The annual meeting of the Mozart Society of America will again take place during the American Musicological Society meeting (2–5 November), this year in Los Angeles. We invite proposals for work to be presented and discussed at the study session, which will follow the brief business meeting. The meeting is open to non-members as well as members of the Society.

A leading aim of our Society is to promote scholarly exchange and discussion among its members. In accordance with this goal, from the abstracts submitted we will select one for formal presentation and two for informal discussion. The study session will be divided into two parts, the first for presentation and extended discussion of the paper, and the second for individual discussion among authors of the two selected abstracts and others interested in their work.

Send abstracts of no more than 250 words by 1 June 2006 to Jane R. Stevens, 3084 Cranbrook Court, La Jolla, CA 92037, or e-mail to jrspessen@ucsd.edu.
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Papa Mozart
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Carl Thomas and Franz Xaver Mozart. Portrait by Hans Hansen. © Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (ISM)

months before Mozart died. At this pace and taking into account Constanze’s age and patterns of child-bearing during this period, we can assume there would have been more children had Mozart lived longer. For instance, Constanze’s elder sister Aloysia gave birth to seven children in ten years, of whom only one survived. There is no indication that Constanze had any abnormally difficult deliveries, and only one daughter, Anna, died immediately after birth. The cause of death for the four infant children was “Gedärmfries” or “Stickfrais,” a fever caused by an untreated (or untreatable) infection of one kind or another. Constanze raised Mozart’s two orphaned sons with the assistance of a small pension and from patrons like Baron van Swieten. The two boys, Carl Thomas and Franz Xaver, were captured in a portrait by Hans Hansen in the late 1790s, a few years after Wolfgang’s death (illustrated above).

In the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (Sept. 1799), Friedrich Rochlitz claimed that Mozart wrote portions of the Quartet in D Minor, K. 421, while Constanze was in labor in June 1783 with their first child. The Novello’s specifically asked her about this story and she confirmed it, “and declares that the agitation he suffered and her cries are to be traced in several passages” (A Mozart Pilgrimage, p. 112). Vincent Novello mentions that Constanze pointed to “several passages indicative of her sufferings especially the Minuet (a part of which she sang to us).” Indeed, the Menuetto in D minor has a slippery harmonic motion with irregular phrasing, full of descending chromatic passages. Though we are skeptical about Mozart being able to compose while his wife was having labor pains in an adjacent room, the genesis of the quartet fits the chronology as borne out by Alan Tyson’s paper studies. Naturally, Mozart would have been more agitated the first time he experienced childbirth.

On 17 June 1783, the Mozarts’ first child, Raimund Leopold, was born and baptized. Wolfgang wrote to his father on 18 June to tell him the good news: “Congratulations, you are a grandpapa! Yesterday, the 17th, in the morning at 6:30 my dear wife successfully gave birth to a large, strong and round-as-a-ball baby boy.” (Mozart seemed embarrassed to tell his father that his landlord, Baron Raimund von Wetzlar, would be the baby’s godfather; hence the boy was christened Raimund Leopold.) From the beginning the new-born baby was given to a foster-nurse for feeding, since Wolfgang did not want Constanze to nurse the baby herself. He would have preferred the child to be water-fed, but the mid-wife (Francesca Südlerin, according to Michael Lorenz), his mother-in-law, and others warned that fewer children brought up on water survived. Thus Mozart gave in, for he did not want to be culpable. Mozart’s views on infant feeding are typical of the period. For instance, a police report from Paris in 1780 notes that of the 21,000 babies born in the city that year all but a thousand were sent to the country with a nurse.

A few days later, on 21 June, Mozart reported that Constanze was doing very well, and “the child is also quite cheerful and healthy, and has a dreadful amount of business, which consists of drinking, sleeping, crying, peeing, pooping, dribbling, etc.” About two weeks later, on 2 July, Mozart wrote to tell his father about the intrigue surrounding the two insertion arias (K. 418, written on the same paper type as the Minuet in K. 421, and 419) he had written for his sister-in-law, Aloysia.
Mozart 2006 is upon us—and if we may judge by the abundance of festivals, conferences, symposia, et al., we seem to be ready to welcome a year-long celebration of Mozart’s 250th birthday. Mozart’s music—more of it than has ever been heard during the space of one year—will sound all around the globe, from Salzburg to New York to Milan to Sarajevo to Tokyo. Vienna, as might be expected, is the site of manifold and varied Mozart festivities (see Sven Hansell’s essay on pages 15–16), but San Diego too will celebrate Mozart in a year-long festival that involves all the arts organizations in that city. Austria has proclaimed 2006 as Mozart-Jahr and issued a commemorative stamp. In short, the world will ring as never before with the music of Mozart.

But it’s not just about the music: a recent Associated Press story (William J. Kole, “All Mozart, All the Time,” Las Vegas Review Journal, 22 December 2005) lists many manifestations of Mozart Mania: Mozart balls of course but also Mozart wurst, Mozart beer, wine, liqueur, milkshakes, Mozart baby bottles, umbrellas, jigsaw puzzles. The same report tells us that runners in the Vienna City Marathon will be refreshed by Mozart’s music played by appropriately costumed musicians stationed along the route. If it enhances mental development, why not physical endurance as well? A poster for the Vienna festival shows Mozart himself rolling his eyes at the outrageous extremes of Mozart 2006.

So, is it heresy to ask if Mozart will survive this extravaganza? Will we all sigh with relief on 31 December 2006 and settle back to listen to ANY music other than that by our idol?

That would be the greatest loss for us all—for such musical riches to result in satiety and a jaded disinterest. The very fact that the Viennese organizers produce a poster poking fun at such extremes of hype is reassuring. We will retain our sanity and we will return to a measured appreciation of this man’s work. Moreover, we will gain from this year the experience of hearing many, many works that are seldom heard—perhaps it is extreme for Salzburg to produce all twenty-two operas during the summer 2006 Festival, but on the other hand, when would we get to hear and see some of those operas? And what an amazing opportunity (for the hardy among us) to experience all of them! Some organizers are considering the significance of Mozart and his work for present and even future art—thus Peter Sellars has created a festival he calls “New Crowned Hope,” referring to the Masonic lodge (Zur neugekrönten Hoffnung) of which Mozart was a member but also indicating consideration of future art.

So, yes, Mozart will survive. He will undoubtedly continue to be adored, worshipped, iconicized. We will know more of the music, and we will all probably gain some deeper insights into the music thanks to our wider experience of the works and our greater knowledge of their contexts. Should our celebrations be more restrained, more solemn, more respectful? Does it matter? Will new audiences appear, attracted by precisely the extravagance of the spectacles? And having been drawn, be held by the power of the art? Undoubtedly. Will present audiences shrink, disenchanted by the raucous to-do over a 250th birthday? Surely not. So, yes, Mozart will survive.

My best wishes to every one of you for joy and prosperity in this Mozart year. I hope to see many of you at the Mozart Society events—our third biennial conference, this year at the Jacobs School of Music at Indiana University in Bloomington (10–12 February), and the joint conference (29 June–1 July) of the MSA and the Santa Fe Opera centered around their production of Die Zauberflöte.

—Isabelle Emerson

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**Mozart Society of America**

**Object**

The object of the Society shall be the encouragement and advancement of studies and research about the life, works, historical context, and reception of Wolfgang Amadè Mozart, as well as the dissemination of information about study and performance of related music.

**Goals**

1. Provide a forum for communication among scholars (mostly but not exclusively American); encourage new ideas about research concerning Mozart and the late eighteenth century.

2. Offer assistance for graduate student research, performance projects, etc.

3. Present reviews of new publications, recordings, and unusual performances, and information about dissertations.

4. Support educational projects dealing with Mozart and the eighteenth-century context.

5. Announce activities—symposia, festivals, concerts—local, regional, and national.

6. Report on work and activities in other parts of the world.

7. Encourage interdisciplinary scholarship by establishing connections with such organizations as the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and the Goethe Society of North America.

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Lange, who was singing a role in Anfossi’s opera Il curioso indiscreto. He closed the letter with a brief reference to his wife (who had a slight cold) and “Raimundl.” Three days later on 5 July he wrote,

Raimundl looks so much like me that all people say the same; it is as if he were cut from my face, which gives my dear wife the greatest pleasure, since this is what she had always wished. Next Tuesday he will be three weeks old, and he has grown a surprising amount.

There had not been time to introduce Constanze Weber to her father and sister before the wedding in August 1782, and (mainly) for professional reasons Mozart had not been able to visit Salzburg in the autumn of 1782 or the winter and spring of 1783. After Constanze’s confinement, Mozart promised his father that they would come to Salzburg in September, if his father could assure him that there would be no trouble from the Archbishop. (Mozart had already suggested on 21 May 1783 that perhaps they should meet in Munich, rather than Salzburg, in case the Archbishop would try to have Mozart arrested.) He claimed he was not worried about himself, but was only concerned about his wife and son.

Leopold must have thought this was another ploy to avoid or delay a trip to Salzburg and ridiculed his son for worrying about the Archbishop. Though Leopold’s letters from this period are lost, Mozart’s response on 12 July makes it clear that his father was pressuring him to return to Salzburg as soon as possible. A week later, Constanze wrote to her sister-in-law, Nannerl, to let her know they planned to surprise Leopold with a visit as early as 1 August. That left little more than a week to make arrangements to care for Raimund and to plan their trip to Salzburg at the end of July. Thus, almost a year after their wedding, Constanze and Wolfgang left their son with a foster-nurse and traveled to Salzburg, where they stayed with Leopold and Nannerl from 29 July until 27 October 1783.

Back in his hometown, Wolfgang immediately began visiting friends and former colleagues. One of his first stops was to Gianbattista Varesco, his collaborator on Idomeneo, to work on the libretto to L’oca del Cairo. Mozart also completed two duets (K. 423 and 424) to complete a set of six works for the ailing Michael Haydn. The most important work of this period, however, is the Mass in C Minor, K. 427. Assuming this is the work Mozart refers to in a letter dated 4 January 1783, he must have begun composing it in late 1782. Most commentators assume that Mozart had made a vow to write a Mass to celebrate his wedding. But since we have only Mozart’s half of the correspondence with his father, with only one vague reference to this vow, we cannot be certain. Many years later Constanze told Vincent Novello that is was meant as a votive mass for the safe delivery of their first child. Novello had asked her about Davide Penitente, and noted her response (translated from French) in his diary:

The “Davide 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. Mozart thought so highly of this production that he afterwards made several additions and adapted new words to make it a complete Cantata, or rather Oratorio, for the former is too modest a title for so elevated, elaborate and masterly a work (p. 96).

This explanation, which also refers to a vow, actually seems to fit the chronology of the work much better.

Apparently, the work was performed for the first and only time during Mozart’s lifetime at St. Peter’s Abbey on Sunday, 26 October, a day before he and Constanze returned to Vienna. According to Mozart’s sister, Constanze herself sang the soprano solo parts on this occasion.

