Lincoln Center, 16 August 2014

Once again the Mozart Society of America will be having a panel at the Mostly Mozart Festival at Lincoln Center in New York. The date, 16 August, is firm; MSA members will be receiving an email with further information and a call for papers will appear soon on our website.

MSA Business Meeting in Pittsburgh

At the MSA’s 2013 business meeting, held on 8 November during the American Musicological Society’s Annual Meeting, the Marjorie Weston Emerson Award for best book on Mozart published in English in 2011–12 was presented to Simon P. Keefe for Mozart’s Requiem: Reception, Work, Completion (reviewed in the preceding issue of this newsletter). Following the business portion of the meeting, Neal Zaslaw addressed the society on “The Köchelverzeichnis and Historically-Informed Performance,” highlighting some of the ways in which the new edition of the catalog will serve studies of performance practice in Mozart.

Nancy Storace’s annus horribilis, 1785

Dorothea Link

The literature review in the August 2013 issue of the Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America drew my attention to Daniel Heartz’s article on Nancy Storace (1765–1817), one of the singers on whom I work.1 Heartz has an admirable facility for pressing out meaningful insights from slivers of information and Count Karl Zinzendorf’s laconic remarks. But his article, like publications by others who have written on Storace, is handicapped by the lack of clear biographical information for Storace in 1785. For many years now I have had material on file that I planned to use in a book, but since it will still be some years before this book sees the light of day and since in the meantime scholars could use this material, I decided I would present it here in a short article.

1785 was the year of Storace’s terrible vocal crisis, intimately bound up with the birth and death of her daughter. Her vocal problems that year were on a different order from those in the previous two years, where her occasional cancellations arose from the strain of overwork. As the only top-rank soprano in the Italian opera company in Vienna during its first two years of existence, she sang almost every other night for over ten months at a time. When she was indisposed it was usually for one or two nights; her longest illness was in 1784 when she was off-stage from 7 to 18 January. The management was not oblivious to the problem and engaged Luigia Laschi, as yet at the beginning of her career, part way through 1784 to take some of the load off Storace, but Laschi’s contract only went to the end of the season, as they had already engaged a second prima donna, Celeste Coltellini, for the 1785–86 season.

The year 1785 opened with Storace in the final weeks of her pregnancy; her daughter was born at the end of the month (the christening record is dated 30 January). She was still singing “like an angel” on 10 January,2 the same performance in which her co-star Francesco Benucci had her sit while singing one of her arias.3 On 21 January Laschi sang Storace’s role of Rosina in Giovanni Paisiello’s Il barbiere di Siviglia.4 Laschi was leaving the company in three weeks’ time, but she learned the role at this late date of her engagement presumably because she had been contracted continued on page 2

Illustration: Silhoutte of Storace by Hieronymus Loeschenkohl from Oesterreichisches National Taschenkalender (Vienna, 1786–87).

continued on page 2
The violin that Mozart is believed to have owned and played during his Viennese years has been donated to the Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg. According to the label, the instrument was made in 1764 by Pietro Antonio Dalla Costa, a respected member of the so-called Venetian school of violin making. Dalla Costa was active in Treviso from c.1733 to 1768. He used instruments of the Amati family as his model, but developed a style of his own. Dalla Costa’s violins have a large and resonant sound and are valued today as concert instruments. The violin is complete in all essential parts and is in good playing condition. As is the case with many violins made before 1800, the neck and fingerboard of the instrument were lengthened in the nineteenth century.

Although, as a performer, Mozart focused on the pianoforte during his Viennese period from 1781 on, he continued to play stringed instruments in private venues. Mozart’s Salzburg concert violin, which has been in the collection of the Mozarteum since 1756, was transmitted through his sister. This suggests that it was left behind in Salzburg when Mozart travelled to Munich in the fall of 1780; from there he went directly to Vienna without visiting his native town again. Mozart must have acquired a violin, apparently the Costa violin, soon after he settled in Vienna, since he composed several sonatas for violin and piano explicitly for himself and his wife Constanze, who was a singer and pianist, but not a violinist. The Costa violin, at that time a relatively new and thus not an exorbitantly expensive instrument, would have perfectly served Mozart’s needs. The violin was purchased from Mozart’s estate in 1799 by Anton André, and its ownership can be traced without gaps from that time.

The Mozarteum also announces the beginning of a new project, Mozart-Libretti—Online-Edition, which will put all the libretti of Mozart’s operas online in a critical edition at http://dme.mozarteum.at/libretti-edition/. Six of the Italian operas are already available. The new edition allows the user to compare the text as set in the score with the printed libretto and with versions of the libretto for other composers; both diplomatic and modernized transcriptions are available, as are German and English translations. The other operas will be added in the next few years. This project is a joint effort of the Mozarteum and the Packard Humanities Institute as a supplement to their Digital Mozart Edition.

Dr. Richard Benedum, professor emeritus of music at the University of Dayton (OH), has been awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to direct an interdisciplinary Institute for school teachers, “Mozart’s Worlds,” from June 16 to July 4, 2014. Twenty-five participating K-12 teachers will be chosen nationally as part of the Institute; each teacher will receive a stipend from the NEH for his/her participation. The Institute will be based in Vienna, Austria.

Other Institute faculty include University of Dayton colleagues Dr. R. Alan Kimbrough (English), Dr. Paul Morman (history) and Dr. Julane Rodgers (music). Also on the faculty will be Dr. Thomas Fröschl (history) and Dr. Wynfrid Kriegleder (languages) from the University of Vienna; and Richard Fuller, forte-pianist from Vienna.

Application information is available at http://campus.udayton.edu/~nehinstitute2014, or by calling (937) 229-2176. Applications must be postmarked by March 1, 2014.
to return in spring of 1786 and might sing the role again. What happened between the 10th and the 21st is not completely certain.

