

0401.<sup>1</sup> LEOPOLD MOZART TO HIS SON, MANNHEIM

*À Monsieur / Monsieur Wolfgang Amadé Mozart / Maître de  
musique / à / Man[n]heim<sup>2</sup>*

Salzb., 5<sup>th</sup> Januarii  
1778.

*Mon tres cher Fils!*<sup>3</sup>

[5] So the Elector of Bavaria<sup>4</sup> has passed into eternity. The letter to me,<sup>5</sup> which I received from Munich dated the 31<sup>st</sup>, goes as follows: *The 30<sup>th</sup> December is the saddest of all the days that Bavaria can number. At half past 1 in the afternoon, our Elector, the most benevolent prince the world had to show, died due to the obstinacy of an old, almost decrepit, misled medical practitioner in the figure of Dr. Sanftel,<sup>6</sup> now hated throughout Bavaria. [10] He conducted the complete treatment, as I have already indicated in my previous letter, entirely alone: all other medici were met with the most extreme coarseness on his part and when the scabs had almost dried, he announced, on Saturday the 27<sup>th</sup>, Now, in the sight of the whole world, there is no more danger. On the evening of the same day, the Elector said: Sanftl, I must be dying, [15] as I recognise from my extreme weakness and most indescribable feebleness; Sanftl declared this to be a melancholy. N.B. Another letter from Prince <Zeil<sup>7</sup>> reports that the Dr. then allowed him to drink a little glass of Mosel wine.<sup>8</sup> – On Sunday<sup>9</sup> it became worse, but Sanftl did not allow any other Medicus to attend, nor did he give the Elector any medicine. [20] On Monday<sup>10</sup> he continually became weaker and a large reddening became visible on his arm, which Sanftl considered to be St. Anthony's Fire, and he used the white pills<sup>11</sup> from the nunnery of the English Maiden.<sup>12</sup> In the evening the reddening abated somewhat. In the night from the 29<sup>th</sup> to the 30<sup>th</sup>, the Elector looked as if he had had a stroke – then the miserable old Dr. saw that it was gangrene. The Elector himself requested to receive the sacrament in public.<sup>13</sup> [25] That happened at half past 5 in the morning. Then the city gates were locked, a procession was started, in which many 1000 people cried out and prayed. At 9 o'clock p.m. he asked to see the Mother of God in the Ducal Hospital,<sup>14</sup> which was likewise brought to court in a procession. No country has seen such a spectacle before! Everyone ran out of their houses, joined the procession, [30] but there was more wailing, crying out and weeping, such that it*

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<sup>1</sup> This letter contains passages in "family code"; these are marked with angle brackets < >.

<sup>2</sup> = "To Monsieur Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, master of music in Mannheim".

<sup>3</sup> = "My very dear son".

<sup>4</sup> "Chfst aus Bayern". BD: Elector [Kurfürst] Maximilian III Joseph of Bavaria (1727-1777) was also an outstanding viola da gamba player as well as a composer. Cf. No. 0337/90. On the death of Elector [Kurfürst] Maximilian III of Bavaria cf. No. 0399/53 ff.

<sup>5</sup> BD: No. 0399b, lost. It was from the flautist Becke in Munich, Leopold's "informant".

<sup>6</sup> BD: Cf. No. 0399/84. Dr. Joseph Johann von Gott von Sänfftel, personal physician to the Elector of Bavaria. Qualified in 1728, ennobled 1772.

<sup>7</sup> "Frst Zeil". BD: Ferdinand Christoph, Count [Graf] Waldburg-Zeil (1719-1786), from 1772 Prince-Bishop [Fürst-Bischof] of Chiemsee, a life-long supporter of Mozart. Cf. Nos. 0138/48; 0261/6.

<sup>8</sup> BD: Customarily known as "a little glass of wine to the honour of Saint John the Evangelist". ["John's Blessing Wine"].

<sup>9</sup> BD: 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1777.

<sup>10</sup> BD: 29<sup>th</sup> December, 1777.

<sup>11</sup> BD: Possibly "globuli camphorati" (camphor pills).

<sup>12</sup> "der englischen Freulen". BD: Order of religious sisters founded in 1609 through the work of the Venerable Mary Ward (1585-1645).

<sup>13</sup> BD: At the miracle-working image of Mary at the Cross in the Herzogspital-Kirche [Church of the Ducal Hospital], which the Elector visited frequently.