The most impressive aria in the work is the “Et incarnatus est,” a concertante aria for solo soprano, flute, oboe, bassoon, and organ obbligato. This piece has almost the same orchestration as the “one air in [act 2 of] Idomeneo he preferred to hear [Constanze] sing and on that account she prefers it also, Se il Padre perdei” (A Mozart Pilgrimage, p. 94.) Although not a professional singer, Constanze had received some training, and the range of the “Et incarnatus est” (up to c’’) is not far from the b-flat” she needed for Ilia’s aria, in E-flat. Two of her sisters, Aloysia Lange and Sophie Hofer, could sing up to f”.

No doubt Mozart wrote this aria—which includes the Latin words, “et homo factus est” (and was made man)—for his beloved wife, who at the time was carrying his first child. The intimate sensuality of the music only encourages such speculation. In order to appreciate fully the “Et incarnatus est,” we should imagine a mother rocking her new-born child and singing a lullaby with reverent joy.

All the musical elements create a pastoral mood: the key is F major and the meter 6/8. (Mozart used the same key and meter, as well as instrumentation, in Susanna’s aria, “Deh vieni, non tardar,” in act IV of Le nozze di Figaro.) The first violin creates a gentle undulation with the second violin and viola in thirds. The three woodwinds (flute, oboe, and bassoon) enter in succession, from high to low in step-wise motion (mm. 7–11), then from low to high outlining the tonic triad (mm. 14–17). Finally, the soprano enters with cantabile melody, which quickly evolves into a highly embellished aria fit for the Virgin Mary. Mozart clearly wanted to demonstrate Constanze’s vocal agility to his father and sister and Salzburg friends. Perhaps he wrote some vocal exercises (like the solfeggio, K. 393, corresponding to the “Christe eleison”) to help her navigate the passage-work and cadenza.

Although Mozart had finished the entire vocal line, obbligato parts, and the ritornelli for the strings, he did not complete it or go any further in setting the text of the Credo. Why did he stop at this point in the Mass? Because the Mozarts’ joy turned into grief with the unexpected death of their infant son on 19 August. We do not know exactly when the Mozarts learned about the sudden death of their infant son. Unfortunately, there is a gap in Nannerl’s diary from 3 August to 23 August, and there is no other surviving correspondence from this period. Presumably, they would have received the news a few days after
the event, most likely from Constanze’s mother or another friend, such as Baron von Wetzlar. Since Mozart and his wife were staying with his father and sister in Salzburg when they received the news, their reaction is not documented. After hearing the news, it would have taken a Herculean effort for Constanze to sing this aria. How could Mozart have written a “Crucifixus” immediately after learning that his child had died? We can only imagine how guilty and sad the parents must have felt during this period of mourning.

Infant mortality rates were frightfully high in the eighteenth century, and the death of children was a common experience. J. S. Bach had 20 children and less than half of them survived adolescence; only two of Mozart’s six children lived to adulthood. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that Mozart was not affected by the death of his first-born child. On the contrary,

Familiarity with [the experience of a dying child] did not make it any easier to bear. Religion taught that it was God’s will, that the child was in a better place, and parents should accept their loss. Statements and condolences offering such sentiments are easy to find, as are examples of parents who accepted the death of their infants without extreme protestations of grief. This, though, was not the most common reaction. To the majority of parents, the death of a child was a cruel blow. Many, knowing they should abide by God’s will, routinely feared they mourned too much (Pollock, p. 197).

Indeed, if the work was meant to be a votive offering for the birth of Raimund Leopold, there would have been little point to finish his Mass in C Minor after the baby died. The evidence is far from conclusive, but the autograph score suggests an abrupt cessation to a monumental work. The best explanation is also the simplest: Mozart could not finish the Mass in C Minor because he was upset about the death of his first-born son. A few months later, on 10 December 1783, Mozart wrote to his father, “Regarding our poor, big, fat, dear little boy we are both really suffering.”

Mozart did eventually revise part of the Mass as a cantata, Davide penitente, for a Tonkünstler-Societät benefit concert during Lent 1785. He incorporated all of the musical material from the Kyrie and Gloria and added two new arias, one for the soprano Catarina Cavaleri and another for the tenor Valentin Adamberger, which he noted in his “Verzeichnüss aller meiner Werke.” The Italian contrafacta are all based loosely on Psalms of lament traditionally attributed to King David following the death of his son Absalom. In this context, the choice of subject seems significant: Did Mozart associate himself with the Penitent David? (Recall David’s lament on hearing of Absalom’s death, “O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! Would I had died instead of you, O Absalom, my son, my son!” 2 Samuel 18.33.) Reworking the Kyrie and Gloria as penitential psalms in his cantata Davide penitente would have enabled him not only to salvage the completed portions of the Mass but also to bring catharsis to himself and Constanze.

* * *

References to the other Mozart children are rare, and in general there is less correspondence between Mozart and his father and sister in the later years. The second child, Carl Thomas, was born in September 1784. This time Grandpa Leopold came to visit his grandson in Vienna, and on 2 April 1785, Leopold reported to Nannerl, “The little half-year-old Carl is healthy, friendly, and well off.” But when Wolfgang asked his father to take care of Carl Thomas and the newborn Johann Thomas Leopold, so that he could make a trip to England during the next carnival season, Leopold expressed his indignation in a letter to Nannerl on 17 November 1786. A strange request, except that it would have been extremely dangerous for the Mozarts to take the two young children on a journey to England; it seems that this was the main reason they asked grandfather Leopold to look after the children. Also, Leopold was already caring for his other grandson, Nannerl’s son Leopold. As it turned out Johann Thomas died before Leopold could respond to Wolfgang’s request, and the trip to England never came to fruition. The baby’s death, if not the decisive factor, was undoubtedly an important consideration in discouraging Mozart from going to London at that time.

There is one other account of Mozart at home with his wife and son. The Danish musician Joachim Daniel Preisler visited the Mozarts on Sunday, 24 August 1788:

There I had the happiest hour of music that has ever fallen to my lot. This small man and great master twice extemporized on a pedal pianoforte, so wonderfully! so wonderfully! that I quite lost myself. He intertwined the most difficult passages with the most lovely themes. —His wife cut quills-pens for the copyist, a pupil composed, a little boy aged four walked about in the garden and sang recitatives—in short, everything that surrounded this splendid man was musical! (Mozart: A Documentary Biography, p. 325)

The “little boy aged four” must have been Carl, who was about to celebrate his fourth birthday in September. Did he sing made-up recitatives in German or would he have known some of the Italian recitatives from Figaro or Don Giovanni?

Often overlooked in the literature are several songs Mozart wrote specifically for children’s magazines or songbooks. “Des kleinen Friedrichs Geburtstag” (K. 529) and “Das Traumbild” (K. 530), both dated 6 November 1787, and “Die kleine Spinnerin” (K. 531), dated 11 December 1787, follow closely the premiere of Don Giovanni. Were any (or all) of these written for Carl, who had stayed in Vienna while his parents were in Prague? Another three songs, K. 596–598, appeared in the Lieder-sammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde am Clavier. Frühlingslieder (Vienna, 1791). (Mozart also owned a copy of the Winterlieder, published in the same series.) Of course, these were written to earn a little extra money at a time he was trying to borrow money. But we might also imagine Mozart entertaining his son and perhaps even encouraging his son to sing them himself. As various commentators have noted, Mozart used the theme of the rondo finale of his Piano Concerto, K. 595, as the melody for his song “Sehnsucht nach dem Frühlinge,” K. 596. Mozart’s library included several books for children, mixed in with adult travel books, philosophical and religious tracts, drama, and music. (See the inventory by Ulrich Konrad and continued on page 6
children only two sons survived him, of whom the younger was only four months old when his father died. He is called Wolfgang and shows great talent for music. It would indeed be strange if his father’s assertion, made in jest, were realized, that the boy would become a second Mozart, because he once cried on the same note as Mozart had just been playing. But the son lacks the tender hand of a father, which had guided Mozart’s genius in his own formative years” (p. 50).

There are those who will argue that Mozart’s children are beside the point, that we do not celebrate Mozart as parent but as a composer. Naturally, I am not suggesting interrupted six times by childbirth and other responsibilities of parenthood. But there is no evidence that he ever complained about being a father.

— Paul Conerly

Packard Humanities Institute

Anton Klein was a linguist, poet, playwright, and publisher-bookseller based in Mannheim, where Mozart encountered his work and perhaps him in 1777. Attended by his mother, Wolfgang spent four months in Mannheim before going on to their destination, Paris. On 5 November 1777 they went to a performance of a heroic opera, Ignaz Holzbauer’s *Günther von Schwarzburg*, in Mannheim’s large Electoral Court Theater. Mozart wrote his father: “The music by Holzbauer is very beautiful.

Court Theater. Mozart wrote his father: “The and publisher-bookseller based in Mannheim before going on to their destination, Paris. On 5 November 1777 they went to a performance of a heroic opera, Ignaz Holzbauer’s *Günther von Schwarzburg*, in Mannheim’s large Electoral Court Theater. Mozart wrote his father: “The music by Holzbauer is very beautiful.

The poetry [by Klein] is not worth such music.”

Klein had a long and variegated career, the first part of which will be summarized here. He was born in 1746 at Molsheim, a town five miles west of Strasbourg that, like most of Alsace, had come under French rule following the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. A baker’s son, he was educated at Molsheim’s Jesuit College, where he became adept in Latin and French at an early age, and an avid student of the dramas of Corneille and Racine. Klein excelled in his studies and attained the degree of Magister at age eighteen, when he joined the ranks of the professoriate. At this same time, in 1764, came the long-threatened dissolution of the Jesuit Order in France. Klein went to Germany and eventually resumed teaching at the Jesuit College in Mannheim, the thriving capital of the Rhenish Palatinate. There he turned into a champion of German as a literary language—not without some opposition from his superiors, who feared possible inroads by Lutheran authors. Then came the banning of the Jesuit Order throughout Germany in 1773.

Klein was now a free man, but unsupported from any quarter. He petitioned the Elector, Carl Theodor, for a position and received a small-paying one as Professor of Fine Arts, later of Poetry and Philosophy. He began giving public lectures (Mannheim had no university) and selling his translations into German of French and Latin classics. In 1775 he and the publisher Christian Schwan became the co-founders of the Deutsche Gelehrte Gesellschaft, or German Society of the Palatinate. His libretto for *Günther von Schwarzburg* displeased literary critics but it was admired in some political circles.

Carl Theodor named Klein a member of his Privy Council (Geheimrat) and allowed him to start a publishing business. A descendent of the fourteenth-century Schwarzburgs, Prince Friedrich Karl had Klein raised to the nobility. He was entitled henceforth to call himself Von Klein. Mostly he remained known as Professor Klein.