The two designated opera nights after the 10th saw plays performed, suggesting a small crisis in the opera company. However, on the next opera night, 17 January, Storace apparently sang in Giuseppe Sarti’s Le gelosie villane, for Zinzendorf attended the performance and reported nothing unusual. The next opera, on 19 January, was Giuseppe Gazzaniga’s La dama incognita, in which Aloysia Lange sang the leading soprano role. She had taken it up on 17 December 1784, directly after returning to Vienna from her travels abroad. The opera was repeated on 31 January. Laschi then assumed the burden of keeping the remainder of the opera season going: she sang in Il barbiere di Siviglia on 21 January, as already mentioned, as well as on three further nights, and she also sang in “her” opera, Domenico Cimarosa’s Giannina e Bernardone. This was the opera in which she had made her Viennese debut on 24 September. Zinzendorf liked her Rosina and subsequently attended all her remaining performances. On 24 January the ill-fated Il ricco d’un giorno by Antonio Salieri received its final performance. It is possible though unlikely that Storace sang, for Zinzendorf, her devoted fan, did not attend. An unidentified soprano sang in Paisiello’s La frascatana on 4 February. This had once been Storace’s opera, but on 16 January 1784, during her two weeks’ illness, another soprano stepped in for her. We do not know whether Storace ever resumed her role or whether her replacement, having learned the part, continued on for the performances on 2 February 1784 and, in the following season, on 4 August, 16 August, 8 November, 12 November, 10 December and now 4 February 1785. One singer who could have done so was Rosa Manservisi, for she was in the company on all the relevant dates, and the opera was discontinued after she left at Lent 1785. Laschi closed out the season with her fourth performance in Il barbiere di Siviglia.

The christening record is found in the parish register of the Schottenkirche, Vienna. I am grateful to Rita Steblin for her help in locating and understanding this and the following records. Since, as Steblin just informed me, the Schotten parish records are now digitally available at matricula-online.eu, the christening record will be referenced in the form used on the website, as follows: Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten, Taufbuch 01/42, 1784–1787, Bildnr. [digital frame] 02-Taufe_0046.6

*Baptizans:** Baptizans Karl Wilhelm Hilchenbach, Pastor Ecclesiae Helveticae Confessionis
*Jahr, Monat:* 1785 den 30t Januarij
*Wohnung und Nro des Hauses:* in der Lämlgasse Nro 35
*Namen der Getauften:* Maria Anna
*Religion, Protestantisch:* Kalvinisch
*Geschlecht, Mädchen:* [checked]
*Ehelich:* [checked]
*Vaters Namen und Condition oder Karakter:* Johan Abraham Fischer, Doctor der Music
*Mutters Tauf- und Zunamen:* Maria Anna gebohrne Storacce
*Pathen:* Joseph Drovzdik k. Ungarischer Hofagent, ux[or] Josepha Theresia
*Anmerkungen:* NB der Vatter ist nun auf Reisen. Obst[etrix] Rothmüllerin

Translation:
*Baptizer:* Baptist Karl Wilhelm Hilchenbach, pastor of the Helvetic Confession Church
*Year, month:* 1785 the 30th of January
*Address and number of the house:* on Läml Street, [inner city] no. 35
*Name of the baptized:* Maria Anna
*Religion, Protestant:* Calvinist

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Storace continued from page 3

Gender, Girl: [checked]
Legitimate: [checked]
Name of the father and his situation or profession: Johan Abraham Fischer, Doctor of Music
Mother’s Christian name and surname: Maria Anna née Storacce
Godparents: Joseph Drovzdik, royal Hungarian court agent, wife Josepha Theresia

Notes: NB the father is presently traveling. Midwife Rothmüllerin

A few details are worth remarking on. The child is named Maria Anna, after her mother. The comment about the father presently traveling refers to his having been sent out of Vienna for beating his wife. Storace’s religious status as a Protestant comes up twice, the first time in the statement that the christening was performed by a pastor of the Helvetic Confession and the second time in the statement that the family’s religion was Protestant, specifically Calvinist. By comparison, on the marriage license, issued in 1780, the statement that the family’s religion was Protestant, specifically Calvinist. By comparison, on the marriage license, issued in the same parish, both Storace and her husband are described as “geburtig zu London d. reformierten Religion” (born in London of the reformed religion). The different ways of referring to her religion are not as muddled as it might appear. In a recent publication, Steblin explains how the Protestant community in Vienna was organized into two groups. The larger group, numbering about 3,000 in 1783, was comprised of Lutherans (Augsburger Confession). The 56 families making up the smaller group were known as Reformed Protestants or Calvinists (Helvetische Confession).

If Storace’s final performance before giving birth was indeed on 17 January, as surmised above, she missed only the last three weeks of the season. She then had a long break. The Lenten concerts lasted from 10 February to 20 March. Storace chose the very last possible date for her academy. Zinzendorf attended, of course, but did not mention any vocal problems. The new opera season was to begin on 29 March, and Storace was obviously expected to be back in harness. However, Storace became sick again and, to Zinzendorf’s dismay, the management mounted two singspiels, both with Lange as the prima donna. Emperor Joseph seems to have used this crisis as an opportunity to promote the singspiel company slated for revival on 15 October, for, up till then, if an opera was cancelled and no substitute could be mounted, a play was given instead. Coltellini launched the Italian opera season with her debut in La contadina di spirito. About two weeks later Teresa Calvesi made her debut in Il re Teodoro in Venezia. Zinzendorf notes that she had a cold. Then on 1 June was the premiere of her brother’s opera Gli sposi malcontenti. Zinzendorf reports that Storace “made an effort to sing but in the end didn’t succeed, which made the opera less interesting.”

