

# THE IMPERIAL CORONATION OF LEOPOLD II AND MOZART, FRANKFURT AM MAIN, 1790

AUSTIN GLATTHORN



## ABSTRACT

*In the autumn of 1790 Mozart undertook the penultimate journey of his life to participate in the coronation of Leopold II as Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt am Main. His attendance and performance at this significant imperial gathering were an investment designed to improve his fortunes. But Mozart's gamble failed. Though it was a key political event, and despite its significance as one of Mozart's final sojourns, not much more is known about the music of the Frankfurt coronation. This article offers a new understanding of Leopold II's imperial accession, positing the coronation as a vibrant context for music culture. Contrary to narratives that position Mozart's concert above all others, I argue that this was far from the case according to his contemporaries. During the coronation festivities the city hosted three theatre companies and many celebrated musicians, including Ludwig Fischer, Johann Hässler, Vincenzo Righini, Antonio Salieri and Georg Vogler, among others. Frankfurt was indeed filled with musicians who cooperated with and competed against one another in the hope of attracting substantial audiences comprised of the Empire's elite. Yet for Mozart, whose concert was poorly advertised and unfortunately timed, this competition proved too intense. By investigating the musical and political events of Leopold II's imperial coronation, I assert that Mozart's investment, which had the potential to alter his life forever, was unsuccessful in part because of a rumour that caused his desired audience to leave Frankfurt temporarily the very morning his performance took place.*

---

<[a.glatthorn@dal.ca](mailto:a.glatthorn@dal.ca)>

For their invaluable feedback on earlier versions of this article I am sincerely grateful to Bruce Alan Brown, Sterling E. Murray, Steven Zohn and the anonymous reviewers of this journal. I would also like to express my gratitude to Fiona Stevens for checking my translations and to Ann Kersting-Meuleman at the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg and Beate Dannhorn at the Historisches Museum Frankfurt for their kind permission to reproduce the figures. Finally, I would like to thank the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, the Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte and the University of Southampton for generously supporting my research. This study expands on material in the fourth chapter of my doctoral dissertation, 'The Theatre of Politics and the Politics of Theatre: Music as Representational Culture in the Twilight of the Holy Roman Empire' (University of Southampton, 2015). Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own. The following abbreviations are used:

A-KR: Austria, Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift, Musiksammlung

A-Whh: Austria, Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv

ÄZA: Ältere Zeremonialakten

A-Wn: Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

D-F: Germany, Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Abteilung Musik, Theater, Film

Mus S31: Theaterzettel-Sammlung

D-NL: Germany, Nördlingen, Stadtarchiv und Stadtbibliothek

D-RUL: Germany, Rudolstadt, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv

GB-Lna: Great Britain, London, The National Archives



‘Meine liebe! ich werde zweifelsohne gewis etwas hier machen’ (My dear! I will certainly achieve something here).<sup>1</sup> Mozart wrote these confident words to his wife Constanze two days after arriving in Frankfurt am Main on 28 September 1790. That autumn Frankfurt swelled to accommodate the thousands of visitors who were eager to take part in an event that might occur only once in their lifetimes: an imperial coronation. In his memoir, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe recalled that upon the occasion of the coronation of Joseph II as King of the Romans, in 1764, many had ‘hofften wohl auch noch einmal eine Krönung mit Augen zu erleben’ (indeed hoped to experience another coronation with their own eyes).<sup>2</sup> That time had arrived. The election and coronation that would unfold over a two-week period were the latest in a long line stretching back almost one thousand years to Charlemagne in 800. Indeed, Mozart, who made the arduous journey from across the Holy Roman Empire (or Reich), must have fostered great expectations for success in the coronation city, for he intended to perform at and profit from the Reich’s greatest spectacle of power.<sup>3</sup>

In his study of the composer’s final years, Christoph Wolff examines Mozart’s investment in his Frankfurt sojourn. Wolff acknowledges that although he travelled independently of court business, the composer willingly embarked on the costly journey, going as far as pawning the family’s furniture and other possessions to raise the necessary funds.<sup>4</sup> Autumn 1790 was a bleak time in both Mozart’s professional and his private life. When he left for Frankfurt his finances were in a shambles, and he was unaware of his wife’s whereabouts.<sup>5</sup> Yet not only did Mozart undertake this expensive trip, but he did so in style, as he journeyed in his own coach and brought along a servant.<sup>6</sup> Wolff asserts that

the principal reason for Mozart’s attending the Frankfurt ceremonies consisted of the unique opportunity, by way of running his own sideshow, to renew old acquaintances and make new connections among the many members of the assembled European royalty, princes and high aristocracy, in the hope that those with musical interests might hear about his presence and would want to approach him.

