica, K. 321/1-4	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 14587	D-As, Hl 15, 16
Vesperae de Dominica, K. 321/5	D-F, Mus. Hs. 440	D-As, Hl 15
Missa in C, K. 317	Augsburg, Erich Gackowski	lost Mozart family parts; score copy reported in <i>K</i> ⁶ "Augsburg, Stadtarchiv (W. Senn, 1956)" rejected in <i>NMA</i> I/1/1/v, xiv n44 but see <i>KB</i> , 29.
Missa in C, K. 337	D-As, Hl 78	D-As, Hl 9; Benedictus fugue only; signature given as Hl 9 in <i>NMA</i> but found under Hl 78 during inspection
Missa in C minor, K. 427	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 14586	D-As, Hl 10 and lost Mozart family parts

Note: the following sets of performance material contain parts written by Fischer, all in D-As: Hl 11 (K. 140), Hl 19 (K. 193), Hl 20 (K. 222), Hl 6 (K. 257), Hl 5 (K. 262), Hl 21 (K. 276), Hl 9 (K. 337). The set for K. 337 is reported lost in Eisen, "Salzburg Copyists," 306 but was available for inspection in 2005.

Fischer's copy of K. 321.¹⁴² As an inventory shows, the Heilig Kreuz collection was still substantially intact as of 1855,¹⁴³ but at some point part of the collection was moved to Stift St. Stephan in Augsburg. Adolf Buff reported in 1891:

Die Musikalien des ehemaligen heil. Kreuzklosters befinden sich gegenwärtig zum Theile in dem St. Stephanskloster unter der Obhut des Herrn Seminardirektors P. K. Berchthold O. S. B., und der Rest soll demnächst ebenfalls dorthin verbracht werden. Ich sah unter anderm darunter eine Messe in C dur und eine Litanei in Es dur, welche Compositionen Mozart damals dem Prälaten schenkte. Die Litanei zeigt die Handschrift des P. Matthäus Fischer vom hl. Kreuzkloster, der selbst noch in jene Zeit hinaufreichte.¹⁴⁴

Despite Buff's mention of an upcoming transfer, the remaining part of the collection stayed at Heilig Kreuz, where it was examined by Theodor Kroyer at the beginning of the twentieth century and again by Ernst Fritz Schmid in 1942. Schmid soon produced an important if rather rambling article on Mozart's association with Heilig Kreuz which included the first mention of the parts for K. 427, now reduced to just the organ and trombone parts.¹⁴⁵ Schmid also arranged for the parts to be transferred to the Stadtarchiv in Augsburg – a fortunate initiative, since the church was severely damaged by Allied bombing in February 1944. The collection at St. Stephan, which included works by Fischer himself, was seen by Schmid in 1942,¹⁴⁶ but that church was likewise destroyed in 1944. Some or all of the works

¹⁴² Fischer was still living when André's investigations took place, but it is unknown what involvement the two may have had. André's print of K. 427, published in the year of Fischer's death, states that Mozart "...eine Abschrift davon einem Kloster in Baiern überlassen hat, woselbst ich solche vorgefunden und mit dem in meinen Händen befindlichen Original Manuscript verglichen habe." Holl (*NMA* I/1/1/v, xvi) thought it probable that Fischer compiled the manuscript especially for André, but this is certainly incorrect: André would never have been satisfied with the incomplete nature of Fischer's score, and the formulation of André's statement rules out the possibility in any case. On the transmission of the two sources, see Plath, "Mozartiana," 134.

¹⁴³ D-As, Hl 78. The inventory, compiled by the then *regens chori* of Heilig Kreuz, Jakob Niggel, is unfortunately non-thematic and lists the collection only in summary, but it makes mention of 15 Mozart masses "und ein Sanctus und Agnus Dei." See Walter Senn, "Die Mozart-Überlieferung im Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg," in *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch, Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben* (Augsburg: M. Seitz, 1962), 333-34.

¹⁴⁴ Adolf Buff, "Mozarts Augsburger Vorfahren," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 18 (1891): 30n65.

¹⁴⁵ Schmid, "Mozart und das Geistliche Augsburg," 172.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 194-95.

at St. Stephan had however been removed by unclear means before the bombing and became *Privatbesitz*. The Fischer score of K. 243 seen by Buff was donated by “H. Voigt” to the *Mozartgemeinde* in Augsburg,¹⁴⁷ but some of the material was eventually obtained by Erich Gackowski. Gackowski gave Fischer’s score of K. 140 to the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg, where the Heilig Kreuz collection is now held on deposit,¹⁴⁸ but retained at least one item, Fischer’s score of K. 317. As a result of the division of the collection and its subsequent dispersal, one of the most important early sources for Mozart’s sacred music has suffered substantial losses.

The organ part for K. 427 in the Heilig Kreuz collection is in the hand of Joseph Estlinger, while the trombones are in the hand of Felix Hofstätter. Estlinger was the Mozarts’ preferred copyist in Salzburg, while Hofstätter worked as a tenor and violinist at the court, making a Salzburg origin for the parts very likely.¹⁴⁹ Given the limited distribution of K. 427 and the likely provenance of the manuscripts through Nannerl, there would seem to be a good *prima facie* case for the proposition that these parts were part of the original performance material used at St. Peter’s. There are, however, some unusual features of the parts that call for comment.

The first curiosity concerns the pitch. As is well known, both the organ and trombone parts are notated a tone lower than Mozart’s score. Such a disposition is familiar from the conventions of J. S. Bach’s Leipzig, for example, where the parts for the *Chorton* organ and trombones were transposed down to match the *Cammerton* woodwinds and strings. Although the performance practice of Mozart’s Salzburg church music is in need of further investigation, it appears that an organ tuned a tone higher than the other instruments

¹⁴⁷ Senn, “Die Mozart-Überlieferung im Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg,” 336n9.

¹⁴⁸ Gackowski’s transfer of the score is noted in the catalogue of the Heilig Kreuz collection kept in D-As.

¹⁴⁹ See Cliff Eisen, “The Mozarts’ Salzburg Copyists: Aspects of Attribution, Chronology, Text, Style, and Performance Practice,” in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 259-65.

was *not* the usual disposition, either at the Cathedral or St. Peter's. Instead, performances were based on a form of *Chorton* to which the organ, trombones and strings were tuned, leaving only the flutes, oboes and sometimes bassoons at *Cammerton*.¹⁵⁰ In consequence, Salzburg performance material typically shows the organ, trombone and string parts notated at the pitch of the score, and the woodwinds alone transposed *up* a tone to accommodate for their lower tuning.¹⁵¹ This disposition may be seen in the original parts for the *Dominicus* Mass in C K. 66, the only other major work that Mozart wrote for St. Peter's. The parts, which are partially autograph, feature oboe and flute parts written in D but all the remaining instruments, including the organ, notated in C.¹⁵²

How is this discrepancy to be explained? With the loss of most of the parts for K. 427, we can only speculate. If St. Peter's was indeed the venue and the surviving parts are indicative of the performance, one must presume that some unusual performance conditions were in place. A Salzburg performance at *Cammerton* might have involved the strings tuning down from *Chorton*, the woodwinds playing untransposed parts, the organ and trombones playing transposed parts as the surviving material indicates, and perhaps the horns and trumpets playing with lower-pitched crooks.¹⁵³ Maybe the presence of the *Hofkapelle* had something to do with a putative decision to perform at *Cammerton*, or perhaps, as Plath suggested, Constanze or the other singers found the music too taxing at *Chorton*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ The Mozart family's parts for K. 337 (D-As, Hl 9) include both transposed and untransposed bassoon parts.

¹⁵¹ See Arthur Mendel, "Pitch in Western Music since 1500. A Re-Examination," *Acta musicologica* 50 (1978): 13-14, 79-80, Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story Of "A"* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 322-23.

¹⁵² A-Ssp, Moz 80.1-2; see *NMA KB I/1/1/1*, 76-8.

¹⁵³ Joshua Rifkin, personal communication.

¹⁵⁴ Mendel, "Pitch in Western Music," 34n21. Zaslav reads Nannerl's "die ganze hofmusik war dabey" as implying that the St. Peter's musicians did not participate at all, leaving the entire service to the *Hofkapelle*; Zaslav, "Mozart's Salzburg Sacred Music," 579. It is difficult however to envisage the absence of the abbey's own musicians on the feast of a patron saint, celebrated by the abbot.

Little is known, unfortunately, about the pitch of the St. Peter's organ. The instrument, originally completed by Daniel Haill in 1620 and renovated twice by Egedacher in the early eighteenth century, was set "in die Chorchöhe" in 1631 and "auf Cornet" in 1793, but there is no information on what these terms actually meant in practice.¹⁵⁵ The pitch of Egedacher's main instrument at the Cathedral is thought, on not especially strong grounds, to have been $a^1 \approx 454$.¹⁵⁶ If K. 427 was performed at *Cammerton*, contrary to Salzburg practice, it is worth considering whether Mozart designed the mass for that pitch standard from the outset – a proposition that has negative implications for the popular idea that the C minor Mass was written for St. Peter's. Although further research is required, some evidence suggests that the *Hofkapelle* in Vienna was performing at *Cammerton*.¹⁵⁷ An anecdote about Albrechtsberger, which can be interpreted in a number of ways, relates that some time between 1767 and 1772 the composer was invited by Reutter to play "zu einer Messe in G, die aber Albrechtsberger durchgehends um einen halben Ton höher in Gis wegen tieferer Stimmung der Orgel spielen mußte, ohne den geringsten Fehlgriff..."¹⁵⁸ Performance material from the *Hofkapelle*, on the other hand, has all the instruments,

¹⁵⁵ Mendel, "Pitch in Western Music," 34n21. See also Gerhard Walterskirchen, "Orgeln und Orgelbauer in Salzburg Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Beiträge zu 700 Jahren Orgelbau in der Stadt Salzburg" (PhD diss., Universität Salzburg, 1982), 267-69, Gerhard Walterskirchen, "Die Große Orgel der Stiftskirche St. Peter zur Zeit Mozarts und Haydns," in *Das Benediktinerstift St. Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts*, ed. Petrus Eder and Gerhard Walterskirchen (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1991), 127-28.

¹⁵⁶ Mendel, "Pitch in Western Music," 79.

¹⁵⁷ Haynes claims that the C minor Mass was "originally given in Vienna in c-minor, presumably in a venue where the organ was a semitone lower [sic], thus at *Wienerton* = A+0 [i. e. $a^1=c$. 438]. By performing it in Salzburg in b [sic], the voices sang at the same absolute pitch level as Vienna."; Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, 322-23. While I am unaware of any evidence that K. 427 was heard in Vienna prior to its performance in Salzburg, the possibility that the mass was written with Viennese performance conditions in mind deserves consideration.

¹⁵⁸ Karl Wagner, ed., *Abbé Maximilian Stadler: seine 'Materialien zur Geschichte der Musik unter den Österreichischen Regenten': Ein Beitrag zum Musikal. Historismus im Vormärzlichen Wien*, vol. 7, *Publikationen des Instituts für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Salzburg* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), 103. Reutter himself wrote three masses in G with extant sources in Vienna: Hofer 21, 39 and 70.

including the organ and woodwind, consistently notated at the same pitch as the score.¹⁵⁹ Contemporary performance parts from St. Stephen's Cathedral, St. Michael's and other Viennese churches also show the same convention. Since many members of the *Hofkapelle* also played in the orchestra of the *Burgtheater*, which was at *Kammerton*, it is unlikely that a significant pitch disparity existed between the two ensembles.¹⁶⁰ The possibility that Mozart designed the C minor Mass for performance in Vienna cannot be excluded.

The second difficulty with the Heilig Kreuz parts is one of handwriting. As the collection as a whole was once in the possession of the Mozart family, many of the parts not surprisingly contain additions and corrections in the hand of Wolfgang and his father. Walter Senn, who first conducted a thorough evaluation of the collection, thought that the parts for K. 427 contained such corrections, but he was unable to determine whether they originated with Leopold or his son. On this question, Senn wrote:

Von den vier in Hl. Kreuz erhalten gebliebenen Stimmen dieses aus vier Sätzen bestehenden Fragments trägt die der *Organo* wenige Korrekturen, Vorzeichen und Ziffern des Generalbasses, die von einer Mozartschen Hand herrühren – ob von Leopold oder von Wolfgang (die Zartheit der Striche würde eher auf ihn deuten), läßt sich, da größere charakteristische Zeichen fehlen, nicht mit Bestimmtheit feststellen.¹⁶¹

In the appendix to the article, Senn noted only “Korrekturen von Leopold oder W. A. Mozart”¹⁶² in the parts for K. 427, in contrast to other sets from the collection where a distinction between father and son could be established. Later commentators have accepted Senn's conclusions at face value and effectively discounted the possibility that Leopold, not his son, was responsible for the corrections.¹⁶³ Holl in the *NMA* stated that Estlinger's organ

¹⁵⁹ Reutter's *Missa in D* (Hofer 54) features an elaborate solo part for the oboe. The *Hofkapelle's* performance material for the work in A-Wn, HK 765 includes no fewer than three copies of the *Oboa Concerta* part: one from the original set, one of early but undetermined date, and a third probably dating from around 1800 with pasteovers and corrections in the hand of Salieri. All three are notated in D.

¹⁶⁰ On Viennese pitch standards see Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, 320-21.

¹⁶¹ Senn, “Die Mozart-Überlieferung im Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg,” 342.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 368.

¹⁶³ See, for example, Landon, “Mozart's Mass in C Minor,” 422, Croll, “Zwei Mozart-Messen,” 138.

part has transposition errors, “die von Mozart eigenhändig korrigiert wurden.”¹⁶⁴ By the critical report of a decade later, however, this stance had been softened: “Die Orgelstimme enthält zahlreiche Rasuren und Korrekturen in der Bezifferung, die zum Teil von Mozart selbst stammen könnten.” The reader is directed to the *Einzelbemerkungen* for further details, but only five of the numerous corrections in the organ part are attributed there to Mozart, all conjecturally.¹⁶⁵

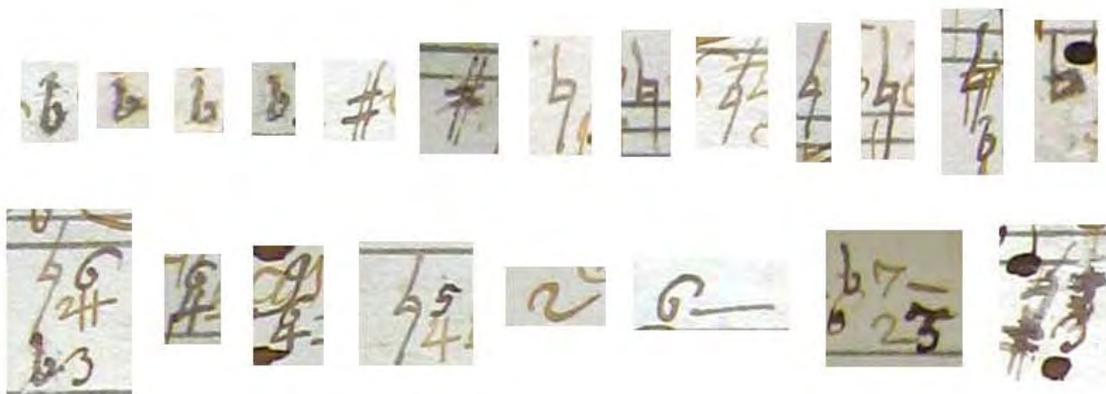


Figure 2.8. Corrections and additions to figuring in the Heilig Kreuz organ part for K. 427. D-As, H1 10.

Most of the corrections to the organ part are written in what is now a grey-shaded ink, easily distinguishable from Estlinger’s brown ink; see Figure 2.8. These corrections appear to be limited to the first four movements of the mass only, for they are not to be found after the *Gratias*. Almost all the modifications pertain to the figuring, particularly to the correction of accidentals that Estlinger had taken over by mistake from a model apparently notated at *Kammerton*. Many of the natural signs are atypical of Mozart in their well-defined, interlocking “L” shape: by this time, Mozart’s natural sign usually had the lower “L” modified into a curve so that the central part of the sign was essentially triangular,

¹⁶⁴ Holl, *NMA I/1/1/v*, xv.

¹⁶⁵ Holl, *NMA I/1/1/v* KB, 9, 45-8. The corrections in question (Kyrie b. 7-8, Laudamus b. 53-4, 65, 125-6 and Gratias b. 6) are stated to be “(von Mozart?)”. The single numeral “2” in the second row of Figure 2.8 is included due to Holl’s speculation that it was a later correction, although it is written in a brown ink similar to Estlinger’s.

not square.¹⁶⁶ Both the organ part from the *Domine Deus* onwards and the three trombone parts were in need of equal critical attention, for they all contain figuring and transposition errors that would have impacted on a performance.¹⁶⁷ Why further corrections in grey ink were never made is a matter of speculation: perhaps time was short or a decision was made not to use the surviving parts. There do however appear to a small number of further corrections in pencil and brown ink in the organ part.¹⁶⁸ Clearly, the question of the identity of the additional hand or hands in this manuscript is far from settled, and the argument for the presence of Mozart's hand rests for the moment on Senn's original, unsupported statement. The identification of precisely which corrections were written by Mozart, if any, is a desideratum for future research.

A final challenge to the accepted view of the Heilig Kreuz parts appeared in 1991 with the publication of Cliff Eisen's important article on the Mozart's Salzburg copyists. According to Eisen, the two watermark designs found in the parts have not been found in dated manuscripts earlier than 1784, and no earlier than June of that year in manuscripts with more precise dates.¹⁶⁹ Two Salzburg sources share the precise paper-types of the K. 427 parts: a set of parts for a mass by Gatti, dated 1784, and a set of parts partially in the hand of Estlinger for Michael Haydn's gradual *Effuderunt sanguinem* MH 392, the autograph of which was completed on 11 December 1784.¹⁷⁰ Other paper-types including the two

¹⁶⁶ See *MVC*, 279 and Richard Maunder, *Mozart's Requiem: On Preparing a New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 125.

¹⁶⁷ See, for example, the Trombone 2^{do} part for the *Qui tollis*, which has transposition errors in b. 37-39 and a tenor clef notated throughout, even though the pitches themselves are written correctly as if an alto clef were present.

¹⁶⁸ Examples include an additional "slash" 6 in brown ink in b. 5 of the *Gratias*, and pencil corrections in b. 19 of the *Qui tollis* and b. 88 of the *Quoniam*.

¹⁶⁹ Eisen, "The Mozarts' Salzburg Copyists," 307. The two watermarks are two different forms of a design consisting of GFA under a canopy | three moons over REAL. One form is found in the outermost bifolium of the organ and f. 3-4 of the third trombone part, while the other is found in the remaining bifolia.

¹⁷⁰ A-Sd, A 615 and A-Ssp, Hay 525.1. The detailed information in this paragraph on the watermarks and paper-types was supplied by Cliff Eisen (personal communication), to whom I am very grateful.

watermarks are found in precisely dated Salzburg manuscripts only between 24 June 1784 and 30 May 1785, and are not found in combination with any other watermark.¹⁷¹ For manuscripts written in Vienna, great caution would be exercised when drawing conclusions from such data, since there was a large market for music paper and it is not certain that the availability of a particular type could be dated so precisely. In Salzburg, however, the market was much smaller, and the availability of any one type was likely more restricted in chronological terms. Consequently, the fact that no datable Salzburg manuscript with the watermarks of the K. 427 parts originates earlier than 1784 leads to the possibility that the surviving performance materials for the mass were copied *after* the October 1783 performance.¹⁷² If they were, then we would need to reconsider the disposition of the premiere at St. Peter's, the history of the autograph after Mozart's departure, the possibility of a lost intermediary source, and the prospect of a further performance of the mass in Salzburg or elsewhere. To be sure, not all manuscripts from Salzburg have been investigated, and it is possible that dated sources from 1783 with the watermarks of the Heilig Kreuz parts will turn up. In the absence of such sources, however, and with uncertainty surrounding the alleged corrections by Mozart, the partial performance material for K. 427 may yet retain the capacity to lead scholarship on the C minor Mass in unexpected directions.

The transmission and performance history of the C minor Mass outside the environs of Salzburg and Heilig Kreuz has been little studied. Most of the music was well-known through *Davide penitente*, a work that was widely distributed in both manuscript and printed

¹⁷¹ One type is found in five Michael Haydn autographs beginning with *Dilexisti justitiam* MH 376 (11.7.84) and ending with the Symphony in F MH 405 (30.5.85), while the other appears nine times, first in the autograph of *Constitues eos* MH 373 (24.6.84) and last in *Oculi omnium* MH 401 (14.4.85).

¹⁷² Estlinger continued to work for Leopold after Wolfgang's departure, and copied parts for the "Linz" symphony sometime between May and September 1784; see Cliff Eisen, "New Light on Mozart's 'Linz' Symphony, K. 425," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113 (1988): 84.

form, but K. 427 itself seems to have remained obscure.¹⁷³ The Viennese music dealer Johann Traeg had however acquired a copy of it by 1799, most likely through Constanze.¹⁷⁴ A set of parts based on Andre's first edition of 1840 survives at Stift Kremsmünster, although it is not known at present if the parts were used in liturgical context.¹⁷⁵ The first completion of K. 427 was prepared by Joseph Drechsler (1782-1852) in 1847, three years after he became *Kapellmeister* at St. Stephen's Cathedral. The completion was performed at the Cathedral on 15 November 1847, and a detailed review in the *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* allows us to gain some idea of its content.¹⁷⁶ Although the completion is listed in the St. Stephen's music catalogue, it was already unknown to Köchel, and the sole source at the Cathedral may have been destroyed in 1945; see Figure 2.9.¹⁷⁷



Figure 2.9. Entry for Drechsler's completion of K. 427 in the St. Stephen's music catalogue. A-Wda, s.s., 26.

¹⁷³ Artaria published vocal scores of the solo numbers from *Davide* in 1797. Edge has shown that one of the two principal surviving sources for *Davide*, D-FUI, M 291, dates from around 1800, contrary to the assertion of Monika Holl in the *NMA* that it dates from c. 1785 and derives from Mozart's *Nachlass*; *MVC*, 536, 1093. Holl's other principal source, A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 19903, described as "zeitgenössische," likewise dates from around 1800. This score, which is partly in the hand of Peter Rampl, has a watermark consisting of a single man-in-the-moon countered by GA over F in a heart-shaped crest; this design does not appear in Viennese papers during Mozart's lifetime. For reasons unknown, Nissen wrote "Davide penitente" at the top of the piano concerto fragment Fr 1785g.

¹⁷⁴ See the following chapter.

¹⁷⁵ A-KR, C 32/899.

¹⁷⁶ Reprinted in Alexander Weinmann, "Ein Ins Leere Gehender Fundbericht," *Wiener Figaro* 46 (December 1979): 30-31.

¹⁷⁷ See Eva Kitzler, "Joseph Drechsler und seine Kirchenmusik" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1983), ii.142-44. Note that the copyist of the incipit in Figure 2.9 skipped a bar in the violin part, and that the inventory makes no mention of flute, trumpet or timpani parts.

Evidently the completion did not progress far, but it may possibly be identified with a Mass in C minor by Mozart performed “zum ersten Mal” by the *Hofkapelle* on 30 September 1883.¹⁷⁸

Although Drechsler’s completion is thought to be lost, part of it may be preserved in a previously unnoticed set of parts deriving from the “Exner-Sammlung” in Zittau, a collection we shall meet again in the following chapter.¹⁷⁹ The parts, which seem to date from the nineteenth century, transmit only the *Laudamus te* and *Et incarnatus*. The *Laudamus*, of course, was already completed by Mozart, but the *Et incarnatus* appears in an otherwise unknown completion scored for soprano, flute, oboe, bassoon, two horns and strings; see Figure 2.10. The title page to the parts reads “Missa von Mozart / in C moll. / op. postum”, and gives no indication of any author except Mozart. According to the review of the Dreschler completion, the *Et incarnatus* was a movement “das Herr Drechsler nur instrumentierte und um einige Stellen kürztzte,” and which “für die Singstimmen fast unausführbare Schwierigkeiten bieten und für die Kirche nicht ganz passen.”¹⁸⁰ The Dresden parts show no sign of cuts, which would seem to argue against their identification with the Drechsler completion. If these parts are not the work of Drechsler, they retain significance as a very early example in the reception of K. 427.

On their way back to Vienna, Mozart and Constanze visited the monastery of Lambach, where, as Mozart reported, “ich kam eben recht um bey dem amt das Agnus Dei mit der orgel zu begleiten...wir blieben den ganzen tag alda, alwo ich auf der orgel und auf

¹⁷⁸ Richard Steurer, *Das Repertoire der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 22, *Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Musikdokumentation* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1998), 545.

¹⁷⁹ D-DI, Mus. 3972-D-525. On the Exner-Sammlung, see Ortrun Landmann, “Die Dresdener Haydn-Quellen im Hinblick auf Ihre Provenienzen,” in *Joseph Haydn. Bericht über den Internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda (Munich: G. Henle, 1986), 521-23. The title wrapper appears originally to have been an envelope of some kind, for its reverse is addressed to “Das Königl. Sächs. Zoll Amt / Zittau...”.

¹⁸⁰ Weinmann, “Ein Ins Leere Gehender Fundbericht,” 31.

Et incarnatus. Violino 2^{do}

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Violino 2^{do} of the piece 'Et incarnatus'. The score is written on 14 staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 6/8 time signature. The music is characterized by intricate rhythmic patterns, including many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. There are several first and second endings marked with '1.' and '2.'. A dynamic marking of *fp.* (fortissimo) appears on the eighth staff. The piece concludes with a *Cadenza* section, marked with a double bar line and the number '15.'. The tempo marking *all. a tempo* is written above the final staff. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Mus. 3972-D-525



Figure 2.10. Violino 2^{do} from an unidentified completion of the *Et incarnatus*. D-DI, Mus. 3972-D-525.

einen clavicord spielte.”¹⁸¹ While at Lambach, Mozart may have taken the opportunity to copy the *Pignus* fugue from a Litany by Michael Haydn, MH 228 in G minor. Mozart’s score, K. Anh. 240/Anh. A. 12 is written on an unusual “local” paper with the watermark Tyson 69, otherwise found in the autograph of the piano sonata K. 333 and the sketchleaves Skb 1783ε, 1783ζ and 1783η. Tyson has shown that this was likely paper that Mozart obtained somewhere between Vienna and Salzburg in late October or November 1783.¹⁸² Although it is possible that Mozart copied the *Pignus* in Vienna, contemporary Viennese sources for the work have yet to be identified, and Lambach does possess a copy of the litany that might have served as Mozart’s source.¹⁸³ About the same time, Mozart copied another *Pignus* by Haydn, this one from the earlier Litany MH 66. K. Anh. 239/Anh. A. 11 is written on paper of type Tyson 62-II, the same “Salzburg” type on which the woodwind and brass *particella* for the Sanctus of K. 427 is written.¹⁸⁴ St. Peter’s in Salzburg possesses a copy of the Litany dated 1768, and there is one at Lambach from 1780, but given the associations with Michael Haydn himself during the Salzburg visit it is possible that Mozart obtained the work directly from its composer.¹⁸⁵ As most of the orchestration is missing in both manuscripts, it would seem that Mozart copied the works for study purposes or small-scale vocal performance among the van Swieten circle.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ *MBA*, iii.291.

¹⁸² Alan Tyson, “The Date of Mozart’s Piano Sonata in B-Flat, K. 333 (315c): The “Linz” Sonata?,” in *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 74, 81.

¹⁸³ A-LA, M 1356.

¹⁸⁴ The copy, in F-Pn, breaks off after seven pages.

¹⁸⁵ A-Ssp, Hay 1220.1; A-LA, M 1442.

¹⁸⁶ The inventory of Mozart’s estate lists “Litaniae de Venerabili Sacramento di S. Hayden,” but the identity of this item is not clear; see Konrad and Staehelin, *Allzeit Ein Buch: die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts*, 89. According to K⁶, the entry for the G minor *Pignus* in Andre’s printed catalogue of 1841 mentions a contemporary set of “ausgeschriebenen Stimmen” for the movement. These parts, conceivably associated with the van Swieten circle, are unfortunately no longer extant. The sketch Sk 1785r somewhat resembles the theme of Haydn’s fugue.

The three sketchleaves mentioned above contain primarily sketches for *L'oca del Cairo*, but the verso of Skb 1783ζ contains further sketches, including two for a *Dona nobis pacem* Sk 1783b. As Tyson 69 is probably a post-Salzburg paper-type, and Mozart is not known to have been working on any other mass at this time, the sketches are probably to be identified with an intention to resume work on the C minor mass in the months immediately following the premiere. The attempt did not proceed far, and the fugue subject and countersubject are not exactly compelling, producing repeated unisons between alto and tenor and some awkward harmonies at the entry of the bass. Mozart's dissatisfaction with some aspect of the sketches is evident from his deletion of the words "dona nobis pacem" in the soprano, perhaps prompted by the realisation that the faulty accentuation "do-na," with its accent on the second syllable, pervaded the entire sketch. Faced with such difficulties, it is not surprising that Mozart took this projected movement no further. After *Davide penitente*, it seems that Mozart's final engagement with material derived from the C minor Mass was the exercise in invertible counterpoint Sk 1785n, the first-species voice of which follows the contour of the *Cum sancto* subject. The paper-type of the sketch-leaf is Tyson 82-I, found primarily in works of 1786-87 but appearing as late as 1791.¹⁸⁷

Why did Mozart begin this ambitious work, and why did he not finish it? When he arrived in Vienna in 1781, Mozart's primary aim was to establish himself as a performer and composer in overwhelmingly secular genres. The fact that he invested a substantial amount of time and effort in a sacred work that had little practical or especially financial benefit is an indication of the personal significance the project possessed. Attempts to quantify that significance have usually ascribed it to a single event – Constanze's recovery from illness, the couple's marriage, the birth of their first child, or the visit to Salzburg. There is no need,

¹⁸⁷ *MVC*, 427.

however, to assume that these various motivations were mutually exclusive, and given the relatively extended period for the mass's composition, it is likely that Mozart's motivations for writing the piece evolved as work proceeded. Just as the mass offers a compendium of the styles available to a late eighteenth-century composer of sacred music, so the work may have come to embody Mozart's sense of thanksgiving and collective hopes for the future – aspirations that were not necessarily well-defined or consistent.

It may be that the performance at St. Peter's provided the necessary catharsis for the composer, making any further work on the unfinished mass redundant or at least considered of lower priority. In the later 1780s, when Mozart showed increasing signs of interest in sacred music, it is perhaps significant that he chose to begin several new masses rather than return to work on the unfinished C minor mass. It has been suggested that the death of Mozart's two-month-old son Raimund Leopold in August 1783 was a factor in the composer's failure to complete the mass: supposedly the words "et homo factus est" hit too close to home, and Mozart abandoned the work out of grief.¹⁸⁸ This seems to be an over-simplistic take on the relationship between Mozart's life and Mozart's music. There are indeed times where external pressures do seem to have taken their toll on Mozart's productivity: in 1790, for example, when the composer's fortunes were literally at their lowest ebb, he seems to have written very little. But there are also instances of Mozart coping with the greatest of bereavements – the death of his mother, or the death of three further children – and maintaining his usual remarkable productivity. This is not to suggest that such events were any less traumatic in an age where high infant mortality was the norm, but rather that the relationship between Mozart's environment and his creativity was complex and not easily

¹⁸⁸ A psycho-analytical take on K. 427 is Daniel Cadieux, "Linzer Schmerzensmann. De La Grande Messe En Ut Mineur K. 427 Au Fatasme 'Ein Kind Wird Geschlagen'," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2002* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), 37-86.

reduced to a one-to-one correspondence.¹⁸⁹ In this light, a multivalent approach encompassing both events in Mozart's familial life and external pressures like the push for liturgical reform will prove of most benefit in understanding the genesis of K. 427. As incomplete and stylistically diverse as it is, the C minor Mass remains one of Mozart's most moving and fascinating works, providing eloquent testament of its composer's desire to achieve a unique and highly personal ideal of "wahre kirchenMusic."

¹⁸⁹ There is, in fact, no sure proof that the two movements of the Credo were drafted by October 1783. The paper-type on which they were written, Tyson 56-II, continued to be used by Mozart for the next few years, so it is technically possible that the *Credo* and *Et incarnatus* were written in Vienna *after* the composer had heard of the death of his son.

THREE

The *Hofkapelle*

[Mozart]...kam oft zu Salieri mit den Worten: Lieber Papa, geben sie mir einige alte Partituren aus der Hofbibliothek; ich will sie bey Ihnen durchblättern; wobey er manchmal das Mittagsbrot versäumte.

Anselm Hüttenbrenner¹

*Nun die Krone seiner Messen,
Und so ist und bleibt sie doppelt:
Unsres Mozarts Krönungsmesse.*

Franz Rieger, k. u. k. Feldmarschalleutnant²

I. MUSIC IN THE COURT CHAPEL

The *Hofkapelle*, properly the *Hofmusikkapelle*, was the Emperor's "own" ensemble, and as such offers an opportunity to observe Joseph II's aspirations for sacred music in a particularly direct way. Times had certainly changed since the "golden age" of Charles VI, and the *Kapelle* faced various attempts to restrict its performances and reduce its membership even in Maria Theresa's time, as we have seen in Chapter One. A few months into his sole reign, Joseph seems to have decided that the *Kapelle* as a salaried body of musicians should gradually disappear, presumably to be replaced with a group hired on a per-service basis. In December 1781, the *Hofkapelle's* violin-maker Joseph Stadlmann died, and his cousin Michael petitioned to succeed him. Although the petition was supported by the *Obersthofmeister* Prince Schwarzenberg, Joseph refused to appoint Stadlmann to a salaried position, "da die Eingehung der gesammten Hofkapelle bestimmt ist..." When it was suggested that Joseph might appoint Stadlmann to an unpaid position so that his family

¹ Eisen, *Neue Dokumente*, 89.

² Franz Rieger, *Von W.A. Mozart und Josef Haydn zu dem k.u.k. Hofsängerknaben Roland Philipp* (Vienna: Georg Eichinger, 1913), 22.

might receive a pension from the *Tonkünstlersocietät*, the Emperor replied, “Wegen der Witwen Societät kann nicht ein Bruch in den Satz gemacht werden, die Hofmusik nicht mehr zu ersetzen. Es kann also von der Resolution nicht abgegangen werden.”³

Joseph’s plan of attrition for the *Hofkapelle* continued throughout the 1780s, and the Emperor put in place further reforms to rationalise its practices and reduce costs. In August 1782, the responsibility for the *Hofkapelle*’s choirboys was transferred from Karl Friberth to Ignaz Umlauf, the newly appointed *Kapellmeister* of the *Singspiel* at the *Burgtheater*, with the expectation that the choirboys would sing in the opera chorus.⁴ In June 1783, in response to an application by the singer Leopold Ponschab to advance to the position of first tenor, Joseph ordered that no hirings or promotions were to take place within the *Hofkapelle* until further notice.⁵ When the Imperial organ builder Johann Fridrich Ferstl died in May 1785, Joseph refused to appoint a replacement and restated his intention to close the *Kapelle*: “Da bei der Hof Kapelle keine Plätze ersetzt werden und man diese Kapelle ganz eingehen lässt, so ist auch diese Stelle unbesetzt zu lassen.”⁶ In February 1788, Joseph consolidated the *Hofkapelle* and the theatre under the same management, and hired additional musicians on a contract basis that did not entitle them to a pension.⁷

³ Quoted in Zölestin Wolfsgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle und die k. u. k. Geistliche Hofkapelle* (Vienna: Mayer & Comp., 1905), 308. See also James de Groat, “Leben und Singspiele des Ignaz Umlauf” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1984), Anhang A. From this date, Stadlmann was employed on a piecemeal basis, receiving 2fl every time he tuned the instruments; see Joseph’s instruction of 1788 in Dorothea Link, “Mozart’s Appointment to the Viennese Court,” in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2005), 176-77.

⁴ See de Groat, “Ignaz Umlauf”, 19-56. See also Franz Grobauer, *Die Nachtigallen aus der Wiener Burgkapelle. Chronik der k. und k. Hof-sängerknaben* (Horn: F. Berger, 1954), 67-76, Otto Biba, “Die Ausbildung der Wiener Hof-sängerknaben,” in *Alte Musik und Musikpädagogik*, ed. Hartmut Krones, *Wiener Schriften zur Stilkunde und Aufführungspraxis* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), 177-84.

⁵ Link, “Mozart’s Appointment,” 159.

⁶ Quoted in Wolfsgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle*, 317. On Ferstl, see Karl Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau in der Zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 35, *Dissertationen der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Verlag Notring, 1969), 11-12.

⁷ Link, “Mozart’s Appointment,” 165-66.

The makeup of the ensemble is generally well-attested from the annual *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus* and the court account books,⁸ although a great deal of documentation to do with the daily administration of the *Hofkapelle* is now lost.⁹ The choir numbered between 15 and 20, placing it among the largest groups of its kind in Vienna, with the soprano and alto parts each sung by one adult and three or four choirboys. The names of the latter are not listed in the *Schematismus*, but are recoverable primarily from the pension applications to which the *Sängerknaben* were entitled when their voices changed.¹⁰ From 1774 to 1788, the Kapellmeister was Giuseppe Bonno, a former *Hofkompositor* who had beaten Leopold Hofmann, Joseph Starzer and Tobias Gsur to the post primarily on the grounds that he would be the least expensive to appoint.¹¹ In a letter to Leopold of 11 April 1781, Mozart described Bonno as an “alte ehrliche brave Mann.”¹²

The primary venue for the *Hofkapelle*'s performances was the *Hofburgkapelle*, with grander events taking place in the *Augustinerkirche* and St. Stephen's Cathedral.¹³ Church

⁸ *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus der röm. kais. auch kais. königlich- und erzherzoglichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien...* (Vienna: Joseph Gerold, 1776-1804); Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv (hereafter HKA), Hofzahlamtsbücher 174-87.

⁹ The personnel lists in Link, “Mozart's Appointment,” 157-58 and 168-69 are not entirely reliable. The most serious error concerns the head trumpeter Peter Neuhold, whose name is given incorrectly as “Geubold.” Link further claims that this musician “disappears from the account books after 1784.” (158) In fact, Neuhold's name continues to appear in the post-1784 account books; see for example HKA, HZB 182, f. 142, HZB 183, f. 95, HZB 185, f. 84, HZB 186, f. 93, HZB 187, f. 267. On Neuhold, see also Andreas Lindner, *Die Kaiserlichen Hoftrompeter und Hofpauker im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 36, *Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1999), 378-87. The location of the 1788 *Besoldungsstand* is given incorrectly in Link's article as A-Whh, OKäA Karton 19 (169); it is actually in Karton 10B.

¹⁰ Choirboys active in the 1780s included Thomas Schmidt, Georg Kreuzmayer, Joseph Waldschütz, Franz Sales Mayer, Franz de Paula Mayer, Karl Niedermayer, Franz Kirschbaumer, Franz Vogelsberger, Leopold Gräßmayer, Ferdinand Witzig, Johann Mächsl, Josef Ferstl, Heinrich Nurscher, Josef Kaufmann, Josef Pauer, Johann Maurer, Johann Swoboda and Leopold Zellner. See Grobauer, *Die Nachtigallen*, 208-12, de Groat, “Ignaz Umlauf”, Anhang G. A number are also mentioned in HKA, HKZ 182, f. 13 and HKZ 183, f. 13.

¹¹ See Egon Wellesz, “Giuseppe Bonno (1710-1788). Sein Leben und seine Dramatischen Werke,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 11 (1910): 439-40.

¹² *MBA*, iii.106.

¹³ See Daniel Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740-1780* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), 3-15.

services involving the court are documented in the *Zeremonialprotokolle*,¹⁴ and make clear that the usual observance of Sundays and feast days continued throughout the 1780s. Joseph, despite his dislike of ceremony, was present on a regular basis for Sunday services, and thus frequently heard the kind of church music he sought to restrict elsewhere.¹⁵ The *Berlinische Nachrichten* reported from Vienna in October 1782:

In der Kayserl. Kapelle ist die zeitherige Kirchenmusik schon abgeschafft worden; die übrigen Kirchen werden nun wohl nachfolgen, alles freut sich jezt auf die kraftvolle Chormusik, wo jeder mit singen kann, und die auch am meisten ans Herz geht.¹⁶

This notice may have been inspired by Joseph's attempts to close the *Hofkapelle*, but there is no evidence that the "zeitherige Kirchenmusik" disappeared, or that the Emperor introduced congregational *Chormusik* at Imperial services. The continuing viability of the *Hofkapelle* is reflected in the major renovations to the *Augustinerkirche*, which had become a parish church in 1783 but retained its status as *Hofkirche*. In 1784, a new musicians' gallery was built, and the organ of the *Schwarzspanierkirche* was transferred to a new home in the loft of the *Hofkirche*.¹⁷ No doubt these facilities were used at the largest celebration held in the church during Mozart's time: the "effective" triple wedding on 19 September 1790 of Leopold II's sons Franz and Ferdinand to their double first cousins Maria Theresa and Louisa, daughters of Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies, together with the "representative" wedding of Leopold's thirteen-year-old daughter Maria Clementina to Ferdinand's son Francis. For this event, the walls were hung with gold-threaded tapestries and the interior lit with 1156 candles.¹⁸

¹⁴ A-Whh, *Zeremonialakten*, Prot. 36-38.

¹⁵ A typical Sunday entry in the *Zeremonialprotokoll* records that Joseph "wohnte...gewöhnlichermassen dem Gottesdienste in der Hofkapelle bey."

¹⁶ Quoted in Carl Maria Brand, *Die Messen von Joseph Haydn*, vol. 2, *Musik und Geistesgeschichte* (Würzburg: K. Triltsch, 1941), 193.

¹⁷ Zölestin Wolfsgruber, *Die Hofkirche zu S. Augustin in Wien* (Augsburg: M. Huttler, 1888), 25, Günter Lade, *Orgeln in Wien* (Vienna: G. Lade, 1990), 86-91. The case of the organ is still extant.

¹⁸ Wolfsgruber, *Die Hofkirche zu S. Augustin*, 71.

The *Zeremonialprotokoll* occasionally gives notice of what music was performed. For example, on 26 December 1782, Elisabeth of Württemberg, the future first wife of Archduke Franz was confirmed by Archbishop Migazzi in the *Hofburgkapelle*. There was a high mass, “welches auf allerh. Befehl ein von der Composition des sel. Hofkapellmeisters Reitter mit Trumpeten und Pauken versehenes Tutti Amt war.”¹⁹ The most important source, however, for the repertoire of the *Hofkapelle* during Mozart’s time is the original performance material, which often has dates written on the wrappers and occasionally locations as well. The holdings of the *Hofkapelle* are unusually well-preserved by the standards of eighteenth-century sacred music archives, although the history of their provenance is not at all straightforward.²⁰ As pieces fell out of active use, it was customary for their manuscripts to be donated to the *Hofbibliothek* in Vienna and its successor, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. The library initially numbered them as part of the main sequence of manuscripts, so that their origin was obscured and one has to use catalogues of various sorts to recover the extent of the collection.²¹ In the 1920s, the library began using a separate classification, HK, for manuscripts deriving from the *Hofkapelle*. As of 1981, however, almost all of the musical sources for the works of Mozart, Haydn, Schubert, Bruckner and many other composers still remained uncatalogued in the chapel archives, even though they had not been used in performances for decades and in some cases dated back to the eighteenth century. The *Hofmusikkapelle*’s managing director, Ernst Karner, justified the

¹⁹ Quoted in Wolfsgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle*, 309.

²⁰ For an overview of the collection, see Günter Brosche, “Das Hofmusikarchiv,” in *Musica Imperialis: 500 Jahre Hofmusikkapelle in Wien, 1498-1998*, ed. Günter Brosche (Tutzing: Schneider, 1998), 117-24.

²¹ Among these are A-Wn, INV 3/Tabulae 2 (olim Mus. Hs. 2485), INV 1/Hofmusikarchiv 4 (olim Mus. Hs. 2480) and INV 1/Hofkapelle 5 (olim Mus. Hs. 2475). Many manuscripts from the *Hofkapelle* are stamped “E. v. Raymond” or “Raymond,” probably referring to Ernst von Raymond (1792-1866), a *k. k. Kammerfurier*. The *Kammermusikarchiv* of the *Hofkapelle*, initially transferred to the *Hofoperntheater*, was acquired by the ÖNB in 1927 and is now under Mus. Hs. 3601-4550; see Robert Haas, “Aufgaben und Ziele der Mozartforschung,” in *Neues Mozart-Jahrbuch 1942*, ed. Erich Valentin (Augsburg: Gustav Bosse, 1943), 81. The collection is catalogued in Mus. Hs. 2474.

withholding on the curious grounds that this material was of merely practical, not scholarly interest.²² It was not until the year 2000 that this final part of the collection was acquired and catalogued by the library, thus making it generally accessible to scholars for the first time.²³

The *Hofkapelle* collection is vast, and no adequate catalogue of it exists.²⁴ Through a systematic examination of dates on the parts, it would be possible to reconstruct a detailed performance calendar for much of the eighteenth century. In the absence of such a study, Table 3.1 presents a provisional list of works known to have been performed in 1781-91, with the exact dates for that decade given where known. In addition to personal observation, the table makes use of data gathered from earlier research on various parts of the collection, particularly Alfred Schienerl's work on the performance of Bonno's liturgical propers.²⁵ The ÖNB's catalogue cards for Bonno manuscripts often provide a *single* date, and these have been incorporated into the table. On inspection of selected sources, it seems however that the cataloguer merely recorded the *earliest*, but not necessarily only date on the parts, and this should be taken into account when evaluating the dates for Bonno's masses.²⁶ It is also important to note that performances were not always documented on the parts, and the first known performance could occur long after the parts were actually copied.

²² See Günter Brosche, ed., *Musica Imperialis: 500 Jahre Hofmusikkapelle in Wien, 1498-1998* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1998), 330.

²³ Günter Brosche, "Besondere Neuerwerbungen der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 48 (2002): 489-91.

²⁴ As of this writing, the portion of the collection transferred in 2000 (HK 1984-3086) is catalogued in RISM, still under its original A-Whk siglum and without the signatures assigned by the ÖNB.

²⁵ Alfred Schienerl, "Die Kirchlichen Kompositionen des Giuseppe Bonno" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1925), 52-3, Gabriela Krombach, *Die Vertonungen Liturgischer Sonntagsoffertorien am Wiener Hof: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Katholischen Kirchenmusik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 7, *Studien zur Landes- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik* (Munich: E. Katzschler, 1986), 290-93, James Armstrong, "'Litaniae Lauretanae': Sacred Music at the Viennese Imperial Court, Ca. 1700-1783" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993), 304-30.

²⁶ The sources in score, Mus. Hs. 15864, 15879, 15886 and 15891 record only a single date, which seems to be the date of copying. Mus. Hs. 15886 and 15891 are large score convolutes of graduals and offertories by Bonno; although only a few are dated, the watermarks of the others also suggest various dates in the 1780s.

Table 3.1. Performances by the *Hofkapelle*, 1781-91.

<i>Signature^a</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Albrechtsberger			
1	Missa Desponsationis	1790-1800	Schröder A.I.25; 6.8.90, 29.5.91, 30.8.91
Bonno			
197	Domine praevenisti	1773-1801	
61	Haec dies	1774-1801	
83	Victimae paschali	1774-1801	
89	Litaniae Lauretanae	1775-82	Armstrong A2; 22.11.82
82	Viderunt salutare	1775-84	
74	Specie tua	1775-86	
46	Tui sunt coeli	1775-87	
85	Propter veritatem	1775-1802	
45	Missa IV	1776-98	
60	Virgo tristissima	1776-1808	
86	Benedicta et venerabilis	1777-1801	
47	Beata es virgo	1777-1802	
121	Requiem aeternam	1778-89	
59	Salve regina	1779-82	
84	Felix es sacra	1779-1801	
114	Omnes de Saba	1780-88	Dates acc. to Schienerl; catalogue card gives 1786
87	Lauda sion	1780-93	
Mus. Hs. 15886	Confirma hoc deus	1781	
58	Magnificat II	1781	
94	Missa XI	1781	
104	Missa V	1783	

^a A-Wn, HK unless otherwise noted.

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
54	Confirma hoc deus	1783-89	Krombach 44; 8.6.83, 9.9.83, 30.5.84, 31.5.84, 15.5.85, 4.6.86, 5.6.86,
42	Missa XXVI	1783-90	
53	Ave maria	1783-90	
56	Justitiae domini	1783-91	Krombach 46; 23.3.83, 14.3.84, 27.2.85, 19.3.86, 11.3.87, 24.2.88, 15.3.89, 7.3.90, 27.3.91
112	Diffusa est gratia	1783-92	Dates acc. to Schienerl; catalogue card gives 1785-1801
36	Missa XVII	1783-98	
76	Gloriosus deus	1783-1800	
117	Angelis suis	1783-1801	
57	Mirabilis deus	1783-1801	
118	Exsurge domine	1783-1802	
78	Veni sancte spiritus	1783-1807	
107	Missa VI	1784	
97	Missa XXVII	1784	
51	Mihi autem	1784-85	
68	Expectans expectavi	1784-90	Krombach 45; 8.8.84, 20.12.84, 5.6.85, 26.8.85, 27.8.86, 6.5.87, 27.8.87, 30.3.88, 26.4.89, 20.6.90
119	Constitues eos	1784-92	Krombach 49; 1.1.83, 25.12.83, 1.1.84, 1.1.85, 1.1.86, 1.1.87, 25.12.87
77	Bonum est	1784-95	
113	Per te dei genetrix	1784-97	
50	Recordare virgo	1784-97	
64	Caelestis urbs	1785	
75	Exsultabo et laetabor	1785	
122	Requiem aeternam	1785-88	
49	Tui sunt coeli	1785-89	
70	Si ambulavero	1785-89	
35	Missa XVI	1785-1801	
37	Missa XVIII	1785-1802	
48	Sacerdotes domini	1785-1802	
111	In deo speravit	1785-1802	
Mus. Hs. 15886	Magnus dominus	1786	Date deleted but consistent with watermarks (e.g. Tyson 60, 74)

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Mus. Hs. 15886	Mirabilis deus	1786	Date deleted; cf. HK 57, above
Mus. Hs. 15891	Esto mihi	1786	Date crossed out but consistent with watermarks (e.g. Tyson 70, 74, 76)
Mus. Hs. 15891	Gloriosus deus	1786	Date crossed out; cf. HK 76, above
110	Missa XXI	1786	
98	Missa XXVIII	1786	
69	Dominus deus	1786-87	
79	Adorabo et confitebor	1786-87	
80	Esto mihi	1786-90	
72	Responsum accepit	1786-91	
120	Suscepimus deus	1786-1800	
71	Magnus dominus	1786-1808	
Mus. Hs. 15864	Missa in C	1787	
55	Regis tharsis	1787-93	
39	Missa XXII	1787-99	
93	Te Deum III	1788	
38	Missa XIX	1788-89	
41	Missa XXIV	1788-98	
96	Missa XXV	1788-99	28(?).3.88, 30.3.88, 21.9.88, 28.6.89, 24.12.89, 2.5.90, 4.9.91, 24.12.91
40	Missa XXIII	1788-1802	
81	Adducentur regi	1789-1800	
Mus. Hs. 15879	Missa in D	1796	
Fux			
2887	Tantum ergo	1785-99	K. 269; 1785 (4x), 1786 (3x), 1787 (2x), 1788, 1789 (2x)
Gassmann			
24	Missa in B-flat	1772-1802	Kosch 1
2561	Viderunt omnes	1773-1801	Kosch 7; 1.1.82, 25.12.84, 25.12.85, 25.12.86, 1.1.88, 1.1.89, 25.12.89, 24.12.91
29	Missa in C	1775-1801	Kosch 3; 1783, 1784 (2x), 1788 (3x)

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
28	Missa in F	1775-1802	Kosch 2; 1.8.83 and yearly from 1788
31	Requiem in C minor	1788-1802	Kosch 6; 29.11.88, 29.11.89, 25.2.90, 2.3.90, 29.11.91
Hofmann			
478	Requiem in C minor	1791-1801	20.2.91
Palestrina			
Mus. Hs. 17473	Missa emendemus	1779-83	
Reutter			
855	Improperium expectavit	1767-97	Krombach 129; 8.4.81, 13.4.83, 4.4.84, 20.3.85, 9.4.86, 1.4.87, 5.4.89, 28.3.90
909	Meditabor in mandatis	1769-1802	Krombach 131; 11.3.81, 16.3.83, 7.3.84, 20.2.85, 12.3.86, 4.3.87, 17.2.88, 8.3.89, 20.3.91
822	Litaniae de beata virgine	1775-1801	Armstrong A19; 7.7.81, 12.7.83, 15.10.91
759	Missa in D	1777-1802	Hofer Messen 80; 1.1.82, 31.3.82, 1.12.82, 4.7.84, 25.12.84, 15.11.86, 8.9.88, 25.12.88, 25.3.89, 1.1.90, 23.5.90, 16.10.91
765	Missa in D	1777-1801	Hofer Messen 54; 25.12.81, 15.8.84, 25.12.85
793	Requiem in C minor	1780-1800	Hofer Requiem 4; 6.11.88, 6.11.89, 3.3.90, 2.11.91
853	Laudate dominum	1781-1802	Krombach 130; 25.3.81, 30.3.83, 21.3.84, 6.3.85, 26.3.86, 18.3.87, 2.3.88, 22.3.89, 14.3.90, 3.4.91
854	Confitebor tibi	1783-1802	Krombach 124; 6.4.83, 28.3.84, 13.3.85, 2.4.86, 25.3.87, 9.3.88, 29.3.89, 21.3.90, 10.4.91
Tuma			
Mus. Hs. 15725	Stabat mater	1760-87	

Even from this limited survey, it is clear that the music of Bonno and his predecessors Reutter and Gassmann dominated performances by the *Hofkapelle*.²⁷ As Armstrong notes, the fact that no performances of a litany can be documented between 12 July 1783 and 15 October 1791 suggests that the *Gottesdienstordnung*'s ban on musical litanies was enforced in the chapel.²⁸ Likewise, there is no indication that vesper psalms by Bonno or anyone else were performed, following the *Ordnung*'s lack of provision for instrumental music at vespers. With the apparently complete loss of Bonno's autographs, it cannot be determined for certain when the composer's very numerous sacred works for the *Hofkapelle* were written.²⁹ Most of the parts are written on non-Italian paper that is not easily datable. Nevertheless, the high proportion of sources with first performance dates in the 1780s leaves open the possibility that Bonno remained compositionally active during his last years.³⁰ Whatever his "kompositorische Schwäche,"³¹ Bonno was certainly not idle in providing music for the *Hofkapelle*.

Music by *Kapellmeister* earlier than Reutter seems to have been rare, and it is likely that the popularity of the Fux *Tantum ergo* was exceptional rather than typical. Even more exceptional is the use of Palestrina's *Missa emendemus in melius* (1594) during Holy Week; see Figure 3.1. "Old music" did, however, retain a small place in the thinking of Bonno's successor. Figure 3.2 shows a previously unknown copy in the hand of Salieri of the famous

²⁷ The *Hofkapelle* archive preserves many works by Leopold Hofmann (HK 464-83), and further investigation may well reveal that some of these were performed in the 1780s. According to Maximilian Stadler, "Joseph schätze in der Kirchenmusik vorzüglich Reuters, Gaßmanns, Hofmanns Werke, die aber alle keine Singsoli haben durften." Karl Wagner, ed., *Abbé Maximilian Stadler: seine 'Materialien zur Geschichte der Musik unter den Österreichischen Regenten': Ein Beitrag zum Musikal. Historismus im Vormärzlichen Wien*, vol. 7, *Publikationen des Instituts für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Salzburg* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), 92.

²⁸ Armstrong, "Litaniae Lauretanae", 11-12, 230-32.

²⁹ A Kyrie by "Bono" in D-MÜs, SANT Hs 698/1, catalogued in RISM as an autograph of Bonno, is probably not the *Kapellmeister*. A *Missa brevis* in E minor and a motet *Domine quando veneris*, dated 16 October 1730, in GB-Cfm, MU.MS.57, have yet to be investigated. On the alleged "Berlin autograph," see below.

³⁰ See also Schienerl, "Giuseppe Bonno", 15-17.

³¹ Otto Biba, "Italienische Musiker zur Zeit Mozarts in Wien," *Atti della Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati* 7/4 (1994): 12.

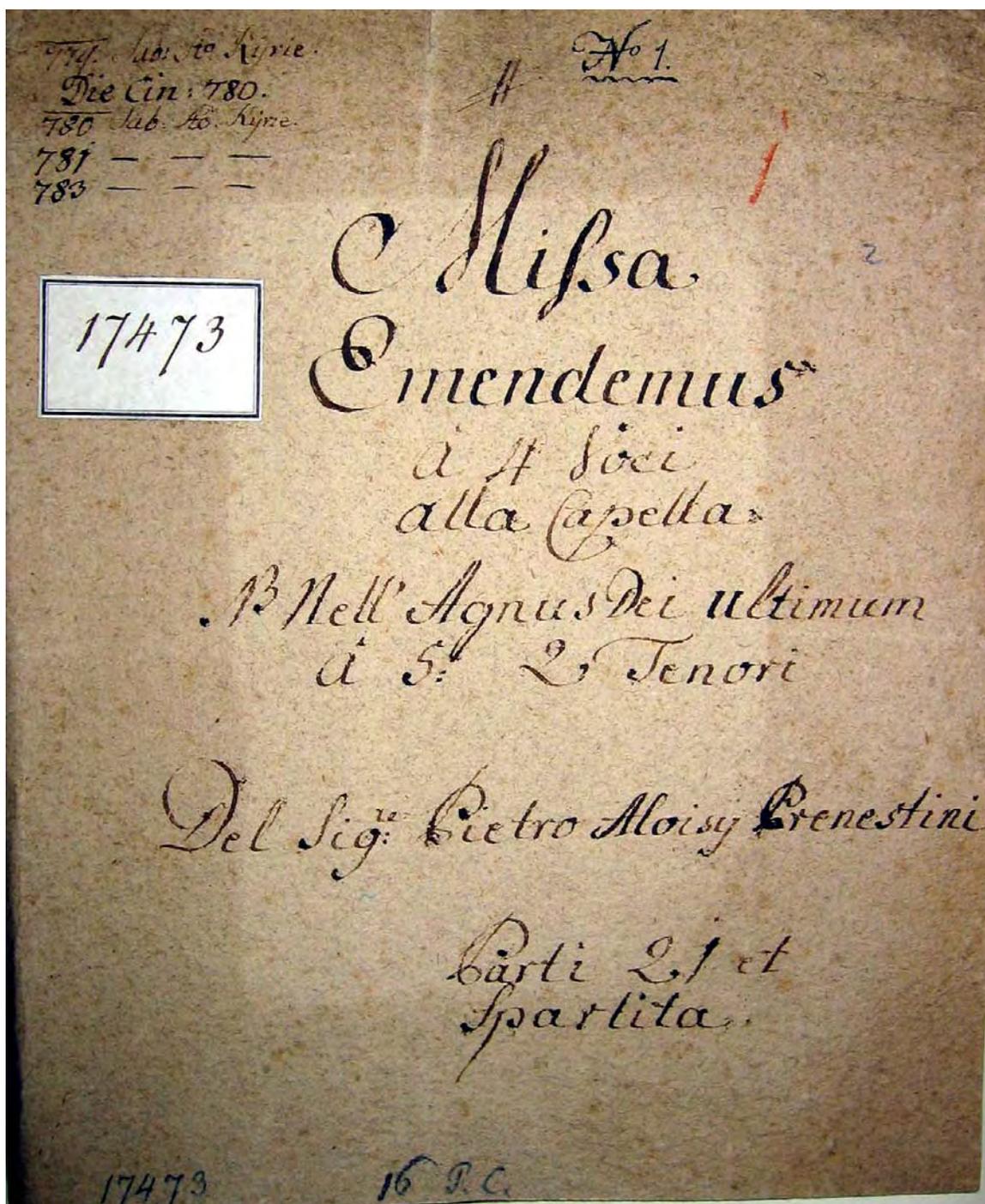


Figure 3.1. Title of the Hofkapelle's parts for Palestrina's *Missa emendemus*. A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17473.

Ecce quomodo moritur justus by Jakob Handl (“Gallus”, 1550-91). The manuscript was mistakenly thought by Aloys Fuchs to be an autograph of Krottendorfer, and catalogued under Krottendorfer’s name at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.³² Salieri’s copy probably dates from the second half of the 1790s, although there is no indication that the work was performed by the *Hofkapelle* at this time.³³

Early in 1788, after Joseph II had restructured the *Hofkapelle* and appointed Salieri as *Kapellmeister*, the Emperor sent the latter a list of instructions that provide a rare glimpse into the everyday operation of the two ensembles. Those concerning the *Hofkapelle* read:

1. Daß er alle Dienste bei der Hofkapelle und im Theater bei Opern nach möglichkeit selber verrichte.
2. Daß er seinen Substituten Umlauf das Musick Archive der Hofkapelle, welches vormalls der Concert dispensator Wrawieci³⁴ in Verwahrung gehabt übergebe, und vorzüglich darauf sehe, daß Selbes in gutter, und gehöriger Ordnung erhalten werde, wodurch einige Copiatur Spesen in Ersparung kommen.
3. Daß er der sämtlichen Hofkapelle, und dem theatral Orkester mit allem Ernst auftrage, bei jedem Dienste selbst zu erscheinen, und niemallen einen Substituten zuschicken, als nur im Fahl einer Krankheit, wo er aber vorher benachrichtiget werden muß...
5. Daß bei den Copiatur Spesen, welche jährlich bei dem Theater eine namhafte Ausgab betragen, die genaueste Würtschaft eingeführt werde, und vorzüglich darauf zu sehen ist, ob die vom Kopisten in seinen Contis angesetzte Bögen seine Richtigkeit haben, daher ist es nothwändig, daß bei jedem verfertigen Werke die Bögen gezehlt, und in seinen Conto die Richtigkeit derselben adjustiret werde, auch ist in Zukunpft der Copiatur Bogen bei der Hofkapelle, wie beim Theater gewöhnlich, nur mit 6 x zu bezahlen...³⁵
7. [after ordering that the violin maker Stadlmann should cease regular service:] Gleiche Bewantniß hat es mit dem Orgelmacher [Sigmund] Rumel, so mit seinen Dienste ganzlich aufhört, und nur über die benöthigte Reparation einen Conto ebenfalls Vierteljährig dem Hofkapellmeister zu übergeben haben wird.³⁶
8. Da nur ein Tromponist in dem Statu aufgenommen ist, so solle der 2te von dem Kapellmeister Angestellte in die Vierteljährige Berechnung Dienstweiß angesetzt werden.

³² A-Wgm, I 7381/A 445.

³³ The watermarks are incomplete since the manuscript is a single bifolium, but the design seems to be either Duda AM-5 or AM-7, found in Süßmayr autographs from 1795-99.

³⁴ Transcribed incorrectly as “Wrawreci” in Link, “Mozart’s Appointment,” 176. The article also incorrectly gives “wonach” for “wodurch”; *Ibid.*, 159n28.

³⁵ Edge suggests in *MVC*, 1348-55 that the standard rate per *Bogen* at the theatre was 7kr until the season 1786-7, when it decreased to 6kr.

³⁶ On the organs of the *Hofkapelle*, see Otto Biba, “Orgeln für die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle in der Ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Eine Quellenstudie zu Klassizismus und Romantik im Österreichischen Orgelbau,” *Organa Austriaca* 1 (1976): 18-19, Lade, *Orgeln in Wien*, 222-25.

9. Die 2 Instrument Diener haben die sammtlichen Instrumente von Lautenmacher³⁷ zu übernehmen, und die Besaitung zu besorgen, selbe in gehöriger Ordnung aufzubewahren, auch darauf zu sehen, daß im Fall ein Kirchen Dienst ausser der Hofkapelle gehalten werde, die Instrumente in gutten Stand dahin gebracht werden.
10. Clarinetti, und Waldhorn sind in Hinkunpft bei Kirchen Diensten gänzlich wegzulassen.³⁸

The sole “Tromponist” was Ignaz Ulbrich,³⁹ but the loss of the quarterly receipts means we are unable to determine the identity of the second trombonist. Whether Joseph II’s ban on clarinets and horns was motivated by aesthetic or financial considerations is unknown, but there is in any case no known evidence that those instruments featured in *Hofkapelle* performances prior to this instruction. Clarinets were a true rarity in Viennese church music of the 1780s, and the only printed reference I have found to their use implies an extra-liturgical context. On 1 February 1784, the “French nation” celebrated the feast of its patron, St. Francis de Sales, at St. Peter. The priest gave a fine sermon,

...aber bei weiten konnte durch das Lob des Predigers der Heilige nicht so verherrlicht werden, als durch die solenne Musik mit Pauken und Trompeten während dem Hochamt, und das bezaubernde Konzert, womit zwei Klarinetten die fränkische Feierlichkeit recht glorwürdig zu machen suchten.⁴⁰

There is no indication of who played the two clarinets in the “bezaubernde Konzert,” although one is tempted to suggest the Stadler brothers, Anton and Johann.

The loss of receipts from this time means that we know very little about how the music copying needs of the *Hofkapelle* were fulfilled. As of 1775, Bonno employed Franz Xaver Riesch (Riersch), the principal music copyist at St. Stephen’s Cathedral, and accounts from the early 1780s show payments to “Fleischmann” and “Tangel” for copying.⁴¹ By 1792,

³⁷ Mistranslated in Link, “Mozart’s Appointment,” 178 as “lute maker.” In this context it refers to a maker and maintainer of string instruments.

³⁸ A-Whh, OKäA, Akten, Karton 10, 1788/99.

³⁹ See also Link, “Mozart’s Appointment,” 169 note j.

⁴⁰ *WW*, viii.310. For another musical service in 1784 involving the “French nation,” see *ÜGR*, i.336-38.

⁴¹ A-Whh, OMeA, SR 371/14. On Riesch, see the following chapter. “Fleischmann” may be identifiable with or related to Elias Fleischmann, a “Musicus” who died in Vienna on 15 August 1782, aged 70. “Fleischman” is evaluated as a “schlecht” violist in the 1773 evaluation of orchestral personnel at the *Kärntnertortheater*, *MVC*, 1296 and John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra : History of an Institution, 1650-1815*

it seems that Wenzel Sukowaty, the chief music copyist of the court theatre from 1778, had taken over responsibility for some or all of the *Hofkapelle*'s music copying.⁴² Despite Joseph's order that payments should be limited 6kr per *Bogen*, Sukowaty wrote to the *Theatral Direction* in February 1792, arguing that, due to the extra work involved in copying sacred music, he should be paid the near-exorbitant rate of 12kr per *Bogen*:⁴³

Hochlöbl: k. k. Theatral Direction!

Unterzeichneter bittet um die gnädigste Verwilligung, daß ihm für jene Copiaturen, welche für die Hofkirche gehören, 12 Xr von Bogen verabfolget werden möchten, und unterstützt seine Bitte mit folgenden Beweggründen:

- 1^{mo} Ware es schon vor sehr langen Jahren her bestimmt für jeden solchen Bogen in vorigen wohlfeileren Zeiten 12 Xr zubezahlen.
- 2^{do} Wird eine grössere Mühe erforderet einen solchen Bogen zu copiren, weil selber nicht nur mit Noten und Text, sondern auch mit Ziffern bezeichnet werden muß.
- 3^{tio} Ist Bittsteller gezwungen einen eigenen Menschen dazu zuhalten, welchem er wegen der erforderlichen acuratesse und Genauigkeit mehr bezahlen muß.

Wenzl Sukowiati [sic]
Theatral Copist⁴⁴

The theatre referred the request to Salieri, but the application was rejected – “Bittsteller ist abzuweisen.” The tone of Sukowaty's letter suggests that the association with the *Hofkapelle* was ongoing, but we do not know when he began copying for the ensemble. It is conceivable that the relationship began in 1788, when the money for the *Hofkapelle*'s salaries and operating expenses was transferred to the theatre account. As the theatre had a pre-existing association with Sukowaty, perhaps it was felt that consolidating the court's copying needs under one shop would promote a more efficient use of resources.

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 423. “Tangel” may be identifiable with Joseph Tangel, a “Musiker” whose infant son died on 11 May 1786.

⁴² On Sukowaty, see *MVC*, Chapter 9. Sukowaty's association with the *Hofkapelle* is not mentioned by Edge.

⁴³ On rates of payment for music copying at this time, see *MVC*, 135-39.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.242. The signature given by Angermüller (A-Whh, HMK Akten 1, f. 9) is incorrect; the correct signature is HMK Akten 2, f. 8.

In addition to his work for the court, Sukowaty maintained a commercial business and produced copies on commission for private buyers. With one exception, Sukowaty's known copies of Mozart's music are limited to the composer's operatic works.⁴⁵ The exception is a set of parts for Mozart's Mass in C K. 258 deriving from the "Exner-Sammlung", a large collection of music in all genres compiled by August Christian Exner (1771-1847) in Zittau.⁴⁶ The source for K. 258 was described by Erich Valentin in 1943, at which time the collection was held in the Staatliche Gymnasium in that city. According to Valentin, the parts for K. 258 and a further source for the ensemble *Mandina amabile* K. 480 "tragen den Vermerk, daß sie bei dem Wiener 'Hoftheatral'-Kopisten Wenzel Sukowaty zu haben waren."⁴⁷ The collection was transferred to the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden in the 1960s, by which time, unfortunately, some items had gone missing.⁴⁸ The parts for K. 258 are now missing the wrapper that presumably carried the Sukowaty attribution, and the soprano part is also lost.⁴⁹ In its present state the set consists of single copies of Alto, Tenore, Basso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Violone, Organo, Clarino Primo, Clarino Secondo and Tympani; see Figure 3.3. The watermarks consist primarily of a man-in-the-moon countered by the letters VF, together with a single instance of a "sunburst" countered by the letters EGA. Both of these suggest a date around 1800.⁵⁰ Sukowaty, on the other hand,

⁴⁵ For a list of such sources, see *MVC*, 1984-85. One source not mentioned by Edge is a Sukowaty score of *Der Schauspieldirektor*, D-Mbs, Mus. Ms. 4185; see *NMA*, KB II/5/15, 11.

⁴⁶ See Ortrun Landmann, "Die Dresdener Haydn-Quellen im Hinblick auf Ihre Provenienzen," in *Joseph Haydn. Bericht über den Internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda (Munich: G. Henle, 1986), 521-23.

⁴⁷ Erich Valentin, "'Musikalische Schlittenfahrt': Ein W. A. Mozart Zugesprochenes Gegenstück zu Leopold Mozarts Werk," in *Augsburger Mozartbuch* (Augsburg: J. A. Schlosser, 1943), 447.

⁴⁸ Dwight C. Blazin, "Michael Haydn and the 'Haydn Tradition': A Study of Attribution, Chronology, and Source Transmission" (PhD diss., New York University, 2004), 169n32, 229n46. The parts for K. 480 appear to have entirely disappeared: a single soprano part for the work, D-DI, Mus. 3972-F-530, does not appear to be of Viennese origin.

⁴⁹ D-DI, Mus. 3972-D-510. The set contains a number of clearly later parts that are not discussed here.

⁵⁰ Cf. Duda EGA, found in Süßmayr autographs from 1800-1801.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for the Violino Primo part. It consists of several systems of staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *p*, *pp*, and *ppp*. A section is marked *Allegro*. The word *Sanctus* is written in large, decorative cursive across several staves. The score is written in a historical style, likely from the late 18th or early 19th century.

Figure 3.3. Violino Primo part in alleged Sukowaty copy of K. 258. D-DI, Mus. 3972-D-510.

apparently lost his status as “Hoftheatralcopist” after the theatrical year 1796-7,⁵¹ so if Valentin’s description of the lost wrapper was accurate, we have a *terminus ante quem* of 1797. As the single known instance of a sacred work copied by Sukowaty’s shop, the provenance of these parts is something of a mystery. Nevertheless, the presence of Sukowaty’s “imprint” implies the parts were for commercial distribution, and suggests that the copyist may have carried a wider range of material than previously understood.

Upon his appointment as *Kapellmeister* in February 1788, Salieri seems initially to have continued the performance pattern established by his predecessor Bonno, albeit with some personal touches of his own. Most significantly, at some early point he undertook a critical survey of the music archive and wrote marginal comments in his personal copy of the *Hofkapelle*’s catalogue.⁵² These comments, in pencil and partially erased, are often difficult to make out, but they make clear that Salieri had a generally low opinion of Bonno’s music. Against a number of Bonno’s masses Salieri wrote “cattiva,” and against Missa XXII he wrote that most of the Gloria and all of the Credo were “assai mediocre.” Against Missa XXV he wrote that the Gloria was “mediocre” and it would be necessary to “correggere.” Salieri was as good as his word: a manuscript from the collection of Aloys Fuchs once thought to be a Bonno autograph is in fact Salieri’s revision of the Kyrie from this mass.⁵³ Salieri also wrote replacement violin parts for the *Dona nobis*, which are found at the back of the *Hofkapelle*’s score of the work.⁵⁴

⁵¹ MVC, 1315-18.