Kelly’s account that “in the middle of the first act all at once she lost her voice” is not entirely accurate just as his recollection that both the Duke of York and Emperor Joseph were present at the performance also is not quite correct. Even if Nancy got through her brother’s opera, as she apparently did, she was seriously ill. Two days later Zinzendorf overheard Stephen Storace telling Count Rosenberg, the theater director, that his sister should take the waters, either in Spa or in England, but that she was too stubborn.

While traveling in Italy, Emperor Joseph was kept abreast of events in Vienna. On 8 June he wrote to Rosenberg, “I am very sorry that La Storace is threatening not to recover her voice, and if you believe it so, you should start trying to procure Morichelli, who is currently in Naples. I am having someone here write Hadrawa [Joseph’s agent in Naples] to find out whether she is available and whether she is willing to sing in opera buffa.” Joseph was thinking ahead to the 1786–87 season. As it turned out, Anna Morichelli did not come to Vienna until the season after that. It should be stressed that Storace was still drawing her full salary, even though she had not sung for several months now, and that there was no question of ending her contract prematurely. This compares with Coltellini’s second appointment in 1788, when her contract was terminated after three months because of her insubordination.

Then Storace’s baby died. The death, too, is recorded in the Schotten parish records and can be found online under Sterbebuch 03/14, 1784–1792, Bildnr. 02-Tod_0034.

Zeit des Sterbens: den 17ten Julÿ um 5. frühe
Wohnung und Nro. des Hauses: An der Löwelstrasse Nro. 35
Namen des Gestorbenen…und dessen Vater: Josephus / des Johann Fischer Musicus / sein Kind
Religion, Katholisch: [checked]
Geschlecht, Männlich: [checked]
Lebensjahre: 5 ½ M[onat]
Krankheit und Todesart: An der Gedärmfraiß
 Ort, wohn, und Tag, an welchem die Begräbniß beschienen: detto den 18ten Julÿ [detto refers to the previously identified cemetery as the “Währinger Freýt Hof”]
Anmerkungen: Reformirter Religion

Translation:
Time of death: 17 July, 5:00 am
Residence and house number: On Löwel Street, [inner city] no. 35
Name of the deceased…and of the father: Josephus, child of Johann Fischer, musician
Religion, Catholic: [checked]
Gender, Male: [checked]
Age: 5 ½ months
Illness and cause of death: intestinal cramp
Location and day of the burial: Währinger Friedhof (Cemetery) on 18 July
Notes: reformed religion
That these records are not always error-free is strikingly illustrated in the child being called “Josephus.” The word is overwritten, suggesting some confusion in the scribe’s mind. A “Josephus” occurs two entries above, which may have influenced what was finally written. Religion is incorrectly checked as Catholic, and the gender of the child is checked “male” apparently to correspond to “Josephus.” In the final column, the scribe was sufficiently alert to write correctly “reformirter Religion.”

A comparison with the corresponding entry in the city death records, A-Wsa, Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1784, lit. S., sheds some light on the name “Josephus.”


Translation:
July 1785, the 17th, Fischer, Mister Johann, musician, his child Josepha was confirmed dead from Gedärmfreis in the small Uhlfeld House, no. 35, behind the Minoriten Square. 5 ½ months old.

So it is a girl after all, with the name of Josepha. The question of why she was christened Maria Anna but died as Josepha was answered by Rita Steblin, who pointed out that here she is named after her godmother Josepha Theresia (see christening record).

One inconsistency in all three records concerns the address of the father or, rather, the mother. In the christening record the address is given as “in der Lämlgasse Nro 35.” In the parish’s death record the address is “An der Löwelstrasse Nro 35.” In the

continued on page 6
city death record the address is “im klein Uhlfeldischen Haus N° 35 hintern Minoritenplatz.” If we also look at the address stated on the marriage license, we see “auf dem Minoritenplatz im Graf Claryschen Haus.” Steblin, who is conversant with the complexities of Viennese addresses, assures me that all four addresses refer to the same residence.

The cause of the baby’s death is given as Gedärmsfrais. Translating it as “intestinal cramp,” Ruth Halliwell describes it as one of the commonest-named infant ailments.18 Mozart’s children Raimund Leopold and Theresia both died of Gedärmsfrais.19 In the case of little Anna Maria, Zinzendorf reports gossip as to the cause of her death. “Storace’s daughter starved to death, they say, because the mother sent the wet nurse away out of greed.”20 Heartz reads this sentence and presumably the previous one, which is hard to make sense of, as saying that the mother who dismissed the wet nurse was not Storace but her mother, Elizabeth.21 It’s difficult to know how to credit the gossip without more information, not just about Storace’s situation but also about the practices of the day regarding the care of infants. Some indication of the reigning confusion can be seen in Mozart’s letter of 18 June 1783 to his father, in which he announces the birth of his first baby, Raimund Leopold, and reviews the options for feeding him.