He also suggests that Mozart ‘met with a number of old acquaintances on the way to and from Frankfurt and, in general, intended to further his business prospects.’<sup>7</sup> Clearly, Wolff takes the coronation journey as evidence that Mozart remained committed to improving his situation, perhaps by exchanging his life as a freelance musician for that of a court composer. Yet Mozart’s involvement in the imperial coronation, the penultimate journey of a life marked by extended periods of travel, plays only a limited role in a study dedicated to exploring what Wolff has deemed the composer’s ‘imperial style.’<sup>8</sup>

1 Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch and Joseph Heinz Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, seven volumes (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–1975), volume 4, 114.

2 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Berlin: Contumax, 2014), 12.

3 On the imperial coronation as a symbolic display of power see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Des Kaisers alte Kleider: Verfassungsgeschichte und Symbolsprache des Alten Reiches* (Munich: Beck, 2008), especially 227–246.

4 Christoph Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway to His Fortune: Serving the Emperor, 1788–1791* (New York: Norton, 2012), 47.

5 Mozart did not know where to address his correspondence to Constanze, who had not responded to his recent letters. On 30 September 1790 he admitted ‘da ich nicht weis ob du in Wien oder in baaden bist so adressire ich diesen brief wieder an die Hofer’ (since I do not know whether you are in Vienna or Baden [bei Wien], I’m again addressing this letter to [his sister-in-law Josepha] Hofer). Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 114.

6 Mozart travelled with his brother-in-law, Franz de Paula Hofer (1755–1796), from Vienna to Frankfurt by way of Eferding, Regensburg, Nuremberg, Würzburg and Aschaffenburg. See Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 112–113.

7 Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway*, 49.

8 Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway*, 90–106.



Other narratives of Mozart's life inform us that the composer frequented the theatre while in Frankfurt, where he socialized and allegedly saw a production of his *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (K384).<sup>9</sup> Mozart also found musicians to perform alongside him at his concert of 15 October 1790, his only documented Frankfurt performance. Given the abundance of affluent music lovers, his reputation and his new title of *Kompositor der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Kammermusik* (composer of the imperial [and] royal chamber music), Mozart had every right to anticipate a lucrative return on his investment. However, after the concert he admitted defeat, claiming that his performance was financially a failure and blaming the poor turnout on a luncheon and military parade honouring the new emperor.<sup>10</sup> If this concert and the profits he envisaged as a result were Mozart's motivations for embarking on the costly journey at this uncertain point of his life, then he was justified in considering the gamble a flop.

Not much more is known about Mozart's involvement in Leopold II's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. In fact, very little is known about the music of the coronation in general. Of the two coronations in which Mozart participated, Leopold's later accession as King of Bohemia in Prague in September 1791 has attracted the most scholarly attention. It was on this occasion that Pasquale Bondini's troupe premiered *La clemenza di Tito* (K621). The circumstances surrounding the commission, composition, performance and reception of *Tito* account for nearly all the musical scholarship investigating coronations in Central Europe during the late eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> That the more politically significant Frankfurt coronation is often mentioned but never fully investigated – certainly not beyond Mozart's concert – is understandable when one considers that the composer had no formal responsibility there. This event's relative marginalization in musical terms is also due to the complexity of the Reich and the misunderstanding of its political structure, evident even in specialist studies of eighteenth-century music.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the Frankfurt coronation did not include any operatic premieres, and reconstructions of Mozart's concert programme suggest that he performed only older works. Yet this does not mean that Leopold II's imperial accession was an insignificant context for music, for it was permeated by diverse musical works from artistic centres across the Reich. Given the cultural and political importance of this occasion, it is surprising that its music has not attracted more scholarly inquiry.<sup>13</sup>

9 For example, Daniel Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven, 1781–1802* (New York: Norton, 2009), 258.

10 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 118.