A severe blow struck Mannheim in 1778 when the court departed for Munich, Carl Theodor having fallen heir to Bavaria on the death of its ruler, his cousin Maximilian. Klein remained Privy Councilor yet resided mainly at Mannheim, where he could run the German Society, continue his public lectures, and supervise his publishing business. While Mannheim lost its famous court orchestra and opera company to Munich, at least one institution waxed greater in their absence—the National Theater founded by Carl Theodor. It advanced toward becoming Germany’s premier playhouse in the 1780s under its director Baron Heribert von Dalberg. The reputation of this theater as a stage for new German plays attracted young Friedrich Schiller, a refugee from the tyrannical Duke Carl Eugen of neighboring Württemberg. Schiller’s first play *Die Räuber* lashed out against tyranny and restrictions against freedom. Dalberg gave its premiere on 13 January 1782. Schiller himself remained in Mannheim and was made a member of the German Society, with Secretary Klein taking a leading role in the ceremonies of induction. Dalberg made Schiller Theater Poet and two more plays soon followed in 1783–1784, *Fiesko* and *Kabale und Liebe*, after which came the first of Schiller’s great history plays, *Don Carlos.* Schiller left Mannheim in April 1785 when his contract failed to be renewed. Klein later claimed that they bade each other a tearful farewell and as the young playwright left to seek his fortune elsewhere, he, Klein, traveled to Vienna.

Klein in Vienna has been the object of a special study showing that by 1783 he was regularly advertising books for sale, mostly from his publishing firm, in Viennese newspapers. These included the five volumes of *Die Mannheimer Schaubühne*, a collection in which *Günther von Schwarzburg* is to be found. Klein had his own history play ready to propose to the directors of Vienna’s National Court Theater—*Kaiser Rudolf von Habsburg*. This tragedy, like *Günther*, was on a medieval German subject having to do with the Holy Roman Empire. The rise to power and territorial acquisitions of Emperor Rudolf I (1218–1291) laid the foundations for Habsburg dominion. The play failed to gain the stage in Mannheim because Dalberg temporized, saying he would await the verdict on it by another prominent German theater, that led by the actor-director Friedrich Schröder in Hamburg, who required large-scale revisions. Vienna rejected the play outright. It could have been at this point that Klein turned to Mozart, hoping to persuade him to compose an operatic version of *Kaiser Rudolf*.

Mozart at first did not reply to Klein. It took follow-up letters from Klein to finally elicit a response from the composer in a letter dated Vienna, 21 May 1785. Thus it seems that Klein himself was traveling to Vienna in April 1785 and Mozart’s long-delayed answer to him was traveling to Mannheim the following month. The letter survives and continued on page 8
Mozart & Klein
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was once a treasured possession of Stefan Zweig (current location: London, British Library). Mozart begins:

To Anton von Klein, Mannheim

High, most treasurable Herr Privy Councilor!

It has been very remiss of me, I admit, not to have informed you of the safe arrival of your letter and the accompanying packet. That I have since received two more letters from you is not true; the first would have awakened me at once from my slumber and I would have answered you, which I am now doing. I received your recent two letters together on the last postday. I have already admitted my error in not answering you at once, but as for the opera, I should have been able to say as little then as I am now. Dear Herr Privy Councilor, I have so much to do at the moment that I can scarcely find a minute for myself. As a man of such great insight and experience you know better than I do that one must read this sort of thing with the greatest possible attention and reflection, not just once but many times over. Until now, I have been unable to read it even once without interruption. All that I can say at the moment is that I should not like to let it out of my hands just yet. I beg you therefore to let me keep the piece (Stück) for a while. In case it pleases me to set it to music, I should like to know beforehand whether its production has actually been arranged at a particular place. A work of this kind, from the point of view of both poetry and music, deserves a better fate than to be composed to no purpose. I trust you will clear up this point for me.6

Composing an opera for which there was no prior guarantee of production made Mozart wary. He had been burned for doing just this in the case of his Singspiel known as Zaide, composed in 1780 with hopes of gaining acceptance at the Viennese Court Opera, where it was turned down for being insufficiently comic.7 Mozart knew full well that Mannheim’s possibilities of staging a big new opera were almost nil after its court opera moved to Munich, and he may well have doubted that Carl Theodor in Munich would be persuaded to finance another grand opera by him after the difficulties and challenges posed to the company and the public by his Idomeneo in 1781.

Mozart called the drama Klein sent him a Stück, which I translated as “piece,” its general meaning; yet the theatrical meaning of the term is “play” or spoken drama. To specify “the libretto” in German requires the word Buch. What Klein was proposing, I suggest, involved turning his five-act Trauerspiel into a libretto for Mozart.8

As for Mozart’s excuse for not having been able to give Klein’s piece enough close attention because he was so busy, it is true that the first four months of 1785 had been an extraordinarily busy time for him. In January he completed the last two of six string quartets that he would dedicate to Joseph Haydn. On 12 February Leopold Mozart arrived from Salzburg to spend more than two months with Wolfgang, his wife Constanze, and baby Carl Thomas in their apartment on the Schulerstrasse behind St. Stephan’s Cathedral. Leopold arrived just in the nick of time to hear his son play the first performance of the just-completed Piano Concerto in D minor (K. 466) at the first of six Friday evening subscription concerts in the Mehlgrube. On 9 March Mozart added to his thematic catalogue another new Piano Concerto, No. 21 in C (K. 467). Thanks to the letters Leopold wrote back to his daughter Nannerl, much is known about the comings and goings of Mozart’s students and music copyists, plus the movers who came often to fetch or return the composer’s pedal fortepiano — such a constant ado, complained Leopold, that he could scarcely find a spot isolated enough for him to gather his thoughts. Then there were evenings out, many of them, not just for Wolfgang and Constanze, but also Leopold, among others at meetings of his son’s Masonic Lodge, to which Leopold was duly admitted, with all the ceremonies that entailed. And one more item to add, not a small one: for the Lenten concerts of the charitable Tonkünstler-Societät in the Burgtheater Mozart transformed portions of his unfinished Mass in C minor of 1783 into the sacred cantata Davide penitente (K. 468) for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, to which he added two newly composed arias.

Leopold Mozart left Vienna on 25 April, having overstayed his leave from Salzburg by a great deal, as usual. After his departure the social round slackened and so did Wolfgang’s compositional activities that we know about. For May and June 1785 he added to his thematic catalogue only a few Lieder and the Fantasy in C minor for piano (K. 475). In other words he had little reason to excuse himself to Anton Klein on account of business in the month or so leading up to his letter of 21 May, unless, on the other hand, the truly large project looming ahead was already under contemplation, or even begun. It involved turning a play into a libretto, a famous play in this case—La folle journée, ou Le mariage de Figaro by Beaumarchais, first staged in Paris in 1784. At the hands of the Viennese court’s official Italian theater poet, Lorenzo da Ponte, with massive interventions by Mozart, and greatly shortened, Le mariage de Figaro became the libretto for Le nozze di Figaro. If ever a case were to be made for the necessity of treating this kind of operation “with the greatest attention and reflection,” as Mozart wrote to Klein, and for reading the text over and over again, many times, Figaro makes it. Le nozze di Figaro finally reached its premiere on the stage of the Burgtheater on 1 May 1786, but already in October 1785 Mozart was being driven by the director of the Burgtheater to complete his score.

Some background may be helpful to understand the second half of Mozart’s letter to Anton Klein. Emperor Joseph II founded his imperial-royal National Theater in 1776 with the intent of improving the morals of his subjects by high-toned spoken dramas in German, replacing the French comedies and tragedies that had previously been the main fare at the Burgtheater, along with comic operas in Italian. In 1778 Joseph added a Singspiel wing to his National Theater, replacing Italian opera. It evolved gradually in the direction of being quite like Italian opera while still preserving some spoken dialogue. This process was capped by Mozart’s stunning Singspiel Die Entführung aus dem Serail in 1782; but even it, far more successful than any of Joseph’s edifying plays, was not enough to satisfy the Viennese, who wanted real Italian opera, sung by Italians. The Singspiel troupe was disbanded at the court theater in 1783. A year later rumors circulated that it would be reconstituted, although meanwhile a fine
opera buffa company from Italy had been recruited and made its debut to tumultuous applause.

Mozart’s letter of 21 May 1785 continues:

I can give you little news concerning the future of the German operatic stage here at the moment, aside from plans for setting aside the Kärntnertor theater as a German stage, for things are going very slowly. They say it is to be opened in early October. For my part, I have no hope it will go well. To judge by what has happened so far, it seems to me that they are trying to destroy German opera, which has fallen on hard times, perhaps only temporarily, rather than rescue it and help it get going again.

My sister-in-law Madame Lange [née Aloysia Weber] is the only singer who is permitted to join the Singspiel troupe. Cavalieri, Adamberger, and Teyber, all of them Germans of whom Germany can be proud, must remain with the Italian theater, and compete against their own countrymen! [Mozart has named those who created the roles of Konstanze, Belmonte, and Blonde in Die Entführung.] Good German singers, male and female, are not numerous at present. And even if there are singers as good as the ones I have named, or even better ones, which I very much doubt, it appears to me that the theater direction here thinks too much of saving money and yet too little of being patriotic when they have on hand better singers, or at least equally good ones who could be hired for nothing. What is more, the Italian troupe does not need them. For, as far as numerical strength goes, they are self-sufficient. The idea at present is to staff the German opera with actors and acresses who sing only when they must.

Mozart arrives here at a crucial point: the theater management would undo all the effort that went into elevating Viennese Singspiel to the level where it could produce an opera like Die Entführung and turn it back into a troupe of actors who could also sing when necessary, that is, to the level characteristic of Singspiel all over the German-speaking lands with the exception of Vienna. He continues by assigning blame for Singspiel’s failure at the Viennese court theater on its leaders:

Most unfortunately the directors of the theater as well as of the orchestra [he means Ignaz Umlauf mainly] have been reappointed, those who through their ignorance and lack of spirit had the most to do with the failure of their own enterprise. Were but a single patriot to take charge things would show a different face. Perhaps then the sprouting of the National Theater would actually flower. And what an eternal shame for Germany that would be if we Germans [Mozart uses the dialect form “wir teutsche”] began to think as Germans, speak German, and—Heaven forfend—to sing in German!! Mozart’s ironical tone in this often quoted passage has been lost on German nationalists, who have used the passage with insufficient context, or no context at all. While Mozart appears to tell Klein what must have gladdened the heart of the co-founder and secretary of the German Society, in the context of the whole he discourages any hopes that the Viennese court would be able or willing to stage a grand opera in German.

Mozart was very practiced at manipulating correspondents, particularly his father, but also his librettists, getting them on his side or to do his bidding by all manner of devices. With Klein he was sweetening the pill of rejection by avoiding the question, by digressing, and by flattery. He had managed to maneuver in similar fashion with Johann Schachtner, the librettist of Zaide, and with Abbé V aresco, the librettist of Idomeneo, who set to work at Mozart’s bidding on a comic libretto for Vienna that was rejected when his better came along in the person of Da Ponte.

Anton Klein was given to ending his letters with a flourish of drums and trumpets in praise of the glories that lay ahead for the German language and German literature. Quite possibly he did the same in lost letters to Mozart. In any case Mozart concluded on a quite different note, and not without a sly touch of irony about the dangers of being overzealous:

Do not take offense, my dear Herr Privy Councilor, if in my zeal I have perhaps gone too far! Convinced as I am of speaking to a true German I have given my tongue so free a rein, which unfortunately is allowed to happen so seldom these days, that after such an outpouring of the heart one might well become inebriated, but without endangering one’s health. I remain with most perfect respect, most treasurable Herr Privy Councilor, your most obedient servant. W. A. Mozart, Vienna, 21 May 1785

I doubt that the exchange of letters went any further and presume that Mozart did Klein the courtesy of returning the manuscript of Kaiser Rudolf: The play was printed in 1787 and presumably sold in Vienna by Klein along with his other publications.