“I am worried about Milchfieber! – for she [Constanze] has heavy breasts! – Now, against my will and yet with my consent, the child has been provided with a wet nurse! – My wife, whether she is capable of it or not, should never breastfeed her child, that was always my firm intention! – on the other hand, no child of mine should feed on a stranger’s milk! – instead on water, like my sister and me, will I raise it. – but – the midwife, my mother-in-law, and most of the people here have seriously begged me not to do it, because people here don’t know how to do it properly – this has now moved me – to relent – for – I don’t want to leave myself open to reproach.”22

Milk fever (Milchfieber), a danger to lactating mothers, was caused by milk damming up in the breast. As for what Mozart means when he states he will feed his infant water, the commentary to the letter explains that he is referring to barley water (Gerstenwasser, Gerstenschleim), a soup or drink cooked from numerous nutritious ingredients.23

On 19 September Storace finally reappeared on stage, in Paisiello’s Il re Teodoro in Venezia. Zinzendorf was out of town, so he didn’t know how well she sang, but she sang again the following week, on 26 September, in Il barbiere di Siviglia. On that day the publisher Artaria placed an advertisement in the Wiener Blättchen for the cantata, Per la ricuperata salute di Ophelia, composed in anticipation of Storace finally being able to take up her role of Ofelia in Salieri’s new opera La grotta di Trofonio.24 A week later, on 5 October, Zinzendorf was back in town and heard Storace in Il re Teodoro in Venezia. His verdict: “Storace performed like an angel.” And a week after that, on 12 October, Salieri’s La grotta di Trofonio was finally launched. The opera had been in rehearsal already on 15 May, in preparation for the Laxenburg séjour, but the séjour was cancelled at the last minute.25 Since then, the opera had been languishing, Salieri setting his stakes on Storace’s recovery.26 The first three performances did not follow in the usual close succession reserved for premieres but observed the weekly schedule that had been set up for preserving Storace’s voice. Then on 28 October the performance of Il re Teodoro in Venezia had to be cancelled, because Storace was ill again. Two days later Zinzendorf heard from Rosenberg that she had resigned. “I learned to my sorrow that Storace was leaving us.” On 3 November, he reports that Emperor Joseph thought that she would stay after all.27 The events certainly suggest that the resignation had come out of despair.

This crisis proved to be the turning point. On 18 November in Il re Teodoro in Venezia, she sang again but not well. “La Storace acted with a great deal of care and taste but her singing was very different from what it once was. She no longer reached those high and veiled tones.”28 Then on 21 November in La grotta di Trofonio, she was singing again like an angel. On 5 December in Il re Teodoro in Venezia she outdid herself (“La Storace se surpassa”) and on 9 December in La grotta di Trofonio she filled the house, the receipts amounting to 600 gulden, a sum that must have been exceptional at that point for Zinzendorf to mention it, although several years later such receipts are not uncommon.29 On 14 December she resumed her role of Eginia in her brother’s opera Gli sposi malcontenti, and the audience went wild. “Storace sang like an angel in that opera by her brother, they wanted him to sing a duo [with her], the parterre insisted, Benucci excused her with gestures. And the emperor quieted the audience down and applauded her when she sang an aria at the end of the scene.”30 From then on, she resumed her former tight performance schedule. She performed a new role composed for her by Vicente Martin y Soler in Il barbaro di buon cuore on 4 January 1786. Her imitation of the musicò Luigi Marchesi in Salieri’s Prima la musica, poi le parole, a festive opera mounted for the nobility at Schönbrunn on 7 February, delighted everyone.31 That Lent Storace did not give an academy. Under the theater’s new program, plays were now performed throughout the entire Lenten season, thereby significantly curtailing the number of nights the theater was available for academies. Only four academies were given that year, by Coltellini, who was taking her farewell; by the opera company’s leading tenor Vincenzo Calvesi; by the touring violinist Giovanni Mane Giornovichi; and by Mozart. If Storace lost out on a benefit concert, she was more than compensated with an increase in salary from 4071 gulden 20 kreuzer to 4500 gulden.


3 Heartz, 224, but incorrectly giving 21 January; the same detail had previously been noted by Geoffrey Brace, Anna...Susanna: A Biography of Mozart’s First Susanna (London: Thames Publishing, 1991), 46.

4 Zinzendorf, in Link, 239.

5 Of the performance (6 December 1784?), Da Ponte recalled, “La parte principale de quest’opera addossata era alla Storace, ch’er nel suo fiore e tutta la delizia di Vienna. Questa cantante era allora inferma, onde convenne servirsi d’un’altra donna, che tanto fatta per quella parte quanto sarebbe una colomba per far quella d’un’aquila.” Lorenzo Da Ponte, Memorie; Libretti mozartiani (n.p.: Garzanti, 1976), 95–96. “The lead was given to Mme. Storace who was then in her prime, and the delight of all Vienna. But she chanced to be ill that evening, and her part went to another lady who was as much fitted to replace her as a dove would be an eagle.” Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart’s Librettist, trans. Elisabeth Abbott (1929; republished New York: Dover, 1967), 137. Given that Salieri would have been anxious for Storace to sing in his opera, the chances are that she claimed her role as soon as she was able to do so. But she did.

6 The following link takes one to Taubuch 01/42, where one needs to scroll down the digital frames to 02-Taufe. 0046. http://www.matricula.findbuch.net/php/view2.php?ar_id=3670&bc_id=1802&ve_id=222652&count=0

7 If the link does not open the page, here are the steps for getting there. On the website matricula-online.eu, click through the following terms: Recherche; Akzeptieren; AT Österreich/Austria; AT-W Wien...; Wien Stadt; 01., Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten; Liste der Bände...; 01/42 Taubuch 1784–1787; zum Buch; 02-Taufe. 0046.

8 I made a diplomatic transcription to avoid having to show all line breaks, abbreviations, and spelling irregularities.

9 According to Michael Lorenz, Joseph Drovizd is one and the same as the Johann von Droßdik listed on the list of subscribers to Mozart’s Trattnerhof concerts. See his “Mozart’s Apartment on the Alsergrund,” Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America 14, no. 2 (27 August 2010), 8, n. 6. It should be noted that when Lorenz identifies Droßdik’s wife as being the godmother of Nancy Storace’s daughter, he implies that Droßdik was not the godfather.