⁵² A-Wgm, 22551/33. Despite its importance, this catalogue has remained very little-known, primarily because it was in the personal possession of Pfannhauser until his death in 1984. Of its provenance Pfannhauser would say only that it was discovered in 1950 “in einer Provinzstadt”; Karl Pfannhauser, “Mozart Hat Kopiert!,” *Acta mozartiana* 1 (1954): 25, Karl Pfannhauser, “Mozarts Kirchenmusikalische Studien im Spiegel seiner Zeit und Nachwelt,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1959): 14n62.

⁵³ Schienerl, “Giuseppe Bonno”, 18-20. The manuscript, D-B, Mus. ms. Autogr. Bono 1, also contains a revised passage for another mass by Bonno.

⁵⁴ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 15884. The replacement parts contain the instruction, “Tutte le altre parti restano come sono nello spartito.” The score contains numerous other comments and corrections by Salieri. The watermark in the principal part of the manuscript is Tyson 86 and, in Salieri’s additions, Tyson 95 and possibly 100.

Two works by Salieri himself, a Mass in D (Nützlader 2) and the *Coronation Te Deum* (Nützlader 64), are alleged to date from the composer's early years as *Kapellmeister*.⁵⁵ They have traditionally been identified with the mass and *Te Deum* mentioned in Mosel's 1827 biography of Salieri:

Oesterreich zog, mit Rußland verbunden, gegen die Türken zu Felde. Joseph II. begab sich, trotz seiner wankenden Gesundheit, zu dem Heere. Zur Feier seiner Zurückkunft bereitete sich Salieri mit einer neuen Messe und einem Te Deum vor; doch der Monarch war nach seiner Wiederkehr durch die lange und schmerzliche Krankheit die seinem, Millionen von Menschen theuerem Leben so zeitig ein Ende zu machen bestimmt war, fast unausgesetzt an sein Bett gefesselt, und das Te Deum fand nicht Statt.⁵⁶

If Mosel is to be believed, Salieri wrote both works sometime between February 1788, when he was appointed *Kapellmeister*, and November of the same year, when Joseph II returned to Vienna, seriously ill. Unfortunately, Mosel's account does not quite square with the available evidence, and Salieri's alterations to the scores also leave room for doubt. The autograph of the mass is undated in its present form, but the autograph of the *Te Deum* was dated by Salieri "di Ant Salieri l'anno 1790", apparently over an erasure. Both scores bear annotations in the hand of Salieri, but they have been "diplomatically" erased to the point of near-illegibility.⁵⁷

The autograph score of the *Te Deum* is written on paper-type Tyson 96-I and at least two further types,⁵⁸ while the original parts are written on paper with the watermarks Tyson 82, 100 and 102. The sources are thus consistent with a date between 1788 and the early 1790s. The wrapper, which is not contemporary with the parts, reads on its spine "Te deum dell' Incononazione," and one of the last letters in the deleted note at the top of the score is

⁵⁵ Rudolf Nützlader, "Salieri als Kirchenmusiker" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1924), 112ff.

⁵⁶ Rudolph Angermüller, ed., *Ignaz von Mosel: Über das Leben und die Werke des Anton Salieri* (Bad Honnef: K. H. Bock, 1999), 109-10.

⁵⁷ For a facsimile of the deletions in the mass, see Jane Schatkin Hettrick, ed., *Antonio Salieri: Mass in D Major*, vol. 39, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1994), Plate 1. One deleted word on the right-hand side of the autograph (A-Wn, HK 484) is probably "eseguir..."

⁵⁸ The other watermarks are difficult to make out, but include three moons over M and an unidentified canopy.

probably a “z,” leading to the possibility that the work was used at one of the numerous Imperial coronations of the early 1790s. One could certainly explain the discrepancy between Mosel’s account and the autograph date “1790” by proposing that Salieri did indeed write the *Te Deum* for Joseph’s return in 1788, and then recast it for the coronations of Leopold II or Franz II, deleting his original date and annotations as he went. The sources for the mass, on the other hand, suggest a later date. The watermarks in the score cannot be matched to any in Mozart’s autographs, and the design was probably not available in Vienna until the 1790s.⁵⁹ The watermarks in the parts, which likewise cannot be matched to any in Mozart’s autographs, seem to suggest a date in the later 1790s or even post-1800.⁶⁰ In its present state, the mass is unlikely to have been written in 1788.

Early in the 1790s, Salieri began to expand the repertoire of the *Hofkapelle*, acquiring and possibly commissioning works from court musicians such as Albrechtsberger, Umlauf, Krottendorfer and Summer. The most significant new presence, however, was P. Georg Pasterwitz (1730-1803), the teacher of Franz Xaver Süssmayr.⁶¹ From 1767, Pasterwitz served as *regens chori* at Stift Kremsmünster, but resigned in 1783 due to the effects of Joseph II’s reforms. From 1785 to 1795, Pasterwitz was resident in Vienna as *Hofmeister*, a kind of ambassador for the monastery. P. Beda Plank, abbot of Kremsmünster, later wrote that “das Band der engen Freundschaft, das [Pasterwitz] mit dem hochberühmten k. k. Kapellmeister

⁵⁹ The watermarks are difficult to make out, but consist, firstly, of three moons | two letters (perhaps FV or FL) under a canopy. Near the end of the Credo, the design changes to three moons | RGA under a canopy, perhaps equivalent to Duda RGA-2 or RGA-3 (found in Süssmayr scores from 1794-99). Finally, with the exception of its outer bifolium, the alternative setting of the *Dona nobis* at the end of the manuscript has a design consisting of three moons | OA over C, similar but probably not equivalent to Duda OA/C-2 (found in a score of 1796.) Hettrick’s case for the priority of the first *Dona nobis* does not take into account the evidence of the watermarks; Hettrick, ed., *Mass in D Major*, xx-xxii.

⁶⁰ The three designs consist of three moons | AM under bow-and-arrow, man-in-the-moon | AM under bow-and-arrow, and man-in-the-moon | VB (possibly equivalent to Duda VB, found in a Süssmayr score of 1800.) The presence of the man-in-the-moon strongly suggests a date after 1795. The first copy of Violino Primo is marked “Sig^{te} Scheidl,” referring to Joseph Scheidl (c. 1751-1819), violinist in the *Hofkapelle* since 1789.

⁶¹ On Pasterwitz, see Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 436-531.

Salieri...geflochten hatte, öffnet ihm Raum, ihre Laune zu benützen und dabei auch sein Talent zu äußern.”⁶² It may have been this friendship that led Pasterwitz in about 1790 to begin a series of sacred works that were soon adopted by the *Hofkapelle* (see Table 2.1 in the previous chapter). According to the anonymous *Ueber den Stand der Musik in Wien* of 1794, “Jetzt werden in der Hofkirche mehrere Hochämter von einem Benedictinerpriester, Pasterwitz, gegeben, welche von Kennern sehr gelobt werden.”⁶³

The works of Pasterwitz are among the more interesting products of Leopold II’s more relaxed attitude to sacred music. Many autographs survive, and the composer sometimes, but not always dated them.⁶⁴ Pasterwitz’s music often contains imaginative touches: a Mass in C (Kaas Messen 4), written in 1791 or earlier⁶⁵ and performed by the *Hofkapelle* on 8 April 1792⁶⁶ opens with the tenor and bass in unison while the violins supply the harmony high above; see Figure 3.4.⁶⁷ An offertory dated 1791, *Super flumina babylonis* (Kaas Messeinlagen 75), has a nearly continuous violin “undulation” no doubt representative of the waters; see Figure 3.5.⁶⁸ A Requiem in C minor (Kaas Messen 11), written sometime between 1788 and 1793 and performed by the *Hofkapelle* on 18 and 20 December 1793 concludes unusually with an entirely unaccompanied statement by the

⁶² Ibid., 494.

⁶³ Anon., “Ueber den Stand der Musik in Wien,” in *Wiener Theater Almanach für das Jahr 1794* (Vienna: Kurzbeck, 1794), 179.

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Pater Alfons Mandorfer of Stift Kremsmünster for permitting me access to a large number of Pasterwitz’s autographs.

⁶⁵ The earliest dated source of the mass is a score dated 1791 in the hand of Johann Baptist Kucharz, organist at Kloster Strahov in Prague; CZ-Pnm, XLVI B 362. This may have been the Pasterwitz mass performed at Strahov in memory of Leopold II on 14 July 1793; see Jiří Berkovec, *Musicalia V Pražském Periodickém Tisku 18. Století: Výběr Aktuálních Zpráv O Hudbě*, vol. 6, *Varia De Musica* (Prague: Státní knihovna ČSR, 1989), 86. Kucharz, who was acquainted with Mozart, made a score copy of the *Krönungsmesse* K. 317, CZ-Pnm, XLVI C 149, that is probably quite early.

⁶⁶ Walter Kaas, “Georg von Pasterwiz als Kirchenkomponist” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1925), 18ff. Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, 510. The *Hofkapelle*’s parts are in A-Wn, HK 592.

⁶⁷ The autograph has unfortunately been defaced by a later hand that has supplied an alternative opening.

⁶⁸ The *Hofkapelle*’s parts for this work are among those transferred in 2000, and are now in A-Wn, HK 2347.

Offertorium pro Dominica XIX. post Pentecosten. Aut. P. Georgio Pasterwitz Bened. Cemif. 1791. 42
 Part. II
 Last. 2
 No. 22.

f.

ten.

Andante con moto.

21461

Figure 3.5. Autograph opening of Pasterwitz's offertory *Super flumina*, dated 1791. A-KR, D 14/61.

choir.⁶⁹ Although Pasterwitz had been writing sacred music since the 1750s, his Viennese works are eloquent testimony to the gradual recovery of the genre after the death of Joseph II.

Although the vast majority of sacred music heard at the court was performed by the *Hofkapelle*, the singers of the Italian opera were occasionally called upon to provide religious music as well. Zinzendorf recorded in his diary the performance of a *Miserere* by Sarti at Laxenburg, the court's summer residence, for Pentecost on 4 June 1786:

Concert spirituel. Le miserere de Sarti chanté par 4 femmes, la Storace, la Laschi, la Cavalieri, la Molinelli et par 4 hommes, Mandini, Benucci, Mombelli, Calvesi, les choeurs avoient du Spirituel, le reste pas.⁷⁰

Most of the singers named by Zinzendorf had sung in *Figaro* the previous day. On 5 June, Joseph II himself wrote to his brother Leopold that he had ordered a performance in his room of the “*Miserere* de Sarti que nous avons entendu ensemble, dans un mauvais conservatoire a Millan.”⁷¹ The performance was greatly to the liking of Princess Eleonore Liechtenstein, who wrote, “Gestern hörten wir ein sehr schönes Miserere von Sarti, ausgeführt von italienischen Sängern, acht Violinen und Blasinstrumenten. Die Musik war schön, besonders die Chöre.”⁷²

Like the “French nation” mentioned above, the “Italian congregation” in Vienna held liturgical celebrations, and these occasions gave the opera soloists many opportunities to display their talents outside the theatre. On 6 April 1781, for example, the congregation heard a performance of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* in an arrangement by Friberth, with the solo

⁶⁹ The dating follows Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, 510. The *Hofkapelle*'s parts are in A-Wn, HK 594. On the misattribution of this work to Michael Haydn, see the concluding chapter.

⁷⁰ Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 274. The *Miserere* may have been the setting in F minor that survives in two sources from the *Hofkapelle*: A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 15910 and HK 521.

⁷¹ A-Whh, FA Sbde 8. I am grateful to Derek Beales for providing me with a transcription of this passage.

⁷² Quoted in Adam Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein, 1745-1812. Nach Briefen und Memoiren Ihrer Zeit* (Vienna: Gerold, 1875), 193. I am again grateful to Derek Beales for telling me of this passage.

parts taken by Catarina Cavalieri, Margarethe Spangler, Valentin Adamberger and Ludwig Fischer. Salieri directed, and Joseph II attended *incognito*.⁷³ The most ambitious celebrations mounted by the congregation took place with Joseph again present on Easter Sunday 1786, as the former *Minoritenkirche* was rededicated as the “Italienische Nationalkirche” after two years of renovation.⁷⁴ Eighty singers and instrumentalists were involved, and the church received special permission from Joseph to perform a musical setting of the litany, *Regina Coeli* and *Te Deum*.⁷⁵ The city’s Italian newspaper, the *Foglietto di Vienna*, reported:

...alle ore 11 poi dal Canonico e scolastico di questa Metropolitana, Conte d’Hengel, venne celebrato il solenne Servizio Divino con musica del celebre Maestro di Capella signor Naumann...Indi si cantarono le Litanie e l’Inno consueto similmente con scelta musica, di composizione del famoso signor Hasse; il tutto eseguito come la mattina da 80 persone tra Cantanti e Suonatori, sotto la direzione del Maestro di Cappella signor Carlo Frubert [sic]; ed avendovi cantato la signora Storace [sic], li signori Benucci, Calvesi, Bussani, Mandini, O. Kelly, Salvesi ed altri virtuosi, con universale gradimento del numeroso popolo, che vi concorse in quel giorno. Alla sera dei 19, ultimo giorno delle 40 ore, si cantarono le Litanie, l’Inno e dopo il *Te Deum* in musica del prelodato signor Hasse...⁷⁶

A report of the celebrations in the *Wienerische Kirchenzeitung* contains a previously unknown reference to Nancy Storace, after mentioning the lack of a sermon: “Allein man hörte da um so mehr Musik, und als Madame *Storace* zu singen anfieng, kehrete Jedermann der Monstranze den Rücken, um die Künstlerinn zu schauen.”⁷⁷ The congregation’s interest in Storace suggests that the famous engraving in the *Bildergalerie Katholischer Misbräuche* of a singer admired by onlookers had its basis in reality. This event took place on 19 April 1786, less than two weeks before the premiere of *Le Nozze di Figaro*, so we may presume that

⁷³ Walther Brauneis, “Die Italienische Congregation in Wien: Geschichte und Zielsetzungen Einer Nationalen Interessensvertretung im Wien der Mozart-Zeit,” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 47, no. 3/4 (1999): 34-5. See also Angermüller, *Dokumente*, i.167-69.

⁷⁴ A rebuilt organ by Franz Xaver Christoph was installed, together with a striking neo-Gothic case, still extant; Lade, *Orgeln in Wien*, 82-5.

⁷⁵ AVA, A-Kultus 311, 427/1786.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Giovanni Salvadori, *La Congregazione Della Chiesa Nazionale Italiana in Vienna* (Vienna: Drescher & Comp., 1891), 126-27.

⁷⁷ *WK*, 1786:581.

Storage, Benucci, Mandini and Kelly were already involved in rehearsals for the opera when they sang on Easter Day.

Not only did the members of the company sing for the Italian congregation, but a number also showed off their compositional talents. The inventory of the congregation's music lists two items of particular interest: "Un Mottetto...della S[ignor]a Ferraresi" and "Un Mottetto, e Duetto...di Mon[sieur] e Mad[ame] Mombelli."⁷⁸ Adriana Ferrarese, the first Fiordiligi in *Così* and Susanna in the 1789 revival of *Figaro*, was in Vienna between 1788 and early 1791, so this "motet" can presumably be dated to those years. Ferrarese is otherwise unattested as a composer, and her work seems not to survive. Domenico Mombelli was active in composition, but his wife, Luisa Laschi, the first Countess in *Figaro* and Zerlina in the Viennese *Don Giovanni*, was not previously known to have written music. It is unclear from this entry whether the "mottetto" was Mombelli's and the "duetto" Laschi's, or whether both were joint productions. The couple were married in late 1786,⁷⁹ and Mombelli married again in 1791, apparently as a widower, so the possible dates of composition are similar to those for the Ferrarese motet. The archive also contains an "offertorio" by the mysterious "M[astr]o Cornetti," presumably the same Cornetti who collaborated with Mozart and Salieri on the lost "italienisches Freudenlied" *Per la ricuperata salute di Ophelia* for Nancy Storage.⁸⁰

Salieri contributed two unidentified sacred arias in honour of St. Julius to the congregation in 1776,⁸¹ and may have contributed more. The music archive of Passau

⁷⁸ Brauneis, "Die Italienische Congregation in Wien," 41.

⁷⁹ *MVC*, 1746.

⁸⁰ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 222-23. Brauneis identifies "Maestro Cornetti" as Paolo Cornetti (fl. 1638), a *maestro di capella* in Ferrara, but given the obscurity of his work and the eighteenth-century character of the rest of the collection, this identification is most unlikely; Brauneis, "Die Italienische Congregation in Wien," 43. One aria by Cornetti appears in the pasticcio *Il convinto di Baldassare*, premiered at the *Burgtheater* in February 1788; a string quartet arrangement copied the same year survives in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 12548.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

Cathedral preserves two sets of parts for works allegedly by Salieri. One, for an offertory *Timete Dominum*, “pro octava Omnium Sanctorum vel De Apostolis, et Martyribus,” is signed “Auth^{re} Del Sig^{re} Salieri / den 9^{ten} Maji 1789. / 25 kr.”⁸² This is a contrafactum of the trio *Venite, o Donne* from Salieri’s 1785 opera *La grotta di Trofonio*. The other set, for an offertory *Mater Jesu in hora mortis*, “pro Festis Septum Dolorum,” is signed “Auth^{re} Del Sig^{re} Salieri / den 19 7br: 1790. / 20 kr.”⁸³ This work, a duet for soprano and alto, is currently unknown from any other source. As it happens, the feast of the seven sorrows of the Virgin was one of the rituals performed by the Italian congregation, and it was celebrated in September, a few days after the date given on the parts.⁸⁴ Both sets are, however, not autograph, and the precise significance of the dates is not clear. The presence of prices suggests these are commercial copies, but the general appearance of the parts is not at all professional: in the soprano part, the copyist wrote the incorrect text “dulcedo mentis” before crossing out the first attempt entirely and starting again on the other side; see Figure 3.6.⁸⁵ The paper is non-Italian, so it is not easily dated, and the peripheral transmission does not inspire confidence. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that this is a genuine motet written by Salieri for the Italian congregation in 1790.⁸⁶

II. ‘ER PRODUZIERT JETZT KIRCHEN-MUSIK’

Following the partial performance of the C minor Mass, Mozart appears to have ceased composing liturgical church music for approximately four years. A number of works from

⁸² D-Po, Salieri 2.

⁸³ D-Po, Salieri 1.

⁸⁴ Brauneis, “Die Italienische Congregation in Wien,” 38.

⁸⁵ The parts are all in the same hand with the exception of the viola.

⁸⁶ The *Hofkapelle* celebrated the Seven Sorrows (see, for example, Bonno’s *O Virgo Tristissima* from 1775), but there is no sign of *Mater Jesu* in the chapel archives.

Jesu quam gaudeo Clementia qua tunc dignaris
 me Mater Jesu Mater Jesu in hora mortis
 quam gaudeo Clementia qua tunc dignaris me. Dig-
 =naris me qua tunc dignaris me Mater!

Offertorium.
 Canto.
 Mater Jesu gaudeo mentis

Figure 3.6. Soprano part for the offertory *Mater Jesu* attributed to Salieri. D-Po, Salieri 1.

the 1780s do however set texts of a religious but non-liturgical nature, including *Davide penitente* and the two canons *Alleluia* K. 553 and *Ave maria* K. 554. Two pieces quote pre-existing liturgical material: the *Maurerischer Trauermusik* employs a melody of disputed origin that appears in Michael Haydn's C minor Requiem,⁸⁷ while K. 553 quotes the *Alleluia* chant following the epistle on Holy Saturday. Figure 3.7 shows this chant as it appears in Trattner's 1758 reprint of the *Missale Romanum*, together with the beginning of K. 553.⁸⁸ The form is consistent with Mozart's canon in beginning with the leap of a fourth, unlike the 1908 Roman version of the chant cited by the *NMA*, which begins with a third.⁸⁹

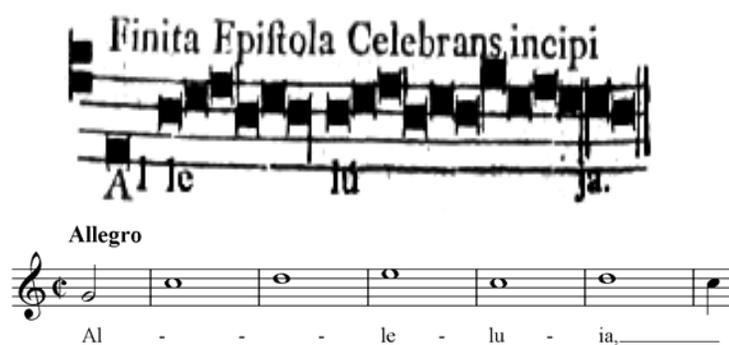


Figure 3.7. Alleluia chant for Holy Saturday and the beginning of Mozart's *Alleluia* K. 553.

The earliest indications of Mozart's re-engagement with liturgical church music are associated not with Vienna, but with Prague. Johann Joseph Strobach (1731-94) was director of the orchestra at the National Theatre in Prague and simultaneously *regens chori* at St. Nicholas in Malá Strana. He was thus closely involved with the productions of *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* in that city. According to Niemetschek, Mozart wrote Strobach and the

⁸⁷ See, for example, Mark Evan Bonds, "Gregorian Chant in the Works of Mozart," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1980/83* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), 308-09, Helmut Hell, "Mozarts Maurerische Trauermusik KV 477," in *Ars Iocundissima: Festschrift für Kurt Dorfmueller zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Horst Leuchtmann and Robert Münster (Tutzing: Schneider, 1984), 127-39. See also Heinz Schuler, "Mozarts Maurerische Trauermusik KV 477/479a: Eine Dokumentation," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 40 (1992): 46-70.

⁸⁸ *Missale Romanum Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum...in Quo Missa Novissima Sanctorum Accurate Sunt Disposita*, (Vienna: Johann Thomas Trattner, 1758), 180.

⁸⁹ Dunning, *NMA* III/10, xii. See also Otto Biba, "Das Gregorianische Oster-Alleluja in der Klassischen Kirchenmusik," *Singende Kirche* 17 (1970): 100-02.

orchestra a letter of thanks, attributing the success of his music in Prague to their efforts.⁹⁰

On 6 December 1787, the *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* reported, St. Nicholas celebrated its patronal festival with an unidentified mass by Mozart:

Den 6ten, als am St. Niklasfeste wurde in der kleinseitner Niklaskirche eine von dem hier so beliebten Tonsetzer, Herrn Mozart, verfertigter musikalische Messe gegeben, und alles gestand, dass er auch in dieser besonderen Kompositionsart ganz Meister sey.⁹¹

Mozart had left Prague about three weeks before the service took place, but given the Strobach connection one naturally wonders if the composer had something to do with this performance. Despite many advances, the study of Bohemian sources of Mozart's music is still in its early stages, and we do not know how widely the composer's sacred music was distributed in Prague prior to 1791.⁹² According to Tomislav Volek, "we have extant documents proving that Mozart had visited Strobach [at St. Nicholas] and his masses had been performed in the church long before his first visit to Prague."⁹³ Unfortunately, Volek does not specify what these documents are. St. Vitus' Cathedral did however have K. 259 by 1796,⁹⁴ and Niemetschek wrote in 1798 that "alle, die wir hier in Prag gehört haben, tragen den Stempel seines Genies."⁹⁵

⁹⁰ *MBA*, vi.340.

⁹¹ Quoted in Berkovec, *Musicalia V Pražském Periodickém Tisku 18. Století: Vyběr Aktuálních Zpráv O Hudbě*, 68. The edition in Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 270 is inaccurate, and Deutsch's suggestion that the mass could have been K. 427 is most unlikely (see Eibl, *Neue Dokumente*, 55.)

⁹² Many Czech archives preserve Mozart sources from the last two decades of the eighteenth century. From the hospital at Kuks, for example, are early sets of parts for K. 259 (CZ-Pnm, XLIX F 23), K. 317 (XLIX F 24), and K. 194 (XLIX F 22); see Michaela Freemanová-Kopecká, *Collectio Fratrum Misericordiae Kukussiensis*, 2 vols., *Catalogus Artis Musicae in Bohemia et Moravia Cultae* (Prague: [Národní knihovna ČR], 1998), ii.369-71. On early Moravian sources, see Jiří Senhal, "Quellen zu Mozarts Kirchenwerken in Mähren," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1986* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 29-31.

⁹³ Tomislav Volek and Ivan Bittner, *The Mozartiana of Czech and Moravian Archives* (Prague: Archives Dept. of the Czech Ministry of Interior, 1991), 9.

⁹⁴ CZ-Pak, 895.

⁹⁵ Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, aus Originalquellen*, Second ed. (Prague: Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1808; reprint, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978), 117.

The two “sacred songs” *O Gottes Lamm* and *Als aus Ägypten* K. 343 have come to be associated with Prague and St. Nicholas, although they have a surprisingly complex history for such modest pieces. The unsigned and undated autograph was in the possession of Johann August André during the time of Köchel, but subsequently disappeared. The loss of the autograph forced Ernst Ballin, who edited the songs for the NMA in 1963, to rely on a copy of it made for Otto Jahn. Ballin had however discovered that versions of both songs appear in the fifth edition of a Prague hymn collection, *Lieder zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht*, dating from 1805.⁹⁶ The preface to the collection stated that “ein Mozart” had provided melodies for *Seelenmesse* texts at the initiative of Strobach and a priest at St. Nicholas, Emmanuel Stiepanowsky. The songs did not appear in the first edition of the hymnbook from 1783, and despite an extensive search Ballin could not locate copies of the second, third, or fourth editions.⁹⁷ Thanks to the researches of RISM, however, three copies of the second edition of 1788 were subsequently identified in the Sammlung Wernigerode in Berlin, Stift Schlägl in Austria and Pannonhalma Abbey in Hungary.⁹⁸ Sure enough, the 1788 edition includes Mozart’s melodies to the two hymns, although it makes no mention of their provenance.⁹⁹ Finally, after being lost for more than a century, Mozart’s autograph turned up at a Paris auction in 1999; see Figure 3.8.¹⁰⁰ It bears a “Nissen number” and the speculative but ultimately correct dating of Johann Anton André, “178_”. Unusually, the

⁹⁶ The hymnbook was edited “auf Veranlassung der k. k. Normalschuldirektion.” The responsible editors were Franz Steinsky (1752-1816) and Ferdinand Kindermann von Schulstein (1740-1801).

⁹⁷ Ballin, *NMA* KB III/8, 116-17.

⁹⁸ Konrad Ameln, Markus Jenny, and Walther Lipphardt, eds., *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied: Verzeichnis der Drucke von den Anfängen bis 1800*, 2 vols., *Rism B/Viii* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975-80), i.682.

⁹⁹ The melodies are printed together at the back of the book in a highly compressed format, and the two in question are attributed to “W. A. Mozart.” An “Anmerkung” includes the instruction: “Die Melodien, welche hier der Wohlfeilheit des Werkes wegen so klein gestochen sind, müssen in ein besonderes Choralbuch abgeschrieben...”

¹⁰⁰ Laurin–Guilloux–Buffetaud, Paris, 24 November 1999. The autograph appears to have remnants of blue felt around its edges, suggesting it was once mounted. It bears a note of authenticity from Julius André dated 22 July 1863. The present owner of the manuscript is unknown.

paper is ruled with 14 staves, a characteristic otherwise found in Mozart's Viennese autographs only in paper-type Tyson 62-IV, found in autographs from 1785.¹⁰¹ In the absence of watermark data about the manuscript, however, it is unwise to draw conclusions from the staff-ruling. If the account in the 1805 preface is accurate, the composition of K. 343 must lie somewhere between Mozart's first contact with Strobach, probably late in 1786, and the publication of the hymnbook in 1788.

In the hymnbook, *O Gottes Lamm* appears in a section entitled "Bey Seelenämtern (Requiem)" as a hymn "Zum Agnus Dei." *Als aus Ägypten*, an anonymous versification of Psalm 113, appears as a song for vespers. In Vienna, the 1783 *Gottesdienstordnung* specified a daily *Segenmesse* in parish churches, "wobey daß vorgeschriebene Normalgesang mit der Orgel abgesungen wird."¹⁰² The *Normalgesänge* were contained in a separate collection, printed without music.¹⁰³ As we have seen in Chapter One, the hymns were often unfamiliar, and the clergy resistant to their introduction. The religious periodicals often feature complaints about the low quality of communal singing, even after the hymns had been in place for several years. Here, for example, is one anonymous correspondent's report on the 1786 Easter Monday service in the *Wienerwald* village of Mauerbach:

Hierauf wurde die Segenmesse gehalten. Wir wissen nicht, warum man nicht dabei den vorgeschriebenen Normalgesang, sondern nur Fragmente aus selben sang; beim *Gloria* und *Credo* zum Beispiele nur die erste Strophe; worauf der Priester die Responsorien – wie bei einem Hochamte – in einem unausstehlichen Franziskanerton durch die Nase herabsang; indessen das Volk sich mit Herumgassen, Schwätzen, oder höchstens mit dem Rosenkranz beschäftigte. Anstatt nach der Wandlung in dem vorgeschriebenen Liede weiter fortzufahren, wurde das alte: Freu't euch ihr lieben Seelen &c. bis an das Ende der Messe gesungen.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ An apparent exception is K. 518 from May 1787, but this appears to have been written on the same bifolium on which Mozart wrote three other songs, two years earlier.

¹⁰² Anon., *Künftige Gottesdiensts- und Andachtsordnung für Wien in und vor der Stadt mit Anfang des Ostersonntages 1783* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1783), 3.

¹⁰³ Anon., *Normalmeßgesang, Litaneyen und Gebether, Selbe bey der Neuen Gottesdiensteseinrichtung zu Allgemeinen Gebrauch Vorgeschrieben Worden* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1783).

¹⁰⁴ *ÜGR*, vi.293.

A year later, another periodical reported on a service held at Neudorf on 4 February

1787:

Endlich hielt der Cooperator die Segenmesse, wobei das gewöhnliche Lied, welches der Schulmeister mit der Orgel begleitete, gesungen wurde. Aber wie erstaunten wir über die Unordnung, die wir bei diesem ganzen Gottesdienste bemerkten! – Der Priester las seine Messe fort ohne auf die Singenden Acht zu haben; und der Schulmeister sang die nächste beste Strophe vom Liede, welche ihm in den Mund kam. Hiedurch wurde das Lied so gewaltig verwirrt; daß die Jugend vorn beim Altar eine andere Strophe als das übrige Volk und dieses wieder eine andere als der Organist auf einmal herabschrie.¹⁰⁵

In some cases, the musicians took over the *Lied* entirely, but the results were equally unsatisfactory. If one correspondent is to be believed, a particularly disastrous service took place at Korneuburg, near Vienna in September 1784:

Ein Organist, zwei Knaben und ein paar Männer produzierten sich mit dem Predigtlied; die Gemeinde konnte nicht mitsingen. Wir erinnerten uns nicht, bald etwas so Erbärmliches gehört zu haben, als dieses Musizieren. Schon die Komposition des Liedes ist ohne allen Geist und ein wahres Dudeldumdudeldei; die zwei Knaben sangen fast durchaus um einen halben Ton zu tief, und die mitsingenden Männer heulten ihr Akompagnement beständig durch die Nase. – Wir fragen mit Recht den dortigen Hrn. Pfarrer: Warum singt man in Korneuburg nicht eben jene populären Predigtlieder, wie zu Wien, daß ganze Gemeinde daran Theil nehmen könnte?...Nach der Predigt wurde das Hochamt gehalten. Die Musik war wie das Predigtlied. Um es aber recht toll zu machen, so krazte gleich beim Kirie jemand ein erbärmliches Solo auf der Violin. – Wozu all der Schnikschnak!¹⁰⁶

The autograph of K. 343 lacks Mozart's usual *manu propria*, and there is no entry for the songs in the *Verzeichnüss*. In such circumstances, one wonders what importance Mozart attached to them. Certainly the limited uptake of the songs into subsequent hymnbooks has meant that the composer's sole original contribution to Catholic hymnody is very little known.¹⁰⁷ If the above reports and others like them are indicative of the general state of hymn-singing in Vienna, Mozart may have had little expectation of the songs proceeding very far.

¹⁰⁵ KBZ, iii.72-3.

¹⁰⁶ ÜGR, ii.29-31.

¹⁰⁷ See the list of subsequent editions in Ballin, *NMA* III/8 KB, 118.

A letter from Norbert Lehmann to Niemetschek alleged that Mozart had arrived with Josepha Duschek at Kloster Strahov in 1787 to hear the monastery church's famous organ. Lehmann, who was a canon at Strahov, includes a colourful description of Mozart improvising at the instrument, and continues:

Dann führte er [Mozart] das Thema einer Fuga aus dem Brixischen Requiem ex C-moll zwar auf eine ganz andere Art so künstlich auf, daß man wie versteinert dastund. Er gab jeder Stimme, wenn sie das Thema in einem andern Tone wiederholte, ihr Recht, welches hauptsächlich beim Tenor zu bewundern war. Wenn der Baß zu tief war und wenn der Tenor mit der linken Hand nicht konnte bestritten werden, so mußte die Rechte mit einigen Tönen und Fingern aushelfen.¹⁰⁸

Franz Xaver Brixi (1732-71), who did write an extant Requiem in C minor, was *Kapellmeister* at St. Vitus' Cathedral in Prague from 1759 until his death. Lehmann does not say whether Mozart's use of this theme was prompted by external suggestion, but it is conceivable that Mozart chose the Brixi in deference to local sensitivities. Lehmann's letter is not well authenticated – allegedly from the Niemetschek *Nachlass*, its only source is the first publication in 1911 – and the included “transcription” of Mozart's improvisation (K. Anh. C. 27.03) hardly increases its credibility. If the account is accurate, one would need to consider where Mozart had the opportunity to study Brixi's Requiem in the first place.

In late May 1787, Mozart wrote to Gottfried von Jacquin, “Hier schick ihnen ihren Amynt und das Kirchenlied.”¹⁰⁹ “Amynt” is Jacquin's setting of Kleist's poem “Sie fliehet fort,” but “das Kirchenlied” is more difficult to identify. Ballin sought to identify it with one of the songs that constitute K. 343, but with the knowledge that the songs are transmitted together it is difficult to see why Mozart would refer to only one. More likely, Mozart was referring to Jacquin's only known religious work: a setting for chorus, strings and continuo

¹⁰⁸ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 445.

¹⁰⁹ *MBA*, iv.48.

of *Wir werfen uns darnieder*; see Example 3.1.¹¹⁰ No autograph survives, and the single extant copy, probably from the shop of Johann Traeg, is in the hand of Edge's Viennese Mozart-Copyist 1.¹¹¹ The text, a paraphrase of the *Kyrie* by Ignaz Franz (1719-1790),¹¹² is the opening hymn in the 1783 Viennese *Normalgesang*.

Issues of authorship surrounding Mozart and Jacquin are rather murky,¹¹³ and one would naturally like to know the circumstances under which Mozart possessed a copy of the piece. If Jacquin had given *Amynt* and *Wir werfen* to Mozart for comments, perhaps the surviving sources transmit versions of the songs as revised by the latter. Musically, *Wir werfen* is rather modest: the inelegant approach to the E major chord in b. 10-11 and the static melody in b. 13 could have been handled better. The active part for Violino II does however maintain a sense of pace and independent orchestral interest, and the imitation in b. 4-6 adds variety to the otherwise homophonic texture. There is no indication that the piece was ever performed, liturgically or otherwise.

In May 1788, the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen sent three of its members on a study tour of France and Germany. One of the participants was Joachim Daniel Preisler (1755-1809), who published an account of his travels the following year. Preisler's recollection of a visit to Mozart on 24 August 1788, with Constanze cutting quills for the copyist, a pupil composing and Mozart's son Carl singing recitatives is justly well-known for its rare glimpse

¹¹⁰ See Stefan Kunze, "Die Arie KV 621^a von W. A. Mozart und Emilian Gottfried von Jacquin," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1967* (Salzburg: 1968), 211n23. In the source, the verses are written out in full.

¹¹¹ A-Wgm, I 20012/Q 20798. On this copyist, see *MVC*, Chapter 6, especially 744-48 for evidence that VMC-1 is Traeg himself. The Jacquin piece, called "Meßgesang" in its source, is listed in Traeg's 1799 catalogue; Alexander Weinmann, ed., *Johann Traeg: die Musikalienverzeichnisse von 1799 und 1804*, 2 vols., *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages. Reihe 2, Folge 17* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1973), 226. The manuscript was first mentioned in Hedwig Kraus, "W. A. Mozart und die Familie Jacquin," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 15 (1932-33): 162. The watermark is three moons | CS over C (double line), not found in Tyson or Duda.

¹¹² Michael Härting, "Das Kirchenlied unter dem Einfluß der Kirchlichen Aufklärung," in *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirchenmusik*, ed. Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), ii.174. The source for Jacquin's piece includes only three verses, omitting the fourth given in the *Normalgesang*.

¹¹³ See, for example, *MVC*, 655-63, 699-708.

Meißgesang

Gottfried von Jacquin

Andante ♩

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Canto

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Bassi ed Organo

1. Wir wer - fen uns dar - nie - der von dir Gott Sa - ba -

1. Wir wer - fen uns dar - nie - der von dir Gott Sa - ba -

oth Er - hö - re uns - re Lie - der, uns - re Lie -

Er - hö - re, er - hö - re uns - re Lie -

oth Er - hö - re uns - re Lie -

Er - hö - re uns - re Lie -

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

C.

A.

T.

B.

B. ed. Org

3 6 - 26 6 5 24 6 - 26
4 4 3 2 4 4 3
3 3

3 6 6 6
4

Example 3.1. Jacquin: *Wir werfen uns darnieder*.

8

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

C.

A. der! da wir nach dem Ge - both dir dies - es Op - fer

T. der!

B. der! da wir nach dem Ge - both dir dies - es Op - fer

B. ed. Org

#3 6 #3 7 6 9 #6 #5 - 7 6
4 5

12

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

C.

A. bring - en, ver - lei - he nun daß wir es an - dachts - voll be -

T. bring - en, ver - lei - he nun daß wir es an - dachts - voll be -

B.

B. ed. Org

#9 - #2 #4 6 #6 6 7 6 #6
4 - 3 4 5 4 4 3 4 3

Example 3.1, continued.

dal segno

16

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

C.
sing - en und wohl - ge - fal - len dir. 2. Den reich.

A.

T.
sing - en und wohl - ge - fal - len dir. 2. Den reich.

B.

B. ed. Org

7 7 6 6 7 7 5 3

2. Den Tag vor Jesu Leiden,
 Beim Le[t]zten Abendmahl,
 Indem er wollte schneiden
 Aus diesem Jammerthal,
 Hat er das Brod gebrochen,
 Und ausgetheilt den Wein;
 Gesegnet und gesprochen:
 Dieß thut, und denket mein.

3. Er sprach: Nehmt hin und esset,
 Das ist mein Fleisch und Blut,
 Damit ihr nicht vergesset,
 Was meine Liebe thut;
 Mich opfernd will ich sterben
 Am Kreuz zum Heil für euch,
 Wer an mich glaubt, soll erben
 Mit mir das Himmelreich.

into the domestic life of the family. Of particular interest for our purposes is the final sentence of Preisler's account, which appears in the main body of *Dokumente* in German translation: "Er [Mozart] produziert in Wien Kirchen-Musik, und da die *Operette* zu Ende gekommen ist, hat er nichts mit dem Theater zu tun." Preisler's Danish original reads "I Wien opfører Han Kirke-Musiker, og da *Operetten* er gaaet ind, saa har han Inet med Theatret at bestille."¹¹⁴ The crucial word here is "opfører" (modern *opfører*), rendered by Deutsch's anonymous translator as "produziert," which has the same imprecise implication as the English "produces." It is thus not clear, according to Preisler's account, whether Mozart is *writing* church music or *performing* it. Deutsch suggested that Preisler was referring to Mozart's work for van Swieten, which by this date had consisted solely of the performances of C. P. E. Bach's *Auferstehung* in February and March 1788.¹¹⁵ The first of the Händel arrangements, *Acis und Galathea* K. 566, was not entered by Mozart in the *Verzeichnis* until December.

Die Auferstehung is certainly "religious" music, and Mozart contributed to the shape of the performances not only through his participation but also through minor revisions in one aria (K. 537d) and additional figuring in the performing score.¹¹⁶ It is however difficult to believe that Preisler, who describes himself as a "kongelig Skuespiller og Accompanist i Orchestret," would not know the difference between religious oratorios and genuine "Kirke-Musiker." Perhaps had Mozart told the actor of his current projects, or Preisler saw the score

¹¹⁴ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 285, 515.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 273.

¹¹⁶ The performing score is in A-Wgm, III 14232/Q 678. The parts are in A-Wgm, III 14232, with the exception of Aloysia Lange's part (marked "Mad: Lang") which is in III 14232/Q 679. Some of the score and many of the parts are in the hand of Peter Rampl; see *MVC*, 1185-88. Watermarks in these sources include Tyson 74, 100, 101 and 102. On Mozart's arrangement see Andreas Holschneider, "C.Ph.E. Bachs Kantate Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu und Mozarts Aufführung des Jahres 1788," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70* (Salzburg: 1970), 264-80.

of a sacred piece sitting on Mozart's desk. Whatever the precise meaning, "church music" should be taken at its face value in the absence of a better explanation.

Three weeks before Preisler's visit, Mozart wrote his sister a rather apologetic letter apologising for his lack of communication and sending her his latest piano pieces. The composer did however want something from Salzburg as well:

Nun muß ich dich um etwas bitten; – Ich möchte gerne daß mir der Haydn *seine 2 Tutti=Messen*, und die *Graduali* so er geschrieben, in *Partitur* auf eine zeit lehnte; – ich würde sie mit allem dank wieder zurück schicken. – es ist nun eben ein Jahr daß ich ihm geschrieben, und ihn zu mir eingeladen habe. aber er hat mir nicht geantwortet; – im antworten scheint er mir viel gleiches *mit mir* zu haben, nicht wahr? – Ich bitte dich also recht sehr mir diese sachen auf diese art zuwege zu bringen...¹¹⁷

"Tutti=Messen" apparently means masses scored throughout for full choir with no solo passages. As it happens, Michael Haydn had written just two masses of this kind by 1788: the *Missa Sancti Joannis Nepomuceni* MH 182 from May 1772, and the *Missa Amandi (Missa Lambacensis)* MH 229 from September 1776.¹¹⁸ Mozart, of course, would have had opportunity to encounter these works in Salzburg, and they may be tentatively identified as the "2 Tutti=Messen" that the composer requested from Nannerl. The *Graduali* are more difficult to identify. Beller-McKenna is probably correct in suggesting that Mozart is referring to the series of graduals Haydn supposedly wrote at the request of Colloredo from 1783 onwards, but it is impossible to tell whether Mozart had any specific works in mind.¹¹⁹ That Mozart knew Haydn was writing such works suggests an otherwise unknown Salzburg connection: perhaps Mozart had learned of Haydn's project during his 1783 visit to the city, or Leopold informed him of it in one of the lost letters. There is no evidence that Nannerl

¹¹⁷ *MBA*, iv.72.

¹¹⁸ *MH*, 91 incorrectly gives the location of the latter's autograph as A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16524. It is actually Mus. Hs. 16542.

¹¹⁹ Daniel Beller-McKenna, "Mozart's Kyrie Fragments and Late Eighteenth Century Viennese Church Style," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 39 (1991): 83. As Beller-McKenna points out, Mozart's request for *Partituren* suggests he intended the works for study purposes. See also Reinhard G. Pauly, "Michael Haydn's Latin Proprium Missae Compositions" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1956), 120-22.

sent her brother any material in response to his request, and this is in any case Mozart's last surviving letter to her.

Why was Mozart interested in sacred music in 1788? The fact that he specifically requested scores from Nannerl, not parts, suggests that the works were intended for study, not performance.¹²⁰ Three copies that Mozart made about this time of works by Reutter provide concrete evidence that the composer was interested in assimilating a specifically Viennese tradition of sacred music. *De Profundis* (Hofer Psalmen und Cantica 123), copied by Mozart as K. 93/Anh. A.22, was first identified as the work of Reutter by Pfannhauser in 1948; see Figure 3.9.¹²¹ *Memento domine David* (Hofer Psalmen und Cantica 124), copied as K. 93a/Anh. A.23, was likewise identified by Pfannhauser.¹²² The second Kyrie from the *Missa in D* (Hofer Messen 80), copied as K. 91/186i was identified by Monika Holl in 1983; see Figure 3.10.¹²³ All three copies are "incomplete": in the *De profundis*, Mozart copied the vocal parts and continuo in their entirety but did not fill in the violin parts. In *Memento domine*, Mozart omitted the text and violin parts, and abandoned work on the manuscript after 32 bars.¹²⁴ In the Kyrie, Mozart left out the trumpet and timpani parts and broke off copying entirely after 32 bars.¹²⁵ Plath had already noted in 1964 that the

¹²⁰ Beller-McKenna, "Mozart's Kyrie Fragments," 83.

¹²¹ Pfannhauser, "Mozart Hat Kopiert!." Part of the article had already appeared in *Die Österreichische Furche* on 29 August 1953. See also Pfannhauser, "Mozarts Kirchenmusikalische Studien," 9-16.

¹²² A facsimile appears in Konrad, *Skizzen*, 1787γ.

¹²³ Monika Holl, "Nochmals: "Mozart Hat Kopiert!"" *Acta mozartiana* 30 (1983): 33-6. There are multiple inaccuracies in Hertz's statement that "Mozart...copied out two Psalm settings by [Reutter], a quiet homophonic setting *a 4* of Psalm 131, *Memento Domine David*, and a fugal setting *a 4* of Psalm 150, *In te Domine speravi*." Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School*, 84. See also Hellmut Federhofer, "Georg Reutter d. J. als Mittler Zwischen Johann Joseph Fux und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart," *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse* (1983): 51-8.

¹²⁴ The continuo drops out in the last system. Mozart later used two blank staves on the verso to write a sketch (Sk 1787l) once thought to be associated with the fourth movement of the symphony K. 551.

¹²⁵ Mozart's autograph contains a completion by Maximilian Stadler, although the piece as composed by Reutter was of course already "complete"; Holl, "Nochmals: "Mozart Hat Kopiert!"" : 33. Stadler described the copy as "Kyrie in D dur vierstimmig mit Violino unisono fugirt allegro besteht aus 32 Takten"; quoted in Ludwig Finscher, "Maximilian Stadler und Mozarts Nachlass," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1960/61* (Salzburg: 1961), 171.

1051. 330. *Andte.* *De profundis.* *Non. Mozart und sein Gesangsst. 77.*

De profundis clamavi ad te Domine Domine vocavi nomen tuum, sicut passus tua interfectus, in

vicem Deprecati in oculis meis. p. A. iniqui et tibi obnoxio Domine Domine suscipiat, quia quod a peccat.

Figure 3.9. Opening of Mozart's copy of Reutter's *De profundis*. GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31748.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the opening of Mozart's second Kyrie. The score is written on ten staves. The top staff is for the Soprano (Sop.), followed by Alto (Alt.), Tenor (Ten.), Bass (Bass.), and Piano (Piano). The piano part is written in G major and common time. The vocal parts enter with the text "Kyrie eleison". The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings like "p". The handwriting is in ink on aged paper, and the score is signed "Wolfgang Mozart" at the top right.

Figure 3.10. Opening of Mozart's copy of the second Kyrie from a mass by Reutter. Present location unknown.

handwriting in the two psalm settings was characteristic of the 1780s, and a Viennese date was confirmed by Tyson in 1981.¹²⁶ The watermark in all three copies is Tyson 95, suggesting a date between late 1787 and 1791, most likely closer to the earlier date.¹²⁷

How did Mozart gain access to these pieces? As Pfannhauser and Holl noted, copies of all three works are extant in the *Hofkapelle* collection.¹²⁸ A report from 1825 by Salieri's student Anselm Hüttenbrenner lends support to the general idea that Mozart studied the court's musical sources:

Von Mozart sprach er [Salieri] stets mit ausnehmender Hochachtung. Er [Mozart], der Unübertreffliche, kam oft zu Salieri mit den Worten: Lieber Papa, geben sie mir einige alte Partituren aus der Hofbibliothek; ich will sie bey Ihnen durchblättern; wobey er manchmal das Mittagsbrot versäumte.¹²⁹

During Mozart's time, however, the Reutter sources were not in the *Hofbibliothek* but in the *Hofkapelle's* music library, and all three pieces are transmitted entirely in parts, not scores. *De profundis* and *Memento domine* survive in a set of parts dated 1757, and performance dates on the wrapper show that the two psalms were performed at vespers on Christmas Day and St. Stephen's Day from 1757 to 1761. There is no indication that the parts were employed after 1761, although one cannot of course exclude the possibility.¹³⁰ A comparison between the readings in the parts and those of Mozart's copy leaves doubts as to whether the *Hofkapelle* source served as Mozart's exemplar. In the *De profundis*, the *Hofkapelle* parts are notated with two flats in the key signature, Mozart's score with three,

¹²⁶ Alan Tyson, "The Mozart Fragments in the Mozarteum, Salzburg: A Preliminary Study of Their Chronology and Their Significance," in *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 142, Wolfgang Plath, "Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Mozart-Forschung," in *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 83.

¹²⁷ MVC, 433. See also Alan Tyson, "Redating Mozart: Some Stylistic and Biographical Implications," in *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1987), 27. Mozart's use of the paper seems to be concentrated around 1788.

¹²⁸ Pfannhauser, "Mozart Hat Kopiert!," 24-5, Holl, "Nochmals: "Mozart Hat Kopiert!": 33, 35-6.

¹²⁹ Eisen, *Neue Dokumente*, 89.

¹³⁰ A-Wn, HK 968. See also Pfannhauser, "Mozarts Kirchenmusikalische Studien," 14.

and the continuo figuring differs significantly between the two sources.¹³¹ Various other differences, such as the inconsistent vocal slurring and the divergence between the *Hofkapelle*'s "sustenebit?" and Mozart's "sustenebit," lead to a similar conclusion. The uneven spacing in the Mozart source does suggest the composer was copying from parts, and it is conceivable that differing readings arose through intentional or unintentional modifications to the exemplar. Taken collectively, however, the variants suggest that Mozart was not copying from the *Hofkapelle* source. Where, then, did the composer obtain these pieces? Pfannhauser knew of further sources in Vienna at the Priesterseminar, St. Stephen's Cathedral and the Schottenstift.¹³² Those at the Priesterseminar and St. Stephen's are no longer extant, but there are further sources in Florence.¹³³ If a source for the psalms was found that matched Mozart's score more closely, it would indicate a previously unknown relationship between Mozart and one or more churches in Vienna. Liturgically, Mozart's interest in the psalms had no practical outcome, as the *Gottesdienstordnung* lacked provision for instrumentally-accompanied vespers. Still, the homophonic texture in both works placed them closer to the Josephinian ideal than most of Reutter's other music.

The mass (Hofer Messen 80), one of Reutter's more ambitious efforts, is scored mostly for four-part choir but expands for the *Amen* of the Gloria into eight parts (SATBSATB).¹³⁴ In contrast to the shadowy performance history of the two psalms, the mass enjoyed great popularity at the *Hofkapelle* during the 1780s, and was heard on New Year's Day (twice), Christmas Day (twice), Easter Sunday and the feasts of the Annunciation,

¹³¹ For example, figuring is entirely absent from the HK source in b. 33-44, while Mozart's score contains figuring throughout.

¹³² Pfannhauser, "Mozarts Kirchenmusikalische Studien," 14.

¹³³ I-Fa, 164 (*Memento domine* only) and possibly I-Fc, FP Ch 791. The St. Stephen's parts, now destroyed, are listed in the Cathedral's catalogue, A-Wda, s.s., 128. On the St. Stephen's music collection, see the following chapter.

¹³⁴ The Kyrie copied by Mozart is reused in the *Dona nobis*. The copy of the Kyrie and Gloria in A-H, II c calls the mass "Missa St. Theresiae."

Nativity of the Virgin and St. Leopold, patron saint of Austria; see Figure 3.11.¹³⁵ Holl hypothesised that, in addition to performing the mass on the morning of 8 September 1788, the *Hofkapelle* performed *De profundis* and *Memento domine* at vespers in the afternoon, giving Mozart the opportunity to gain access to all three works. Given the Christmas performances of the psalms in 1757-61, one would have thought an association with the Christmas Day performance of the mass in 1788 was more likely. As we have seen, however, there is no evidence that the Reutter psalms were performed after 1761, and the lack of provision for instrumental vespers in the *Gottesdienstordnung* leaves the performance of such works in question.¹³⁶

Holl argues on the basis of unspecified similarities of “Bogensetzung und Bezifferung” that Mozart was copying from the *Hofkapelle*’s parts for the mass.¹³⁷ The task of comparing the readings in the two sources is complicated by the private ownership of the Mozart copy and its consequent inaccessibility. After the first recto, of which a copy was made, one presently has to rely on copies of the manuscript made by Aloys Fuchs and Josef Hauer in the nineteenth century.¹³⁸ The lack of alignment in the available autograph suggests Mozart was again copying from parts, but a comparison of the sources casts doubt on Holl’s claim for the “Übereinstimmung” of Mozart’s score and the *Hofkapelle* material. Most importantly, the figuring diverges at many points: the discrepancy between the Organo part’s “slash” 6 and Mozart’s #6 may originate in force of habit, but the absence of the “tasto solo” marking and some figures in Mozart’s score is more difficult to explain; see Figure 3.12. It is possible that Mozart modified the figures as he went along, or omitted the figures entirely

¹³⁵ A-Wn, HK 759. The viola part in the set appears to be later than the other parts. The watermark, three moons | A over GF over C, suggests it may have been copied for the 1792 or 1797 performances.

¹³⁶ On Joseph’s expectations for services in the *Hofkapelle*, see Wolfgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle*, 310-11.

¹³⁷ Holl, “Nochmals: “Mozart Hat Kopiert!””: 35-6.

¹³⁸ D-B, Mus. Ms. 15589/19 and Mus. Ms. 15079. Hauer’s copy appears to be more accurate.

23^{to} Xbris 779.
 5 gbris 780.
 1. Janub 782.
 Inica Resur. 782. S. St.
 Inica 1^{ra} Adv. 782. S. Andrea
 Dom. S. p. Pent. 4 July 784.
 25. Xbris 784. al gior 7
 15 gbris 786.
 8 Sept. 787
 25 Dec: — et gior 7
 — Martij 789.
 7. Jan: 790.
 23. May: 790
 16. Oct. 791.
 2^o — 791

Hofkapelle
 #
 Missa in D.
 Kyrie et Gloria.
 à
 4 Voci
 2 Clarini, 2 Trombe, e
 Tympano.
 2 Violini ^{one.}
 2 Tromboni ^{lip. ne}
 Viola, e Violoncello ^{ob.}
 col
 Organo.
 Del sig. Giorgio de Lutter
 Maestro di Cap. di Sac. Ces. Ma.
 N. mutatornell Part. 39.
 Amen.

H. K. 759

Figure 3.11. Title page of the Hofkapelle's parts for Reutter's Missa in D. A-Wn, HK 759.

Handwritten musical score for the opening of the second Kyrie in the organ part of Reutter's Missa in D. The score is written on ten staves in G major (one sharp) and 6/8 time. It begins with the tempo marking "Adagio" and the dynamic "p". The music features a melodic line in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments. The tempo changes to "Allo." (Allegro) in the second measure. The piece concludes with the tempo marking "Adagio" and the dynamic "p". The score is annotated with measure numbers: 4, 5, 7, 16, 29, 36, 45, 57, 76, 87, and 98.

Figure 3.12. Opening of the second Kyrie in the Organ part for Reutter's Missa in D. A-Wn, HK 759.

and later added some of his own devising. The incomplete state of the manuscript and the evident speed at which Mozart was copying speak against such deliberate modifications, however. These conclusions are necessarily tentative, and further research on Mozart as a scribal interpreter of other composers' music is clearly required.¹³⁹

If the copy of Reutter's Kyrie was not based on the *Hofkapelle* source, where did Mozart gain access to the work? Hofer listed copies of the mass at Heiligenkreuz, Herzogenburg, Göttweig and Eisenstadt, and I have identified two further sources: a lost set of parts cited in the catalogue of St. Stephen's Cathedral,¹⁴⁰ and a score copy of eighteenth-century Viennese provenance from the King's Music Library.¹⁴¹ As I have emphasised, we know very little about Mozart's church-going in Vienna, and it is entirely possible that the composer visited one of the city's churches and copied the Reutter pieces from a source that no longer survives. Did Mozart, manuscript paper in hand, visit a music archive and copy the pieces there, or did he borrow them and copy them at home? We simply do not know. Holl considered it certain that Mozart's copying was prompted by a performance, and thought it inconceivable that "ein Mann wie Mozart sich die Mühe gemacht hätte, systematisch im Aufführungsmaterial der Hofkapelle oder irgendeiner Kirche nach Kompositionen zu suchen, um dann aus über 80 Messen und 150 Psalmen von Reutter gerade diese Stücke auszuwählen."¹⁴² It is however most unlikely that any church archive would contain all of those 80 masses or 150 psalms, so the idea of Mozart searching through the material for something of interest is less problematic than Holl suggests. Perhaps

¹³⁹ On the Salzburg copies, see Cliff Eisen, "The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library," in *Mozart Studies 2*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 85-138.

¹⁴⁰ A-Wda, s.s., 14. The parts, marked "NB", were probably discarded in the late nineteenth century; see the following chapter.

¹⁴¹ GB-Lbl, R.M.24.g.13.1. The same volume contains a *Te Deum* by Reutter in the hand of Edge's Viennese Mozart-Copyist 3. The watermark in both manuscripts is Tyson 78, suggesting a date in the mid-1780s. Just how a Catholic mass came to be in the music library of the British royal family has yet to be explained.

¹⁴² Holl, "Nochmals: "Mozart Hat Kopiert!""": 36.

Mozart's selection of two homophonic pieces on the one hand and a fugal movement on the other implies an intention to discover the stylistic parameters then current in the *Hofkapelle*. Mozart had encountered Reutter before: on a visit to Vienna at the age of six, the composer with his family "bey dem Kaiserl: H: Capellmeister v Reitter zu Mittag gespeiset."¹⁴³ In Salzburg, Mozart and his father copied performance parts for a mass by Reutter (Hofer Messen 20) for use at the Cathedral.¹⁴⁴ As late as 1823, Beethoven requested a sample of Reutter's music while working on the *Missa Solemnis*, as *Hofmusikgraf* Dietrichstein reported to Moritz von Lichnowsky: "Ich schicke dir hier zugleich die Partitur einer Messe von Reutter welche Beethoven zu sehen wünschte. Wahr ist es, daß S.M. der Kaiser diesen Stil liebt, indessen braucht Beethoven, wenn er eine Messe schreibt, sich nicht daran zu halten."¹⁴⁵

The journey to northern Germany in 1789 provided Mozart with several opportunities to engage with sacred music. Writing to Constanze from Dresden on 16 April 1789, the composer wrote:

Montags den 13^{ten}, nachdem wir bey Neumanns frühstück genommen hatten gingen wir alle nach Hof in die Kapelle, die Messe war vom Naumann |: welcher sie selbst dirigirte :| - sehr Mittelmäßig; - wir waren in einem oratoire der Musik gegenüber...¹⁴⁶

There seems no way of identifying which of Naumann's masses was heard that day, as it was not customary in Dresden to note performance dates on the parts. Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1741-1801), *Oberhofkapellmeister* in Dresden since 1786, had a complex working

¹⁴³ *MBA*, i.62.

¹⁴⁴ Walter Senn, "Der Catalogus Musicalis des Salzburger Doms (1788)," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1973* (Salzburg: 1974), 185-86. See also Eisen, "The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library," 127.

¹⁴⁵ Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., *Ludwig Van Beethoven: Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, 7 vols. (Munich: G. Henle, 1996-98), v.55.

¹⁴⁶ *MBA*, iv.82.

method in which individual movements of a work would be sometimes be revised and disparate parts assembled together to produce “new” masses.¹⁴⁷

Mozart’s low opinion of Naumann was evidently not shared by *Thomaskantor* Doles in Leipzig. To mark his resignation from the post in 1789, Doles produced a sacred cantata, *Ich komme vor dein Angesicht*, which was published the following year with a dedication to his “würdigsten Gönner und Freunde” Mozart and Naumann. The print includes an extensive preface by Doles on the nature and purpose of church music that Mozart presumably read: a copy of the cantata, possibly sent from Leipzig, is listed in Mozart’s estate.¹⁴⁸ According to an anonymous report in Reichardt’s *Berlinischen Musikalischen Zeitung* of 1805, Mozart’s visit to Leipzig in 1789 was marked on 22 April by an hour-long performance by the composer on the organ of the *Thomaskirche*, with Doles and the church’s organist Görner assisting with registration. Mozart is also supposed to have improvised on the chorale *Jesu meine Zuversicht*.¹⁴⁹ The notoriously untrustworthy Rochlitz concocted several anecdotes concerning Mozart’s visit to Doles and the *Thomaskirche*, including the famous encounter with Bach’s motet *Singet dem Herrn*.¹⁵⁰ Mozart himself is known to have written a letter to Constanze, apparently in French, on the day of the organ concert, and another from Potsdam on April 28, but as both are lost we do not have the composer’s own account of the first Leipzig visit.¹⁵¹ Doles’ dedication of the cantata to Mozart shows clearly that a friendship had developed between the two composers, but in the absence of a single

¹⁴⁷ See Laurie Hasselmann Ongley, “Liturgical Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Dresden: Johann Gottlieb Naumann, Joseph Schuster, and Franz Seydelmann” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1992), i.76-7.

¹⁴⁸ Ulrich Konrad and Martin Staehelin, *Allzeit Ein Buch: die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts*, vol. 66, *Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek* (Weinheim: VCH Acta humaniora, 1991), 19, 111-12. Doles mentions that he is “ein Schüler des sel. Sebastian Bachs.”

¹⁴⁹ Eisen, *Neue Dokumente*, 82.

¹⁵⁰ See Maynard Solomon, “The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in Early Mozart Biography,” in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 17-49.

¹⁵¹ *MBA*, iv.89.

reference to the *Thomaskantor* in Mozart's surviving correspondence, the precise nature of their relationship remains uncertain.

III. THE LATE MASS FRAGMENTS

In December 1787, Joseph II appointed Mozart as *Kammerkompositor*. The post carried the responsibility, at least in theory, for the artistic direction of private musical gatherings involving the Emperor himself.¹⁵² In reality, Joseph's absence from the capital for much of 1788 and his developing illness leads one to doubt whether Mozart fulfilled such duties on a regular basis. The composer's position at court has been subject to a good deal of misunderstanding: the assumption, for example, that Mozart's late dance music was written as part of his duties cannot be sustained, for the court balls were the responsibility of the *Hoftheater* administration and had nothing to do with the *Kammermusik*. Brauneis has argued that Joseph appointed the composer to provide Archduke Franz with a musical establishment, but his case is undermined by a lack of documentary evidence from the court records that Joseph or Franz intended such a scheme. Brauneis' statement that Joseph intended to appoint Franz his direct successor is also false.¹⁵³

Less than three months after Joseph's real successor, Leopold II, had arrived in Vienna, Mozart wrote to Michael Puchberg, "Ich habe nun sehr große Hoffnung bey Hofe, denn ich weis zuverlässig, daß der K[ayser] meine Bittschrift, nicht wie die andern, begünstigt oder verdammt, herabgeschickt, sondern zurückbehalten hat. – Das ist ein gutes

¹⁵² On the context to Mozart's appointment, see Link, "Mozart's Appointment," 163-73, Walther Brauneis, "Mozarts Anstellung am Kaiserlichen Hof in Wien. Fakten und Fragen," in *Mozart. Experiment Aufklärung*, ed. Herbert Lachmayer (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006), 559-72.

¹⁵³ Derek Beales, personal communication. Brauneis seems unaware of John Rice's work on Franz as a patron of music in *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially 18-21.

Zeichen.”¹⁵⁴ Mozart’s petition, if it was indeed sent, does not survive, and the only indication of its contents comes from the undated draft of a letter that Mozart addressed to “Euere königliche Ho[heit].” The letter, which is not known to have progressed to fair copy, has been associated plausibly but not indisputably with Archduke Franz, and dated to May 1790, the same month as the Puchberg letter.¹⁵⁵ In the draft, Mozart asked Franz to use his influence with his father Leopold II to obtain the non-existent position of second *Kapellmeister* for the composer.¹⁵⁶ To strengthen his argument, Mozart stated that “der sehr geschickte kapellm Salieri sich nie dem kirchen Styl gewidmet [hat], ich [habe] aber vonn Jugend auf mit diesen Styl ganz eigen gemacht habe.”¹⁵⁷ It is significant that Mozart believed his experience in “kirchen Styl” to be a point in his favour – a point with which Leopold’s predecessor would likely have disagreed. In comparison to Mozart, Salieri had indeed written few sacred works by this point, but the *Hofkapellmeister* had been directing the court’s church music for the past two years, sometimes in the presence of Franz himself. Perhaps Mozart expected Leopold to reorganise the court music yet again,¹⁵⁸ or perhaps the idea of a second *Kapellmeister* was wishful thinking on the composer’s part as he coped with evident financial difficulties. As far as we know, Mozart’s mild undermining of his professional colleague did not result in any further action, and no second *Kapellmeister* was appointed.

Further evidence of Mozart’s attempts to increase his prominence at court may possibly be found in the Adagio and Fugue K. 546, written a few months after Mozart’s appointment as *Kammerkompositor*. In its two-movement form, it is reminiscent of the

¹⁵⁴ *MBA*, iv.108.

¹⁵⁵ On the problems of this attribution see Otto Biba, “Mozarts Wiener Kirchenmusikkompositionen,” in *Internationaler Musikwissenschaftlicher Kongress zum Mozartjahr 1991*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Tutzing: Schneider, 1993), i.51.

¹⁵⁶ Although there was no second *Kapellmeister*, Ignaz Umlauf was Salieri’s *Substitut* and custodian of the *Hofkapelle*’s music collection.

¹⁵⁷ *MBA*, iv.107.

¹⁵⁸ Link, “Mozart’s Appointment,” 167.

church sonatas of Fux and Caldara.¹⁵⁹ As it happens, a copy of the first edition of K. 546 and a copy of the original two-piano version K. 426 are preserved alongside several other Hoffmeister prints of Mozart's music dating from 1787-88, all deriving from the *Kaisersammlung*.¹⁶⁰ Given the provenance of these prints, and Hoffmeister's description of the author as "Maestro di Cappella in attuale Servizio di S. Majestà I. R.", it seems worth investigating whether they might be Mozart's "dedication copies" to Joseph II or Leopold II.

Mozart was never a member of the church ensemble that constituted the *Hofkapelle*, but he was associated with musicians who were on its payroll. Three of the composer's fellow *Kammerkapelle* members, Franz Kreibich, Heinrich Ponheimer and Johann Baptist Hoffmann were simultaneously members of the *Hofkapelle*, and the fourth, Thomas Woborzil, was director of the violins at the Italian opera and no doubt well-known to Mozart.¹⁶¹ In late April 1791, Mozart wrote to Puchberg, "Ich hoffe Orsler wird die Schlüssel zurückgebracht haben; es war also nicht meine Schuld", referring to Joseph Orsler, second cellist in the *Hofkapelle*.¹⁶² Mozart's association with Albrechtsberger, the second *Hoforganist* at this time is attested by the *Orgelprobe* they both conducted at St. Laurenz in 1790,¹⁶³ and perhaps also by Mozart's possession of Albrechtsberger's six *Fughe e Preludie*, op. 6.¹⁶⁴ Even Pasterwitz, who evidently sat on the margins of the institution, might have been known to Mozart: the composer's library included Pasterwitz's *VIII Fughe*, op. 1,¹⁶⁵ Pasterwitz's students Franz Xaver Süssmayr and Joseph Lipawsky were both associated

¹⁵⁹ Warren Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato in Rococo and Classical Chamber Music*, 2nd ed. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979), 48-9.

¹⁶⁰ A-Wn, M.S. 27289-95.

¹⁶¹ Woborzil probably led the orchestra for Mozart's subscription concert of 23 March 1783; see *MVC*, 1138-39.

¹⁶² *MBA*, iv.130.

¹⁶³ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 324.

¹⁶⁴ Konrad and Staehelin, *Allzeit Ein Buch: die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts*, 89-90.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 95-6.

with Mozart,¹⁶⁶ and Maximilian Stadler claimed that Pasterwitz was acquainted with “Haydn, Mozart und Salieri.”¹⁶⁷ Sometime between 1785 and 1790, Pasterwitz made a copy of Mozart’s popular variations on the Fischer minuet K. 179, and a set of parts for the *Regina coeli* K. 127 at Kremsmünster has a title page in Pasterwitz’s hand.¹⁶⁸

Mozart’s association with the court was known to church musicians at an early stage. Figure 3.13 shows the title page to a set of parts by “Münther” of Mozart’s Mass in B-flat K. 275, dated 1793. The parts, which derive from the pilgrimage church of Maria Pönce in Lower Austria, describe Mozart as “Maestro di Cappella, di Sua Maestà Imperiale.”¹⁶⁹ Formulations of this sort are common in printed sources and official correspondence, but are rare in manuscript sources of Mozart’s music, particularly the sacred works.¹⁷⁰ Either “Münthner” was unusually well-informed about the composer, or was copying from a source dating in all likelihood from between 1788 and Mozart’s death. The manuscript may be indicative of an otherwise unknown transmission history for the mass in Vienna.

Between late 1787 and 1791, Mozart began at least five new mass movements.¹⁷¹

There may have been one more: the first Kyrie (“I A a 1”) in Nissen’s cataloguing scheme of

¹⁶⁶ On Lipawsky, see *MBA*, vi.724.

¹⁶⁷ Wagner, ed., *Abbé Maximilian Stadler: seine 'Materialien zur Geschichte der Musik unter den Österreichischen Regenten': Ein Beitrag zum Musikal. Historismus im Vormärzlichen Wien*, 154.

¹⁶⁸ A-KR, G 50/94 and F 5/115. The Italian paper on which the variations were written has no watermark, but according to a letter contained with the manuscript and addressed to Kurt von Fischer, the editor of the variations for the *NMA*, the copy can be dated to 1785-90 on the basis of Pasterwitz’s handwriting.

¹⁶⁹ A-Wgm, I 72746. The origin of the parts is documented in some notes made by the previous owner of the manuscript, Josef Zehetgruber. Most of the parts are signed at the end “M. [1]793” while the Organo is signed “JM. [1]793”. The “Münthner” has been crossed out and replaced with “Jos: Schildmayer”. The watermark is three moons | A over GF over C under a canopy, not equivalent to those in Duda.

¹⁷⁰ See Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 270. An instance missed by Deutsch is the autograph of K. 619, where Mozart calls himself “kapellmeister und k: k: kam[m]erkompositor.”

¹⁷¹ I shall refer to the individual movements by their classification in the *NMA Fragmente*. The following is a concordance of K¹, K⁶ and the *NMA*: Kyrie in G, K. Anh. 16/196a/1787a, Kyrie in C, K. Anh. 13/258a/1787b, Gloria in C, K. Anh. 20/323a/1787c, Kyrie in D, K. Anh. 14/422a/1787e, Kyrie in C, K. Anh. 15/323/1790a.