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*was heard throughout the districts of the town. During this, the Elector made his most fervent devotions until 1 o'clock, then he departed this life very gently at half past 1, after a painful illness lasting 23 days. All medici who were in the town met again for a council at 9 o'clock, but it was too late! The old, stubborn, miserable Dr. went off [35] saying: I am lost! Until now he has been keeping himself locked up in his house. As early as 4 o'clock in the evening, His Highness the Elector of Manheim<sup>15</sup> was proclaimed our Duke<sup>16</sup> by a trumpet call, and today all office bearers and military officers have to take the oath of allegiance. On Saturday evening, after the burial, the Elector himself will arrive here. [40] May God stand by us and grant that this be the end of the matter, but they are still afraid of a visit from Au – –,<sup>17</sup> and then we are lost! We hope for the better way, may God grant it! Etc. This letter is dated the 31<sup>st</sup> Decemb.*

In the meantime, we have heard news that the Elector of Manheim has already entered Munich, all alone and in absolute quiet, on the evening of Friday, 2<sup>nd</sup> January, accompanied only by one court gentleman, Count or Baron Vieregg.<sup>18</sup> [45] You can readily imagine that people here also wish matters to stay as they are. In the meantime, I had to laugh heartily today when there was already talk in the town that the Elector will make you music director in Munich, since old Bernasconi<sup>19</sup> cannot continue in service anyway. [50] Here they are claiming to have news from Vöckelbruck<sup>20</sup> that the <Imperial soldiers<sup>21</sup>> stationed in the area and around Wels have received orders to remain <ready to march>, and the son of trumpeter Schwarz<sup>22</sup> has supposedly written with the same news from Bohemia. God preserve us: that would be a fine performance. – It will soon be revealed. Today I am sending an answer<sup>23</sup> to Munich, [55] and am constantly hoping to hear something new, which I will then report to you immediately, but you will find out much, of course, in the normal course of events – – yet, who knows, perhaps less than I find out. Regarding Mama's journey home, I have been thinking for a long time now that it could not be done more comfortably than with the empty coaches which travel to Salzburg to collect the merchants.<sup>24</sup> [60] It only depends on how she gets from Manheim to Augspurg. If she had a comfortable possibility for this stretch, our chaise could be sold in Manheim; if not, she would have to take the chaise<sup>25</sup> to Augsp. and leave it in the monastery at Holy Cross<sup>26</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "Sr: Durchl. der Churfürst von Manheim". BD: Karl Theodor (1724-1799). Studied in Leyden and Leuven. From 1742 Elector [Kurfürst] of the Palatinate, where he encouraged the arts in Mannheim, and from 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1777, Elector of Bavaria. When he succeeded the childless Maximilian III Joseph of Bavaria in 1777, the lands of Bavaria and the Palatinate were re-united for the first time since the Treaty of Pavia in 1329.

<sup>16</sup> "Herzog".

<sup>17</sup> BD: It was feared that Austria might take Bavaria by force. Karl Theodor, acting through his ambassador in Vienna, approved on 4<sup>th</sup> January, 1778, a contract with the Imperial government, in which the greater part of Lower Bavaria was ceded to Austria. It was ratified on 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1778. Austrian troops entered the relevant area on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1778. Popular resistance led to the War of the Bavarian Succession, which ended on 13<sup>th</sup> May, 1779, after Prussian intervention.

<sup>18</sup> "graf oder Baron Vieregg". BD: Cf. No. 0549/41. Matthäus, Baron [Freiherr] von Vieregg, Actual Privy State and Conference Minister [wirklicher geheimer Staats- und Konferenzminister] in Munich, Senior Master of the Stables [Oberststallmeister].

<sup>19</sup> BD: Andrea Bernasconi (1706-1784), from 1753 deputy music director [Vizekapellmeister] in Munich, in 1755 succeeded Giovanni Porta as court music director. From 1772 his responsibilities were limited to church music only. His stepdaughter was the singer Antonia Bernasconi (1741-1803), who sang Aspasia in the première of *Mitridate* in 1770. Cf. note on No. 0125/134.

<sup>20</sup> BD: Vöckelbruck in Upper Austria.

<sup>21</sup> "kaiserliche soldaten".

<sup>22</sup> BD: One of the sons of Johann Joseph Schwarz, court and military trumpeter, also violinist, who entered the Archbishop's service in 1739, became supervisor of the trumpeters and city musicians in 1781. Cf. Nos. 0362/102; 0998/46.