10 Storace’s marriage license of 21 March 1784 is transcribed in Brace, 143. The largely illegible facsimile reproduced on p. 142, can be looked up on the matricula website www.matricula-online.eu, click through the following terms: Recherche; Akzeptieren; AT Österreich/Austria; AT-W Wien...; Wien Stadt; 01., Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten; Liste der Bände...; 01/42 Taubuch 1784–1787; zum Buch; 02-Taufe. 0046.

11 I have examined how carefully Salieri composed for Storace, at once protecting her voice and maintaining her status as prima donna, in “Antonio Salieri und seine Sänger in Wien,” in Memorie; Libretti mozartiani (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012), 341–71 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012).

12 Received a passport and issued a visa to tour the city. The link below takes one to Trauung_0436. http://www.matricula.findbuch.net/php/view2.php?ar_id=3670&bc_id=1802&ve_id=222706&count=0

13 Heartz, 225.


15 Ibid., 6:145.


18 I have examined how carefully Salieri composed for Storace, at once protecting her voice and maintaining her status as prima donna, in “Antonio Salieri und seine Sänger in La grotta di Trofonio und Prima la musica, poi le parole,” in Antonio Salieri im Mozartjahr, ed. Hartmut Krones, in press.


20 Zinzendorf, 20 July, 1785: “Sur ce que Me de Dietrichstein a demandé elle même les mirza, la Pesse Schwarz[enberg] dit, ein Frühmenschcr, et le grand chamb[è]an comme la Mamma d’une putain du théatre. La fille de la Storace est mort de fain, dit-on, parce que la mamma avoit renvoyé la nourrice par avarice,” in Link, 249.

21 Ibid., 225.

22 Heartz, 225.

23 “La parte principale de quest’opera addossata era alla Storace, ch’er nel suo fiore e tutta la delizia di Vienna. Questa cantante era allora inferma, onde convenne servirsi d’un’altra donna, che tanto fatta per quella parte quanto sarebbe una colomba per far quella d’un’aquila.” Lorenzo Da Ponte, Memorie; Libretti mozartiani (n.p.: Garzanti, 1976), 95–96. “The lead was given to Mme. Storace who was then in her prime, and the delight of all Vienna. But she chanced to be ill that evening, and her part went to another lady who was as much fitted to replace her as a dove would be an eagle.” Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart’s Librettist, trans. Elisabeth Abbott (1929; republished New York: Dover, 1967), 137. Given that Salieri would have been anxious for Storace to sing in his opera, the chances are that she claimed her role as soon as she was able to do so. But she did.

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28 Heartz’s translation, 225. Zinzendorf, 18 November, 1785, “La Storace joua avec beaucoup de soin et de gout, mais son chant eut trois different de jadis, elle n’atteint plus ces sons hauts et couvres,” in Link, 257.

29 Zinzendorf, 9 December 1785: “Le soir a l’opéra la Grotta di Trofonio qui a rendu f.600,” in Link, 259. Receipts for performances from lent 1789 to lent 1792 can be seen in the Performance Calendar in ibid., 137–89.

30 Zinzendorf, 14 December 1785: “La Storace chanta comme un ange dans cet opera de son frere, on voulut lui faire chanter un duo, le parterre insista, Benucci l’excusa par ses gestes. Et l’Emperour fit taire Et l’applaudit lorsqu’elle chanta un air postérieurement a cette scene,” in Link, 259.

31 Ibid., 2 February 1786: “une petite piece Prima la musica e poi le parole, dans laquelle la Storace imita parfaitement Marchesi en chantant des airs de Giulio Sabino,” in Link, 264.
Some Little-Known References to Early Performances of Mozart’s Operas

John A. Rice

References to early performances of Mozart’s *La finta giardiniera*, *Così fan tutte*, *Die Zauberflöte*, and *La clemenza di Tito* have recently come to light through the digital magic of Google Books. I present them here in chronological order.

Hugh Elliot was the British ambassador to the Elector of Bavaria in Munich from 1773 to 1776. The Countess of Minto, his granddaughter, published excerpts from his papers in two books: the privately published *Notes from the Minto Manuscripts* (Edinburgh, 1863) and A *Memoir of the Right Honourable Hugh Elliot* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868). In both books she quoted from a letter in which Elliot wrote to an unnamed correspondent about an unnamed comic opera by Mozart. She dated the letter 17 January 1774; but elsewhere she stated that Elliot’s “first despatch from Munich is dated 23d June 1774” (*Memoir*, p. 28). Thus either she or Elliot misdated the letter of 17 January. In that letter the ambassador wrote that he had just “come home from hearing an Opera Buffa composed by the famous Mozart, whom you may remember when only eight years old in England. He is now maître de chapelle to the Bishop of Salzburg, and receives about three guineas a-month salary. I never felt the power of music before, but am now a convert, and have already begun to play upon the flute” (*Memoir*, pp. 37–38).

Robert Münster established the dates of the second and third performances of *La finta giardiniera* as 2 February and 2 March (“Mozart’s Münchner Aufenthalt 1774/75 und die Opera buffa ‘La finta giardiniera,’” *Act Mozartiana* 22 (1975, Heft 2, 21–33 and 35–37; my thanks to Dexter Edge for directing me to this information and its source). Elliot’s statement, in a letter dated 17 January, that he had just come from a performance of Mozart’s opera can probably be best explained by supposing that he attended the premiere on 13 January but wrote his letter over several days, finishing it on 17 January. Although Mozart and his father stated repeatedly in their letters from Munich that *La finta giardiniera* was well received, it is good to have confirmation of their claims in Elliot’s enthusiastic response to Mozart’s opera.

Elliot went on to serve as British ambassador to Prussia, Denmark, Saxony, and Naples; he ended his career as governor of the Leeward Islands (in the West Indies) from 1808 to 1814. The excerpts from his correspondence published by his granddaughter contain no further references to Mozart; but his response to *La finta giardiniera* suggests that his papers (mostly preserved in the National Library of Scotland and the British Library; for more details see the website of the National Register of Archives http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/searches/subjectView.asp?ID=P9175) might contain other remarks of interest to historians of music.