Klein cut quite a figure in Vienna in the second half of the 1780s. An interview by him with no less a figure than Kaiser Joseph appeared in the Wienerblätten on 28 June 1787. It began as follows:

Joseph
What are you now mostly occupied with?

Klein
The publication of a series entitled “Life and Portraits of the Great German Masters,” which I undertook in order to contribute a spark that would ignite the national spirit with the old German virtues of courage and probity.

Joseph
There you have much to do.

He says so much with these few words: “Da haben Sie viel zu thun.” The contrast with the high-flying Klein is almost comical, especially in light of the emperor’s own failure to inspire a higher morality in his subjects by means of the theater.

Two summers earlier there came to Mozart’s apartment in the so-called Figaro House in the Schulerstrasse an English businessman, John Pettinger, who represented various music publishers in London and left an account of the visit in his papers that came to light quite recently, in Peter Gammond’s book One Man’s Music. John Pettinger (1759–1831), who worked for several British music publishers and met Mozart once or twice during business visits to Vienna
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between 1783 and 1826 (and later mentions being present at a musical evening when Haydn was there), gives us this fleeting description of his first introduction to the composer. The introducer was a Professor Klein, who obviously acted as interpreter. They went to Mozart’s lodgings in the summer of 1785 and were shown into the composer’s room by his wife.

What follows is a direct quotation from John Pettinger:

It was a hot day but Mozart was quite formally dressed. He had been hard at work on some compositions for string quartet but seemed not at all put out by being interrupted. Indeed, he continued to put down occasional notes during our conversation. I was surprised, when he rose to find him of not more than until he spoke, when his expression was particularly striking, rather melancholy and of very slight build. His hand was cold but his grip was firm. His face was and of very slight build. His hand was cold but his grip was firm. His face was and of very slight build. His hand was cold but his grip was firm. His face was

Mozart scholars have been stumped as to the identity of the Klein who accompanied Pettinger to Mozart and others with whom Pettinger hoped to do business. Who better for the task than Professor Klein, a linguist who spoke several languages and even published a comparative dictionary of German provincial dialects? Also, being in the publishing business himself Klein could readily deal with contracts, fees, financial terms involving different currencies, etc.

If Klein did serve as a translator what languages were used? Mozart picked up some English as a child when in London twenty years earlier, but it was largely forgotten due to lack of practice since then. When it appeared the he might be returning to London on a concert tour in 1787 he began taking lessons in English. Besides German, the languages he knew well and did practice were Italian and French. He chose Italian for the moving dedication of his six string quartets to Haydn. I assume that, when the pleasantries were over and the talk with his summer visitors got down to business, Mozart spoke in German, which Klein could have translated for Pettinger into English. Klein’s publications included works he had translated from English into German.

Concerning the string quartets that Pettinger says Mozart was working on as the visitors arrived nothing is known. Mozart was done with the composition of string quartets for a year after the six went off to the publisher Artaria in Vienna. He could have been working on the proofs of this edition, which was published in October 1785. Another possibility is that he was correcting the work of one of his students.

Lest we lose sight of Mozart’s letter to Klein of 21 May 1785, consider this possibility. The letter caught up with him in Vienna eventually, and before Pettinger’s visit to the composer. In this case Klein may have earlier called on Mozart to thank him for his seeming enthusiasm about using German. If Klein had made Mozart’s acquaintance personally before the Pettinger visit, it makes sense that Klein should serve as “introducer” of the businessman from London.

The story of Klein’s Kaiser Rudolf von Habsburg in Vienna does not end with its rejection by the imperial court theater, or Mozart’s temporizing response to the proposal for an opera on the subject. Klein’s play was performed in Vienna, not at the Burgtheater but on the stage of the suburban Theater auf der Wieden. It was under the direction of Emanuel Schikaneder, the producer, librettist, and comic lead singer of Mozart’s Die Zauberflöte in 1791. Schikaneder performed Kaiser Rudolf on 20 November 1789, a time when Mozart was trying to finish his third opera with Da Ponte, Cosi fan tutte, first performed at the Burgtheater on 26 January 1790. The title role in Kaiser Rudolf was almost certainly played by Schikaneder himself, as he was accustomed to doing in tragedies, including those of Shakespeare and Schiller.

What did Mozart really think of Klein’s Kaiser Rudolf von Habsburg? There may be a hint in what he said about an esteemed poet in Vienna admired by Klein, Johann Michael Denis, an ex-Jesuit priest. Denis translated Ossian into German and is the author of a poem celebrating the English navy’s success in lifting the siege of Gibraltar in 1782. Mozart wrote to his father on 28 December 1787: “I am working on a very difficult assignment, a bardic ode on Gibraltar by Denis, commissioned by a Hungarian lady... The ode is sublime, beautiful, anything you will—only—too exaggerated and bombastic for my fastidious ears” (zu übertrieben schwülstig für meine feine Ohren). Mozart began but did not finish this commissioned piece.

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2. I have relied primarily on Karl Krükl, Anton von Klein am Hofe Karl Theodors von der Pfalz (Eisenach, 1901), chapter 1: “Kleine Jugendjahre (1746–1773).”
3. These plays were later turned into operas for a range of composers whose eminence reached all the way up to Giuseppe Verdi. See the article “Schiller” in The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1992).
4. There is some question whether Klein himself played a part in the intrigue that resulted in Schiller’s leaving Mannheim.

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Mozart Copied! But Did He Pay Homage?

In a 1954 article titled “Mozart hat kopiert!” Karl Pfannhauser presented a series of important discoveries concerning a few early church works allegedly by Mozart.⁴ According to these findings, the De profundis, K. 93, like all four pieces and fragments that were inserted after it in Alfred Einstein’s revised Köchel catalogue (Memento Domine David, 93a; Kyrie, 93b; Requiem aeternam and Lacrymosa, 93c; Justum deduxit Dominus, 93d), are not Mozart’s compositions at all, but rather his study copies of works by Carl Georg Reutter and Johann Ernst Eberlin. Substantial though these discoveries undoubtedly are, I find the way Pfannhauser presented them at least as fascinating. For after having chosen a slightly provocative title, he clearly was at pains to prevent the reader from misunderstanding the nature of Mozart’s copying, and perhaps from taking them for a kind of plagiarism. Thus already in the very first paragraph we are told that

many people imagine the life and creative work of great masters often in a wholly fictitious way. Although for everybody certain talents are laid in the cradle, so to speak, which is of eminent significance particularly with artistic dispositions; these too have to be awakened first and can mostly reach full development only through self-sacrificing industry. Thus some critics or biographers would blush with shame, if they were aware of the amount of work that this or that much-admired genius had to accomplish. In addition it should also be pondered that in general true artists, with measured modesty, felt themselves above all mere links in the creative process of their time, and that for this reason they had to attach to tradition in a pious way.²

Although this introductory paragraph primarily strives to acquit Mozart of the charge of plagiarism, in the end it does not stop half-way and—turning defense into attack, so to speak—goes on to reinterpret the act of copying as a virtue. The same strategy recurs once again in the very last paragraph of the article, now evoking even more vividly the atmosphere of the final moments of a trial. Mozart’s advocate claims that, even if copying was a sin, his client committed it in a kind of “self-defense”:

Mozart copied! He did it, because all true art has a formal side as well and has to be founded upon the achievements of tradition; but first of all he did it also because he could not, and did not want to do anything else other than work and fulfill his duty.³

Pfannhauser’s plea is, of course, quite justified in this case: the copies he describes were surely prepared for study purposes, and Mozart’s omission of the real authors’ names should hardly be interpreted as a violation of copyright law (the modern concept of which was barely taking shape around that time anyway). Nevertheless, the anxiety that inspired Pfannhauser to frame his article by such an apology is undeniably at work in much of the Mozart literature, and seems to have had significant influence on our interpretation of Mozart’s other, possibly more problematic copyings. In the following I would like to take a look at three later writings that presented the cases I find the most embarrassing myself.

* * *

The identification of Josef Mysliveček’s aria, “Il mio caro bene attendo sospiro,” as the source of Mozart’s canzonet, “Ridente la calma” (K. 152), was one of numerous similar discoveries made by Georges de Saint-Foix.⁴ However, the Mozart literature seems to have forgotten about his hint, to which Marius Flothuis had to draw attention again, more than three decades later.³ Flothuis, of course, also strove to interpret Mozart’s extensive borrowing, but this seemed much more difficult than it had been with Pfannhauser’s exact copies. For although “the aria by Mysliveček indeed corresponds to the Mozartian canzonet wide-rangingly,’” there are several minor differences: the text, its notation in full score (as opposed to Mozart’s keyboard reduction) and in 3/4 (Mozart’s being in 3/8), the different middle section, and the twelve-bar ritornello (altogether missing in “Ridente la calma”). These changes do not suggest an obvious explanation for Mozart’s copying, as Flothuis himself admits by posing two important questions:

1. If Mozart “copied” Mysliveček—theoretically the opposite would be possible as well!—why did he provide the piece with a new text?
2. Why did he not copy the piece for himself, as always, in score, but in piano reduction? To the first question I would like to first of all assert: Mozart did not copy Mysliveček, but paid homage to him.⁷

This, I believe, is a move similar to the one observed in Pfannhauser’s article: even before the suspicion of theft could take clear shape, Flothuis abruptly asserts that here we have an homage on our hands. Thus Mozart—a moment earlier threatened by the charge of simply “copying” (note Flothuis’s apologetic quotation marks) others’ works—arises not merely as innocent, but indeed as a most honorable man, who “had to attach to tradition in a pious way,” and who was eager to show his respect to the older generation once again by “paying homage” to Mysliveček. Although this introductory paragraph

However, the supporting evidence for Flothuis’s assertion seems scarce and by no means unequivocal. First he mentions that the new middle section by Mozart uses a motive that appears in the flute part of Mysliveček’s main section, but the correspondence shown in his illustration is hardly close enough to necessarily suggest a conscious reference; while the character and the position of the motive itself seems too insignificant to serve as “proof” for Mozart’s having performed an act of homage here. Similarly, Flothuis’s second argument, the close friendship continued on page 12

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between the two composers, could make a Huldigung plausible, but will surely not suffice in itself to make us rechristen a slightly altered copy as an homage. Indeed, in his last sentence Flothuis himself acknowledges that, notwithstanding all his previous arguments, “regarding the questions, why Mozart chose a new text and why he noted the piece with piano accompaniment, I remain in doubt.” To which a malevolent skeptic may rightly remark that Mozart perhaps did steal his colleague’s work after all, and that these slight changes might have served to conceal the identity of the two pieces. Such an explanation, of course, will by no means solve all the riddles about this mysterious canzonet, but would seem to answer more of them than simply dubbing the piece an homage to Mysliveček does.