<sup>23</sup> BD: No. 0401a, lost.

<sup>24</sup> BD: To collect the merchants after the spring fair in Salzburg.

<sup>25</sup> BD: Selling or keeping the chaise had been aired several times. Cf. No. 0375/120.

until my brother<sup>27</sup> finds an opportunity to sell it. Since there are 4 in your group,<sup>28</sup> you could not do with having her with you on the journey to Paris, [65] and in Manheim they would perhaps find a better place for her because everything is expensive. From Augsp. Mama could be in Salzb. in 3 days; of those who hire out horses, some leave Augsp. on the 9<sup>th</sup>, some on the 10<sup>th</sup> March, in order to collect the merchants again. One can thus travel quite comfortably in an enclosed glass-windowed four-seat coach with the minimal costs for the driver. [70] I once travelled home for one *Max d'or*.<sup>29</sup> – If, however, she wanted to go with the merchants during their outward journey, there might be some objections because they usually already have four persons in their party. One way or the other, it can be arranged in advance via my brother. The main point is that it depends purely on how she can travel well from Manheim to Augsp. [75] I will then take care of everything else. But one should gather one's thoughts on this in good time, for the time will soon pass, and I would prefer it if she could be the 4<sup>th</sup> person with 3 people travelling here: in that case I would of course inform you when she has to be in Augsp. As far as the chaise is concerned, I bought it for 80-something florins;<sup>30</sup> you will no doubt find friends to estimate its value and [80] *N.B.* if Mama cannot make use of it, you could sell it as advantageously as possible. In Mannheim they will not buy many coaches at 8 *louis d'or*.<sup>31</sup> If Mama, however, should have no convenient possible means of reaching Augsp., perhaps an honest traveller would be happy to travel in a comfortable chaise for his post-money; but one must quite obviously have assurances about this person. [85] If, by the by, as I wish and hope, the Elector now remains in peaceful possession of his new dukedom,<sup>32</sup> there will always be someone travelling to Munich from time to time, whom she could join. Once she is in Munich, she can then take a hired coachman and horses and drive home. It depends fundamentally on the description you give of how you think she can get to Augspurg; the rest must be arranged according to this. I must also remind you both not to leave anything to the last moment, that Mama should make a list in good time of your linen, stockings &c. and all your items of clothing so that you know what you have with you etc. etc. and how it will work out with the trunk. [95] One must try it in good time to see if one of you could make use of it. It will be too big for either of you. One has to think about all this in good time. If Mama wants to bring it back, she can of course fill the top of it up with straw, but her clothes do not need much room. Wolfg. can more likely make use of it. Enough. Just take care of it in good time!

[100] Yesterday we had airgun-shooting.<sup>33</sup> Wolfgang donated the first prize, the target was a game of Brandl<sup>34</sup> with 4 persons, including Catherl<sup>35</sup> biting her nails in her real clothes as the main person. On the table lay a heart-burn trick,<sup>36</sup> the ace of hearts on the top,

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<sup>26</sup> BD: The monastery mentioned frequently during Wolfgang's stay in Augsburg. Cf. No. 0331/40-41.

<sup>27</sup> BD: Leopold's brother Franz Alois Mozart (1727-1791), bookbinder in Augsburg; cf. No. 0006/7.

<sup>28</sup> BD: Johann Baptist Wendling (flute), Friedrich Ramm (oboe), Étienne Lauchéry (dance), Mozart. Cf. No. 0383/58-60.

<sup>29</sup> BD: 1 Max d'or = 2 gold guldens = 6.5 florins.

<sup>30</sup> BD: Bought in Bratislava, cf. Nos. 0046/21; 0436/63.

<sup>31</sup> BD: = 88 florins.

<sup>32</sup> "Herzogthums".

<sup>33</sup> BD: The shooting of bolts from airguns at round targets was practised in the apartments of the members of the "marksmen's company" or club. Each time, a new target was presented by a member of the club, who would have some topical motif painted on it with matching verses. A member would donate a first prize and then also pay for all food and drink consumed during the meeting.

<sup>34</sup> BD: A card game. The painting on the target showed four players.

<sup>35</sup> BD: Katharina Gilowsky (1750-1802), daughter of court surgeon Wenzel Andreas Gilowsky, member of the airgun club of earlier years, frequenter of the Mozart family home. Sometime governess to the children of Leopold Andreas, Count [Graf] Plaz.