“... You know how much I love good theater,” wrote Emanuel Bozenhard in one of several letters published under the title *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von Kopenhagen nach Wien im Jahr 1793* (Hamburg: Benjamin Gottlob Hoffmann, 1795). The title page of this collection of letters refers to Bozenhard as the Austrian consul in Copenhagen. He attended the theater whenever he could, both on his trip south and in Vienna.

Even before arriving in Vienna Bozenhard was familiar with Mozart’s operatic music. In Berlin, a recital by Ludwig Fischer, Mozart’s first Osmin, included an unforgettable performance of Sarastro’s aria “In diesen heilgen Hallen” (p. 40; letter dated 26 July 1794). In the outskirts of Dresden he enjoyed a performance of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*; “I thought the production wasn’t bad, for a suburban theater” (p. 63; letter dated 30 July 1794). But a performance of *Così fan tutte* in Prague, by the company that had presented the premieres of *Don Giovanni* and *La clemenza di Tito*, pleased him less:

Prague has two theaters. The large one, in the Staré Mesto, and the small one, in the Malá Strana, where the Saxon Company performs. The former owes its existence to Count Nostitz, and this building is said to have cost more than 100,000 Gulden. Indeed, no expense was spared, as far as splendor is concerned, although the proportions do not seem quite right to me. A hundred boxes line the sides of the auditorium, and when these are full it must truly be a sight to behold. In this theater I saw only one opera: *Così fan tutti* [sic] with music by Mozart. This was good, and so was the orchestra, as one would expect in a city such as Prague. But the singers seemed only mediocre to me. They made me think of the singing of children in an orphanage (p. 84–85; letter dated 5 August 1794).

Bozenhard arrived in Vienna on 7 August and within a week had already attended performances in the Burgtheater, the Kärntnertortheater, and the theater in the Leopoldstadt, and had...
witnessed a show at the Hetztheater, the animal-baiting arena. But for music by Mozart he had to go elsewhere.

Mozart’s music was the highpoint of Bozenhard’s visit to one of late eighteenth-century Vienna’s leading tourist attractions, the Müller’sche Kunsthalle—the collection of artistic and mechanical wonders assembled by Count Joseph Deym von Stritetz, alias Herr Müller. “Because it was close by, we visited Müller’s cabinet of wax figures; but I cannot say that it excited my enthusiastic applause. Some of the figures (especially General Laudon) are very lifelike, but the whole ensemble looks like a dance of death. The flute music in a clock, which plays a piece by Mozart, is the best” (p. 114; letter dated 19 August 1794).

After praising the performance the ballerina Maria Medina Viganò in the court theaters, Bozenhard turned to an opera enjoying success in the suburban Theater auf der Wieden:

At Schikaneder’s theater I saw an opera that has found no less applause here and elsewhere, namely Mozart’s Die Zauberflöte. It is the last theatrical work that this great master, who died too early for the art of music, composed—and his swansong. What power and charm this music has! Despite the mediocre voices, I was completely overwhelmed by the lovely ideas that emerged from it, and I wanted to see this wonderful opera performed in a real theater [auf einem vollkommenen Theater]. Schikaneder has spent several thousand Gulden on costumes and scenery, and thus has tried to satisfy not only the ears but also the eyes. Moreover, the plot, as in most operettas, is not particularly interesting, but lively and (especially for some people) amusing. Die Zauberflöte has been already been given some thirty times, and yet the house is always full at every performance, so Schikaneder has recouped his expenses and then some (p. 134; letter dated 26 August 1794).

Thanks in part to the money that Schinkander made with Die Zauberflöte he was able, in 1800, to replace the Theater auf der Wieden with the much grander Theater an der Wien. One of the visitors to Vienna who admired Schikaneder’s new theater was the Polish nobleman Carl Theodor von Uklanski, who published an account of his travels in 1807 to 1808 to Italy by way of Vienna (E. [sic] T. v. Uklanski, Briefe über Polen, Österreich, Sachsen, Bayern, Italien, Etrurien, den Kirchenstaat und Neapel… geschrieben auf einer Reise von Monat Mai 1807. bis zum Monat Februar 1808, I. Theil, Nürnberg: Friedrich Campe, 1808). At the Theater an der Wien Uklanski admired a performance of Mozart’s La Clemenza di Tito in German translation. The translation here is largely derived from the one published under the title Travels in Poland, Austria, Saxony, Bavaria, and the Tyrol, in the Years 1807 and 1808 (London, n.d., 111–12), with a few emendations to bring it closer to the original German:

It was built during the management of the famous poetaster Schikaneder, but the architect must have been a man of sense. Imagine a rotunda with a beautiful cupola, whose fair proportions are calculated to flatter the eye, to aid the scenic declamation, and to give relief to the orchestra. The whole structure is inimitably beautiful, and the decorations, though plain, uncommonly pleasing. I saw there represented in German Metastasio’s opera La Clemenza di Tito; it was in fact performed beautifully. Mr. Tochtermann, from the Munich theatre, had the part of Titus; his action was tolerably good, but he sounded like a raven. The prima donna was Madame Campi, of the Lobkowitz theatre; Miss Buchwieser performed Sextus; and both sang enchantingly, the whole house, which was full to thronging, repeatedly encoring them.

Madame Campi was particularly interesting by the softness of her voice, the flexibility of intonation, and that sweet affecting tone which speaks to the heart without your knowing how.

The sceneries were also beautiful, especially the conflagration of the capitol, which exceeded all expectation; the flames rose gradually on high, volumes of smoke often enveloped them, till the wings burned crackling to their frames and collapsed with a shower of sparks (Uklanski, Briefe, 179–80).