11 See, for example, Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven*, 289–306; Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway*, 107–133; John A. Rice, 'Political Theater in the Age of Revolution: Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*', in *Austria in the Age of the French Revolution, 1789–1815*, ed. Kinley J. Brauer and William Edward Wright (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1990), 125–150; Rice, *W. A. Mozart: La clemenza di Tito* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Ulrich Konrad, 'La clemenza di Tito von Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Krönungsoper – Allegorie – Drama per musica', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2009), 93–106; Wolfgang Pross, 'Aufklärung, Herrschaft und Repräsentation in Metastasio und Mozarts *La clemenza di Tito*', in *Mozart und die europäische Spätaufklärung*, ed. Lothar Kreimendahl (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2011), 267–325; and Ian Woodfield, *Performing Operas for Mozart: Impresarios, Singers and Troupes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 170–177.

12 One need only consult a handful of studies investigating eighteenth-century German music to see the many inconsistent ways in which the Holy Roman Empire is described, if at all. It is frequently dismissed entirely or otherwise used synonymously or confused with polities that never were (in this case the 'Habsburg Empire') or with subsequent empires (including the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Empires). Historiographically, the Holy Roman Empire has been traditionally deprecated as a fragile and declining polity, whose downfall in 1806 was inevitable after 1648. For the differences between the monarchy and Reich as well as scholarship that rejects and corrects the misguided interpretation of the Holy Roman Empire as a defunct polity see Derek Beales, *Joseph II*, two volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987–2009); Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, two volumes (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

13 See, for example, Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven*, 258–259; Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway*, 27, 47–50; Dieter Kerner, 'Mozart in Frankfurt und Mainz', *Hessisches Ärzteblatt* 32/12 (1971), 1073–1084; Erich Valentin, 'Mozart auf der Reise nach Frankfurt', *Acta Mozartiana* 29/3 (1982), 59–63; Arno Paduch, 'Festmusiken zu Frankfurter



A study exploring the music of Leopold II's imperial coronation is indeed long overdue, for the last significant contribution was made by Otto Erich Deutsch in the early 1960s.<sup>14</sup> By investigating archival documents and primary accounts often overlooked by music scholars, I offer a new understanding of the musical events surrounding Leopold II's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. Set within the framework of the Reich, the Frankfurt coronation provides an opportunity to view Mozart's music in a highly concentrated atmosphere of musical competition and cooperation outside Vienna. An eclectic group of musicians from multiple Imperial Estates (the territories that constituted the Empire) travelled to Frankfurt from distant corners of the extensive Reich for the same reasons that Wolff suggests inspired Mozart. An examination of the participation of these musicians challenges previous assumptions regarding the performance of Mozart's operas at the event and offers new insight into his concert. It also clarifies the identity of the composer of the coronation mass. Although Mozart was justified in attributing the poor attendance at his concert to a banquet held by a prince, additional factors contributed to the concert's failure. By tracing the events of the coronation as Mozart and his contemporaries would have witnessed them, I demonstrate why the performance intended to reverse his fortunes at a trying period in his life ultimately failed.

## THE POLITICS OF CORONATION

Leopold II (1747–1792) governed a number of territories, and his monarchical responsibilities were reflected in a collection of titles. During the reign of his older brother, Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790), Leopold ruled as Grand Duke of Tuscany (1765–1790).<sup>15</sup> Upon Joseph II's death, Leopold departed Florence for Vienna, the Habsburg *Residenz* city, and between 1790 and 1791 he was crowned on three separate occasions as the leader of three territories. Now the hereditary Archduke of Austria, Leopold was elected Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt am Main on 30 September 1790, and he was crowned there on 9 October. As emperor of the Reich, Leopold II ruled directly over his own hereditary lands and was the supreme leader of a constellation of roughly 320 Imperial Estates. Leopold next became the King of Hungary and Croatia, territories outside the formal boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire, at a ceremony in Pressburg (now Bratislava) on 15 November 1790. Finally, he was crowned the de facto King of Bohemia in Prague on 6 September 1791. It was for this Habsburg installation that Mozart set Caterino Mazzola's adaptation of Metastasio's politically resonant *La clemenza di Tito*.<sup>16</sup> Leopold II ruled over these realms until his sudden death on 1 March 1792.

Leopold's election and coronation as Holy Roman Emperor were the most politically significant of these events for the lands that constituted Central Europe.<sup>17</sup> Whereas the coronations in Pressburg and Prague were Habsburg hereditary events, the imperial accession in Frankfurt was dependent on the collective vote of leading princes.<sup>18</sup> The constitution of the Holy Roman Empire reserved this right for an elite group of princes

---

Kaiserwahlen und Krönungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', *Die Musikforschung* 59/3 (2006), 211–232; and Walther Brauneis, 'Kaiserlich-königliche und königliche Krönungsmessen für Leopold II. und Franz II. – ein Überblick', in *Mozart und die geistliche Musik in Süddeutschland*, ed. Friedrich W. Riedel (Bad Langensalza: Studiopunkt, 2010), 43–54.