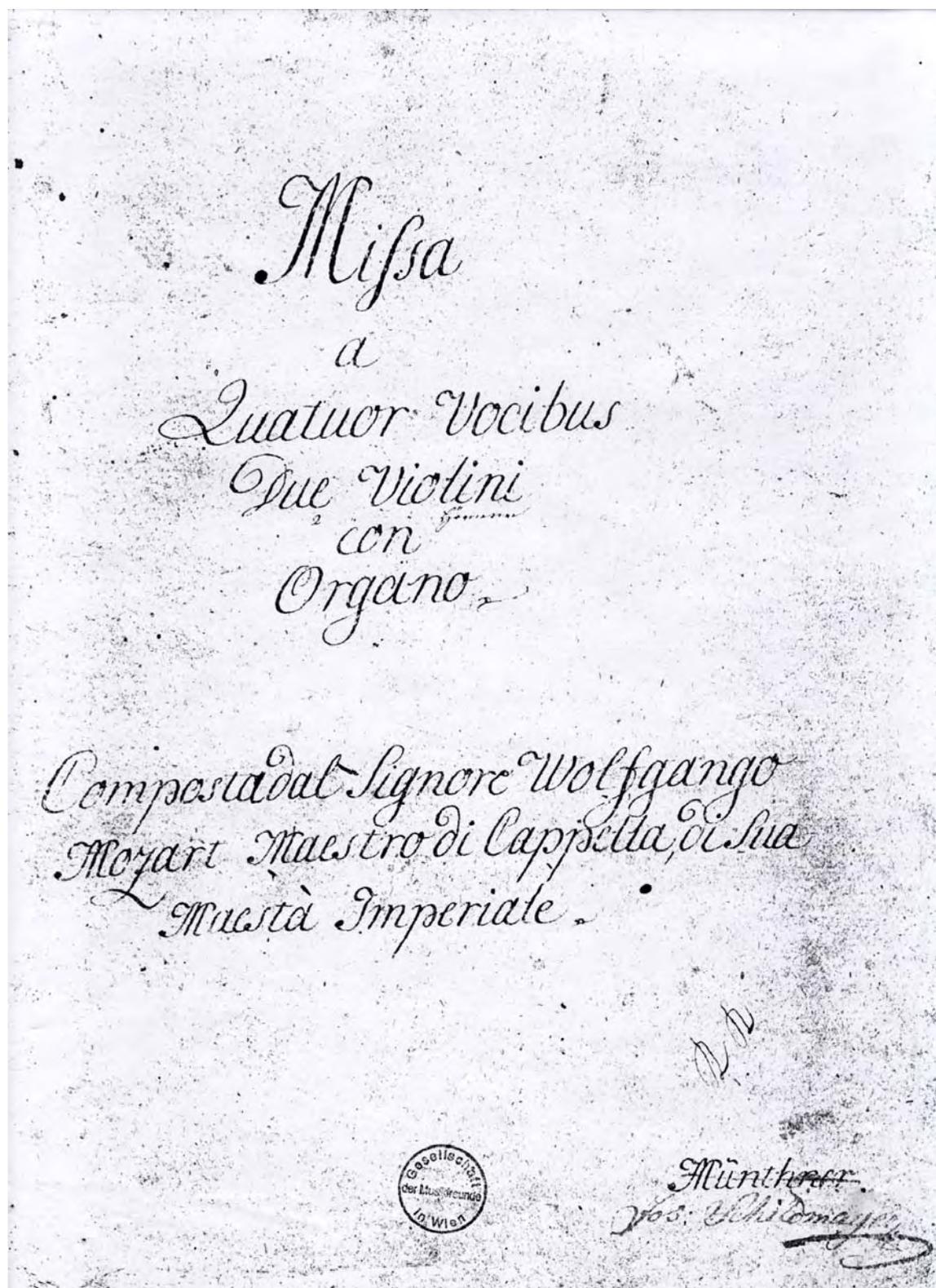


Figure 3.13. Title page to a set of parts by “Münthner” of Mozart’s Missa K. 275. A-Wgm, I 72746.

the fragments is now lost, and it is possible that it too dated from the 1780s.¹⁷² The forensic analysis that led to the redating of this music from the 1770s to the late Viennese period was not entirely straightforward. Plath analysed the handwriting of the Kyrie in G Fr 1787a in 1977, and concluded that it dated from the “reife Wiener Zeit,” probably post-dating the C minor Mass. In consequence, Plath said, “wir werden einfach hinnehmen müssen, daß Mozart sich auch noch in Wien nebenher mit der Messe beschäftigt hat.”¹⁷³ Likewise, the Kyrie in C Fr 1787b was dated to the summer of 1780 at the earliest, although Plath thought it likely that it was considerably later.¹⁷⁴ The Kyrie in C Fr 1790a and the Gloria in C Fr 1787c remained however in a group of pieces listed under the traditional date of 1779: Plath considered most of these works “relativ unproblematisch” and in no need of further discussion.¹⁷⁵ The Kyrie in D 1787e was already assigned by Einstein to the Salzburg visit of 1783 and so was not considered in Plath’s article.

The next stage in the story was the appearance of Tyson’s magisterial article on the Salzburg Mozart fragments. Tyson established that four of the mass fragments, and all three of the Reutter copies were written on paper-type “O” (what became Tyson 95), which was found almost exclusively in dated autographs from December 1787 to February 1789.¹⁷⁶ The Kyrie in C 1787b was written on paper-type “U” (later Tyson 91) which was found in autographs in 1790-91 with the single exception of K. 513 from March 1787.¹⁷⁷ Tyson speculated that the composition of the masses might have been linked to the 1789 journey to

¹⁷² See Konrad, *NMA* X/30/4, xiii.

¹⁷³ Wolfgang Plath, “Beiträge zur Mozart-Autographie II: Schriftchronologie 1770-1780,” in *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 252.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 255.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁷⁶ Edge has pointed out that the principal usage is even more restricted, concluding in September 1788; *MVC*, 596-97.

¹⁷⁷ Tyson, “The Mozart Fragments,” 142-46. See also Alan Tyson, “Proposed New Dates for Many Works and Fragments Written by Mozart from March 1781 to December 1791,” in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 216. On Mozart’s usage of this paper, see *MVC*, 430, 433.

central and northern Germany, although confessional considerations meant that Prague and Dresden were the only two major cities on Mozart's itinerary where such works were appropriate.

With the appearance of the *NMA* watermark catalogue in 1992, much of the data that lay behind Tyson's discussions became publicly available. One piece of new information was the revelation that the second bifolium of the Kyrie in C Fr 1790a was not on paper-type Tyson 95 but actually Tyson 96-I, allegedly found elsewhere in the additional wind parts for the symphony K. 550 and a sketchleaf with canonic material.¹⁷⁸ However, as Edge has noted, something is amiss here, as Tyson's description of the K. 550 leaf does not match the illustration, and it is possible that the catalogue's account of watermarks 95 and 96 is not quite accurate.¹⁷⁹ Fortunately, the dating of Fr 1790a is not particularly affected by this problem as all the works in question clearly originate in the late 1780s and early 1790s.

The critical commentary to the *NMA*'s facsimile volume of the fragments refines the dates yet again. Now there is a new set of dates credited to Plath, apparently based on his unpublished research into the chronology of Mozart's handwriting in the 1780s. Unfortunately, with the cancellation of the *NMA*'s projected *Schriftchronologie* volume (X/33/3), the dates will have to be taken on faith for the moment. Most of them harmonise with Tyson and with Plath's earlier research, but an unexpected revision is the dating of the Kyrie in C Fr 1790a to "frühestens 1790".¹⁸⁰ If Plath is correct, then Fr 1790a and possibly the Kyrie Fr 1787b may be the last Mozart wrote before beginning work on the Requiem.

The coincidence of date between Mozart's appointment to the court, his resumption of interest in church music and Salieri's installment as *Kapellmeister* is striking, and it is

¹⁷⁸ The partially-autograph *Grundpartitur* of *Das Alexanderfest* K. 591 (D-B), not taken into account in the catalogue, is written on paper with a number of matching watermarks including Tyson 91, 96, 100 and 102.

¹⁷⁹ *MVC*, 254n190, 597-98, 2066n74.

¹⁸⁰ Konrad, *NMA* X/30/4, 269.

possible that Mozart entertained the idea of having these works produced at the *Hofkapelle*. The fragments do however embrace a variety of styles, not all of which seem amenable to the ceremonial requirements of the court. In particular, the Kyrie in G Fr 1787a and that in D Fr 1787e are intimate conceptions lacking the festive instrumentation of the typical Sunday morning mass.¹⁸¹ Both do however have their points of interest, Fr 1787a with its elaborate but soon-abandoned accompanied fugue, and Fr 1787e with its *Ave verum*-like opening. In his catalogue of Mozart's vocal fragments, Stadler described Fr 1787e as "ganz im Kirchenstyl und überaus schön,"¹⁸² but it was Fr 1787a that he attempted to complete. To Mozart's 13 bars Stadler added some missing orchestration and then proceeded to compose 21 bars of his own, not without some contrapuntal infelicities,¹⁸³ before breaking off work. In 1871, however, the Mozarteum director Otto Bach (1833-1893) produced a completion of Stadler's completion, so to speak, and wrote out a new score of the Kyrie with the Mozart and Stadler contributions in black ink and his own in red. Bach completed a number of Mozart fragments and many were published, but his completion of this Kyrie remained unpublished and is today little known.¹⁸⁴

In their various forms of festal scoring, the three pieces in C major are more characteristic of the Imperial mainstream. The Kyrie in C Fr 1787b on its unique papertype is the shortest of the fragments, occupying a single recto. It is the most reminiscent of Mozart's earlier church music in its pounding bass-line and "church trio" texture without

¹⁸¹ Holl in the *NMA* (I/i/vi) speculates that Fr 1787a might be Mozart's copy of another composer's music, given the unusual stylistic profile and omission of the key signature at the beginning of the manuscript. The obvious candidate would be Reutter, but the piece has yet to be identified in Reutter's known masses in G major (Hofer Messen 21, 22, 37, 39, 70). The autograph correction to the violin in b. 6 seems difficult to explain as a copying error.

¹⁸² Finscher, "Maximilian Stadler und Mozarts Nachlass," 171.

¹⁸³ See, for example, the parallel octaves between Violino II and Viola in b. 11-12 or the parallel octaves between Viola and Continuo in b. 33.

¹⁸⁴ Bach's autograph is in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 9342. A number of his copies and completions of fragments are in Mus. Hs. 9345, including a copy of Fr 1787e that is unknown to the *NMA*.

violas and woodwind. The most distinctive element here is the organ obbligato and its almost frenetic procession of grace notes and syncopation.¹⁸⁵ Organ obbligati are present in a number of works from the *Hofkapelle*, including Hofmann's *Missa S. Aloisii*, Reutter's *Missa SS. Petri et Pauli* (Hofer Messen 46), Bonno's gradual *De manu insidiantium* and the offertory *Deum athletae* by the later *Hoforganist* Georg Summer.¹⁸⁶ Mozart may have intended the part in the Kyrie for himself to play, but Albrechtsberger and the *Hofkapelle*'s first organist Ferdinand Arbesser are other possibilities.

Based on their shared key, instrumentation, and possibly paper-type, one might be tempted to associate the Kyrie Fr 1790a and the Gloria Fr 1787c.¹⁸⁷ In the face of Plath's handwriting analysis and the confusion over Tyson 95/96, however, they will have to be regarded as separate movements until more compelling evidence emerges. The immediate question is why Mozart, contrary to his usual practice, did not begin a new mass with the Kyrie but proceeded directly to the Gloria. The phenomenon of a stand-alone Gloria is scarcely credible in this context, and it is possible that the lost Kyrie – Nissen's "I A a 1" – was the companion to Fr 1787c. Despite the Gloria's festive instrumentation, the expression in many of its 26 bars is more characteristic of the G major and D major Kyries than its fellow fragments in C. In particular, the setting of *et in terra pax* (b. 6-13), with its chains of thirds leading to vertical sonorities of the seventh and ninth resembles the opening of Fr 1787a, and is also strongly reminiscent of b. 30-37 in *Ave verum corpus*. The "monumental

¹⁸⁵ On the organ obbligato tradition, see Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Kirchenmusik mit Obligater Orgel: Untersuchungen zum Süddeutsch-Österreichischen Repertoire im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 4, *Kirchenmusikalische Studien* (Sinzig: Studio, 1999).

¹⁸⁶ A-Wn, HK 474, 764+1022, 115, 517.

¹⁸⁷ Mozart did not indicate the instrumentation in Fr 1787c, but from the clefs it is clear that it is very similar to Fr 1790a. The only question concerns the presumed bassoon parts: in Fr 1790a two bassoons are written on a single staff with a "double" bass clef, while Fr 1787c has a single bass clef. This may suggest that Mozart intended Fr 1787c to have only one bassoon part.

folk-like simplicity”¹⁸⁸ of Fr 1787c and its stylistic companions Fr 1787a and Fr 1787e strikes a new note in Mozart’s sacred *oeuvre*, and provides evidence that the “transparent yet compact style of four-part writing”¹⁸⁹ in *Ave verum* was already present in Mozart’s creative conception at the outset of his renewed engagement with church music.

The Kyrie in C Fr 1790a is the most extensive of the fragments, and the only one for which a credible completion can be attempted. Stadler, who commented that it was “Schade, daß es [Fr 1790a] unvollendet blieb!”,¹⁹⁰ eventually provided such a completion some time in the early nineteenth century, noting that it cost him much effort to finish “ein solches Meisterstück”.¹⁹¹ Constanze showed the completed fragment and its companion K. 322 to the Novellos in 1829, and planned for the two Kyries to be published and performed at a benefit concert for herself in London under the auspices of Johann Andreas Stumpff. By this time, Stadler had apparently made a contrafactum of the completed Fr 1790a as a *Regina coeli*, which was published by Diabelli in score and parts.¹⁹² Constanze later turned to Breitkopf & Härtel in 1833 for advice on disposing of the manuscripts, but they advised her that the pieces were too small and that the public were “nicht mehr so enthusiastisch für Mozarts Werke” due to changing taste.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ H. C. Robbins Landon, “Sacred Vocal Works: Oratorios and Latin Church Music,” in *The Mozart Essays* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 184.

¹⁸⁹ Christoph Wolff, *Mozart’s Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 33.

¹⁹⁰ Finscher, “Maximilian Stadler und Mozarts Nachlass,” 171.

¹⁹¹ For those sections where Mozart’s orchestration was incomplete, Stadler wrote directly on the autograph, but from the point where Mozart’s score breaks off Stadler added a page of his own, now separated from the main body of the score (H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2996). This page is non-Italian paper with a distinct blue-greenish tinge, certainly post-dating 1800. Some elements of Stadler’s completion, including the static viola part in b. 6 and the heavy-handed trumpet and timpani parts in b. 50-53 are not beyond criticism.

¹⁹² The autograph of Stadler’s contrafactum is in A-Sm, Rara 323/1. A set of manuscript parts for the *Regina coeli* of undetermined relationship to the print is in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5060; these are in the hand of Stadler and may be Diabelli’s *Stichvorlage*, even though the cover bears the annotation “Wien, bei Tobias Haslinger”, referring to Diabelli’s rival publisher. See also *MBA*, iv.506.

¹⁹³ *MBA*, vii.628.

If Plath's dating of Fr 1790a to 1790 or 1791 is correct, then various possibilities arise for Mozart's intentions in composing the Kyrie. Perhaps the composer intended it for one of the celebrations surrounding the new emperor, Leopold II, or began it in connection with his duties as adjunct *Kapellmeister* at St. Stephen's Cathedral from May 1791. Certainly, Fr 1790a shows the strongest adherence of all the fragments to the prevailing Viennese ceremonial style of Reutter, Gassmann and Bonno. Particularly notable is Mozart's use of string figures based on sixteenth-note triplets – a distinctive feature of Viennese sacred music that may be regarded as a variant of the infamous *rauschende Violinen*. Floros noted a connection in this respect between Fr 1790a and Gassmann's *Missa in C* (Kosch 3),¹⁹⁴ but a closer resemblance may be found with Reutter's *Missa in D* (Hofer 80), the mass from which Mozart had already copied out the second Kyrie as K. 91. Reutter's *Credo* is pervaded by a leaping figure that Mozart handles in a similar way; see Example 3.2. Having looked through this work and copied part of it, Mozart must have known the mass well, and his assimilation in Fr 1790a of the stylistic norms the mass transmits is an indication of how seriously he took the task of adapting to local conventions.

Despite the somewhat retrospective character of Fr 1790a, it is not entirely devoid of progressive features. The fragment articulates a clear tonal scheme based on sonata principles, with a modulatory development and a "recapitulation" at which the piece breaks off. As it happens, this is the same structural point at which Mozart stopped work on the Kyrie in E-flat K. 322 of about a decade earlier. In both cases Mozart may have considered that the principal creative work was now complete and the process of guiding the piece to its conclusion would take on a more mechanical and less interesting character. Given the extent of Fr 1790a, its late date, and the apparent confidence with which Mozart completely

¹⁹⁴ Constantin Floros, "Mozart und die Österreichische Überlieferung der Kirchenmusik," in *Mozart-Studien I: Zu Mozarts Sinfonik, Opern- und Kirchenmusik* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1979), 134.

Allegro

V. I.

CA

TB

Org e Cont.

Cre - do in u - num De - um Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et

V. I.

CA

TB

Org e cont.

ter - rae vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um,

Allegro moderato

10

V. I.

CA

TB

Org. e Cont.

e, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i -

12

V. I.

CA

TB

Org. e. Cont.

son, Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

Example 3.2. Reutter: Credo from *Missa in D*, Hofer 80 and Mozart: *Kyrie in C*, K. 323.

orchestrates the first few bars, the Kyrie has more claim than the other fragments to be a true “work in progress.”

The dating of the D minor Kyrie K. 341 is one of the classic unsolved problems of Mozart research. The autograph of the work was among the materials shipped by Constanze to André in early 1800, and an entry for it appears in the first catalogues of the collection.¹⁹⁵ Evidently the manuscript bore no date, since none is mentioned in these catalogues and André and his assistants were usually careful to note autograph dates in their ongoing attempts to construct a chronological list of Mozart’s work. At some point early in the nineteenth-century, the *Thomaskantor* A. E. Müller gained access to the autograph and made a copy of it headed simply “Kÿrie...di Mozart” together with the note, “Nach Mozarts Handschrift copirt. Die Original-Partitur besitzt H Capellm André”; see Figure 3.14.¹⁹⁶ In 1825, André published the Kyrie, in an edition “nach dem hinterlassenen Original Manuscript.” Only a few years later, however, André seems to have been no longer in possession of the autograph. Although it appears unmodified in the 1833 *Thematisches Verzeichnis*, the entry for the Kyrie has been heavily deleted in the draft of the “Gesamtverzeichnis” prepared sometime after 1833; see Figure 3.15.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ See *MVC*, 1028-30 and Wolfgang Plath, “Chronologie als Problem der Mozartforschung,” in *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 333-34.

¹⁹⁶ Holl in the *NMA* dates this copy “ca. 1810”, without supporting evidence; *NMA* KB I/1/vi, 32.

¹⁹⁷ A number of other works in this catalogue were also deleted, including *Sancta Maria, mater dei* K. 273, which André gave to Pölchau, and Mozart’s copy of Ligniville’s *Stabat Mater*.

Kyrie. Andante maestoso. di Mozart.

Handwritten notes at the top: *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*

2 Violini. *Andante maestoso*

2 Virole.

2 Flauti.

2 Oboi

2 Clarinetti A.

2 Corni in F.

2 Corni in D.

2 Fagotti

2 Trombe

Timpani

Soprano

Alto

Tenore

Organo

Organo

Handwritten notes on the right: *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*

Handwritten notes at the bottom: *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*

Handwritten notes in a circle: *Ex. Bibliotheca*

Handwritten notes at the bottom right: *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*, *Handwritten notes*

Figure 3.14. Opening of A. E. Müller's copy of Mozart's Kyrie in D minor, K. 341. D-B, Mus. ms. 10230.

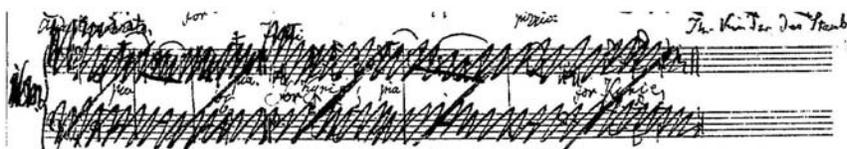
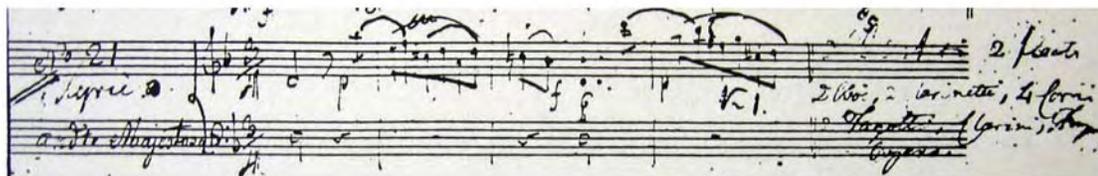


Figure 3.15. Entries for the Kyrie K. 341 in the Andre-Gleissner catalogue and the “Gesamtverzeichnis.”

The Kyrie does not appear in the printed catalogue of 1841, and did not figure in the division of Mozart autographs among André’s children in 1854.¹⁹⁸ The entry for the Kyrie in the 1833 catalogue includes a note reading “NB. An Herrn Schelble überlassen”, referring to the Bach enthusiast Johann Nepomuk Schelble, director of the Frankfurt *Cäcilienverein*.¹⁹⁹ Schelble must have obtained the manuscript at some time in the 1830s, but there is no further trace of it after his death in 1837.²⁰⁰

In the absence of an autograph or any other supporting evidence, one must rely for the dating on internal characteristics. The traditional ascription to 1779-80 around the time of *Idomeneo* is due to Otto Jahn, who wrote that the character of the composition and the

¹⁹⁸ See Wolfgang Rehm, *Mozarts Nachlass und die Andrés. Dokumente zur Verteilung und Verlosung von 1854* (Offenbach am Main: Musikverlag Johann André, 1999).

¹⁹⁹ GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 32412.

²⁰⁰ The transmission of Schelble’s estate is complex: the *Cäcilienverein* collection is now in D-F, but much of Schelble’s music was inherited by his student F. X. Gleichauf and then dispersed. Some of it went to the Mozart-Verein in Frankfurt, whose collection is now almost entirely lost. A source for K. 341 unknown to the *NMA* is I-Fc, E-VII-245. This is a nineteenth-century score copy headed “Kyrie/a Quattro voci con Orchestra/di/W. A. Mozart.” The score is in ink, but the barlines are ruled in pencil. The watermark of the paper is a heart-shaped crest enclosing the letters AC or AG.

disposition of the orchestra meant the Kyrie could only have been written during the visit to Munich. The lavish orchestration is certainly unprecedented in Mozart's church music, particularly the inclusion of clarinets and four horns. Jahn also raised the possibility that Mozart left the work as a fragment, although one would expect André to have mentioned that fact in the first edition if it were so, given his care over the editions of the Requiem and C minor Mass. Mozart does seem to have been interested in displaying his wares to the Munich *Hofkapelle*, for he wrote to Leopold on 13 November 1780: "haben Sie doch die güte und schicken mir die 2 sparten von den Messen die ich mithabe – und die Messe aus dem B auch. denn graf Seeau wird nächstens dem Churfürsten etwas davon sagen. – ich möchte daß man mich in diesem styl auch kennen lernte."²⁰¹

The challenge to Jahn's dating arrived in 1981 with Tyson's article on the Salzburg fragments. Tyson considered that there was "little to be said in favor" of a Munich origin for the Kyrie, and suggested that, with the new knowledge that Mozart was working on sacred music in the last years of his life, a date between 1788 and 1791 was more likely. Tyson expressed the same opinion in more moderate form two years later,²⁰² but did not, as far as I am aware, ever mount a detailed challenge to Jahn's case for a Munich origin. As matters stood, in other words, a Viennese date had emerged as a possibility solely on the knowledge that Mozart had started several sacred works at that time. Purely on the basis of contemporaneous activity in sacred music, however, one could mount an equally convincing case for Munich, with Mozart's known desire to impress the Elector and the instrumental characteristics of the Kyrie coming into play. The crucial point is that no detailed case was ever presented against Jahn's dating, nor was there an explanation of why a Viennese origin was more likely. It has been surprising, then, to observe the quick acceptance of Tyson's

²⁰¹ *MBA*, ii.19.

²⁰² Tyson, "The Mozart Fragments," 342n34, 27. See also Tyson, "Proposed New Dates," 216.

suggestion in the literature: a Viennese origin is now considered “obvious,”²⁰³ and carries the imprimatur of the *NMA* in its edition of the Kyrie. The explanation may lie in the entirely justified reputation of Tyson’s work, and a hope that forensic analysis of the kind Tyson pioneered may provide answers to problems of Mozart research even in the absence of the autographs and contemporary copies on which such analyses rely.

In 1995 Daniel Hertz mounted a spirited defence of the traditional dating, pointing out similarities of motivic handling and rhythmic profile in the Kyrie and *Idomeneo*.²⁰⁴ The extent to which Mozart’s usage of such elements is shared among closely contemporary works or circumscribed by chronological period is a complex question, made more difficult in the case of sacred music due to its naturally retrospective stylistic profile. At present it is probably too much to say that stylistic resemblances between *Idomeneo* and K. 341 *neccessarily* make the earlier date for the Kyrie more likely, but research on the contemporary sacred music of Holzbauer, Richter, Vogler and their contemporaries might establish a context for K. 341 in Munich.²⁰⁵ The real objection to a later dating for the Kyrie is its scoring, which is entirely uncharacteristic of sacred music in Vienna during Mozart’s time. Neither the *Hofkapelle* nor the ensemble at St. Stephen’s featured clarinetists, flautists or horn players, and all three instruments are almost entirely unknown in Viennese sacred music before the later 1790s. As we have seen, Joseph II banned clarinets and horns from the

²⁰³ Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, 36n96.

²⁰⁴ Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School*, 670-74. One element of Hertz’s argument is significantly weaker than the rest: his decision to “call on the testimony of an author whose knowledge of Mozart’s sacred music was second to none.” This author is Karl Gustav Fellerer, from whom Hertz quotes a descriptive passage about K. 341 that mounts no particular argument in favour of the Munich dating and was certainly written before Tyson’s suggestions appeared. Despite this, Hertz believes that “this expert’s confidence in the traditional assignment of the Kyrie in d to Munich in 1781 deserves consideration.” (673) Fellerer expresses no such confidence, and Hertz’s attempt to strengthen the case for a Munich date based on “expertise” rather than the substance of his own argument is unconvincing.

²⁰⁵ On the reception of Mozart’s sacred music in Munich, see Robert Münster, “Mozarts Kirchenmusik in München im 18. und Beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Festschrift Erich Valentin zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Günther Weiss (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1976), 143-53.

Hofkapelle in 1788, and the presence of four horns would not be seen until Biedermeier times.²⁰⁶ Commentators have perhaps unwisely assumed that what is termed the full “classical” orchestra, as seen in a number of Mozart’s symphonies and operas, was also present in the city’s churches.²⁰⁷ The reality was a much smaller ensemble, and the allegedly pared-down forces for which Mozart scored in the Requiem were in fact entirely in line with contemporary expectations. In this light, Landon’s idea that K. 341 was the beginning of a *Missa solemnis* for St. Stephen’s – an ensemble that lacked even salaried oboists – is simply impractical.²⁰⁸

If such forces were unknown in Vienna, was there a church orchestra in existence that was capable of performing K. 341 during Mozart’s lifetime? The answer is yes, and Mozart heard it in Mannheim on 1 November 1777:

ich war sammstag am allerheiligen tag in der kapelle in Hochamnt. das orchestre ist sehr gut und starck. auf jeder seite 10 bis 11 violin, 4 bratschn, 2 oboe, 2 flauti und 2 Clarinetti, 2 Corni, 4 violoncelle, 4 fagotti und 4 Contrabaßi und trompetten und Paucken. es läst sich eine schöne Musick machen, aber ich getraute mir keine Mess von mir hier zu produciren. warum? – – wegen der kürze? – Nein, hier muß auch alles kurz seyn – – wegen dem kirchenstyl? – nichts weniger. sondern weil man hier *iezt* bey dermaligen umständen hauptsechlich für die istromenti schreiben muß, weil man sich nichts schlechters gedencken kann, als die hiesige Vocal=stimmen. 6 soprano, 6 alti, 6 tenori, und 6 Baßi, zu 20 violin und 12 Baßi, verhält sich just wie 0 zu 1.²⁰⁹

This was of course the ensemble that merged with the Munich establishment the following year and provided players for *Idomeneo*. The close correspondence between the forces Mozart describes and those required in K. 341 further strengthen the case for a Munich or perhaps even a Mannheim origin for the Kyrie. It is remotely possible that Mozart could have assembled a Viennese church orchestra capable of playing K. 341 through hiring extra

²⁰⁶ It should be noted that the *Hofkapelle*’s performance material for K. 317 omits the horn parts written at the back of Mozart’s autograph.

²⁰⁷ On Viennese church orchestras, see *Biba* 1783, 68-78 and Dexter Edge, “Mozart’s Viennese Orchestras,” *Early Music* 20 (1992): 67-8. Note also the absence of horns in the *Waisenhausmesse* K. 139.

²⁰⁸ H. C. Robbins Landon, *1791: Mozart’s Last Year* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 49.

²⁰⁹ *MBA*, ii.101.

players at great expense, but it is difficult to see why the composer would have scored a Viennese sacred work for such impractical forces in the first place. It is equally remotely possible that Mozart did not intend the K. 341 for liturgical use at all, but instead for concerts of the *Tonkünstlersocietät* where its scoring would be less of an issue. But to speculate in this way is to create solutions where there is no real problem. The Munich orchestra was capable of playing the Kyrie, and the stylistic affinities with *Idomeneo* are certainly worth considering. Given the impossibility of a Salzburg performance, and the great difficulty of a Vienna performance, there seems little reason to alter the traditional view that the Kyrie was a product of 1779 or 1780.

IV. THE 'CORONATION' MASSES

The question of when Mozart's music entered the repertoire of the *Hofkapelle* is closely connected in the literature with the long series of coronation services held in central Europe from 1790-92. Due to the complex political constitution of the Empire, a monarch had several coronations, underlining his various claims to authority. Both Leopold II and his son Franz II underwent three such events: coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt, coronation as King of Bohemia in Prague, and coronation as King of Hungary in Budapest or Pressburg. In its function as capital of the *Erblände*, Vienna too had services marking the arrival of the future Emperor and celebrating his later accessions elsewhere. In addition to the coronation proper at each occasion, there was a service crowning the monarch's consort, separate oath of allegiance services preceding the coronations in Bohemia and Hungary and, in 1791, the installation of Leopold's 21-year-old daughter Maria Anna (1770-1809) as

abbess of the Royal Convent in Prague. All these services required music, and the process of determining the precise identity of the works performed is complex and ongoing.²¹⁰

The coronations of Leopold and Franz generated a large number of commemorative books and pamphlets, and these are occasionally of use in documenting the musical side of the celebrations. A particularly elaborate publication was an anonymous description of the Viennese *Erbhuldigung* on 6 April 1790 accompanied by a series of coloured engravings by Hieronymus Löschenkohl, depicting scenes of celebration around the city. One of these engravings shows the performance of a *Te Deum* in the court chapel, with the musicians depicted in galleries to the extreme left and right of the scene; see Figure 3.16.²¹¹ The left side shows, from left to right, a trumpeter, a timpanist, an unidentified figure, two adult singers apparently sharing a piece of music, two choirboys, the organist (perhaps Arbesser or Albrechtsberger), the *maestro di capella* (presumably Salieri), a string player, the organ-blower, a bass string player and another unidentified figure. To the right, the engraving depicts a man with quill and paper, a woman, three string players with two unidentified figures behind and beside them, a violonist, a figure possibly holding an instrument, a timpanist, another unidentified figure, and a trumpeter. There is no indication of which *Te Deum* they are playing, but it may be Salieri's "Coronation" *Te Deum*, the autograph of

²¹⁰ For an overview of music at Imperial coronations in the eighteenth century, see Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Krönungszeremoniell und Krönungsmusik im Barockzeitalter," in *Mitteleuropäische Kontexte der Barockmusik. Bericht über die Internationale Musikwissenschaftliche Konferenz Bratislava, 23. bis 25. März 1994*, *Historia Musicae Europae Centralis* (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 1997), 109-32. On the Pressburg coronations, see Richard Rybaric, "Viedenská Cisárska Kapela V Bratislave," *Bratislavsky hudobny barok* (1988): 29-35, Richard Rybaric, "Hudba Bratislavských Korunovácií," *Musicologica Slovaca*, no. 15 (1990): 11-36, Ladislav Kacic, "Musik zur Zeit der Presburger Kronungsfeierlichkeiten (1563-1830)," *Slovenska hudba 2* (2003): 31-50.

²¹¹ Anon., *Beschreibung der Huldigungsfeyerlichkeiten seiner...Majestät Leopolds II... Welche von den Nieder=Oesterreichischen Landständen...Gehalten Worden* (Vienna: Hieronymus Löschenkohl, 1790). See also John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 30-31. The full engraving is reproduced in John A. Rice, "Vienna under Joseph II and Leopold II," in *Man and Music: The Classical Era*, ed. Neal Zaslaw (London: Macmillan, 1989), 160. An engraving depicting the chapel as it was in 1788 is reproduced in Hartz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School*, 9.

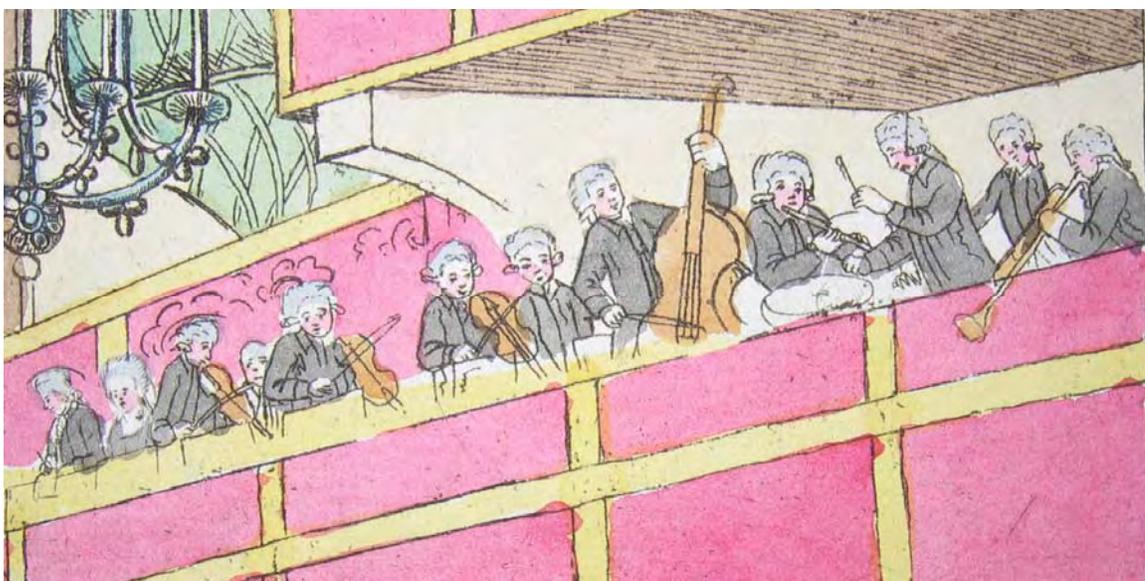
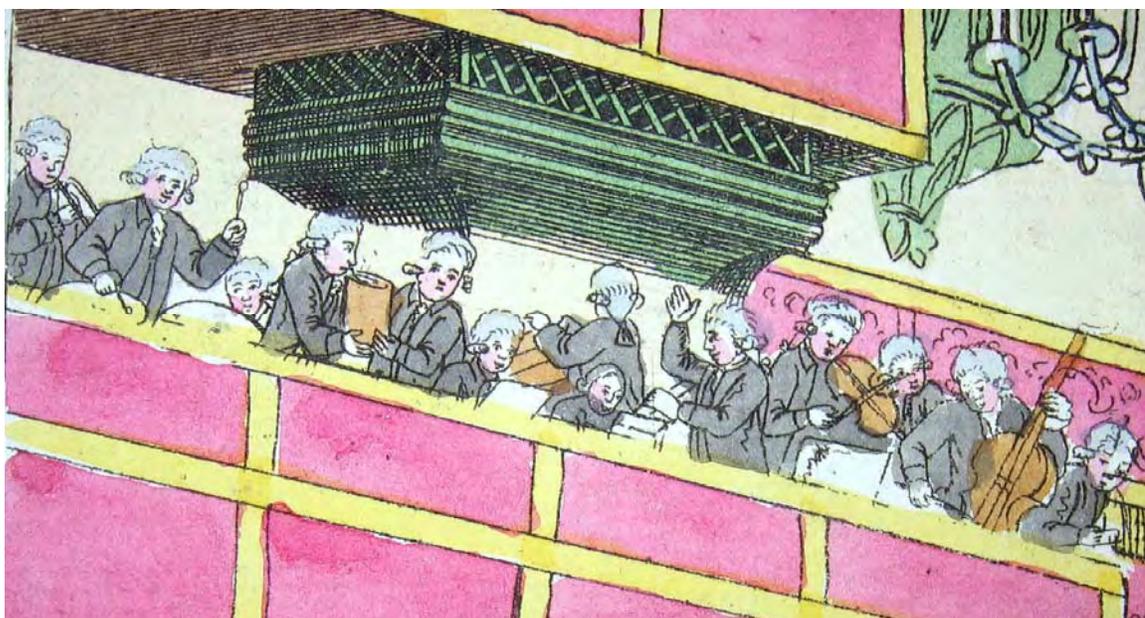


Figure 3.16. The musicians of the *Hofkapelle*, as illustrated by Löschenkohl in 1790.

which is dated 1790 in its present state, as we have seen. It is unclear whether the placement in opposite galleries reflects the usual disposition of the *Hofkapelle*: if it does, then it is curious that so little of the Imperial repertoire takes advantage of antiphonal forces. Another strange feature is the presence of two timpani players: none of the original performance material I have encountered preserves more than one timpani part. As the only engraving that depicts the entire ensemble in the late eighteenth-century, however, Löschenkohl's work is the best indication we have of how the *Hofkapelle* looked during Mozart's time.

When Leopold arrived from Tuscany in 1790 to begin the long series of coronation celebrations, the empire had not seen a coronation for a number of decades. When Joseph II was crowned in Frankfurt in April 1764, the *Hofkapelle* performed a *Te Deum* by Caldara – the same work that had been heard at the Emperor's baptism in March 1741.²¹² The re-use of such music was out of the question by 1790, and Salieri was faced with the decision of whether to perform more recent music in the *Hofkapelle*'s library, or to acquire new works. In 1963, Karl Pfannhauser presented convincing evidence that several Mozart masses were in the repertory of the *Hofkapelle* by the 1790s and early 1800s. Based on a study of early performance materials, Pfannhauser suggested that the *Krönungsmesse* K. 317 acquired its name because it and other Mozart masses were heard at the Bohemian coronations of Leopold II in 1791 or Franz II in 1792.²¹³ In the past four decades, Pfannhauser's plausible suggestion has solidified through a chain of citations and recitations into solid fact. It is now commonplace to read without qualification that K. 317 was performed in Prague on 6 September 1791 for the coronation of Leopold II as King of Bohemia. Biographically

²¹² The parts are in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16105.

²¹³ Karl Pfannhauser, "Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse'," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 11, no. 3-4 (1963): 3-11. In the years following the publication of the article, Pfannhauser wrote a number of program notes for performances of the *Hofmusikkapelle* in which he provided new information about K. 317. Copies of the notes from 1964-70 were provided by Otto Biba, to whom I am grateful. Further notes are available in A-Wgm, 19847/61, A-Wst, A 164436 and A-Wst, A 179951.

speaking, this is an attractive theory, for two reasons: firstly, Mozart himself was in Prague in September 1791 to supervise the production of *La clemenza di Tito*, which had indeed been written for the coronation celebrations. Secondly, the idea that Salieri gave his supposed nemesis Mozart considerable prominence at the event by performing the latter's masses appeals to revisionist accounts of the relationship between the two composers. Indeed, if one were to believe H.C. Robbins Landon's *1791: Mozart's Last Year*, it would appear to be an open and shut case:

Among the works that Salieri brought with him [from Vienna] – the reader will be astonished to learn – were no fewer than three Mozart masses in manuscript score and parts: K.258...K.317('Coronation') and the magnificent and nowadays hardly known K.337.²¹⁴

How much evidence is there actually for such a statement? Discovering the answer requires a close study of early performance materials from the *Hofkapelle*.

As we have seen, Salieri seems to have made attempts in the early 1790s to expand the repertoire of the *Hofkapelle* by ordering more recent music and commissioning new works. By the years around 1800, the *Hofkapelle* possessed four Mozart masses in addition to the Requiem, and these works, together with masses by Haydn and Schubert remained at the centre of the ensemble's repertory, ever after the structure of the *Hofkapelle* was fundamentally altered at the end of the Empire. The most popular of Mozart's masses at the *Hofkapelle* was the Coronation Mass, which was performed almost every year from 1822 to 1918, sometimes on three or even four occasions in any one year.²¹⁵ Even after the work had long appeared in print, the ensemble continued to use their original hand-copied parts well into the twentieth century. A good example may be seen in Figure 3.17, showing the last

²¹⁴ Landon, *1791: Mozart's Last Year*, 104.

²¹⁵ Performance dates appear on the *Hofkapelle*'s parts for the mass. See also Rudolph Angermüller, "Zu den Kirchenmusik-Produktionen der K.K. Hofkapelle in Wien 1820-1896: Mozart - Beethoven," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 69 (1986): 23-71, Richard Steurer, *Das Repertoire der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 22, Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Musikdokumentation (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1998).

page of the concertmaster's part for K. 317. The parts, copied around 1800, were in constant use into World War II and beyond, as the "player's graffiti" on them reveals. Dates written here include 1 October 1939, "Kurz nach Beendigung des Krieges mit Polen," 23 June 1940, "Kurz nach Waffenstillstand mit Frankreich," and 22 June 1941, "Kriegserklärung an Russland" at the start of Operation Barbarossa. In other performance parts of similar vintage, one finds dates into the 1950s. Such remarkable longevity is not restricted to the *Hofkapelle*: Dexter Edge has shown that much of the original Viennese performance material for *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, copied in 1786 and 1788, was in continuous use at the Court Theatre as late as the 1890s.²¹⁶ The crucial question, of course, is whether any of the *Hofkapelle*'s Mozart sources date from the composer's lifetime or shortly thereafter, and whether they show any evidence of use at the coronations.

Table 3.2 lists all Mozart sources from the *Hofkapelle* that I can identify at present as dating from around 1800 or earlier.²¹⁷ The process of reconstructing the early Mozart holdings of the court chapel is not straightforward: as most of the parts saw continuous use over a period of 150 years, the potential for individual items to go missing or become

²¹⁶ MVC, 1513.

²¹⁷ The parts for the Requiem do not derive originally from the *Hofkapelle*, but from the personal collection of Empress Maria Theresé (1772-1807). A further set of parts for a "Missa in C maggiore" by Mozart listed among the Empress's holdings may correspond to one of the other masses listed in the table. These parts were transferred to the *Hofkapelle* after Maria Theresé's death; see John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Theresé and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 39-44, 273. For the sake of completeness, the table lists an unusual set of parts for K. 220 featuring an additional "orchestra" of toy instruments, attributed solely to Paul Wranitzky. This material, which is partially in Wranitzky's hand, also derives from Marie Theresé but was not transferred to the *Hofkapelle* due to its liturgical unsuitability. The watermarks, three moons | BV over C under a canopy and three moons | GF under canopy probably do not match any described by Tyson or Duda, but nevertheless suggest a date in the 1790s or 1802 at the latest, when the arrangement was performed. On this arrangement see Rice, *Empress Marie Theresé*, 148-50, John A. Rice, "Adding Birds to Mozart's "Sparrow Mass": An Arrangement with Children's Instruments by Paul Wranitzky," *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America* 8, no. 2 (2004): 8-9. K. 220 in its original form did not enter the repertoire of the *Hofkapelle* until the 1820s. One further manuscript which entered the *Hofkapelle* by unclear means is Mozart's autograph copy of Michael Haydn's offertory *Tres Sunt* MH 183, now Mus. Hs. 34233.

<i>Work</i>	<i>Signature (all A-Wn)</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Comments</i>
K. 220	Mus. Hs. 10235	Parts	c. 1800	Added parts by Wranitzky for toy instruments; from the <i>Kaisersammlung</i> ; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 257	HK 2239	Score	c. 1800	'Credo' Mass; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 257	HK 2872	Parts	c. 1800	'Credo' Mass; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 258	HK 2246/2	Score	c. 1795-1800	In hand of VMC-3; NMA <i>deest</i> ; additions by Henneberg
K. 258	HK 1810, HK 2876	Parts	c. 1800	NMA <i>desunt</i>
K. 317	HK 1805, HK 2873	Parts	c. 1800	'Coronation' Mass; NMA <i>desunt</i>
K. 337	HK 2246/1	Score	Early-mid 1790s	In hand of VMC-3; NMA source C; suggested NMA date (c. 1800) too late; additions by Salieri
K. 337	HK 1810, HK 2877, Mus. Hs. 39148	Parts	Early-mid 1790s	NMA <i>desunt</i> ; partially by VMC-3; incomplete
K. 490	HK 2700	Parts	c. 1800	Contrafactum of 'Non temer, amato bene' from 1786 <i>Idomeneo</i> as 'Lauda sion'; ?not originally copied for HK
K. 626	HK 2879	Parts	c. 1800 (by 1802)	cited in forthcoming NMA KB, not based on first edition (B&H, 1800)

Table 3.2. Early *Hofkapelle* sources for Mozart's sacred music.

separated was high.²¹⁸ A further complicating factor is the activities of Louis Dité, the *Hofkapelle's* organist and music librarian in the mid-twentieth century, who appears to have acquired some of the most interesting items from the archive.²¹⁹ Fortunately, many of the items from the Dité collection eventually found their way to the Austrian National Library in 1985, where they are now catalogued separately.²²⁰ As a result of these disruptions, what was originally a single set of parts may now be dispersed across two or three signatures, having been acquired by the library piecemeal over a period of two decades. The most complex case here is the parts for K. 337: HK 1810 which arrived in 1981 contains the Basso Concerto for K. 337 and unrelated parts for K. 258, Mus. Hs. 39148 from 1985 contains the Maestro di Cappella and organ parts from Dité, and HK 2877 contains the main body of the parts as transferred in 2000. Given the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe's* cursory attitude to early copies, it is perhaps not surprising that almost all of these sources are unknown to the relevant *NMA* volumes.

On the evidence of the paper, it seems that most of these sources date from the late 1790s or around 1800. The *Krönungsmesse* is no exception: although there is no surviving score of it in *Hofkapelle* collection, the parts for the mass almost certainly do *not* date from 1791-92 but rather about a decade later, as Pfannhauser himself noted.²²¹ The set is now incomplete as all the soprano and alto parts are missing, but the two principal watermarks consist of a single man-in-the-moon countered by a fleur-de-lys over the letters FV, and

²¹⁸ A-Wn, HK 1812 is a very large collection of miscellaneous duplicate parts for unidentified works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; these parts have yet to be studied and reunited with the sets to which they originally belonged.

²¹⁹ Brosche may be alluding to this problem when he refers to “illegal” transfers of small parts of the collection “über diverse Nachlässe”; Brosche, “Besondere Neuerwerbungen,” 489.

²²⁰ On Dité, see Martin Haselböck, “Die Wiener Hoforganisten,” in *Musica Imperialis: 500 Jahre Hofmusikkapelle in Wien, 1498-1998* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1998), 258. Catalogues of the Dité collection are in A-Wn, Inv. II/Dité 1-2.

²²¹ Pfannhauser, “Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse',” 8. Landon, despite relying on Pfannhauser for his information, incorrectly states that the parts for K. 317 date from “about 1790”, *1791: Mozart's Last Year*, 104.

three narrow moons countered by the letters VF joined together. Neither design is found in Mozart's autographs, and the fleur-de-lys was not normally encountered in Italian papers of the 1780s or early 1790s.²²² The presence of the single moon instead of three moons is also strongly indicative of a date in the later 1790s or later. One of Pfannhauser's other candidates, K. 258, appears in a score and parts of similar vintage. The score is dated by Pfannhauser "um 1790,"²²³ but it is probably originated a few years later. The watermarks are Duda AM-5, found in dated autographs by Süßmayr from 1796-99, and three small moons countered by A over HF, not equivalent to those illustrated in Tyson and Duda. The parts, with designs including an eagle over GFA and a man-in-the-moon countered by the letters FAG may be even later.

The only real candidates for a date close to Mozart's lifetime are the score and parts for the Mass in C, K. 337. Both the score and some of the parts are written in the hand of Edge's Viennese Mozart-Copyist 3, who worked personally for Mozart in the early 1780s.²²⁴ VMC-3 was one of *Hofkapelle's* most important copyists: the hand appears as early as 1773 in the original parts for Gassmann's gradual *Viderunt omnes*,²²⁵ and appears as late as the years around 1800 in parts for a *Tantum ergo* by Fux and Süßmayr's Missa in D SmWV 106.²²⁶ Pfannhauser, who independently recognised the importance of this copyist, claimed that the handwriting was "ziemlich eindeutig" with that of Joseph Hoffmann (1745-1805), director of the chorus at the *Burgtheater* and a bass in the *Hofkapelle* from 1788.²²⁷ As evidence Pfannhauser cited a document in Hoffmann's hand from 1792, but did not

²²² *MVC*, 1925.

²²³ Pfannhauser, "Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse'," 8.

²²⁴ *MVC*, 1110-166, especially 1161-64. VMC-3 was also the copyist of the K. 258 score, which is now bound together with the score of K. 337.

²²⁵ A-Wn, HK 2561. The cover bears performance dates beginning with 1 January 1773.

²²⁶ A-Wn, HK 2887, 2347. On the Süßmayr parts, see the final chapter.

²²⁷ Pfannhauser, "Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse'," 6. On Hoffmann, see Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," 73-6. See also *MVC*, 1830-32.

reproduce it. Figure 3.18 shows the document in question, which does indeed show a resemblance in its handwriting to the text handwriting in musical scores copied by VMC-3.²²⁸ The difficulty here is that Hoffmann wrote almost entirely in *Kurrentschrift*, which tends to be quite personally distinctive, whereas the known samples of VMC-3's vocal music are in the more generic italic script employed for Latin or Italian. There are however a few italics in Hoffmann's petition: the words "Chor Director" (twice) and "operist." A comparison between these words and similar words written by VMC-3, probably within a year or two of each other, shows an apparent inconsistency in the form of the capital "D": Hoffmann's tail terminates outside the main body of the letter, while VMC-3's tail consistently curves and re-enters, regardless of whether it is connected to the following letter or not; see Figure 3.19.

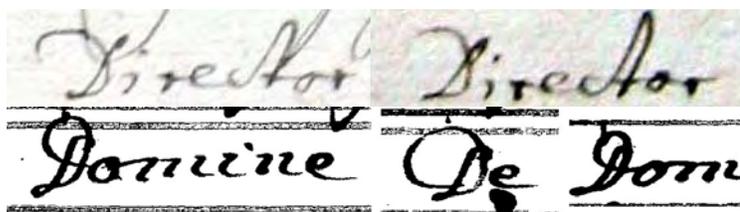


Figure 3.19. Comparison of the writing of Joseph Hoffmann and Viennese Mozart-Copyst 3.

Hoffmann's "D" also appears to begin with a pronounced hook before the downward stroke, while VMC-3's letter opens with a gentler curve to the left. Obviously, a single instance like the above figure is not sufficient to disprove a relationship between the two hands, and more samples of both are required, particularly examples of VMC-3's *Kurrentschrift*.

²²⁸ A further sample of Hoffmann's hand appear his marriage contract in A-Wsa, Mag. ZG 2-4399/1805. A trombonist called Joseph Hoffmann was active at St. Stephen's Cathedral at this time, and his hand appears similar to the choir director Hoffmann; see A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein, A 3/1 and A-Wsa, HR A 17/4, 1/1789. Hoffmann was a popular name among Viennese musicians of the late eighteenth-century, and it remains to be seen if the choir director and trombonist were the same individual.

Joseph Hoffmann was at the centre of Viennese musical life: as choir director at the *Burgtheater*, he was certainly involved in the productions of *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Cosi*, and as a singer in the *Hofkapelle* he was connected to the institution with which the score of K. 337 originated. There is however no known documentary evidence from accounts or receipts that he worked as a copyist. Another candidate for the hand of VMC-3 who is better supported in this respect is Jakob Nurscher. As we shall see in the next chapter, Nurscher was paid as a music copyist at St. Stephen's Cathedral from 1780 until at least the early 1790s. Although the historical music archive of the Cathedral is now mostly destroyed, a number of the manuscripts that do survive are in the hand of Viennese Mozart-Copyist 3.²²⁹ Nurscher also worked as a cornetto player and "Musikus" at the Cathedral, but his principal duty was in the orchestra of the *Burgtheater*, where he played the viola.²³⁰ He thus participated in the premieres of *Figaro*, the Viennese *Don Giovanni*, *Cosi* and probably *Die Entführung* as well. Regardless of the identity of his hand, Nurscher claims our interest as a copyist for one of the city's largest sacred ensembles during Mozart's time.

Nurscher was born in Stollhofen, Lower Austria in about 1747, and moved to Vienna around 1759. On 25 August 1778, he married Maria Anna Adam (c. 1751-1803), daughter of the *Hofmusicus* Joseph Adam, at St. Stephen's Cathedral.²³¹ By this stage he had already become a "Musicus bey St Stephan." The couple had no surviving children, but after Anna's death Nurscher married again in 1806, this time to Elisabeth Eger (c. 1773-1837).²³²

²²⁹ VMC-3 appears for example in works by Reutter; A-Wd 73 and 77. The latest I have seen the hand in this archive is in parts for a Te Deum by Preindl, dating from around 1800; A-Wd, 80. These parts are however marked "pro Choro St. Petri", suggesting perhaps that they were not originally copied for the Cathedral.

²³⁰ See the regular payments to Nurscher transcribed in Link, *The National Court Theatre*, 406ff. Around 1786, Nurscher served as *Controlor* for the *Tonkünstlersocietat*; C. F. Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des Hundert-Jährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät* (Vienna: Selbstverlag des "Haydn", 1871), 100.

²³¹ Vienna, St. Stephen, Pfarrarchiv, Trauungsbuch 72, f. 321v. The location of Nurscher's birth is given in this record, and his age is given as 30. He is said to have to have been resident in Vienna for 19 years.

²³² Anna's will and *Verlassenschaft* are in A-Wsa, Mag. ZG Testament 667/1803 and 2-3020/1804 respectively. Elisabeth's *Verlassenschaft* is in Mag. ZG 2-4077/1837.


Testament.
dat: 28 März 1814.

Im Namen der allmächtigsten Königsallergnädigsten
 Jakob Nurscher Musikus in R. d. Hoftheater in einem letzten
 Willen folgendes messen festgesetzt.

1^{tes} Soll mein Lieb nach höchstselbstigen Gaben und Vermögen
 ohne allem Gegengang zur Eide bestattet werden.

2^{tes} zum Besten, das auch selbst, und bloßselbstigkeit von selbst
 kommen ist die gesetzliche Gaben.

3^{tes} Meinem Sohn Josef kommen ist zum künftigen
 pflichtfrei eine Banco obligation per Ein tausend Gulden
 wovon die abfallenden Interessen seiner Mütter bis zur
 dessen Großjährigkeit auf dessen Lagerung ohne alle
 Verzinsung zu bezahlen haben soll. Und die nützlich die
 Gemüthsruhe nicht jedem Testament die Erbengüterung ist.

4^{tes} So kommen ist
 Meine Ehegattin Elizabeth zu meiner alleinigen Hinterlass.
 nach, welcher nach selbigen meine obigen Legaten wenn
 geschehen können nützlich zu stellen soll. Übrigend ist
 bestellige ist den mit meiner nachgelassenen Ehegattin im Jahre
 28^{ten} februar 1814 vorrathen gerichtliche Contract, und
 pflichtig meine letzten Willen, so wie ich selbst in meinem
 Jahre in Namen der allmächtigsten Königsallergnädigsten.

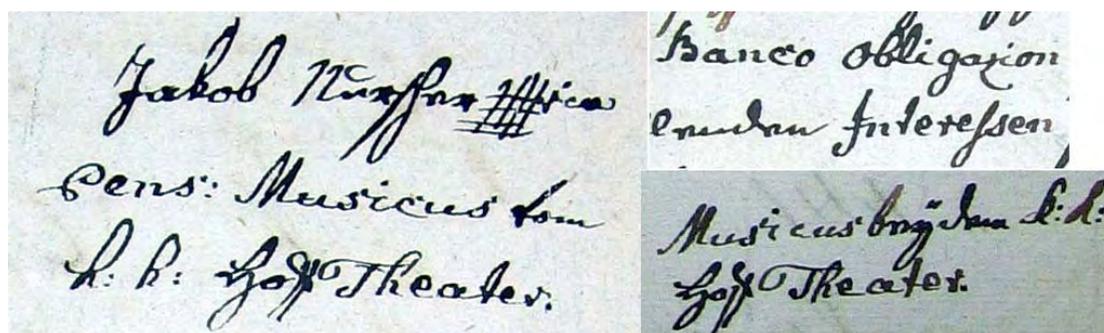
Ich und dessen Sohn ist gegenwärtig Testament ganz eigenständig
 geschrieben, unterschrieben, und mit meinem handschrift
 versehen. Datum den 28^{ten} März 1814.


 Jakob Nurscher Musicus bey dem R. d.
 Hoftheater.

Figure 3.20. The hand of Jakob Nurscher. A-Wsa, Mag. ZG Testament 194/1814.

Nurscher died of “Brustwassersucht” on 21 March 1814 as a “k: k: pens: Hoftheater Musikus,” leaving behind Elisabeth and their son Joseph, aged seven.²³³

Figure 3.20 shows Nurscher’s will, the most extensive document currently known in his handwriting. Again, we are limited by the small number of words in italic, including “Musicus,” “Theater,” “Banco Obligazion” and “Interessen.” Figure 3.21 shows an enlargement of several samples of Nurscher’s handwriting and two further examples of VMC-3’s italic, taken from the original parts for Mozart’s scena *Misero! o sogno...Aura, che intorno spira* K. 431 and a Reutter piece from St. Stephen’s.²³⁴ There does seem to be a resemblance, particularly in the similarity of the letter “M” and a tendency for the writing to slant towards the right. With the generic character of italic script, however, many individuals may have shared these characteristics, and one also needs to take into account the chronological distance separating the samples of VMC-3’s writing. Further research will require the identification of music in the hand of VMC-3 involving a German text, so that the *Kurrentschrift* of Nurscher’s will can be compared. Even if Nurscher is not equivalent to VMC-3, his known activity as a copyist means it is quite likely that manuscripts by him still survive, making the study of his text handwriting a useful aid to identification.



²³³ Nurscher’s will is in A-Wsa, Mag. ZG Testament 194/1814; his *Verlassenschaft* is in Mag. ZG 2-1545/1814.

²³⁴ On the parts for K. 431, see *MVC*, 1140-57. For a further sample of VMC-3’s hand from the Cathedral, see the following chapter.

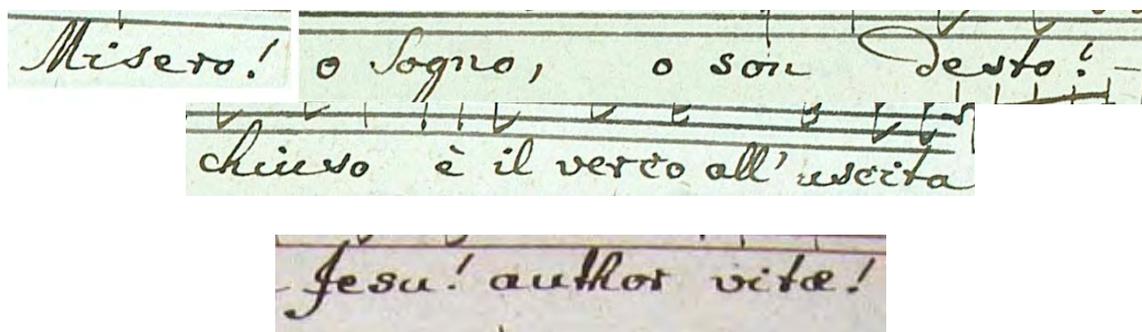


Figure 3.21. The handwriting of Jakob Nurscher, together with samples of VMC-3's handwriting.

The *Hofkapelle's* score of K. 337 in the hand of VMC-3 is on paper with two watermarks: the problematic Tyson 96, found in dated Mozart autographs from 1788 to 1791,²³⁵ and Duda FL, found in the autograph of Süssmayr's 1793 opera *L'incanto superato* and several other undated works.²³⁶ The surviving parts for K. 337 are written on two principal papertypes: the first has the watermark Duda AM-7, found in Süssmayr scores from about 1793 to 1795, and the second has a design of three moons countered by the letters A over HF. This watermark is not equivalent to any illustrated in Tyson or Duda, but may be the same as one mentioned by Edge in an arrangement of Cimarosa's 1792 opera *Il matrimonio segreto*.²³⁷ The watermarks are certainly suggestive of a date in the first half of the 1790s, but it is impossible to be more specific at this point.

Neither the *Hofkapelle* score nor parts for K. 337 make any mention of the coronation service. As might be expected, sources of works written especially for the coronations usually take care to document the occasion of their commissioning and performance, both for historical purposes and perhaps also as a matter of pride on the part of

²³⁵ The total span is 187+/188-, not equivalent to either of those associated with Mozart's autographs. Tyson 96 is equivalent to Duda AV, found in several undated Süssmayr scores that evidently originate around the same time.

²³⁶ Duda gives a total span of 187-89, which is unusually large for a single rastrum, but is nonetheless consistent with the FL paper in the *Hofkapelle* manuscript (TS=187+/188).

²³⁷ *MVC*, 365. The two trombone parts are on paper with a watermark of a man-in-the-moon countered by the letters LZ; these may date from a slightly later period than the other parts.

the composer.²³⁸ In contrast, the score of K. 337 is a model of concision, presenting us only with the information: “Missa a 4. voci del Sig: Amadeo Wolfgango Mozart”; see Figure 3.22. The formulation of Mozart’s name in Italian and the reversal of “Wolfgango Amadeo” suggests a relatively early origin for the score, but there is little specific to learn about the provenance of this copy from the title page. The parts, as Pfannhauser pointed out, no longer have their original title page, but have a replacement written in 1820 by the *Hofkapelle*’s later archivist, Joseph Frühwald. As a result, any performance dates on the original title that would have informed us about the parts’ early use have now disappeared.²³⁹

The score contains a number of additions, corrections and cuts by later hands, and by the nineteenth century it was clearly used as a conducting score in the modern sense of the term. By the far most significant entries were made by none other than Salieri.²⁴⁰ In the *Et incarnatus*, Salieri wrote in a new viola part on the empty trumpet line, evidently concluding that the bassoons by themselves were not audible over the choir and required reinforcement; see Figure 3.23. The mystery here is that K. 337, like most of Mozart’s masses, does not include a viola part – it is scored for the so-called “church trio” texture of first and second violins with continuo only. It does however seem to have been quite common at the *Hofkapelle* for an additional viola part to have been composed that mostly doubles the continuo at the unison or octave as necessary.²⁴¹ Such viola parts survive for a number of Mozart masses in the *Hofkapelle* collection, including the *Krönungsmesse*. Although we know that the set for K. 337 likewise featured a viola part, it is unfortunately

²³⁸ See, for example, the *Hofkapelle*’s score of Umlauf’s Missa in D, written for the coronation of Franz II as King of Hungary; A-Wn, HK 2312.

²³⁹ Pfannhauser, “Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse',” 6. The parts for K. 337 include a separate score and parts for the *Agnus Dei* with the obligato parts rewritten for strings and the solo part recast for four voices. A later note in pencil on one of the Basso parts reads “Abbe Stadler arrangirt.”

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: 6-7.

²⁴¹ Salieri’s instruction *col basso* at the end of his added part is another example of this practice.

Aut.

Alfaro

K. Hofkapelle

a. H. Voci



Del Sig. Anadeo Wolfgang Mozart

HK 2246

Figure 3.22. Title page of the Hofkapelle's score of Mozart's Missa in C K. 337. A-Wn, HK 2246/1.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a viola part. The notation is written on ten staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music consists of a series of notes and rests. The lyrics 'Sancta Maria Maria Virgine - et' are written below the staves. The word 'Sancta' is on the first staff, 'Maria' on the second, 'Maria' on the third, and 'Virgine - et' on the fourth. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'p' and 'f'. The handwriting is in black ink on aged paper.

Figure 3.23a. First page of Salieri's additional viola part for K. 337. A-Wn, HK 2246/1.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a viola part. The score is written on a grand staff with five systems of staves. The first system contains a vocal line with lyrics: "et sepul = tus est, sepul = tus". The second system continues the vocal line with lyrics: "et sepul = tus". The third system contains a vocal line with lyrics: "et sepul = tus". The fourth system contains a vocal line with lyrics: "et sepul = tus". The fifth system contains a vocal line with lyrics: "et sepul = tus". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are also some markings like "et sepul = tus" written vertically on the staves. The page is numbered "217" in the top right corner.

Figure 3.23b. Last page of Salieri's additional viola part for K. 337. A-Wn, HK 2246/1.

now lost, so we will never know if Salieri's addition in the score was ever put to practical use.²⁴² The parts for K. 337 are incomplete in other ways: even when the dispersed manuscripts are put back together from their three signatures, most of the string and woodwind parts are still missing.

Where did Salieri obtain this mass? Perhaps it was via Mozart himself or Constanze, but it need not have been. The music dealer Johann Traeg is of particular interest here, as he seems to have been the only commercial distributor in Vienna to carry sacred music.²⁴³ Even more unusually, Traeg thought there was a market for Mozart's sacred music, as he was willing to advertise it on a number of occasions. Traeg's earliest advertisement to mention Mozart's sacred music appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 27 July 1791, and announced the availability of unspecified "Messen, Oratorien und Mottetten von Mozart, Haydn, Albrechtsberger, Schmittbauer, Pleyel, Wanhall &c. alles um billigen Preis."²⁴⁴ There seems no way to identify precisely which of Mozart's sacred works Traeg had from this advertisement, but some insight can be provided from an inventory of the shop drawn up in February 1796 for the Lower Austrian *Merkantil und Wechselgericht*.²⁴⁵ Here Traeg listed no fewer than nine Mozart masses and an unspecified gradual that is probably *Misericordias domini*; see Figure 3.24.²⁴⁶ Works by Haydn, Schmittbauer and Vanhal appear as well, but those by Albrechtsberger and Pleyel do not. The "Offertorium" by Michael Haydn may well

²⁴² Frühwald's inventory of the parts on the title wrapper of K. 337 lists "Viola ripie:".

²⁴³ The ÖNB's card for a set of parts for Michael Haydn's C minor Requiem, A-Wn, F 24 St. Peter A 419, alleges the set comes "a. d. Schreibstube Lausch." While copyists who worked for Lorenz Lausch may indeed appear in the set, Lausch himself is not known to have dealt in sacred music.

²⁴⁴ *MVC*, 801.

²⁴⁵ A-Wsa, *Merkantil- und Wechselgericht*, A3/93, Nr. 58 (Traeg). As far as I am aware, the first study to cite this collection was Friedrich Slezak, *Beethovens Wiener Originalverleger*, vol. 17, *Forschung und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte* (Wien: F. Deuticke, 1987), 91-4.

²⁴⁶ *MVC*, 829, 1173, 1179-80.

Cratorium.	Transport	2915.	56
Madrigale p. Triesti			3
Psalmi breues. Caldara			9
M. beato Luigi. Ziani			5
Messa Cantica. Zua			7
6. Cratorium. Monn			24
Missa. Caldara			2
Habat mater. Pergolesi. 2. ff			9
Missa à 4 Parti. Benevoli			9
Sospiri d'un anima. Tomelli			2
Missae divers.			5
Sing. Trios in der Spart. Monn			6
Missa 2. Org. Monn			3
Missa non 1697.			4
9 Missen Mozart			23
graduale			2
6 Missen Haydn			18
Salve Regina			2
1. Noctetto			2
1. Missa. Schmittbauer			10
Litaneu u. Fabronius. Bach			10
Ein Ur Altar u. Schmittbauer			4
Habat mater Wankhall			3
Jejunium u. Cantate			2
Missa Techner			2
Offertorium M. Haydn			2
Requiem			
Ein Vespul u. Spanier Briai 2. ff			6
Antiphon Candidat			1
Vespul u. Spanier Vespul u. Spanier u. Praeceptor			1
Missa. Ruffa			5
Missa spiritus Canon			2
Violin Vespul. Birlinger. 2. ff			1 30.
Mozart. 2. ff			1 30.
Grammatica Musica Tessarini			1
Clarin Vespul. 8. ff			4
Violin Vespul. Fux 2. ff			1
Violoncell Vespul. 5. ff			2
Giittare			1
King Vespul. 2. ff			3
Cabala Menett u. componium 2. ff			30
Viola d'Amour Ruffa			3
			3024. 26

Figure 3.24. Traeg's 1796 inventory, showing 9 masses by Mozart. A-Wsa, Wechselgericht A3/93, Nr. 58.

be *Alma Dei creatoris* MH 221, a copy of which survives in a set of parts bearing the annotation “In der Singerstrasse bei Joh: Träg.”²⁴⁷

We do not know exactly when Traeg acquired his nine masses, but he advertised some of them in the years immediately following Mozart’s death. On 9 May 1792, he offered “Eine [Missa] in C. mit oblig. Stimmen von Mozart” at a price of 13fl 30kr. The “oblig. Stimmen” is very likely a reference to the obbligato parts in the *Agnus dei* of K. 337, and the instrumentation matches the first mass listed in Traeg’s printed catalogue of 1799. On 30 June, Traeg advertised three more Mozart masses: one that he called “Missa Nr. 2” at the same price as the one from May, one “etwas kleinere” at a price of 9fl, and another “in B” at 9fl, probably K. 275. By 11 August 1792, Traeg could offer “6 Messen von W. A. Mozart,” presumably the total number of Mozart masses he then possessed. Finally, on 3 April 1793, Traeg advertised “Eine Missa a 4 Voci 2 Viol. 2 Ob. 2 Cor. 2. Clar. Tymp. Violone. e Organo von Mozart. Diese Missa ist die letzte und beste von Mozart, geschrieben 18 fl.” As Edge notes, the tone of the advertisement suggest that this mass had been recently acquired,²⁴⁸ bringing the total to seven. If Traeg is right about this mass being Mozart’s “last,” then it can only be K. 427. With the exception of the trombones, the instrumentation does match the scoring of the C minor Mass as it appears at the beginning of the piece, and the high price Traeg demanded relative to the other masses – 18fl – is conceivably a reflection of the work’s length and complexity. Some time between April 1793 and February 1796, Traeg added two more Mozart masses to the seven he already possessed, bringing the total to the nine listed in the manuscript inventory. It is probable that these nine are the same nine masses listed in more detail in Traeg’s 1799 printed catalogue.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5042. This “Offertorium” is listed in the 1799 catalogue; see Weinmann, ed., *Johann Traeg: die Musikalienverzeichnisse von 1799 und 1804*, 281.

²⁴⁸ *MVC*, 834.

²⁴⁹ For a discussion see *Ibid.*, 830-31.

While the identifications of the first mass Traeg advertised as K. 337 and the last as K. 427 are reasonably secure, most of the others are not so certain. The “Missa Nr. 2” could be any of K. 257, K. 262 or K. 317, while the “etwas kleinere” work may be K. 220, K. 258 or K. 259, based on Traeg’s pricing.²⁵⁰ The process of identification would be considerably advanced, of course, if an actual Traeg copy of one or more of these masses turned up. Unfortunately, no-one has yet found such a manuscript.²⁵¹ As we shall see in the next chapter, Mozart and Anton Stoll did perform a number of the composer’s masses at Baden in 1789-91, but it remains to be seen whether these activities had anything to do with Traeg’s contemporaneous advertisement in 1791. A much stronger case can be made for Constanze providing Traeg with her late husband’s masses, for the two were certainly in contact by 1798.²⁵² The Mass in C minor was, as far as we know, entirely unknown in its original form, so if the identification of K. 427 as the “die letzte Missa” is correct, it is difficult to see how Traeg obtained it except via Constanze. A surviving Traeg copy of K. 427 would be of the greatest interest, not least for the remote possibility that it might transmit the lost vocal parts for the Sanctus.

The uncertainty of identification associated with Traeg’s tantalising but problematic advertisements means great caution is in order when associating particular offerings with the putative performance of Mozart’s masses at the coronations. Both the score and parts of the *Hofkapelle*’s copy of K. 337 are marked “Nr. 1”, the parts for K. 317 are marked “Nr. 2” and the score and parts for K. 258 are marked “Nr. 3”. Conceivably, these numbers could correspond to the “Missa” advertised on 9 May, the “Missa Nr. 2” offered on 30 June and

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 832-33, 845.

²⁵¹ *K*⁶, 336 speculates that a score copy of K. 317 in A-Wgm, I 11527 originates “vielleicht a. d. Werkstatt von Traeg.” The catalogue goes on to conjecture that the score copy of K. 337 in I-Fc, FP Ch 591 might be “von J. Traeg?” (358) Unfortunately, neither of these manuscripts has anything to do with Traeg.

²⁵² *MVC*, 759-62.

the “etwas kleinere” mass offered on the same date. However, the *Hofkapelle* numbers are a common internal feature of the archive where more than one mass by a composer was found, and do not necessarily reflect Traeg’s own numbering scheme. Nor does the process work in reverse: with the possible exception of K. 337, the *Hofkapelle* sources are not contemporaneous with the advertisements, so the case for identifying the works Traeg advertised on the basis of the *Hofkapelle*’s numbering scheme is not particularly strong.

Is it possible that one or more of the early *Hofkapelle* scores are Traeg copies?

Viennese Mozart-Copyist 3, the copyist of the *Hofkapelle*’s scores of K. 337 and K. 258, may have worked for Traeg in the late 1790s.²⁵³ However, VMC-3 may have also worked for Sukowaty,²⁵⁴ who operated to an undetermined degree as the ensemble’s regular copyist, at least in name. VMC-3’s long career as a copyist for the *Hofkapelle* did in fact extend well before the advent of Sukowaty and Traeg, so there may have been an agreement with the ensemble that bypassed both firms.

Despite the uncertain origin of the *Hofkapelle*’s copies, it seems likely that the ensemble acquired its first Mozart masses in the order K. 337, K. 317 and K. 258. This is not only consistent with the forensic evidence but suggested by the *Hofkapelle*’s two catalogues, one of which I have already mentioned.²⁵⁵ The relationship between them is not entirely clear: the entries for Reutter, Gassmann and Bonno list almost exactly the same music, but the ÖNB copy was kept up-to-date for longer, and contains much of Eybler’s later church music. The latest works in Salieri’s *Handexemplar*, on the other hand, are from the first decade of the nineteenth century, and Salieri’s own church music, strangely enough, is hardly listed.²⁵⁶ Both are complex documents with annotations, corrections and additional

²⁵³ MVC, 944, 1157-59.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 1161.