<sup>36</sup> The root "Brand" in the name of the game and the trick suggests fire, burning.

on the heart was the bull's eye. Above that was, despite Wieland!,<sup>37</sup> this rapidly written, excellent poetry: [105]

Hearts are still my favourite, although my heart burns sore,  
I fear I'll stay a spinster for many long years more;  
You saw my fingers suffer, when many a nail I bit;  
If I don't get a husband – – upon the world I'll sh – t.

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But Catherl won the first prize herself.

[110] As soon as Herr Adlgasser<sup>38</sup> died, I said to Nannerl, I bet that the Archbishop<sup>39</sup> will have a letter sent by the Countess<sup>40</sup> to the Bishop of Königsgratz, Joseph Arco,<sup>41</sup> to have the organist, the dirty Hasse or Hass<sup>42</sup> or whatever he's called, come here: you will remember that the Countess once spoke to you about that? He is that dirty old fellow who set you the theme from the fugue by Scarlatti<sup>43</sup> at Prince Pugiatowsky's<sup>44</sup> in Vienna. [115] Now the word is that the Archbishop really has written concerning him. In the meantime, I have already been to the Lodron Fräuleins<sup>45</sup> twice. The Countess sent a valet on New Year's Eve to ask me to come to her. She said to me, with her usual false friendliness, that she had something to ask me, [120] and I should feel at liberty, if it were inconvenient to me, to reject her request, she did not want to embarrass me in any way. N.B. Which amounted to saying = As I recognise myself that you have no obligation of any kind towards me. She then asked me to take over<sup>46</sup> her Fräuleins. She knew, no doubt, that I had little time and that I did not like to plague myself. I raised some difficulties, and finally said that I would come on the one day at 11 o'clock, [125] on the other day at 4 o'clock. Then she was flushed with pleasure, spoke much of the two of you etc., and on Friday was already in the room as I came to the Fräuleins. – Now for something else. The lady-in-waiting to Fräulein Rosa Firmian,<sup>47</sup> Cathl: Gilowsky,<sup>48</sup> is to give up the position. The Court Councillor<sup>49</sup> will not leave her there anymore. Two days ago, Court Councillor Caietan Berti<sup>50</sup> [130] was buried. Your letter<sup>51</sup> of the 27<sup>th</sup> December has reached me; on New Year's Day I did not write to you both, because I was so busy with good wishes the evening

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<sup>37</sup> BD: Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1795), was in Mannheim working on the opera *Rosemunde*, music by Anton Schweitzer (1735-1787). Mozart met him there. Cf. No. 0385/55.

<sup>38</sup> BD: Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (1729-1777), pupil of Eberlin. Salzburg court organist and composer. He married three times; Leopold was a witness at two of the weddings. Cf. No. 0041/17. He died on 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 1777. His last hours are described in No. 0395/20 ff.

<sup>39</sup> BD: Hieronymus Joseph Franz de Paula, Count [Graf] Colloredo (1732-1812), Prince-Archbishop [Fürst-Erzbischof] of Salzburg from 1772. Employer of Leopold and, for a time, of Wolfgang. Cf. No. 0263/9.

<sup>40</sup> BD: Maria Antonia, née Komtesse Arco (1738-1780), wife of hereditary marshal [Erbmarschall] Ernst Maria Joseph Nepomuk, Count [Graf] Lodron (1716-1779), cf. No. 0362/87. For her name-days (13<sup>th</sup> June) in 1776 and 1777, Mozart composed divertimenti: in 1776 KV 247, in 1777 KV 287 (271b, KV<sup>6</sup>: 271 H). In February, 1776, he furthermore wrote for her and her two daughters, Aloisia and Giuseppina, the concerto for three claviers KV 242. Giuseppina (Josepha, "Pepperl") was one of Leopold Mozart's pupils.

<sup>41</sup> BD: Joseph Adam Nepomuk Felix, Count [Graf] Arco (1733-1802), cathedral canon and suffragan Bishop of Passau; son of Georg Anton Felix, Count [Graf] Arco (1705-1792). 1776-1780 Bishop of Königgrätz, 1780-1802 Bishop of Seckau.

<sup>42</sup> BD: Nothing known.

<sup>43</sup> BD: Alessandro or Domenico Scarlatti.

<sup>44</sup> BD VIII: Correctly "Poniatowski". Polish family of Italian origin. The reference could be to e.g. Stanislaw II August (1732-1798), the last king of Poland, or Andrzej (1734-1773), general in the Austrian army.