Flothuis, in fact, brings in a third argument for his homage hypothesis, which I left to the end, since it touches upon a recurring sensitive spot of the plagiarism/homage problem: “Mozart honored Johann Christian Bach in K. 315g and K. 414/385p, and also Gluck in K. 375, in similar fashion.” But are these supposed parallels indeed conceived “in similar fashion” [in ähnlicher Weise]? The third movement of the Serenade, K. 375, seems to open with a quotation of a ritornello theme from Gluck’s Alceste, but the borrowing is only four bars in length, and Mozart’s accompaniment is different. Analogously, the thematic allusion to a J. C. Bach symphony in the slow movement of the A-major piano concerto, K. 414, though more literal, also ends after four bars—neither of these examples is a close parallel to Mozart’s copying a whole aria with only slight changes. And, after all, we have no proof in any strict sense that these allusions would have been intended as acts of homage: Mozart certainly revered both Gluck and J. C. Bach, and in an oft-quoted letter mourned the death of the latter, but he did not actually go on to say that for this reason he would soon pay homage to him in his A-major piano concerto by quoting a symphony by the late master. Of course, I also admit that it is not a wholly improbable explanation, but this alluring case seems to have fascinated biographers to an undesirable degree, and to have called forth a quest for homage in much less probable cases as well. Thus Flothuis’s third example, the trio in the fourth minuet of K. 315g (which quotes the same four-bar phrase as K. 414), was even tentatively redated 1782 in Köchel 6 with an eye to Bach’s death.

If “Ridente la calma” seems to stand very far from Flothuis’s alleged homage parallels, we are about to get into even greater trouble with the Andante of the Divertimento K. 166. This movement, as A. Marshall Stoneham revealed in a 1984 letter to The Musical Times, is almost identical to the Andantino of a Paisiello symphony. Stoneham’s short notice did not enter into the question of possible plagiarism, but Franz Giegling amply made up for this in the preface of his edition of the piece, published in the Neue Mozart Ausgabe the same year.

Mozart quotes willingly and takes quotations first of all as subject for variations, since a musical quotation was understood as veneration or homage at that time. Unfortunately, at the moment we still have too little material for comparison at our disposal from Mozart’s musical environment, so that concerning the substance of quotations we cannot recognize further connections with other works, and cannot exactly interpret the ones already recognized. In any case we shall come across further quotations of this kind in the future.

While the second half of Giegling’s argumentation is careful in an exemplary way, the first sentence seems less cogent to me. First of all, in view of all the problems described by him afterwards, can we say that Mozart borrowed precisely “since [denn] a musical quotation was understood as veneration or homage” to the other composer? No doubt, to borrow from a foreign piece will inevitably imply a certain appreciation (who would borrow something one does not find worthy of borrowing?), but to claim this as the primary reason for doing so might, again, be a certain “moral overkill”: to attribute to Mozart the (at least for our understanding) most honorable of all conceivable intentions. Secondly, Giegling mentions the theme and variation form as the most characteristic type of homage—another very distant parallel to the copying of a whole movement, which is what happens in this divertimento. And in the third place, the only support he provides (in a footnote) for the homage function of quotations is—the Andante of K. 414.

I am not in the least intending to suggest here that the use of thematic allusion as homage is a mere myth. Moreover, though a broader exploration of this topic falls outside the scope of this essay, I cannot resist recalling Johann Mattheson’s opinion about this problem. According to him, “this practice is of no disadvantage to the composer of the original idea, but rather a special honor when a famous person comes upon his ideas and makes from them a true basis of his own music.” However, such a remark will only confirm that our notion of the difference between homage and plagiarism (namely that to base a composition, otherwise independent and newly composed, on a foreign musical idea and to literally copy a longer, coherent chunk of music by another composer are two significantly different procedures) was not wholly unfamiliar to the eighteenth century. Thus it seems to me that, if we want to understand Mozart’s reason for taking his slow movement from Paisiello’s symphony, we should rather abandon, or at least qualify, the “homage hypothesis.”

Giegling’s preface, notwithstanding his justified claim that at the moment we “cannot exactly interpret” these cases, might provide some material for such an alternative understanding. One of his most important points is that Harmoniemusik was a special genre in many respects, one of these being its particular openness to incorporating foreign material. Indeed, one of Mozart’s divertimenti, K. 187, already turned out to be a series of arrangements of pieces by Gluck and Joseph Starzer (and was accordingly expelled into the Appendix of the Köchel catalogue as C 17.12). Besides, the fourth movement of K. 166 itself and also the fifth movement of K. 186 (which might have been written for the same commission) have also been shown to use melodies by Starzer, the direct source being Mozart’s own sketches of the ballet, Le gelosie del Serraglio (K. 135a). Whether these quotations were intended to be recognized seems a difficult question,
especially because we do not know for exactly what purpose the two divertimenti were written. As regards the Paisiello movement, however, it seems relevant that the presence of clarinets has been taken as a sign of K. 166’s not having been intended for Salzburg, and the most probable guess of the commission has been that it may have arrived from an unknown Milanese patron—or perhaps Leopold Grand Duke of Tuscany. At the same time, it remains obscure when Mozart could have met Paisiello’s music; the most convincing suggestion for this being that it might have happened in early 1773 at the performances of the opera Montezuma in Milan. Now, if Mozart had any dubious intentions when arranging Paisiello’s music, he would have had to be exceptionally careless to send the piece to the very place where the audience would be the most likely to recognize the Paisiello original. Can this movement then have perhaps been a favorite of the commissioner, and thus Mozart’s insertion of it into the divertimento an act of homage to him, rather than directly to Paisiello?

* * *

The third example of possible plagiarism that I would like to examine was uncovered by Gerhard Croll in a 1993 article, “Im tonus peregrinus: Bemerkungen zur Betulia liberata von Mozart.” In this instance, the title itself seems somewhat apologetic: the heading best describing the substance of Croll’s finding should rather have been Pfannhauser’s “Mozart hat kopiert!” (if I may suggest a plagiarism myself). For, as it turns out, in the final number of his oratorio, the fifteen-year-old Mozart simply recycled a chorus from Michael Haydn’s music composed a year earlier for a Latin school drama, Pietas Christiana. But even apart from his unsensational title, Croll evidently strives to find some justification for Mozart’s copying by way of a double introduction. First we are reminded that imitation was an essential part of the composer’s creative personality, and that “Mozart disposed of a phenomenal memory,” thus “something, which had appeared interesting to him somehow, remained his property in the memory and was not lost—until it was ‘used,’ brought out some time or other.” And secondly, we are also told that the summer of 1771, when La Betulia liberata was composed, must have been an extremely busy period of the composer’s life, with a startling number of new works.

However, in the light of Croll’s subsequent remarks, the first of these “excuses” proves irrelevant, since (as a correction in Mozart’s autograph unmistakably reveals) the composer was literally copying his older colleague’s work into his own score—neither “imitation” (as something more transformative than copying) nor his undoubtedly phenomenal memory played much of a role here. And as for the second introductory apology, Croll’s reference to the lack of time may suggest that he himself is aware of the dangerous implication inherent in his discovery: Mozart might indeed have committed plagiarism here. Nevertheless, this suspicion never becomes overt in the article, and in his conclusion the author skillfully succeeds in eating the cake without having actually tasted it:

The attention called by Mozart scholarship to the special compositional—musical qualities of the chorus No. 16 “Lodi al gran Dio” in the oratorio La Betulia liberata, K. 118, concerns two masters: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Johann Michael Haydn.

To be sure, Croll does not explicitly claim that Mozart’s borrowing would be an homage to a venerable colleague, but this notion is never very far from the surface. For the idea of using Haydn’s setting must have occurred to Mozart “under the impression of musical fascination,” and if he had been told all the praises that scholars uttered about this chorus, “he would surely have answered these with a disclaimer, with a respectful allusion to the older master, to Johann Michael Haydn.” Thus it comes as no surprise when a few years later, in Robert Gutman’s Mozart: A Cultural Biography, the idea emerges from between the lines to being an explicit suggestion. Here we first hear of Mozart’s ingenious application of the tonus peregrinus in this movement—and only in a footnote do we learn that “Betulia’s final number also includes material from a theatre score by Michael Haydn, perhaps a gesture of homage.”

Seemingly, the notion of homage, unless denied explicitly, will breed everywhere with astonishing speed. But could this borrowing indeed be “perhaps a gesture of homage”? With all Giegling’s qualifications in mind it seems impossible to take a definite stand, but the affirmative answer is by no means obvious. And whatever else Mozart might have had in mind, La Betulia liberata was written for Padua, where borrowing from a school drama, recently written for the university in Salzburg, could surely have escaped unnoticed.

My purpose, however, is not to claim that Mozart committed plagiarism in all, or any, of the above cases. Nor am I willing to suggest that Mozart scholarship, and especially those eminent representatives of it whose writings served as examples here, would have remained blind to the problem adumbrated above. On the contrary, as I strove to show, each of them perceived the problem clearly, and seems to have felt that the only possible explanation that could harmonize with our ideas about Mozart’s creative genius and personality would be to interpret these examples as acts of homage. What I do want to suggest, however, is that this regular retreat to the concept of homage blurs the boundaries between very different cases, and thus stands in the way of our understanding each of them in its own right. Handel scholars—who, of course, had to face an incomparably higher number of plagiarism-like examples than we would ever find in Mozart—have long struggled to reconcile the practice of extensive borrowing with the notion of Handel still being a great composer, as the last two decades show, not without some success. And it seems a curious paradox that, while Mozart scholarship is so eager to show that Mozart was influenced by virtually every notable composer of his century, at the same time it seems so reluctant to imagine that he would have committed anything like plagiarism on even a single occasion. But what if he did? Shall we love him less for that?

And what if he did not?

Then we shall have to account better for such cases, and form a clearer understanding of why he borrowed at all. But the way to this clearer understanding, I believe, will not lead through the concept of homage.

— Balázs Mikusi
Cornell University
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Mozart Copied!
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1. Karl Pfannhauser, “Mozart hat kopiert!,” *Acta Mozartiana* 1 (1954), 21–25 and 38–41. The first draft of this essay was written in connection with Neal Zaslaw’s seminar on “Mozart, the Borrower,” and drew inspiration from some of his own ideas on this topic.


3. Pfannhauser, 41.


5. Marius Flothuis, “‘Ridente la calma’ – Mozart oder Mysliveček?” *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1971/72, 241–243. In his introduction Flothuis emphasizes that the authenticity of the piece has been questioned, and no authentic source survives. My aim here, however, is not to decide whether Mozart copied Mysliveček or not, but rather to examine how scholars who believed he did have tried to explain away this problematic finding.


10. This quotation was identified by Flothuis himself in his *Mozarts Bearbeitungen eigener und fremder Werke* (Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum / Bärenreiter, 1969), 77–78.

11. For the identification of this borrowing, see Georges de Saint-Foix, *W.-A. Mozart*, vol. 3 (Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1936), 323. The homage interpretation also comes from Saint-Foix (vol. 5, 2nd edition [Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1946], 319–20), where he also suggested that the rondo of the Violin Sonata, K. 526, was an homage to Carl Friedrich Abel (featuring a finale modelled on the latter’s sonata Op. 5 No. 5).