²⁵⁵ A-Wgm, 22551/33 and A-Wn, INV I/Josef II.1 (olim Mus. Hs. 2454).

²⁵⁶ See Pfannhauser, “Mozarts Kirchenmusikalische Studien,” 14n62.

pages bound in, and an account of their development is beyond the scope of this study. It does however seem that for some the later entries, Salieri's copy served as a model for the ÖNB copy, and it is likely that the latter was the copy regularly consulted by the *Hofkapelle's* music librarians Wravecí, Umlauf and Spangler. A comparison of the two catalogues shows that while Salieri's copy is laid out in a more luxuriant fashion, with much blank space, the *Hofkapelle* copy has consolidated entries by two or more composers onto the same page. This process may be seen in the two catalogues' entries for works by Mozart; see Figure 3.25. Salieri's copy has a full page intended for Mozart, although only K. 337 is listed. The *Hofkapelle* copy, on the other hand, has K. 337 and K. 317 on a page originally intended for works by Ulbrich, with the words "e Wolf. Mozart" squeezed in. The entry for K. 317 in the *Hofkapelle* copy is in a different hand to the entry for K. 337, and this combined with the absence of K. 317 in Salieri's copy adds support to the idea that the works were not acquired at the same time. Rather, as the forensic evidence suggests, K. 337 was acquired quite early, and the remaining masses were obtained a number of years later.

Having eliminated all but K. 337 from contention for the coronation services of 1790-92, we may now proceed to examine what evidence there is for the presence of other composers' music. Mosel, writing nearly forty years after the events, gave the following account:

Im Jahre 1792 fanden, nach dem fast plötzlichen Hinscheiden des Kaisers Leopold II., glorreichen Andenkens, die drei Krönungen Seiner jetzt regierenden Majestät, des allgeliebten Kaisers und Königs Franz I., (damals noch römischen Kaisers Franz II.) statt, von welchen Salieri jedoch, wegen gestörter Gesundheit, nur zweien, nämlich denen zu Prag und zu Frankfurt, beiwohnen konnte, wo beinahe dieselben Compositionen, wie bei den Krönungsfeierlichkeiten im Jahre 1790 aufgeführt wurden, nachdem dieses eben so unvermuthet als schnell eingetretene Ereigniß nicht die Zeit zu neuen musikalischen Arbeiten vergönnte.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Quoted in Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.243.

Missa. Requiem. Grad. et Offertory di Welf. Amad. Mozart

4^{to} f. Missa
a 4. voci
2. Violini. Viola. 2. oboe.
2. Tromboni. 2. Clarini e Fagotto.
Violoncello. Violone
Organo. M. D. C.

Kyrie
Andante

Figure 3.25a. Works by Mozart in Salieri's copy of the *Hofkapelle* catalogue. A-Wgm, 22551/33.

73

Missa *Massimiliano*
Aut: Ulbrich

Missa *N.º 1.* - - aut. *Ulbrich*
a 4. *Voci.*

2. *Violini.* *Viola.* 2. *Oboe*
2. *Tromboni.* 2. *Clarini.* e *Timp.*
Fagotto. *Violone.* *Violoncello*
Organo. *M. D. C.*

Moderato

Kyrie

N.º 1. *Missa* *Del. Sigg. Wolf: Mozart.*
a 4. *Voci*

2. *Violini.* *Viola.* 2. *Oboe*
2. *Tromboni.* 2. *Clarini.* e *Timp.*
Fagotto. *Violoncello.* *Violone*
Organo. *M. D. C.*

Andante

Kyrie

N.º 2. *Missa* *Del. Sigg. Wolf: Mozart.*
a 4. *Voci.* 2 *Violini.* *Viola*
2. *Oboe.* *Fagotti* 2. *Clarini*
e *Timpani* 2 *Tromboni.*
Violoncello. *Violone*
Organo *M. D. C.*

Andante maestoso

Kyrie

Kyrie

Figure 3.25b. Later addition of Mozart entries in the *Hofkapelle* catalogue. A-Wn, INV I/Josef II.1.

Mosel's statement is only partially supported by other evidence. The mass for Leopold II's coronation in Frankfurt has long been known: a newly commissioned mass by Vincenzo Righini. Righini was not paid until 1792, when he received 50 ducats "für eine...zur Kayser Krönungs Feyerlichkeit in Frankfurt gelieferte Messe", which may suggest the work was repeated that year.²⁵⁸ As shown in Table 3.3, it seems that masses by Ignaz Walter and Mozart's nemesis Peter Winter were also performed in Frankfurt for Leopold, but their exact role is unclear.

Before Salieri travelled to the respective coronations, he had to negotiate with the *Obersthofmeisteramt* and with the local authorities on how many *Hofkapelle* members would be accompanying him and who would be responsible for various musical occasions.²⁵⁹ In Prague, for example, St. Vitus' Cathedral had its own musical ensemble directed by Johann Koželuch, brother of the better-known composer Leopold Koželuch. Salieri travelled to Prague in 1791 bringing with him just seven musicians, so the participation of the St. Vitus musicians, particularly the instrumentalists, was in fact mandatory if the coronation services were to have the expected orchestral forces.²⁶⁰

An examination of the St. Vitus music archive provides important additional information and shows that the Cathedral's *Kapellmeister* and his ensemble played a central role in the musical performances during the coronation. A set of parts for a mass by Leopold Hofmann bears the annotation "Producta prima vice 1791 in der Huldigungs-Messe Leopoldi II...", referring to the events of 4 September.²⁶¹ A partially autograph set of parts for

²⁵⁸ Pfannhauser, "Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse'," 7. On Righini's church music, see Konrad-Jürgen Kleinecke, *Das Kirchenmusikalische Schaffen von Vincenzo Righini* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1984). Righini's autograph is in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 34234. The *Hofkapelle*'s own sources for the mass (the score in A-Wn, HK 2281, the parts in HK 2335) appear to date from around 1800 or slightly later.

²⁵⁹ See the correspondence in Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.225-30, 246-51.

²⁶⁰ Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.225-27.

²⁶¹ CZ-Pak, 528. On the St. Vitus sources, see Jiri Stefan, *Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis. Catalogus Collectionis Operum Artis Musicae*, vol. 4, *Artis Musicae Antiquioris Catalogorum* (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983-85).

Table 3.3. Sources with references to Imperial coronations, c. 1790.

<i>Work</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Salieri: Te Deum in D	A-Wn, HK 491	1790	Autograph score and non-autograph parts; “Te deum dell’ Incononazione”; further deleted annotations on score
Walter: Missa in Bb	CZ-Psj, 273	1791	“prima vice pducta sub Coronatione Aug: Imp: Leopoldi Iidi Francofurti ad Moenum”
Winter: Missa in Eb	CZ-Pnm, XLIX F 196	By 1800 (RISM)	From Kuks; “Producirt bei der Krönung des Kaysers Leopoldi in Francfurd.”
Hofmann: Missa in D	CZ-Pak, 528	1791	“Producta prima vice 1791 in der Huldigungs-Messe Leopoldi II...”
Kozeluch: Missa in D	CZ-Pak, 671	1791	Partially autograph parts; “Scritta per l’incoronazione del Imperatore Leopoldi II re di Bohemia, benche non prodotta.”
Kozeluch: Missa in D	CZ-Pak, 669	1791	Partially autograph parts; “Scritta per la Maria Teresia imperatrice de Leopoldo II. Imperat. [added:] et pro festo S. Elisabethae 1840”
Umlauf: Missa in D	A-Wn, HK 2312	1792	Score; “In Occasione dell’ Incononazione di S: Maestà/Francesco I ^{mo} Rè D’Ungharia”; parts HK 2354 have date 10.6.92 “la coronaz. della Regina”
Albrechtsberger: Missa in C	A-SF, II/12 Cim. H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 282 (fair copy)	1792	Autograph scores; A-SF “Composui Mense Aprili [1]792 Pro budensi Coronatione Francisci II. Regis Hungariae...”; H-Bn title page has however pencil annotation “non fuit acceptata”
Hofmann: Missa in C (Missa S. Barbarae)	CZ-Pak, 529	1792	Parts; Prohaska 11; “Producta prima vice 1792 in coronatione Francisci II...”

a mass by Kozeluch himself has an annotation reading “Scritta per l’incoronazione del Imperatore Leopoldi II re di Bohemia, benche non prodotta”, referring to the coronation service itself on 6 September; see Figure 3.26.²⁶² Finally, a partially autograph set of parts for another mass by Kozeluch has a note reading in pencil “Scritta per la Maria Teresia imperatrice de Leopoldo II. Imperat.”, presumably referring to the coronation of Leopold’s consort Maria Theresia on 12 September. With this new information, a partial performance calendar for the coronation celebrations may be reconstructed; see Table 3.4. Just why Kozeluch’s mass for the coronation itself was not performed is unknown, but it is possible that some kind of “turf war” broke out between the Viennese *Hofkapelle* and the St. Vitus ensemble. The presence of these annotations in parts belonging to St. Vitus strongly suggests that the Cathedral was directly responsible for the music in some capacity.

From yet another set of parts in the St. Vitus archive, we know that another mass by Leopold Hofmann was performed at the Prague coronation of Franz II in 1792, so Mozart’s mass is out of the question for this occasion. If one had to suggest an Imperial context for K. 337, the most likely candidate is the coronation of Franz as Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt on 14 July 1792. For this occasion, at last, we have relatively straightforward evidence that a Mozart work was employed. In his 1963 article, Pfannhauser mentioned a particularly significant source for Mozart’s motet *Misericordias domini* K. 222, and provided a transcription of its title page. He did not however reveal the location of the manuscript, or anything about its provenance beyond the fact that he discovered it in 1954 among the remains of a “vormals sehr bedeutenden Dommusikarchives.”²⁶³ As it turns out, Pfannhauser himself owned the manuscript, and at his death in 1984 it was transferred to the Gesellschaft

²⁶² CZ-Pak, 671. The autograph of this work and the *Hofkapelle*’s parts for it are in A-Wn, HK 313. The score originally formed part of the collection of Empress Marie Therese; see Rice, *Empress Marie Therese*, 272.

²⁶³ Pfannhauser, “Mozarts ‘Krönungsmesse’,” 10.

Messa per l'incoronazione del Re di Boemia, con due parti

1573

671

In D. la. Sol. re.

Messa Solenne

con doppio Gloria

a

Cinque Voci

due Violini

due Oboe ob.

due Fagotti ob.

due Clarini

due Viole

all'quattro Violoncello ob.

Organo

Cb.

Flauti, Corni e Timpani, e tamburi
secondo al piacere.

Cb. Nel difetto degli Fagotti, Li Horni,
due Violoncelli obligati a parte

NB. Per piu gratia Trombe, e per piu suono degli Timpani.

Aut. Giovanni Antonio Kozeluch

Anno 1766

Litt. V.

W. S. S.

K.

Figure 3.26. Title page of a set for parts for J. Kozeluch's Missa in D, from St. Vitus' Cathedral. CZ-Pak, 671.

Table 3.4. Performance calendar for the coronation celebrations, 1790-1808.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Occasion</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Music</i>
Leopold			
6.4.90	<i>Erbhuldigung</i>	Vienna, Hofkapelle	
30.9.90	Election	Frankfurt, Kaiserdom	Righini: <i>Krönungsmesse</i> (Mainz Hofkapelle)
9.10.90	Coronation	Frankfurt, Kaiserdom	
20.10.90	<i>Dankgottesdienst</i>	Vienna, St. Stephen	
11.11.90	<i>Erbhuldigung</i>	Pressburg, St. Martin	
15.11.90	Coronation	Pressburg, St. Martin	
21.11.90	<i>Dankgottesdienst</i>	Vienna, St. Stephen	
31.8.91	Procession	Prague, St. Vitus	
4.9.91	<i>Erbhuldigung</i>	Prague, St. Vitus	Hofmann: Missa in D (CZ-Pak, 671)
6.9.91	Coronation	Prague, St. Vitus	[Kozeluch: Missa in D]; ?Salieri: Te Deum (and/or other services)
8.9.91	Installation of abbess	Prague, Royal Convent	
12.9.91	Coronation (queen)	Prague, St. Vitus	Kozeluch: Missa in D (CZ-Pak, 669)
Franz			
25.4.92	<i>Erbhuldigung</i>	Vienna, Hofkapelle	
3.6.92	<i>Erbhuldigung</i>	Budapest, St. Matthias	
6.6.92	Coronation	Budapest, St. Matthias	Albrechtsberger: Missa in C, Beatus Vir, Veritas Mea, Veni Sancte
10.6.92	Coronation (queen)	Budapest, St. Matthias	Umlauf: Missa in D
5.7.92	Election	Frankfurt, Kaiserdom	?Righini: <i>Krönungsmesse</i> (Mainz Hofkapelle)
14.7.92	Coronation	Frankfurt, Kaiserdom	Mozart: <i>Misericordias domini</i>
23.9.92	<i>Dankgottesdienst</i>	Vienna, St. Stephen	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Occasion</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Music</i>
3.8.92	Procession	Prague, St. Vitus	
7.8.92	<i>Erbhuldigung</i>	Prague, St. Vitus	
9.8.92	Coronation	Prague, St. Vitus	Hofmann: Missa in C (<i>Missa S. Barbarae</i>)
11.8.92	Coronation (queen)	Prague, St. Vitus	
19.8.92	<i>Dankgottesdienst</i>	Vienna, St. Stephen	
3.9.1808	<i>Erbhuldigung</i>	Pressburg, St. Martin	
7.9.1808	Coronation (queen)	Pressburg, St. Martin	Albrechtsberger: Missa in C (Schröder A.I.3)

der Musikfreunde in Vienna; see Figure 3.27.²⁶⁴ The manuscript comes from Graz Cathedral, and informs us that the work is by Mozart, “Vienæ Aulicæ Capellæ Magistro”, and was performed in “Francofurti Anno 1792.”²⁶⁵ It can hardly be doubted that the performance in Frankfurt took place during Leopold’s coronation. Unfortunately, the manuscript as Pfannhauser found it consisted only of the wrapper: the parts themselves are no longer extant, so we are unable to assess the source further. If the coronation celebrations in Frankfurt featured this offertory by Mozart, perhaps Salieri saw fit to introduce K. 337 as well.

Misericordias domini was likely circulating in Vienna during Mozart’s lifetime. As we shall see in the final chapter, the *Michaelerkirche* obtained a “motet” by Mozart in May 1791 that was probably this work. We know that Mozart himself possessed a set of parts for K. 222 in Vienna, which Constanze sent to Andre along with the rest of the *Nachlass* in 1800. These parts survives today in Fulda; see Figure 3.28.²⁶⁶ The set, which consists of single copies of Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo and Organo, is entirely in the hand of a Salzburg copyist who seems to have worked for Leopold Mozart after Wolfgang’s departure from the city.²⁶⁷ We do not know when Wolfgang acquired the set, but it is conceivable that it was associated with the van Swieten concerts of the early 1780s or with the transfer of Mozart’s remaining scores from Salzburg after the death of Leopold. The parts present a “clean” appearance suggesting they were little used, but they

²⁶⁴ A-Wgm, I 70120 P. I am grateful to Otto Biba for clarifying the location of this manuscript.

²⁶⁵ Again, it seems that the work was performed from local sources, since the *Hofkapelle* sources for K. 222 all appear to date from the nineteenth-century; A-Wn, HK 3040-41. Landon incorrectly describes the Graz Cathedral manuscript as “a copy in the Imperial chapel”; Landon, *1791: Mozart’s Last Year*, 104.

²⁶⁶ D-FUL, M 299b. See *MVC*, 1075, 1089 and Wolfgang Plath, “Mozartiana in Fulda und Frankfurt,” in *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 141-42.

²⁶⁷ See Cliff Eisen, “The Mozarts’ Salzburg Copyists: Aspects of Attribution, Chronology, Text, Style, and Performance Practice,” in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 295. I am grateful to Eisen for the initial identification and for providing me with additional information about this copyist. The watermarks in the manuscript include three moons over REAL | FC and a crescent moon enclosed in a crowned crest (cf. Tyson 52).

Allegro, *Violino 1.^{mo}* 15

Misericordias

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the Violino Primo part of Mozart's *Misericordias Domini*. The page is numbered 15 in the top right corner. The title "Misericordias" is written in a large, decorative cursive script at the top left. Above it, the tempo "Allegro" and the instrument "Violino 1.^{mo}" are written in a smaller cursive hand. The music is written on ten staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The first measure is a whole rest, with "for." written below it. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Dynamic markings such as "p." (piano) and "f." (forte) are present throughout the score. The handwriting is elegant and characteristic of the 18th-century manuscript style.

Figure 3.28. Violino Primo in a set of parts from Mozart's *Nachlass* for *Misericordias Domini*. D-FUJ, M 299b.

certainly could have acted as models for the kind of copies obtained by the *Michaelerkirche* in 1791. Johann Traeg had *Misericordias domini* by 1796, and a Viennese score copy from the 1790s in the hand of Peter Rampl survives today in Graz.²⁶⁸

The presence of *Misericordias* at the Frankfurt celebrations is a reminder that such services featured not only mass settings but graduals, offertories and other pieces as well. With a few exceptions, we do not know what these additional works were. In Budapest, the all-Albrechtsberger coronation service on 6 June 1792 featured the gradual *Beatus vir* (B.I.6), the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus* (J.25) and the offertory *Veritas mea* (C.I.3) in addition to the Coronation Mass (A.I.3), as far as we can tell from the original materials.²⁶⁹ A *Te Deum* was required on many occasions, and it is likely that Salieri's "Coronation" setting featured in some of them. As the original wrapper to the parts is no longer extant, however, we do not know the exact performance dates.²⁷⁰ According to Niemetschek, writing in 1798, "Man macht hier in Prag auf mehreren Kirchen-Chören einige Motetten von seiner [Mozarts] Komposition voll Erhabenheit und Feyerlichkeit."²⁷¹ This was taken by Pfannhauser as an indication that one or more of the sacred contrafacta K. Anh. 121-23 arranged from the incidental music to *Thamos* were heard at the Bohemian coronations.²⁷² Pfannhauser singled out *Splendente te, deus* K. Anh. 121, a contrafactum of *Thamos*' first chorus "Schon weichet dir, Sonne" as a particular possibility, since its text seems especially appropriate to a coronation service.²⁷³ The origin of the *Thamos* contrafacta is a complex question that cannot

²⁶⁸ MVC, 1173, 1179-80.

²⁶⁹ What appear to be the original scores are bound in H-Bb, 1037; see Dorothea Schröder, *Die Geistlichen Vokalkompositionen Johann Georg Albrechtsbergers*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K.D. Wagner, 1987), ii.9. The mass was reused for the coronation of Franz's third wife in 1808; *Ibid.*, i.40.

²⁷⁰ A-Wn, HK 491.

²⁷¹ Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 117.

²⁷² On these motets, see Neal Zaslaw, "Mozart's Incidental Music to 'Lanassa' and His 'Thamos' Motets," in *Music, Libraries and the Academy: Essays in Honor of Lenore Coral*, ed. James P. Cassaro (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007), 55-63. I am grateful to Zaslaw for providing me with a copy of this article.

²⁷³ Pfannhauser, "Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse'," 9.

be pursued in detail here, and the earliest sources have yet to be systematically examined.²⁷⁴ Contrafacta of three *Thamos* choruses appear in the Andre-Gleissner catalogues of Mozart's *Nachlass*,²⁷⁵ but as Edge has demonstrated, a number of items in that collection do not stem from the "estate" as it stood in 1791 but are later additions by Constanze.²⁷⁶ In any case, the scores from the "estate" do not appear to survive. The earliest source I have seen for any of the contrafacta is a score copy of K. Anh. 21 deriving from the archive of Breitkopf & Härtel and signed at the end "Eseguito nel Mese d' Ottobre 1794"; see Figure 3.29.²⁷⁷ Part of *Thamos* was performed in Leipzig as early as 1788,²⁷⁸ and Breitkopf brought out an edition of the contrafactum in 1803, so this manuscript will be of particular interest to future research.²⁷⁹ There is however no direct evidence at this stage that the contrafacta were performed at any of the coronations, and neither the *Hofkapelle* archive nor the St. Vitus archive contain early copies of the motets. Niemetschek's "einige Motetten" may just as likely refer to "original" works like *Misericordias domini*.

Given that K. 317, the mass we now call the *Krönungsmesse*, was not performed by the *Hofkapelle* until later in the 1790s, how did it acquire its name? Table 3.5 shows a number of significant early copies of K. 317 and K. 337, most of which were unknown to the *NMA*. The *Hofkapelle* first made reference to a *Krönungsmesse* by Mozart in January

²⁷⁴ Jochen Reutter argues on internal grounds for the primacy of the Latin contrafacta over the German, but does not investigate the early history of the sources; Jochen Reutter, "Die Lateinischen Kontrafakta der Drei Chöre aus Mozarts Schauspielmusik zu *Thamos, König in Ägypten*: Aspekte Eines Parodieverfahrens," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 328-33.

²⁷⁵ See, for example, D-F, Mus. Hs. 778/2, 23.

²⁷⁶ *MVC*, Chapter 8 *passim*, especially 1289-90.

²⁷⁷ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5047. The manuscript's provenance is given on the ÖNB's card as "Archiv Breitkopf."

²⁷⁸ Harald Strebel, "Mozart und sein Leipziger Freund und 'Ächte Bruder' Carl Immanuel Engel," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 40 (1992): 98.

²⁷⁹ A score copy of K. Anh. 22 in D-B, Mus. ms. 15144/10 derives from Niemetschek himself: the title page reads "Del Sig. W.A. Mozart / Chor aus dem [deleted: Oper] Schauspiele/König Thamos von Aegypten," but the original text was not entered. The Latin text was however entered in pencil, opening with "Deus rex tremendae" instead of the usual "Jesu rex tremendae." Traeg advertised K. Anh. 21 in 1798 with the text "Gottheit über alles"; *MVC*, 859.

S. m. 5047 **Motetto. Hymne.** di Mozart.

Flauti. *unio.*

Oboi. *1. Viol.*

Corni in C.

Clavini in C.

Timp.

Trombone 1.

Trombone 2.

Trombone 3.

Fagotti.

Violini.

Viola.

Sopr.

Alto.

Ten.

Basso.

Fondo. *Maestoso.*

Figure 3.29. Opening of a copy of the motet K. Anh. 21, dated October 1794. A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5047.

Table 3.5. Some early copies of K. 317 and K. 337.

<i>Work</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Comments</i>
K. 317	A-KR, A 120/216	c. 1790	Parts; only Violino Secondo and both trumpet parts extant; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 317	CZ-Bm, A 8722	1791	Parts; from Valtice (Feldsburg); cited in Senhal, “Quellen”; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 317	D-DI, Mus. 3972-D-509	1796	Score; from Exner-Sammlung, Zittau; signed “I[or J?]K”; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 317	RUS-KAu, 13945 [lost]	1796	Score; cited in Müller, <i>Königsberg</i> ; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 317	A-Ws	c. 1800	Parts; “Missa ex C No. 2”; performance under Eybler in July 1816; cited in Pfannhauser, <i>Hofkapelle</i> notes for September 1966; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 317	CZ-Pnm, XLVI C 149	c. 1800	Score; in hand of Johann Baptist Kucharz, organist at Kloster Strahov; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 317	A-Wn, F 152 Zehetgruber 44	1808	Parts; from Eger Basilica, Hungary; “pro coronatione regis”; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 317	A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 37341	c. 1830	Parts; “Messe/in C/Zur Krönungsfeyer Sr. M./Franz I./zum Kaiser von Oesterreich.”; NMA source K
K. 317	CZ-Bu, Mus 2-579.916	1855	Score; “Krönungs-Messe in C. zur Krönungsfeyer Seinen Majestät Leopold II. zum Könige von Böhmen, Prag am 10.Septber 1790 [sic] von W.A.Mozart.”; cited in Trojanová; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 337	A-Wp	c. 1787-95	Parts; cited in Biba, “Mozart’s Presence”; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 337	CZ-Bm	c. 1790 (Senhal)	Parts; cited in Senhal, “Quellen”; from St. Jakob, Brno; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 337	A-KR, A 121/217	c. 1790	Parts; “del Sign: Amadeo [sic] Wolfg: Mozart.”; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 337	A-Ek, s.s.	c. 1790-95	Parts; „Missa Solemnis...Aulica”; NMA source E
K. 337	A-Wn, F 24 St Peter A 344	19 th C.	Parts; from St. Peter, Vienna; “Missa Aulica”; organ part only; NMA <i>deest</i>
K. 337	A-Wdp, s.s.	?	Parts; “Missa aulica”; reported in Cyril Wolf’s manuscript inventory (A-Wgm, 24504/48); NMA <i>deest</i>

1823, when its archivist Joseph Frühwald noted a performance of K. 337, not K. 317, under that title.²⁸⁰ Pfannhauser stated that K. 337 increasingly acquired the name “Missa Aulica” in the nineteenth century, but did not cite any examples.²⁸¹ I know of three sources for K. 337 bearing the title “aulica,” a nomenclature that does of course imply usage at court but nothing specific about coronations. Many other sources for eighteenth-century masses bear the same title.²⁸²

The earliest source of which I am aware that associates K. 317 with a coronation is an incomplete set of parts for the mass deriving ultimately from Eger Basilica in northern Hungary.²⁸³ The title page, which is smaller than the parts, is signed “A Wild[mpa] 1808”, and underneath the principal title are the words “pro coronatione Regis”; see Figure 3.30.²⁸⁴ As it happens, Franz’s third wife Maria Ludovika was crowned Queen of Hungary on 7 September 1808. The coronation mass was by Albrechtsberger, and the Eger title has the masculine *regis*, so there is unlikely to be a direct connection. The coronation was however preceded on 3 September by an *Erbhuldigung* for Franz for which the music is unknown.

Two further manuscripts of the *Krönungsmesse*, both late and both problematic, also allude to an Imperial coronation. A set of parts for K. 317 of unknown origin but dating from around 1830 benefits from a particularly elaborate title page featuring a drawing of the double-headed Austrian eagle; see Figure 3.31.²⁸⁵ The title states that this is a mass “Zur

²⁸⁰ Pfannhauser, “Mozarts 'Krönungsmesse',” 6. The reference appears in the ensemble’s list of performances from 1820-53; A-Wn, INV. I/Hofmusikkapelle 16.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*: 7.

²⁸² Performance material for masses by Brixl, Novotny, Hofmann, Kaintz, Vogl and Danzi all bear this title, particularly in Czech sources.

²⁸³ A-Wn, Fonds 152 Zehetgruber 44. Only the Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso survive. The ÖNB bought the set in 2003 from the estate of the Austrian opera producer Josef Zehetgruber (1935-2001). Some of Zehetgruber’s estate went to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and I am grateful to Otto Biba for providing me with a copy of the auction catalogue.

²⁸⁴ It is not certain that these words are contemporaneous with the main text.

²⁸⁵ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 37341. The set is part of a collection of church music apparently acquired by the ÖNB at the same time (Mus. Hs. 37339-37361). Many of the parts, including those for K. 317, bear the name “Soldat”

Krönungsfeyer S^t. M. / Franz. I. / zum Kaiser von Oesterreich.” With the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, the Emperor Franz II became Franz I, Emperor of Austria in 1806.

The difficulty here is that Franz never had a “re-coronation”, but merely changed his title. One could imagine, however, that K. 317 was used in a commemorative capacity at the church where these parts were once located.²⁸⁶ Another copy of the *Krönungsmesse*, dated 1855, is held today in Brno.²⁸⁷ I have not seen this score, but according to the catalogue, the title reads: “Krönungs-Messe in C. zur Krönungsfeyer Seinen Majestät Leopold II. zum Könige von Böhmen, Prag am 10.Septber 1790 [sic] von W.A.Mozart.” Something is clearly amiss here: Leopold’s Bohemian coronation took place in 1791, not 1790, and neither the coronation service proper nor any of the associated services took place on 10 September. Assuming the transcription is accurate, further research is required into the origin of the score and the possibility that it might be based on more “authentic” sources.

In sum, there is little evidence to suggest that any Mozart mass formed part of the coronation celebrations at Prague in 1791. K. 337, the first Mozart mass to be acquired by the *Hofkapelle* could conceivably have been heard alongside the motet *Misericordias domini* at the 1792 coronation of Franz II in Frankfurt, but there is nothing directly connecting the mass to this service. Although several Mozart masses were available from Johann Traeg at this time, the *Hofkapelle* seems not to have acquired them all at once but instead over several years, and Traeg is only one of a number of possibilities for their acquisition. K. 317, what we now know as the *Krönungsmesse*, did not enter the repertoire of the *Hofkapelle* until later

or “Aloys Soldat”. Mus. Hs. 37353 is marked “Pfarre St. Andrä, Graz” and “Johann Fügerö, Regenschori.” The parts for K. 317 bear performance dates from 1832 to 1841, some with the comment “sehr gut gemacht.”

²⁸⁶ Michael Jahn states without evidence that K. 317 “wurde am Jahrestag der Krönung Franz II. zum römischen Kaiser, später zur Erinnerung an seinen Amtsantritt als erster österreichischer Kaiser aufgeführt”; Brosche, ed., *Musica Imperialis: 500 Jahre Hofmusikkapelle in Wien*, 327.

²⁸⁷ CZ-Bu, Mus 2-579.916. See Jaromíra Trojanová, *Soupis Hudebních Rukopisů Z Fondů Státní Vědecké Knihovny V Brně* ([Brno]: Státní vědecká knihovna v Brně, 1990), 106.

N^o 100.

Messe Solè:
 pro Coronatione Regis
 in C.

a
 4^{tuor.} Voix.
 2. Violon.
 2. Clarinettes,
 2. Cors 2. Trompettes.
 Timbales.
 Psalme & Orgue.

Composée par

A. W. A. Mozart
 N^o 10.

ÉRSEKI FŐSZÉKESEGYHÁZ KÓRUSA
 EGER.
 A. W. A.
 1808.

Figure 3.30. Title page of a set of parts for the *Krönungsmesse* from Eger Basilica. A-Wn, F 152 Zehetgruber 44.

*Eigentümer in
Briefe.*

20. A. 6



MESSE

in C.
Zur Krönungsfeier S. M.
Franz I.
zum Kaiser von Oesterreich.
Für
Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass
Violino I. & II. Violoncello I. & II.
Corni & Clarinet I. & II. Tympano
Contrabass u. Organo

Comp.
W. A. Mozart.

Handwritten signatures and notes at the bottom, including 'K. 374' and '37341'.

Figure 3.31. Title page of a set of parts for the *Krönungsmesse*. A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 37341.

in the 1790s, but eventually established a position of preeminence in the performance calendar of the court chapel.

The study of a complex question like the musical repertoire of the coronation services necessarily requires the assimilation of many disparate sources, and in the absence of definitive evidence some speculation and conjecture is inevitable. If however we become too preoccupied with exactly which mass fit where and when, we risk overlooking the more general point that in the decade following Mozart's death, Salieri was responsible for the acquisition of at least three of his colleague's masses. Revisionist histories of this most famous of compositional rivalries have understandably stressed the positive elements of Mozart and Salieri's relationship during Mozart's lifetime, while passing over Salieri's activities as *Hofkapellmeister* in the 30 years following Mozart's death. By the 1820s, the *Hofkapelle* possessed at least eight Mozart masses, and Salieri's acquisition and performance of these works gave Mozart's music a prominence at court that remained mostly elusive in the composer's own lifetime. In the score of K. 337, Salieri's addition of doubling viola parts, a subtle revision of the vocal-instrumental balance, speaks to his concern of presenting Mozart's music to its best effect. K. 337 has frequently suffered in comparison to the *Krönungsmesse*, possessing neither a regular performance tradition nor the all-important nickname. Stanley Sadie in his recent biography dismisses it as possessing "little distinctive music and few of the felicities of its sister work."²⁸⁸ The fact however that it was the first Mozart mass to be acquired by the *Hofkapelle* seems to be a vote of confidence in it by Salieri, and this evidence alone should prompt a fresh look at a work that was, perhaps, the real "coronation mass."

²⁸⁸ Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years, 1756-1781* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 497.

FOUR

A Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's

O, meine Herrn! unter uns Kapellmeistern giebts auch grosse Politiker, und vielleicht giebts nicht einmal einen grossen Politiker, der nicht von einer Seite ein grosser Kapellmeister wäre.

Johann Tauber von Taubenfurt (1780)¹

“Now that I am appointed to a situation where I could please myself in my writings, and feel I could do something worthy, I must die...”

Mozart, as reported by Constanze (1828)²

Mozart's appointment as adjunct Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's Cathedral in May 1791 represents the pinnacle of his professional aspirations as a church musician.³ The composer had possessed directorial responsibility before – more than a decade earlier, in Salzburg – but that responsibility was shared between Mozart, his father, Michael Haydn, and other senior musicians of the Salzburg court. Now, Mozart had the potential to assume sole control of the music at the most important Cathedral in the empire, and program whatever music, including his own, that he desired. For a biographical event of such great potential importance, the Mozart literature has devoted surprisingly little attention to the background, motivations and timing of the composer's successful application. Most biographies treat the position as a “what if,” similar in significance to the plan by Hungarian noblemen to grant Mozart an annual stipend, and none consider the possibility that Mozart spent a significant

¹ Johann Tauber von Taubenfurt, *Über meine Violine* (Vienna: Kürzbock, 1780), 134.

² Vincent and Mary Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829*, ed. Rosemary Hughes and Nerina Medici di Marignano (London: Novello, 1955), 126-28.

³ Portions of this chapter appeared in an earlier form in my paper “Mozart and St. Stephan's Cathedral: New Documentary Evidence,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Washington D. C., 29 October 2005.

amount of time fulfilling his unpaid duties, whatever they may have been. Despite the loss and destruction of much documentary evidence, it is in fact possible to gain some sense of the conditions for sacred music at the Cathedral during the 1780s, and make informed guesses about Mozart's association with St. Stephen's both prior and subsequent to his appointment.

One motivating factor for the composer in early 1791 may have been a series of decisions taken at the highest levels of government, as the new Emperor Leopold II began to relax some of the restrictions introduced by his brother in 1783. In March of that year, Leopold made a number of modifications to the *Gottesdienstordnung*, including the provision of a more relaxed attitude to instrumentally-accompanied sacred music. Although the majority of Joseph II's original strictures were retained, Leopold's concessions marked the beginning of a gradual recovery in official attitudes towards elaborate church music, and may have provided Mozart with the encouragement he needed to prepare an application for St. Stephen's.

I. THE REFORMS OF LEOPOLD II

During his two decades as Grand Duke of Tuscany (1770-90), Leopold had instituted religious reforms that mirrored in many ways the more ambitious efforts of his elder brother. In 1786, a diocesan synod was convened in Pistoia under Leopold's patronage, issuing a series of decrees on episcopal power, liturgical "abuses," services in the vernacular and the abolition of monastic orders.⁴ Among the topics proposed by Leopold for discussion was a plan to eliminate "la musica tanto vocale, che istrumentale, all'eccezione del canto corale e

⁴ See Adam Wandruszka, *Leopold II., Erzherzog von Österreich, Grossherzog von Toskana, König von Ungarn und Böhmen, Römischer Kaiser*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Herold, 1963-65), ii.111-39.

dell'organo.”⁵ If carried out, this objective would have caused even more radical changes to sacred music than Joseph II's *Gottesdienstordnung*, but the rejection of the Pistoia decrees by a national synod of bishops the following year ensured that it was never adopted.

Despite Leopold's enthusiasm for liturgical reform, he was to be responsible for a lessening of the official restrictions on the performance of sacred music soon after his installation as ruler of the Austrian lands in April 1790. In November of that year, Leopold instructed the President of the *Geistliche Hofkommission*, Baron Kressel, to prepare a report on the current state of religious affairs in the *Erblande*, and to seek the opinions of the Austrian bishops on how the situation might be improved.⁶ Although most of the original responses are no longer extant, a document survives that records the bishops' opinions in summary.⁷ Although they were divided on the merits of the *Gottesdienstordnung*, it is clear that there was widespread dissatisfaction among their congregations, many of which desired to see the reintroduction of processions, statues and other devotional items that had been removed under the edicts of Joseph II.

A number of the submissions evidently mentioned music. The Bishop of Gradiska (now Gradiška in Bosnia-Herzegovina) “erinnert nur, daß der Normalgesang das Volk zu sehr zerstreue und demnach abzustellen wäre.” The Bishop of Budweis (now České Budějovice in the Czech Republic) “erinnert...daß mehrere Gesänge auf verschiedene Festtage zu verfassen wären.” Archbishop Migazzi of Vienna complained about the lack of solemnity at masses and litanies, and requested that on Sundays and feastdays a litany be permitted that included “ein musikalisches Regina Coeli oder Salve Regina.” The most extensive comments in the summary, however, originated with the Bishop of Linz, Joseph

⁵ Quoted in Antonio Zobi, *Storia Civile Della Toscana Dal Mdcxxxvii Al Mdcccxlvi* (Florence: Luigi Molini, 1850), ii.155.

⁶ *RGZJ*, 305.

⁷ AVA, A-Kultus 598, 445/3/1791; partial transcription in *RGZJ*, 556-59.

Anton Gall. He recommended “mehrere Gesänge und Gebethe, die auf verschiedene Kirchenzeiten und Feste passen, und auch eigene für Bethstunden, Bittgänge und Abendandachten verfassen zu lassen, welche sodann ohne Zwang und durch die Schuljugend nach und nach einzuführen wäre.” He further advised that that a litany should be sung on the afternoon of high feast days, the *Pange lingua* during the octave of Corpus Christi, and the *Libera me*, *Miserere*, and *De Profundis* on All Souls Day. Gall’s most interesting recommendation reads: “an grösseren Festen die Messe mit Instrumentalmusik, besonders die Salzburgischemesse auf dem Lande einzuführen, da das Volk sehr zur Musik gestimmt sey.”⁸ With the introduction of more elaborate music, Gall believed that musicians, “welchen die neue Kirchenordnung so nachtheilig war, zur Ehre der Nation neue Unterstützung erhalten.”⁹ In his attention to the enthusiasm of the people for church music, and to the potential of church musicians to contribute to the nation, Gall’s submission strikes a new positive note in official correspondence concerning the Gottesdienstordnung.

On 18 December, the Hofkommission met to discuss the submissions it had received. The eleventh item on the agenda was the “Mangel an feierlichkeit,” including Migazzi’s complaint about a lack of solemnity during church services and Gall’s suggestion that instrumental masses be introduced on high feast days. The Commission’s response to this item provided the catalyst for the relaxation of restrictions on sacred music the following year:

Die Instrumentalmusik, welche diese Beschwerde vorzüglich zum Gegenstand hat, ist durch die Andachtsordnung weder verboten, noch abgestellt, sondern sie kann aller Orten, wo das Kirchenvermögen zu ihrer Bestreitung hinreicht, fortgesetzt werden. Das dießfällige *Desiderium* der Bischöfe fällt also von selbst weg.¹⁰

⁸ A “Salzburgischemesse” is any setting of the German hymn paraphrases beginning “Hier liegt vor deiner Majestät,” such as Michael Haydn’s setting MH 560.

⁹ *RGZJ*, 308.

¹⁰ AVA, A-Cultus 598, 445/3/1791.

It is difficult to say whether the members of the Commission were misinformed or deliberately disingenuous about the content of the *Gottesdienstordnung*, but the claim that instrumental sacred music could be performed in any church that could afford it was simply untrue – at least in the sense of an unrestricted opportunity to employ it as churches saw fit. Joseph II’s *Gottesdienstordnungen* of 1783 and 1786 were still in force, and on that basis the bishops’ requests were certainly valid “von selbst.”

At the end of December 1790, the minutes were sent to Leopold with an accompanying note by Baron Kressel. The Emperor was fundamentally in agreement with the reforming spirit of the Commission, and against the Bishop of Gradiska’s complaint that the *Normalgesang* disturbed the people he wrote simply, “Heißt nichts.” Leopold did however prepare a resolution that addressed, in a limited way, the concerns of the bishops; see Figure 4.1. Of particular importance is the eleventh point, closely based on the minutes:

Die Hochaemter und Litaneyen werden auch mit Instrumentalmusik gehalten werden können, wenn das Kirchenvermögen zu deren Bestreitung hinreicht.

Thus, what had been a mistaken belief of the Geistliches Hofkommission was set to become reality, at least in part. The fundamental changes from Joseph II’s 1786 *Gottesdienstordnung* were twofold. First, instrumental settings could be employed for any high mass throughout the *Erbländen*, instead of Sundays and feast days in metropolitan churches alone. Second, instrumental litanies, which had been removed entirely under Joseph, were again permitted. Leopold’s resolution does not address the performance of vespers, leading in theory to continuation of the existing policy that permitted only *choraliter* or organ-accompanied settings. The wording is very similar to Joseph’s instruction to the commission of 1786,¹¹ and reflects a continued concern that such music should be funded

¹¹ “Die Instrumentalmusik-Musique kann verbleiben, wenn es aus dem eigenen Vermögen unterhalten werden kann.”; *RGZJ*, 163. This instruction, however, was in response to a proposal that *Instrumentalmusik* be removed entirely, and only refers to situations where it was already permitted.

through local congregations and not paid for by state funds intended for the upkeep of the parish.

Leopold's resolution was sent to the provincial governments in a *Generale* dated 17 March 1791.¹² No new edition of the *Gottesdienstordnung* was issued that incorporated the changes, and it was up to the local authorities to implement them.¹³ Given Cardinal Migazzi's strenuous objections to the order of services since its introduction in 1783, one may presume that he introduced Leopold's revisions in Vienna to the maximum extent possible, although there is no concrete evidence at present to support this presumption. One wonders, however, whether Mozart's decision to apply for the position of adjunct Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's in April 1791 may have been prompted by Leopold's partial relaxation of restrictions the previous month. Leopold made no further reforms to Joseph II's *Gottesdienstordnung* during his short reign, and died, three months after Mozart, on 1 March 1792. The Emperor made no fundamental changes to the liturgical structure introduced by his brother, but in his concessions to church authorities, Leopold set an important precedent for the more extensive reforms carried out under his successor, Franz II.¹⁴

¹² In response to the *Generale*, Bishop Gall sent an order to his clergy with detailed instructions on when instrumental music was permitted. He expressed the opinion that, "Je einfacher die Musik ist, desto besser entspricht sie der Christlichen Demuth und Andacht." *RGZJ*, 319.

¹³ The opening of the *Generale* states explicitly: "Die Ordnung des Gottesdienstes und der öffentlichen Andacht soll so, wie sie gegenwärtig vorgeschrieben ist, beybehalten und beobachtet werden." *RGZJ*, 559.

¹⁴ On Leopold's reforms in general, see Gerda Lettner, *Das Rückzugsgefecht der Aufklärung in Wien 1790-92* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 1988).

II. MUSIC AT ST. STEPHEN'S CATHEDRAL

Es ist der Einzige wahre altväterliche Großpapa-Thurm, der sich in seinem alten Schlendriane erhalten hat! Fest und unerschüttert, trotz er den Erdbeben der Aufklärung; er allein lachtet der tollkühnen Wuth seiner Feinde, er allein achtet nicht die Befehle und Verordnungen; er allein setzt seine Mißbräuche fort!¹⁵

Joachim Perinet's mock-heroic characterisation of St. Stephen's Cathedral may be grounded in a fundamental pessimism for the future of Enlightenment thought in Vienna, but his picture of an institution defiantly ignoring external attempts to reform it was undoubtedly accurate. From the celebration of "banned" feastdays and liturgies, to the retention of tapestries, candles and statues, to the stacking of its clergy with anti-reform figures, St. Stephen's was the leading centre of conservative liturgical practice in the city. Evidence for the Cathedral's conservatism comes primarily from the Josephinian religious journals, which conducted a sustained campaign throughout the 1780s documenting every *Misbrauch* they encountered at St. Stephen's in indignant detail.¹⁶ The Cathedral's clergy were equally contemptuous of their critics, as *Über Gottesdienst und Religionsordnung* reported in 1784:

Einige vornehme geistliche Herren bei St. Stephan finden es schon seit lange ihrer Würde gemäß, uns in öffentlichen Häusern, und wo überhaupt die Rede von uns ist, Ochsen, Esel, Idioten, Dummköpfe, hungrige Schmierer &c. zu nennen.¹⁷

The journals' criticisms became so pronounced that in January 1788, Joseph II took the unusual step of issuing a decree specifically targeting St. Stephen's and ordering the Cathedral to follow the *Gottesdienstordnung* and the Emperor's other *Verordnungen* to the letter.¹⁸ As the Metropolitan church of the city, St. Stephen's possessed a degree of

¹⁵ Joachim Perinet, *Annehmlichkeiten in Wien* (Vienna: n.p., 1787-8), ii.69-70. See Leslie Bodi, *Tauwetter in Wien: Zur Prosa der Österreichischen Aufklärung, 1781-1795* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 385-86.

¹⁶ *ÜGR*, i.179, 205, 250, 396, iv.243, 306, 374, 407, 409, 434, v.39, 72, 101, 148, 183, 265, 269, 327, 432; *KB*, i.273, 281, ii.50, iv.191, v.159, 270, vi.12, 129, 205, 268, 382, vii.49, 92, 186.

¹⁷ *ÜGR*, i.286-7.

¹⁸ Quoted in *KB*, vi.97-102 and *WK*, 1788:235-40.

independence from the ecclesiastical establishment, and the *Geistliches Hofkommission* may have worried that infractions at the Cathedral would serve as an encouragement for other churches wishing to ignore the *Gottesdienstordnung*.

Reports concerning the music at St. Stephen's during the 1780s are rare, and usually describe events only in general terms.¹⁹ In 1786, *Kritische Bemerkungen* objected to the Cathedral celebrating two "banned" Marian feastdays with the following account:

Wider eine k. k. Verordnung werden hier noch immer auch die abgebrachten Feiertage gehalten. In diesen Tagen wird ein Chor von dem Amte gehalten, wobei Se. Eminenz, die Domherren, und andere Geistliche wie an einem Sontage zugegen bleiben.²⁰

Über Gottesdienst und Religionsordnung described a cost-cutting exercise during the Feast of the Purification, a celebration that required a large number of candles:

So sahen wir z. B. am Feste der Reinigung Mariens, daß den Pfarrgeistlichen bei der Prozession die Kerzen schon beim Musikchore weggenommen wurden.²¹

The same journal provided a more detailed but typically condemnatory account of Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve 1785. After Cardinal Migazzi and his assistants had reached the altar,

...intonirte der Herr Kardinal die Mette, die von den weltlichen Sängern auf dem Chor und der Geistlichkeit wechselweise – aber mit einer solchen Harmonie – gesungen wurde, daß uns auf immer die Lust vergieng Mette zu hören. Wir gestehen es frei, daß wir nicht begreifen, wie ein solcher Gesang jemanden zur Andacht aufmuntern könne?
Nach der Mette began Se. Eminenz das: Te Deum laudamus, welches mit der ganzen Musik gehalten wurde; – und verfügte sich nach Endigung desselben mit der vorigen Begleitung wieder nach Haus.

After the main party had left,

...traten acht junge Geistliche auf, die wechselweise mit den weltlichen Sängern einen Chor hielten, der aber nur etwa 20 Minuten dauerte.²²

¹⁹ On the history of music at the Cathedral, see Hans Brunner, *Die Kantorei Bei St. Stephan in Wien* (Vienna: Verlag "Albrecht Dürer", 1948), Michael Jahn, *Die Musikhandschriften des Domarchivs St. Stephan in Wien* (Vienna: Verlag Der Apfel, 2005), 11-46. Some notes collected by Simon Molitor in the early nineteenth century on music at St. Stephen's are in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 2380.

²⁰ *KB*, i.355.

²¹ *ÜGR*, v.462.

²² *ÜGR*, v.215-16.

Two particular targets of the journals were the Cathedral's *Chur-* und *Chormeister*, Pater Patrizius Fast (1726-90), the highest-ranking parish priest in the city,²³ and the *Kirchenmeister* Andreas Furthmoser (d. 1799), who was in charge of finances. As we have seen in Chapter Two, Fast was a trenchant critic of Josephinian reforms and the author of an extended defence of elaborate sacred music published in 1781. Furthmoser, who had started professional life as the proprietor of a coffee shop, occupied the positions of *äussern Rath* and captain of the city regiment in addition to his post at St. Stephen's.²⁴ *Kritische Bemerkungen* laid the blame for the liturgical "abuses" at the Cathedral squarely at the feet of these two officials in a satirical article of February 1787:

Den ersten Platz behauptet der Kirchenmeister Hr. Furthmoser, welche von allen übrigen der gestrengte Herr genannt wird. Er ist aber auch ganz allein derjenige, auf dessen Wink und Befehl alles in dieser Kirche geschieht; und wir halten uns für verpflichtet bei dieser Gelegenheit unsern Lesern anzuzeigen: daß P. P. P. P. P. Fast die von uns gerügten Unanständigkeiten und Mißbräuche dieser Kirche – wenn er auch vielleicht gewollt hätte, nicht abstellen durfte: weil er – wie wir in der Sakristei hörten – nichts zu schaffen hat, und nichts geschehen darf, ausser was der gestrenger Herr befiehlt.²⁵

Accounts such as the above illuminate the institutional and political context in which the Cathedral music operated. They do not, however, provide specific details about the musicians and their repertoire, and for this information we must rely primarily on manuscript sources. Unfortunately, much of the historical documentation for the Cathedral has been lost or destroyed, some of it in the comparatively recent past. In early April 1945, towards the end of World War II, looters set fire to a number of shops on Stephansplatz, and the fire eventually spread to St. Stephen's. The resulting conflagration caused the roof of the

²³ Christine Schneider, *Der Niedere Klerus im Josephinischen Wien: Zwischen Staatlicher Funktion und Seelsorgerischer Aufgabe*, vol. 33, *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte* (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1999), 87, 137.

²⁴ Furthmoser married Elisabeth Gartner on 15 October 1748. The entry in the register (St Stephan, Trauungsbuch vol. 53, f. 124v) gives his profession as "Caffesieder." I am grateful to Michael Lorenz for locating this entry and providing me with a copy of it. Furthmoser's other titles are given in a *Wiener Zeitung* article of 13 September 1797 documenting his elevation to *k. k. Hofrath*.

²⁵ *KB*, ii.162-3.

Cathedral to cave in, destroying much of the interior, including the choir loft and the building's two organs.²⁶ The restoration project, completed in the 1950s, did not attempt to rebuild the choir loft and its organ, and the main organ above the west door was constructed to an entirely new design. To gain an appreciation of the Cathedral's eighteenth-century appearance, one must rely on pre-1945 photographs showing the original layout of the building. Figure 4.2 shows the case of the main organ, an instrument completed by the Viennese maker Ferdinand Josef Römer in 1720, while Figure 4.3 shows the case of the choir organ, an earlier work of Römer's from 1701.²⁷ It was principally in this choirloft that the Kapelle performed its duties, conducted by the Kapellmeister. In 1791-93, Mozart and Albrechtsberger may have directed the ensemble from here.

While the destruction of the organs and choirloft may be a matter of regret, far more serious from a documentary standpoint was the near-total loss in 1945 of the Cathedral's music archive. Not only is this loss a serious hindrance for the reconstruction of the collection as it existed in the 1780s, but a number of unique items known to have been part of the archive have now disappeared. As I have noted in Chapter Two, Joseph Drechsler's completion of Mozart's C minor Mass once formed part of the collection, and a number of unicum copies of works by Reutter and Albrechtsberger were also lost.²⁸ Fortunately, a copy of

²⁶ See *Der Dom zu St. Stephan: Chronologie einer Zerstörung* (Vienna: Dom-Verlag, 2000), 30ff.

²⁷ Günter Lade, *Orgeln in Wien* (Vienna: Privatdruck, 1990), 213-15. The instruments themselves were rebuilt and eventually replaced entirely in 1886, but the original cases were retained. See also Hans Haselböck, "Sechs Jahrhunderte Orgelbau im Wiener Stephansdom," *Singende Kirche* 7, no. 3 (1960): 90-94.

²⁸ For Albrechtsberger, see Schröder C.II.16, D.I.9, D.I.15, D.I.21, D.I.24, E.II.10, G.II.13, J.14.



Figure 4.2. Principal organ at St. Stephen's Cathedral, destroyed in 1945.



Figure 4.3. Choirloft and organ at St. Stephen's Cathedral, destroyed in 1945.

the Cathedral's music catalogue was kept separate from the collection and is still extant, allowing us some insight into the former content of the archive.²⁹

The catalogue actually consists of two distinct documents, now bound together. The first is a non-thematic inventory entitled “Inventarium / Uiber die der Domkirche St: Stephan angehörigen / Instrumente, Musikalien, und Mobilien in dem / Kapellhause, welche von denen am Ende Unter- / schriebenen am 6^{ten} December 1824 vorgefunden, und der Ordnung nach beschrieben worden sind.” The *Musikalien* are described only in summary: ordered initially by composer, the inventory lists the number of works in each genre and the number of those works in each key. Following this is a large grid summarising the information still further. At the end of the document are the signatures of Kapellmeister Johann Baptist Gänsbacher, who had only recently taken up the post, and a number of other officials.

The second part, taking up the majority of the volume, is a thematic catalogue of the musical holdings entitled “Catalog / sämtlicher Musicalien / welche der Kapellmeister / der Dom Kirche St Stephan / in Verwahrung hat. / verfasset / vom / Joan: Bapt: Gansbacher. / Dom= Kapellmeister / in den Jahren 1827 u: 1828. / abcopirt vom Jos: Perschl. Contrabassist / in der Dom: Kapelle 1837.” This catalogue was in use throughout the nineteenth century, and contains entries from as late as 1905. Arranged by genre and then by composer, the catalogue assigns a number to each piece, and provides a title, key, incipit, partial list of instrumentation and an indication of whether the work is for “Tutti” or “Solo” forces. Armed with this detailed information, it is possible to make reasonable inferences about the contents of the archive four decades earlier. One important body of sources that is not represented in the catalogue is the vast majority of manuscripts from St. Stephen's

²⁹ A-Wda, s.s. Some of the entries were copied into the late nineteenth-century catalogue of Viennese church archives kept by Cyril Wolf; A-Wgm, 24504/48.

copied before Reutter became Kapellmeister in 1738. Although these manuscripts, principally of works by Fux and Caldara, were still part of the collection in the 1780s, they were sold in the early nineteenth century and passed to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, where they remain today.³⁰ A sadder fate awaited many works that *are* listed in the catalogue but are marked with a red “NB”. This notation indicated pieces that were no longer in active use and were stored in the *Bartholomäuskapelle* of the Cathedral. In 1889, the then *Domkapellmeister*, Gottfried Preyer sold them to a cheesemonger as scrap paper.³¹

Accounts of the events in April 1945 usually describe the St. Stephen’s collection as entirely destroyed,³² but this is not quite correct. A number of manuscripts in a room adjoining the main archive survived the fire,³³ and these are still held today by the Cathedral.³⁴ The surviving collection comprises some one hundred manuscripts dating from the mid-eighteenth through the late nineteenth-century, in addition to a large number of printed chant books. The eighteenth-century material consists mostly of works by Reutter, but there is also an offertory by “Kayser” probably copied around the same time, and a number of pieces by the Haydn brothers, Preindl and Vanhal from the first decade of the nineteenth century. The numerous Mozart sources will be discussed later in this chapter.

As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, many of the sources from St. Stephen’s are in the hand of Edge’s Viennese Mozart-Copyist 3. Figure 4.4 shows the first page of the

³⁰ Otto Biba, “Haydniana in den Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 37, no. 3-4 (1982): 178. Some more recent instrumental repertoire for the Cathedral may also have been transferred; see Neal Zaslaw, “Mozart, Haydn and the *Sinfonia Da Chiesa*,” *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982): 103. I have not had the opportunity to examine these manuscripts, but given the small place such “old” music occupied in the repertoire of the Hofkapelle, their relevance for this study is likely limited.

³¹ Franz Kosch, “Florian Leopold Gassmann als Kirchenkomponist” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1924), 46. Neither of these sales is noted in Jahn, *Die Musikhandschriften*.

³² See, for example, Biba, “Haydniana in den Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien.”

³³ Karl Pfannhauser, “Epilegomena Mozartiana,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1971/2* (Salzburg, 1973), 294. I have been unable to establish the exact circumstances of their survival, or the origin of Pfannhauser’s information. According to Michael Jahn, “Zwei Kästen von Noten blieben zu Kriegsende des Jahres 1945 aus unbekanntem Gründen vom Feuer verschont.” Jahn, *Die Musikhandschriften*, 51.

³⁴ For a catalogue, see *Ibid.*, 58ff.

offert. 1284 Allabreve Kayser (St.) act. M. P. C^{ea}
Tenor
Jubilate

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a tenor part. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff begins with the title "Jubilate" and includes performance instructions: "offert. 1284 Allabreve Kayser (St.) act. M. P. C^{ea}" and "Tenor". The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. Numerous fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 above or below notes. There are also some markings that appear to be measure numbers or rehearsal marks, such as "38", "76", and "8". The handwriting is in a cursive style typical of 18th or 19th-century manuscripts. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration.

Figure 4.4. *Maestro di Capella* part for a *Jubilate Deo* by "Kayser" in the hand of VMC-3. A-Wd, 89.

Maestro di Capella part for the offertory by “Kayser,” providing a good sample of the copyist’s C and F clefs. Figure 4.5 shows a soprano part for Reutter’s hymn *Veni creator spiritus* (Hofer Hymnen 4) in the hand of Albrechtsberger.³⁵ This source is particularly significant, as all Cathedral manuscripts of the latter’s own music were destroyed in 1945, leaving the hymn as one of the few musical records from St. Stephen’s of Albrechtsberger’s sixteen-year tenure as Kapellmeister. Because most of the surviving manuscripts from St. Stephen’s are on lower-quality “local” paper, it is difficult to date them with precision. At present, the only manuscript that can be demonstrated to date from the 1780s, or perhaps a little earlier, is an interesting book of music on eight-stave oblong paper, evidently intended for the organ.³⁶ The watermark design is three moons over REAL countered by GF under a canopy, probably equivalent to Tyson 53. In Vienna, Mozart used paper with this design in autographs dating from 1781 to 1785.³⁷ The book consists primarily of chant melodies to which a figured bass has been added, providing valuable evidence of how accompanied chant was sung in the eighteenth century. Figure 4.6 shows a harmonisation of the Marian antiphon *Regina coeli*. In addition, the book contains four anonymous *Ave maria* settings in a more “modern” style, all set for soprano and obbligato organ.

Two further sources that may be associated with St. Stephen’s are now located elsewhere. On Easter Sunday 1782, Pope Pius VI celebrated mass at the Cathedral in one of the most important ceremonies of the church’s history. The setting was a Missa in E flat by Reutter (Hofer Messen 62), as we know from a set of parts for the Kyrie and Gloria at Stift Heiligenkreuz.³⁸ A note on the parts reads: “Inliegendes Kyrie u. Gloria ist produziertet

³⁵ *Veni creator spiritus* enjoyed a remarkable popularity at the Cathedral. Performance dates on the wrapper show that it was performed no fewer than 112 times between 1826 and 1896. Albrechtsberger’s authorship of this part is not noted in the Jahn catalogue.

³⁶ A-Wd, 181.

³⁷ See *MVC*, 412, 422.

³⁸ A-HE, II c. I have not yet had the opportunity to inspect this manuscript.

Hymnus. *Andte* Soprano. Reutter.

no. 2

Veni cre = a tor spi = ritus,
 qui = dice = ris pa = trachus
 mentes tuorum vi = sitq, imple
 al = tissi = mi donum de = usq, fons vi = rus
 su = per = na gratia que tu cre =
 i = gnis charitas det = spi = ri = ta = lis
 as = ti = pac = to = ra = *Sex septi = for =*
 a = ci = a = *te = centi de = lu =*
 nis mi = nere digitus paterna Sex = te =
 men sen = sibus de = funde a morem cor = di =
 lus tu ri = te pro = mis sum Patris sermo =
 in firma nostri cap = po = ris vir tu te firmans
 ne per = ti = ditano = gut = tura = Hostem
 te = pellas Lon = gius pacem que do =
 sci = a = mus Da Pa = trem nos comus at
 nes pro = tinus Ducto = re sic Te =
 que fi = li um Te que ut ri = usque spi =
 = pra vio vi = temus omne =
 = nestum Cre = damus am = ni
 no = xium =
 tem = pare =

Figure 4.5. Soprano part in the hand of Albrechtsberger for Reutter's hymn *Veni creator spiritus*. A-Wd, 78.

worden, als Seine Päpstliche Heiligkeit Pius der VI. im Jahre 1782 in der St. Stephans-Kirche zu Wien pontificieret haben.”³⁹ Reutter’s son, who was a priest, inherited his father’s autographs and brought them with him when he moved to Heiligenkreuz sometime after 1772.⁴⁰ Whether these parts form part of the *Nachlass*, and what part they may have played in the 1782 performance has yet to be established.

Contemporary accounts of the service make clear that the *Hofkapelle* was primarily responsible for the music. As we shall see, there was a great deal of overlap between the personnel of the *Hofkapelle* and the Cathedral’s own ensemble, so the displacement is not particularly significant in itself. Because of the importance of the occasion and the great number of onlookers, special arrangements were made for the musicians, as a contemporary pamphlet describes:

Zwischen dem Seitenaltar und den mittleren Kirchenstühlen, etwas rückwärts in den Passionschor hinein, war eine eigene Bühne für die kaiserliche königliche Hofmusik errichtet, und von derselben war ein besonderer Schemmel für die Obersten Hof=Aemter gesetzt. Bemeldte mittlere Kirchstühle wurden aber von andern Hofkavalieren verschiedenen Ranges, und das kaiserliche königliche Hoforatorium, wie auch der Musikchor von vielen Damen besetzt.⁴¹

The service included the singing of the monastic hour of terce:

Hierauf intonirten Se. Heiligkeit die Terz durch das *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, die kaiserlich=königliche Hofmusik antwortete darauf, und setzte mit dem Domkapitel, und der Geistlichkeit der erzbischöflichen Kur den Chorgesang bis zur Oration fort...Da die Terz von dem Chor zu Ende war, sangen Se. Heiligkeit die Oration des Festes, wobei zwei Domherren als Akolythen mit den Leuchtern vor Ihnen stunden.⁴²

The occasion was the subject of an engraving distributed by Artaria; see Figure 4.7. A detailed look at the gap to the left of the imperial oratory appears to show five singers with

³⁹ Norbert Hofer, “Die Beiden Reutter als Kirchenkomponisten” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1925), ii.34.

⁴⁰ Jen-Yen Chen, “The Tradition and Ideal of the *Stile Antico* in Viennese Sacred Music, 1740-1800” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000), 78.

⁴¹ *Vollständige Sammlung Aller Schriften, die Durch Veranlassung der Allerhöchsten Kaiserl. Toleranz und Reformations-Edikten...Erschienen*, (Vienna: n.p., 1782), ii.212.

⁴² *Ibid.*, ii.218-19.

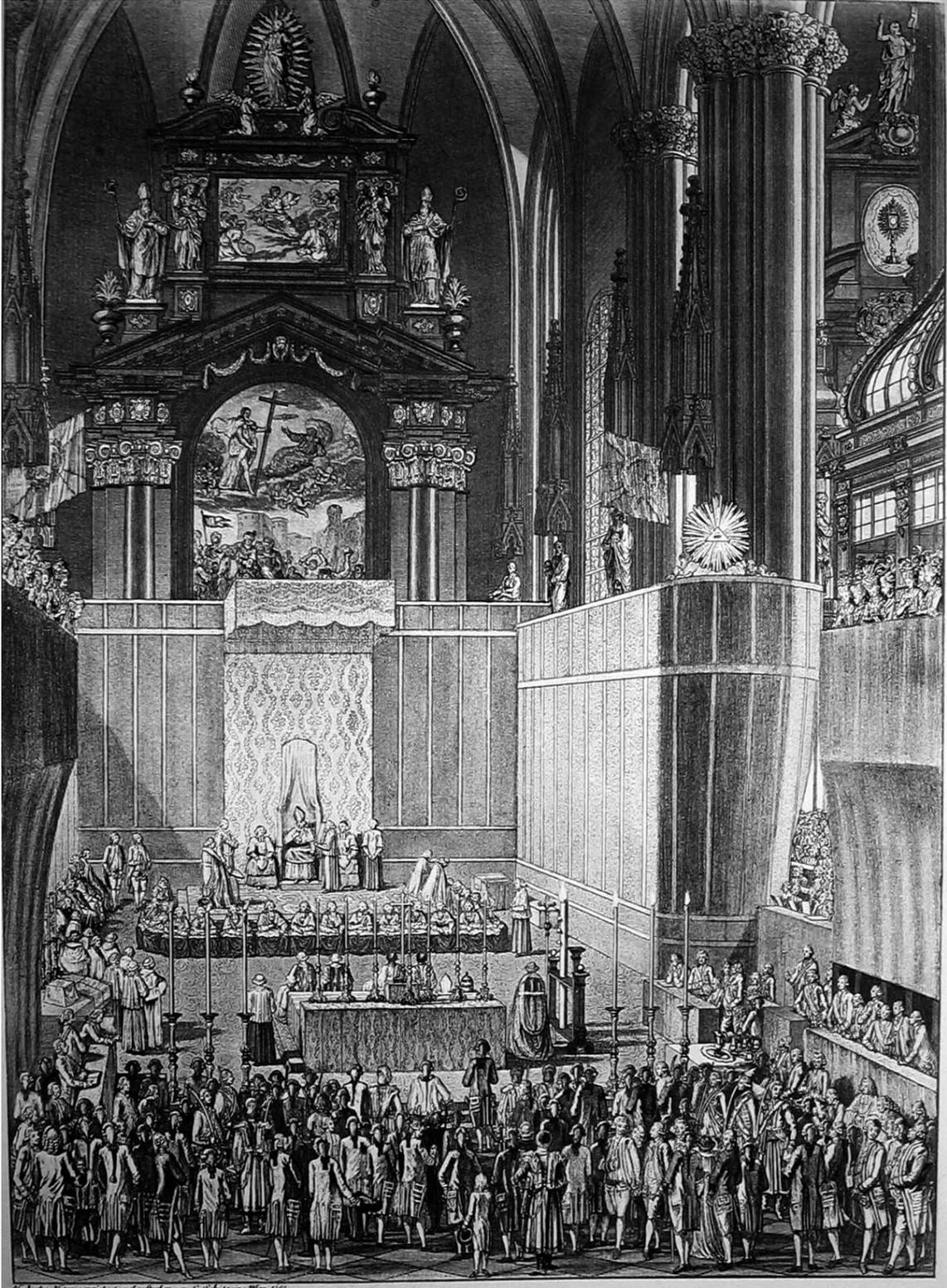


Figure 4.7. Pope Pius VI celebrates mass at the Stephansdom, Easter Sunday 1782. Engraving by Carl Schütz.

their music, although it is possible that the group of five behind them and those further back were also involved; see Figure 4.8.⁴³



Figure 4.8. Detail of 1782 engraving, showing singers at St. Stephen's Cathedral.

The St. Stephen's inventory prepared under Gansbacher shows no sign of the Reutter mass. However, both a score and a set of parts for it survive in the *Hofkapelle* collection that may well have been associated with this performance.⁴⁴ The parts are dated 1765, but they were subject to later modification and addition by Perschl and others and were in use as late as 1884.⁴⁵ As it happens, there are five copies of each vocal part, although it would be unwise

⁴³ A watercolour painting by Wenzel Staul, based on the engraving and dated August 1789 depicts the figures holding what is clearly music, not the blank paper of Schütz's depiction. For a facsimile see *850 Jahre St. Stephan: Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997*, (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1997), 275.

⁴⁴ The score is A-Wn, HK 1895, and the parts are A-Wn, HK 1256.

⁴⁵ One copy of the Violino Primo part contains "graffiti" noting the death of Wagner on 13 February 1883. Many of the outer bifolia in these parts were removed in the nineteenth century and replaced by new copies prepared by Perschl and two other copyists, perhaps because the originals had become damaged.

to equate these necessarily with the five singers depicted in the engraving. The score, which was eventually employed as a “conducting score,” is undated but probably originated in the 1780s at the latest.⁴⁶

As the cathedral in the capital of the *Erbländen*, St. Stephen’s was the venue for a number of events associated with the Imperial court. In October 1789, a *Te Deum* was celebrated for the relief of Belgrade in the presence of Joseph II.⁴⁷ On 6 April 1790, the *Erbhuldigung* (oath of allegiance) ceremony of the Austrian lands was celebrated in Leopold II’s presence, and two thanksgiving services for his coronation were held on 20 October and 21 November 1790.⁴⁸ As all these events took place in the presence of the court, the *Hofkapelle*, not the St. Stephen’s *Kapelle*, was responsible for the music,⁴⁹ although there was a substantial overlap between the membership of both ensembles. In most cases it is impossible to identify the music performed, but we do possess a small amount of information about the requiem mass held at St. Stephen’s on 29 November 1790, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the death of Maria Theresia. Count Zinzendorf, best known for his comments on Viennese operatic life, noted the event in his diary:

29. Novembre: Dix ans ecoulés depuis la mort de Marie Therese...A 10^h 1/2 a la Messe des morts. Elle dure autant que cinq messes basses. Musique de Reiter.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ One watermark design in the score is three moons over REAL | PS under a canopy. The score transmits what was probably the original instrumentation, and does not reflect the expanded scoring with four trumpets and timpani shown in the parts.

⁴⁷ A-WHh, Zeremonialakten, Protokoll 37, f. 133v-135r.

⁴⁸ See the discussion in the previous chapter. Several pamphlets were issued to commemorate these occasions. See, for example, Anon., *Feierlicher Zug Bey der Huldigung Sr. Majestät Leopold II: So Gehalten den 6ten April 1790* (Vienna: Eder, 1790), Johann Christoph Regelsberger, *Beschreibung der Ehrenpforte, Welche Bei Gelegenheit, als S.M. Leopold II. Erwählter Römischer Kaiser den 20. Nov. 1790 in die Residenzstadt den Feyerlichen Einzug Hielt* (Vienna: Schmidbauer, 1791). For facsimiles of an engraving depicting the *Erbhuldigung* and the St. Stephen’s *Kirchenordnung* for 1790, see the catalogue *850 Jahre St. Stephan: Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997*, 277-78. See also Karl Pfannhauser, “Mozarts ‘Krönungsmesse,’” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 11, no. 3-4 (1963): 7.

⁴⁹ Karl Pfannhauser, “Mozarts Kirchenmusikalische Studien im Spiegel seiner Zeit und Nachwelt,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1959): 27n137.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart’s Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 366.

Reutter composed at least four requiem masses.⁵¹ Only one of these, Hofer No. 1, was extant at the Cathedral during the compilation of Hofer's catalogue, and the parts were among those destroyed in 1945.⁵² All four, however, are extant in the *Hofkapelle* collection.⁵³

A diarist of a different and rather more opinionated kind was Charles Burney, who spent two weeks in Vienna in September 1772. The Cathedral itself was not at all to Burney's liking: "The church is a dark, dirty, and dismal old Gothic building, though richly ornamented; in it are hung all the trophies of war, taken from the Turks and other enemies of the house of Austria, for more than a century past, which gives it very much the appearance of an old wardrobe."⁵⁴ Burney's impression of the music at St. Stephen's was also decidedly mixed: on one occasion, he reserved high praise for the masses and symphonies he heard, but was strongly critical of the choir organ, which was dreadfully out of tune.⁵⁵ At a service of vespers, he found the music admirable, but "not very well performed...as to singing or accompaniment; the former was feeble, and the latter, I mean the violins, were despicable."⁵⁶ Burney was particularly critical of Reutter's music, which he described as "without taste or invention."⁵⁷

⁵¹ The lack of Viennese sources for Hofer's No. 2 and No. 3 and the small number of sources in general leaves their authorship in doubt.

⁵² Hofer, "Die Beiden Reutter", ii.45. The parts bore no performance dates.

⁵³ A-Wn, HK 790-793. A score of Hofer No. 6 is in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16665. A similar service was held for Joseph II in 1790. On the first anniversary of Maria Theresia's death in 1781, the St. Stephen's Kapellmeister Leopold Hofmann was paid 102fl 24xr on behalf of the ensemble for the "3. tägigen gehaltenen Exequien mit 3maligen Musikalischen Solennen Requiem und 3.maligen libera..." A-Wda, s.s., f. 91r. Special payments to the *Hofkapelle* for their services at the death of Maria Theresia are recorded in Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, HZB 176, f. 38-9.

⁵⁴ Percy Scholes (ed.) *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 84.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 110-111. A description of 1779 reports that the choir organ was "täglich zum Gottesdienste gebraucht, und wegen ihres reinen, und lauten Klanges angerühmet." [Joseph Ogesser], *Beschreibung der Metropolitankirche zu St. Stephan in Wien* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1779), 84.