14 Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 326–330.

15 On music in Florence during the reign of Leopold as Grand Duke of Tuscany see John A. Rice, 'Music in the Duomo of Florence during the Reign of Pietro Leopoldo I (1765–1790)', in 'Cantate Domino': *Musica nei secoli per il Duomo di Firenze*, ed. Piero Gargiulo, Gabriele Giacomelli and Carolyn Gianturco (Florence: Edifir, 2001), 259–274.

16 For *La clemenza di Tito* as Habsburg representation see Hartz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven*, 289–306; Konrad, 'La clemenza di Tito'; Pross, 'Aufklärung, Herrschaft und Repräsentation'; and Rice, 'Political Theater in the Age of Revolution'.

17 On Leopold II's election and coronation see Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, volume 2, 427–429.

18 Although the Habsburgs had served as emperors nearly exclusively for hundreds of years, the election in 1790 was not a foregone conclusion, as there was no King of the Romans (an elected heir apparent). Furthermore, Joseph II's indifferent attitude towards the Reich caused many to consider alternatives to the Habsburgs during the interregnum. See Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, volume 2, 604–605.



called *Kurfürsten* (electors), who convened to choose a successor upon the death of a reigning emperor (if one had not already been elected). The emperor did not rule over every Imperial Estate, however. Magistrates presided over *Reichsstädte* (imperial cities), a group of nobles labelled generally as *Fürsten* (princes) reigned over *Fürstentümer* (princedoms) and electors governed their *Kurfürstentümer* (electorates). Nevertheless, the emperor played a key political role, as he was a crucial part of the Empire's Reichstag (legislature) and the Reichskammergericht and Reichshofrat (the imperial supreme courts). His position was also highly symbolic, as he embodied the solidarity and – especially at coronations – the continuation of the Reich.<sup>19</sup>

The political unrest in the years immediately preceding Leopold II's imperial coronation intensified the need for a spectacle that asserted and celebrated traditional monarchical authority. Within the Reich, Joseph II's obsession with annexing portions of the Bavarian Electorate into the Habsburg hereditary lands had caused such alarm that, in 1785, Catholic and Protestant princes established the Fürstenbund (League of Princes) to protect their interests.<sup>20</sup> By the time Joseph died, in 1790, the Empire was flanked by conflict abroad. The Austro-Turkish War (1788–1791) and the feudal revolt in Hungary (1790) raged on in the east, while the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789) and the Brabant Revolution in the Austrian Netherlands (1789–1790) threatened the European status quo in the west. But although internal disputes and foreign insurrections challenged the Holy Roman Empire's political constitution, the Reich proved remarkably durable.<sup>21</sup> The Empire's fragmented political system acted to quarantine rebellion, helping to localize any outbreak of civil disturbance that could then be quickly contained and suppressed by regional princes and the Reichskammergericht.<sup>22</sup> Yet despite the ability of these potentates to maintain peace in their realms during the turbulent years of revolution, the Holy Roman Empire required an emperor capable of restoring order within and without the Reich, now that Joseph II had died. Indeed, this new emperor would need to protect the Empire's rich political and cultural networks, ones that supported a complex web of musical cultivation. And just as Leopold II's coronation was an affirmation of the Reich's staying power, so too was this imperial celebration a display of the Empire's musical culture.

## THE CORONATION THEATRES

The Frankfurt election and coronation formed the nucleus of a continuous series of public, private and national celebrations. Musical performances began long before any of the official ceremonies. Although the state rituals had yet to take place when Mozart arrived on 28 September, the party had already begun. Three companies, the Mainzer Nationaltheater, the Böhmisches und Koberweinsche Schauspielergesellschaft and the so-called Französische Komödie, provided the principal diversions during the coronation weeks. Mozart frequented and enjoyed his time spent at these theatres, as he informed his wife: 'meine ganze Unterhaltung ist das Theater, wo ich dann Bekannte genug antreffe, von Wien, München, Mannheim und sogar Salzburg' (my complete entertainment is the theatre, where I meet plenty of acquaintances from Vienna, Munich, Mannheim and even Salzburg).<sup>23</sup>

The Mainzer Nationaltheater was the only company of the three that performed in Frankfurt regularly, taking up residence there between July and October from 1789 until 1792.<sup>24</sup> Under the direction of Siegfried

19 Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, volume 2, 569.