13. In his 1976 preface to the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* edition of the work (Serie V, Werkgruppe 15, Band 3, IX), Christoph Wolff expresses similar doubts, claiming that “it is by no means compelling to derive a ‘Tombeau de Bach’ from this quotation.”

14. To provide a longer list of such hard-to-believe homages seems superfluous: those few discussed in this essay might suffice as a sample. On the other hand, the only example truly similar to K. 414 seems to be the violin sonata mentioned in my footnote 11 (written not long after Abel’s death). Even in this case, however, the form of reference is quite different: Mozart’s movement does not so much quote that of Abel, but is rather modelled on it.


16. A. M. Stoneham, “Mozart and Paisiello,” *The Musical Times*, vol. 125 (1984), 75. Apart from the different key and orchestration, “differences between the movements are very slight, the most noticeable one is at the end, where the divertimento has four extra, fanfare-like bars (62–66) to separate phrases merely hinted at in Paisiello’s music.”

17. F. Wolf, *W. A. Mozarts musikalische Umwelt in Paris (1778): Eine Dokumentation* (München–Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzwichler, 1982), LIX–LX, had already pointed out that the ballet-pantomime *Annette et Lubin* “exhibits a piece, which in its essence is identical to the third movement from Mozart’s wind divertimento K. 166 (159d).” Apparently, Mozart was not the only one to recycle Paisiello’s music. (For the scores of both the Paisiello movement and the Annette et Lubin version, see the critical notes of the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*: Serie VII, Werkgruppe 17, Band 1, a/46–a/54.)

18. Giegling, X. (In the following discussion I will use the data available in Giegling’s preface without further reference.)


20. To add a further argument to the ones brought up by Giegling, we may refer to a few similar cases in J. C. Bach’s wind symphonies. See Richard Maudner’s introduction to volume 37 of *The Collected Works of Johann Christian Bach* 1735–1782 (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1990), vii–viii.

21. The position of this work is further complicated by the fact that only two of the movements were arranged by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; the rest probably stems from Leopold.


23. Croll, 74.

24. Since Mozart inserted solo passages between the chorus strophes, the point where Michael Haydn connected two of these had to be altered. However, Haydn’s connecting measure appears in Mozart’s autograph—he seems to have realized only subsequently that it must be altered for his purpose, and crossed it out.

25. In fact, I wonder if Croll’s awareness of this problem may have played a role in his conspicuous slowness to make his find available to a greater public. Although his first footnote identifies his text as a paper read at a 1989 conference in Padua, in footnote 5 it turns out that a “first reference to the connections presented more circumstantially in the following, was given by me in the year 1970 at a meeting of the Zentralinstitut für Mozartforschung in an unpublished report on Mozart and M. Haydn.”

26. Croll, 89.

27. Croll, 78.

28. Croll, 76.

Letter from Vienna

No European capital has ever attempted as ambitious a display of a composer’s works as Vienna is promising an international public during the year 2006: the 250th anniversary of Mozart’s birth will be feted with an unprecedented number of concerts, operatic productions, and exhibitions that represents considerable confidence on the part of state and city without noticeable increase in ticket costs to the public. Of course, confidence may well reflect pride based on a view of Mozart as a major representative of Austrian culture. “Austrian composer, Johann Strauss—when the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra is televised live throughout Europe and the U.S. Justification for increased state subvention to promote the Mozart Jubilee Year in Vienna seems enthusiastically endorsed. By way of example: the 105 million Euros with which the city and state has annually supported opera in Vienna is to be increased. A fourth venue, the Theater an der Wien, will now join the Staatsoper, Volksoper and the little Kammeroper, to offer not all the staged works of Mozart, but a good many of them in multiple productions, all new.

Although operas will be shown in at least a dozen theaters throughout the city, performances in the Theater an der Wien may well generate the most excitement in the coming year. Constructed in 1798-1801, its earliest productions were under the direction of Emanuel Schikaneder (from its opening in 1801 till ’06) and therein lies the theater’s close connection with Mozart and especially, of course, his Magic Flute. In recent decades, nevertheless, this theater has mostly offered musical shows, and with great financial success. By way of example, the musical about the empress Elisabetta (1837-98), presenting fanciful aspects of the empress’s life with the last Hapsburg Emperor, Franz Joseph (d. 1916), had an extraordinary run in Viennese terms: 1,131 performances (which is to say, a total of 1,788,131 tickets sold). It is therefore no small cultural achievement, to my mind, that this venue will be chiefly devoted to a full year of Mozart’s music.

But what I believe could turn the year into an intriguing test, is the fact that not only many opera singers but different orchestras and conductors will give listeners an opportunity to compare performance styles: the Theater an der Wien is not only handsome but has remarkably fine acoustics inviting comparisons.

Tickets are already on sale in Vienna for the following events. Nikolaus Harnoncourt and his own instrumental ensemble, Concentus musicus: Lucio Silla (6 performances) and Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots (5 performances) with scenery and lighting by Harnoncourt’s son, Philipp, a brilliant designer; Daniel Harding and the Mahler Chamber Orchestra: Così fan tutte with staging by Patrice Chéreau (8 performances); Bertrand de Billy and Vienna’s Radio Symphony Orchestra: Don Giovanni (10 performances); in concert version de Billy will conduct L’ape musicale by Cimarosa, Mozart, Paisiello, Salieri et al, to a libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte (3 performances); the Wiener Kammerorchester and Schoenberg Choir under Erwin Ortner, along with the Hamburg Ballet in choreography by John Neumeier: Mozart’s Requiem (5 performances); Paolo Carignani and Wiener Symphoniker with Schoenberg Choir: Clemenza di Tito (8 performances); Fabio Luisi and Wiener Symphoniker: with scenery, staging and costumes by Kristian Lupa and Piotr Skiba: Zauberflöte (8 performances).

A good many chamber music concerts, including piano and voice recitals, concertos for violin, and for piano, by Mozart, plus a few recent musical works by others will appear on different programs. All in all, there are some 90 performances planned, to include about 39 major works by Mozart. (Cf. www.theater-wien.at for performance changes and greater details.)

There is but a single opera that will originate at the Theater an der Wien, although performances will be given there. Mozart’s Idomeneo is announced as a co-production with the Staatsoper, with four performances each in January and in February and four more in June, all under the direction of Seiji Ozawa, at the Theater an der Wien. In an interview (printed in the Bühne magazine, Nov. 2005, pp. 44-45) discussing a cooperation linking the Staatsoper and Theater an der Wien, Roland Geyer, the new Intendant (i.e., director) at the Theater an der Wien, reminds us that these two theaters had been closely linked from 1945 to ’55, when the Staatsoper had had to be almost completely rebuilt. At that time, it moved its entire performance staff to the Theater an der Wien for all operatic performances. That raised the point for Geyer, that he would like to see the Schoenberg Choir as the Theater’s house chorus in all future productions, and have a group of the Radio Symphony Orchestra play so-called Baroque and/or Classic instruments to constitute an orchestra for an ongoing 18th-century repertory. It would be more economical, he explains, having pointed to his background in financial administration (not in music or the arts). Since the R.S.O. (i.e., Radio Symphony Orchestra) is noted especially for great skill in dealing with large, complicated works of the 20th century, a constant switching to an 18th-century instrumentarium could seem a bit unlikely, at least to me. But Geyer’s ambition to produce 10 to 12 premiers annually, to borrow half that many productions performance-ready from other houses, and again as many operas with different singers, does seem intriguing.

Stating that he wishes to reschedule Zauberflöte, while mixing in operas of Rossini, in the years 2006-8, encourages one to believe that the Theater an der Wien may indeed remain a house thriving

discontinued on page 16
as a specialized “historical institution.”
A first in Europe! If allowed to perform throughout the year as musicals used to be.
But of course, opera productions entail far more than a musical component. The visual aspect of opera—certainly Mozart’s—can be and often is treated with wild abandon. Indeed! It seems today a wide-spread European fashion to promote, ever and again, what in German is distainfully referred to as Regietheater, which is to say, a form of distorted, inappropriate stage directing, usually imposed in conjunction with absurd and contradictory scenery. A clear example of contrasting productions of Zauberflöte just premiered (in the middle of December 2005, yet “already belonging to the Jubilee Year”) effectively illustrates the difference between, on the one hand, distorting the visual in order to update or otherwise reinterpret a work. On the other hand, there are those who seek an imaginative yet faithful adherence to Mozart’s music and his librettists’ texts in order to avoid any insinuation of fraudulent, modern intentions. After years of considerable abuse in the musical and spoken theater, the general public—at least in Europe—is tiring of fabrications, especially those quite vulgar, that no historically oriented listener, let alone trained musician, could possibly find within Mozart’s scores. Let me briefly describe differences between a very poor Zauberflöte production at the Kammeroper, and an exceptionally fine one at the Volksoper (both still “on the boards” before the public).

At the relatively small Kammeroper, Mozart’s opera, actually renamed Sarastros Traum von der Zauberflöte—gekürzt (“Sarastros Dream of the Magic Flute—Shortened”) is considerably rearranged. Schikaneder’s text is not only considerably shortened and numbers shuffled and given to other actors by Gabriel Barylli (the librettist/director) to relate a plot that includes Papageno finding his love in the first act (although complaining of loneliness in the second), while Sarastro and the Queen declare at the end their mutual love, and so on. Orchestral support arranged by Wolfgang Liebhart is supplied by 11 musicians, and scenery little more than a bare, white stage matches the white costumes of the singers. (Cf. Wiener Zeitung, 17 Dec. 2005, including a photo.)

At the much larger Volkoper, Zauberflöte is being treated to a splendid production in the hands of Leopold Hager (who has conducted abroad extensively in London, at New York’s Met, etc.) and the unusually well-schooled singer, actor, writer, and stage director at Vienna’s prestigious Theater in the Josefstadt, namely, Helmuth Lohner. The reviews of the premiere (Dec. 14) in Vienna’s newspapers are glowing, and interviews in weekly magazines, Bühne and News, as well as the daily Standard newspaper of Dec. 16, disclose the high intellectual level on which details and nuances of the music and drama were composed. This time, there is no fusing with Mozart’s intentions. All has been carefully considered, and the respect for Mozart’s keen ideas is beautifully communicated by Lohner. In sum, Mozart can be trusted. And actors may do what they do best. Sing!

But the habits of Regietheater can appear unexpectedly in a host of places. For example 28 film-makers have been identified by the head of an umbrella organization named Wien-Mozart 2006, which finances some initiatives, and endorses other independent projects with its stamp of approval. In one case, the film-makers have been invited to make a Mozart-Minute, i.e., a film of only 60 seconds that must display “what the Mozart phenomenon” means to them, personally. These films will be broadcast on Austrian TV throughout 2006. But will they be enlightening? Amusing? Worth many a rerun? Or do we risk again manifestations of Regietheater in yet another form?