⁵⁶ Burney, *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour*, 84. Nicolai, visiting in 1781, was equally unimpressed: "...in der St. Stephanskirche fand ich die Musik nicht so gut, als ich sie mir unter der Anführung eines Leopold Hoffmanns vorgestellt hatte. Vermuthlich liegt die Schuld nicht an diesem berühmten Manne. Die singenden Stimmen in allen Kirchen waren nicht vorzüglich; die besten nur mittelmäßig." Friedrich

Whether Burney communicated any of these impressions to the Cathedral's Kapellmeister is unknown, but it was perhaps not the most appropriate time to evaluate the performance of the ensemble. The Kapellmeister, Leopold Hofmann, had occupied the position for just six months, taking over from the now deceased Reutter.⁵⁸ The new incumbent did eventually achieve some success: in 1773 he received a medal from the Vienna *Magistrat* for a mass written to celebrate the election of a new mayor, and ultimately served the Cathedral for over two decades before his death in March 1793.⁵⁹ The small amount of scholarship on Hofmann's church music, however, has characterised this period, and the final decade in particular, as a lost opportunity, in which the composer entered a period of semi-retirement and treated the position as a virtual sinecure. Certain of Hofmann's contemporaries were less than impressed with his performance, and pious Mozartians have sought to portray him as an aging irrelevance who should have made way for his younger contemporary. Their indignation could only increase in the knowledge that Hofmann was particularly well-off by the standards of Viennese musicians, counting among his possessions a house and vineyard in Oberdöbling, a fine set of clothes, and a telescope.⁶⁰

Any attempt to formulate a judicious assessment of Hofmann's compositional activities in the decade leading up to Mozart's application is now, unfortunately, impossible, as the bombing of the Cathedral in April 1945 resulted in the complete destruction of all of the sources for Hofmann's own music. These manuscripts, which we know included parts

Nicolai, *Beschreibung Einer Reise Durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, 12 vols. (Berlin and Stettin: n.p., 1783-96), iv.544.

⁵⁷ Burney, *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*, 122.

⁵⁸ The St. Stephen's position entailed responsibility, at least nominally, for several other churches in the inner city; see *Biba* 1783, 49. A 1783 accountbook for St. Salvator, the church within the city council complex (A-Wsa, Handschriften A 162/7, f. 8v-9r) records further payments to Hofmann and the St. Stephen's organist, Matthias Mittermeier.

⁵⁹ On Hofmann's biography, see Hermine Prohászka, "Leopold Hofmann als Messenkomponist" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1956), 12-30.

⁶⁰ Hofmann's *Verlassenschaftsabhandlung* is transcribed in *Ibid.*, V/9-23. For an analysis, see Julia Moore, "Beethoven and Musical Economics" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1987), 440-46.

for fourteen masses by the composer and a large quantity of other material, would have naturally formed the principal witnesses for the reconstruction of musical life at St. Stephen's in the 1780s.⁶¹ Examination of the surviving Reutter manuscripts from St. Stephen's has so far failed to uncover evidence that they were used under Hofmann, although it is possible that some of them were, given Reutter's popularity.⁶² In the absence of musical sources, we must rely on documentary evidence to gain a sense of the institution that Mozart joined in 1791.

Due to its status as the Metropolitan church of the city, St. Stephen's was directly answerable to the Vienna City Council, or *Magistrat*, and the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv preserves a large number of documents concerned with the daily administration of the Cathedral and other churches.⁶³ During his last ten years, Hofmann made a number of applications and complaints to the council that provide a telling example of the frosty relationship between the Kapellmeister and his superiors. The most complex of these disputes occurred in 1783-4 as a result of the council's decision to close one of the Cathedral's musical institutions. Until this time there were actually two separate *Kapelle* at St. Stephen's: the *Essential*, or principal ensemble, and another dedicated to the *Gnadenbild*, the miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary (*Maria Pötsch*) brought from Hungary in 1697.⁶⁴ In practice, Hofmann and most of the Cathedral musicians were on the payroll of both, although they continued to be listed and paid separately. In response to the new

⁶¹ The masses are listed in the "Catalog sämtlicher Musicalien," 9-11.

⁶² Hofmann's autograph scores are mostly lost, and his musical hand is not well understood. An autograph *Alleluia* survives in A-Wgm A 460. An alleged mass autograph in D-B Mus. Ms. Autogr. Leop. Hoffmann 1 seems not to be in Hofmann's hand; Allan Badley, personal communication.

⁶³ In 1783, Joseph ordered a reorganisation of the *Magistrat*, and much of its correspondence prior to this year is now lost. Those documents concerned with music include A-Wsa, HR A 17/1 (22, 38, 42, 48, 49/1784); A 17/2 (36/1785); A 17/3 (4/1786); A 17/4 (8/1787, 5/1788, 1/1789, 4/1789, 4-5/1790 and 3/1791).

⁶⁴ On this ensemble, see Thomas Hochradner and Géza Michael Vörösmarty, "Zur Musikpflege Am Altar Mária Pócs (Maria Pötsch) in St. Stephan in Wien," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41 (2000): 133-75.

Gottesdienstordnung, the town council set up a commission to overhaul the arrangements for the music at St. Stephen's, and ordered the closure of the *Gnadenbildkapelle* in 1784.⁶⁵

Hofmann, facing a loss of 300fl a year, repeatedly petitioned the Emperor and was granted a compensatory payment by Imperial decree for the remainder of his life, against the wishes of the council. The Kapellmeister's main opponent in this dispute was the *Kirchenmeister* Andreas Furthmoser, who wrote a long letter to the council complaining about Hofmann's performance:

Mir und der ganzen Welt ist es bekant, daß Herr Hofmann kaum in Sonn- und Feyertägen vormittag sich bey denen Kirchendiensten in Person einfunden, den ganzen Somer zu Döbling unbekümert zugebracht, und die Musik durch die Vocalisten Wechselweise dirigiren lassen...

After pointing out the salary, lodging and various other benefits to which Hofmann was entitled, Furthmoser continued:

Und solte dieses keine ergäbige Belohnung für seine bey der jezigen Verfaßung verbleibende und geringe Dienste seyn, für die allenfalls 60 Stunden, die er das ganze Jahr hindurch dermal bey dem Kirchendienste zuzubringen verbunden ist, und was bringt er der Kirche für einen Nutzen dafür, was sind seine Verdienste, hat er, wie derselbe die rückgelassene Beyspiele von seinem Vorfahrer Herrn von Reitter seel: täglich vor Augen siehet, seit seiner 12 jährigen Anstellung ein einziges Stük componirt, und der Kirchen geliefert.⁶⁶

The council itself went even further, proposing that the Kapellmeister be replaced with a simple Kantor:

...in der That bei den dermalen verminderten Kirchendiensten die Stelle eines Kapellmeisters Bey St. Stephan ganz überflüssig ist, und solche ganz füglich, so wie es vorhin gewesen, durch einen Kantor mit minderen Kösten versehen werden könnte.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Brunner, *Kantorei*, 19 gives the date of its dissolution as 1787, but its budget is already given as "Nichts" in 1784 and there is no section in the accounts for it from 1785.

⁶⁶ A-Wsa, HR A 17/1, 38/1784; Prohászka, "Leopold Hofmann," IV/5.

⁶⁷ A-Wsa, HR A 17/1, 38/1784; Prohászka, "Leopold Hofmann," IV/9.

Such radical thoughts may have been coloured by a contemporaneous dispute over the purchase of new eleven string instruments from the Viennese maker Mathias Thier.⁶⁸ Relations were again strained in 1787-88 when a series of budget cuts was proposed and Hofmann raised objections to planned modifications of the *Kapellhaus*.⁶⁹ Furthmoser responded that this complaint was “ganz ungegründet,” an evaluation echoed by the Council when it noted that the problem should be easier to bear, “als er [Hofmann] bei der nun verminderten Kirchenmusick für seine wenige Dienste ohnehin genügsame Einkünfte zu beziehen hat.”⁷⁰

The most important source for specific information about the Cathedral’s musicians and their finances is the St. Stephen’s account books, copies of which are held in the Diözesanarchiv and the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv.⁷¹ Those in the Diözesanarchiv are more well-known, having been used in documenting the life of Franz de Paula Hofer, Mozart’s brother-in-law, who served as a violinist at the Cathedral from 1780 until his death in 1796.⁷² The Diözesanarchiv account books, are, however, not preserved complete, and those in the Stadt- und Landesarchiv form a useful supplement, as do a number of inventories recording the contents of the Cathedral. Figure 4.9 shows the first page of the choirloft inventory for the year 1788, showing that St. Stephen’s possessed, for example, five violins together with their cases by the Viennese maker Stadlmann, and “1 unbrauchbare fagot.”

⁶⁸ A-Wsa, HR A 17/1, 22/1784 (not in Prohászka.) On Thier, see Richard Maunder, “Viennese Stringed-Instrument Makers, 1700-1800,” *Galpin Society Journal* 52 (1999): 45.

⁶⁹ A-Wsa, HR A 17/4, 8/1787 (not in Prohászka.)

⁷⁰ A-Wsa, HR A 17/4, 5/1788; Prohászka, “Leopold Hofmann,” IV/10.

⁷¹ Those in the Stadt- und Landesarchiv for 1781 and 1792 are A-Wsa, Handschriften A 41/28-29; those in the Diözesanarchiv from 1781-87 have no call numbers.

⁷² Emil Karl Blümmel, “Der Violinist Franz de Paula Hofer: Freund und Schwager Mozarts,” *Aus Mozarts Freundes und Familien Kreis* (Vienna: Ed. Strache, 1923), 26-35, here 27.

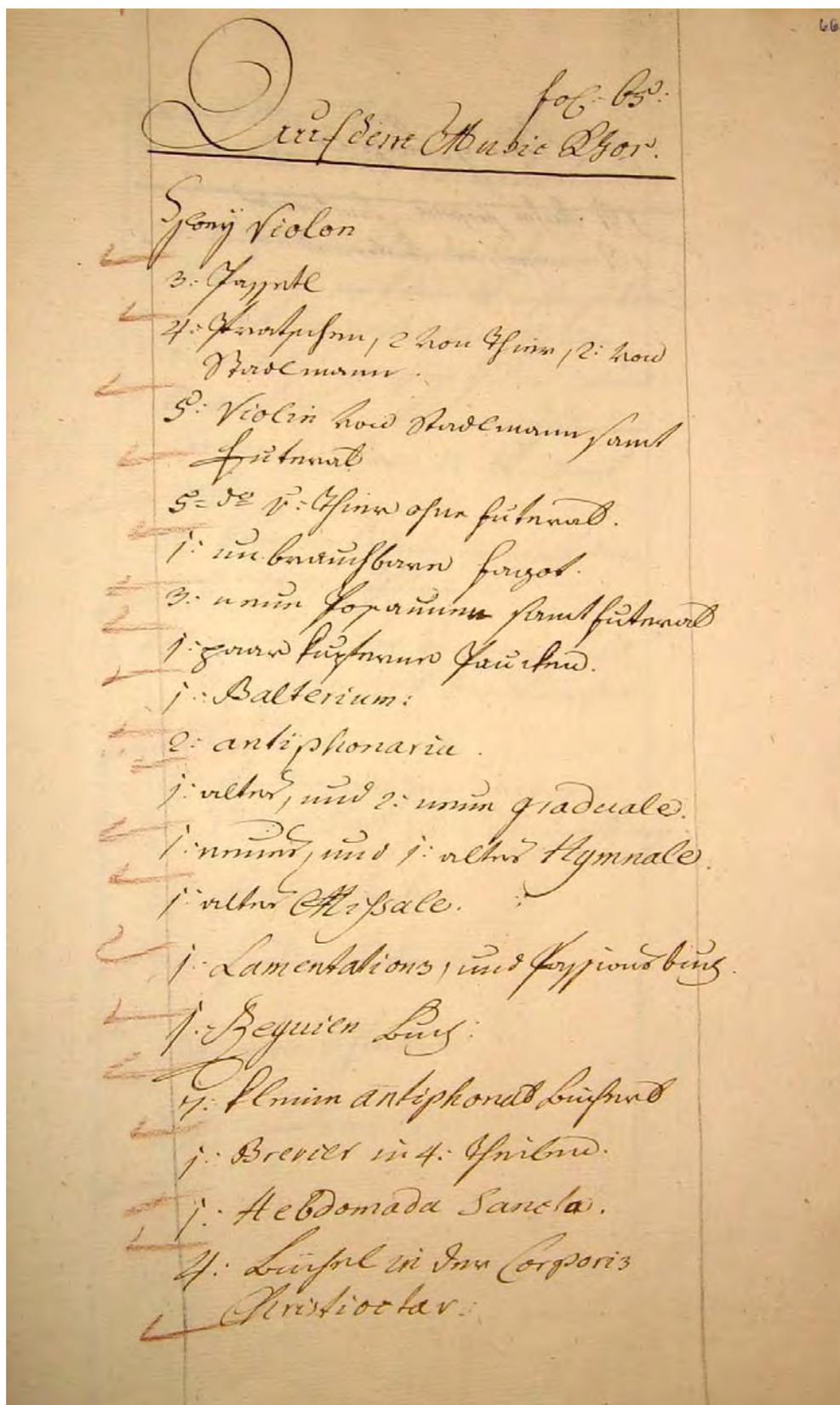


Figure 4.9. Inventory of the St. Stephen's choirloft, 1788. A-Wsa, Handschriften A 42/7, f. 66r.

Unfortunately, the account books for the years 1788 to 1791 have been lost, precisely the years in which such sources would be of the greatest interest, not least for information on the St. Stephen's *Kapelle* as Mozart knew it.⁷³ A copy of the account book for 1792 does however survive in the Stadt- und Landesarchiv, recording Hofmann's last complete year as Kapellmeister.⁷⁴ Given this gap of four years, I present first a summary of all the musicians paid at the Cathedral from 1781-87, followed by a more detailed account of the 1792 accounts; see Tables 4.1 and 4.2.⁷⁵ Even in comparison to other Viennese church ensembles, the composition of the St. Stephen's *Kapelle* is very little known to music scholarship, since the Cathedral was not included in the 1783 census.⁷⁶ Many of the musicians are however well attested through their membership of the *Hofkapelle* or the opera orchestras, and I have indicated such individuals when they are known to have participated in the court ensembles at any time from 1781-91.

A few aspects of the accounts should be mentioned. The six choirboys are not listed because a payment for their upkeep was given to Hofmann directly, and Hofmann also provided two of the three altos. One of the tenors, first Michael Assmann then the *Hofkapelle*

⁷³ Some information on the trombone players in these years is recoverable from applications made to the Council in 1788-89 by Leopold Sengner, Clemens Messerer and Joseph Hoffmann, to which the Kapellmeister added a letter of support; A-Wsa, HR A 17/4, 1/1789 (not in Prohászka.) On the violinists in 1791, see below.

⁷⁴ The equivalent in the Diözesanarchiv is lost. A receipt signed by Hofmann for the provision of music at the "Managetische Quartalrequiem," dated 31 December 1792, is described in *850 Jahre St. Stephan: Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997*, 281-82.

⁷⁵ According to the St. Stephen's catalogue, Georg Summer served as adjunct organist at the Cathedral from 1782; Jahn, *Die Musikhandschriften*, 50. As Summer's name does not appear in the accounts, his service was presumably unpaid. A number of clergy at St. Stephen's were responsible for the singing of chant, including the cantor Karl Graf Henkel, Freiherr v. Donnersmark and the *Vorsänger* Valentin Messesenu; Irmbert Fried, "Das Metropolitankapitel zu St. Stephan in Wien in seiner Personellen Zusammensetzung in der Zeit von 1722-1900" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1952), 77, Schneider, *Der Niedere Klerus*, 138.

⁷⁶ "Das daselbst angestellte Musick Personale wird von dem allhiesigen Löblichen Stadts Magistrat bestritten, dahero kömmt hierorts auszuweisen Nichts." *Biba* 1783, 24. No distinction is made in Table 6.1 between musicians belonging to the *Essential-* and *Gnadenbildkapelle* before the latter's closure in 1784. For a transcription of the *Gnadenbild* accounts in 1783, see Hochradner and Vörösmarty, "Maria Pötsch," 154-55.

Table 4.1. Musicians at St. Stephen's Cathedral, 1781-87.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>		
Matthias Mittermeier	Organist	1781	1787
Anton Pacher	Altist	1781	1787
Joseph Krottendorfer	Tenorist, Subcantor	1781	1787
Lorenz Grassl	Tenorist, Sangermeister	1781	1787
Leopold Ponschab	Tenorist	1781	1787
Ferdinand Hofmann	Tenorist	1781	1783
Michael Assmann	Subcantor	1781	1786
Anton Ponschab	Subcantor	1781	1783
Tobias Gsur	Bassist	1781	1787
Cyrillus Haberdar	Bassist	1781	1787
Johann Holler	Bassist	1781	1787
Ferdinand Schalfuss	Bassist	1781	1783
Franz Muller	Choralist	1785	1787
Anton Karl	Choralist	1786	1787
Wenzel Krist	Posaunist	1781	1787
Johann Adlmann	Posaunist	1781	1787
Joseph Hofmann	Trombone	1781	1787
Klemens Messerer	Trombone	1781	1787
Leopold Christian	Trombone	1781	1785
Franz Steiner	Bassoon	1781	1787
Jakob Peyer	Bassoon	1781	1784
Joseph Gainsbacher	Cornetto	1781	1787
Jakob Nurscher	Kopist, Cornetto, "Musikus"	1781	1787
Matthias Hofer	Violinist	1781	1787
Markus Hofer	Violinist	1781	1787
Michael Hofer	Violinist	1781	1787
Franz Hofer	Violinist	1781	1787
Anton Hofmann	Violinist	1781	1787
Nikolaus Reinhard	Violinist	1781	1787
Otto Ponheimer	Violinist	1781	1787
Anton Porggi	Violinist	1781	1787
Johann Klemp	Violinist	1781	1787
Joseph Scheidl	Violinist	1781	1787
Leopold Grabner	Violinist	1781	1787
Joseph Adam	Violinist	1781	1787
Fridrich Mechtl	Violinist	1781	1787

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>		
Leopold Reinhard	Violinist	1781	1787
Johann Hofmann	Violoncellist	1781	1787
Josef Weigl	Violoncellist	1782	1787
Georg Kammermayr	Violoncellist	1781	1781
Franz Krater	Violoncellist	1782	1782
Joseph Kammermayr	Violonist	1781	1787
Peter Neuhold	Trompeter	1781	1787
Franz Barth	Trompeter	1787	1787
Augustin Steiner	Normalist	1784	1784
Johann Metzel	Normalist	1784	1787
Johann Georg Pök	Geigenmeister	1784	1787
Franz Michler	Klaviermeister	1784	1785
Dominik Bergwarter	Klaviermeister	1786	1787
Mathias Thier	Lautenmacher	1787	1787

Table 4.2. Music personnel at St. Stephen's Cathedral, 1792.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Payment (fl.xr)</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Leopold Hofmann	Kapellmeister	324	Besoldung	
"	"	1500	das Kostgeld für die Kapellknaben	
"	"	300	als eine Zulage [für die Kapellknaben]	
"	"	57.36	wegen der Metten in der Karwoche	
"	"	260	für zwei Altisten	
"	"	108	wegen abgehaltenen Leopoldi fest	
"	"	111	Normallehrer	
"	"	48	Klaviermeister	
"	"	48	Geigenmeister	
"	"	48	Singmeister	
"	"	19.12	für den Trautson: Jahrtag	
"	"	48	Holzgeld	
Matthias Mittermeier	Organist	650		
"	"	8	wegen dem Rorate	
Tobias Gsur	Bassist	190		HK
Cyrillus Haberda	Bassist	190		HK
Johann Höller	Bassist	190		HK, HO
Leopold Ponschab	Tenorist	190		HK
Anton Pacher	Altist	190		HK
Joseph Krottendorfer	Subcantor	200		HK
"	"	150	Essential Gebühr	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Payment (fl.xr)</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Lorenz Grassl	Tenorist	190		
Martin Gräbner	Tenorist	40		
Johann Adlmann	Posaunist	130		HO
Joseph Hofmann	Posaunist	130		HK, HO
Klemens Messerer	Posaunist	130		HK
Franz Steiner	Fagotist	100		HO
Joseph Gainsbacher	Kornetist	150		
Mathias Hofer	[Violinist]	110.28		HO
Jakob Nurscher	Musikus	142		HO
"	"	12	wegen der Prozession am grünen Donnerstag	
Martin Gräbner	Violinist	150		
Johann Hofmann	Viollonzellist	187.30	für 3/4 Jahr	HK, HO
Joseph Weigl	Viollonzellist	68		HK, HO
Anton Hofmann	Violinist	250		HK
Nikolaus Reinhard	Violinist	225		HO
Otto Ponheimer	Violinist	225		HK
Anton Porghi	Violinist	225		HO
Johann Klemp	Violinist	150		HK, HO
Joseph Scheidl	Violinist	120		HK
Franz Hofer	Violinist	100		HK, HO
Leopold Reinhard	Violinist	36		HO
Joseph Lorbna	[Violinist]	18	bis ende Junny [1]792	
Leopold Sengner	Posaunist (accessist)	50		HK
Franz Kammermayr	Violonist (accessist)	50		HO

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Payment (fl.xr)</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Matthias Altmütter	Violinist	36		HK, HO
Karl Ponheimer	Violinist	12	für die 4 letzten Monate	
Franz Stadler	2 ^{te} Coralist	30		
Johann Wimola	Orglmacher	1400	á Conto der grosser Orgl	
Augustin Mäder	Trompetter	30.34	[total of two payments]	
Peter Neuhold	Hof Trompetter	155.34	[total of two payments]	HK
Jakob Nurscher	Kopist	64.25	[total of two payments]	HO

Sources: A-Wsa, Handschriften A 41/29 (p. 49, 62-4, 68); A-Wsa, HR A 17/5, 1/1792

HK = *Hofkapelle* HO=Orchestra and Choir of *Burgtheater* and/or *Kärntnertortheater*

tenor and composer Joseph Krottendorfer received an extra payment for their work as subcantor. Perhaps the most notable feature of the instrumental makeup is the lack of oboists, although this was entirely typical of Viennese church orchestras.⁷⁷ Only one trumpet-player is listed through much of the 1780s, but the account books make clear that Neuhold was expected to provide a second player and a timpanist from the money provided to him. No violists appear in the accounts, but that was not a particular issue as much of the repertoire was still for the “church trio” texture without viola. Given the Cathedral’s employment of up to twelve violinists, presumably some of them took the larger instrument as necessary. In addition to the salaries of the singers and instrumentalists, a number of auxiliary payments appear for the instruction of the choirboys in singing, violin and keyboard. The organ-builder Johann Wimola received compensation in 1792, and possibly earlier, for overhaul of the Cathedral’s main organ.⁷⁸ Payments to Jakob Nurscher for music copying appear in all the surviving account books, suggesting that Kapellmeister Hofmann was continuing to procure new music for the Cathedral throughout the 1780s.⁷⁹ Table 4.3 below shows the total expenditure each year for music at the Cathedral, together with the payment or payments to Nurscher that year.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ See *Biba*1783, 73.

⁷⁸ Planned as early as 1789; see A-Wsa, HR A 17/4, 4/1789. In 1784-85, the “burgl. Orglmacher” Franz Xaver Christoph was paid 600 fl. for the “Reparierung der vorderen Orgl,” while Andreas Geiger, a “burgl. Vergolter” received 181fl. for the “Herstellung der Orglfassung auf den vorderen Chor.” Brunner, *Kantorei*, 59.

⁷⁹ Nurscher’s predecessor as the Cathedral’s copyist was Franz Xaver Riesch, or Riersch (c. 1727-80.) See *MVC*, 81 and Stephen Fisher, “Haydn’s Overtures and Their Adaptations as Concert Orchestral Works” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1985), 445-53. Riesch also worked for the *Hofkapelle* (A-Whh, SR 371/14, note dated 1 June 1780.)

⁸⁰ The one-off payment of 1400fl to Wimola is omitted from the total for 1792.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Essential</i>	<i>Gnadenbild</i>	<i>(fl.xr)</i>	<i>Copyist payments to Nurscher</i>		
1781	7398.8	2805.12		57.35	18.58	15.2
1782	7438.22	2754.12		14.25	27.3	26.4 37.48
1783	7147.14	2618.12		20.4		
1784	8518.27	“Nichts”		12.42		
1785	8024	-		22.7		
1786	7953.25	-		18.21		
1787	8011.35	-		41.47		
1792	7968.7	-		46.44	17.41	

Table 4.3. Expenditure on music and music copying at St. Stephen’s, 1781-92.

The tables make clear the extent to which music could still be a family business, with four Hofers and as many Hofmanns (in addition to Leopold Hofmann). The name Hofmann appears with bewildering frequency in the musical life of eighteenth-century Vienna, and disentangling the genealogical relationships is a task I have not attempted here.⁸¹

At first sight, Leopold Hofmann’s income of more than 2000fl appears particularly lucrative by the standards of eighteenth-century musicians’ salaries. Encouraged by this figure, and perhaps also by reports of Hofmann’s vineyard and fine clothing, Landon amongst others have argued that Mozart’s financial problems would truly have evaporated, had he become Kapellmeister.⁸² The salary is in fact not as generous as it might seem, as fully 1800fl of that amount was intended specifically for the upkeep of the Cathedral’s choirboys, who lived with Hofmann and his wife Maria Anna in the *Kapellhaus*; see Figure 4.10.⁸³ The

⁸¹ To give one further example: a “lediger Musiker” called Joseph Hofmann died in Vienna on 6 July 1788, followed a year later by *another* “lediger Musiker” called Joseph Hofmann (Gugitz, “Auszüge,” 345). For an account of some Hofmann musicians, see Herbert Vogg, “Franz Tuma (1704-1774) als Instrumentalkomponist Nebst Beiträgen zur Wiener Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1951), 94-103.

⁸² Landon, *1791*, 48.

⁸³ The payments to Hofmann are recorded separately in the account books as a “jährliche Besoldung” and “das Kostgeld für die Sängerknaben.”

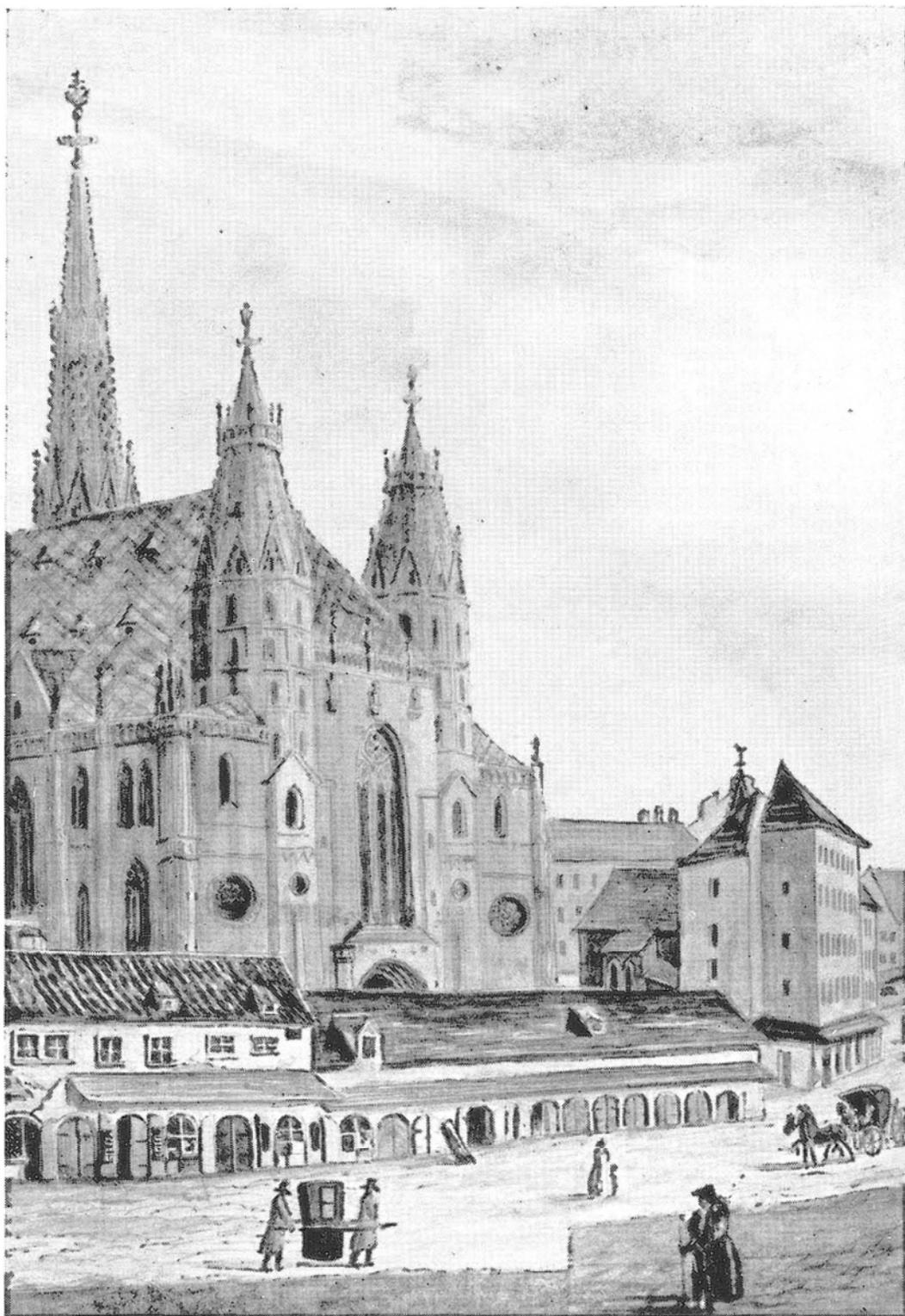


Figure 4.10. Watercolour depicting the Stephansdom and Kapellhaus, c. 1780. A-Wn, Bildarchiv.

comparatively small remaining amount due to the Kapellmeister was supplemented by free lodging, small annual payments such as 48fl for firewood, and Hofmann's *regens chori* position at St. Peter, held since 1764.⁸⁴ For the musicians working under Hofmann, employment in multiple ensembles was not a luxury but a necessity, as a Cathedral salary was insufficient to sustain a livelihood on its own.⁸⁵ Some members of the *Kapelle* were true veterans of the Cathedral: the violinist Nikolaus Reinhard, for example, had been employed at St. Stephen's since at least 1761.⁸⁶ The Cathedral's lead violinist, Anton Hofmann, whom Nicolai described as "ein guter Violinspieler,"⁸⁷ built up an interesting collection of music for his own use, at least one item of which is now in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.⁸⁸

III. MOZART'S PETITION

Due to its centrality, St. Stephen's was the venue for events and ceremonies involving many Viennese musicians, even those who had no direct connection with the Cathedral. It was here in 1774, for example, that Salieri met his future wife, Theresia Helfersdorfer.⁸⁹ At their

⁸⁴ An account of Hofmann's complete entitlements is found in Furthmoser's proposal for overhaul of the *Kapelle*, dated 6 March 1787; A-Wsa, HR 1714, 8/1787 (not in Prohászka.) Hofmann's early service at St. Peter is attested by his successful application to the *Niederösterreichische Regierung* in 1764, cited in Gugitz, "Auszüge," s.v. "Hofmann, Leopold, Regenschori."

⁸⁵ Braunbehrens misrepresents Franz Hofer as relying entirely on his St. Stephen's position for income; Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna, 1781-1791*, trans. Timothy Bell (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), 299. In fact, Hofer had been a member of the Court Opera orchestra since at least 1782 at a salary of 350fl, and from 1788 was a member of the *Hofkapelle* at a salary of 150fl. See Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," *Early Music* 20 (1992): 72.

⁸⁶ Cited in Gugitz, "Auszüge," s.v. "Reinhard, Nikolaus, Violinist."

⁸⁷ Nicolai, *Beschreibung Einer Reise Durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, iv.541. Nicolai states erroneously that Anton was Leopold Hofmann's brother.

⁸⁸ See Karl Pfannhauser, "Wer War Mozarts Amtsnachfolger?," *Acta mozartiana* 3 (1956): 8, Karl Pfannhauser, "Apokryphe Mozart-Sonate," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, no. 15 (1956): 27, Karl Pfannhauser, "Unechter Mozart," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 7, no. 3/4 (1958): 11, Otto Biba, "Neuerwerbung des Archivs der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, no. 3/4 (1983): 48.

⁸⁹ See the account from von Mosel's biography quoted in Angermüller, *Dokumente*, i.69-74.

marriage, Leopold Hofmann was the bride's witness.⁹⁰ Mozart's first known reference to the Cathedral occurs in a letter to Leopold of 12 September 1781, written a few months after his arrival in Vienna. The letter reports the destruction of the *Magdalenakapelle*, a small chapel adjacent to St. Stephen's:

...es hat diese ganze Nacht durch in der Stephanskirche in der Magdalena kapelle gebrant – um 5 uhr Morgens hat der Rauch den ThurmWächter aufgeweckt – bis halb 6 uhr ist keine Seele zum löschen gekommen; und um 6 uhr wo es am Heftigsten gebrandt hat, hat man erst Wasser und die spritzen gebracht. – der ganze Altar mit allem Zugehör, und die stühle, und alles was in der kapelle ist, ist verbronnen. – Man hat die leute zum löschen und helfen geprügelt, und weil fast niemand hat helfen wollen, so hat man leute in Portirten kleidern und gestickten Westen helfen sehen.⁹¹

Unlike the fires of 1945, this fire did not spread to the Cathedral itself. The *Magdalenakapelle* lay in ruins throughout Mozart's time in Vienna and was not demolished until after his death.⁹²

Mozart's marriage to Constanze Weber at St. Stephen's on 4 August 1782 was the culmination of weeks of manoeuvring by the couple, Constanze's mother and the bride's guardian, Johann Thorwart.⁹³ Due to their rushed wedding plans, Mozart and Constanze undertook a piece of deception in order to avoid the obligation of publishing the banns three times. On 2 August, the same day that they took communion together at St. Cajetan, the prospective couple appeared before the Episcopal consistory at St. Stephen's, and applied to have the publication requirement removed. The note of the proceedings reads: "Mozart Wolfgang Kapellmeister und Weberin Konstanzia bitten um Nachsicht der drey Verkündungen wegen Abreise des Bräutigams."⁹⁴ Mozart, as far as we know, had no

⁹⁰ Ibid., 79. Angermüller incorrectly gives the location of the document as "Wiener Rathaus"; it is actually in A-Wsa.

⁹¹ *MBA*, iii.156-57.

⁹² Brunner, *Kantorei*, 21.

⁹³ Thorwart's application of 29 July 1782 to the *Obrist. Hofmarschallischegericht* for Mozart to marry Constanze is transcribed in *MBA*, viii.52.

⁹⁴ In A-Wda; quoted in Werner Ogris, *Mozart im Familien- und Erbrecht seiner Zeit* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), 63. This entry is missing from Deutsch, *Dokumente* and its supplements.

intention of departing Vienna in the immediate future, not least due to the performances of *Entführung* then taking place. The application was however successful, and the couple were duly married two days later.

The marriage service was conducted by Pater Ferdinand Anton Wolf (1718-1801).⁹⁵ Although the couple had no choice in the selection of a priest, it was a strangely appropriate coincidence that Wolf should conduct the service, for he seems to have been an enthusiastic supporter of church music as well as a prominent figure at the Cathedral. From the accounts of the *Tonkünstlersocietät*, we know that Wolf was a financial contributor to the St. Cecilia *Bruderschaft* based at St. Stephen's.⁹⁶ In his polemic on the *Segenmesse* held at the Cathedral, the satirist and playwright Joachim Perinet wrote:

Hier erinnert man sich schon bei dem Schreien des Pater Wolfs, an den Italiänischen Buffo, oder bei der Segen=Schelle an das Klingling des Kalenders in den Pilgrimmen von Mekka, hier ist der andächtigte Werbplatz der Anächtelei, der Spöttere und Amouren.⁹⁷

The most extended testimony concerning Wolf is an anonymous letter that appeared in a 1785 issue of *Über Gottesdienst und Religionsordnung*. It provides an entertaining example of the satirical style employed by the Josephinian religious journals in their campaign to reform sacred music:

Meine Herren!

Ich nehme mir die Freiheit Sie von einer Begebenheit zu benachrichtigen, die – wenn Sie wollen – ziemlich lächerlich, wenn nicht gar ärgerlich ist.

Den 10. Oktober lud der Hr. Saaß Müllermeister in Schwächat wegen der glücklichen Geburt eines Sohnes verschiedene Gäste zu sich. Unter diesen befand sich auch Hr. Ferdinand Wolf Kurat von St. Stephan und ein gewester Supprior der Dominikaner sammt dem sogenannten Frater Franzl, Organisten dieses Ordens. Obwohl diese drei Herren erst spät ankamen, so entschuldigte sich der Herr Supprior dennoch wegen Nehrung des Frühstückes, indem er noch nicht Messe gelesen hätte. Hr. Wolf wußte diesen Umstand zu heben, und rieth in der gesperrten Filial= und sogenannten alten Frauenkirche Messe zu lesen. Der Vorschlag wurde begenemiget,

⁹⁵ The entry in the marriage register is signed "Wolff"; Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 181. Wolf's date of birth is taken from Schneider, *Der Niedere Klerus*, 137. The date of death is listed in the "Portheim-Katalog" in A-Wsa.

⁹⁶ A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein, A 1/2d.

⁹⁷ Perinet, *Annehmlichkeiten in Wien*, 79.

und die Herren liessen sich eigenmächtig, ohne Wissen des Pfarrers von dem Todengräber die Kirche eröffnen. Nun wurde die Entbindung der Frau Müllermeisterin auf eine ziemlich ärgerliche Art gefeiert. Der Herr Supprior hielt die Chormesse, Frater Franzl schlug die Orgel, und H. Wolf – ebenfalls auf dem Chor – sang dazu; jeder eiferte den andern zu übertreffen. Endlich konnte sich Hr. Wolf nicht enthalten dem Hrn. Supprior seinen Beifall laut zu ertheilen; als dieser nämlich das *Gloria in excelsis Deo* besonders gut sang, schrie ihm jener vom Chor ein lautes Bravo Bravo! herab, fuhr aber also gleich mit dem: *et in terra pax hominibus* weiter fort.

Sie können sich leicht vorstellen m[eine] H[erren] daß dieses doppelte Bravo ein lautes Lachen erregte.

In response to this letter, the editors of the journal commented:

Dem Einsender dieses Briefes danken wir für diese Nachricht.

Den H. Wolf müssen wir fragen, woraus er doch das *Gloria* lernte; wir wenigstens können das: *Bravo! Bravo! et in terra etc.* nirgend finden; – es wäre dann in einem *Rituale Fastiano*.⁹⁸

It seems that Wolf was a regular reader of *Über Gottesdienst und Religionsordnung*, for the following year a follow-up notice appeared:

Wir sind nun im Stande unsere Leser aus dem Munde des Hrn. Wolf selbst eines bessern zu belehren, – wir machen ihnen daher kund und zu wissen “daß dieses doppelte Bravo keineswegs dem Hrn. Supprior, sondern dem Hrn. Wolf selbst galt, weil er es fühlte wie gut er zur Orgel akkompagnirte.”

Und so – Ehre dem Ehre gebührt.⁹⁹

From October 1784 to April 1787, Mozart lived at Stadt 846, the so-called *Figarohaus*, which lay almost literally in the shadow of St. Stephen's. The composer no doubt passed the Cathedral on a frequent basis, and one naturally wonders if he ever attended services there. As noted previously, Mozart and Constanze were certainly present in the Cathedral for the baptism of their third child, Johann Thomas Leopold, on 18 October 1786, and possibly for the blessing of his body on 15 November. They were again in the Cathedral in July 1791 for the baptism of their last child, Franz Xaver Wolfgang, by which time Mozart was the Cathedral's adjunct Kapellmeister.¹⁰⁰ It is conceivable that the Mozarts

⁹⁸ *ÜGR*, v.96-99.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, v.294-5.

¹⁰⁰ Emil Karl Blümml, “Mozarts Kinder: Eine Matrikenstudie,” in *Aus Mozarts Freundes und Familien Kreis* (Vienna: E. Strache, 1923), 6, 8.

were present at St. Stephen's on 21 July 1788, when Franz Hofer married Constanze's sister and future Queen of the Night, Josefa Weber.¹⁰¹

During Leopold Mozart's visit to Vienna in early 1785, he seems to have visited St. Stephen's at least once. The winter of 1784-5 was particularly severe,¹⁰² and, as Leopold reported to Nannerl on 21 February,

es schneyet ganz erbärmlich und geht ein erstaunlicher Wind, der die ohnehin wenig gehaitzten Zimmer jämmerlich ausbläst. Noch war ich bey keinem Menschen, weil zu fuss noch nie aus dem Hauß kamm, als nach St: Stephan um Mess zu hören, welches sehr nahe ist.¹⁰³

A month later, Leopold wrote on Good Friday to discuss liturgical practices in the city. Although he does not mention where he observed the Holy Week ceremonies, the previous reference and the proximity of St. Stephen's suggest that the Cathedral was the likely location:

Hier waren nicht nur allein *keine hl: Gräber* sondern sogar das *Ciborium* nicht ausgesetzt, sondern eingeschlossen und 4 leichter brennen auf dem Altar, die *Auferstehungen* aber sind alle Nachmittag und abends.¹⁰⁴

The catalyst for Mozart's 1791 application to the Cathedral authorities was apparently the knowledge that Kapellmeister Hofmann had recently recovered from a grave illness. Just how Mozart came to learn this is unknown, and there is no evidence that he and Hofmann were associated at any stage prior to 1791, although they certainly knew each other by reputation.¹⁰⁵ The nature of Hofmann's illness is also unknown, and Mozart's

¹⁰¹ Emil Karl Blümml, "Josefa Weber-Hofer. Die Erste 'Königin der Nacht.'" in *Aus Mozarts Freundes und Familien Kreis* (Vienna: E. Strache, 1923), 126.

¹⁰² *MBA*, vi.223; see also *KK*, 241-42.

¹⁰³ *MBA*, iii.376.

¹⁰⁴ *MBA*, iii.382. See *RGZJ*, 451-56. A description of the Holy Week services at St. Stephen's for 1785 appears in *KK*, 206-7.

¹⁰⁵ It is possible that Mozart encountered Hofmann at concerts of the *Tonkünstlersocietät*. According to the surviving rosters (A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein, A 1-3), St. Stephen's provided ten treble and alto singers for the Society's chorus in Albrechtsberger's *Die Pilgrime auf Golgotha* (April 1781), Hasse's *S. Elena al Calvario* (December 1781), and Martinez's *Isacco* (March 1782.) Unfortunately, many of the rosters do not mention the composition of the trebles and altos, and the roster for *Davidde Penitente* is lost, so it is unknown whether Mozart conducted the St. Stephen's choirboys in 1785. Many of the tenors and basses in the St. Stephen's *Kapelle* did however feature in the Society's chorus, so it is likely that they sang under Mozart that year. See also

application is the only evidence we have for it.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that Mozart had begun exploring the possibility of a Cathedral appointment somewhat earlier: around 1788, he had begun copying out sacred music by Hofmann's predecessor, Reutter, and, as I have suggested, it is not impossible that these copies were based on exemplars from the Cathedral's music archive. Mozart was personally acquainted with many members of the St. Stephen's *Kapelle* through professional or family association, and any one may have provided the composer with the necessary inside information. Fifteen of the musicians, for example, were simultaneously employed at the court theatre, and thus played in some or all of *Die Entführung, Figaro*, the Viennese *Don Giovanni* and *Così* under Mozart's direction. Franz Hofer, called "Roska=Pumpa" by Mozart, had been employed at St. Stephen's as a violinist since 1780, and accompanied the composer on his first trip to Prague in 1787 and to the coronation in Frankfurt in 1790.¹⁰⁷ Late in Mozart's time as adjunct Kapellmeister, the composer seems to have been particularly close to Hofer, having lunch with him on several occasions, and driving out with him to meet Carl in Perchtoldsdorf.¹⁰⁸ According to the unreliable obituary of Benedikt Schack, Hofer took the tenor part in the famous death-bed rehearsal of the Requiem.¹⁰⁹ As I have already speculated, the proclamation of Leopold II's *Generale* on 17 March, relaxing some of the restrictions of the *Gottesdienstordnung*, may have provided the composer with further encouragement.

Otto Biba, "Beispiele für die Besetzungsverhältnisse Bei Aufführungen von Haydns Oratorien in Wien Zwischen 1784 und 1808," *Haydn-Studien* 4, no. 2 (1978): 100.

¹⁰⁶ A long-standing illness may be implied by the Council's response to Hofmann's 1788 complaint about the *Kapellhaus*: "...wenn aber gedachter Kapellmeister einmal stirbt, oder mit ihm sonst eine Veränderung geschieht, so stünde alsdann dem Magistrat frey, von der Wohnung des künftigen Kapellmeisters...den entbehrlichen Theil zum besten der Stephanskirche zu verwenden." Prohászka, "Leopold Hoffmann," IV/11. Hofmann's eventual cause of death was "Leberverhärtung." Ibid., VII/1. A few months after his death, six musicians at St. Stephen's signed a document mentioning that because of his illness, Hofmann had not been able to fulfil his duties entirely effectively; A-Wsa, HR A 17/5, 2/1793 (not in Prohászka.)

¹⁰⁷ *MBA*, iv.11. The 1787 accountbook for St. Stephen's displays no evidence that Hofer received a reduction in pay for his absence.

¹⁰⁸ *MBA*, iv.160-62.

¹⁰⁹ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 460.

Whatever the background, Mozart eventually sat down towards the end of April 1791 to draft a letter of application to the Vienna City Council, or *Magistrat*. Even by the standards of eighteenth-century supplicatory documents, the letter is a rather awkward construction; this is no doubt due to Mozart's difficulty in stressing his own suitability for the position while avoiding the appearance of delighting in the illness of a professional colleague. The application survives in an autograph fair copy (see Figure 4.11), but Mozart apparently commissioned an unidentified professional copyist to produce a presentation version for submission to the Council.¹¹⁰ In this later version, ignored by *MBA*, not even the signature is in Mozart's hand. For the following transcription, the autograph has served as the principal text, with the variations in the presentation copy listed in the footnotes.

Stadt Magistrat!¹¹¹
 unterthäniges Bitten
 Wolfgang Amadè Mozarts k: k: Hofkompositors
 Um dem hiesigen Hr: kapell=
 Meister an der St: Stephans
 Domkirche adjungirt zu werden.

Hochlöblich
 Hochweiser Wienerischer Stadt Magistrat
 Gnädige Herrn!

¹¹⁰ According to a later account by Joseph Hüttenbrenner, Mozart employed a *Staatsbuchhaltungsbeamter* called "Blach" as his copyist; see *MVC*, 29 n58. This "Blach" has never been identified.

¹¹¹ Stadt Magistrat!] An / den Hochlöb. Wienerischen / Stadt=Magistrat



Goestöblich

Goßwajzer Wäinweijzer Stadt Magistral
Gnädigen Gnaden!

Liedt Gs. Regellweijzer Gossweizen Stadt Mag, wolte ich mich die fangstich nehmen,
im argen Thalle zu bitten, da meine Mähtelichen habent, mit Wacke, so die meine
Gonklich im Weiland bekannt sind, man überall meinen Namen einiges Rückst
vürteget, und ich selbst von diesem Goss, den Goss als Bawegstos außschalt zu seyn, seit
empfangen haben die Gnade sehr; Loffte ich diese Thalle nicht Unrecht zu seyn, und mich
Goßweizen Stadt Magistral Gnadenzeit zu studieren.

Allein Regellweijzer Gossweizen Stadt Magistral, und die die Gnade, die ich ich
die fangstich sind leidet den Gnaden gänze, und bürgt, sehr ich gedreht ad Stück
schickte den Stück der Gonklich mit meine gnädigen Gnaden zum besterliche
gossweizen, wenn ich den sehr alten gossweizen Goss Regellweijzer für ist mich
Unrechtlich dazugewest vürte, und ledlich die Gnadenzeit erfüllen, diesen Regellweijzer
Mann in einem Stück in die Stadt zu seyn, und mich Goßweizen Stadt Magistral
Rückst die vürte, Stück mich zu sprechen, die ich die mich mich im höchsten
eingebildeten Stück zu laichen der Gnaden mich sehr fallen Stück.

Unrechtweijzer Stadt
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
K. K. Hofkompositore

Figure 4.11. Mozart's autograph application to the Magistral. Present location unknown.

Als Hr: kapellmeister Hofmann krank lag, wollte ich mir die freyheit nehmen, um dessen¹¹² Stelle zu bitten, da¹¹³ meine Musikalischen talente, und Werke, so wie meine Tonkunst im Auslande bekannt sind, man¹¹⁴ überall meinen Namen einiger Rücksicht würdiget, und ich¹¹⁵ selbst am hiesigen Höchsten¹¹⁶ Hofe als kompositor angestellt zu seyn, seit mehreren Jahren die Gnade habe; hoffte ich dieser Stelle nicht unwerth zu seyn, und eines Hochweisen StadtMagistrats Gewogenheit zu verdienen.

Allein kapellmeister Hofmann ward wieder gesund, und bey diesem Umstande, da ich ihm die Fristung seines lebens vom Herzen gönne, und wünsche, habe ich gedacht es dürfte vielleicht dem Dienste der Domkirche und meiner gnädigen Herren zum vorthteile gereichen, wenn ich dem schon älter gewordenen Hr: kapellmeister für izt nur unentgeltlich adjungiret würde, und dadurch die Gelegenheit erhielte, diesem Rechtschaffenen Manne in seinem dienste an die Hand zu gehen, und eines Hochweisen¹¹⁷ Stadt=Magistrats Rücksicht durch wirkliche dienste mir zu erwerben, die ich durch meine auch im kirchenstyl ausgebildeten känntnisse zu leisten vor andern mich fähig halten darf.

unterthänigster diener
Wolfgang Amadé Mozart
k: k: Hofkompositor.¹¹⁸

Annotations on the document reveal that it was received at the Council offices on 26 April, and presented before the Council on 28 April. That the Council's initial decision was to reject Mozart's application was not known until 1956, when the presentation copy was first discussed in a Viennese newspaper article.¹¹⁹ The author, Ernst Weizmann, noticed the series of deletions on the back of the application (see Figure 4.12), and using an ultraviolet light, was able to decipher the text underneath: "Wieder hinauszugeben, und zumalen der H. Kapellmeister bei St. Stephan derzeit noch keinen Adjunkten verlanget hat, so kann in dieses

¹¹² dessen] diesen

¹¹³ bitten, da] bitten; denn da

¹¹⁴ man] und man

¹¹⁵ und ich] ja – da ich

¹¹⁶ Höchsten] allerhöchsten

¹¹⁷ Hochweisen] Hochlöb.

¹¹⁸ *MBA*, iv.131. Mozart's original draft made its way into the possession of Meyerbeer's brother, Heinrich Beer, who gave it to Felix Mendelssohn for his 29th birthday; see Georg Kinsky, *Katalog der Musikautographen-Sammlung Louis Koch* (Stuttgart: Hoffmannsche Buchdruckerei, 1953), 40. I have been unable to trace the present location of this document; its last known owner was Georg Floersheim, a Swiss collector. The copy presented to the *Magistrat* is in A-Wsa, Hauptarchivakten 17/1791.

¹¹⁹ Ernst Weizmann, "Der Unbekannte Mozart," *Weltpresse*, 8 April 1956, 7 and 15 April 1956, 7.

Begehren nicht gewilliget werden.” Soon after, the Council had a change of heart, perhaps after representations were made for Mozart by members of the Imperial court. It is evident from other documents that such reversals were a common feature of Council decision-making, and do not necessarily imply political manoeuvring either for or against Mozart’s application. Perhaps the councillors were eventually swayed by the advantages of a smooth transition from one Kapellmeister to another without a competitive and lengthy recruitment process, and desired also to send a message to their recalcitrant incumbent that his services were expendable.

On 9 May, the Council drafted a letter of appointment for Mozart, shown in Figure 4.13.¹²⁰ Written principally by the Council secretary, Johann Hübner, it contains additions and corrections in the hand of Johann Adam Geiger, a senior member of the Council, and one further unidentified hand.¹²¹ The following day, fair copies of this appointment letter were sent to Mozart, to Hofmann and to Furthmoser, as a note by Hübner reveals.¹²² Strangely enough, the only known newspaper report of the appointment appeared in the *Pressburger Zeitung* on 21 May, although it is entirely possible that Viennese accounts are unidentified or lost: “Wien. Der Hofkompositor Mozart hat von dem hiesigen Magistrat die Erwartung auf die 2000 Gulden eintragende Kapellmeisterstelle bey Sankt Stefan erhalten.”¹²³ It would be interesting to know from where the newspaper obtained this

¹²⁰ The same day, Hübner wrote on Mozart’s application, “Über das an den Hl: Bittsteller ausgefertigte dekret bei der Registratur aufzubehalten.” A note of the correspondence appears in the Council’s index, A-Wsa, HR B 1/20, f. 57r, 171r. Both these notes are missing from Deutsch, *Dokumente* and its supplements.

¹²¹ The unidentified hand was responsible for the insertion “auf sein bittliches Ansuchen.” The four lower additions are in the hand of Geiger.

¹²² Mozart’s copy of the appointment letter was kept with his autograph letter of application, and was formerly in Floersheim’s collection. Hofmann’s and Furthmoser’s copies are not known to survive.

¹²³ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 347; Eibl, *Addenda*, 66. Mozart’s post was mentioned by Constanze in her petition to Leopold, and in passing in the *Stockholms-Posten* of 2 January 1792. Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 372; Eibl, *Addenda*, 76.

information, for the mention of the salary implies a well-informed source. Perhaps the report originated from within the Mozart circle.

The question of what precisely Mozart did for the Cathedral during the few remaining months of his life is a difficult one to answer. The letter of appointment, signed by the Mayor of Vienna, Joseph Georg Hörl, specifies the following:

daß er gedachtem Hrn. Kapellmeister in seinem Dienste unentgeltlich an die Hand gehen, ihn, wenn er selbst nicht erscheinen kann, ordentlich suppliren, und in dem Falle diese wirkliche Kapellmeisterstelle erledigt werden wird, sich mit dem Gehalt, und allem deme, was der Magistrat zu verordnen und zu bestimmen für gut finden wird, begnügen wolle.¹²⁴

It was, in effect, guaranteeing Mozart a steady, well-paid position in the not-too-distant future, as long as he agreed to provide his services *gratis* for the present. Just what Hofmann thought of his ambitious younger contemporary being appointed to succeed him is unknown, but it did set a precedent: Joseph Preindl was appointed adjunct Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's in 1795 and succeeded Albrechtsberger as full Kapellmeister in 1809.¹²⁵

Mozart's surviving letters of this time have but one cryptic reference to the Cathedral, found in a letter to Constanze of Sunday, 5 June 1791:

Eine Menge Leute sind heute nach St. Stephan gefoppt worden. – Die Schwingenschuh und Lisette sind in aller Früh zu mir gekommen, denen hab' ich es selbst gesagt – dann habe ich die Lort in die Kirche geschickt, um es dem Jacquin und Schäfer gleich zu sagen. Diese sind gleich zu mir gekommen. – Schickte auch gleich, weil er Hofmann auf dem Chore gehen sah.¹²⁶

As I shall discuss below, Constanze would have had little difficulty understanding this passage, as she was familiar with the people and places her husband describes. For the modern reader, however, the terse prose and rapid change of venue make it difficult to grasp Mozart's meaning. The words "nach St. Stephan" are ambiguous, but in this context may

¹²⁴ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 346.

¹²⁵ Preindl's obituary reads: "Als grosser Künstler eben so wie als rechtschaffener Mann geehrt, übernahm *Preindl* die ihm im Junius 1795 von dem hiesigen Magistrate, als Vogtey-Repräsentant der Domkirche, übertragene Kapellmeisters-Adjuncten-Stelle an der hiesigen unter dem Patronate Sr. Majestät des Kaisers stehenden Domkirche St. Stephan." *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [Vienna], 7 (1823): 822.

¹²⁶ *MBA*, iv.133-4.

mean “after [a service at] St. Stephen’s.” Following this interpretation, one may propose that Mozart attended an early-morning mass for the Sunday after Ascension, and observed a crowd of people “gefoppt werden” afterwards. The commentary in *MBA* suggests that Mozart’s reference was to spectators watching the unsuccessful attempts of Jean-Pierre Blanchard to launch his hot-air balloon.¹²⁷ Next, Mozart returned home, at which time Anna von Schwingenschuh and an unidentified “Lisette” called on the composer and heard about this event. Whatever it was, it was interesting enough for Mozart to send his servant Lork (or Leonore) to the Cathedral to fetch his friend Gottfried von Jacquin and the unidentified “Schäfer,” who perhaps were attending a later service. They complied, and one of them – the antecedent of “er” is unclear – mentioned to Mozart that he had seen Leopold Hofmann go to the choirloft. Finally, the knowledge that Hofmann was at the Cathedral prompted Mozart to send another message to an unspecified recipient. A few days before, Mozart had written to the director of music at the parish church in Baden, Anton Stoll, requesting that Stoll return the score and parts of Mozart’s Mass in C, K. 317. Given the timing, it is possible that Mozart was planning to perform the *Krönungsmesse* at the Cathedral that Sunday.¹²⁸ A month later, Mozart wrote again to Stoll, asking for the parts to the Mass in B flat K. 275 and for Michael Haydn’s gradual *Alleluia: In die resurrectionis* with the frustratingly laconic explanation, “...weil ich gebeten worden bin in einer kirche eine Messe zu dirigiren...”.¹²⁹ We know that Mozart possessed performance material, now lost, for the Mass in C K. 337 and several other works which could have been used at the Cathedral,¹³⁰

¹²⁷ *MBA*, vi.410, presumably by analogy with Mozart’s use of the verb *foppen* when referring to Blanchard the following month: “eben izzt wird Blanchard entweder *Steigen* – oder die Wiener zum 3: male fopen!”; *Ibid.*, iv.148. This explanation is however rejected by Joseph Eibl in *MBA*, viii.94.

¹²⁸ This possibility was first suggested in Karl Pfannhauser, ‘Mozarts Krönungsmesse’, *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 11/3-4 (1963): 3-11, at 4. See also Monika Holl, *NMA KB I:1/1/iv*, ix.

¹²⁹ *MBA*, iv.152-53.

¹³⁰ *MVC*, 1091.

and the newly-written *Ave, verum corpus* is an additional candidate for performance around Corpus Christi. Whatever the precise meaning of the letter quoted above, the matter-of-fact way in which Mozart makes mention of Hofmann may suggest that performances involving the adjunct Kapellmeister had become an accepted part of musical life at the Cathedral.

According to the inventory of the music at St. Stephen's, the Cathedral once possessed parts for the masses K. 337, 317, 258, 257, 259, 275, 192 and 194, the Drechsler completion of K. 427, the Requiem, the Vespers K. 321 and K. 339, the litanies K. 125 and 243, the Offertory K. 222, the Gradual K. 273, the *Te Deum*, the contrafacta *Splendente te* and *Ne pulvis et cinis*, and the *Regina coeli* based on K. 323.¹³¹ Of these sources, only six now survive: parts for the masses K. 258, 259, 275 and 337, the *Te Deum*, and an additional contrafactum of *Non temer, amato bene* from the 1786 *Idomeneo* as *Ave mater alma maris*.¹³² None of these manuscripts appear to date from Mozart's lifetime. The earliest appears to be the *Te Deum*, which consists of single parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso, Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, Violone and Organo. The watermark design consists of a man in the moon countered by GA over F inside a heart-shaped figure, similar to Duda GA/F-1 and GA/F-2. This design suggests a date in the first decade of the nineteenth-century, and the parts may be derived from Breitkopf und Härtel's 1803 print of the *Te Deum*. According to the inventory, the parts once included the additional viola, woodwind, trumpet and timpani parts added by Eybler in 1828 – one of several instances of Eybler "completing" Mozart outside the Requiem.¹³³ Although the parts do include a later "layer" of vocal and string

¹³¹ A-Wda, s.s. In addition, the inventory lists two spurious items under Mozart's name: a Missa in G and an Aria de BVM for soprano in E flat. The parts for the Requiem may have been connected with the exequies of Marie Therese, wife of Emperor Franz. Albrechtsberger had written to Eybler in 1807 asking for a copy of Mozart's Requiem for this occasion; see Karl Pfannhauser, "Epilegomena Mozartiana," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1971/72* (Salzburg: 1973), 294-95.

¹³² A-Wd, 44, 43, 159, 110, 81b, 200.

¹³³ The original score of this arrangement, in A-Wn, HK 2261, bears a note reading, "Tympani, Clarini, Oboi, / Fagotti und Viola sind von / dem k. k. Herrn Hofkapellmeister / Eybler zur Verstärkung für die / k. k."

parts, Eybler's additional parts do not appear to survive in this set. Of the other manuscripts, only those for K. 275 appear to be quite early, and may not have originally belonged to St. Stephen's.¹³⁴ Thus, none of the surviving Mozart sources appear to originate with the composer's own activities at the Cathedral. With the large-scale losses from the archive, however, we will never know the true extent of the composer's influence as adjunct Kapellmeister.

Two incidents involving the Cathedral music are known to have occurred during Mozart's tenure, although the composer's name does not appear in the surviving correspondence. On 1 July 1791, Leopold Hofmann wrote to the *Magistrat* in his last surviving correspondence with the Council, requesting that they appoint Mathias Altmütter as violinist following the death of Markus Hofer; see Figure 4.14. Given the loss of the account book for 1791, the Council's response on 4 August is particularly helpful as it lists most of the violinists who were then working under Hofmann and possibly Mozart:

Aufzubehalten, und wird den Otto Heinrich Ponheimer die 3^{te}, den Anton Borghi die 4^{te}, den Johann Klemp die 5^{te}, den Joseph Scheidl die 6^{te}, den Mathias Hofer die 7^{te}, den Franz Hofer die 8^{te}, den Leopold Reinhard die 9^{te}, den Joseph Lorbna die 10^{te}, und den Mathias Altmütter die letzte Violinistenstelle bei der St: Stephanskirche...¹³⁵

All of these musicians occupied the same positions during the following year.

Hofkapelle beygesetzt / worden. / 1828." A score of K. 194 (HK 2237) includes the note: "Oboen - Fagotti und Clarini von K. K. Hofkapellmeister Eybler / hinzugefügt, so wie auch von / selbem das Agnus Dei und Dona abgekürzt wurde. im J. 1825." A similar note appears in another score of the same work, HK 2247. A score of K. 259 (HK 2245) includes additional oboe, bassoon and viola parts by Eybler, with the note: "die Oboen, Fagott / und die Viola wurden / zur Verstärkung für die / k. k. Hofkapelle - vom Herrn / Hofkapellmeister v. Eybler / eigenhändig hier bey-geschrieben; / im März 1839."

¹³⁴ The wrapper is signed "Franz Göschl," and underneath in pencil, "Alois E...l / Regens chori."

¹³⁵ A-Wsa, HR A 17/4, 3/1791.

From 21 to 23 November 1791, all the churches in the city held a series of festive masses for the safe delivery of a child to Maria Theresia, wife of Archduke (later Emperor) Franz.¹³⁶ The child, Maria Ludovica, eventually born on 12 December 1791, later became the wife of Napoleon. According to subsequent reports, the “gesammte Musick Personale” of St. Stephen’s submitted a request to the Council, asking to be paid for these extra services and claiming that it was usual for them to receive such remuneration. Unfortunately, the musicians’ petition itself appears to be lost, and the earliest reference we have to the dispute is a report by Furthmoser to the Council dated 2 December. Furthmoser rejected the claim that it was usual for the musicians to be paid for these services, saying that he could find no evidence for such payments in the Cathedral’s accounts. The Council referred the matter to the *Buchhaltere*, who agreed with Furthmoser, and pointed out in a report of 14 December that the musicians had already received an additional 24 ducats for their services at Joseph II’s exequies the previous year.¹³⁷ Mozart was a member of the “gesammte Musick Personale” at St. Stephen’s, but given the course of his illness in the last week of 1791 and the fact that his position was unpaid, it is unlikely that his signature appeared on the now-lost petition. Furthmoser was to meet an unfortunate end in 1799, when he committed suicide by shooting himself in the Vienna woods, for reasons unknown.¹³⁸

Two references in the Novello diaries may refer to Mozart’s activities at St. Stephen’s.

As Constanze recalled:

¹³⁶ “Montags, Dienstags und heute Vormittags wurden in allen Pfarren in und vor der Stadt feyerliche Hochämter abgesungen, um von Gott eine glückliche Entbindung der Erzherzoginn Maria Theresia K. H. zu erleben.” WZ, 23 November 1791, 2993.

¹³⁷ A-Wsa, HR A 17/4, 3/1791 (not in Prohaszka.)

¹³⁸ The only surviving documentary evidence for this event is an index entry in St Pölten, NÖLA, HS Nö. Reg. 20/20 Lit. F, f. 14: “Fortmoser Andrä habe sich zu Maria Brunn erschossen”; numerous references in nineteenth-century sources fail to add any further information. I am grateful to Michael Lorenz and to Waltraud Winkelbauer of the NÖ Landesarchiv for locating and transcribing this entry.

Question. Whether he occasionally attended to play the organ, or accompany any of his own Masses, and if so, at what churches?

V.N. Widow told me that Mozart's favourite instrument was the Organ – upon which she said he played with the most incomparable skill.

M.N. He played upon several of the organs both at Salzburg and Vienna, the Cathedrals of both – the organ was his favourite instrument.¹³⁹

Whether or not Constanze's reference to Mozart playing the organ at St. Stephen's relates to the composer's duties as adjunct Kapellmeister, the general point that Mozart played the organ in Vienna receives support from a note the Novellos made when they visited

Maximilian Stadler:

Mozart used most frequently to play on the organ in the Jesuits' Church in Vienna. He did not much like the organs at Vienna, but esteemed those at Salzburg, especially those round the central Columns of the Cathedral.¹⁴⁰

The regens chori at the Jesuitenkirche during Mozart's time was Karl Friberth, and the organist, as of 1783, was Aloys Novotni.¹⁴¹ Why Mozart particularly favoured this church, and what Stadler's statement implies about the relationship between Mozart, Friberth and Novotni remains unknown, but isolated references such as these point to an facet of Mozart's performing career in Vienna that may have been more important than the available evidence suggests. Until recently it was even thought that Mozart possessed a house organ, until it was shown that the advertisement for its sale likely originated with his neighbour Joseph Schödel, a church musician.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, 95.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 164. Volkmar Braunbehrens reads more into Stadler's statement than is warranted when he makes the unsupported claim that in 1791, Mozart "began to play frequently on the organ of the former Jesuit church at court." Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna, 1781-1791*, 364. The "church at court" is an error by the translator, and the assignment of these events to 1791 is Braunbehrens' own invention.

¹⁴¹ Biba 1783, 41; Theophil Antonicek, "Musik an Der Universitätskirche in Wien Zwischen 1750 Und 1850," in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft. Festschrift Leopold Kantner* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2002), 24-8.

¹⁴² Walther Brauneis, "Mozarts Hausorgel: Eine Mystifikation," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 41, no. 1-2 (1993): 59-63. On organ practice at this time, see Otto Biba, "Altösterreichische Orgelpraxis zur Zeit der Wiener Klassik," in *De Arte Organistica. Festschrift Hans Haselböck zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hemma Kronsteiner (Vienna: Doblinger, 1998), 7-16.

In response to a question about the nature of Mozart's singing and speaking voice, Constanze provided an answer that was recorded by Mary Novello as follows:

M.N. His singing voice was a tenor, his speaking voice gentle, unless he was directing, then he was energetic and would occasionally stamp with his feet, and once he was so loud in the Cathedral that Madame heard him at an immense distance.¹⁴³

The story of Mozart stamping his foot with impatience while directing an orchestra had already appeared in Rochlitz's unreliable anecdotes and Nissen's biography, this time in reference to Mozart's Leipzig concert of 12 May 1789. As often with Constanze's recollections, it is difficult to tell whether they were the source of the anecdotes in early biographies or derived from them.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the reference to the "Cathedral" had not appeared before, and one might wonder about the location of this particular church. The only time that Constanze could have accompanied her husband to Salzburg Cathedral was in 1783, and there is no record of any performance there under Mozart. It is possible that Constanze was confusing the Cathedral with St. Peter, and what she was actually describing was a rehearsal or the performance of the C minor Mass. As a long-time resident of the city she certainly knew of the distinction, however. Constanze did not accompany her husband on the tour of 1789, so the only remaining possibilities are the unlikely option of St. Vitus in Prague, or St. Stephen's in Vienna. We are of course reliant on the Novellos' ability to accurately record what they heard, but if their transcription was precise and the recollection was accurate, it is likely that Constanze was referring to Mozart directing a performance as adjunct Kapellmeister in 1791.

¹⁴³ Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, 113.

¹⁴⁴ See Maynard Solomon, "The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in Early Mozart Biography," in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 23-4, Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 423-24.

IV. MUSIC AT THE BADEN PFARRKIRCHE

Some time in 1789, Constanze began taking the waters at the spa town of Baden, near Vienna, in the hope of curing an ailment.¹⁴⁵ The nature of her illness is not entirely clear, but seems to have been related to her foot and perhaps also her last two pregnancies. There are many general references in Mozart's letters to her poor state of health, but only a few provide specific details. In July 1789, the composer wrote to Puchberg in reference to Constanze, "man befürchtet nur, daß der Knochen möchte angegriffen werden."¹⁴⁶ The following month, Mozart wrote to Constanze herself, "...was Deinen Fuß anbelangt, brauchst Du nur Gedult zu haben, es wird ganz gewis gut gehen...".¹⁴⁷ Constanze's foot was again causing trouble in July 1791, when Mozart wrote to her, "...Deinen Fuß ist es doch besser und bist noch im Baade, weil Du da besser ausgehen kannst."¹⁴⁸ Niemetschek refers to Mozart's ailing wife, "die nach der Verordnung der Aerzte wegen einer Lähmung am Fuße Bäder vom gekochten Magengekröse brauchen mußte."¹⁴⁹ More than half a century later, Mozart's son Carl Thomas donated his father's piano to the Mozarteum, and related a touching story that seems to refer to this condition:

...so oft ich die Augen demselben [the piano] zuwende, es mir auf das lebhafteste das Bildnis meines Vaters, vor demselben sitzend, ins Gedächtnis zurückruft, um so mehr, da in dessen

¹⁴⁵ The earliest reference to Constanze's travels is Mozart's "begging" letter to Michael Puchberg of 17 July 1789, in which the composer explains why he needed to borrow such a considerable sum: the "nicht entsetzliche Kosten wegen der Kur meine Frau...besonders wenn sie nach Baden muß..." *MBA*, iv.94. The cures were undertaken on the advice of Thomas Franz Closset (1754-1813), the family's doctor after the death of Sigmund Barisani in 1787.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, iv.95.

¹⁴⁷ *MBA*, iv.96.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, iv.147.

¹⁴⁹ Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, aus Originalquellen*, Second ed. (Prague: Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1808; reprint, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978), 97.

letzter Lebenszeit, einer langwierigen Krankheit meiner Mutter wegen, ich die ganzen Tage in seiner Studirstube zubrachte.¹⁵⁰

Constanze's visits to Baden prompted an exchange of letters between the couple that is justly celebrated for the information it provides on Mozart's musical and social activities in his last year. As usual, Constanze's half of the conversation is lost, a particularly unfortunate state of affairs given the mode of her husband's surviving letters at this time. Unlike Mozart's letters from abroad, which required the composer to describe people and places that were unknown to his recipient, the Baden letters were exchanged between a couple who knew their shared environment intimately and who corresponded on a very frequent, sometimes daily, basis. As a result, Mozart's late letters assume a close contextual knowledge of the people and events they document, a knowledge that is difficult or impossible to reconstruct today. Numerous attempts by amateur enthusiasts to derive information about the personal lives of Mozart, Constanze and Franz Xaver Süssmayr from these letters have consistently foundered on the authors' lack of expertise in interpreting this difficult material and a failure to consider the nature and function of the Mozarts' correspondence.¹⁵¹

For our purposes, the most important aspect of the Baden letters is the unprecedented information they provide about Mozart's church attendance and activities in sacred music during the last two years of his life. From these letters, we know that at least two Mozart masses were performed in Baden, both under the direction of the composer, and further that Mozart took part in the performance of a gradual by Michael Haydn. Of course, a strong but circumstantial tradition connects Baden with the composition of Mozart's motet *Ave, verum corpus* K. 618, although I shall suggest further possible contexts for this

¹⁵⁰ *MBA*, vi.666. In 1856, the *Blättern für Musik, Theater und Kunst* reported Carl as recalling that "Vater Mozart ihn [Carl] viel spazieren führen müssen, da Mutter Constanze damals lange kränkelte und das Haus hütete." Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 533.

¹⁵¹ The supposed evidence for many of these theories is effectively dismissed in Michael Lorenz, "Süssmayr und die Lichterputzer: Von Gefundenen und Erfundenen Quellen," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2006* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, forthcoming). I am grateful to Lorenz for providing me with a copy of this article prior to publication.

most renowned of the composer's small-scale sacred works. Together with two highly informative letters that Mozart wrote to the regens chori in Baden, these letters are among the most important pieces of evidence we have for Mozart's interest in church music during the last years of his life.