20 On Joseph II's attitude towards the Reich see Beales, *Joseph II*, volume 2, 403–424. For the Fürstenbund see Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, volume 2, 422–426.

21 See Timothy Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 303–334.

22 Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz*, 307.

23 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 116.

24 On the Mainzer Nationaltheater's role in the coronation of Leopold II see Austin Glatthorn, 'Das Mainzer Nationaltheater und die Kaiserkrönung Leopolds II.', in *Mainz und sein Orchester: Stationen einer 500-jährigen Geschichte*, ed. Ursula Kramer and Klaus Pietschmann (Mainz: ARE, 2014), 95–118. On the Mainzer Nationaltheater more generally see Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics', 131–172.



Gotthelf Koch (1754–1831) and Carl David Stegmann (1751–1826), this ensemble was considered the finest of the three, and it enjoyed a reputation of excellence throughout the Reich, so much so that the actor and playwright August Wilhelm Iffland (1759–1814) considered the company ‘das beste Theater Deutschlands, das unsere ausgenommen’ (the best theatre in Germany, apart from ours [in Berlin]).<sup>25</sup> The Mainz company was recognized for its excellent adaptations of foreign-language operas, and it was the first to perform Mozart’s *Le nozze di Figaro* (κ492), *Don Giovanni* (κ527) and *Così fan tutte* (κ588) in German translation.<sup>26</sup> The Böhm and Koberwein troupe was in Frankfurt from August until the middle of October 1790. Johann(es) Heinrich Böhm (1740–1792) had performed in the Rhineland for years, and in this period he was engaged as theatre director in Koblenz by the Elector of Trier, whom Böhm represented during the coronation.<sup>27</sup> The third theatre company was a French troupe composed of actors from Strasbourg and Nancy. Francophile theatregoers must have taken advantage of this company’s temporary residence, for at the time it was, as the critic, poet and musician Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791) claimed, the only French theatre in the Reich.<sup>28</sup>

The most striking repertory difference between the companies is that the Mainz troupe programmed operas by Mozart and Antonio Salieri (1750–1825), whereas the others did not.<sup>29</sup> Having served as theatre *Intendant* in Salzburg and Vienna, Böhm would have known the works of both composers. Furthermore, Mozart and Salieri were present in the city for the coronation. That Böhm did not programme any of their works is all the more curious considering that Mozart lodged with the director while in Frankfurt.<sup>30</sup> However, Mozart reported home that the Mainzer Nationaltheater was planning a production of *Don Giovanni* (1787) in his honour.<sup>31</sup> Either he was mistaken or the ensemble was unable to perform the opera for some reason; instead they staged *Die Liebe im Narrenhause* (1787) by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739–1799).<sup>32</sup> Wolff claims this substitution was because Dittersdorf’s opera was ‘less challenging for the performers.’<sup>33</sup> Yet *Don Giovanni* was by no means too difficult for the Mainz ensemble, as the company had by this point already staged no fewer than eight productions of the opera since March 1789 (including its German-language premiere).<sup>34</sup> According to Daniel Hertz, ‘Mozart was represented on the stage in Frankfurt only by a performance of *Die Entführung* on 12 October.’<sup>35</sup> Although the evidence suggests that none of the companies performed Mozart’s *Die Entführung* during the festivities, surviving playbills do indicate that the Mainz troupe staged *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* (*Le nozze di Figaro*) before the composer’s arrival on 25 September

25 Jakob Peth, *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik zu Mainz: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Theatergeschichte* (Mainz: Prickarts, 1879), 91.

26 Günter Wagner, ‘Die Mainzer Oper am Vorabend der Französischen Revolution’, in *Aufklärung in Mainz*, ed. Hermann Weber (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984), 110.

27 In 1776 Böhm was the opera director at Vienna’s Kärntnertheater, and he was Joseph II’s original choice for producer of his Nationaltheater. After leaving Vienna, Böhm took his new company on tour, where it was active in Salzburg and Augsburg between 1779 and 1780. Böhm’s troupe then performed in Frankfurt, Mainz, Cologne, Düsseldorf and Aachen for the next seven years. On Böhm see Peter Branscombe, ‘Böhm, Johann’, *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (5 August 2016).