This production had come to the stage of the Theater an der Wien on 22 December 1801; the opera was given thirty-three times during the next eight years, with a final performance on 8 July 1809 (see Emanuele Senici, La clemenza di Tito di Mozart: I primi trent’anni (1791–1821), Turnhout, 1997, 69–74). The singers mentioned by Uklanski were Philipp Jakob Tochtermann, tenor (1774–1833); Antonia Campi, née Miklaszewicz, soprano, who created the role of Servilia in the first production of Tito (see Walther Brauneis, “Wer war Mozarts ‘Signora Antonini’ in der Prager Uraufführung von ‘La clemenza di Tito’? Zur Identifizierung der Antonina Miklaszewicz als Interpretin der Servilia in der Krönungsopera am 6. September 1791,” Mitteilungen der Internazionalen Stiftung Mozarteum XLVII (1999), 32–40); and Katharina (Kathinka) Buchwieser (1789–1828), mezzosoprano, later an admirer of Schubert and recipient of dedications from him.

Unfortunately, verbal pictures such as Uklanski’s of what late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century audiences actually saw on stage when they attended an opera by Mozart are exceedingly rare. Uklanski’s account thus constitutes a valuable addition to the documentation of early performances of Mozart’s operas.
Mozart Papers at Scholarly Conferences in Early 2014

The Society for Eighteenth-Century Music and Haydn Society of North America Joint Conference
28 February–2 March 2014 at Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Edward Klorman, “Multiple Agency in Mozart’s Chamber Music: Analyzing Sonata Form as Social Interplay”


American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Annual Meeting
20–22 March at the Williamsburg Lodge, Williamsburg, Virginia;

March 20, Session 82. “Mozart and his Situation”
(Mozart Society of America)
Chair: Jessica Waldoff, College of the Holy Cross.

Kathryn L. Libin, Vassar College

When we consider aristocratic patrons of music who supported and encouraged composers and made other important contributions to musical culture, the question of musical background and training is always of great interest. With whom and how did they study music, and what led them to devote significant resources to it? The period of Mozart and Beethoven witnessed a great flowering of musical patronage in Vienna’s aristocratic circles, and the names of certain individuals or families arise again and again. In Mozart’s case, a name that appears in his letters shortly after his move to Vienna in 1781 is that of Countess Thun, a lady apparently of some musical talent and great sympathy, who invited the young composer frequently to her home, listened to him play through his new operas, and lent him her piano when he needed one for public appearances. Her own musical accomplishments were publicly noted by musical traveler and historian Charles Burney in 1773.

A crucial aspect of Countess Thun’s upbringing that has not received sufficient attention is that she was a member of the reigning branch of the Lobkowicz family, already renowned at the time of her birth in 1744 for its musical enthusiasms. Her mother, Maria Elisabeth Lobkowicz (1726-1786), was the daughter of Philipp Hyacinth, 4th Prince Lobkowicz, and his wife Anna Maria Wilhelmine, both skilled lutenists who studied with Silvius Leopold Weiss. Maria Elisabeth’s brother Ferdinand Philipp, 6th Prince Lobkowicz, was a great friend of C.P.E. Bach and collected Handel’s music. When the future Countess Thun was born to Maria Elisabeth and her husband, Count Anton Ulhfeld, a significant musical heritage thus already existed on at least one side of her family. This was fostered in young Wilhelmine through lessons in keyboard and musical theory, evidence of which has been preserved in a beautifully bound Notenbuch that has recently come to light in the Lobkowicz Library at Nelahozeves, outside of Prague. Similar to the well-known Notenbuch of Nannerl Mozart, this is a collection of simple dances and other harpsichord galanteries, along with a series of exercises in clef reading, rhythmic notation, and figured bass. Just as the pieces in Nannerl’s music book are mostly by her teacher, i.e. her father Leopold, the primary attribution in Wilhelmine’s book, to “Sigr Birck,” likely pinpoints Imperial court composer Wenzel Raimund Birck as her instructor. Since his other pupils included the royal archdukes, the young countess was in exceptionally good company.

Erick Arenas, San Francisco Conservatory of Music
“Colloredo, Haydn, and Mozart’s Studio Particolare”

From the earliest scholarship on Mozart’s Salzburg church music, much has been read into a 1776 letter to Padre Martini in which Mozart states: “Our church music is very different from that of Italy, since a mass . . . must not last longer than three quarters of an hour. This applies even to the most Solemn Mass said by the Archbishop himself. So you see that a special study [studio particolare] is required for this kind of composition.” This quotation, one of the most significant documents on liturgical-musical practice in eighteenth-century Salzburg, is frequently interpreted as testament to a recent musical regulation by the city’s Prince-Archbishop, Hieronymus Colloredo, one which served to stifle the cultivation of the concerted mass at his court. The present paper, however, shows that Mozart’s statement reflects a well-established practice rather than a new restriction. A tradition of concise mass settings with full orchestral solemnity had existed at Salzburg since at least mid century. Indeed, soon after his appointment to the Prince-Archiepiscopal court in 1763, Johann Michael Haydn (1737-1806) undertook his own distinctive study when he revised a selection of his earlier Viennese missae breves, such as the Missa Sancti Francisci Seraphici to better suit the Salzburg mass practice, then still dominated by the works of the late Kapellmeister Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702-1762). I argue that after Mozart was appointed as a court Konzertmeister alongside Michael Haydn in 1772, as well as when his liturgical music responsibilities increased toward the end of the decade, he turned to the elder composer’s recent masses as exemplars for the special type of study described to Martini, paying special attention to the formal, motivic, and textural strategies by which Haydn constructed highly unified, single-movement settings of the prayers of the Mass Ordinary. As a result, Haydn’s influence is manifest in various masses by Mozart for the Salzburg court, particularly the Missa in honorem Sanctissimae Trinitatis, KV 167 (1773), Missa in C, KV 220 (ca. 1775), and the Missa Solemnis, KV 337 (1780).
Peter A. Hoyt, Columbia Museum of Art
“The Priapean Tradition in Figaro”