Baden possessed several churches, but the only one to maintain a substantial music program was the Stadtpfarrkirche, dedicated to St. Stephen.¹⁵² Presided over from 1783 to 1799 by the Stadtpfarrer Dominik Scheibs von Gaubikolheim,¹⁵³ the fifteenth-century Gothic church was not entirely free of controversy regarding its liturgical observance. In 1784, a correspondent to *Über Gottesdienst und Religionsordnung* complained of the "Unordnung" he encountered at St. Stephen's, while the following year a review of a sermon given by Scheibs was generally complimentary but still included the following:

Es thut uns leid, daß wir mit dem Vortrage des Hrn. Pfarrers nicht so ganz wie mit der Predigt selbst zufrieden sein können. Wir wünschten, daß er eine mehr regelmässige Aussprache sich angewöhnte, und daß er der Natur getreuer bliebe, und bei manchen Stellen, wo es die Sache nicht erheischt, sich nicht so sehr beeiferte...¹⁵⁴

On 2 February 1770, Anton Joseph Stoll applied successfully for the position of schoolmaster and regens chori at St. Stephen's, succeeding Johann Matthias Wravecí.¹⁵⁵ Stoll, born on 16 April 1747,¹⁵⁶ had already been working as a preceptor and tenor at St. Stephen's, and his new position provided the necessary financial security for him to marry his predecessor's daughter, Carolina Wravecí. Carolina, ten years Stoll's senior, gave birth to

¹⁵² Others included St. Helena, the "old" and "new" Frauenkirchen, and chapels dedicated to St. Anna and St. Antonius. See <<http://www.aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop.b/b027542.htm>>, accessed 24 June 2006.

¹⁵³ Franz Loidl, *Kleriker-Liste der Stadtpfarre St. Stephan, Baden*, vol. 174, *Wiener Katholische Akademie. Miscellanea, Neue Reihe* (Vienna: 1983).

¹⁵⁴ *ÜGR*, ii.61-69; iv.219.

¹⁵⁵ The following summary of Stoll's life and the musical resources at St. Stephen's is based on Rudolf Maurer, *Anton Stoll: Der Badener Schulmeister und Sein Freund Mozart, Katalogblatt Nr. 57* (Baden: Rollett-Museum, 2006). Jakob Wravecí was a bass singer in the *Hofkapelle* at this time; I have been unable to determine if the two were related.

¹⁵⁶ Stoll's date of birth was given in his application to become a member of the *Tonkünstlersocietät*, known only in summary (see following note). This information is not included in Maurer, *Anton Stoll*.

five children before her death in July 1777. A year later, Stoll married Katharina Huber, with whom he had four more children and who was no doubt acquainted with Mozart and Constanze on their visits to Baden. Stoll also applied for membership of the *Tonkünstlersocietät* in 1778, at which time he had apparently taken part in their concerts.¹⁵⁷ In July 1797, Katharina Stoll died of “Abzehrung,” after which the choirmaster married yet again, this time to a widow, Anna Maria Krippel, in 1798. No children resulted from this marriage, but six of Stoll’s children from his previous marriages survived infancy. On 30 May 1805, Stoll died of “Brustwassersucht,” and, interestingly enough, Anna succeeded him as “regens chorin” at St. Stephen’s until the appointment of her successor, Leopold Maglo, in April 1806.

Anton Stoll would likely occupy the same obscurity as other provincial choirmasters of the time if not for the warm relations he enjoyed with a number of Vienna’s most prominent composers. In addition to his association with Mozart, to be considered in detail here, Stoll was instrumental in arranging accommodation for Haydn’s estranged wife, Anna Maria, who rented rooms in Stoll’s house and died there on 20 March 1800. In her will, Anna Maria left a number of items to Stoll, his wife and their daughter Antonia, and Stoll served as witness at the proving of the will on 22 March. Süßmayr continued to have warm

¹⁵⁷ Although the original documents are lost, the application and its response are mentioned in the Society’s *Hauptbuch* (A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein, B 2/1): “Stoll Ant: Regens Chori in der Lands: fürstl: Stadt Baaden sucht an als Mitglied in die Societaet aufgenommen zu werden. Dieß Ansuchen findet bey Supplicanten als einem Auswärtigen bis dahin nicht statt, biß er sich bey der Societaet wird geltende Meriten erworben haben.” On 29 December 1778, the minutes reported, “Stoll Anton |: geböhren den 16^{ten} April 1747 :| Regens Chori in der Landsfürstl: Stadt Baaden, welcher schon einigmall bey der Musical: Societaets Academien erschienen, sucht abermall an als Mitglied in die Societaet aufgenommen zu werden. Fiat, und hat der Supplicant die Statuten mässige Einlag, als ein Auswärtigen nebst dem JahrsNachtrag, und gewöhnlichen Büchelgeld zusam[m]en 486f: 10 Xr: den 15^{ten} Februarÿ [1]779. zu erlegen; Beynebens sich zu reversiren, daß er bey allen Societaets Academien sowohl, als den hievon nothwendigen Proben auf seine eigene Unkosten erschienen wolle.” Stoll’s name does not appear in the list of members (B 4/8).

relations with Stoll after the death of Mozart, writing his own setting of *Ave verum corpus* SmWV 121 for Baden in 1792, and addressing two letters to the choirmaster in 1802-3.¹⁵⁸

The vocal forces available to the choirmaster were modest and entirely characteristic of parish choirs at the time. In addition to the sexton and the assistant teacher, both of whom were expected to be musical, Stoll could call on two choirboys, an *Altist* and a *Diskantist*. The instrumental forces consisted of the town's *Türmer*,¹⁵⁹ Franz Kicker (1734-1805), and four apprentices. Stoll was responsible for the storage and maintenance of the instruments; in 1793 he acquired two violins at 6fl each and a higher-quality instrument at 9-10fl "auf das Chor der Pfarrkürchen." The church's organ was originally built in 1744 for the Augustinian monastery of St. Dorothea in Vienna by Johann Hencke (1698-1766). With the closure of the monastery, the organ was moved to Baden in 1787 and installed at St. Stephen's by the Viennese builders Johann and Josef Wiest. The town council had originally commissioned an entirely new organ from Franz Xaver Chrismann in 1782, but the project was abandoned due to financial disputes.¹⁶⁰ The disposition is not known, but the original case and a number of the pipes are still extant.

In return for his services, Stoll received an annual honorarium of 271 gulden and a four-room house at Schulgebäude Baden Nr. 3, today Pfarrgasse 16. In addition, Stoll received extra payments for the music he provided at the Pfarrkirche. In 1774, he was paid 41fl 12xr for a daily musical setting of the Litany, 34fl 48xr for *Stiftsämtler* that were supplementary to the usual Sunday services, and 6fl for two processions on Corpus Christi

¹⁵⁸ Originals in A-Wst; partially edited in Lorenz, "Süssmayr und die Lichterputzer."

¹⁵⁹ The term literally means someone who is responsible for spotting fires and giving advance warning of approaching enemies from a watchtower; by this time, however, the post was effectively equivalent to "town musician."

¹⁶⁰ Rudolf Maurer, *Festschrift zur Orgelweihe: Pfarrkirche Baden St. Stephan* (Baden: Pfarre St. Stephan, 1987), Karl Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau in der Zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 35, *Dissertationen der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Verlag Notring, 1969), 8-9.

and the anniversary of the church's consecration. An unusual opportunity for extra remuneration arose in March 1779, when Joseph II, Archduke Maximilian, Archduchess Marie Christine and Grand Duke Leopold (the future Leopold II) visited Baden. Stoll and his singers were called upon to provide music, with Joseph playing cello, Leopold the organ, and Maximilian the violin. Interestingly, the Imperial ensemble played "einige Messen" by "Herrn v. Haydn" and *Domkapellmeister* Leopold Hofmann, who was present. Stoll received a gift of 24 Imperial ducats, or 102fl 24xr, for this performance.¹⁶¹

Just how Mozart came initially to meet Stoll is unclear, though one might suspect that it occurred through the composer's attendance with Constanze at the Stadtpfarrkirche. Constanze certainly attended the church in the absence of Mozart (but perhaps in the presence of her maid Sabinde), as we know from Mozart's letter of 25 June 1791:

ich rathe dir nicht Morgen in das Amt zu gehen – die bauernkerls sind mir zu grob; – freylich hast du einen groben Compagnon [Süssmayr] – aber die bauern haben keinen Respect für ihn, perdunt Respectum, weil sie ihms gleich ansehen, daß er ein schaberl ist. *Snai!* –¹⁶²

The earliest evidence we have of Mozart's association with the Stadtpfarrkirche comes from an undated letter to Puchberg usually ascribed to around 12 June 1790, in which Mozart writes, "Morgen wird in Baaden ein Amt von mir aufgeführt."¹⁶³ The composer at that time was in Vienna for a performance of *Così fan tutte*, and probably could not have attended the mass. Excluding the unlikely possibility that Stoll had obtained a copy of this "Amt" independently, we may presume that Mozart had personally delivered it to him at some earlier stage. If *MBA*'s speculative dating of 2 June 1790 (a Wednesday) is correct for the

¹⁶¹ Maurer, *Anton Stoll*.

¹⁶² *MBA*, iv.142. On the meaning of "Schaberl," see Lorenz, "Süssmayr und die Lichterputzer." The service that Sunday may have included a procession in honour of Corpus Christi, and Mozart potentially this in mind when he recommended that Constanze, eight months pregnant and suffering a leg ailment, should not participate.

¹⁶³ *MBA*, iv.111.

following letter to Constanze, Mozart may have been in Baden the week before the mass was performed, having come via Schwechat: “Wenn Du Samstag hereinkömmst, so kannst Du auch noch den halben Sonntag hierin bleiben – wir sind auf die *Schwechat* zu einem Amt und zu Mittage eingeladen.”¹⁶⁴ This reference has been associated, entirely reasonably, with a glowing reference that Mozart wrote for Joseph Eybler a few days before. Eybler’s father, also called Joseph Leopold, was regens chori at the church of St. Jakob in Schwechat, and presumably Mozart and Constanze were invited to mass and to lunch afterwards as a gesture of thanks for this reference:

Ich Endesgesetzter bescheine hiemit daß ich Vorzeiger dieses Hr: Joseph Eybler als einen würdigen Schüller seines berühmten Meisters Albrechtsberger, als einen gründlichen komponisten, sowohl im kammer- als kirchenstyl gleich geschickten, in der Sing-Kunst ganz erfahrenen, auch vollkommen Orgel- und klavierSpieller, kurz, als einen Jungen Musiker befunden habe, wo es nur zu bedauern ist, daß seinesgleichen so selten sind.
Wienn den 30^e May. 1790.

Wolfgang Amadè Mozart
kapellmeister, in k: diensten.¹⁶⁵

One wonders if Mozart’s praise for Eybler’s abilities in organ-playing and sacred composition were based on personal observation: although Eybler is not presently known to have held an official church position before the early 1790s, his appointment as regens chori at the Carmelite Church in 1792 strongly suggests previous professional experience.¹⁶⁶ It would of course be of great interest to know what music Mozart heard that Sunday in Schwechat – his first attested attendance at a church service since 1783 – and to know something of the

¹⁶⁴ *MBA*, iv.110. On the dating, see *Ibid.*, vi.395. In the letter to Puchberg, Mozart stated that “ich bleibe aus Oeconomie in Baaden und gehe nur wenn es höchst nothwendig ist herein.”

¹⁶⁵ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 322; *MBA*, iv.109.

¹⁶⁶ In his autobiographical sketch, Eybler spoke of his relationship with Mozart: “ich habe das Glück gehabt, seine Freundschaft bis an seinen Tod unversehrt zu behalten...Wie viele Werke der würdigsten Meister, vor allen Händels, sind wir in grösster Aufmerksamkeit mit einander durchgegangen, und haben daran uns belehrt und erfreut!” *AMZ* 28 (1826): 338.

performing forces available at St. Jakob.¹⁶⁷ If indeed Mozart had in his possession one of his masses for eventual delivery to Stoll in Baden, it is possible that the composer took the opportunity to show it to Eybler *père* as well.

Mozart's reference to the performance of an "Amt" by him on 13 June 1790 raises a host of questions. Which mass was performed? When did Stoll obtain the music from Mozart? To what extent did the performance reflect the limited resources available in Baden? Did Mozart have an existing set of performance parts, or was a new set required? If only the autograph score was available, who was responsible for producing the performance material? What happened to the parts after their initial use? As most of these questions apply equally to later performances of Mozart's music at the Stadtpfarrkirche, I shall delay discussion of them until a further important documentary source is addressed.

In 1791, Mozart addressed two letters to Stoll himself, both of which provide valuable information on the performance of the composer's music in Baden – and furnish further evidence of Mozart's dismissive attitude towards Süßmayr, despite the latter's apparent role in the preparation of material for *Die Zauberflöte*.¹⁶⁸ More letters may once have existed: Constanze, writing to Breitkopf und Härtel on 5 November 1800 about their planned biography of Mozart, informed the publisher that

H. Stoll, Regens Chori in Baden unweit Wien, hat noch briefe von Mozart. Ich habe sie von ihm verlangt, und er hat sie mir versprochen. So bald dieses geschieht, werde ich sogleich das Vergnügen haben, sie Ihnen mitzutheilen.¹⁶⁹

Mozart's first known letter to Stoll is undated, but can be dated to late May 1791 on the basis of the composer's reference to Constanze returning to Baden after an absence of several

¹⁶⁷ As far as I am aware, no research has yet been undertaken on musical institutions in Schwechat during Mozart's time.

¹⁶⁸ See *MVC*, 27-8.

¹⁶⁹ *MBA*, iv.382.

months.¹⁷⁰ For our purposes, the principal interest of this letter is the first of the three requests Mozart made to Stoll; see Figure 4.15.

Liebster Stoll!
|: seyens kein Schroll! :|

Imo möchte ich wissen ob gestern Stadtler bey ihnen war, und die Messe



von mir, begehret hat? – Ja? – so hoffe ich sie heute noch zu erhalten; wo nicht, so bitte ich Sie die güte zu haben mir sie gleich zu schicken NB mit allen Stimmen. Ich werde sie bald wieder zurückstellen. –¹⁷¹

The work Mozart quotes is, of course, the *Krönungsmesse*, K. 317. On the basis of Stoll’s possession of performing material for K. 317 in May 1791, it has become a commonplace in the literature to identify K. 317 as the “Amt” performed in Baden on 12 June 1790,¹⁷² but there is no particular reason to favour it above the other Mozart masses known to have been performed in Baden. Indeed, Stoll’s possession of a set of parts for K. 317 does not necessarily imply that a performance of the *Krönungsmesse* took place at the Stadtpfarrkirche. The fact that the composer felt it necessary to provide an incipit for the piece he desired may suggest that Stoll already had multiple masses by Mozart in his possession by this time.¹⁷³

The precise meaning behind Mozart’s “NB mit allen Stimmen” is unclear: is he requesting parts in addition to a score (perhaps the autograph score), or making clear that all parts are

¹⁷⁰ *MBA*, vi.411.

¹⁷¹ *MBA*, iv.132 and vi.409. The autograph of the letter was unavailable to the editors of *MBA*, but was sold by J. A. Stargardt in February 1975 (Kat. 605; *MBA* vii.601). Its present location is unknown. Consistent with the *NMA*’s policy of listing the incipits in the *Verzeichnüss* as legitimate sources for the works they document, this letter should have been included in Monika Holl’s critical report for K. 317 (*NMA* KB I:1/1/iv).

¹⁷² See, for example, *MBA*, vi.396, 410.

¹⁷³ Even if previous letters between Mozart and Stoll have been lost, it is likely that they had not corresponded recently, since the composer took the trouble of specifying his address, Stadt 970 in Rauhensteingasse, at the end of the letter. This, of course, does not necessarily imply that Stoll and Mozart had not met in person during the interim.

required, instead of a mutually understood subset?¹⁷⁴ Whether or not Mozart fulfilled his intention to return the mass to Stoll, the autograph score of K. 317 was not in the choirmaster's possession at Mozart's death, and passed from Constanze to André in 1800.

The second letter to Stoll, dated 12 July 1791, was later in the possession of Brahms; see Figure 4.16.¹⁷⁵ The opening reads:

liebster Stoll!
 bester knoll!
 grosster Schroll!
 bist Sternvoll! –
 gelt, das Moll
 thut dir Wohl? –

Ich habe eine bitte an Sie, und die ist, Sie möchten die güte haben mir gleich mit dem ersten Wagen morgen die Messe von mir ex B, welche wir verflossenen Sonntag gemacht haben, sammt dem Graduale ex B vom Michael Haydn *Pax vobis* – so wir auch gemacht haben, herein schicken – versteht sich, nicht die Partitur, sondern die Stimmen – weil ich gebeten worden bin in einer kirche eine Messe zu dirigiren; – glauben sie nur nicht dass es so eine Ausflucht seye die Messe wieder zu haben – wenn ich Sie nicht gerne in ihren Händen wüsste, würde ich sie ihnen nie gegeben haben. – im gegentheile mache ich mir ein vergnügen, wenn ich ihnen eine Gefälligkeit erweisen kann. – ich verlasse mich ganz auf Sie, denn ich habe mein Wort gegeben.¹⁷⁶

On the reverse of the letter, Mozart forged a mock-letter from Süßmayr; see Figure 4.17.

Bester Herr v Schroll!

Setzen Sie uns nicht an sonst sitzen wir in dreck meine herzlich zärtliche Handschrift giebt Zeuge ab, der Wahrheit, was Sie H:^r v Mozart ersuchte, folglich – die Meß und das graduale v Mich Haydn oder keine Nachricht von seiner opera.

Wir werden Ihnen selbes alsogleich zurücksenden. Apropos erweisen Sie mir eine gefälligkeit meiner lieben Theres einen Handkuß auszurichten, wo nicht – ewige Feindschaft – Davon muß Ihre Handschrift Zeuge sein, so wie die meinige gegenwärtig. Alsdann sollen Sie richtig die Michl Haydnsche Meß bekommen um welche ich meinem Vater schon geschrieben habe. Also ein Mann hält sein Wort.

Ich bin Ihr

Scheishäusel den 12 Juli

ächter Freund
 franz Süßmayer
 Scheisdreck.

¹⁷⁴ Robert Spaethling renders “mit allem Stimmen” as “just the voice parts,” a translation that is inaccurate and misleading; Robert Spaethling, *Mozart's Letters, Mozart's Life: Selected Letters* (London: Faber, 2000), 438.

¹⁷⁵ See Viktor Keldorfer, “Betrachtungen Über Handschriften Mozarts,” in *Mozartgemeinde Wien 1913-1963: Forscher und Interpreten* (Vienna: Mozartgemeinde Wien, 1964), 218-19. As with the other letter to Stoll, the present location of this letter is unknown.

¹⁷⁶ *MBA*, iv.152-3.

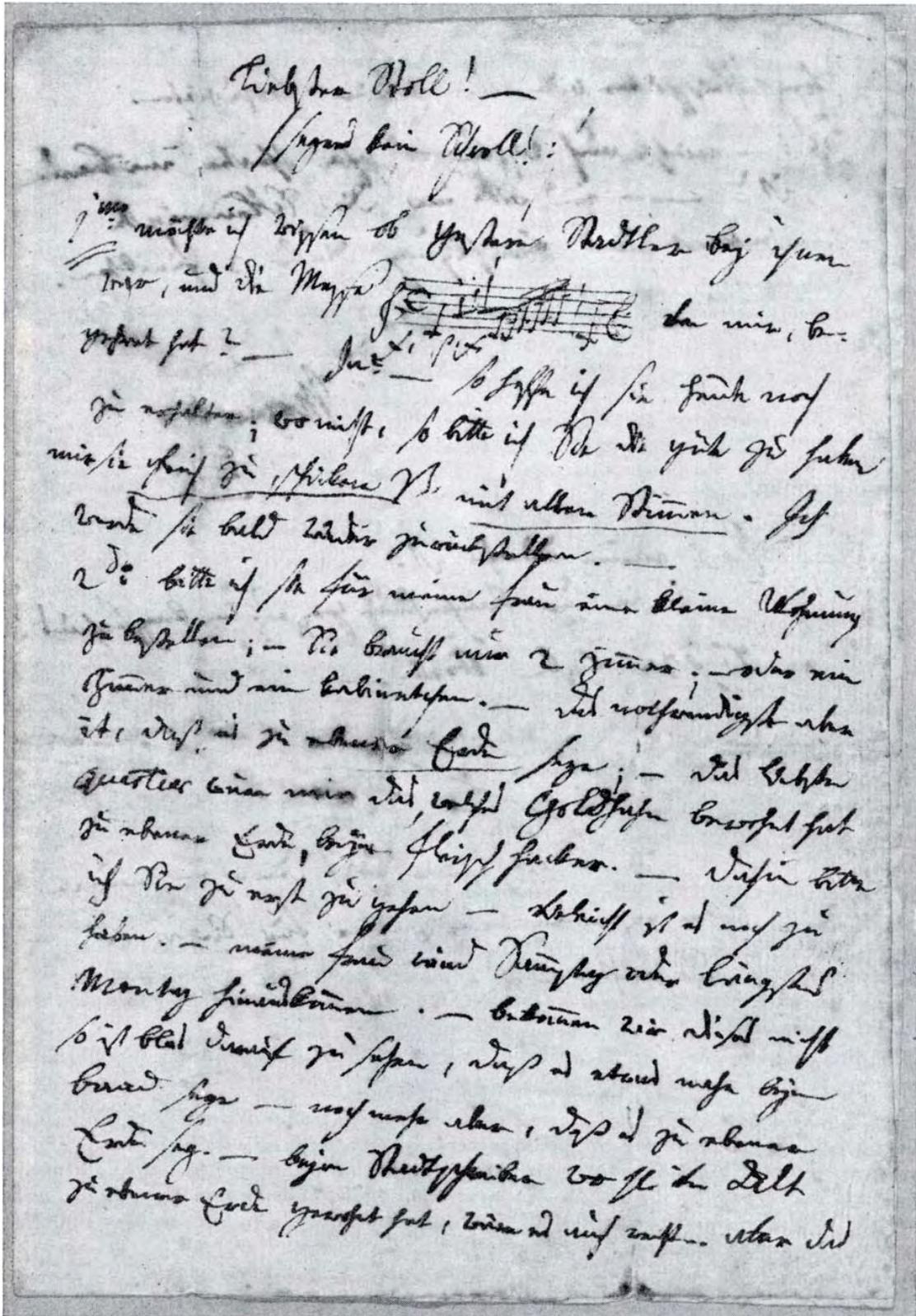


Figure 4.15. Opening of Mozart's letter to Anton Stoll, late May 1791. Present location unknown.

Mozart's only authentic mass in B-flat major is K. 275, probably written around 1777, so this must be the "Messe...ex B" referred to here.¹⁷⁷ In 1791, 12 July was a Tuesday, so the mass was heard in the Stadtpfarrkirche on 10 July. Mozart's elaborate apology to Stoll for requesting the parts may be humorously overwrought, or perhaps alludes to some previous exchange between them of which we have no knowledge. The score to which Mozart refers may well be the autograph score, although the ultimate fate of this now-lost manuscript is unknown. It seems from this letter that Mozart took part in the performance himself, although in what capacity it is impossible to know – director, organist, string player or even singer.

The "Graduale ex B...*Pax vobis*" is Michael Haydn's gradual *Alleluia: In die resurrectionis meae* MH 362, completed on 8 April 1784.¹⁷⁸ The gradual is proper to "white Sunday," the first Sunday after Easter, which in 1791 fell on 1 May.¹⁷⁹ Despite the lack of liturgical appropriateness, it seems likely from Mozart's reference to the gradual that it was performed in Baden on the same Sunday as the Mass K. 275, although the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that Mozart's "so wir auch gemacht haben" refers to the "correct" Sunday. The fact that Mozart requested a copy of the gradual for performance in Vienna shows that he too was envisaging a performance outside the expectations of the liturgy.

¹⁷⁷ David Schildkret has attempted to show that K. 275 actually dates from 1772, on the basis of similarities the mass allegedly possesses with Mozart's other *missa brevis* settings of the early 1770s; see David Schildkret, "Ave or Vale to Colloredo? The Date of Mozart's Mass in B-Flat Major, K. 275," *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America* 6, no. 2 (2002): 10-11. A full critique of the article is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the use of unsupported assertions ("it would be unusual for the same work to be played twice in the same year"), the dismissal of the Mozart family's original parts on the pretext that they date "from different periods in the late eighteenth century," and the lack of consideration given to the considerable stylistic divergences between K. 275 and Mozart's earlier masses all undermine Schildkret's argument.

¹⁷⁸ Ed. Alfons Striz (Münster: Gregorius-Musikverlag, 1982). This edition is unknown to the Sherman/Thomas catalogue.

¹⁷⁹ The text reads: 'Alleluia. In die resurrectionis meae, dixit Dominus praecedam vos in Galileam. Alleluia. Post dies octo januis clausis stetit Jesus in medio discipulorum suorum, et dixit: Pax vobis. Alleluia.'

Perhaps the shared key of the mass and the gradual was a factor in Mozart and Stoll's decision to place them in the same service.

From where did Stoll and Mozart obtain this work? One is reminded of Mozart's request in August 1788 for Nannerl to send him Haydn's graduals in score, a request that certainly could have been fulfilled with the dispatch of MH 362 amongst other pieces.¹⁸⁰ Of course, Mozart need not have been the source, and Stoll is an equally likely candidate for acquiring the gradual through his own contacts. Like Mozart's *Alleluia* canon K. 553, the Haydn gradual quotes the Easter *Alleluia* chant. It seems that the work attained a special renown in Salzburg, as Haydn's friend P. Werigand Rettensteiner recalled when reporting a performance under the Konzertmeister of the Salzburg Hofkapelle, Franz Joseph Otter:

Sein Pax vobis alleluja, von dem wahrhaft harmonischen 40stimmigen Chor unserer Kapelle vorgetragen, unter der Leitung unsers Musikdirektors Otter, dem Schüler und Freunde Haydns ist eine Hymne, die von dem Himmel in die Erde herab zu tönen scheint.¹⁸¹

A slightly unusual feature of the instrumentation in *Alleluia: In die resurrectionis* is Haydn's use of trumpets in B flat. Although such instruments were known in Salzburg, and called for by Mozart in the Litany K. 125 and the disputed *Tantum ergo* K. 142, their use in Vienna was quite rare. Together with the lack of trumpets in the accompanying mass K. 275, the practical difficulties of obtaining such instruments in Vienna leads one to wonder whether Mozart and Stoll's performance in Baden made use of them.

Apparently unrelated to the Haydn gradual is Mozart's feigned assurance that Stoll would receive a "Michl Haydnsche Meß" from Süßmayr, about which Süßmayr had already written to his father. Süßmayr's father, Franz Carl Süßmayr (1743-1805), who outlived his

¹⁸⁰ *MBA*, iv.72.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in Rudolph Angermüller and Johanna Senigl, "Biographie des Salzburger Concertmeisters Michael Haydn von Seinen Freunden Verfasset," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 37 (1989): 209. Angermüller and Senigl were unable to identify the work to which Rettensteiner is referring.

son, was a schoolmaster, sexton and member of the parish choir in Schwanenstadt.¹⁸² The implication seems to be that the elder Süssmayr possessed a copy of this mass or the means to obtain it, and his son wished to procure a copy for Stoll. Given Süssmayr's famous attempt to imitate Mozart's hand in the *Ablieferungspartitur* of the Requiem, it is something of an irony to encounter Mozart feigning Süssmayr's identity here, although Mozart seems to have had no intention of imitating Süssmayr's genuine handwriting. However interesting it is to see Mozart adopting the persona of a figure who would later prove so important in the history of the Requiem, the question of what precisely is transpiring here, and to what extent Süssmayr was actually involved in the attempt to secure Haydn's mass will likely remain a mystery. As I have noted, Stoll received two genuine letters from Süssmayr more than a decade later.

Mozart made one further mention of Stoll in his surviving letters. The composer seems to have invited Stoll to one of the first performances of *Die Zauberflöte*, for on 8 October he wrote to Constanze in Baden:

– morgen wird Sie noch gegeben, aber Montag wird ausgesetzt – folglich muß Siessmayer den Stoll *dienstag* herein bringen, wo Sie wieder zum *Erstenmale* gegeben wird – ich sage zum *Erstenmale*, weil Sie vermuthlich wieder etlichemal nacheinander gegeben werden wird...

At the end of the letter, Mozart added, “dem Stoll tausend Complimenten,” the final reference to Stoll before the composer's death two months later.¹⁸³ There is however a further report in the Graz newspaper *Der Aufmerksame* from January 1856 that describes a performance at the Stadtpfarrkirche under Mozart's direction. Tantalising yet problematic, it tells the familiar story of a recalcitrant soprano upstaged by a younger rival who, despite expectations, rises to the challenge:

¹⁸² Henry H. Hausner, *Franz X. Süßmayr*, vol. 254-256, *Österreich-Reihe* (Vienna: Bergland Verlag, 1964), 8-10, Johann Winterberger, *Franz Xaver Süßmayr: Leben, Umwelt und Gestalt* (Frankfurt am Main: Opus Verlag, 1999).

¹⁸³ *MBA*, iv.159, 161.

Es dürfte wahrscheinlich nur wenigen Grazern bekannt sein, dass in unserer Stadt eine *Schülerin Mozart's* lebt. Es ist dies die Frau Antonia *Haradauer*, geb. Huber, deren Vater ein v. Dobelhoff'scher Herrschaftsbeamter¹⁸⁴ zu *Baden* bei Wien war und im Hause ihres Schwagers, des Chorregenten Josef *Stoll*, zu *Baden* als 10- und 11jähriges Mädchen mit dem größten deutschen Tondichter oft zusammentraf. Es ereignete sich nun, dass einmal eine neue Mozart'sche Messe gegeben werden sollte, und dass die renommirte Sängerin, der der Sopranpart darin übertragen war, *eigensinning* blieb und sich den Vorschriften des Meisters nicht fügen wollte. Mozart machte bei solchen Anlässen kurzen Proceß, jagte auch diesmal die Widerspänstige auf und davon und übertrug die Parthie seinem Lieblinge, der kleine Antonia Huber. Durch eine Woche studirte Mozart unverdrossen mit dem Kinde, und da jener es nicht an Geduld, dieses nicht am Fleiße fehlen ließ, so war das Resultat ein äußerst günstiges, d. h. Mozart war höchst befriedigt über das Gelingen seiner Messe, umarmte die Kleine nach der Aufführung, küsste sie mit einem vom Herzen kommenden: "Brav, Tonerl, recht brav", und schenkte ihr einen Kremnitzer Goldfuchs. – Überhaupt scheint Mozart große Stücke auf die jugendliche Sängerin gehalten zu haben, indem er ihr bei einer anderen Gelegenheit sagte: "Tonerl, mach' dass Du groß wirst, damit ich Dich nach Wien mitnehmen kann!" – Nun ist zwar das "Tonerl" groß und auch eine ausgezeichnete Sängerin geworden, aber erst als Mozart längst in die Welt der ewigen Harmonien hinübergegangen war.¹⁸⁵

Antonie, sister of Anton Stoll's second wife Katharina, was baptised in Baden on 11 March 1778, and died in Graz in 2 July 1857.¹⁸⁶ She was thus probably not ten or eleven, but more likely twelve or thirteen when she sang in the presence of Mozart. It is difficult to assess the accuracy of this report, printed more than sixty years after the events it supposedly describes, and we cannot know if Haradauer or the writer of this article embellished the story in the interests of personal aggrandisement or increased circulation.¹⁸⁷ One detail of the account is certainly incorrect: the mass Antonie sang was not "new" in the likely intended sense of a newly *composed* work, although it may well have been the first time the Baden musicians had encountered it.

¹⁸⁴ A tax collector for alcoholic drinks.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted in Hellmut Federhofer, "Mozart-Autographe Bei Anton Stoll und Joseph Schellhammer," in *Mozart Jahrbuch 1962/63* (Salzburg: 1964), 31 n19.

¹⁸⁶ Andrea Harrandt, "Huber(-Haradauer), Antonie," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexicon*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), Rudolf Lewicki, "Antonia Haradauer," *Mozarteums Mitteilungen* 2 (1920): 106-08. She was later a successful opera singer.

¹⁸⁷ The report was picked up by the *Neue Salzburger Zeitung* and printed there in reduced form on 3 February 1856.

There seems no way of identifying the date of this performance and the identity of the mass performed, or determining if it relates to the two known performances documented by Mozart's letters.¹⁸⁸ Because Mozart is said to have taken a week to teach Antonie her part, one might think that some solo work was involved, but both leading candidates, K. 275 and K. 317, include solo arias for soprano so it is impossible to eliminate either of them.¹⁸⁹ Girls and women were regular salaried members of parish choirs in Vienna, so Antonie's gender and age were certainly no barrier to participation. If the "renommirte Sängerin" did indeed exist, one wonders who it might have been – perhaps one of the sopranos from *Figaro*, *Così fan Tutte* or *Die Zauberflöte* in their 1790-91 productions.¹⁹⁰

In sum, the above sources document the performance of two Mozart masses in Baden: an unidentified mass performed on 13 June 1790, and a performance of the Missa in B flat K. 275 on 10 July 1791 with Mozart's involvement. In addition, Stoll possessed a set of parts for the Missa in C K. 317, making it likely but not certain that the *Krönungsmesse* received a performance in Baden in 1789-91. At Mozart's death, Stoll actually possessed many more autographs of the composer's sacred music: the Missa in C, K. 337, the Missa Brevis in D K. 194, the Dixit et Magnificat K. 193, the double-choir motet *Venite, populi* K. 260 and the famous *Ave, verum corpus* K. 618. When Stoll died in 1805, the autographs were inherited by his wife Anna, who gave them to Joseph Schellhammer, a teacher at the Baden school and later organist in Leoben. Schellhammer's son, also called Joseph, inherited the manuscripts but was forced to sell them on financial grounds to Ludwig von Köchel in 1868. Köchel had a magnificent blue case made for the autographs, and bequeathed them to the

¹⁸⁸ There is no basis for Deutsch's supposition in *Dokumente*, 349 that the report refers to the July 1791 performance.

¹⁸⁹ In K. 275, the Benedictus is cast as a soprano aria, while K. 317 has the famous Agnus Dei.

¹⁹⁰ Anna Gottlieb, the first Pamina, had already created the role of Barbarina in *Figaro* at the age of twelve.

then Hofbibliothek in Vienna, where they remain today.¹⁹¹ The fate of the autograph of K. 275 is less certain: there is no clear indication that Schellhammer ever possessed it, and it is lost today. Stoll may have possessed one other autograph of a rather surprising kind, as Constanze explained to Johann André on 31 May 1800:

*Eine Originalsymfonie von Mozart (ob just diese, weiss ich nicht) soll Hr. Stoll, Regens chori Chor=Rector in Baden – unweit Wien, haben.*¹⁹²

The source of Constanze's information is unknown, and it is equally unclear which of Mozart's symphonies Stoll might have possessed and how he might have obtained it.

We have no direct evidence that Mozart himself gave the autographs to Stoll, but a copy of K. 337 based on the autograph bears a note supporting this supposition (see below), and it is difficult to see how else the Stoll could have acquired them. Exactly when Stoll received the scores, and whether they were delivered as a group or in a more piecemeal fashion, we do not know. Given the care with which Mozart guarded his manuscripts, it is unlikely that the composer gave the autographs to Stoll with no expectation of ever receiving them back, the elaborate apology for K. 275 notwithstanding. It is a self-evident but important point that Mozart had every expectation of living beyond 1791 until the very last days of his illness, so in no sense could this gesture be construed as a valedictory gift. The mostly likely explanation, then, for Mozart's delivery of the autographs to Stoll was to

¹⁹¹ See Federhofer, "Mozart-Autographe." In addition to the items from Schellhammer's Nachlass listed by Federhofer in A-Gmi, A-Wn preserves two items associated with Schellhammer. Mus. Hs. 3363 is a manuscript copy of the Haydn lieder collections published by Artaria, to which Mozart's song *Der Frühling* K. 597 was later added. The title reads, "26 Lieder auf das Pianoforte. Dal Sig. Haydn. Ex rebus Giuseppe Schellhammer, provisorischer Regens-Chori und Organist in Baden. 1803." The fact that Schellhammer was "provisional" regens chori in Baden seems to be previously unknown. According to Willander, Schellhammer's hand appears in a set of parts from the Baden collection for Haydn's *Grosse Orgelmesse* (A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 146); Alfred Willander, "Das Kirchenmusikarchiv der Stadtpfarrkirche St. Stephan zu Baden mit Beiträgen zu Einer Musikgeschichte der Stadt Baden" (PhD Diss., Universität Wien, 1972), xii. A-Wn, MS 23645 is a copy of the first edition of Beethoven's sonata op. 27 no. 1 with the note, "Ex rebus Joseph Schellhammer." A similar note appears on the autograph of K. 618 and the autograph of Süßmayr's *Ave verum corpus* SmWV 121, now H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 3000.

¹⁹² *MBA*, iv.355.

provide him with potential repertoire for the Pfarrkirche. Viewed in this light, the collection has a number of unusual aspects. The inclusion of the vespers K. 193 is particularly notable, as works of this kind were theoretically still impermissible under the *Gottesdienstordnung*, and *Venite, populi*, in its elaborate disposition for double choir, would have taxed the abilities of the Pfarrkirche to their limit. It is entirely possible that Mozart had given further works to Stoll that were eventually returned, as seems to be implied by the composer's request for K. 317, in which case Stoll's collection of autographs may not constitute a representative collection but merely those the choirmaster happened to possess at Mozart's unexpected death.

Mozart's letters to Stoll make clear that sets of parts for K. 275 and K. 317 must once have been in existence, likely based on the composer's autograph. If further works were performed in Baden under Mozart and Stoll's direction, then they too must have had performance material associated with them. What happened to these manuscripts? As I have noted, Mozart had in his possession sets of parts for K. 337 and the disputed K. Anh. 140, both of which may have seen use in Baden or Vienna. Perhaps Mozart also owned parts for K. 275 and K. 317 that were not in his possession on 5 December 1791, and were thus unknown to Andre. Whether the parts were copied under the auspices of Mozart or Stoll, it would be of great interest to recover these manuscripts in the light of their potential value as textual witnesses. In particular, the parts for K. 275 would serve as a principal source for the work, due to their derivation from the now-lost autograph and their use under Mozart's direction in July 1791. As Edge puts it:

Even if we have, as we do in this case, so-called "authentic" parts written in the hands of Salzburg copyists who worked for the Mozart family, we are not absolved of the obligation to evaluate other sources. We know that Mozart had K. 275 in Vienna and was involved with performances of it, probably at least twice. We know also that Mozart was an inveterate reviser, changing in some way or other practically every piece he ever revived...Therefore, if we could identify a Viennese source of K. 275 that might have been associated in some way with Mozart – for

example, sets of parts used in Baden or Vienna – these might well show changes made by the composer.¹⁹³

The most promising place to look for such manuscripts is in the historical music archive of the Baden Pfarrkirche. The collection briefly gained notoriety in 1929 when the then choirmaster, Bernhard Nefzger, found a set of parts for the spurious *Missa in C K. Anh. C 1.05* with an attribution to Mozart.¹⁹⁴ This “rediscovered” Mozart mass, supposedly dating from 1790-91, received performances in both Baden and Vienna, and was even covered by the *New York Times*.¹⁹⁵ Left in a state of disrepair after World War II and the subsequent Russian occupation, the collection was purchased in 1966 by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and catalogued under the signature *Fonds 4 Baden*.¹⁹⁶

For our purposes, the most important question is whether any of the surviving materials from St. Stephen’s could be associated with Mozart and Stoll, particularly works known to have been performed there in 1790-91 such as K. 275, K. 317 and potentially *Ave, verum corpus*. At first glance, the chances would appear to be slim, for a major fire in 1812 supposedly destroyed the entire archive, forcing the then regens chori, Leopold Maglo, to begin the collection anew.¹⁹⁷ In fact, a number of manuscripts undoubtedly predate the fire, and several were almost certainly associated with Stoll. The clearest indication of this relationship is found in three sets of parts marked “Ex Rebus Anton Stoll / R. Chori

¹⁹³ *MVC*, 840.

¹⁹⁴ Nefzger kept the parts for himself, and it was not until January 2006 that they were donated to the Stadtarchiv in Baden. See Maurer, *Anton Stoll*. The speculation in *K⁶*, 812 that the parts “soll durch Schullehrer und Regenschori Stoll nach Baden gekommen sein” is almost certainly groundless. The samples of the parts provided on the church’s website are consistent with a date in the first quarter of the nineteenth century; “Die Badener Messe”, <<http://kirchenchor.baden-st-stephan.at/geschichte/badenermesse.htm>>, accessed 1 September 2006.

¹⁹⁵ Anon., “Identifies Mozart Mass: Vienna Expert Says Newly Found Work Was Written in 1776,” *New York Times*, Nov. 27 1931, 30. The source for this information was Carl August Rosenthal, identified anonymously in the article as “an expert engaged by The New York Times from the Vienna Seminary of Musical History...” See also H. C. Robbins Landon, “Mozart Fälschlich Zugeschriebene Messen,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1957* (Salzburg: 1958), 88.

¹⁹⁶ Joseph Gmeiner, *Verzeichnis der Nachlässe, Sammlungen Archive und Leihgaben in der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1992), s.v. ‘Baden bei Wien’.

¹⁹⁷ Willander, “Kirchenmusikarchiv”, ii-iii, 1, 39.

Baadae.” Figure 4.18 shows the wrapper from a set of parts for Haydn’s *Salve regina* in G minor, Hob. XXIIIb:2. Similar sets survive for Michael Haydn’s *Salve regina* in G and a *Salve regina* in B flat by the little-known Franz Xaver Widerhofer (1742-99).¹⁹⁸ The Michael Haydn and Widerhofer manuscripts are not easily datable, due to their low-quality paper, but the watermarks in the Joseph Haydn setting suggest it was copied in the 1770s or 80s.¹⁹⁹ The disposition of the parts is consistent with what we know of the Pfarrkirche’s musical resources: all three sets have single string and vocal parts with no surviving duplicates. If Mozart and Stoll used a similar makeup for their performances in 1790-91, as they likely did, then we would postulate an ensemble consisting of between six and eight singers and an instrumental group of about the same size. Although modern “historically informed” performers have been reticent to employ such “reduced” ensembles in their performances of Mozart’s sacred music, the musical resources of the Pfarrkirche were entirely typical for modest parishes in Vienna and its environs.

With the knowledge that late eighteenth-century parts from St. Stephen’s do indeed survive, we now turn our attention to the Mozart sources in the collection. A wide variety of printed and manuscript materials for Mozart’s sacred music are preserved in the archive, although for present purposes the printed sources can be disregarded as they all clearly date from the nineteenth century.²⁰⁰ The manuscript sources include parts for the masses K. 140, 192, 194, 257, 259, 275, 317, 337 and the spurious but widely distributed K. Anh. C 1.06. Other pieces in the collection include *Inter natos mulierum*, *Misericordias domini*, *Sub tuum*

¹⁹⁸ On Widerhofer, see Adolf Kollbacher, *Musikpflege in Mariazell: Drei Generationen der Komponistenfamilie Widerhofer 1756-1876. Mit Einem Thematischen Katalog Ihrer Werke* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1995).

¹⁹⁹ The watermark in the Joseph Haydn setting, A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 152, consists of three moons, countered by three stars over GV. The Michael Haydn setting, Baden 196, has a soldier holding a sword countered by the letters STW. The Widerhofer, Baden 447, is mostly on a low-quality paper; the Clarino parts are on a thinner paper with a watermark consisting of a man holding a club countered by three letters, possibly CMP.

²⁰⁰ For a listing of the printed sources, see Willander, “Kirchenmusikarchiv”, 13-15.



Figure 4.18. Title wrapper of a set of parts for Haydn's *Salve Regina*. A-Wn, F 4 Baden 152.

praesidium, the *Regina coeli* K. 276, *Ave verum corpus*, a contrafactum of an aria from *La Clemenza di Tito* as *Laudibus celum*, a contrafactum of the Mass K. 220 as a litany, a spurious *Salve regina* in B flat, and a fragmentary set of vocal parts for the quintet “Di scrivermi ogni giorno” from *Così fan tutte*.²⁰¹ Like the printed sources, most of these manuscripts appear to date from the nineteenth century, and I shall focus here on those works known or suspected to have been performed by Mozart and Stoll.

The Mass in B flat K. 275 survives in an incomplete set of parts consisting of single copies of Violino Primo, Violone, Tenore, and Organo, together with two bassoon parts and a director’s part of later provenance.²⁰² Recognising the possible connection with Mozart, the editor of K. 275 for the *NMA*, Monika Holl, describes the parts as “möglicherweise Teil eines Aufführungsmaterials, das von Mozart selbst in Baden bei Wien verwendet wurde.” She even goes so far as to date the parts “um 1791.”²⁰³ One would expect from this description that the Baden parts, the *NMA*’s Quelle F, would be subject to a detailed investigation to determine their provenance and textual significance. In fact, their readings are noted “nur gelegentlich” in the critical report, and are not taken into account in the edition itself.²⁰⁴ This limited treatment of the Baden parts for K. 275 is typical of the *NMA*’s undervaluation of secondary sources.

The four parts in the original layer are the work of two copyists.²⁰⁵ The watermarks in the parts for Violino I and Tenore consist of the letters VB under a canopy countered by a man-in-the-moon, probably equivalent to Duda VB. Watermarks resembling this design are found in a Süßmayr autograph dated 1800, in parts from the Burgtheater for the 1801

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 94-6. Willander incorrectly lists the parts for K. 259 (Baden 276) as “KV. 301.”

²⁰² A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 283. The inventory on the wrapper shows that the set once included parts for two clarinets and two horns, instruments that do not feature in the original instrumentation for K. 275.

²⁰³ *NMA* I:1/1/4 KB (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 10.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁰⁵ One bifolium in the Violino Primo part is the work of a third copyist.

revival of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and in Beethoven sketchbooks as late as 1807-08.²⁰⁶ The parts for Violone and Organo have a variant of the ubiquitous bow and arrow over AM watermark countered by three moons, although the precise design cannot be matched to any of the variants in Tyson or Duda. These characteristics, together with the 12-stave ruling, strongly suggest that the *NMA*'s dating of "um 1791" is almost certainly too early, and the parts in fact date from around 1800 or slightly later. Thus they cannot be the parts used by Mozart and Stoll in 1791. Before dismissing them, however, we should consider their potential value as secondary sources. It is impossible to tell on present evidence whether the parts were created before or after the death of Stoll in 1805, but the possibility remains that they were copied from Mozart's now-lost autograph, which was in the choirmaster's possession, or from the parts used in 1791. The surviving parts could therefore reflect revisions or additions made by Mozart that are not transmitted in the *NMA*'s principal sources, all of which emanate from Salzburg and its environs.²⁰⁷ Given the number of variant readings and extra articulation markings in the Baden parts, future editions of K. 275 would benefit from a closer study of this significant early material. The archive also once preserved a set of parts for Haydn's *Alleluia: In die resurrectionis*. We know this because a wrapper created in the nineteenth century for the set still survives.²⁰⁸ Unfortunately, the wrapper was reused to house a set of parts for Michael Haydn's *Salve regina*, and the original contents

²⁰⁶ *SmWV*, 352; *MVC*, 1381; Tyson/Johnson/Winter, 547. Holl recognises that the parts were copied "auf italienischem Papier"; *NMA* I:I/1/4, xii.

²⁰⁷ The *NMA*'s primary source is the Mozart family's parts, presumably dating from the first performance in 1777 (D-Asa, Hl † 8). It should be noted that Stoll's musical hand has yet to be identified.

²⁰⁸ A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 196. In its original state, the wrapper read: "Graduale ex B / |: Alleluja :| am weißen Son[n]tag / 4 Voci / 2 Violini / 2 Corni / Violone e Organo / von / Mich. Haydn."

seem to have been lost. It is possible that the lost parts were used by Mozart and Stoll for their performance in July 1791.²⁰⁹

We turn next to the Mass in C K. 317, of which Stoll apparently possessed a set of parts from Mozart. The St. Stephen's archive preserves a set of performing material for the mass, but the parts clearly date from the nineteenth century.²¹⁰ An early Breitkopf and Härtel printed score of the mass is kept together with the parts, and may be the source for them. Although one cannot reconstruct a detailed performance history of K. 317 in Baden, the fact that no early parts for the mass survive there may suggest that Stoll honoured Mozart's request of late May 1791 and did return a now-lost set of parts for the *Krönungsmesse* to the composer. It is of course also possible that "authentic" parts did survive in Baden, but were destroyed in the fire of 1812.

The Mass in C K. 337 is one of the works that Stoll possessed in autograph. The Baden archive preserves a set of parts for K. 337, which, unlike like the parts for K. 317, are listed in the NMA's critical report.²¹¹ If the NMA is to be believed, the parts date from "ca. 1790-1800," and, more significantly, "möglicherweise handelt es sich hier um eine Abschrift, die nach der autographen Partitur...angefertigt wurde, und die auf Mozarts Kontakte zum Chorregenten Anton Stoll in Baden zurückgehen könnte."²¹² They are thus a potentially significant source, and one would expect a detailed evaluation of them to determine their usefulness for the edition. Remarkably, however, the parts receive only a cursory description, and are not taken into account for the edition. As it happens, Holl's dating of the parts to the last decade of the eighteenth century is undoubtedly too early, and the evidence of the

²⁰⁹ The Baden archive preserves several masses by Michael Haydn, including MH 17, 154, 182, 530, 796, 826 and 837. Whether any of this material could be connected with "Süssmayr's" request for a Haydn mass from Schwanenstadt remains to be investigated.

²¹⁰ A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 277. This source is not listed in the critical report of the NMA.

²¹¹ A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 278.

²¹² *NMA I:1/1/4 KB, d/49*. The critical report to the NMA makes no mention of Mozart's lost parts for K. 337.

paper dimensions, watermarks, the style of Latin script and the staff ruling all support the contention that they date from various points in the nineteenth century. In terms of both editorial method and the evaluation of specific sources, the treatment of the Baden parts in the *NMA* illustrates particularly clearly the inadequacy of the edition's response to secondary material.

One earlier source that does confirm Stoll's possession of the autograph for K. 337 is a set of parts for the mass, now incomplete, acquired in January 2006 by the Baden Stadtarchiv.²¹³ The set, consisting of parts for soprano, alto and organ, bears a remark by one "Al. Hierz" that reads: "Diese schöne Messe schrieb H. Ambros Rieder, Regenschori zu Perchtoldstorf, aus dem eigenhändigen Manuscripte unsers unsterblichen W.A. Mozart's im Jahre 1797 ab. W.A. Mozart componirte diese Messe im März 1780 zu Salzburg und verehrte sie H. Stoll, Regenschori zu Baden, als Eigenthum."²¹⁴ Ambros Rieder (1771-1855), who claimed to have heard Mozart improvise at the piano, worked from 1797 in Döbling as a schoolteacher and became regens chori in Perchtoldsdorf in 1802.²¹⁵ Just how Hierz came across this information about the manuscript is unclear, and the parts are not textually significant as they date from after Mozart's death and were based on the autograph. Nevertheless, if the remark is true, it provides an illuminating glimpse into the early preservation and transmission of Stoll's precious inheritance.

As I will discuss below, there is no direct evidence that *Ave verum corpus* was performed in Baden in 1791, or indeed that Mozart intended the piece solely for Anton Stoll. Nevertheless the Baden archive preserves a set of parts for the motet that appear to be

²¹³ The parts were once in the possession of Bernhard Nefzger, choirmaster at St. Stephen's from 1910 to 1948; see Maurer, *Anton Stoll*. I have not yet had the opportunity to inspect the manuscript personally.

²¹⁴ Hierz copied the three parts anew; the organ part is dated "13. März [1]857".

²¹⁵ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 480.

quite early.²¹⁶ *Ave verum corpus* appears to have been virtually unknown before its publication by André in 1808, and these parts are likely among the earliest surviving performance material for the work. The set consists of an original layer, with surviving parts for Organo e Basso, Canto, Alto, Basso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Viola and Violon, and later parts with a different staff-ruling for Canto, Tenore, Basso, Violino Primo and Violino Secondo. None of the parts are on Italian paper, and the watermarks are particularly difficult to make out.²¹⁷ The reverse of the organ part contains what appear to be exercises in figured bass, and the fact that they are set in the unusual keys of B minor and B major suggests the two pieces were taken from a larger set that contained examples in every key.²¹⁸ If it were possible to identify the source of these exercises, one might gain an approximate idea of the manuscript's date. In the absence of such an identification, one must rely on the physical evidence of the parts. Although the watermark evidence is inconclusive, the size of the paper and the style of the Latin script suggest that the parts date from the early nineteenth century, and it is almost certain that they were not used for a putative performance in June 1791; see Figure 4.19.

At least one further early source for *Ave, verum corpus* must have existed. Many of the entries in Mozart's *Verzeichnis* are marked with three crosses in ink and pencil, and Edge has presented strong evidence that they were added in connection with André's receipt of the Mozart *Nachlass* in January 1800. The entry for *Ave, verum corpus* is marked with just such a series of crosses, which seems to suggest that André had received a copy of the motet from Constanze, or at least that he knew the location of the autograph.²¹⁹ As we have seen,

²¹⁶ A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 293.

²¹⁷ Possible designs include the letters H WIRA, crossed keys and a figure holding a sword.

²¹⁸ The hand responsible for the figured bass also produced the Violon part for *Ave verum corpus*. The remaining parts in the original layer, including the Organo e Basso part, were the work of one further copyist. The figuring in the Organo e Basso part appears to have been a later addition.

²¹⁹ *MVC*, 1067.

Adagio. *Canto.*
Sotto voce. *Sotto voce.*
f.p. *A = ve ve = ram cor = pus*
na = tum de Maria Virgi = ne ve = re pas = sum in = mo =
la = tum in cru = ce pro = ho = mi = ne
Cu = jus la = tus per = fo = ra = tum un = da = fluxit et
San = quine esto no = bis pra = gustatum in
mor = tis ex a = mi = ne in mor =
tis ex = a = mi = ne.

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Figure 4.19. Canto part for *Ave, verum corpus* from the Baden Pfarrkirche. A-Wn, Fonds 4 Baden 293.

however, the autograph of *Ave, verum corpus* was in the possession of Stoll at Mozart's death, and passed to Joseph Schellhammer in 1805. There is currently no known evidence that André ever gained access to the autograph, or indeed knew of its whereabouts in early 1800. Furthermore, André's own catalogues of the *Nachlass* – the “Gleissner” catalogue, the manuscript catalogue of 1833 and the printed catalogue of 1841 – make no mention of any source for the motet. Yet André must have possessed or gained access to a copy of *Ave, verum corpus*, since his firm was responsible for its first publication in 1808.²²⁰ If indeed Constanze did send André a copy of the motet as part of her delivery of the *Nachlass*, what form did this source take? One possibility is that Mozart, having given the autograph to Stoll, prepared a set of parts or perhaps even a new autograph score of *Ave, verum corpus* for his own use in Vienna. This manuscript, now lost, could have been sent to André in 1800, although the theory is of course weakened by the absence of any reference to such a source in the publisher's subsequent catalogues. The 1808 print does display a number of minor variants that could conceivably indicate its derivation from an “authentic” source other than Stoll's autograph, but they could equally have arisen in an intermediary copy of the surviving score.²²¹ For the moment, the question of what kind of source André had for *Ave, verum corpus* must remain unanswered.

One further manuscript that may be connected with Mozart and Baden has yet to be mentioned. In 1965, Hellmut Federhofer recovered part of the estate of Ferdinand Bischoff (1826-1915), a legal scholar based in Graz. The collection, which Federhofer acquired for himself, contained several autograph sources by Mozart, in addition to copies by Aloys Fuchs

²²⁰ The publication was announced in the *Intelligenz-Blatt* to the *AMZ* in January 1808 (col. 19).

²²¹ At least three editions of the print seem to have appeared. The earliest (exemplar: US-CA, Mus 745.1.581 BME0) notates the upper vocal parts in soprano, alto and tenor clefs. Two further editions (Ibid., 745.1.581 Merritt Room and 745.1.581 PHI) employ “modern” treble and bass clefs, and one advertises the existence of printed parts (not included in the Harvard exemplar). A copy of the motet by Maximilian Stadler (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 37879) has no textual significance.

and other material.²²² Among the non-autograph sources was a late eighteenth-century score of the gradual *Sancta Maria, Mater Dei* K. 273. The score, on Italian paper, bears the remark “pro me/Giuseppe Schellhammer mpria/Organist zu Leoben.”²²³ Bischoff himself later added: “Aus dem Nachlaß Stoll’s in Baden” and “Schellhammer Stoll’s Gehilf hat dieses u. andere Mss. von Stoll überkommen.” If Bischoff’s remarks are correct, it is conceivable that Mozart had something to do with Stoll’s possession of a score for K. 273.²²⁴ The question of the precise provenance of this manuscript awaits further investigation.

V. “MIT EINER KERZE IN DER HAND”

On Sunday, 25 June 1791, Mozart wrote to Constanze, “Morgen werde ich mit einer kerze in der Hand in der Joseph Stadt mit der Proceßion gehen!”²²⁵ This observance, which began and ended at the church of Maria Treu, was in honour of Corpus Christi, a feast that fell the previous Thursday. On his 1772 visit to Vienna, Burney was informed by an Italian that “the Austrians were extremely addicted to processions,” and he himself noted that “not a day passed while I remained in this city, without one or more to some church or convent.”²²⁶

Processions were curtailed and regulated under the 1783 *Gottesdienstordnung*, but even here the designers of the order retained them on Corpus Christi and its octave.²²⁷ Every year on

²²² Hellmut Federhofer, “Mozartiana im Musikaliennachlass von Ferdinand Bischoff,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1965/66* (Salzburg: 1967), 15-38. Federhofer subsequently disposed of a number of the autographs; the early trio for three unnamed instruments K. *deest*, for example, is now in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 41986. I do not know if the manuscript discussed here is still in Federhofer’s possession.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 33. Federhofer lists the watermarks as “drei Halbmonden,” which is almost certainly an incomplete description.

²²⁴ No source for K. 273 is found in the Baden collection at A-Wn.

²²⁵ *MBA*, iv.142.

²²⁶ Burney, *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*, 105.

²²⁷ The *Gottesdienstordnung* reads: “In den Vorstädtpfarren aber wird am Sonntag innerhalb der Fronleichnams Oktav Vormittag die Fronleichnamsprozession nach folgender Eintheilung geführt:...Von der Pfarr der Piaristen in der Josephstadt, mit welcher die Pfarr der Trinitarier zu gehen hat.” *RGZJ*, 553. The revised order for Niederösterreich of 1786 included a general prohibition on Corpus Christi processions outside the feastday

the *Fronleichnamfest*, Joseph II and the court processed from the Hofburg to St. Stephen's, including the *Hofmusik*.²²⁸ Processions also continued to take place on special occasions, such as the centennial anniversary of the Turkish defeat at the gates of Vienna on 14 September 1783.²²⁹

No previous reference to the Corpus Christi procession or Maria Treu itself appears in Mozart's letters, and from this letter alone it is not obvious why Mozart would travel from the family's residence in the centre of town to attend a suburban event.²³⁰ Perhaps the composer had attended in previous years, or had some engagement that is unknown to us.²³¹ The visit may have been connected with Mozart's attempts to have his son Carl accepted into the *Löwenburgisches Konvikt*, the school operated by the Piarists. More than three months after the procession, Mozart wrote to Constanze: "um 10 uhr gehe ich zu den Pieristen ins amt, weil mir Leitgeb gesagt hat, daß ich dann mit dem *Director* Sprechen kann. – bleibe auch beym Speisen da."²³² The following week in his last surviving letter, Mozart complained about the low standards at his son's current school in Perchtoldsdorf, to which Carl would need to be returned, and added, "unterdessen kann die Geschichte wegen den Piaristen zu Stande kommen, woran wirklich gearbeitet wird."²³³ The commentary to *MBA*

itself (Ibid., Beilage). Although in theory Vienna was affected by this order (Ibid., 152, 478), the city's churches very likely continued to follow the local order from 1783 in cases where the two documents differed, as the present example demonstrates. Leopold's *Generale* of 1791 modified the previous order only to grant bishops the power to allow additional Rogation processions; *RGZJ*, 559.

²²⁸ See, for example, the account of the 1786 procession in A-Whh, *Zeremonialakten*, Protokoll 37, f. 19.

²²⁹ The event was noted by Count Zinzendorf in his diary on that date: "Procession pour la centième anniversaire de la levée du Siege de Vienne"; quoted in Link, *The National Court Theatre*, 210.

²³⁰ For a sample list of processions associated with Corpus Christi prior to the reforms of Joseph II, see Janet K. Page, "Music and the Royal Procession in Maria Theresia's Vienna," *Early Music* 27 (1999): 98. The commentary in *MBA* (vi.416) includes the strange comment, "Mozart nahm, obwohl er Freimaurer war, daran teil."

²³¹ Biba states that this procession was not permitted under Joseph II, and only took place again after Leopold relaxed the restrictions, but see above; Otto Biba, "Volkmar Braunbehrens: Mozart in Wien [Review]," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1986* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 213.

²³² *MBA*, iv.160-61.

²³³ *MBA*, iv.162.

suggests that Mozart took part in the procession and mass in order to make a good impression with the school's authorities.²³⁴

The Piaristenkirche's music, directed from 1791-94 by Pater Aloisius Vorsix (1752-1817),²³⁵ was among the most extensive of such programs in the suburban churches of Vienna, and Mozart no doubt heard it during his two visits. The most well-known musical event in the Piaristenkirche's history was the performance on 26 December 1796 of a Haydn mass, possibly the *Missa in tempore belli*, under the direction of the composer. As Joseph Richter reported in the *Eipeldauer-Briefe*, the performance was to honour the first mass celebrated by a priest, Joseph Hoffmann:

Hernach bin ich die Täg beyn Piristen in der Kirchn gwesen. Dort hat ein braver geistlicher Herr sein Priminz ghalten, und da hat der berühmte Haiden d'Musik dazu gmacht, und da hab ich aus bsondrer Gnad ein Antrebilliet aufn Chor kriegt; denn sonst hätten s'mich in der Kirchen erdrückt. Herr Vetter in keiner Predig ists noch so voll gwesen, aber es ist auch der Müh werth gwesen, Herr Vetter: denn so ein schöne Musik hab ich fast noch in kein Theater ghört.²³⁶

Mozart's motet *Ave, verum corpus* has become indelibly associated with Anton Stoll and the Baden Pfarrkirche. The autograph is dated "Baaden, li 17. di giunio 1791", although the *Verzeichnüss* dates it 18 June. There seems little doubt that it was intended for Corpus Christi given the proximity to the feast, although contemporary settings allowed for a wide range of uses.²³⁷ But where was it performed? The usual assumption is that it was first heard in Baden on Corpus Christi, 23 June 1791. Mozart, in his letter to Stoll of late May 1791 had requested that the choirmaster find Constanze suitable lodgings for her forthcoming

²³⁴ *MBA*, vi.416. Till is surely incorrect in his statement that Mozart "often" visited the Piarists; Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment: Truth, Virtue, and Beauty in Mozart's Operas* (New York: Norton, 1993), 128.

²³⁵ Otto Biba, *Der Piaristenorden in Osterreich. Seine Bedeutung für Bildende Kunst, Musik und Theater im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. 5, *Jahrbuch für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte* (Eisenstadt: Institut für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1975), 160. Vorsix's birth and death dates are from the "Portheim-Katalog" in A-Wsa.

²³⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 128-9.

²³⁷ Other eighteenth-century settings designate *Ave, verum corpus* as an offertory or elevation motet, and strophic settings of it were sung during stations of the Corpus Christi procession.

visit, and Stoll duly found her rooms in the house “Zum Blumenstock,” today Renngasse 4.²³⁸ Mozart himself was in Baden from 13 to 18 June, and tradition has it that he lived in a hut within the grounds of the house where Constanze was staying.²³⁹ According to a complimentary legend, *Ave, verum corpus* was written there as a gesture of thanks to Stoll for arranging Constanze’s accommodation. There is however no documentary evidence that Stoll had the autograph or a copy of the work before Mozart’s departure on the 18th, or indeed that the work was performed in Baden at all during 1791.²⁴⁰ In the absence of such evidence for *Ave, verum corpus*, commentators have relied on a principle frequently encountered in Mozart scholarship, especially in relation to the piano concertos, in which a recently completed score is linked to a performance of unknown content on the basis of chronological proximity. Given the performance history of K. 275, K. 317 and perhaps other Mozart masses in Baden, it is a reasonable suggestion that *Ave, verum corpus* was indeed performed in Baden on Corpus Christi, the following Sunday or the octave. We should however be wary of plausible yet unproven suggestions coalescing into solid fact, as we have seen with the *Krönungsmesse* and throughout Mozart research more generally, and the potential for such assumptions to mask other possible contexts for the composer’s music.

On Corpus Christi and the following Sunday, Mozart was not in Baden, but in Vienna. Constanze was still in Baden at this time, but the loss of her letters has removed any possibility of confirming a performance of *Ave, verum corpus* under Stoll. She does seem to have written to her husband on both Corpus Christi and the following day: Mozart’s letter of 25 June, written two days after the feast, opens with the announcement that he has just

²³⁸ Surviving envelopes from Mozart’s subsequent letters to Constanze in Baden bear the instruction “bey Hr: Sündikus *abzugeben*.” The *Stadtsyndikus* Johann Georg Grundgeyer owned the house “Zum Blumenstock”; *MBA*, vi.410.

²³⁹ See Hermann Rollett, “Mozart in Baden,” *Mozarteums Mitteilungen* 2 (1920): 110.

²⁴⁰ Stoll of course later possessed the autograph of K. 618, but, as I have noted, we do not know when he obtained this manuscript or the remaining Mozart autographs he possessed.

received a letter from her, “welches mir ausserordentliches vergnügen gemacht hat.” Then, evidently in response to a report from her, Mozart writes:

ich bedauere auch daß ich gestern nicht bey eurer schönen Musique war, aber nicht der Musique wegen, sondern weil ich dann so glücklich gewesen seyn würde bey dir zu seyn.²⁴¹

At the end of the letter, he mentions, “den Augenblick erhalte dein zweytes.”²⁴² What was this “schöne Musique” that Constanze mentioned to her husband? It is tempting to speculate that it might have had something to do with Mozart’s new motet, but “gestern” was 24 June, the day after Corpus Christi. If indeed either of Constanze’s letters contained a report about the postulated first performance of *Ave, verum corpus*, it did not provoke Mozart to comment.

The Baden Pfarrkirche is certainly one potential venue for a performance of the motet in 1791. But is it the only one? Given Mozart’s recent appointment as adjunct Kapellmeister at St. Stephen’s and his known association with the Piaristenkirche, both churches should be taken into consideration as possible locations where the composer directed *Ave, verum corpus* himself. A major procession took place from the Cathedral on Corpus Christi, taking in all the parishes of the *Stadt*, and this would have been a high-profile opportunity for Mozart to premiere his new work.²⁴³ As we have seen, Andre seems to have possessed an otherwise unknown source for the motet – a manuscript that originated with Constanze – and perhaps this source was associated with a Viennese performance of *Ave, verum corpus* under Mozart’s direction.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ *MBA*, iv.141.

²⁴² In *MBA*, these two references are taken to mean that Constanze sent letters on both 23 and 24 June, a reasonable if not provable assumption.

²⁴³ The 1783 *Gottesdienstordnung* reads: “Fronleichnams Prozeßion wird in der Stadt nur eine am Feste selbst von der Metropolitankirche ausgehen...und...durch alle Bezirke der übrigen Pfarren ziehen.” *RGZJ*, 553.

²⁴⁴ As of 1837, according to the St. Stephen’s *Musicalien Catalog* (A-Wda, s.s.) the Cathedral did not possess performance material for K. 618. Otto Biba reports that the Piaristenkirche holds an early set of parts for the *Missa K. 337* in the hand of a “well-known Viennese professional copyist.” According to Biba, the parts are on paper with watermark Tyson 91, used by Mozart in his last years and by other composers into the 1790s. Otto Biba, “The Beginnings of Mozart’s Presence in the Viennese Church-Music Repertory: Sources, Performance

Like several other pieces dating from 1791, including the Piano Concerto K. 595, the Clarinet Concerto, and the Requiem, *Ave, verum corpus* has been subsumed into a narrative of “last year works” of supposedly valedictory character. In the case of the motet, this is only enhanced by the quaint tale of Mozart allegedly writing this “jewel” of the choral repertoire for a village schoolmaster. The motet does possess a certain significance by simple virtue of its completed state – a state that Mozart did not achieve for any other sacred work begun in Vienna. But just as a single Köchel entry can represent a keyboard minuet or *Le Nozze di Figaro*, such comparisons ignore the vast differences in scale between K. 618 and K. 427 or K. 626, not to mention the great variation in the circumstances of their composition. The simplicity of the part writing may be a concession to the abilities of a choir unfamiliar to Mozart, or may reflect a trend that some commentators have identified towards greater compactness and directness in the composer’s choral writing.²⁴⁵ Certainly, a number of melodic and harmonic characteristics in the motet strike a distinctive note in Mozart’s sacred music, although we have already noted that general style appears to be anticipated in the Kyrie fragment K. 422a and the Gloria fragment K. 323a. The unusual turn to F major at “cuius latus perforatum,” the frequent employment of seventh chords, the approach to the final choral cadence via IV⁶, and the descending scale degrees with suspensions in the string coda all contribute to an unusual mixture of conservative and progressive features, united by a pervasive melancholy. The obvious contemporary parallel is “O Isis und Osiris,

Practice, and Questions of Authenticity,” in *Mozart's Choral Music: Composition, Contexts, Performance* (Bloomington, IN: 11 February 2006). I have not yet had the opportunity to investigate the holdings of the Piaristenkirche.

²⁴⁵ See, for example, Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 33-36.

welche Wonne!" in *Die Zauberflöte*, a chorus that shares the tonality, texture and unexpected harmonic turn of *Ave, verum corpus*, although the musical language is more conventionally seated in late eighteenth-century techniques.

Judging by the small number of contemporary copies, *Ave, verum corpus* was not immediately popular after Andre's print made it generally available in 1808, even in Vienna.²⁴⁶ The motet's later fame was likely due to its relatively low technical difficulty, the growing mystique surrounding Mozart and his last year, and the easy arrangement of the accompaniment for organ alone in the increasingly common situations where no other instrument was available. If Mozart had lived beyond 1791, *Ave, verum corpus* would be seen as a milestone in the composer's increasing attention towards sacred music. As it is, the motet stands with the Requiem as a reminder of what might have been. K. 618 is smaller in scale than its companion work, to be sure, but in its self-contained eloquence, it speaks equally effectively of the kind of music Mozart had every intention of pursuing in 1792 and beyond.



In early December 1791, as the St. Stephen's musicians engaged in their pay dispute, their adjunct Kapellmeister turned his thoughts to the Cathedral with an understandable frustration. According to a garbled version of the story as told by Constanze in 1828,

...three days before his death he [Mozart] received the order of his appointment from the Emperor [sic] of being music director at St Stephen's which at once relieved him from the cabal

²⁴⁶ In 1811, Anton Wranitzky contrafacted the work as a gradual, *Magnae Deus potentiae*, and conducted it under his own name at the wedding of Gabriele, daughter of Count Maximilian Franz von Lobkowitz. The *Hofkapelle* in Vienna did not possess parts for *Ave, verum corpus* until the 1820s; A-Wn, HK 2698 is a mixture of printed and manuscript parts based on Diabelli's reprint, with a first performance date of 1826. A set of parts in H-VEs, Grad. 305 is dated 1817. Like the history of the Andre print, the issue of early manuscript copies of K. 618 is unaddressed in Federhofer's critical report to the NMA (I/3).

and intrigue of Salieri and the singers. He wept bitterly: “Now that I am appointed to a situation where I could please myself in my writings, and feel I could do something worthy, I must die...”²⁴⁷

Niemetschek had given a similar account more than two decades earlier:

Mozart blieb während seiner Krankheit bey vollkommenem Bewußtseyh bis an sein Ende, und starb zwar gelassen, aber doch sehr ungerh. Jedermann wird dieß begreiflich finden, wenn er bedenkt, daß Mozart kurz zuvor das Anstellungsdekret als Kapellmeister in der St. Stephanskirche mit allen Emolumenten, die von Alters her damit verbunden waren, bekam, und nun erst die frohe Aussicht hatte, bei hinlänglichen Einkünften ruhig, ohne Nahrungssorgen leben zu können.²⁴⁸

If Sophie Haibel’s famous account of Mozart’s last hours is to be believed, the composer had by then given thought to a successor: “ferner Trug er seiner Frau auf seinen Todt geheim zu halten, bis sie nicht Vor Tag Albrechtsberger davon benachrichtig hätte, den diesem gehörte der Dienst vor Gott u der Weltdt.”²⁴⁹ Albrechtsberger’s petition to the Council seems to be lost, but a draft of the appointment letter dated 12 December 1791 survives, similar in content to the one sent to Mozart.²⁵⁰ Albrechtsberger’s haste in securing the position may have been motivated by a desire to fend off competitors, but he may have also been responding to a genuine void that was left after the “absterben des Hr: Mozart.” The fact that the *Magistrat* was willing to appoint a new adjunct Kapellmeister just a week after Mozart’s death suggests that the authorities recognised the importance of that post, and, consequently, the work Mozart had been doing in his half-year of service. Albrechtsberger eventually became full Kapellmeister when Leopold Hofmann finally died in March 1793.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ Rosemary Hughes (ed.), *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the Year 1829* (London: Novello, 1955), 125-6.

²⁴⁸ Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, 53. At the end of the book, Niemetschek writes, “Mozart würde in diesem Sache der Kunst [d.h. Kirchenmusik] seine ganze Stärke erst gezeigt haben, wenn er die Stelle bey St. Stephan wirklich angetreten hätte; er freute sich auch sehr darauf.” (117)

²⁴⁹ *MBA*, iv.464. It is possible that this “Dienst” was the responsibility of informing Vienna’s musical community of Mozart’s death.