Might some films prove as embarrassing as the large plastic coffin, illuminated from within by bright yellow, neon letters spelling out the word Requiem, placed in the center of that most handsome of libraries in Austria, the Prunksaal, or grand hall, of the National Library (at the Josefplatz, next to Vienna’s Hofburg)? The exhibit from October into December was devoted to showing Mozart’s original, handwritten copy of the Requiem—and that was very beautiful—along with selected pictures and explanatory texts. In this instance, I do not object so much to the large, rectangular casket, per se, as I do to the presence of its appearance within a great architectural space. (Designed by Fischer von Erlach, the library was subsequently administered by Mozart’s friend Gottfried van Swieten from 1777 to 5 December 1791, the day Mozart died). As a symbol of eighteenth-century learning, the space is disturbed by the plastic coffin, as if this gaudy object denied any historical, artistic, or capricious ingenuity between death, its musical celebration, the hall, and so on. The illuminated word Requiem screaming into the quiet, darkened library, seemed a mismatch of ideas and historical traditions.

Is the enormous project of Peter Sellars, entitled “New Crowned Hope,” and to be completed and performed in November and December of 2006, likely to be yet another instance of Regietheater gone awry? No! I certainly think not. Simply stated: I consider Sellars too talented and intelligent to let his many foreign collaborators fail in their creation of meaningful statements that artistically express idealism, human compassion, and so much more that speaks from the stagings of Sellars’ productions over the years. The city fathers of Vienna have seen fit to endow his grand Festival of staged entertainments, plus spoken and visual arts, to be generated by an enormous international group of men and women.

The news media disclose that a budget of ten million Euros has been made available to Sellars. To put this sum in perspective, I point out that newspapers report the city may give the Volkoper three-and-a-half million Euros to help it survive the two next seasons. (Unlike the Staatsoper, the Volkoper does not have an endowment to fall back upon.) Since, however, Sellars’s rehearsals have probably not begun at Vienna’s old Ottakringer Brauerei, a fuller report must await a subsequent Mozart Newsletter. At that time, some of the several dozen events I have in my file will have reached maturity and performance. At that time, above all, I would like to report on whether Regietheater still thrives, or whether artistic demands linked to historical awareness have started bringing today’s productions closer to intentions of the historical past. In other words, is it possible that concentrated attention to Mozart may prompt more open discussion of the historical role of the opera house? In time, surely, audiences will get what they believe they deserve.

— Sven Hansell
Vienna, December 2005
Abstracts of Mozart Papers to Be Delivered at the Mozart Society of America Session
during the Annual National Meeting of the
American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies
Montreal, 30 March - 2 April 2006

Isabelle Emerson
(University of Nevada, Las Vegas)
Session chair

Kathryn L. Libin
(Vassar College):
Public Works, Private Spaces:
Mozart Opera in the Lobkowitz
Theatres in Bohemia

The two favorite Bohemian residences of Joseph Franz Maximilian, 7th Prince Lobkowitz (1772–1816), were Raudnitz (Roudnice), an Italianate palace built on the river Elbe as the family seat in the late seventeenth century; and Eisenberg (Jezeri), a gracious Renaissance castle in the mountains of northern Bohemia acquired by the Lobkowitz family shortly after the Battle of the White Mountain. Joseph Franz Maximilian, a passionate devotee of opera and theatre who regularly attended public performances during the Vienna season, erected small theatres at Raudnitz and Eisenberg in order to bring such works into his private realm. During the summer months these residences became magnets for musicians, singers, actors, and invited guests who took part in private performances sponsored and hosted by Prince Lobkowitz. Mozart operas produced at the Lobkowitz theatres included Don Giovanni, Cosi fan tutte, Le nozze di Figaro, and La clemenza di Tito. Surviving manuscript scores and parts for these operas suggest that they were performed both in full and in part over the course of several years; individual numbers from other operas, such as Die Zauberflöte and Il re pastore, likely received performances as well. Details from account records and other documents, together with the musical manuscripts, provide a vivid picture of how Mozart’s operas were transplanted from Vienna’s theatres to the private spaces of Bohemia and flourished there in the decades after his death.

Bruce Alan Brown
(University of Southern California):
Leporello’s Catalogue Aria: The French Connection

The fact that Lorenzo da Ponte’s libretto for Mozart’s Don Giovanni expands upon an existing libretto by Giovanni Bertati (the central act of his Capriccio drammatico, set to music by Giuseppe Gazzaniga) has not discouraged scholars from seeking further literary models for his text. Edward Forman, Giovanna Gronda, and numerous others have noted Bertati’s close reliance on Molière’s moral comedy Dom Juan of 1665, and Da Ponte’s rather more sparing and subtle borrowings from that piece. One particular focus of attention has been the scene in which the Don’s servant—Sganarelle in Molière’s play, Leporello in da Ponte and Mozart’s opera—enumerates his master’s many amorous conquests. Sganarelle’s speech contains not one, but several lists: not only of his master’s female victims, but also of his moral failings, of his articles of disbelief, and of epithets applicable to him. But for da Ponte (according to recent research), catalogues in more modern operatic and literary works, rather than in Molière’s Dom Juan, seem to have provided the main inspiration as he composed Leporello’s aria “Madamina, il catalogo è questo.”

Da Ponte may nonetheless have had Molière’s words very much in mind as he drafted the aria—not Sganarelle’s multiple lists in Dom Juan, but rather a speech by Éliante in Act II of Le Misanthrope of 1666. This tirade develops the same amorous conceit as in the central portion of Leporello’s aria: namely, that for lovers,

Jamais, leur passion n’y voit rien de blâmaible,
Et dans l’objet aimé, tout leur devient aimable.[]

Éliante’s list of women’s defects and of their suitors’ euphemisms for them strikes just the same tone of galanterie as in Leporello’s lines beginning at “Nella bionda egli ha l’usanza,” and shares much of their vocabulary. Da Ponte, whose first writings for the stage were translations from the French, would likely have been well acquainted with this, Molière’s finest play, as would Viennese audiences, who could have witnessed performances of it both in French and in German, from the 1750s onward. The fact that Éliante’s speech was based on an ancient model—a passage in the poem De rerum natura by the Roman writer Lucretius (a work that Molière himself had translated into French)—would have been an additional attraction for Da Ponte, a life-long admirer of the literary legacy of the Ancients. Mozart, though probably aware neither of the French inspiration nor of the ancient resonance of these verses, gratefully seized on their affect, writing a galant minuet that perfectly captured the seducer’s charm, and that lent Leporello’s aria a psychological complexity not normally found in catalogue arias.

The Mozart Year in San Diego

Mainly Mozart, a producer of classical music programs in San Diego, has begun a year-long celebration of Mozart’s 250th birthday with the collaboration of over 50 arts and cultural organizations. The series of orchestral concerts conducted by David Atherton, beginning in January, will be followed by a four-month all-Mozart chamber music series, and the premiere of a jazz suite composed by trumpet virtuoso Guy Barker based on characters from Mozart’s operas. The celebration will continue in May and June with the eighteenth annual Mainly Mozart Festival, again under the direction of David Atherton. For more information go to www.mainlymozart.org
Eva Einstein ~ 1910-2005

The MSA Newsletter of 27 August 2003 (Vol. VII, No. 2), contained an article commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Alfred Einstein, the source for which came entirely from interviews with Einstein’s daughter. I regret to inform the members that the author of those poignant words, Eva Einstein, died on Wednesday, Nov. 23, 2005 in Orinda Convalescent Hospital, Orinda, California, of old age and general infirmities. Eva often reminded me that her birth in 1910 was on the 9th anniversary of Mozart’s death. So, December 5, 2005 would have been her 95th birthday.

Because I lived near Eva and was a friend for some thirty years, I was most fortunate to be the amanuensis who worked with her during the creation of that piece, though I did little but ask questions, record her answers, print them out in large type format because of her failing eyes, review them with her on a dozen occasions, and then submit the material to the Newsletter editor.

For much of the time that I knew Eva, she lived in a house in El Cerrito, California, one that her father had bought in anticipation of being part of the UC Berkeley faculty. Unfortunately, his failing health prevented him from actually teaching there. Eva kept the house as a shrine to her father’s work. The bookcases were filled with everything he wrote, and in every language in which it had been published. She had donated her father’s entire estate to UC Berkeley and then spent years organizing the material by putting the various items in large envelopes, each one of which had a Köchel number on it. When I was looking for information about K. 361 in 1973, I wrote to UC Berkeley and received a large envelope full of various things, including an introduction to a planned performance edition of the work in his almost unreadable German handwriting. Eva was one of the few people who could decipher what her father wrote and she made an elegant transcription of the text. I brought that unknown essay to the attention of Neal Zaslaw who, in turn, suggested its use to Jon Newsom of the Library of Congress. Newsom was planning to produce a facsimile of the autograph of the work and, on seeing what Einstein had done ca. 1948, he arranged to have the text be used as the foreword to the Library of Congress’ facsimile publication.

It is because Eva devoted her entire life to her father’s work that we have the benefit of his magnificent Nachlass still used frequently at UC Berkeley. Eva was also her father’s secretary during the years of creation of the third edition of the Köchel, and while she claimed to know nothing about Mozart, she had absorbed more in her years of work on K3 than most of us will ever know.

After an accident in her El Cerrito home, she moved into a retirement community where I would often go to take her out to lunch. She enjoyed getting out, though she had to use a walker. Her mornings were often spent, as a member of “Grannies Against War,” publicly protesting on street corners. In that sense, she was a real feisty Berkeley resident. Finally, after another accident she required constant medical care. After some months she was recommended for hospice care. It was at the hospice that she died.

Eva Einstein was Einstein’s only child and, as such, with her death passes the last and only offspring of the Alfred Einstein family.

– Daniel Leeson
Los Altos, Calif.

Mozart & Klein
continued from page 10

8. In commentary on Kaiser Rudolf von Habsburg (Mozart: Briefe, VI, 232), Eibl writes: “The first version was an opera text that Klein submitted in 1781 to the German Society in Mannheim... Klein later transformed the libretto into the Trauerspiel that was printed in 1787.”
9. Peter Gammond, One Man’s Music (London, 1971). In his index Gammond describes Pettinger as “British musical dilettante. Worked for various music publishers, travelling to Europe regularly between 1783 and 1826, meeting well-known composers. His diaries and notes (privately owned) shed interesting light on some of them.” Queries to London about the location of these diaries and notes have so far proved unavailing.
Call for Papers
Conference Sponsored by the
Mozart Society of America and the Santa Fe Opera
celebrating
The 250th anniversary of Mozart’s birth
The 50th anniversary of the founding of the Santa Fe Opera
The 10th anniversary of the founding of the
Mozart Society of America
29 June - 1 July 2006, Santa Fe, New Mexico

This three-day conference will center around *Die Zauberflöte*, scheduled to be performed by the Santa Fe Opera on Saturday, 1 July. In addition to a keynote address, three paper sessions, and a panel presentation by music and stage directors of Mozart's operas, registrants will be guests for a tour of the Santa Fe Opera, and will attend the dress rehearsal and opening night performance of *Die Zauberflöte*.

Papers may address any aspect of the composition, reception, and performance traditions of *Die Zauberflöte*, and should be of two types: general interest aimed at a wide audience of Mozart scholars, students, performers, and aficionados (sessions 1 and 3) and scholarly research for Mozart specialists as well as the wider audience (session 2).