<sup>45</sup> BD: Cf. note on line 111.

<sup>46</sup> BD: As keyboard teacher.

<sup>47</sup> BD: Maria Rosa Thekla Walburga (1748-1815), daughter of the Royal High Steward [Obersthofmeister] Franz Lactanz, Count [Graf] Firmian (1712-1786).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. line 101.

<sup>49</sup> "HofRath". BD: Her brother, Joseph Anton Ernst von Gilowsky.

<sup>50</sup> "HofRath". BD: Kajetan Wolfgang de Berti, died on 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 1778.

<sup>51</sup> BD: No. 0398.

before and on the day itself. I am endlessly glad that it is going well with you now, that you are in good health, and that you, my dear wife, have a warm room. The portrait which you paint of <Wieland<sup>52</sup>> for me<sup>53</sup> [135] is one I could almost have done myself without having seen him. Msr. Grimm<sup>54</sup> and the two Counts Romanzow<sup>55</sup> described him to me fully as we went over the Münnichberg.<sup>56</sup> All such philosophical minds usually also have something fantastical. – My enquiry about the <confessing<sup>57</sup>> should not vex you in any way, I will reply to you on it another time; [140] yes, you can reply for yourself if you can put yourself entirely in my person and in my place as a father. Could Mama perhaps bring a Mannheim Court Calendar?<sup>58</sup> – – I would also like to know the title of Vogler's book,<sup>59</sup> and what it costs? If Wolfgang can remember my methods,<sup>60</sup> you will get both for a very good price, [145] but he must not laugh, but make a serious face. Now I must certainly finish, the paper is getting blacker and blacker. We are well, praise God, as you will surely be too; just take good care of your health. I and Nannerl kiss you both a million times and I am, together with her, as always your  
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[150] Another Imperial Ambassador<sup>61</sup> has already arrived in Munich and will replace Count Hardik.<sup>62</sup> But the new one will have instructions which they would first have had to send to the other. May God grant calm and peace!

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<sup>52</sup> BD: See above. Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1795), author. The Mozarts had read his books *Abderiten* and also (Leopold at least) *Sympathien* (mentioned in Nos. 0353/44-45 and 0692/4). Mozart's estate included Wieland's *Die Dialogen...* and *Oberon*. Cf. No. 0393/33 ff.

<sup>53</sup> BD: Cf. No. 0398/34 ff.

<sup>54</sup> BD: Friedrich Melchior von Grimm (1723-1807), 1748 private secretary to the Saxon Count [Graf] Friese, with whom he moved to Paris, where he was in contact with the Encyclopaedists. Subsequently employed by the Crown Prince of Saxony-Gotha as personal reader; he then entered the service of the Duke of Orleans; represented the Imperial city of Frankfurt in Paris; ambassador to Saxony-Gotha; in 1795 he returned to the court in Saxony-Gotha with the title of minister of the Russian court. Various publications, one of which, in 1763, mentioned the Mozart children. He initially supported them, but his relationship with Mozart broke down in 1778 during the latter's stay in Paris.

<sup>55</sup> "gr: Romanzow". BD: Probably the brothers Nikolaj Petrović, Count [Graf] Rumjancev and Sergej Petrović, Count [Graf] Rumjancev. Cf. No. 0847/79 ff.

<sup>56</sup> BD: The mountain Mönchsberg in Salzburg.

<sup>57</sup> BD: Leopold's concern about keeping up Catholic confession appears in Nos. 0391/43-44; 039/13-14, 53 ff.  
<sup>58</sup> "HofCalendar".

<sup>59</sup> BD: Georg Joseph Vogler (1749-1814). spiritual adviser and deputy music director in Mannheim. The book is *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsetzkunst*, Mannheim, 1776; dedicated to Elector [Kurfürsten] Karl Theodor, cf. No. 0462/186 f.

<sup>60</sup> BD: Nothing is known about his "methods".

<sup>61</sup> "Kaysl: Abgesandter". BD: Franz Siegmund Adalbert, Count [Graf] Lehrbach, cf. Nos. 0379/67; 0403/13-15; 0405/10 ff.

<sup>62</sup> "Graf Hardik". BD: Adam Franz, Count [Graf] Hartig. He was probably replaced because he had constantly sent reassuring messages about the health of Bavarian Elector Maximilian III Joseph's health, so the court in Vienna was completely taken by surprise by his death. Cf. line 5 ff.