²⁵⁰ A-Wsa, Hauptarchivakten 18/1791; Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 373. I am unaware of any documentary evidence to suggest what Albrechtsberger’s activities were during his time as adjunct Kapellmeister.

²⁵¹ A-Wsa, Hauptarchivakten 11/1793.

Like much else in Mozart's short life, his seven-month appointment as adjunct Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's Cathedral has the character of unfulfilled promise. One can easily envisage the prospect of great Mozartian "middle-period" masses taking their place alongside Haydn's late set of six, for example, or the possibility of Mozart completing the C minor Mass and the Requiem. Yet a return to the church, and a return to a salaried position with the obligation of regular creative production, certainly challenges some of the more cherished ideas we have about the Viennese Mozart, the freelance musician. Ulrich Konrad envisages a *Domkapellmeister* Mozart who was already tiring of such work by 1798: "Messen und Vespern komponieren, das allsonntägliche Musizieren auf der Kirchenempore, das befriedigte ihn zunehmend weniger."²⁵² Mozart would have had to deal with officials like Andreas Furthmoser who possessed a Colloredo-like zeal for financial restraint, and accommodate further changes such as the demolition of the *Kapellhaus* in 1803.²⁵³ Unlike Albrechtsberger, who by his own admission was little interested in music outside the church,²⁵⁴ Mozart was internationally famed for his operatic and instrumental music, and reconciling the demands of the Kapellmeister post with commissions from the Theater auf der Wieden and elsewhere might have tested even Mozart's legendary productivity.

Such speculations attempt to satisfy a natural curiosity about the possible trajectory of the composer's life and music after 1791. Had Mozart lived and taken up the position of Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's, then truly "the history of church music would have taken a

²⁵² Ulrich Konrad, "Mozart 1806," *Acta Mozartiana* 48 (2001): 112. See also Robert Marshall, "Wenn Mozart Länger Gelebt Hätte: Eine Wissenschaftliche Fantasie," in *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke: Aspekte Musikalischer Biographie. Johann Sebastian Bach im Zentrum*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 270-81.

²⁵³ Brunner, *Kantorei*, 21.

²⁵⁴ See Albrechtsberger's letter to Christoph Gottlob Breitkopf of 17 August 1798, quoted in Dorothea Schröder, *Die Geistlichen Vokalkompositionen Johann Georg Albrechtsbergers*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K.D. Wagner, 1987), 240-41.

very different course.”²⁵⁵ In terms of creative significance and emotional power, however, future projections can only pale in comparison to the simple fact of Mozart’s death, and the lost opportunity it represented for the composer to take up the most important institutional appointment of his career.

²⁵⁵ H. C. Robbins Landon, *1791: Mozart's Last Year* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 48.

FIVE

Mozart's Obsequies

Die Musik bey der Todtenmesse zeichnet sich wegen der ihr eigenen Composition sehr aus, sie ist voll Ausdruck, erregt fromme Empfindungen, und ist so ganz für das Herz gemacht.

Ignaz de Luca, *Topographie von Wien*¹

Intanto raccomando questa mia creatura catholica alle di Lei grazie e protezione...

Franz Xaver Süssmayr to Salieri²

The tradition of composers writing music for their own funerals and obsequies has a long and distinguished history.³ Such compositional efforts can be traced back to the earliest history of the Requiem as a polyphonic form: Dufay's three-voice setting, usually said to be the earliest complete polyphonic setting of the Requiem text, is now lost,⁴ but there are many other settings allegedly or certainly produced in this context, including works by Guerrero, Gilles, Gassmann, Michael Haydn, Salieri, Cherubini, Zingarelli and Eybler. A number of these settings were not originally written for their composer's funeral but found their place there in any case, with or without the authorisation of their creator.

Due to the highly personal nature of the requiem text, and the obviously emotional circumstances in which such memorials are created, the circumstances of their preparation

¹ Ignaz De Luca, *Topographie von Wien*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Thad. Edlen von Schmidbauer und Komp., 1794), i.381-82.

² Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.389-90.

³ Portions of this chapter appeared in an earlier form in my paper "The *Exequien* for Mozart at St. Michael's," presented at the conference "Mozart's Choral Music: Composition, Contexts, Performance," Bloomington, IN, 12 February 2006.

⁴ Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 218-20, William F. Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 133-35.

and performance are of the greatest interest for all manner of biographical, musical and psychological interpretations. Since 1991, Mozart's Requiem has become implicated in the memorial tradition of that composer through two archival rediscoveries. The scholarly and popular response to these discoveries closely mirrors the response to the other "big" rediscovery of 1991, the Lichnowsky lawsuit.⁵ In both cases, a considerable amount of speculative and often misinformed commentary has sprung up to compensate for the small amount of information that the documents actually provide. The rapid introduction of a "Requiem for Mozart" into the accepted narrative is due to the potentially sensational implications of the find: reports that Mozart believed he was writing the Requiem for himself appeared very early in the biographical tradition, and here, at last, was evidence that the work may have fulfilled just that function.

Research on the Requiem has been hampered by a number of shortcomings characteristic of Mozart source studies more generally, among them the absence of a rigorous method of handwriting identification, a lack of attention to non-autograph sources, and a dearth of biographical research into the musicians of Mozart's circle. Important work has sometimes been overlooked: Nowak and Moseley's discovery that part of the figuring in the Kyrie is in the hand of Süßmayr is often ignored in modern studies and editions, for example.⁶ In addition, the work's notoriety has attracted the attention of amateur researchers and an ever-growing host of editors who seek to complete it, often leading to the replication of outdated and speculative theories.⁷ In this chapter, I shall concentrate upon the events

⁵ Walther Brauneis, "...Wegen Schuldigen 1435 F 32 Xr": Neuer Archivfund zur Finanzmisere Mozarts im November 1791," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 39 (1991): 159-63.

⁶ Leopold Nowak, "Wer Hat die Instrumentalstimmen in der Kyrie-Fuge des Requiems von W.A. Mozart Geschrieben? Ein Vorläufiger Bericht," in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1975* (Salzburg: 1976), 191n4, Paul Moseley, "Mozart's Requiem: A Reevaluation of the Evidence," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114 (1989): 210.

⁷ For studies of several completions of the Requiem, see Matthias Korten, *Mozarts Requiem KV 626: Ein Fragment Wird Ergänzt* (Frankfurt and New York: P. Lang, 2000), David A. McConnell, "The Requiem

leading up to the *Exequien* for Mozart in December 1791, and attempt to place the service within the context of Viennese liturgical and musical practice.

I. REQUIEM SETTINGS FOR VIENNESE MUSICIANS

Depending on the status of the deceased, the style and quantity of music heard at eighteenth-century funerals and memorials could vary considerably.⁸ Funerals for musicians were usually quite simple, since many in the profession died destitute and their relatives could not afford the expense of an elaborate aural and visual background to the liturgy.⁹ Mourners in the 1780s faced official attempts, only partially successful, to rein in the Viennese predilection for elaborate ceremony and public expressions of grief, and the abolition of the brotherhoods by Joseph II removed some of the major sources of institutional support for such services. It was only occasionally, then, that a musician received a funeral or other kind of memorial service featuring a full choral and instrumental ensemble.

When Gluck died in November 1787, he received a first class funeral costing 30fl 24xr, including three priests and a hearse drawn by four horses. There seems however to have been no music, as the record notes that the composer “Ist in der Stille Eingeseget worden.”¹⁰ Gluck does seem to have given thought to a more lasting memorial, and the resulting service provides an interesting parallel to the service held for Mozart four years later.

Controversy: An Examination of Six Completions of Mozart's Final Work” (DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 2002).

⁸ For an illustration of the “Sacrum chorale pro defunctis” in a Viennese organ book of 1780, used at less elaborate services, see Erich Benedikt, “Die Alten Notenarchive der Schubertkirche Lichtental und der Klosterkirche der Barmherzigen Brüder in Wien,” in *Musik Muss Man Machen': Eine Festgabe für Josef Mertin zum Neunzigsten Geburtstag Am 21. März 1994*, ed. Michael Nagy (Vienna: Vom Pasqualatihaus, 1994), 80, 97.

⁹ Joseph Heyda (c. 1740-1806), organist at St. Michael's from 1793, was entirely penniless at the time of his death and relied on charity; A-Wsa, Mag. ZG 2-2431/1806.

¹⁰ Vienna, Pfarrarchiv St. Stephan, Bahrleiherbuch 1787, f. 408v. The entry was located and transcribed by Michael Lorenz, to whom I am grateful.

Salieri, who directed the music at the occasion, recalled the events leading up to it in a letter to the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*:

Gluck hat nämlich nichts im Kirchenstyle gesetzt, (wenigstens habe ich ihn nie etwas erwähnen hören,) ausser ein *De profundis* – ein Stück, das er mir kurz vor seinem Tode übergab, um es in der Sammlung für Cammermusik des Kaisers, Josephs II., niederzulegen. Joseph wünschte es zu hören, und ich liess es bey der Todtenmesse, die dem verewigten Verfasser in Wien gehalten wurde, ausführen.

Dies *De profundis* ist – ich muss es gestehen – nicht *meisterlich* (maestralmente) geschrieben, wenn man nämlich mit diesem Ausdruck Werke voller Künstlichkeit, aus denen Gluck zu solchem Behuf nicht viel machte, bezeichnet; wol aber ist es wahrhaft *christlich* (cristianamente) geschrieben, und darum, meines Erachtens, für seinen Zweck weit mehr werth, als so viele andere, meisterlich, nicht aber christlich geschriebene, welche für religiösen Gebrauch mir unpassend, ja selbst nachtheilig scheinen.¹¹

As unusual as it may seem for Joseph II to have expressed interest in a piece of church music, given his track record, Salieri's account is confirmed by the minutes of the *Tonkünstlersocietät*, under whose auspices the event was to take place. Salieri himself had recently been appointed president of the society, and he made the Emperor's request the first order of business in the meeting of 2 April 1788:

Herr v[on] Salieri k: k: Hofkapellmeister machet denen Herrn Assesorn der Music: Societät hiermit zu wissen, wasmassen Sr Maj: der Kayser bey dem jüngst erfolgten Todtfall das so berühmten Musikmeisters Chevalier Gluk, sich in seiner das erstbemelten Herrn Hofkapellmeisters v[on] Salieri gegenwart dahin zu äussern geruhet haben: daß bey dieser gelegenheit die Musical: gesellschaft sich auszeichnen solte. Da nun der Gesellschaft äusserst daran liegen muß, von dieser gnädigsten Äusserung den beziehenden Gebrauch zu machen; so dürfte der vorschlag, von seiten, und in Namen der ganzen Musical: Gesellschaft ein Sollenes Requiem zum ewigen Gedächtnuß dieses grossen, und berühmten Mannes zu veranstalten, bey denen Herrn Assesorn um so weniger Anstand finden, als diese zur besonderen Ehre der ganzen Nazion gereichende Ausführung desselben auch ohne grossen Kosten von darumen bes[c]hehen könnte, weil ausser denen Herrn Musicis, welche das Requiem ohnentgeldlich versehen werden, bos die Kirchen apparata, Copiatur, und andere Kleinigkeiten zu bestreiten seÿn werden.

Mit Einschluß des Krankheits halber abwegenden Joseph Scheidl, der sich schriftlich als ganz einverstanden hierüber geäußert, wird unanimiter beschlossen, daß das Requiem, und zwar von der Komposition des Herrn Jomelli, inzwischen aber das *De profundis* von der Komposition des seel: Chevalier Gluk auf den 8^{ten} Aprill in der Kirche am Hof, dann die Probe den 7^{ten} in dem Sallet des k: k: National Theaters auf Kosten der Societät zum ewigen gedächtnuß dieses berühmten Mannes solle abgehalten werden. Was übrigens die ganze nöthige Veranstaltung dieser Sollenität, die aufführung der Music, die accordirung, und auszahlung der dabey nöthigen

¹¹ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1809-10), 197. Salieri's Italian original is in Angermüller, *Dokumente*, iii.20-21.

Leuthe, Lichtern, Kirchen apparaten etc: betrifft, wird solches Herr Huber unter der Direction des Herrn Hofkapellmeisters v[on] Salieri gegen demezu übernehmen ersuchet, daß über die gemachten Ausgaben die quittungen beygebracht, und der Societäts Rechnung beygelegt werden.¹²

The service went ahead as planned, and the *Wiener Zeitung* provided an account of it the following day:

Da der wegen seines grossen Talents in der Tonkunst allgemein rühmlichst bekannte, jüngsthin hier verstorbene Ritter Gluck, seinem Vaterlande so viele Ehre gemacht hat, so fand sich die hiesige Tonkünstlergesellschaft bewogen, das Andenken dieses allgemein geschätzten Meisters durch eine öffentliche Handlung zu ehren, und dadurch einen Beweis ihrer vorzüglichen Achtung für dessen entschiedene Verdienste abzulegen. In dieser Absicht hielt dieselbe gestern als am 8. dieses in der Pfarrkirche am Hofe unter der Direktion des k. k. Hofkapellmeisters, Hr. V. Salieri, ein mit feyerlicher Musik begleitetes Requiem, welchem das Publikum sehr zahlreich beywohnte, und wobey der von dem Verstorbenen hinterlassene Psalm: De profundis zum erstenmahle aufgeführt wurde.¹³

Salieri's work on the project may be seen in the *Hofkapelle's* performance score of the Jommelli Requiem.¹⁴ Here Salieri added obbligato parts for two trombones on the empty top staff, followed by oboe and bassoon parts on the lowest staff, as Jommelli's original lacked these instruments. Salieri also corrected errors and omissions made by the copyist using red crayon, such as the Tutti and Solo indications and part of the tenor line shown in Figure 5.1. Just why Jommelli's Requiem was selected for the service instead of a setting by a local composer is uncertain; in any case, the watermarks of the score suggest that was not specially copied for this event but dates rather from the 1770s.¹⁵ The performance material for this work seems to be lost.

¹² A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein A 2/1. Particularly interesting here is the rare mention of the *Salletl*, some kind of rehearsal space at the back of the Burgtheater.

¹³ Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.150; *Wiener Zeitung*, 9 April 1788, 855.

¹⁴ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18697. Another score of the work is found in Mus. Hs. 15855.

¹⁵ The watermarks in the score include Tyson 34 and 41, found in Mozart autographs from 1774 to at least 1776. On this work, see Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Das Requiem von Niccolo Jommelli im Württembergischen Hofzeremoniell 1756," *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 4 (1997): 11-30.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, there are several staves of music, likely for a vocal line, with notes and rests. Below these are staves for instruments. The text 'Tollis peccata mundi' is written across several staves in a cursive hand. There are also some red ink annotations and corrections, including the word 'Tollis' written vertically and 'qui tollis peccata, peccata mundi' written horizontally. The bottom of the page is labeled 'Violoncello' and 'Senza Organo'. The paper is aged and shows some wear.

Figure 5.1 Score of Jommelli's *Requiem*, with additions and corrections by Salieri. A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18697.

The score of Gluck's *De Profundis* that the composer gave to Salieri for deposit in the "Sammlung für Cammermusik" does not seem to survive, but a set of surviving parts from the *Hofkapelle* may have been used at the 1788 premiere; see Figure 5.2.¹⁶ The watermarks in these parts are consistent with a date in the late 1780s,¹⁷ and one of the alto parts, illustrated here, bears an annotation by Salieri in the top right hand corner: *questo si fara in luogo del Domine Jesu* – in other words, this piece should be performed in place of the *Domine Jesu*. Such replacement of the usual offertory text with an alternative movement seems to have been a common practice, at least in Salzburg.¹⁸ The parts consist of six copies each of Soprano and Alto, five copies of Tenore and Basso, five copies of Viola, one copy of Violoncello, three copies of Basso, and single parts for Oboe, Fagotto, Corno and each of the three trombones.¹⁹ If these parts are representative of a performance at Gluck's memorial in 1788, they imply that a chorus of larger than usual size was available, although the presence of a variety of paper-types may suggest that the parts were copied over a more extended timeframe. Although it is tempting to speculate that the disposition was influenced by the famously inflated forces of the *Tonkünstersocietät* concerts, there is no evidence from the surviving instrumental parts that an unusually large orchestra was employed. The fact that

¹⁶ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17325. At least two contemporary score copies of this work survive. The first, A-Wgm, I 7976/Q 20725, has a title page reading "Offertorium. / De profundis clamavi / Par M: Le Chev: Gluck." The watermark is Tyson 91, found in dated Mozart autographs from 1788-91. The second score, A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17019, has watermarks Tyson 56/76 and a design similar but not equivalent to Duda PS-1. Annotations on the first page read "al Barone du Beine" and "Nr 360." On du Beyne, a music collector and acquaintance of Mozart, see Herbert Vogg, "Franz Tuma (1704-1774) als Instrumentalkomponist Nebst Beiträgen zur Wiener Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1951), 49-56. According to the ÖNB's provenance catalogue (A-Wn, INV. 3/Tabulae 2, *olim* Mus. Hs. 2485) the score was obtained from "Nachl. Spitta," with a pencilled note above it: "Wiener Musikverein."

¹⁷ Watermarks in the parts include Tyson 86 and 91, Duda A/GF/C-1 at an earlier stage of deformation, three moons | GFA, three moons | W and three moons over REAL | CS over C (single line), the last similar but not equivalent to Tyson 100.

¹⁸ See Beatrice Ebel, "Die Salzburger Requiemtradition im 18. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu den Voraussetzungen von Mozarts Requiem" (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1997), Anh. 32-34.

¹⁹ There are no violin parts, as Gluck did not score for those instruments. The organ part, if it ever existed, is now missing. Three of the viola parts are on a greenish-tinged paper that likely implies a later provenance.

the material derives from the *Hofkapelle* may suggest that Salieri did not return the parts to the *Tonkünstlersocietät*, but instead retained them for the continued use of the court ensemble.²⁰

The memorial service for Gluck shows that it was possible, on occasion, to summon a substantial ensemble to perform a musical requiem mass in honour of a deceased composer. Such an honour was, however, unusual, and extended only to the most famous and respected figures. Thus, for example, when Haydn died in 1809, a service for him was held at the Schottenstift which included a performance of Mozart's Requiem under Joseph Eybler. The doctor Peter Lichtenthal, a friend of Constanze and her sons, described the occasion:

Zu dem Mozartischen Requiem, welches man für ihn hier in der Kirche zu den Schotten gab, erhielt ich ebensfalls ein Entree Billet, und fand daselbst nebst einer Ungeheuren Menge der hiesigen Bewohner auch eine sehr große Anzahl der ersten französischen Autoritäten. Die Kirche war so voll, daß man kaum stehen konnte. Einige wollten bemerken, noch nie dieses große Kunstwerk so gut als gerade damals exequirt gehört zu haben, auch ich stimme ihnen bei; nur ist zu wünschen, daß unser beliebte Musikdirektor, Hr. Clement, welcher immer das Ganze dirigirt, ein u. dasselbe Ensemble beim Orchester, wie er dieses beim Singpersonale thut, beobachten möchte. Solche delicatesen Musiken verlieren ungemein, wenn sich nur ein einziges, nicht immer daran gewöhntes, Subject dabei befindet.²¹

In comparison, even so distinguished a figure as Giuseppe Bonno, Imperial Kapellmeister and President of the *Tonkünstlersocietät*, received no such distinction at his death in 1788.²²

The most elaborate funeral music was of course reserved for members of the Imperial family, and composers across Europe regularly wrote works commemorating the death of Hapsburg monarchs. Carlo Antonio Campioni, *maestro di capella* to Archduke (later Emperor) Leopold wrote a Requiem for Maria Theresia, performed at S. Lorenzo in Florence

²⁰ The provenance catalogue (A-Wn, INV. 3/Tabulae 2) gives the origin of the parts as "Hofkapelle."

²¹ *MBA*, vi.595-96.

²² On 30 April 1788, the board of the *Tonkünstlersocietät* met to discuss, among other things, an appropriate memorial for Bonno. It resolved: "Um die Consequenzen zu vermeiden, wird von dem Vorschlag für den Verstorbenen ein Requiem zu halten abgegangen..." Salieri was, however, requested to convey an expression of thanks to Bonno's heirs on behalf of the entire Society; A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein, A 2/1.

on 7 February 1781.²³ Peter Winter, *Vice-Kapellmeister* in Munich, wrote a Requiem for Joseph II as, apparently, did Joseph Martin Kraus, *hovkapellmästare* in Stockholm.²⁴ For obsequies in the Imperial capital, however, musicians seem to have relied on settings written closer to home. From dates on the performance material, it seems that the *Hofkapelle* performed at least two settings by Viennese composers during the mourning period for Joseph II and Archduchess Elisabeth in early 1790: the Gassmann Requiem on 25 February and 2 March, and a Requiem by Reutter (Hofer Requiem 4) on 3 March; see Figure 5.3. The Reutter setting had already been performed on 6 November in 1788 and 1789, and was used again for the Feast of All Souls in 1791.²⁵ Gassmann's setting was also used by the *Hofkapelle* for the anniversary of Maria Theresa's death every year between 1788 and 1791; see Figure 5.4.²⁶ Both a score and parts for the Gassmann survive, with the Introit and the Dies Irae copied and gathered separately in the performance material.²⁷ The concertmaster's

²³ Campioni's autograph is in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16449. There is no indication that the work was ever performed by the Viennese *Hofkapelle*. Salvatore Pazzaglia's Requiem for Maria Louisa, wife of Leopold II is in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16666 and HK 513.

²⁴ Both of Winter's Requiem masses evidently achieved some popularity in Vienna, but the surviving parts for *Hofkapelle* all date from around 1800 or later; A-Wn, HK 326, HK 1184, HK 1763, HK 1965. On the Kraus setting, see Bertil H. van Boer, *Joseph Martin Kraus (1756-1792): A Systematic-Thematic Catalogue of His Musical Works and Source Study*, vol. 26, *Thematic Catalogues* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), 4-5. A Requiem attributed to Dittersdorf in PL-WRu, 60028 Muz. bears a note reading "Requiem Composto per l'Esequie della defunta Augustissima Sovrana Maria Teresa di Carlo de Dittersdorf 1780."

²⁵ A-Wn, HK 793. If Bonno's two settings were used, the performances were not noted on the wrappers; HK 99 bears no dates between 1776 and 1798, while HK 100-101 has no date after 10 March 1781. On the E-flat work (Schienerl 31), see Sigrid Kleindienst, "Marginalien zu Giuseppe Bonnos Requiem," in *Musik Am Hof Maria Theresias: in Memoriam Vera Schwarz*, ed. R. V. Karpf (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1984), 131-40.

²⁶ The 1790 anniversary is not mentioned on the parts, but is confirmed by an entry in Zinzendorf's diary; see previous chapter.

²⁷ A-Wn, HK 31/I (score) and 31/II (parts). Many of the parts are in the hand of Viennese Mozart-Copyist 3. Both sources bear a number of cuts and annotations, some of which may be the work of Salieri; see Franz Kosch, "Florian Leopold Gassmann als Kirchenkomponist" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1924), 45. Another set of parts for the work, HK 245, takes the cuts into account and probably dates from the mid to late 1790s; watermarks in this set include Duda BV/C-1, FC-3 and RGA-3.



Figure 5.3. Wrapper of parts for Gassmann's Requiem, showing performance dates 1788-1802. A-Wn, HK 31.

Gassmann. *Adagio* *Violone.* 705

Requiem

Allofmausloch
Armen

HK 31
MUSEUMSBLOND

Figure 5.4. Violine part for Gassmann's Requiem, in the hand of VMC-3. A-Wn, HK 31.

part is marked “Trani” in the Introit and “Sig^{re} Trani” in the *Dies Irae*, a reference to Joseph Trani, the *Hofkapelle*’s lead violinist until his retirement on the orders of Joseph II in 1788.²⁸

The Gassmann Requiem has frequently been cited as a stylistic influence on Mozart’s setting.²⁹ Discussions of “influence” often pass over the basic question of how Mozart might have come into contact with the proposed model – as if the mere co-existence of a composer and a work in the same city, or even the same continent, is sufficient for a connection to be established.³⁰ The only indication that Mozart maintained a particular admiration for Gassmann comes from a late account by Rochlitz on music in Leipzig in the early months of 1818. Reporting on the performance of a mass by Gassmann at the two principal churches of the city during Easter, Rochlitz added a footnote:

Ich erinnere mich hierbey eines Wortes Mozarts, das ich ihn bey seiner letzten Anwesenheit in Leipzig, wenig Jahre vor seinem Tode, über G[assmann] aussprechen hörte; und führe es an, weil man den würdigen Künstler, welchen es betrifft, ganz zu vergessen scheint. Hiller rühmte Gassmann höchlich: der alte Doles wollte nicht recht einstimmen. Papa, sagte Mozart zu diesem; wenn Sie nur erst alles kenneten, was wir in Wien von ihm haben! Komme ich jetzt heim, so will ich seine Kirchenmusiken fleissig durchstudiren, und hoffe viel daraus zu lernen.³¹

Mozart was in Leipzig for the second time from 8 to 17 May 1789. Although the inventory of the composer’s estate does list an unidentified manuscript “terzetto” by Gassmann,³² the

²⁸ Dorothea Link, “Mozart’s Appointment to the Viennese Court,” in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2005), 175. The presence of Trani’s name likely suggests that the parts were copied some time before their first attested use on 29 November 1788. Trani was no longer an active member of the ensemble by this date.

²⁹ The connection was first suggested in Edward J. Dent, “The Forerunners of Mozart’s Requiem,” *Monthly Musical Record* 37 (1907): 124-26. See also Kosch, “Florian Leopold Gassmann”, 147-8, Richard Maunder, *Mozart’s Requiem: On Preparing a New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 74-77.

³⁰ See especially the examples from Gossec and W. F. Bach cited in Christoph Wolff, *Mozart’s Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 81-2.

³¹ Friedrich Rochlitz, “Leipzig. Uebersicht: Neujahr bis Ostern,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 20 (1818): 247n. The mass was probably the Missa Solemnis in C, Kosch 4. Hiller had already performed the Kyrie and Gloria from this work at a concert spirituel in the Thomashaus in December 1779; see Karl Peiser, *Johann Adam Hiller. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hug, 1894; reprint, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1979), 27. Rochlitz published the Agnus Dei with an inauthentic Dona nobis in his *Sammlung vorzüglicher Gesangstücke*; Kosch, “Florian Leopold Gassmann”, 42.

³² Ulrich Konrad and Martin Staehelin, *Allzeit Ein Buch: die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts*, vol. 66, *Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek* (Weinheim: VCH Acta humaniora, 1991), 17, 101.

late date and general unreliability of Rochlitz's anecdotes – not to mention the implausibility of Mozart addressing a colleague as “Papa” – call the veracity of this report into serious question. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that Mozart encountered Gassmann's Requiem through its numerous performances by the *Hofkapelle* in the last years of the composer's life. It is also possible that Mozart encountered the work at St. Stephen's: the Cathedral did possess a set of parts for Gassmann's Requiem, but unfortunately they were among those sold as wastepaper in 1889.³³

For the first anniversary of Joseph II's death on 20 February 1791, Salieri selected another Viennese Requiem: a setting in C minor by Leopold Hofmann.³⁴ In contrast to the settings by Reutter and Gassmann, the Hofmann Requiem appears to have been newly prepared for this performance by Viennese Mozart-Copyist 3 and four other copyists. That the *Hofkapelle* would acquire Hofmann's Requiem at this late stage of the composer's career is an interesting confirmation of the *Domkapellmeister's* continuing prominence in Viennese church music. There seems no way of determining when Hofmann wrote the work, but St. Stephen's did possess two copies of it, and is possible that Salieri acquired the piece directly from the composer.³⁵

³³ “Musikalien-Katalog” (A-Wda, s.s.), 109; Kosch, “Florian Leopold Gassmann”, 46. As is well known, the Gassmann Requiem is incomplete, lacking all sections from the Offertorium onwards. It is unclear how the *Hofkapelle* coped with this situation in the eighteenth century. At Stift Kremsmünster, Maximilian Stadler wrote concluding sections for the work in 1790 while he was *Kommandatarabt* of the monastery. These survive in the hand of Bonifaz Schweigert, the monastery's *regens chori* (A-KR, D 40/3a-c). See Karl Pfannhauser, “Auf den Spuren der Mozart-Überlieferung in Oberösterreich,” in *Zu Mozarts 200. Geburtstag. Festschrift des Linzer Landestheaters* (Linz: Verlag des Landestheaters Linz, 1956), 24-5. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the *Hofkapelle* supplemented Gassmann's setting with portions of works by Reutter (HK 793), Krottendorfer (HK 1208), Michael Haydn (HK 2054, HK 2209) and Kaintz (HK 1244); Karl Pfannhauser, “Epilegomena Mozartiana,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1971/72* (Salzburg: 1973), 292, Richard Steurer, *Das Repertoire der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 22, *Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Musikdokumentation* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1998), 93-4.

³⁴ A-Wn, HK 478. The principal watermark in the parts is Tyson 96; others include Duda GF-3 and Duda A/GF/C-2.

II. THE COMMISSIONING OF THE REQUIEM

Given his limited public exposure as a composer for the church, Mozart was not the obvious choice for Count Wallsegg's Requiem commission.³⁶ With the performances in Baden and his appointment at St. Stephen's, Mozart had taken tentative steps towards achieving a greater prominence in this area, and it possible that Wallsegg had encountered the composer's sacred works at some stage. Michael Puchberg has also been suggested as an intermediary, as he and his wife Anna rented an apartment at Hoher Markt 522, a house owned by Wallsegg until the end of 1791. Constanze and Carl stayed with the Puchbergs during Mozart's tour of northern Germany in 1789, and two of the composer's letters to Constanze contain his only known references to Wallsegg's name.³⁷ Interestingly enough, Wallsegg's library contained several Mozart prints dating from after 1793, showing that the Count continued to take an interest in the composer's music even after the delivery of the Requiem.³⁸

Occasional suggestions that Mozart began work on the Requiem at his own initiative before the commission arrived are probably to be rejected.³⁹ At any rate, the paper-types on which Mozart wrote the surviving autograph material are not known to have been employed

³⁵ "Musikalien-Catalog" (A-Wda, s.s.), 110. The entry bears an "NB" sign indicating the work was no longer in use, but it is crossed out.

³⁶ For the historical background to the commission, see Andrea Worlitz-Wellspacher, "Der Bote des Requiembestellers," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 45 (1990): 197-219.

³⁷ Mozart's letters of 16 April and 23 May 1789 are addressed to Constanze, "auf dem hohen Markt im Walseckischen Hause bei Hr'n v Puchberg." *MBA* iv.82, 88. See also Walther Brauneis, "'Dies Irae, Dies Illa' - 'Tag des Zornes, Tag der Klage': Auftrag, Entstehung und Vollendung von Mozarts 'Requiem'." *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 47-8 (1991-92): 39.

³⁸ See Walther Brauneis, "Franz Graf Wallsegg: Mozarts Auftraggeber für das Requiem. Neue Forschungsergebnisse zur Musikpflege Auf Schloß Stuppach," in *Musik Mitteleuropas in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Historia Musicae Europae Centralis* (Bratislava: Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993), 211-21.

³⁹ Stadler claimed that Mozart had written sketches for the Introit and Kyrie prior to the commission; see Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, 78-80. Mozart had certainly explored a similar idea to the Kyrie in the string quartet fragment Fr 1785c/K. Anh. 76 (417c), a piece also cast as a double fugue in D minor with a diminished-seventh leap in the bass.

by the composer before March 1791 (see below). K. 626 may be the first Requiem written in Vienna for a number of years, as I have been unable to identify any other setting dating from 1781-91.⁴⁰ A number of requiem settings did however appear soon after: a setting in C minor by Krottendorfer dated 1793, a D minor setting by Albrechtsberger (Schröder A.I.15), also from 1793, and a setting by Pasterwitz (Kaas Messen 11) from the early 1790s.⁴¹

It is conceivable that Mozart envisaged eventual performances of the Requiem at St. Stephen's or the *Hofkapelle*, as both institutions had constant need of *missae pro defunctis*. With the scoring of the work for basset horns, however, Mozart set an obstacle in the way of anyone wishing to perform the Requiem in Vienna – let alone Wiener Neustadt. Basset horns were practically unknown in Viennese church music, and even clarinets were rare until the later 1790s. As we have seen, Joseph II explicitly banned clarinets from the *Hofkapelle* in 1788.⁴² Perhaps Leopold could have been more amenable, but there is no clear sign that clarinets were used in the *Hofkapelle* until the time of Haydn's late masses. Church orchestras in other parts of the empire were more progressive: Druschetsky's gradual *In coeli favore*, dated 24 August 1791, includes an elaborate solo for clarinet.⁴³ According to RISM, a set of parts in Budapest for Spangler's Requiem includes a basset horn part, perhaps as a

⁴⁰ Pasterwitz did however write a set of *Vesperae pro defunctis* (Kaas Vespers 12) in 1791. For an overview of Viennese Requiem settings, see Christian Wurzwallner, "Requiem-Vertonungen in Wien Zwischen 1750 und 1820" (Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 1990).

⁴¹ The autograph of Krottendorfer's Requiem, deriving from the collection of Archduke Rudolph, is in A-Wgm, I 11573/A 446a. The autograph of Albrechtsberger's setting is in H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 2599. The earliest source for the Pasterwitz Requiem is a set of parts in A-Wn, HK 594, which bears several performance dates beginning with 18 December 1793. A partially autograph score and parts of later provenance is in A-KR, Part. Schr. and A-KR, D 45/40. An incomplete copy of the Pasterwitz Requiem was made by Michael Haydn (H-Bn, Ms. Mus. II. 3). Unfortunately, the editors of the Michael Haydn catalogue did not recognise the origin of this score and attributed the work to Haydn himself; see Petrus Eder, "Johann Michael Haydns Angebliches Mittleres Requiem MH 559," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 83 (1999): 91-9. The misattribution was compounded by a German music journalist, Olaf Krone, who announced to the world his "discovery" of this "unknown" Haydn Requiem and had Pasterwitz's Requiem recorded under Haydn's name (Capriccio 71084, 2006).

⁴² "Clarinetti...sind in Hinkunpft bei Kirchen Diensten gänzlich wegzulassen." Quoted in Link, "Mozart's Appointment," 177.

⁴³ H-Bn, Ms. Mus. 1590.

replacement for the usual clarinet parts associated with this work.⁴⁴ Johann Simon Mayr (1763-1845) scored for the basset horn in a Requiem dating from the early nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Franz Novotny (c. 1749-1806) in Pécs and Vincent Maschek (1755-1831) in Prague both called for it in their masses.⁴⁶ Mozart had started a D minor piece involving basset horns before: the quickly abandoned piano concerto movement Fr 1786k/K. Anh. 61.

As with much of Mozart's music, there is little concrete evidence of the external circumstances under which the Requiem was written. The anonymous obituary for Schack claimed that the "grössten Theil seines Requiem schrieb er [Mozart] auf der Laimgrube in dem Trattnerschen Garten." However, as Deutsch pointed out, Trattner's residence, printing works and substantial garden were located in Altlerchenfeld, not in the Laimgrube, so something is amiss here.⁴⁷ Mozart's clavichord, now in the Mozarteum, bears a note in the hand of Constanze: "Auf diesem Clavier hatte mein seeliger Gatte Mozart componirt die Zauberflöte, La Clemenza di Tito, das Requiem und eine neue Freimaurer-Cantate in zeit von 5 Monate."⁴⁸

The surviving portions of Mozart's disrupted autograph score are written on two paper-types. The first, Tyson 62-V, was used for the Introit, all but the last page of the Kyrie, and the Sequence from the opening of the *Dies irae* to the first page of the *Recordare* inclusive.⁴⁹ In total, Mozart purchased more than a quire of this paper sometime after his return to Vienna on 18 September,⁵⁰ and it is easily distinguishable from the other paper-

⁴⁴ H-Bb, 47,131.

⁴⁵ Autograph in I-BGc, 306.6.

⁴⁶ H-P, N 29; CZ-ND, I/97. An anonymous Missa in D in A-Wbb, 7, copied by the schoolteacher Johann Niklas Weber in "Didershausen" and dated 30 July 1786 has parts in the *Et incarnatus* and *Benedictus* for two "Clarinetti d'amore." The use of unusually "low" instruments was not unprecedented: Bonno's E-flat Requiem employs two cor anglais, and Eybler's setting of 1803 was to use the same instrument.

⁴⁷ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 459-60.

⁴⁸ *MBA*, vi.647. Upon receiving it, Constanze had written: "wie sehr froh ich darüber bin, bin ich nicht im stande zu beschreiben. Mozart hatte dies Clav. so lieb, und deßwegen habe ich es doppel lieb." *MBA*, iv.505.

⁴⁹ Folios 1-8, 65-76 in the red foliation.

⁵⁰ *MVC*, 437.

types in the manuscript through the vertical lines ruled on both sides of the staves. In addition to the Requiem, this paper is found in the autograph of *Die Zauberflöte*, the masonic cantata K. 623 and the infamous sketchleaf Skb 1791a. The second type, Tyson 102, was used for the last page of the Kyrie and from the second page of the *Recordare* to the end of the manuscript.⁵¹ The earliest known use of this paper-type was in the bass aria *Per questa della mano* K. 612, dated 8 March 1791. In addition, it appears in the autographs of the string quintet K. 614, the mechanical organ Andante K. 616, the first movement of the horn concerto K. 412+514, *Die Zauberflöte*, the masonic cantata, and a number of fragments. The use of this type – almost two quires in total – in works from both early and late 1791 led Edge to suggest that Mozart might have made more than one acquisition of it.⁵²

Apart from establishing a *terminus post quem* of 18 September 1791, paper studies can contribute little to determining the chronology of the Requiem's composition. The anomaly of the Kyrie's last page, written on a paper-type that is otherwise not found until the *Recordare*, may be due to Mozart leaving the fugue unfinished until a later stage of the process, or simply the result of a mixed batch of paper. From the order of sketches on Skb 1791a, it seems that the notorious *Amen* sketch was conceived after the composition of the *Zauberflöte* overture was begun, but before the *Rex tremendae* was completed.⁵³ Critical evaluations of this most famous of Mozart's sketches vary considerably. For Thomas

⁵¹ Folios 9-10, 79-100.

⁵² *MVC*, 435. Unfortunately, the illustrations of the Requiem's watermarks in the 1990 facsimile edition are highly inaccurate. The introduction to the edition reproduces Alfred Schnerich's stylised and unreliable watermark tracings from 1913 unchanged, despite the fact that they completely omit the word REAL found under the three moons.

⁵³ Konrad has pointed out the resemblance between the unidentified Sk 1791a and the *Recordare*; Ulrich Konrad, *Mozarts Schaffensweise: Studien zu den Werkautographen, Skizzen und Entwürfen, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 280.

Bauman, it is “unworthy of Mozart,” enacting a “constricted crisscrossing of the voices as they slowly slide in a huddled clump from one plodding dotted half note to the next...”.⁵⁴ Levin turns this weakness into a virtue, in which the voice crossings are prescriptive of an “intricate, ‘difficult’ counterpoint”.⁵⁵ However one considers the sketch, the awkward diminished-fifth leap in b. 7 and Mozart’s evident difficulty in devising a soprano part that would fit the already crowded texture in b. 14-16 reveal this to be a fugue at the most preliminary, even exploratory stage of composition.⁵⁶

Given the confidence and fluency of Mozart’s autograph notation, it is practically impossible on diplomatic evidence alone to determine when the composer was forced to give up work on the Requiem. The matter of Mozart’s final days is mostly beyond the scope of this study, but is worth considering the question of his religious beliefs at this most fundamental of junctures. According to Sophie Haibel’s celebrated account,

...die arme Schwester [Constanze] ging mir nach und bat mich um Gottes willen zu denen geistlichen bey St. Peter zu gehen, und Geistlichen zu bitten, Er mögte komen so wie Von Ungefähr, dis dat ich auch allein |: Sant peters wollte ich schreiben :| Selbe weigerten sich Lange, und ich hätte Vile Mihe einen solgen Geistligen Unmenschen dazu zubewegen...⁵⁷

Mozart’s residence was in fact part of the parish of St. Stephen’s Cathedral, so it is not clear why Constanze wanted her sister to visit St. Peter. Sophie had originally written “zu denen Michaeler zu gehen” in place of “zu denen geistlichen bey St. Peter zu gehen”, requiring her

⁵⁴ Thomas Bauman, “Requiem, but No Piece,” *19th Century Music* 15 (1991): 160.

⁵⁵ Robert Levin, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Requiem KV 626...Ergänzt und Herausgegeben von Robert D. Levin* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2004), xxv.

⁵⁶ Unlike Plath, who was unable to decipher the soprano in b. 14-16, Konrad provides a conjectural transcription of this part in the *NMA*. Levin replaces it with the less-than-convincing sequence *d¹-e¹-a* in b. 16; Maunder has the soprano fall silent. Levin’s curious assertion that “18th century *Amen* fugues remain in the same key” (*Requiem*, xx) is contradicted by Krottendorfer’s C minor Requiem of 1793 (see above); the *Amen* fugue in this work contains complete or partial entries in E-flat major, B-flat major and F minor.

⁵⁷ *MBA*, iv.464.

to repeat her statement about the church.⁵⁸ The “clerical brutes” at St. Peter included the *Pfarrer*, Dr. Anton Ruschitzka and the *Patres* Andreas Folth, Bernard Angstenberger, Johann Baptist Eigner, Georg Adam Hazel and Joseph Petz.⁵⁹ Sophie’s account seems to suggest that a priest eventually *did* come after much persuasion, but this is contradicted by a note added by Nissen to his copy of this letter, presumably on the recollection of Constanze: “(aber nicht kam)”. Elsewhere, Nissen wrote one statement that supports this idea – “Die Geistlichen weigerten sich zu kommen, da der Kranke sie nicht selbst rufen ließ” and one that may partially contradict it: “Ward er [Mozart] nicht versehen, so bekam er doch die letzte Ölung.”⁶⁰

Maynard Solomon attempts to use Nissen’s annotations in support of an “anticlerical” Mozart, whose “faith was so profound that it had no room for pomp, hypocrisy, and especially for the mediation of clerics between individuals and their God.”⁶¹ There is no indication, however, that Mozart *refused* clerical assistance, merely that the request for it originated with Constanze. Furthermore, Solomon buries Nissen’s second statement – that Mozart *did* receive anointing from a priest – in an endnote, and mistranslates it as “If he hadn’t been neglected, he would have received the last rites.”⁶²

⁵⁸ Walther Brauneis, “Exequien für Mozart: Archivfund Über das Seelenamt Für W.A. Mozart Am 10. Dezember 1791 in der Wiener Michaelerkirche,” *Singende Kirche* 38, no. 1 (1991): 11. This correction is not mentioned in the commentary to *MBA*.

⁵⁹ Christine Schneider, *Der Niedere Klerus im Josephinischen Wien: Zwischen Staatlicher Funktion und Seelsorgerischer Aufgabe*, vol. 33, *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte* (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1999), 139-40. See also Anon., *Verzeichniß der Domstifter und Pfarrer im Erzherzogthume Oesterreich 1791* (Vienna: Joseph Edlen von Kurzbeck, 1791).

⁶⁰ Rudolf Lewicki, “Aus Nissens Kollektaneen,” *Mozarteums Mitteilungen* 2 (1919): 28.

⁶¹ Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1995), 497.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 589n76. Solomon did not provide the original German, and was evidently unaware of the meaning of *versehen* in this context. The actual meaning here is “He did not receive the last rites, but did receive anointing.” The probable implication is that Mozart received the *Krankensalbung* or anointing of the sick, which as the Sacrament of Extreme Unction also forms the first part of the “last rites” together with the Penance and Viaticum. The *Krankensalbung* was for those who were dangerously ill, the complete rites for those who were close to death.

Whatever attitudes Mozart may have held about the clergy, there is little to be gleaned from contradictory accounts that grant no agency to the composer himself.

Both Eybler and Süssmayr claimed to have been present during Mozart's final illness, although it is only Süssmayr who maintained that Mozart had given him instructions about the Requiem.⁶³ There seems little doubt that Mozart held Eybler in higher esteem than Süssmayr, yet, despite his experience as a choirboy at the Vienna Seminary and his study under Albrechtsberger, Eybler is presently known to have written just one sacred piece prior to Constanze's request for him to complete the Requiem. In 1781, at the age of 16, he produced the large-scale *Missa Sancti Hermanni* HV 1 for the first mass celebrated by his brother Johann Hermann; see Figure 5.5.⁶⁴ It is a plenary mass containing settings of the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus* and a motet, *Numen aeternum...Semper ad te suspiro*.⁶⁵ The autograph, on a heavy "local" paper and in rather poor condition, makes clear that Eybler's hand underwent a number of changes over the ten years between this mass and the composer's work on Mozart's Requiem. Eybler's entries in the Requiem autograph score are in fact among the earliest surviving examples of his hand after the mass of a decade earlier.⁶⁶ In contrast to Eybler, Süssmayr composed extensively for the church during his time at Kremsmünster, producing at least one mass, a setting of vespers, a number of offertories and

⁶³ *AMZ* 28 (1826): 338; *MBA* vi, 504-05.

⁶⁴ Karl Pfannhauser, "Zum Bicentarium des Komponisten Joseph E. v. Eybler," *Das Josefstädter Heimatmuseum*, no. 43 (1965): 65.

⁶⁵ Hildegard Herrmann-Schneider, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Joseph Eybler*, vol. 10, *Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften* (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1976). Herrmann-Schneider's catalogue is in need of substantial revision, as the archives of the Schottenstift were unavailable to almost all scholars before the 1980s, and that archive contains the majority of Eybler's sacred autographs. Karl Pfannhauser, characteristically, did gain access; see Pfannhauser, "Joseph Eybler," 62. The Herrmann-Schneider catalogue also fails to mention many of Eybler's works now extant in the *Hofkapelle* collection.

⁶⁶ Note the divergent forms of the treble and, particularly, the bass clef. For an analysis of Eybler's later hand, see Agnes Ziffer, *Kleinmeister zur Zeit der Wiener Klassik*, vol. 10, *Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Musikdokumentation* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1984), 201-04. According to Herrmann-Schneider, the autograph of Eybler's string quartet HV 190/1 (Op. 1/1), dated April 1787, was twice sold by the Viennese auction-house of Gilhofer in the early twentieth century.

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4 4 4 .

Alba C^o

Adagio

Violini I

Violini II

Viola

Violoncello

Timpani

Organo

Chorus

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Basso

Kyrie - Kyrie - Kyrie e e

Figure 5.5. Autograph opening of Eybler's *Missa Sancti Hermiani*, 1781. A-Ws, 701 (710).

several works for the German liturgy.⁶⁷ Various listed as an organist, alto and violinist, he certainly participated in performances as well.⁶⁸ Upon his arrival in Vienna in about 1788, however, Süßmayr seems to have concentrated on secular music, writing a number of operas and *Singspiele* in addition to symphonies, cantatas, minuets and chamber music. With the exception of a number of insertion arias written for productions at the *Burgtheater*, none of this music is known to have been performed.⁶⁹ Although the composer apparently enjoyed the patronage of Ignaz, Graf Fuchs (1760-1838) and his brother Alois (c. 1766-1836), we are largely in the dark as to Süßmayr's activities and means of financial support in Vienna until the summer of 1791.⁷⁰

Süßmayr appears to have supported himself in part by deputising at the *Burgtheater*. In the week of 27 November to 3 December 1790, he was paid 26 fl “für geleistete *extra Dienste*” at the theatre.⁷¹ Although we know the operatic productions that week included Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile*, Paisiello's *La molinara* and Salieri's *Axur*, it is not clear from this entry what exactly Süßmayr's services were. A year later, on 16 November 1791, the *Musikgraf* Johann Wenzel Ugarte ordered, “den Teyber zur Aushilf des Weigl und einstweilen den Siessmayer anzustellen.”⁷² Weigl had been appointed Kapellmeister at the

⁶⁷ For details see *SmWV*, 27-64 and the supplements at <<http://suessmayr.at/>>.

⁶⁸ See Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 499-506.

⁶⁹ On the insertion arias, see the entries for *SmWV* 261, 275 and 285.

⁷⁰ The autograph of the incomplete piano concerto *SmWV* 503 is headed “...dedicato al Sigr. Conte Sav. di Fux.” while the autograph of the piano sonata *SmWV* 702 reads “...Composta e dedicata / al / Illustrissimo Signore Luigi / Conte de Fux / dal suo umilissimo e divotissimo / Servidon / Francesco Saverio Siessmayr.” I am grateful to Michael Lorenz for the identification. Ignaz was, among other things, master of the *Herrschaft* of Schwanenstadt, the town in which Süßmayr was born; Friedrich Freiherr von Haan, “Auszüge aus den Sperr-Relationen des N.-Ö. und K.k. N.Ö. Landrechts 1762-1852,” *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft Adler* (1913): 1-2.

⁷¹ A-Wn, Theatersammlung, M 4000; Dexter Edge, “Mozart's Viennese Orchestras,” *Early Music* 20 (1992): 87 n40.

⁷² A-Whh, Kab. Kanzlei, Bd. 78e, No. 614. This entry was first cited in Gugitz, “Auszüge,” s.v. “Süßmayr, Franz Xav., Musiker.” I am grateful to Michael Lorenz for transcribing it. In the same note, Ugarte ordered that the trumpeter brothers Joseph and Karl Mayer and the timpanist Anton Eder should receive a supplemental payment of 100fl; these payments are reflected in the annual account book.

service in the orchestra, and it may be in connection with Süssmayr that the theatre hired a piano from the keyboard builder Anton Walter in the last week of 1791.⁷⁵

The significance of these payments lies, of course, in their potential to shed light on Süssmayr's activities around the time of Mozart's last illness. From 3 to 9 December, the *Burgtheater* hosted musical productions on four occasions: Paisiello's *La Molinara*, including the anonymous ballet *Il Capitaneo Cook alli Ottaiti* on the 4th,⁷⁶ another Paisiello opera, *I Zingari in fiera*, on the 6th, Guglielmi's *La bella pescatrice*, including *Il Capitaneo Cook*, on the 8th, and Werthes' play, *Bayard*, with the same ballet on the 9th.⁷⁷ Over at the *Kärntnerthortheater*, one could hear Dutilleu's opera *Il trionfo d'amore* on the 3rd, the play *Die Sonnenjungfrau* with incidental music by Weigl on the 4th, and Benda's melodrama *Medea* on the 5th. Two weeks later, the *Burgtheater* produced *I Zingari in fiera* together with Capuzzi's ballet *Ines de Castro* on the 27th, a German play, *Die falschen Vertraulichkeiten* combined with the same ballet on the 28th, and *La bella pescatrice* on the 29th. At the *Kärntnerthortheater*, one could hear Nasolini's *Teseo a Stige* on the 26th, *La bella pescatrice* on the 28th, and Tritto's *Le astuzie in amore* with *Ines de Castro* on the 30th.⁷⁸ We do not know which of these performances involved Süssmayr, but perhaps he played in *I Zingari in Fiera* or *La bella pescatrice* – the only operas featured in both weeks. The fact that Süssmayr received 23 fl in the early part of the month but only 10 fl in the last week suggests he was involved more intensively at the *Burgtheater* during Mozart's last illness or soon afterwards.

⁷⁵ "dem *Walter Anton*, für ein hergelichenes *forte piano*...18. [fl]"; A-Wn, Theatersammlung, M 4000.

⁷⁶ The composer may have been Pierre Dutilleu, who was hired as "Balletmusick Compositeur" at the *Kärntnerthortheater* from 1 November 1791. What may be the original parts for this ballet survive in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 37369, and an arrangement for violin and keyboard from the *Kaisersammlung* is in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 11021. The composer is not named, although the title page of the parts does mention the name of Giulio Giuliani, the newly-hired director of the ballet orchestra at the *Kärntnerthortheater*. The ballet was originally produced for the nameday of Leopold II on 15 November 1791; see Rice, "Emperor and Impresario", 307-8.

⁷⁷ The performances on the remaining nights of the week were German-language plays without music.

⁷⁸ Link, *The National Court Theatre*, 180-83.

Chief among those documents supporting the “authenticity” of Süssmayr’s work on the Requiem is the celebrated account by Sophie Haibel of Mozart’s last hours. Haibel recalled that, after hurrying back to Rauhensteingasse from her mother’s place,

Da war der Sissmaier bey M: am Bette dan Lag auf der Deke das Bekante Requiem und M:
Explicirte jhm wie seine Meinung seie daß er es Nach seinem Todte Vollenden sollte.⁷⁹

This exchange took place some time in the evening of 4 December: it was “schon finster,” and Mozart’s doctor was only able to visit sometime later, after the “Pieße” at the theatre had finished. Whether or not this “Pieße” was *La Molinara* at the *Burgtheater*, *Die Sonnenjungfrau* at the *Kärntnertortheater*, or another work on offer in the city, there is a potential conflict between Haibel’s account and the evidence furnished by the account book, which shows that Süssmayr was already engaged at the theatre on at least one of 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9 December. On present evidence, of course, he need not have played on 4 December and thus Haibel’s account may be accurate, but a payment of 23fl does suggest service on more than one night.⁸⁰ As only a citation of Ugarte’s original instruction to hire Süssmayr survives, we do not know the circumstances of his employment, but it is possible that the composer was engaged to cope with the additional musical demands posed by Leopold II’s new ballet company, first seen on 15 November 1791. Until further evidence appears, however, the payment of 23 fl will serve as a necessarily general indication of Süssmayr’s activities in the week leading up to the memorial service on 10 December.

At present, the only sacred work by Süssmayr known to have been written in Vienna during Mozart’s lifetime is an *Alleluia* for solo bass and orchestra, SmWV 127; see Figure 5.7. The autograph is written on a single bifolium of high quality paper, but unfortunately

⁷⁹ *MBA*, iv.464.

⁸⁰ Compare the 2fl Süssmayr received per service at the *Hofkapelle* a few months before.

FM4/1165

Süssm
No. 10

1

Fl.
Oboe
Cor.
Bassoon
Fagott

Alleg. vivace
Allegro molto
p.

Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia
Alleluia

Figure 5.7. Autograph opening of Süssmayr's *Alleluia* for bass and orchestra. H-Bn, Ms. Mus. IV 10.

there seems to be no watermark present.⁸¹ Possibly the bifolium was cut from a sheet in which the watermarks were located entirely on the other half, as with Tyson 99 and 105. In the absence of useful information of this sort, we must rely on handwriting analysis to determine an approximate date. The form of the treble clef, including the wide “hip,” together with several other features suggests an origin sometime before 1792, and the likely unavailability of this paper at Kremsmünster implies a date no earlier than 1788.⁸² At the beginning of the manuscript, Süßmayr wrote simply “Siessmayr,” but a later hand added “Alleluia” and “pour Mons. Benucci” in pencil. Francesco Benucci (c. 1745-1824), who sang in the premieres of *Figaro*, the Viennese *Don Giovanni* and *Così*, is not known to have had a regular association with any Viennese church, and there is no guarantee that the pencil marking is contemporaneous with the writing down of the score. If, however, this “dedication” dates from before the singer’s departure from Vienna in 1795, we may have here a second instance of Benucci’s association with sacred music, following his performance at the inauguration of the Italian National Church in April 1786.⁸³ In 1793, Süßmayr would write two replacement numbers for Benucci in Paisiello’s *La Serva Padrona*.⁸⁴

While at Kremsmünster, Süßmayr befriended a fellow student and composer, Ernst Fraunberger (1769-1840). Their friendship continued when Fraunberger moved to Vienna to study for the priesthood, and was maintained even after Fraunberger left the city in 1793.⁸⁵ In 1791, Fraunberger wrote a small-scale mass in Vienna for two soprano voices and bass, attributed on the title-page to “Sig^{re} Niemand”; see Figure 5.8. Such whimsical or

⁸¹ Unusually, the paper is ruled with 16 staves, divided by Süßmayr into two systems of eight staves. The autograph bears a number of pencilled corrections.

⁸² *SmWV*, 54.

⁸³ Walther Brauneis, “Die Italienische Congregation in Wien: Geschichte und Zielsetzungen Einer Nationalen Interessensvertretung im Wien der Mozart-Zeit,” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 47, no. 3/4 (1999): 38.

⁸⁴ *SmWV*, 160-62.

⁸⁵ See Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, 600-02.

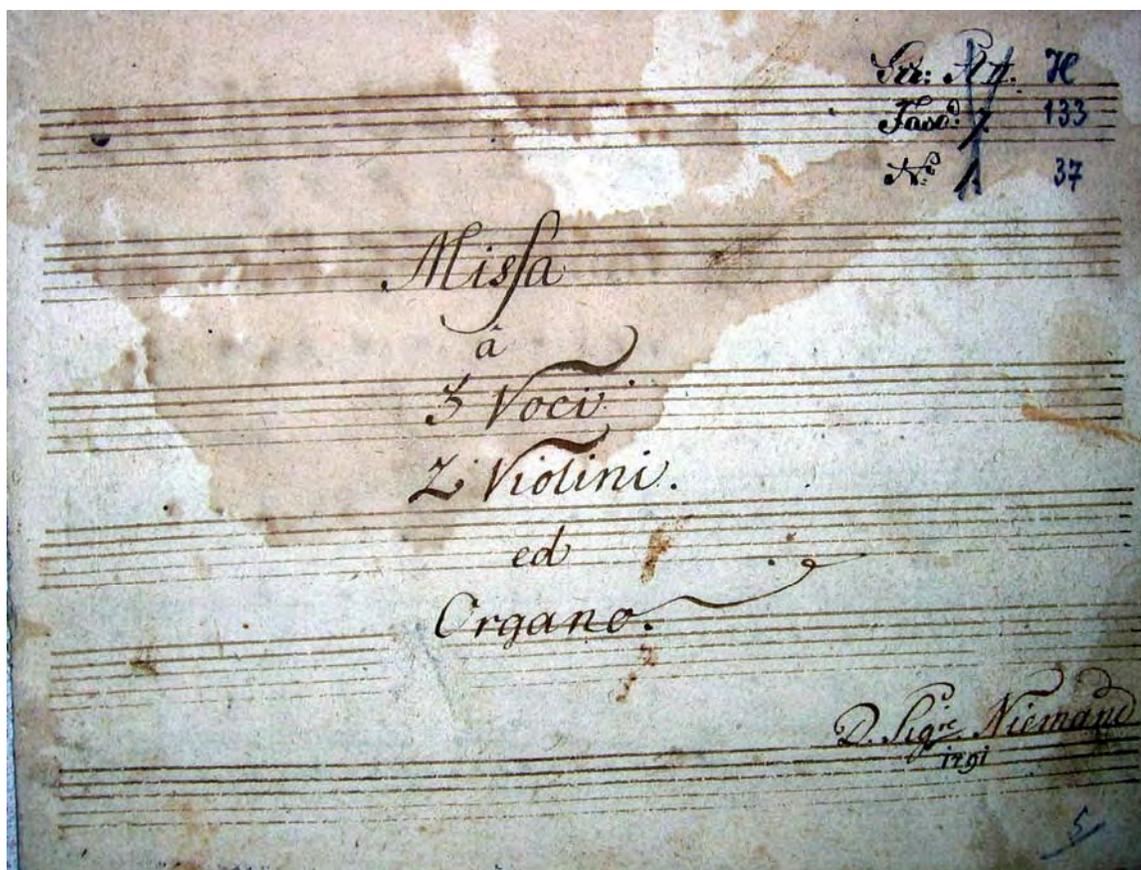


Figure 5.8. Autograph title page of Frauenberger's Missa in C, 1791. A-KR, H 133/37.

cryptic attributions are a common feature of Frauenberger's autographs. Süssmayr's *Deutsches Requiem* SmWV 104, written at Kremsmünster, survives in a score in the hand of Frauenberger with an attribution to "H. Franz Süßmayr und Manthaler in Musik gesetzt."⁸⁶ "Giuoceo Manthaler", like "P. Arnusto Donnemontano" and "Niedereder" was a pseudonym for Frauenberger.⁸⁷

The idea that Süssmayr was Mozart's pupil or at least a close associate began to establish itself soon after Mozart's death. The libretto of the opera *Moses* SmWV 209, premiered at the Theater auf der Wieden on 4 May 1792, bears the remark: "In Musik gesetzt von Franz Xav. Sießmayr, Schüler der königl. Hofkapellmeister Salieri und weil[and] Mozart."⁸⁸ Niemetschek, writing in 1794, concluded a long article on the state of theatre in the German-speaking world with the following:

In Grunde hat keine Oper, seit Mozartsche existiren, im eigentlichsten Sinn des Wortes, ihr Glück gemacht; selbst die zwei von dem Wiener Kompositeur Hrn. Sießmeyer nicht ausgenommen, der auf seinen wahren Lehrer Mozart schimpft, ihn aber doch abschreibt.⁸⁹

Niemetschek produced the text for a choral piece by Süssmayr, *Tag der Wonne* SmWV 321, written for the birthday of Emperor Franz and first performed at Prague's Tyn Church on 12 February 1794.⁹⁰ Süssmayr received a golden bowl for his efforts and was honoured by the rector of the university as a "würdiger Scholar eines grossen Salieri, und des unvergesslichen Mozarts!" Viennese reviews of *Die Spiegel von Arkadien* SmWV 213 in 1794 drew

⁸⁶ A-KR, H 133/43; *SmWV*, 32.

⁸⁷ Several other works by Frauenberger in A-KR have attributions to Manthaler. "Donnemontano" is, of course, the Italian form of Frauenberger.

⁸⁸ *SmWV*, 79. The formulation on the playbill was slightly different: "Zögling der beiden Kapellmeister Herrn Salieri und weiland Herrn Mozart." This statement is the only source for the allegation that Süssmayr boarded with Mozart.

⁸⁹ Franz Xaver Niemetschek, "Übersicht der Vorzüglichsten Deutschen Bühnen," in *Allgemeines Europäisches Journal* (Brno: Joseph Georg Traßler, 1794), ii.570. Niemetschek signs himself "***k." The two Süssmayr operas to which he refers are probably *L'incanto superato* SmWV 210 and *Il turco in Italia* SmWV 211, both of which had received performances in Prague.

⁹⁰ Angermüller incorrectly gives the date as 12 December; Rudolph Angermüller, "Süßmayr, Ein Schüler und Freund Salieris," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 21, no. 1-2 (1973): 20.

comparisons between Mozart and Süßmayr.⁹¹ By 1796, Schönfeld could describe Süßmayr in the terms for which he is now most well-known:

Noch dient ihm zu nicht geringer Empfehlung, daß er ein Schüler Mozarts ist, und von selbigem sehr geschätzt war. Auch hat er an einige unvollendete Werke dieses großen Genies die letzte Hand gelegt.⁹²

These statements, like Paul Wranitzky's 1797 description of Süßmayr as a "Scolar des Mozarth"⁹³ show, at best, that Süßmayr had acquired a *reputation* as Mozart's student – a reputation that Süßmayr himself may have encouraged. Almost four decades later, Constanze recalled that Süßmayr somehow received "förmlichen Unterricht" from Mozart by singing through the Requiem with its composer. She also relayed an alleged comment from Mozart to Süßmayr: "Ey – da stehen die Ochsen wieder am Berge; das verstehst du noch lange nicht," which could just as likely refer to Süßmayr's lack of ability as a copyist as to his lack of facility in compositional exercises.⁹⁴ Süßmayr himself referred to Mozart's "unvergeßlichen Lehren," and claimed to have played, sang and discussed the completed parts of the Requiem with him.⁹⁵ In at least one case, however, Süßmayr can be shown to have deliberately misrepresented his relationship with Mozart. In August 1797, he wrote to the Abbot of Stift Lambach, requesting that the autograph of the opera *Der rauschige Hans* SmWV 208, then in the possession of the abbey's *regens chori*, be returned to him. Süßmayr described this work as "ein Operett, genannt *der rauschige Hans* von dem seeligen Hrn. P. Maurus Lindemayr, wozu ich hier [Vienna] unter der Leitung des seeligen, unsterblichen Mozarts die Musik setzte."⁹⁶ The autograph, now at Stift Seitenstetten, shows no sign of

⁹¹ Henry H. Hausner, *Franz X. Süßmayr*, vol. 254-256, *Österreich-Reihe* (Vienna: Bergland Verlag, 1964), 78.

⁹² Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, ed. Otto Biba (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1976), 61.

⁹³ Quoted in Pfannhauser, "Auf den Spuren der Mozart-Überlieferung in Oberösterreich," 26.

⁹⁴ *MBA*, iv.491. For another use of this phrase, see *KB*, v.132-33.

⁹⁵ Eibl, *Addenda*, 89.

⁹⁶ Hausner, *Franz X. Süßmayr*, 40, Johann Winterberger, *Franz Xaver Süßmayr: Leben, Umwelt und Gestalt* (Frankfurt am Main: Opus Verlag, 1999), 93.

Mozart's involvement and is dated "Vienna li 6 Marzo [1]788"⁹⁷ – well before Süssmayr and Mozart are known to have been in contact. The earliest known collaboration of the two composers, and perhaps their first meeting, occurred in 1790, when they both apparently contributed accompanied recitatives (K. *deest*/SmWV 285) to the unsuccessful pasticcio *La Quacquera spirituosa*, which premiered at the Burgtheater on 13 August.⁹⁸ Süssmayr does not appear in Mozart's surviving correspondence until 7 June 1791.⁹⁹

Several references in Mozart's letters to and from Baden appear to show that the composer employed Süssmayr as a copyist in the preparations for *Die Zauberflöte*.¹⁰⁰ The copying-out of exemplary works was of course a time-honoured method of pedagogy, and there is little doubt that Süssmayr had the opportunity to learn much from the experience. There is no evidence, however, that Mozart engaged Süssmayr for any reason other than the need to satisfy the practical requirements of the upcoming premiere, and Süssmayr appears to have been paid for his services.¹⁰¹ No workbook survives recording exercises by Süssmayr completed under Mozart's supervision, unlike the examples of Attwood, Ployer and Freystädtler, and indeed Mozart's hand does not appear in any surviving autograph by Süssmayr outside the Requiem. It seems doubtful that Süssmayr was Mozart's "student" in the way the term is commonly understood.

⁹⁷ *SmWV*, 77. This autograph is the earliest known evidence of Süssmayr's presence in Vienna. Winterberger surmised that Süssmayr arrived in July 1788, but this was based on the unsupported idea that Süssmayr travelled from Kremsmünster with Johann Michael Vogl; *Franz Xaver Süssmayr*, 84-85. Süssmayr could have arrived in Vienna at any time from July 1787, the month he completed his studies.

⁹⁸ Duda (*SmWV*, 174) inaccurately gives the title as "spiritosa," and incorrectly states that the performance took place at the *Kärntnertortheater*. On Mozart's recitative, see Dexter Edge, "Attributing Mozart (I): Three Accompanied Recitatives," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13 (2001): 230-37.

⁹⁹ "Gestern speiße ich mit Süßmaiern bey der ungarischen Krone zu Mittag weil ich noch um 1 Uhr in der Stadt zu thun hatte..." *MBA*, iv.135.

¹⁰⁰ See *MVC*, 27-9.

¹⁰¹ "gieb ihm [Süssmayr] nur die 3 Floren, damit er nicht weint – " *MBA*, iv.150.

Süssmayr's relations with Salieri are better attested.¹⁰² Sometime between 1788 and 1791, Süssmayr wrote a Symphony in E flat SmWV 402 that offers an interesting comparison with Mozart's contemporary K. 543. The score bears a number of revisions in pencil and *Rötel* that appear to be non-autograph; see Figure 5.9.¹⁰³ Although these corrections are not necessarily contemporary with the creation of the score, they do offer the possibility that Süssmayr was studying with Salieri during Mozart's lifetime. Süssmayr and Salieri were certainly known to each other by June 1791, when Süssmayr was hired as a violinist for high mass on Whitsunday and Whitmonday in the *Hofkapelle*, replacing Franz Hofer who was away at Laxenburg. Süssmayr's receipt, signed also by Salieri and dated a few days after Leopold II ordered Salieri's removal from the Burgtheater, records a payment of 2 florins per service, to be paid from the accounts of the National Theatre.¹⁰⁴ At present it is unknown what music was heard at Pentecost 1791, but it is entirely possible that further research will uncover the relevant dates written on the *Hofkapelle's* large store of performance materials.

Süssmayr's association with the *Hofkapelle* was apparently renewed at the end of the composer's life.¹⁰⁵ On 1 November 1802, Süssmayr made a will, leaving all his possessions to his younger sister Maria Anna (1770-1851), with whom he was living.¹⁰⁶ This document, which was "removed" from the Archiv der Stadt Wien and is now in the Gesellschaft der

¹⁰² See Angermüller, "Süßmayr, Ein Schüler und Freund Salieris."

¹⁰³ Duda, *SmWV*, 219 recognises some of the "foreign" entries, but does not mention the replacement passage and is unable to identify Salieri as the author of the corrections.

¹⁰⁴ Transcription in Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.231. As often, Angermüller does not give the signature of this document, which is A-Wn, Handschriftensammlung, 7/140-1. Han.

¹⁰⁵ A *Hofkapelle* score dated 1831 of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, A-Wn, HK 2270, has a front cover that reads: "Stabat mater / von / Pergolesi / Vierstimmig gesetzt von Salieri / Mit Harmoniebegleitung v. Süßmayer. / Posaunen von Ign. Ritter von Seyfried. / Revidirt von Otto Nicolai 1843." None of the other sources for the *Stabat Mater* from the *Hofkapelle* (A-Wn, HK 1612, HK 2267, HK 2726) make any mention of this Süssmayr attribution, and I am unaware of any sources from Süssmayr's lifetime that would support his authorship of the additional wind parts transmitted in the score.

¹⁰⁶ Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.410-11.

The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation for Süssmayr's Symphony in E-flat major. The score is written on ten staves. The top staff is labeled "Cello" in the upper right corner. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings like "p" (piano) and "f" (forte). There are several instances of pencil additions, which appear as lighter, less defined lines and notes overlaid on the original handwritten ink. At the bottom of the page, there are additional handwritten notes, including the word "Tutti" and some illegible markings.

Figure 5.9. Autograph of Süssmayr's Symphony in E \flat , with additions in pencil. H-Bn, Ms. Mus. IV 40.

Musikfreunde, was witnessed by Salieri.¹⁰⁷ An undated letter to Salieri survives in which Süßmayr entrusted to the *Hofkapellmeister* his “creatura catholica,” with instructions on how the copyist should prepare it.¹⁰⁸ This “creatura catholica” was very likely the *Missa in D*, SmWV 106, a copy of which was sold to the *Hofkapelle* by Maria Anna Süßmayr after the death of her brother in September 1803. The transaction, in which Maria Anna received 100fl, was authorised by Salieri in November of that year, perhaps on compassionate grounds.¹⁰⁹

III. THE *EXEQUIEN* FOR MOZART

Soon after Mozart’s death, the composer had memorials of various kinds composed and performed for him all over Europe, of which the most elaborate and well-attended was a requiem mass held in Prague on 14 December 1791, with music by Antonio Rossetti.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Süßmayr made a second will three weeks later, but it is unfortunately lost; see Michael Lorenz, “Süßmayr und die Lichterputzer: Von Gefundenen und Erfundenen Quellen,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2006* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, forthcoming). On 20 August 1802, Süßmayr wrote a letter to Salieri from Kremsmünster, the location of which is now unknown; see Pfannhauser, “Auf den Spuren der Mozart-Überlieferung in Oberösterreich,” 26.

¹⁰⁸ Winterberger, *Franz Xaver Süßmayr*, 109; Angermüller, *Dokumente*, ii.389-90.

¹⁰⁹ Winterberger, *Franz Xaver Süßmayr*, 162. The relevant document, from the *Obersthofmeisteramt* to the *Musikgraf* Kufstein reads: “Zu dem Ankauf der von dem verstorbenen Musickkompositor Süßmayer hinterlassenen Messe für das Hofkapellen=Archiv wird auf die Bestätigung, daß dieses Werk allen Beyfall verdienet, hiemit die Bewilligung ertheilt, und ist der dafür bestimmte Betrag von 100 f in den gewöhnlichen Hofkapellausgaben in Aufrechnung zu bringen, um solchen untereinem zahlbar ausweisen zu können.” A-Whh, HMK, Karton 4, f. 190r. I am grateful to Michael Lorenz for transcribing this entry. The autograph of the mass is lost, although a single autograph page with additional brass parts does survive in A-Wgm. The *Hofkapelle*’s parts for the mass, A-Wn, HK 2347, are probably the earliest surviving source. An early score copy, from the collection of Archduke Rudolph, is in A-Wgm, I 1629/Q 442. Theophil Antonicek incorrectly claims that the printed edition of 1811 is the earliest source; “Franz Xaver Süßmayr, *Missa solennis in D*,” <<http://www.dtoe.at/Publikationen/Suessmayr.htm>>, accessed 21 November 2006.

¹¹⁰ See Sterling E. Murray, “A Requiem for Mozart,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1991, Bericht über den Internationalen Mozart-Kongreß Salzburg 1991* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 145-54. The Rosetti Requiem had already been used in the same location and with a number of the same performers for the funeral of Graf von Wieschnik, president of the *k. k. Appellazionsgericht* in September 1789; see Jiří Berkovec, *Musicalia V Pražském Periodickém Tisku 18. Století: Výběr Aktuálních Zpráv O Hudbě*, vol. 6, *Varia De Musica* (Prague: Státní knihovna ČSR, 1989), 71.