In Beaumarchais’s Le Mariage de Figaro Count Almaviva is overcome with rage whenever he discovers (or imagines he might discover) the adolescent Chérubin concealed near a woman belonging to his estate. These vehement outbursts have puzzled commentators, for the young boy is not yet realistically a rival, and in other sexual matters Almaviva can seem quite disengaged. In fact, his pursuit of the droit du seigneur—the supposed right of a lord to sleep with a female subject on her wedding day—reflects neither physical passion nor affective engagement: he is, as critics have noted, “strangely ambivalent” towards Suzanne. His designs, despite resembling sexual desire, are fundamentally socioeconomic: he hopes to undermine emerging concepts of the ancien régime by asserting the power of the droit du seigneur, employed sex to enact the prerogatives conferred by property. This little-remembered tradition—associated since antiquity with the punishment of trespassers in orchards—invokes Priapus, the mythological divinity of gardens, fertility, and the phallus. Represented by crude statues with oversized genitalia, this god presided over secluded gardens, and much epigrammatic verse (known collectively as the Priapea) warned thieves that, if apprehended, their buttocks would be violently subordinated to Priapus’s formidable penis. The same chastisement, by analogy, awaited those who violated other proprietary claims, and this sodomitical premise was extended to youth engaged trespassing in the bed of a wife or mistress. Boccaccio, Casanova, and Goethe offer significant accounts of this tradition.

In this paper the Count’s exaggerated reactions to Chérubin will be shown to stem from a tradition that, like the droit du seigneur, employed sex to enact the prerogatives conferred by property. This little-remembered tradition—associated since antiquity with the punishment of trespassers in orchards—invokes Priapus, the mythological divinity of gardens, fertility, and the phallus. Represented by crude statues with oversized genitalia, this god presided over secluded gardens, and much epigrammatic verse (known collectively as the Priapea) warned thieves that, if apprehended, their buttocks would be violently subordinated to Priapus’s formidable penis. The same chastisement, by analogy, awaited those who violated other proprietary claims, and this sodomitical premise was extended to youth engaged trespassing in the bed of a wife or mistress. Boccaccio, Casanova, and Goethe offer significant accounts of this tradition.

The Count’s fury suggests his desperation to avoid discovering Chérubin in flagrante delicto and therefore be obliged to assume Priapus’s violent role. This was a duty, it seems, for which Almaviva was unprepared, and his reluctance to violate Chérubin (like his strange ambivalence towards Suzanne) makes plausible his reformation at the end of the comedy. This paper will explore the Priapean tradition, detail its manifestations in Beaumarchais, and investigate its adaptation in the opera of Da Ponte and Mozart.

Justin Mueller, Tufts University
“Opera-Film Hybridization in Kenneth Branagh’s and Ingmar Bergman’s Magic Flute Films”

From its very first performance, Mozart’s Die Zauberflöte has been indebted to the wonders of stage technology. With its giant serpents, enchanted forest creatures, and trials by fire and water, the composer’s final Singspiel proved to be the perfect work for directors and set designers alike to test out even more complicated machinery and other sleights-of-hand to make the composer’s fantasy world seem all the more plausible on the stage. It should come as no surprise, then, that the world of video recording and other filmic technologies in the twentieth century broadened the technological possibilities for a truly fantastical Magic Flute even further.

At a time when opera’s presence on television, in movie theatres, and on home video has brought the genre far beyond the stage, Kenneth Branagh’s 2006 cinematic adaptation of Magic Flute would seem to present scholars with an ideal occasion to discuss the increasingly mediated world of operatic performance and production. Yet, despite Branagh’s notoriety as actor and director, his opera-film has so far generated very little critical commentary. In this paper I propose that this version of Zauberflöte engages with Mozart’s singspiel in a way quite similar to that championed by Ingmar Bergman thirty years earlier in his own cinematic take on the work. I shall argue that both Bergman’s and Branagh’s versions of The Magic Flute attempt to fuse opera and film, stage and screen, into one fluid, hybrid form, and that the voiceovers and the use of CGI technology in the latter work towards the same goals as Bergman’s integrated use of stage and film technologies some thirty years prior. This paper will offer a close reading of these two films, while simultaneously discussing how current scholarship in opera studies, film studies, and musicology have addressed recent trends of intermediality and mediatization.

Other sessions of interest:
March 21, Session 121, “Production and Reception of European Music in the Eighteenth-Century Americas” (Society for Eighteenth-Century Music); chair: Dianne Lehmann Goldman; papers by Bertil Van Boer, Nikos Pappas, and Drew Edward Davies.


March 21, Session 134, “Les petites Lumières : les philosophes inconnus du 18ème siècle” (Society for Eighteenth-Century French Studies); Bruce Alan Brown, “Opera in Italy and on the Moon, as Viewed by a Frenchman, Financier, and Philosophe.”

March 21, Session 139, “Dance in Colonial Virginia.”

March 22, Session 199. “Anglo-Italian Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Relations in the Eighteenth Century” (Italian Studies Caucus); Amy Dunagin, “Fitting the Italians into the Narrative of English Music History: Early Eighteenth-Century Attempts by Roger North and Thomas Tudway.”


March 22, Session 217, “Pamela Ever After;” Edmund J. Goehring, “Art and Piety in Richardson’s Operatic Offspring.”
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