Please send abstracts of no more than 250 words by 15 March 2006 to Isabelle Emerson, Department of Music, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, NV 89154-5025 or via e-mail: isabelle.emerson@unlv.edu

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**MOZART SOCIETY OF AMERICA: FINANCIAL REPORT 2004–2005**

**EXPENSES**

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<tr>
<td>Credit card fees collected</td>
<td>$18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$17,243.65</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NET WORTH</strong></td>
<td><strong>$17,243.65</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funds</td>
<td><strong>$17,243.65</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses</td>
<td>($3,140.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theoretical cash on hand</strong></td>
<td><strong>$15,282.75</strong></td>
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</table>

**CONFIRMATION OF ACCURACY**

<table>
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<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bank balance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Checking account minimum cash</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actual cash on hand</strong></td>
<td><strong>$15,282.75</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cr. cd, exp. not yet paid 1/05-6/05)

Difference is unpaid credit cd. exp. ($0.00)
## ATTENDEES

- Michael Arshagouni
- David Black
- Bertil van Boer
- Bruce Brown
- Erica Buxbaum
- Greg Butler
- Bathia Churgin
- Paul Cornelison
- Stephen C. Fisher
- Martha Frohlich
- Ed Goehring
- Thomas Irvine
- William Kinderman
- Judith Schwartz Karp
- Mark Knoll
- Ulrich Konrad
- Nicholas Krammer
- Kathryn L. Libin
- Bruce C. MacIntyre
- Marita McClymonds
- Margaret Mikulska
- Mary Sue Morrow
- Sterling Murray
- Joseph Orchard
- Janet K. Page
- John Platoff
- John Rice
- Julian Rushton
- Charles Russell
- Jane Stevens
- Jessica Waldoff
- Roye Wates
- Gretchen Wheelock
- Christoph Wolff
- Laurel E. Zeiss

## MINUTES

MSA President Isabelle Emerson introduced those new and returning board members who were present, also naming those who weren’t.

Bruce Brown gave a brief report on preparations for the MSA’s upcoming conference (for which he is program chair) “Mozart’s Choral Music” at Indiana University’s Jacobs School of Music, 10-12 February 2006, mentioning (among other things) the keynote address by Otto Biba (head of the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna), the performance of Mozart’s C-minor Mass (in the new completion by Robert Levin) by IU choral and instrumental ensembles, and the performance of the Requiem with IU’s Classical Orchestra and Pro Arte Singers.

Emerson spoke about preparations for the MSA’s conference sponsored jointly by the MSA and the Santa Fe Opera during the summer of 2006, centered around the SFO’s performances of *Die Zauberflöte* (with sung portions in German, and spoken dialogue in English). She solicited ideas for papers, both general and specialized.

Emerson reported on a new effort to increase our membership, asking that people e-mail her with their ideas. (Some time after the Washington meeting, Laurel Zeiss agreed to serve as chair of the Membership Committee.)

There being no further business, the business meeting was adjourned, and Emerson turned the podium over to Jane Stevens, chair of the study session.

The study session itself began with a presentation by Ulrich Konrad and Thomas Irvine of the Institute of Musicology at the University of Würzburg, entitled “(Re)introducing the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Introducing the Digital Mozart Edition.” Prof. Konrad began with a brief sketch of the ISM’s history (extending back to the Dom-Musik Verein founded in Salzburg in 1842) and its organization (with a library, archive, audio-visual archive, and a Mozart-Institut currently led by Ulrich Leisinger). Dr. Irvine then gave a description of the Digital Mozart Edition, which is intended as a successor to the Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (which will be completed by the end of 2006). Funded by the Packard Humanities Institute, and with scanned images of the NMA’s text as a starting point, it will be freely available to users. It will also be an “open” edition, with periodic updates (especially as regards works whose autographs in Kraków were unavailable to NMA editors) and corrigenda, and with the possibility of users contributing “idosyncratic and controversial” editions of pieces (to which the ISM may or may not give its imprimatur). The first elements to become available will be the scans of the NMA and English translations of forewords; scores and their critical reports will eventually be linked electronically measure-by-measure, and musical texts will eventually be searchable.

William Kinderman of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign then presented a paper entitled “Mozart’s Creativity: The Revision Process in the First Movements of the ‘Duernitz’ Sonata, K. 284, and the Piano Concerto in C Major, K. 503.” In both pieces, Kinderman argued, Mozart “fundamentally reshaped [his] material as contained in an earlier draft version,” in ways that are at odds with widespread notions of the composer’s creative process that were current until recently.

James Parsons of Southwest Missouri State University was to have read a paper called “Confusing Object and Subject: Mozart and Süssmayr’s Requiem K. 626,” but (as we found out later) he was unable to attend the AMS due to a family emergency, and so the study session adjourned early.

—Bruce Brown.
CONFERENCES

Arranged chronologically; deadlines for paper/seminar proposals are given if known or not already passed. Note that abstracts of papers are frequently posted on the web sites of societies.

Mozart Society of America, 10–12 February 2006, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Theme: “Mozart’s Choral Music: Composition, Contexts, Performance.” Address: Bruce Alan Brown, Department of Music History, Thornton School of Music, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0851; e-mail: brucebro@usc.edu.

Western Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 19–20 February 2006, California State University, Long Beach. Address: Clorinda Donato, Romance Languages or Carl Fisher, Comparative Literature, California State University, Long Beach, CA 90840; e-mail: edonato@csulb.edu; cfisher2@csulb.edu.

South Central Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 23–26 February, Cocoa Beach, Florida. Theme: “The sparks of Eighteenth-Century Studies.” For information address Kevin Cope; e-mail: plushtoy@bellsouth.net. See also the web site: http://www.scsecs.net/scsecs/.

Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 2–4 March 2006, Athens, Georgia. address: John Vance, Department of English, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602; e-mail: jvance@arches.uga.edu. Also see the web site: http://socrates.barry.edu/seasecs.


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**Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society**, 27–30 April 2006, Williamsburg, Virginia. Papers and performances relating to all aspects of Scottish culture during the long eighteenth century. For information address Robert P. Maccubbin, English Department, Box 8795, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795; e-mail: rpmacc@wm.edu.

**Interpretare Mozart**, 19–21 May 2006, Milan. Sponsored by Società italiana di musicologia and the Arcadia Foundation. For more information see www.sidm.it

**Mozart Society of America and the Santa Fe Opera**, 29 June - 2 July 2006, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Topic: *Die Zauberflöte*. Send 250-word abstracts by 15 March 2006 to Isabelle Emerson; e-mail: isabelle.emerson@unlv.edu.

**International Herder Society**, 20–23 September 2006, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Theme: “J. G. Herder as Challenge.” Send one-page abstract for 20- to 30-page presentation before 28 September 2005 to Sabine Gross, Department of German, 1220 Linden Drive, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706; e-mail: sgross@wisc.edu.

**ACTIVITIES OF CITY AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**Friends of Mozart, Inc.**, New York City. P.O. Box 24, FDR Station, New York, NY 10150 Tel: (212) 832–9420. Mrs. Erna Schwerin, President. Friends of Mozart also publishes newsletters and informative essays for its members. 15 April, 2:30 P.M.: Spring Concert, Donnell Library, 20 W. 53rd Street, New York City. Admission free to all events.

**Mozart Society of California.** Carmel. P.O. Box 221351 Carmel, CA 93922 Tel: (831) 625–3637; web site: www.mozart-society.com. 27 January: Steven Lubin, piano. 24 February: Triple Helix Piano Trio. 31 March: Winner, Borciani String Quartet Competition. 28 April: Nathaniel Webster, baritone, and Daniel Lockert, piano. All concerts take place at All Saints Church, Carmel, and begin at 8:00 P.M. Season ticket which includes reception after each event, $115.00. Single admission $23.00 for non-members, $8.00 for students.

**The Mozart Society of Philadelphia.** No. 5 The Knoll, Lansdowne, PA 19050–2319 Tel: (610) 284–0174. Davis Jerome, Director and Music Director, The Mozart Orchestra. Sunday Concerts at Seven, Concerts are free and open to the public. No further information available at this time.

**CONCERTS AND LECTURES**

**Mainly Mozart Festival.** San Diego. P.O. Box 124705, San Diego, CA 92112-4705 Tel: (619) 239-0100. David Atherton, Artistic Director. Performances by the Mainly Mozart Festival orchestra, chamber music, recitals, educational concerts, and lectures. Tickets $15–42. Call for information about other series offered by Mainly Mozart.

**New York Philharmonic: The Magic of Mozart Festivals**

A series of three festivals: Program I, 26, 27, and 28 January; Program II, 2, 3, 4, and 7 February; and Program III, 9, 10, 11, and 14 February 2006. For information go to the web site: http://newyorkphilharmonic.org/attend/season/index.cfm?page=eventDetail&eventNum=71

**San Francisco Symphony** 2006 Mozart Festival. San Francisco Symphony Ticket Services, Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, CA 94102 tel: (415) 864–6000; fax: (415) 554–0108.

The following organizations present concerts and lectures; no further information is available at this time.

**Mainly Mozart Festival.** Arizona State University

**Midsummer Mozart Festival.** San Francisco Tel: (415) 954–0850 Fax: (415) 954–0852 George Cleve, Music Director and Conductor

**Mostly Mozart 2006.** New York City Lincoln Center July and August 2006

**OK Mozart International Festival** P.O. Box 2344 Bartlesville, OK 74005 Ms. Nan Buhlenger, Director

**San Luis Obispo Mozart Festival.** P.O. Box 311, San Luis Obispo, CA 93406; tel: (805) 781–3008 Clifton Swanson, Music Director and Conductor. July and August 2006

**Vermont Mozart Festival.** Burlington P.O. Box 512 Burlington, VT 05402

**Woodstock Mozart Festival.** Woodstock, IL, three consecutive weekends in late July and August, in the Woodstock Opera House, 121 Van Buren Street, Woodstock, Illinois
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Jane Stevens (University of California, San Diego), Vice-President
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Barry S. Brook (1918–1997)
Jan LaRue (1918–2004)

Please fill out the form below and mail it with your check (payable to the Mozart Society of America) to:
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☐ I would like to become a member of the Mozart Society of America.
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_____________________________________________________________
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_____________________________________________________________

Dues: Emeritus, $5; Sustaining, $50; Patron, $125; Life, $750; Institution, $25. Membership year 1 July through 30 June.
Dues to be applied to:
☐ Present Year ☐ Next Membership Year

Annual Dues
Regular member ($25)
Student member ($15)
Other classification (see below, please indicate)

I would like to make an additional contribution of $_________________________ to aid in the work of this Society.

The Mozart Society of America is a non-profit organization as described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.
We are proud to present this issue of the *Newsletter* of the Mozart Society of America. Please share this copy with colleagues and students.

It is with great pleasure that we express our gratitude to all who helped make this issue possible: the Department of Music and the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, for serving as host institution; and Jeff Koep, Dean of the College of Fine Arts, for his generous and unfailing support of the Mozart Society of America.

John A. Rice, Editor  
*Newsletter*  
Isabelle Emerson, President  
Mozart Society of America