Closer to home, a benefit concert held for Constanze and her children at the *Burgtheater* on 23 December was ostensibly billed as a fundraising service for Mozart's dependents, but surely also functioned as a memorial of sorts. Although not attested by any of the usual theatrical sources, this concert is known through reports in the *Pressburger Zeitung*, *Brünner Zeitung* and the *Weimar Journal des Luxus und der Moden*.¹¹¹

Mozart was of course one of the most famous composers in Europe, but in age and rank he placed decidedly below a figure like Gluck at his premature passing in 1791. Twentieth-century scholarship had however long known of three newspaper reports from late 1791 suggesting that a requiem mass was held for Mozart in Vienna. That three separate sources all made mention of a particular event should have been sufficient to ensure that the claim was taken seriously – supposed “facts” in Mozart scholarship have been based on much less – but the skepticism of Otto Erich Deutsch in *Dokumente* ensured that the reports went uninvestigated.¹¹² All this changed in 1991, when Walther Brauneis discovered yet a fourth report of this event. Almost all of the information it conveyed had already been noted in the other three reports, but its particular value lies in two features: it gives the location of the service unequivocally as the *Michaelerkirche* in Vienna, and it provides a precise date, 10 December.¹¹³ Further investigations at St. Michael's revealed that a requiem mass of the second class was indeed held for Mozart on that day. Quite obviously, this discovery demanded a new evaluation of all four printed sources.

¹¹¹ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 379; Eisen, *Neue Dokumente*, 78; Link, *The National Court Theatre*, 182.

¹¹² “Das Requiem, noch unvollendet, ist dort nicht für Mozart aufgeführt worden“; “Im übrigen enthält der *Botschafter* wieder nur Phantasien“; “Diese frühe Nachricht über das *Requiem* entspricht im einzelnen nicht der Wahrheit.” Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 374, 380, 526.

¹¹³ One of the other reports also mentions St. Michael's, but this was taken erroneously to mean St. Michael's in Salzburg; Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 526, Ernst Hintermaier, “Eine Frühe Requiem-Anekdote in Einer Salzburger Zeitung,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 26 (1971): 436-37.

The earliest report, completed in Prague on 12 December, did not appear until later that month in the Berlin *Musikalische Wochenblatt*. It reads in part: “Eine seiner [Mozarts] letzten Arbeiten *soll* eine Todtenmesse gewesen seyn, die man bei seinen Exequien aufgeführt hat.”¹¹⁴ Although the obsequies and the Requiem are noted here only as rumours, it is noteworthy that reports of the service reached Prague only a few days after it took place. The second report, discovered by Brauneis in 1991, comes from the *Auszug aller europäischer Zeitungen*, a Viennese newspaper that appeared from 1786-98.¹¹⁵ As its name implies, the *Auszug* was primarily a compilation of stories from other European newspapers, so it is possible that the Mozart story was derived from yet another printed source still unidentified. According to the *Auszug*'s report of 13 December, “Den 10ten Dezember haben die braven und erkenntlichen Direktoren des Wiedner Theaters für den großen Tonkünstler Mozart in der Pfarre bey St. Michael feierliche Exequien halten lassen.”¹¹⁶ The directors of the theatre were Schikaneder and Joseph von Bauernfeld. Bauernfeld wrote an undated poem in Mozart's commonplace book, and allegedly took Constanze in after the death of her husband.¹¹⁷

The next report appeared on 16 December in *Der heimliche Botschafter*, one of three contemporary examples in the curious format of the handwritten newspaper. The *Botschafter*, which appeared from March 1791 to March 1794, was edited in Mozart's time by the journalist and scribe Karl Fritz von Rustenfeld (d. 1804) and later by one “Strachowitz.”¹¹⁸ It

¹¹⁴ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 380 (italic original).

¹¹⁵ Brauneis states that the copy in A-Wst, A 43634 is the only extant exemplar to transmit this issue. However, according to Gugitz, a complete run of the newspaper (1786-98) survived in the Franzensmuseum in Brünn, the present-day Moravské zemské muzeum in Brno; Gustav Gugitz and Anton Schlossar, eds., *Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien* (Graz: Leykam-Verlag, 1923), 546. I have not had opportunity to confirm whether this copy is still extant.

¹¹⁶ Walther Brauneis, “Unveröffentlichte Nachrichten zum Dezember 1791 aus Einer Wiener Lokalzeitung,” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 39 (1991): 166.

¹¹⁷ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 316; *MBA*, vii.606-7.

¹¹⁸ Gustav Gugitz, “W. L. Weckhrlins Aufenthalt in Wien und die Wiener Handschriftlichen Zeitungen,” *Zeitungswissenschaft* 9 (1934): 115-17.

appeared twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays, and was obtainable from Franz Staudinger on Hoher Markt at a monthly subscription of 30 Kreuzer. One of the very few copies of the newspaper still extant today is held by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.¹¹⁹ The report reads: “Herr Schikaneder hat für den verstorbenen die Exequien halten lassen, wobey das Requiem welches er in seiner letzten Krankheit komponirt hatte, exequirt wurde.”¹²⁰ The particular importance of this entry is that it reports, for the first time, that Mozart’s Requiem was the piece performed at the service, a detail that is not present in the previous report. Now it is Schikaneder alone, not both the theatre directors, who are responsible for the obsequies taking place, and there is no mention of the location.

The fourth and final report appeared in the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* on 7 January 1792, and was picked up by the *Graz Zeitung für Damen und andere Frauenzimmer* on 18 January. It is taken from an anecdote that has received a good deal of attention, because it is the earliest public version of the circumstances surrounding the Requiem’s inception, with Mozart demanding 60 ducats to fulfil the anonymous commission. The report reads: “Es [das Requiem] wird auch wirklich, wenn es abgeschrieben ist, in der St. Michaels=Kirche zu seinem gedächtniß aufgeführt.”¹²¹ Uniquely among the reports, it seems to be told from the perspective of someone writing before the service had taken place – this is an event that *will* take place, once the performance material for the Requiem has been copied out. Whether this is a literary conceit by the author or an accurate representation of the source material before him is uncertain.

¹¹⁹ A-Wn, Handschriftensammlung, Ser. n. 58-60. For another copy, see Eibl, *Addenda*, 75. According to Schenk, Joseph Richter was a contributor to *Der heimliche Botschafter*; Erich Schenk, “Der Langaus,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 3 (1962): 302.

¹²⁰ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 374.

¹²¹ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 526; Hintermaier, “Eine Frühe Requiem-Anekdote in Einer Salzburger Zeitung,” 436-37.

Taken as a group, the four reports are not inconsistent with one another, but as we do not know the level of interrelationship between them, they cannot be taken as independent witnesses. The reports of Mozart's Requiem being performed *may* be genuine, but, then as now, the association between a late requiem mass by the composer and a service of obsequies held soon after his death may have proved irresistible, even if the writer had no actual knowledge that such an event had occurred. This process may be seen in action as early as 30 December 1791, when a Budapest newspaper reported on the Prague memorial service of two weeks previously, but stated that a Requiem by *Mozart* was performed, not the Rosetti Requiem as actually happened.¹²²

How did St. Michael's come to be selected as the venue for this service? At Mozart's death, the composer lived in a street that belonged to the parish of St. Stephen's Cathedral, not St. Michael's.¹²³ One possible reason for change of venue was the long association of St. Michael's with creative artists of all kinds, an association only strengthened in the eighteenth century by the presence of the *Burgtheater* literally across the street. The combination of a prestigious location and a slightly dissolute clientele was captured in a description of the church by Joachim Perinet, who wrote in 1787:

Nächst der Kirche zu St. Stephan ist die St. Michaels des bekannten geflügelten Heiligen besonders merkwürdig, worinn so machen die Schwungfedern, gestutzt, und wie schon gemeldet, so viele Engelchen unter dem Schutze des Erzengels gekapert werden. Sie ist der eigentliche Paradeplatz des Hoch=frisirten Adels und der galantesten Stutzer, die oft stundenlange vor Kirchthüre gleich *Artaria's* Karrikaturen, wie die Geier auf die Täubchen warten, die aus dem Schoosse des Tempels eilen. Da sie die nächste Kirche am Theater ist, so kann es niemand wunderlich vorkommen, daß in ihr die Andacht nur zur Verstellung wird, und ihre Eingeweide meistens aus gepuzten Komödiantinnen oder andächtelnden Schauspielern bestehen?¹²⁴

¹²² Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 379. The report is evidently confused, as it does not name the reason for the event, merely the fact that a "lessum mortualem" by the "manibus celebris Mozart" had been performed.

¹²³ The Kirche am Hof, where Gluck's memorial was held in 1788, was not the parish church for that composer either.

¹²⁴ [Joachim Perinet], *30 Annehmlichkeiten in Wien* ([Vienna: L. Hochenleitter], 1787), 86.

The somewhat unsavoury implications of Perinet's account were presented in more explicit form by the actor Johann Friedel, with whom Schikaneder's wife Eleonore had lived for a time before she was reconciled with her husband in 1789. Speaking of a typical Viennese service, Friedel writes:

Ist nun die Messe oder der Segen zu Ende, so versammeln sich die jungen Herrchens vor dem Kirchthore, und passen, bis für sie ein Bissen kömmt, wornach sie schappen können. Solch eine volkreiche Kirche von Mädchens vom besten Willen ist die Michaeliskirche. – Vormittag um zwölf Uhr in der letzten Messe kannst Du Dir eine aussuchen, aufsuchen, und dann sie Abends im Seegen abholen, Dich mit ihr *tete à tete* besprechen, sie beschenken, sie lieben, oder wieder laufen lassen, was Dir beliebt.¹²⁵

In 1788, Joseph II issued a *Hofordnung* condemning the liturgical “abuses” occurring at the Michaelerkirche and ordering the church to conform to the new *Gottesdienstordnung*. Among the instructions was a requirement that the priest keep all prayer stools to the side, except during “Exequien, oder in der Charwoche zur Anbethung des Hochwürdigsten.”¹²⁶

St. Michael's possessed a proud musical tradition: it boasted a famous organ by Johann David Sieber, still extant today, and it sometimes poached vocal and instrumental talent from the nearby Burgtheater.¹²⁷ On 25 July 1782, for example, St. Michael's engaged Johann Valentin Adamberger to sing a motet, a week after Adamberger had created the role of Belmonte in Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail*.¹²⁸ Until 1782, the St. Nicolai Bruderschaft, a musicians' brotherhood of great antiquity, had its seat at the church.¹²⁹ Another musical

¹²⁵ [Johann Friedl], *Galanterien Wiens, auf eine Reise gesammelt, und in Briefen geschildert* ([Vienna: Hörling], 1784), i.44-45.

¹²⁶ Quoted in *KBZ*, vi.137-8.

¹²⁷ On the history of music at St. Michael's, see Karl Schütz, *Musikpflege an St. Michael in Wien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), Otto Biba, “Die Kirchenmusik,” in *Sankt Michael: Stadtpfarrkirche und Künstlerpfarre von Wien 1288-1988*, ed. Karl Albrecht-Weinberger (Vienna: Eigenverlag, 1988), 55-65.

¹²⁸ *Biba* 1783, 57.

¹²⁹ Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 99-100, Geraldine Rohling, “Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften: A Study of Music and Liturgical Piety” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1996), 149-78.

brotherhood, the St. Cecilia Bruderschaft, was initially founded at St. Michael's in 1725 but soon moved to St. Stephen's Cathedral due to the brotherhood's size and importance.¹³⁰ The association of the St. Cecilia Bruderschaft with St. Michael's has generated some confusion in the literature concerning the memorial service for Mozart. Brauneis, discussing the location of the service, seems to suggest a connection between Mozart, a court musician since 1787, and the St. Cecilia Bruderschaft, which was composed primarily but not exclusively from court musicians. At first sight, this is an attractive idea: the Brotherhood's statutes do indeed prescribe a "gesungenes Seelen-Amt" for deceased members.¹³¹ Christoph Wolff, in his book on Mozart's Requiem, even asserts that Mozart was actually a member of the brotherhood by virtue of his status as a court musician.¹³² Mozart and his father belonged to the *Kreuzbruderschaft* in Salzburg, and both Wolfgang and Nannerl were inducted into the *Skapulierbruderschaft* when they were still infants.¹³³

There are, however, two fundamental problems with the "St. Cecilia" theory. Firstly, the brotherhood was based at the Cathedral, not St. Michael's, for almost all of its existence, and was consistently referred to in those terms.¹³⁴ In Mozart's time, only the most elderly musicians would have remembered the brotherhood's connection with St. Michael's. Secondly, the brotherhood was shut down in 1783 along with the rest of Vienna's *Brüderschaften*, and in 1784, the *Tonkünstlersocietat* successfully petitioned the Emperor to

¹³⁰ Rohling, "Bruderschaften", 182.

¹³¹ Anon., *Articulen und Puncten oder So Genannte Statuta der Musicalischen Congregation Welche...Allhier in Wien Aufgerichtet Worden* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1725), 4-8.

¹³² Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, 4.

¹³³ Eisen, *Neue Dokumente*, 29; Peter Keller and Armin Kircher, eds., *Zwischen Himmel und Erde: Mozarts Geistliche Musik* (Salzburg: Dommuseum, 2006), 132.

¹³⁴ See, for example, Joseph Ogesser, *Beschreibung der Metropolitankirche zu St. Stephan in Wien* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1779), 293. The documents dealing with the brotherhood's closure refer to it as the "Music Congregation der H. J. M. Caecilia bey St. Stephan zu Wienn" (see below). See also Rohling, "Bruderschaften", 180-82.

inherit its monetary and physical assets.¹³⁵ This means, of course, that Mozart could not have been a member of the brotherhood, and obsequies for deceased members were no longer being conducted in 1791. Given the *Tonkünstlersocietät's* inheritance, it could be argued that the society emerges as a potential candidate for the sponsoring of Mozart's obsequies – after all, they had provided just such a service for Gluck in 1788. That service, however, was clearly unusual, in that it required the involvement of the Emperor to take place, and the society's statutes make no mention of a memorial service taking place for deceased members, unlike those of its predecessor. In any case, when Constanze enquired to the *Tonkünstlersocietät* whether she might be eligible for a pension, the answer was negative,¹³⁶ and there is no evidence from the society's minutes that it considered holding a service for Mozart.

There is little doubt, then, that it was St. Michael's own ensemble that provided the music for the obsequies on 10 December 1791. The *regens chori* of St. Michael's during Mozart's time was Johann Michael Spangler (c. 1721-94), who was born in Hafnerbach but moved to Vienna some time before 1749. He began his career as a tenor and *Choralist* at St. Michael's, and succeeded to the directorship in 1775. With his wife Maria Theresia (c. 1724-87), Spangler had at least six children, a number of whom were active as musicians. The most important was Spangler's son Johann Georg (1752-1802), who was a tenor at St. Michael's and the *Minoritenkirche*.¹³⁷ Unlike his father, Johann Georg was active in composition, and he wrote a number of works for the *Michaelerkirche* even before he succeeded his father as *regens chori* there in 1794.

¹³⁵ Rohling, "Bruderschaften", 201. The funds transferred to the *Tonkünstlersocietät* amounted to 7450fl. The documents dealing with the transfer are in A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein, A 1/2d. A copy of the brotherhood's original statutes from 1725 is in A 1/1.

¹³⁶ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 385, 525.

¹³⁷ Johann Michael's *Verlassenschaftsabhandlung* is in A-Wsa, Mag. ZG 2-1946/1794. Johann Georg's is in Mag. ZG 2-4518/1802.

Fortunately, a number of Johann Georg Spangler's works survive in autograph, all apparently deriving from the collection of Aloys Fuchs. At least two of these works date from the 1780s, and others survive in copies from this time. The largest in scale is a *Vesperae de Confessore* dated 1786, scored for choir and continuo; see Figure 5.10.¹³⁸ This work is of particular interest as the only setting of vespers known at present to have been written in Josephinian Vienna. The *Gottesdienstordnung* had effectively rendered most settings invalid by permitting only unaccompanied or organ-accompanied works, without *Instrumentalmusik*.¹³⁹ The framers of the document may have envisaged organ accompaniment as implying either accompanied chant or *stile antico* settings. In this light, Spangler's setting effects a clever compromise by respecting the instrumental restrictions of the time but employing a "modern" style with a fully independent continuo part. An unusual feature of Spangler's autograph score is the presence on the last page of an anonymous two-part piece headed "Su Su Caciatori". This is in fact an arrangement of the opening section in the Act II finale of Martin y Soler's tremendously popular opera *Una cosa rara*, which premiered in the same year as Spangler's vespers were written.

What are almost certainly the original parts for the *Vesperae* are held today in the Michaelerkirche's archive.¹⁴⁰ They consist of single copies of the soprano and alto parts, double copies of the tenor and bass parts, a violone part, and organo.¹⁴¹ The back of the alto part contains an interesting example of "players' graffiti"; see Figure 5.11. Among other

¹³⁸ D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. G. Spangler 2. The watermark is Tyson 36, and the papertype may be equivalent to Tyson 36-II. The other Spangler autograph in D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. G. Spangler 1 bears a note by Fuchs stating that he had received the manuscript from Spangler's son.

¹³⁹ "In jenen Kirchen, wo ordentlicher Chor ist, wird die Vesper täglich choraliter, in feyerlicheren Festtagen auch mit der Orgel, ohne Instrumentalmusik gehalten..." Anon., *Künftige Gottesdiensts- und Andachtsordnung für Wien in und vor der Stadt mit Anfang des Ostersonntages 1783* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1783), 1-8.

¹⁴⁰ A-Wstm, 231. Watermarks include Tyson 66, 83 and 101.

¹⁴¹ In addition, there are parts for two trumpets and timpani in the Dixit and Magnificat only. These additional parts are however on lower-quality paper and it is uncertain whether they are contemporaneous with the other material.

Vesperae de Confessore. *orig: fol 78b.*

Soprano:
Alto:
Tenor:
Basso:
Vergo:
Organo:

Di mi domine no mea o sede a dextris meis
Di sit domine dextera mea
Domine domine meo
Di mi domine meo
Domine domine meo
Di mi domine meo

Figure 5.10. Autograph opening of Spangler's *Vesperae de Confessore*. D-B, Mus. Ms. Autogr. G. Spangler 2.

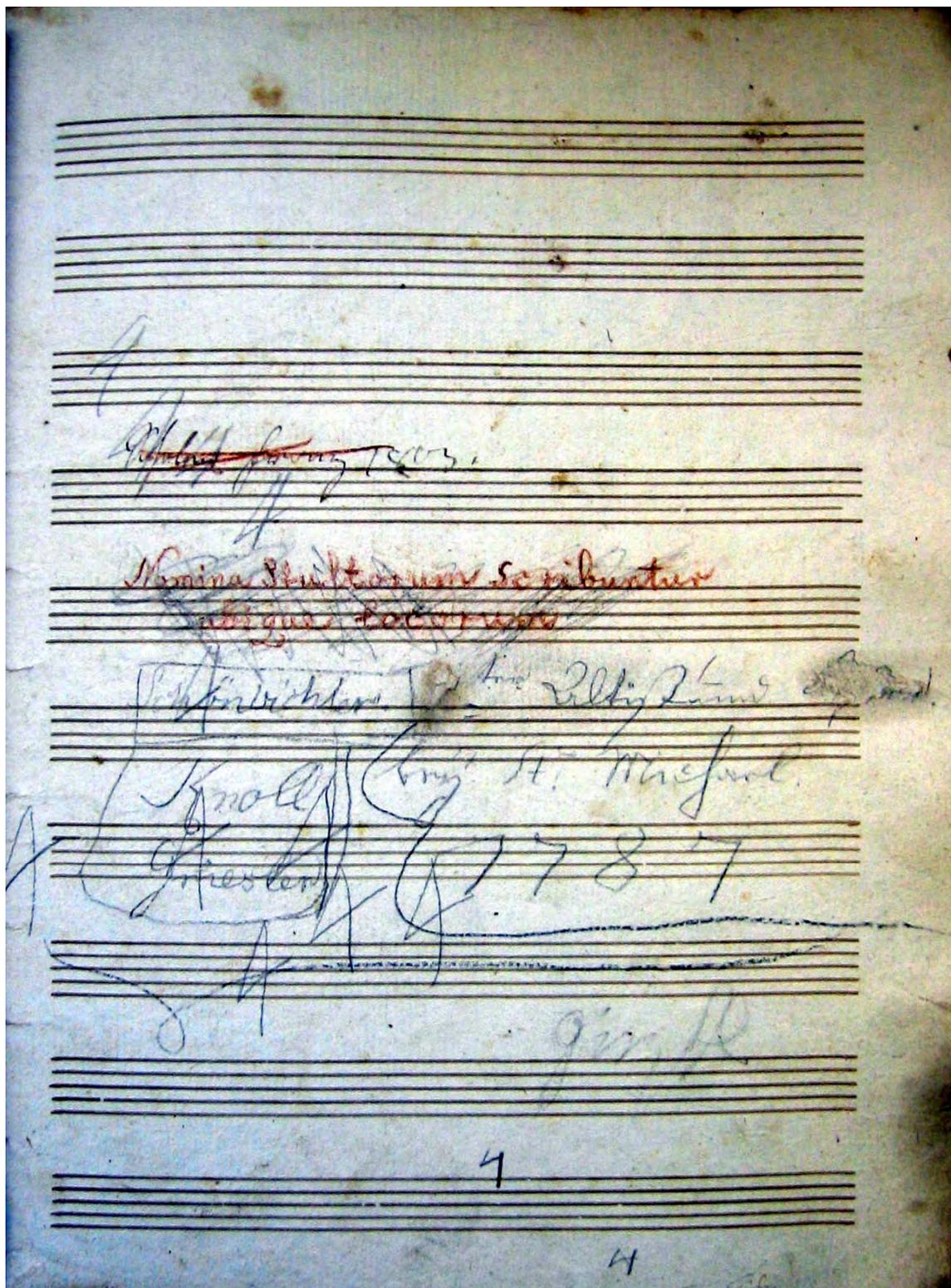


Figure 5.11. "Singers' graffiti" on original parts for Spangler's *Vesperae de Confessore*, 1787. A-Wstm, 231.

things, there is a pencil note, “Schönbichler / Knoll / Griesler / 1^{ter} Altist [added: und] bei St. Michael. / 1787.” One wonders about the possible connection between this work and a report of the St. Blasius day celebrations at the Michaelerkirche on 3 February 1787:

Durch eine k. k. Verordnung ist der feierliche Gottesdienst an Werktagen verboten; allein in dieser Kirche wurde am Blasiustage vormittag das Choralamt auf eine ausserordentliche Weise mit Assistenz der Leviten und nachmittag eine sogenannte figurirte Vesper gehalten!!!¹⁴²

Another of Spangler’s works from the Josephinian period is the Christmas gradual *Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis*, surviving in an autograph dated 1789.¹⁴³ This piece includes many of the “pastoral” elements associated with Christmas music, including pedal points, frequent passages in thirds or unison, and a lilting time signature. Finally, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde possesses a copyist’s score of a motet by Spangler, *Salve numinis amator*, probably copied in the late 1780s or early 1790s. While this manuscript can tell us little about when the motet was actually written, it does provide useful evidence of the dissemination of Spangler’s music.¹⁴⁴ Schönfeld provided an account of Spangler in 1796 testifying to his compositional and vocal abilities:

Spangler, Regenschori bei den Michaelern, hat einen überaus angenehmen Styl und Satz in seiner Kirchenmusik, und weis den Gesang auf das beste zu führen. Als Sänger ist sein Tenor süß, molligt und biegsam, so, daß er durch seine sanften Töne und herrlichen Modulazionen die angenehmsten Empfindungen erweckt.¹⁴⁵

Although a detailed list of the St. Michael’s musicians was recorded in the 1783 census,¹⁴⁶ we do not have evidence at present of the ensemble’s makeup in 1791. We do, however, have a

¹⁴² *KB*, ii.221. See also *WW*, ix.259, 371-72, 435, *WK*, 1786:354.

¹⁴³ A-Wgm, I 8252. A set of parts for this work, dated “c1790” by RISM, are in A-Wlic, 202. See also Otto Biba’s comments in Karl Albrecht-Weinberger, ed., *Sankt Michael: Stadtpfarrkirche und Künstlerpfarre von Wien 1288-1988* (Vienna: Eigenverlag, 1988), 305.

¹⁴⁴ A-Wgm, III 1459/Q 20857. One watermark is Tyson 102, the other is three moons over REAL | PS (double line) under a canopy. Further autographs by Spangler include two motets in honour of St. Aloysius: *Adeste, cantate*, dated 1779 (D-B, Mus. Ms. Mus. Ms. Autogr. G. Spangler 1) and *Expectate rosas*, dated 1780 (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16484, with at least one bifolio missing after the first gathering.)

¹⁴⁵ Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 58.

¹⁴⁶ *Biba1783*, 27-32; Schütz, *Musikpflege*, 43.

detailed account of payments and a partial list of names from July 1787, prepared as the musicians applied to the *Niederösterreichische Regierung* for a pay rise.¹⁴⁷ At this time, the ensemble consisted of the *regens chori*, organist, organ-blower, two each of trebles, altos, tenors and basses, two trombonists, four violinists and one violonist. By Viennese standards, this was a group of medium size, although the annual music expenditure in 1786-7 of 1917fl 55xr was only one quarter of the outlay at St. Stephen's. In a proposed budget of July or August 1787, Johann Michael Spangler listed his son Johann Georg as first tenor, Ignaz Spangler as second tenor, the *Hofkapelle*'s music librarian Jacob Wraveci as first bass and Anton Schaarschmid as second bass.¹⁴⁸ From the "graffiti" in the parts we have studied above, we may posit "Schönbichler", "Knoll" and "Griesler" as potential altos. The organist was Franz Xaver Flamm (1739-1811), who was married to Spangler's daughter Maria Margaretha. After Margaretha's death in 1788, Flamm married Barbara von Stögern, and Mozart encountered them both at a performance of *Die Zauberflöte* in October 1791: "ich gieng also in eine andere Loge, worinn sich *flamm* mit seiner frau befand; da hatte ich alles Vergnügen, und da blieb ich auch bis zu Ende."¹⁴⁹ By this stage, however, Flamm was no longer the organist at St. Michael's, having been replaced by Joseph Preindl from at least November 1787.¹⁵⁰ The contrabass virtuoso and copyist Friedrich Pischelberger, for whom Mozart wrote the obbligato in *Per questa bella mano* K. 612 was a member of the St. Michael's orchestra in 1783 and was conceivably still there in 1791.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Vienna, St. Michael, Kollegarchiv (hereafter MiKA), XVI.191.1.

¹⁴⁸ Schaarschmid worked at this time as a prompter at the *Burgtheater*, and was thus conceivably involved in the production of *Le Nozze di Figaro*. He was later a member of the *Hofkapelle*; Link, *The National Court Theatre*, 405ff, Constanze Wimmer, "Die Hofmusikkapelle in Wien unter der Leitung von Antonio Salieri (1788-1824)," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 47 (1999): 188. Spangler's proposal mentions "4 Singerknaben."

¹⁴⁹ *MBA*, iv.160.

¹⁵⁰ Schütz, *Musikpflege*, 152.

¹⁵¹ See Stephen Fisher, "Haydn's Overtures and Their Adaptations as Concert Orchestral Works" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1985), 459-64.

Did Mozart have an association with St. Michael's? Although the composer never lived in its parish, he obviously passed by the church frequently on his way to the *Burgtheater* or other court institutions, and a number of his friends and acquaintances sang or played within its walls. An examination of the St. Michael's account books may provide us with an answer; see Figure 5.12. An entry for May 1791 reads: "1: 40: p[ro] descriptione motettae auth[ore] Mozart" – in other words, the church paid 1fl 40kr for the copying of a "motet" by Mozart.¹⁵² This entry was first published by Karl Schütz without comment in a series of transcriptions from the St. Michael's account books, but it has remained virtually unknown to Mozart scholarship and did not appear in Eisen's *Neue Dokumente*.¹⁵³ There are a number of other interesting entries around this time: in August 1791, for example, the church obtained a copy of Michael Haydn's Requiem in C minor, usually said to be a formative influence on the style of Mozart's setting. One naturally wonders what the circumstances of the acquisition were, and what the "motet" may have been.

According to an inventory of the church's music archive made in the mid-nineteenth century, St. Michael's once possessed copies of eight masses by Mozart, in addition to the Requiem, a setting of Vespers in C, *Ave verum corpus* and *Misericordias Domini*.¹⁵⁴ Today, only two of those sources remain: a set of parts for the Mass in F, K. 192, and a further set for *Misericordias Domini*; see Figure 5.13. The parts for the mass date from the early nineteenth century, but the parts for *Misericordias* may well be the "motet" copied in May 1791.¹⁵⁵ The watermark throughout the original "layer" of the set is Duda GF-3, found in the autograph of two operas by Süßmayr: *Gl'uccelatori* SmWV 225 and an untitled *Singspiel*

¹⁵² MiKA, XVI.205.8. The price probably implies 25 *Bogen* at 4kr or 20 *Bogen* at 5kr.

¹⁵³ Schütz, *Musikpflege*, 152.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 115-17.

¹⁵⁵ One of the *Thamos* motets may be proposed as a candidate, but the inventory makes no mention of such a work.

Majus 1791.

Dia	Fol.		Flor.	cent.	den.
8.		Elemosyna M. h. h. m. flor. Centum sex, et 15. id est.			
		79. -- p. 156 missa in P. Colleg. libris.			
		22. 15. p. 89 missa a 15. et p. predicatib. talico.			
		5. -- p. 20 missa p. Hyacintho, et sic.		100.	15.
11.		Eccl'ia: flor. Ducentos tres, et 15. id est.			
		89. p. Missis p. d'vini. an. hinc, 2 an. et 2 integ. hinc.			
		h. 118. Missis extraneis in festo S. Joannis Nepomuc.			
22.		2. -- famulis Eccl'ie meae in eodem.			
20.		12. -- p. 115 pauperibus in an. hinc.			
		2. -- doctus et famulis Eccl'ie meae in eodem.			
ii.		69. -- p. apotha Lentarii ad alios, ut no. p.			
		18. 20. p. 75 ulnis dententium p. sagittarum a 15. et			
		1. 110. p. Descriptione motettae auth. Mozart, et sic.		202.	11.
19.		Fundatio Jacobi de Forster: fl. 8 famulis Eccl'ie, fl. 6 p. cantori, fl. 2 p. p. n. et fl. 2 p. n. et Campanarum			
		p. an. sal. imp. 15 huj. in hinc.		18.	

1. 110. p. Descriptione motettae auth. Mozart, et sic.

Majus 1791

[...]

1: 40: p[ro] descriptione motettae auth[ore] Mozart, et Sic...

Figure 5.12. Entry in St. Michael's account book showing expense for Mozart "motet." MiKA, XVI.205.8.

SmWV 226. Both operas are undated, but the handwriting makes clear that these are works from Süssmayr's early years in Vienna, probably between 1788 and 1791.¹⁵⁶ Although one would wish for a wider sample of manuscripts with this watermark, paper bearing this design was very likely available when Mozart's "motet" was copied in May 1791. It may be objected that *Misericordias* is not a motet but an offertory, and thus cannot correspond to the account book entry. The term "motet," however, was open to a wide variety of interpretations, especially one with as a general as text as *Misericordias*.¹⁵⁷

In its original state, the set consisted of two copies each of Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, three copies of Violino Primo, two copies of Violino Secondo, and single copies of Violoncello, Violone and Organo. Parts for alto and tenor trombone may be contemporary or a little later, and there are additional vocal, string and horn parts dating from the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁸ Where did Spangler obtain these parts? As we have seen in Chapter Three, *Misericordias* was performed at Frankfurt in 1792 and was in the possession of Traeg by the mid-1790s, so it may have been circulating by 1791. However, we also know that Mozart had a set of parts for the motet in his possession, and the possibility cannot be excluded that he had some role in Spangler's acquisition of the motet. Even if he did not, it is now evident that Mozart's music was already known at the church when in December 1791 a requiem mass was performed for him. Given the similarities of key and motivic construction between *Misericordias* and the Introit of the Requiem, it is somehow appropriate that this motet could have been heard at St. Michael's in the second half of 1791.

¹⁵⁶ SmWV, 129-33, 347.

¹⁵⁷ It is possible that the work was copied for the Feast of St. Johann Nepomuk on 16 May. The account book for May 1791 shows a payment of 6fl 48xr for the hiring of extra musicians at this feast.

¹⁵⁸ The watermark of the trombone parts is three moons | the letters VF joined together. One of the horn parts is signed "Eduard König/[1]845/den 19ten Februar."

The term *Exequien* (Latin *exequiae*) refers properly to all rituals carried out upon the death of a person, beginning with the conveyance of the body to the church, the celebration of the Office and Mass for the Dead, the prayers for absolution and finally the burial. In practice, various parts of the liturgy were omitted due to practical and monetary considerations as well as local regulation. The usage of *Exequien* at St. Michael's seems to have been specifically for a service including a *Seelenamt* that took place soon *after* the burial had taken place.¹⁵⁹ Although the body of the deceased was in theory supposed to be present during the mass, a catafalque could be provided as a substitute. Mozart, like most of the populace, had not received a requiem mass before his burial on 6 (or perhaps 7) December, but merely a benediction (*Einsegnung*). It is not clear why 10 December was selected as the date for the obsequies, as it corresponds to neither the three-day nor the weekly interval between death or burial and the usual performance of these rites. Since however Mozart died soon after midnight on the 5th, his death could perhaps be considered to have occurred on the 4th, in which case 10 December becomes the appropriate date to conduct exequies *pro die septimo*.¹⁶⁰

The documentary evidence for the service comes from a number of sources at St. Michael's. The first, the *Liber applicationis*, is a record of masses held at St. Michael's from 1774 to 1805.¹⁶¹ The list of *Obligationes* for December 1791 records the celebration of one mass "Pro Wlfg: Amadeo Mozart"; see Figure 5.14.

¹⁵⁹ See Rohling, "Bruderschaften", 278-84.

¹⁶⁰ Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Introitus und Communio im Requiem. Zum Formkonzept von Mozart und Süßmayr," in *Mozart Studien* 7 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997), 52n1.

¹⁶¹ "Liber applicationis missarum ab anno 1774 usque ad annum 1805." MiKA, IV.P-43 u 15.

Obligaciones mens. Decembris 1791. Pag. mis.

Quotidianae s. ad rat. 31 dierum	1	155
Hebdomadales 119 ad rat. 4 hebdo. 1 dempto	2	105
Menstruae	4	10
Quatuor temporum	5	37
Propriae hujus mensis	17	40
Pro Parochianis ntry	3	9
Residuae mensis praecedentes	—	1259
Hoc mense incipiendo una hebdomada		
lis ex fund: Evae Allmayrin	—	4
Pro Wolff: Amadeo Mozart	—	1
		<u>1825</u>

Figure 5.14. Entry in the St. Michael's *Liber applicationis* showing mass for Mozart. MiKA, IV-P 43 u 15.

Another source, providing much more detail, is the “Funeral-Specification für das Löbl: Collegium zu St: Michael in Wien” for December 1791.¹⁶² Such lists were prepared monthly, and always follow the same format: firstly, a list of the funerals that took place that month, including an indication of their class and cost, followed by a list of other types of services such as obsequies and anniversaries, accompanied by the same information. Only services of the first class (and occasionally, the second class) have an itemisation of the individual costs for bell-ringing, clothes and other provisions. Mozart, naturally, does not appear in the list of funerals, but does appear as the sole recipient of that month's obsequies in the second part of the document.¹⁶³ There is no indication of which clergy officiated at the service, but the *Pfarrer* Don Augustin Striech and the *Kooperatoren* Ferdinand Krasel,

¹⁶² MiKA, XIV.164.2.

¹⁶³ Facsimile in Brauneis, “Exequien für Mozart,” 8. A transcription is in Eisen, *Neue Dokumente*, 74.

Bernard Spangler, Don Edmund Dussaix and Chrysostomus Bauer are all possible candidates.¹⁶⁴ The list records that there was one funeral on the same day as Mozart's obsequies: the *Einsegnung* of a child, Barbara Stihberger.

The 1782 *Stolordnung* attempted to set uniform costs for *Exequien*, allowing two classes of service in the city and one in the suburbs. Second-class services in the city cost 30fl 33xr, including 15fl "für eine wohlbesetzte Musik." First-class services cost 45fl 48xr, including 20fl "für eine ganz besetzte Musik mit Klarinen."¹⁶⁵ Although the actual cost varied according to circumstances, the restriction of trumpets to first-class services seems to be reflected in contemporary musical settings. Albrechtsberger, for example, wrote three "Motetti per i Morti 1^{mac} Classis" (Schröder J.12, J.17 and *deest*) and four "Mottetti per i Morti 2^{dac} Classis" (Schröder B.I.25, J.15-16 and *deest*) during his time as *Domkapellmeister*.¹⁶⁶ The second-class motets are scored for choir, strings, bassoon, *colla parte* trombones and continuo, while the first-class motets add two muted trumpets to this combination.

A glance at the lists immediately preceding and following Mozart's obsequies shows that such services were not a particularly common feature of liturgical life at St. Michael's. In November 1791, for example, there were no services of this kind. In January 1792, there was a second-class anniversary for a prince of the Lichtenstein family, with the expenses corresponding to those of Mozart's obsequies:

[Tag:] 17. Jahrtag für den durchläuchtigen Hr: Emanuel Fürsten zu Lichtenstein sey!; [Rubrica:]
 14. [Classis:] 2.
 Geläut 3.36

¹⁶⁴ Anon., *Verzeichniß der Domstifter*, 7, Schneider, *Der Niedere Klerus*, 139.

¹⁶⁵ Brauneis, "Exequien Für Mozart," 10.

¹⁶⁶ The two *deest* works are listed in the St. Stephen's catalogue (A-Wda, s.s., 105-6), but were presumably disposed of by Preyer in 1889. They were a C minor setting of *Spiritus meus attenuabitur* and a C minor setting of *Manus tuae fecerunt me*. Albrechtsberger also wrote another funeral motet, J. 14, without specific designation.

Seelenamt	6.--
Ornat beym Seelenamt	1.30
Den 2 Akolythis	.18
Kreuztuch	.45
[Total]	12.9

St. Michael's held a more elaborate series of services for Joseph Sperges, Freiherr von Palenz (b. 1725), a famous cartographer and writer, who died on 26 October 1791. Two days after Sperges' death, his funeral was conducted:

[Tag:] 28. Der Wohlgeb: Hr: Joseph Freyherr v[on] Sperges N ^{ro} 22 in der Stadt...[Rubrica:] 1.	
[Classis:] 1.	
Geläut	6.24
6 Priester	6.--
Gruften	18.
Bahrtuch und Crucifix 7 fl: Kreuztuch 1fl 30x	8.30
[Total]	38.48

The following day, the obsequies were held. Like the funeral, they were of the first class:

[Tag:] 29. Exequien für obigen :titl: Hr: Joseph Freyherrn v[on] Sperges seeli:...[Rubrica:] 14.	
[Classis:] 1.	
Geläut	5.24
Seelenamt	6.--
Ornat	3.--
Den 2 Leuchterträgern	.18
Kreuztuch	1.30
Tumba	3.--
[Total]	19.12

A comparison with the second-class services for Mozart and Lichtenstein shows that the expenses for the mass itself and the acolytes remained the same, but the charges for bell-ringing, decoration and the *Kreuztuch* were all greater, and a catafalque was provided.

Sperges' memorial plaque is still to be seen in the *Antoniuskapelle* of St. Michael's.

Although there is no mention of music expenses in any of these entries, the musicians of the *Michaelerkirche* derived a considerable portion of their income from playing for funerals and obsequies. According to the list of music expenses drawn up in 1787, they collectively earned more than 700fl a year from playing for such services. Interestingly, Spangler hired

additional musicians (*Extrani*) to play at some of these events, at a cost of 30fl 51xr in the year 1 April 1786 to 31 March 1787.¹⁶⁷ Spangler also received regular payments from the Barnabite foundation of St. Michael's on behalf of the ensemble; Figure 5.15 shows a receipt by Spangler for such a payment dated 11 December 1791, the day after Mozart's obsequies took place.¹⁶⁸ This payment is one of two received by the musicians in December 1791, as the account book shows; see Figure 5.16a. A further entry in the account book, which seems to be previously unknown to Mozart research, records the payment of 12fl 9xr "p[ro] Sac[ra?] Cant[ione?] de Requiem et pulsu camp[anarum] in Exequiis Wolffgangi Mozart, ut n[umero] 1."; see Figure 5.16b.¹⁶⁹ That this entry appears here is hardly surprising: the reference to "numero 1" shows that the scribe was copying his information from the "Funeral-Specification" we have discussed above.

Although we may be sure that some kind of music was performed at the service, none of the St. Michael's documentation mentions what that music may have been. Of the four known newspaper reports of the service, only two mention a performance of Mozart's Requiem. A number of scholars have however attempted to strengthen the Requiem connection by citing two sources that derive ultimately from Süßmayr's *Nachlass*.¹⁷⁰ The first is a mysterious bifolium in the hand of Süßmayr, now in Budapest; see Figure 5.17.¹⁷¹ This bifolium contains an organ arrangement of what is said to be the Introit, beginning at *Te decet hymnus*, as well as the complete Kyrie, although most of the fugal entries actually follow

¹⁶⁷ MiKA, XVI.191.1.

¹⁶⁸ MiKA, XIV.164.2. Spangler was also receiving payments from the court theatre about this time, as the *Burgtheater's* weekly ledger reveals.

¹⁶⁹ MiKA, XVI.205.8.

¹⁷⁰ *SmWV*, 8-9. The suggestion originates in Brauneis, "Exequien für Mozart," 10.

¹⁷¹ H-Bn, Ms. Mus. IV.52. See Istvan Kecskemeti, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Mozarts Requiem," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1961): 147-53.

Quittung:

Nr 88/45 Nr. Vorlegt ich zu dem benannten hoch
 edelw. d. Hof. Personale bei H. Michael, als
 nicht Zahlung und dem Coll. Collegio d. Hof. f. d.
 w. d. B. P. Beneficentia von 17 = 4 Br.
 bei 17 = 4 Br. 1791, richtig und brav empfangen
 hab; bezeugt somit Wien den 11 = 4 Br.
 1791:

Johann Michael
 Verwalter d. Hof.
 z. u. d. Hof.

88/45 Nr.

34. Ecclesia = flori. Ducentos triginta, et. 10. west.
 98. 55. Musicis p. ordm. 2 aniv. aniv. Spayerer, Collat. Nativ. et h. u. i. i. n. t. e. g. r. o.
 88. 45. Jnsdem p. h. i. m. n. q. p. 11 huj. ut no: 9.
 1791. 11. Decembris. 1791. 11. Decembris. 1791. 11. Decembris. 1791.

34. = Ecclesia p. sac. Cant. de Requiem d. pulch. Camp. in Exequiis Wolfgangi Mozart, ut no: 1.

Figure 5.15. Receipt by Spangler dated 11 December 1791. MiKA, XIV.164.2.

Figure 5.16a. Payments to St. Michael's musicians in December 1791. MiKA, XVI.205.8.

Figure 5.16b. Entry in account book for Mozart's Exequien. Ibid.

the rhythm of the *Cum sanctis*.¹⁷² The argument goes that, since the Introit and Kyrie were the only two movements allegedly complete on 10 December 1791, and since this bifolium matches that content to some degree and is in the hand of someone who obviously had a great deal to do with the piece, this manuscript represents some kind of performing material for the obsequies. Süßmayr's note at the base of f. 1v – “NB setz' es in V[iolin].

S[c]hl[üssel]:” – has been taken as an instruction to a copyist preparing instrumental parts.¹⁷³

The second manuscript consists of an abandoned and cancelled organ part for the *Dies Irae*, covering only the first page of a bifolium; see Figure 5.18.¹⁷⁴ This is not in the hand of Süßmayr, but is rather the work of an evidently inexperienced musician, perhaps a student of the composer, who could not even decide on which staff the music should be notated. The presence of two staves may imply that the page was envisaged as teaching material, with the blank staff intended for a continuo realisation. Süßmayr himself used the remaining three pages of this bifolium to notate an undated song, *Le petit menage* SmWV 344.

Although the staff ruling on these manuscripts differs, they share the same watermarks. The design, which is unknown from any manuscript written by Mozart, consists of an arm holding a sword over the letter W, countered by a single man-in-the-moon.¹⁷⁵ The form is quite rare, but does not appear in datable Viennese manuscripts before the late 1790s. Paper with this design was used in a score of *Der Schauspieldirektor*, copied no earlier

¹⁷² The manuscript opens at b. 21 of the Introit, and lacks a heading, time signature and tempo. This may suggest that the beginning of the manuscript has gone missing, but it is difficult to see why the first 20 bars would occupy an entire bifolium on their own.

¹⁷³ Kecskemeti, “Beiträge zur Geschichte von Mozarts Requiem,” 151.

¹⁷⁴ GB-Lbl, Add. 32181, f. 3-4.

¹⁷⁵ For illustrations, see Kecskemeti, “Beiträge zur Geschichte von Mozarts Requiem,” 148-9. Duda provides a slightly more accurate tracing in *DudaSmWV*, 432. Duda's assumption that this manuscript can be dated 1791 purely on the basis of a suggested connection with the obsequies leads to evident difficulties of chronology, since all other manuscripts with this watermark come from a later period; see *DudaSmWV*, 34, 212, 216-17, 379-80.

3

allegro assai.

Dies irae.

Organo

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for an organ part. The title 'Dies irae' is written in a cursive hand at the top. The tempo marking 'allegro assai.' is written on the left side. The word 'Organo' is written below the first staff. The music is written on ten staves. The first two staves are crossed out with a diagonal line. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings like 'fff'. A small circular stamp is visible on the bottom right of the page.

Figure 5.18. Fragmentary organ part for the Dies Irae, from Süssmayr's *Nachlass*. GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 32181.

than 1795, and in a score of *Don Giovanni* for the Burgtheater's 1798 production in German.¹⁷⁶ It appears also in three sources from the *Hofkapelle* for Mozart's *Credo* mass K. 257, the *Krönungsmesse* by Righini and a Requiem by Winter, all copied around 1800.¹⁷⁷ Watermarks resembling this design are found in Beethoven sources as late as 1807, in the autograph of the *Coriolan* overture and the sketchbook Landsberg 6. Designs featuring a man-in-the-moon instead of the usual three moons are indicative in general of a date around 1800 or later.¹⁷⁸ It is very unlikely, then, that paper with this watermark was available to Süssmayr in December 1791, and therefore these manuscripts were *not* used as performance material at Mozart's memorial service. They are instead interesting examples of Süssmayr's continued occupation with the Requiem after the delivery of the score to Count Wallsegg.¹⁷⁹

It is a widespread conjecture that at least some of the instrumental parts in the Kyrie were entered prior to 21 December, when Eybler assumed responsibility for completing the score.¹⁸⁰ As the only known possible use of the Requiem prior to this date was at Mozart's obsequies, the non-autograph entries in the Kyrie have been used in support of a Requiem performance on 10 December. The underlying assumption is that Eybler proceeded systematically and began his work with the first unfinished movement he encountered. As the first sign of Eybler's hand is in the *Dies irae*, not the Kyrie, so the theory goes, the instrumental parts in the Kyrie must have been complete when Eybler inherited the score. It is certainly plausible that Eybler worked in this way, but we cannot know for certain.

¹⁷⁶ On these manuscripts, see *MVC*, 934, 1416 and 1754-55 n464. In Edge's opinion, the presence of this watermark suggests a date around 1800.

¹⁷⁷ A-Wn, HK 2239, HK 2281 and HK 326. On the dating of the Righini score, see the *Hofkapelle* chapter.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Duda AM-4, GA/F-2, GA/F-3 and VB, found in Süssmayr autographs from 1800-02.

¹⁷⁹ Concrete evidence of Süssmayr's engagement with Mozart's music after 1792 is rare. As Kapellmeister of the National-Singspiel he was certainly involved with the German-language production of *Don Giovanni* in 1798; see *MVC*, 1752.

¹⁸⁰ Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 375. See also Brauneis, "Dies Irae," 43.

The identity of the person or persons who wrote the non-autograph entries in the Kyrie has been one of the great mysteries of Requiem scholarship. Nowak already noted in the introduction to the *NMA* edition that the doubling notation in the woodwind, brass and upper strings looked “krank,” and made the implausible suggestion that Mozart wrote these parts when he was too ill to compose but was still capable of “mechanical” work.¹⁸¹ Nowak subsequently published an article retracting his earlier theory and proposing that the upper strings and woodwind were entered by Franz Jakob Freystädler, the trumpets and timpani by Süssmayr.¹⁸² Freystädler and Mozart’s first known association in Vienna dates from 1786, when Mozart posted bail for “Gaulimauli” after the latter was arrested in connection with an allegedly stolen piano.¹⁸³ Mozart apparently employed Freystädler to produce a copy of the piano concerto K. 456, and his hand appears in the autograph of the string quintet K. 516.¹⁸⁴ In addition, Freystädler began to copy Handel’s chorus, “See, the conqu’ring hero comes,” found in both *Joshua* and *Judas Maccabeus*, onto a Mozart sketchleaf (Skb 1788a) before abandoning the effort; see Figure 5.19. Freystädler’s authorship of this fragment is overlooked by the *NMA*.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Nowak, *NMA* I/1/2/i, ix.

¹⁸² Nowak, “Instrumentalstimmen,” 191-201.

¹⁸³ See Michael Lorenz, “Mozarts Haftungserklärung für Freystädler: Eine Chronologie,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1998* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 1-19.

¹⁸⁴ Michael Lorenz, “Franz Jakob Freystädler (1761-1841): Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu seiner Biographie und seinen Spuren im Werk Mozarts,” *Acta Mozartiana* 44, no. 3/4 (1997): 101-08. See also *MVC*, 26 n51.

¹⁸⁵ The two blank staves included in the brace below the choir may imply that Freystädler’s *Vorlage* was a vocal score. The leaf contains sketches by Mozart for the canon *Gehn wir im Prater* K. 558 and other contrapuntal material.

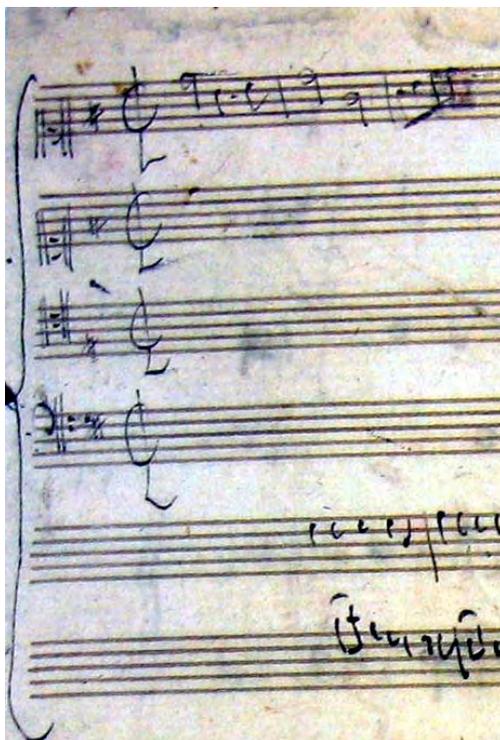


Figure 5.19. Entry by Freystädler in Mozart's sketchleaf Skb 1788a. A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17559, f. 14v (detail.)

Some time in the late 1780s, Freystädler took instruction in counterpoint from Mozart. The manuscripts preserving Freystädler's exercises are today divided between Salzburg, Berlin and Cambridge, but seem originally to have consisted of four fascicles. Two of these are "working manuscripts" in which Mozart would set exercises for Freystädler, and two are jointly-produced "fair copies" that were sometimes subject to further corrections. One page of the first working manuscript contains exercises on a cantus firmus set by Mozart, with second species voices above and below by Freystädler. On the right-hand side of the page, Freystädler wrote a passage that is somewhat at odds with the other content; see Figure 5.20 and Example 5.1.



Figure 5.20. Freystädtler: Harmonic Outline for a *Crucifixus* (A-Sm, Ms. Freystädtler, f. 8r)

A transcription of the handwritten sketch for a *Crucifixus*. The transcription shows a single staff with a bass clef and a common time signature. The notes are: X, fixus, etiam, pro nobis. Above the notes are fingerings: 6 5 above 'etiam', and 4 3 above 'pro nobis'. To the right, there is a larger transcription of the same passage, showing a grand staff with five staves. The notes are: nobis, passus. Above the notes are fingerings: 3 3 8 above 'passus', 5 3 5 3 above 'nobis', and 8 3 8 above 'passus'. The transcription is annotated with lines and arrows indicating specific notes and fingerings.

Example 5.1. Transcription of Freystädtler's sketch for a *Crucifixus*.

The sketch appears to be an exercise in rapid modulation, beginning in G – the modality is unclear – and taking advantage of an enharmonic respelling in order to modulate to B

minor.¹⁸⁶ It may be doubted, however, whether Freystädtler envisaged this passage as an actual piece of music: more likely he employed the *Crucifixus* text because of its traditional association with chromatic writing. With its unusual progressions and false relation of $f\sharp$ to $f\flat$ in the alto and soprano, the sketch is certainly suggestive of the “passus” written under the final B-flat major chord.

From his study under Mozart and evident good relations with the composer, Freystädtler is as good a potential candidate as any for participation in the “Requiem Project.” Unfortunately, as Lorenz has shown, Nowak’s case for Freystädtler’s authorship of the upper string and woodwind parts is seriously flawed, and the nearly universal acceptance of Nowak’s theory in the scholarly literature provides a salutary example of a “consensus” founded more on uncritical acceptance than independent confirmation.¹⁸⁷ The problems begin at the outset with Nowak’s list of “Wiener Kirchenkomponisten” who could have contributed to the Requiem – a selection that is entirely arbitrary and often implausible. Among other candidates, Nowak lists Sigismund Neukomm, who did not arrive in Vienna until 1797, and Franz de Paula Roser, who was twelve years old in December 1791.¹⁸⁸ Conversely, Nowak fails to list many figures active in Viennese church music who would seem to be equally plausible candidates for the orchestration of the Kyrie, including many of the musicians documented in this chapter.

Nowak’s case hinges on the supposed similarity between the natural signs in the Requiem score and those in two Freystädtler autographs from 1790 and about 1823. A pair of autographs is not an ideal number for a detailed comparison of handwriting, especially

¹⁸⁶ The second figure is presumably to be interpreted as $\frac{\#5}{\#3}$.

¹⁸⁷ Michael Lorenz, “Freystädtler’s Supposed Copying in the Autograph of K. 626: A Case of Mistaken Identity,” in *Mozart’s Choral Music: Composition, Contexts, Performance* (Bloomington, IN: 12 February 2006). A skeptical attitude to Nowak’s attribution is taken in Maunder, *Mozart’s Requiem: On Preparing a New Edition*, 125-26, Moseley, “Mozart’s Requiem,” 209.

¹⁸⁸ Nowak, “Instrumentalstimmen,” 192.

when, as in this case, the autographs were created more than three decades apart. Curiously enough, Nowak seems to have been unaware of the “Freystädtler-Studien”, the most extensive example of Freystädtler’s handwriting contemporary to the Requiem, despite the fact that Wolfgang Plath had identified the hand more than a decade before.¹⁸⁹ Even if one accepts Nowak’s case for the distinctiveness of the “hook” on the natural sign, this shows only that Freystädtler and the unknown scribe in the Requiem share *one* characteristic – not the multiple concordances of clefs, time signatures, accidentals and the like that are necessary for a credible identification.¹⁹⁰ Nowak rather bizarrely attempts to bolster his case for the distinctiveness of the hook by providing examples from autographs by Bruckner and his student Karl Aigner. Such examples are at best anachronistic, and reveal more of Nowak’s own experience in Bruckner scholarship than anything to do with Freystädtler. Nowak further ignores the many inconsistencies – some observable in the facsimiles he provides – between Freystädtler’s handwriting and that found in the Kyrie. Most obviously, two of the lines in Freystädtler’s sharp sign consistently point upwards about 45 degrees from the horizontal, while those in the Kyrie are approximately straight.¹⁹¹ In view of these weaknesses and the apparent caution implied by the “preliminary” status of the article, it is difficult to see how Nowak could ever consider it “wohl als sicher...daß in der Kyrie-Fuge des Mozart-Requiem die begleitenden Instrumente von Freystädtler...geschrieben worden sind.”¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Wolfgang Plath, “Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Mozart-Forschung,” in *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 69n3 and 83. The manuscripts were previously thought to be the result of Mozart’s own studies under his father.

¹⁹⁰ See especially *MVC*, 229-30.

¹⁹¹ A good example of Freystädtler’s handwriting may be seen on “Seite 3” of the *Studien* (*NMA* X/30/2, 59). Freystädtler’s bass clef is entirely different to the bass clef written in the bassoon part at the start of the Kyrie, as the former curves right instead of left and has two vertical lines between the clef and the two dots. However, it is uncertain at this stage whether the same hand wrote both the clef and the subsequent notation in the Kyrie, and the possibility that Mozart was responsible for this bass clef cannot be entirely excluded.

¹⁹² Nowak, “Instrumentalstimmen,” 201.

Discovering the true identity of the hand will be a difficult task, as we have no unquestioned samples of many personally distinctive symbols such as time signatures and clefs.¹⁹³ Nowak's case for Süssmayr's authorship of the trumpet and timpani parts awaits further study, although in these instruments there are even fewer samples on which to base an identification.

If the Requiem was indeed performed on 10 December, to what extent did the performance reflect the state of Mozart's score? From the nineteenth-century inventory of the St. Michael's music archive, we know that the church once possessed a copy of the Requiem,¹⁹⁴ but the source is unfortunately lost so we will never know if it was related to this service.¹⁹⁵ The incomplete state of the Sequence and Offertorium presumably meant that they were excluded, although it is remotely possible that the St. Michael's organist Joseph Preindl contrived some kind of continuo-only accompaniment for these movements. Perhaps the service was supplemented by parts from another Requiem, such as the famous C minor setting by Michael Haydn that St. Michael's had acquired in August 1791.¹⁹⁶ From the evidence of the 1787 budget and the *Misericordias* parts, we may posit a small choir of between 8 and 12 singers. This is not inconsistent with contemporary performance practice: a performance of the Requiem in Stockholm in 1802 employed a total of nine singers.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ The bass clef in the bassoon part and the words "allo", "adagio" "Cor 2do" and "unis" will require further study to determine their provenance.

¹⁹⁴ Schütz, *Musikpflege*, 116.

¹⁹⁵ A number of manuscripts from St. Michael's appear to have been dispersed elsewhere. A set of parts for the mass K. 220 in A-Wa, 639 is marked "Ad chorum St: Michaelis," as is a set of parts for the Haydn contrafactum *O Jesu te invocamus* in A-Wa, 401. The mass bears performance dates in 1800. A set of parts from the *Hofkapelle* for a mass by Dittersdorf bears the stamp "Hof- und Stadtpfarre St. Michael, Wien" (A-Wn, HK 3049). Two manuscripts in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 39005 (from the Dite collection) and F 24 St. Peter D 204 bear similar markings.

¹⁹⁶ Schütz, *Musikpflege*, 152.

¹⁹⁷ See C.-G. Stellan Mörner, *Johan Wikmanson und die Brüder Silverstolpe: Einige Stockholmer Persönlichkeiten im Musikleben des Gustavianischen Zeitalters* (Stockholm: 1952), 386. The 1783 budget for funerals and obsequies prepared for the *Landesregierung* lists eight singers, with the possibility of hiring four more as *Extrani*; see Chapter Two.

Basset horns and clarinets were not yet found in Viennese church orchestras, so some special arrangement must have been made if they did indeed form part of the ensemble on 10 December 1791. It is here that the possible role of Schikaneder and Bauernfeld should receive more attention than it has previously received, as two of the four newspaper reports state that the obsequies were performed under the auspices of one or both theatre directors. According to the usual interpretation of these passages, Schikaneder and Bauernfeld paid the funeral expenses, while the musicians of St. Michael's gave their services gratis out of respect for the famous composer. Yet it is difficult to see why the "brave" and "erkenntlich" directors would be mentioned if all they had done was pay the small amount of 12 fl 9 kr. This raises the possibility that Schikaneder and Bauernfeld were the driving force behind the service, perhaps recruiting a few singers and instrumentalists from the Theater auf der Wieden to augment the St. Michael's musicians.¹⁹⁸ The theatre musicians had every reason to be grateful to Mozart through the sensational success of *Die Zauberflöte*, an opera that does indeed call for basset horns.

Many members of the company did indeed combine their theatrical duties with service to sacred institutions. Felix Stadler, a contrabass player, was active at many Viennese churches, including St. Michael's and the *Hofkapelle*, and was a member of the orchestra at the Theater auf der Wieden from at least 1796.¹⁹⁹ Franz Xaver Gerl (1764-1827), the first Sarastro, was a boy chorister in Salzburg under the Mozarts, and later allegedly worked as an

¹⁹⁸ There is of course the famous story of the deathbed rehearsal of the Requiem with Benedikt Schack taking the soprano, Mozart the alto, Franz Hofer the tenor and Franz Xaver Gerl the bass (Deutsch, *Dokumente*, 460). This story derives from an anonymous and highly unreliable obituary for Schack printed three and a half decades after the supposed event, which cannot pass unchallenged.

¹⁹⁹ Stadler often signed his name at the end of the manuscript from which he was playing. These signatures appear, *inter alia*, in the St. Michael's parts for Spangler's *Vesperae* (A-Wstm, 231) and in *Hofkapelle* parts for works by Reutter, Gassmann, Hofmann, Salieri and J. Kozeluch (A-Wn, HK 31, 313, 478, 484, and 765.) Stadler is listed as a member of the "Orchester beim schickanederschen Theater, auf der Wieden" in Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 96.

organist in Vienna.²⁰⁰ Benedikt Schack (1758-1826), the first Tamino, had been a chorister at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague, and was later unwittingly co-opted by Vincent Novello as the author of a mass “with additions by Mozart.”²⁰¹ Jakob Haibl (1762-1826), who later married Constanze’s sister Sophie, was a tenor at the theatre from about 1789 and achieved tremendous success with his opera *Der Tiroler Wastel* in 1796. From 1806 until his death he served as *regens chori* at St. Peter’s Cathedral in Djakovar.²⁰² Johann Georg Lickl (1769-1843) composed music for the Theater auf der Wieden from at least 1793. From about 1785, Lickl was organist at the Italian National Church (*Minoritenkirche*), and was later organist at the Carmelite church under Joseph Eybler.²⁰³ Lickl was a prolific composer of sacred works, but no church music by him from the 1780s has yet been identified.²⁰⁴ Johann Baptist Henneberg (1768-1822) has come to attention as the principal contributor to *Der Stein der Weisen*, the collaborative opera with which Mozart was also probably involved.²⁰⁵ As music director for the company, Henneberg was on close terms with Mozart

²⁰⁰ See Alfred Orel, “Sarastro...Hr. Gerl/Ein Altes Weib...Mad. Gerl,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1955* (Salzburg: 1956), 68 n16.

²⁰¹ Schack wrote a considerable quantity of church music, but the earliest work known at present is a “pastoral” offertory, *Wir lagen schaudernd*, extant in a partially autograph set of parts dated 1796 (D-Mf [in D-FS], 1234); Monika Holl and Robert Machold, *Die Musikhandschriften aus dem Dom zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München: Thematischer Katalog*, vol. 8, *Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen* (Munich: G. Henle, 1987), 327. See also Robert Münster, “Mozarts Kirchenmusik in München im 18. und Beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Festschrift Erich Valentin zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Günther Weiss (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1976), 144.

²⁰² See Zdravko Blažeković and Ennio Stipčević, “Johann Petrus Jakob Haibel (1762–1826) and His Sixteen Newly-Discovered Masses from Djakovo (Croatia),” in *Musical Culture and The "Kleinmeister" Of Central Europe, 1750-1820*, ed. Vjera Katalinić (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1995), 67-75.

²⁰³ Péter Szkladányi, “Lickl György, a Pécsi Székesegyház Zeneszerzője És Karnagya,” in *Baranyai Helytörténetírás*, ed. László Szita (Pécs: A baranya megyei levéltár évkönyve, 1979), 95.

²⁰⁴ A set of performance material for a Missa in C by Lickl, A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 42534 has a wrapper signed “JB/1797” but most of the parts also bear the notation “G.L: den 4^{ten} May 1783.” The watermarks, which include Tyson 62 and 64, are consistent with this earlier date. Whether “G.L.” equates to Georg Lickl, who was 14 in 1783, remains to be established. Another mass by Lickl, transmitted as a work of Mozart in a manuscript from the Waisenhauskirche (A-Wmag, s.s.) was erroneously thought to be the *Waisenhausmesse* written by Mozart in 1768; see Karl Pfannhauser, “Zu Mozarts Kirchenwerken von 1768,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1954* (Salzburg: 1955), 156-58, Hans Zwölfer, “Wie die Messe in C von Georg Lickl Gefunden Wurde,” in *Mozart und die Landstrasse* (Vienna: n.p., [1968]), 21-22.

²⁰⁵ See, fundamentally, David Buch, “Mozart and the Theater Auf der Wieden: New Attributions and Perspectives,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9 (1997): 195-232, David Buch, “Der Stein der Weisen, Mozart, and

during the preparations for *Die Zauberflöte*, even if – according to a late report – it was Süssmayr who turned the pages for the composer at the opera’s premiere.²⁰⁶ Henneberg’s father, Andreas (c. 1731-91) was organist at the Schottenstift, and the young composer and conductor succeeded his father in the post and may have been deputising for him when Andreas died on 23 June 1791.²⁰⁷ Henneberg retained the position until at least 1799, and must have been on close terms with Joseph Eybler, who served as *regens chori* at the Schottenstift from 1794.²⁰⁸ Two manuscripts still in the Stift’s music archive show that Henneberg was active as a composer of sacred works at this time, in addition to his responsibilities at the Theater auf der Wieden.²⁰⁹ A set of parts for an offertory, *Ad te domine levavi*, is mostly on paper with a watermark that closely resembles Tyson 66, found with various staff rulings in Mozart autographs from 1783-89. These parts are in the hand of a copyist, but the trumpet and timpani parts are in the hand of Henneberg himself; see Figure 5.21.²¹⁰ The autograph parts are, unusually, in oblong format, and are on paper with watermarks resembling Tyson 106 and Duda G/RA, found in a Mozart score from 1791 and

Collaborative Singspiels at Emanuel Schikaneder's Theater Auf der Wieden,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2000* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 91-125. On the authentication of the attributions, see *MVC*, Chapter Ten. The autograph of the incomplete aria *Schon lacht der holde Frühling* Fr 1789h/K. 580 has the name “Henneberg” written in pencil on the opening page, perhaps added in the 1790s as an indication of who might be suitable to complete the work.

²⁰⁶ David Buch, “Three Posthumous Reports Concerning Mozart in His Late Viennese Years,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2 (2005): 129.

²⁰⁷ Andreas’ *Sperrrelation* (A-Wsa, Mag. ZG 2-1752/1791) describes him as “Organist und Kapellmeister.” He was also treasurer of the *Tonkünstlersocietät*. Given Johann Baptist’s relative youth, lack of a previous post as organist, and succession to his father’s position, it is possible that he was already active in the Schottenstift’s music during Andreas’ lifetime.

²⁰⁸ The earliest reference known at present to Henneberg’s position at the Schottenstift is the record of his marriage to Marie Petit (c. 1769-1814) at the monastery church on 29 October 1792, in which he is described as “Organist bey hiesiger Pfarrkirche und Kapellmeister.” This information was provided by Michael Lorenz, to whom I am very grateful.

²⁰⁹ A-Ws, B3/169 and C3/29. The Schottenstift possesses parts for several additional works by Henneberg, but they appear to date from the second decade of the nineteenth century or later.

²¹⁰ Samples of Henneberg’s handwriting may be seen, *inter alia*, in the autograph of a duet, “Schau Mädln jetzt war halt die hübscheste Zeit,” in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 19145, and in the autograph of a *Tantum ergo*, D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Henneberg 1.

Ad te Domine in B Clarino Imo

un poco
Allegro
al. 25

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a Clarino Imo part. The title is "Ad te Domine in B Clarino Imo". The tempo and performance instructions are "un poco Allegro" and "al. 25". The music is written on ten staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and fingerings (e.g., 3, 2, 4, 7, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4). The piece is marked "un poco Allegro" and "al. 25".

Figure 5.21. Autograph Clarino Imo part for Henneberg's offertory *Ad te domine levavi*. A-Ws, B3/169.

Süssmayr scores from 1793-94 respectively. This may suggest that the trumpets and timpani were a later addition.²¹¹ A second set of parts, for a *Regina coeli*, are on lower-quality “local” paper but were produced by the same copyist as the offertory. Their general appearance and the stylistic conservatism of the music make it likely that they were also copied in the 1780s or early 1790s. The *Regina coeli* boasts an elaborate organ obbligato part presumably written for Henneberg or his father to play.

Later in life, Henneberg was organist at the *Piaristenkirche*, Kapellmeister at the Kirche am Hof and *k. k. Hoforganist*. A number of Mozart manuscripts in the hand of Henneberg testify to his continuing interest and promotion of Mozart’s music. The archives of the *Piaristenkirche* and St. Peter contain short scores of K. 140, 317, 337 and the spurious K. Anh. C 1.08, apparently copied by Henneberg for his use at the organ and perhaps also while directing.²¹² As we have seen in Chapter Three, the *Hofkapelle*’s score copies of K. 337 and K. 258 contain alterations in Henneberg’s hand, and the score of K. 258 contain additional oboe and trombone parts.²¹³ A score of K. 275 at the Kirche am Hof contains further additional woodwind parts by Henneberg.²¹⁴

Given the Schikaneder connection to the service and the fact that Mozart was moving in theatrical circles at the time of his death, it is surprising that the Theater auf der Wieden company has not so far come into contention for authorship of the string and woodwind parts in the Kyrie of the Requiem. If it could be shown that a member of the

²¹¹ The Schottenstift also possesses a later set of parts for *Ad te domine levavi*, B3/170, with performance dates from 1818 to 1850.

²¹² The sources in A-Wp for K. 140, 337 and K. Anh. C 1.08 were mentioned in Otto Biba, “The Beginnings of Mozart’s Presence in the Viennese Church-Music Repertory: Sources, Performance Practice, and Questions of Authenticity,” in *Mozart’s Choral Music: Composition, Contexts, Performance* (Bloomington, IN: 11 February 2006). The source for K. 317 is A-Wn, Fonds 24 St. Peter A221(III).

²¹³ A-Wn, HK 2246.

²¹⁴ I have not yet had the opportunity to visit the Kirche am Hof archive in person, but I have inspected a microfilm of this score in the possession of the NMA *Editionsleitung* in Salzburg.

company entered these parts into Mozart's autograph, this would strengthen the contention that some part of the Requiem was performed at the memorial service. A number of the more obvious candidates can be ruled out, including Johann Georg Spangler, Joseph Preindl, Benedikt Schack, and Henneberg. Schikaneder's own musical handwriting has yet to be identified, although as an occasional composer himself he certainly possessed one. A number of other important figures, including Constanze Mozart herself, were no doubt capable of notation, but no sample of their musical hand has so far been authenticated.²¹⁵ If indeed Schikaneder was the driving force behind the service, there is a pleasing symmetry with his own last days, when, in 1812, the recently departed theatre director was honoured with a performance of Mozart's Requiem at the church of St. Josef in Leopoldstadt.²¹⁶

The Viennese have always held a special fascination with death and its rituals – the city is, after all, home to a funeral museum – and music for such services could be elaborate. Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, discussing Viennese church music in 1796, wrote:

Die Musik bei der Todtenmesse hat darinn besondere Vorzüge, daß ihre Komposition voll Ausdruck ist, fromme Empfindungen erregt, und dem feierlichen Todesamte in seelenerhebender Rührung vollkommen Hülfe und Genüge leistet.²¹⁷

Whether it was Mozart's Requiem that brought the composer's *Todesamt* to a successful completion may never be known for certain. The allegation that the Requiem was performed does not appear in the most well-informed account of the occasion, and is based entirely upon two further sources of unknown provenance. There is no doubt that the service itself did occur and featured music of some kind, but the surviving documentation from St. Michael's cannot offer confirmation for the newspaper reports that some form of K. 626 was

²¹⁵ See *MVC*, 99.

²¹⁶ See Anke Sonnek, *Emanuel Schikaneder: Theaterprinzipsal, Schauspieler und Stückeschreiber*, vol. 11, *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 131.

²¹⁷ Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 97-8. The passage seems to be derived from De Luca, *Topographie von Wien*, i.381-82.

heard. The emotional power of the “Requiem for Mozart” story is considerable, suggesting as it does that some of the composer’s colleagues organised the copying, rehearsal and performance of a work out of respect for its recently deceased creator. If the story is true, it is somehow appropriate that the very first commemorative act for Mozart should take place during the performance of a work deemed a “masterpiece” by Michael Haydn and a “miracle” by Albrechtsberger – but most importantly, a work in Mozart’s “favourite form of composition.”²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Pfannhauser, “Epilegomena Mozartiana,” 294, Dwight C. Blazin, “Michael Haydn and the 'Haydn Tradition': A Study of Attribution, Chronology, and Source Transmission” (PhD diss., New York University, 2004), 43, Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, aus Originalquellen*, Second ed. (Prague: Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1808; reprint, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978), 117.

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