28 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Chronik* (Stuttgart: Kaiserl. Reichspostamt) 70 (31 August 1790), 598.

29 For a brief comparison of the repertoires see Glatthorn, ‘Das Mainzer Nationaltheater’, 105–109.

30 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 114.

31 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 116.

32 Glatthorn, ‘The Theatre of Politics’, 330.

33 Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway*, 48.

34 The Mainzer Nationaltheater had most recently performed *Don Giovanni* on 8 August 1790. They would stage this work five additional times before the theatre was abruptly dissolved in the autumn of 1792. See Glatthorn, ‘The Theatre of Politics’, 317–342.

35 Hertz does not reveal his source, but it is possible he consulted Deutsch, who claims that Böhm’s company performed *Die Entführung* on 12 October. Deutsch’s source is also unclear. Hertz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven*, 258, and Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente*, 328. According to the playbill printed for that evening’s performance (D-F, Mus S31/1790-10-12), the Trier company staged *Cora* (1782) by Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1741–1801).



and a day after the coronation, on 10 October.<sup>36</sup> It is reasonable to assume Mozart made every effort to see his opera performed while in Frankfurt.

Salieri was the most well-represented opera composer during the coronation festivities. The Mainzer Nationaltheater staged no fewer than three of his works, and he attended a production of his most popular and frequently staged opera, *Axur, König von Ormus* (*Axur, re d'Ormus*; 1788). The *Privilegierte Mainzer Zeitung* reported: 'in keiner Oper ist wohl mehr gutgeordnetes Theaterspiel, besseres Sujet, schönerer Text und angestandene hinreißende Musik' (perhaps no opera has a better-ordered drama, better subject, more beautiful text and captivatingly written music).<sup>37</sup> This German-language production of *Axur*, and indeed the overall quality of the Mainzer Nationaltheater, also captivated the Saxon electoral ambassador's secretary, Rudolph Hommel. According to this eyewitness:

[Das] Mainzische Hoftheater unter den Direktion des bekannten Kochs [ist] gewiß eines der besten Deutschen Theater. . . . Die besten Italiänischen Opern werden hier Deutsch und so gut gegeben, daß gewiß manche Italiänische Aufführung zurücksteht. So sahe ich z.B. Salieri's *Axur* hier besser als zu Wien in der Ursprache.<sup>38</sup>

The Mainz Hoftheater under the direction of the well-known Koch [is] certainly one of the best German theatres. . . . The best Italian operas are given here [in] German, and so well that certainly many Italian performances fall short of them. I saw, for instance, Salieri's *Axur* better [performed] here than in Vienna in the original language.

The *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* reported that Salieri himself was so impressed with Stegmann's adaptation of the German text for the Mainz company that he took a few pieces from the arrangement back with him to Vienna for use in his Italian version.<sup>39</sup>

The Mainzer Nationaltheater, the Böhmisches und Koberweinsche Schauspielergesellschaft and the Französische Komödie offered to their guests in Frankfurt the opportunity to attend spoken and sung French- and German-language theatre. While all three performed regularly between September and October 1790, there were still other options for those who wanted to hear music during the coronation. At the centre of the celebrations were the musical-political theatrics of the national ceremonies.

#### THE 'GRAND NATIONAL DRAMA'

While public theatre was available to anyone able to pay the entrance fee, the election and coronation constituted the more exclusive, core festivities. Schubart likened these state spectacles to that of a drama for the Holy Roman Empire:

Unser grosses Nationaldrama besteht eigentlich aus drei Akten; der erste enthält Leopolds Wahl, der zweite seinen Einzug und feierliche Beschwörung der Wahlkapitulazion, der dritte und letzte sein Krönung.<sup>40</sup>

In effect our grand national drama consists of three acts: the first entails Leopold's election, the second his arrival and celebratory invocation of the electoral capitulation and the third, and last, his coronation.

36 Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics', 330.

37 *Privilegierte Mainzer Zeitung* 137 (25 September 1790), unpaginated.

38 Rudolph Hommel, *Briefe über die Kaiserwahl, während derselben aus Frankfurt geschrieben* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1791), 91.

39 'Theater: Bestand und Uebersicht der Vorstellungen einiger Hauptbühnen Teutschlands', *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 6 (March 1791), 135.

40 Schubart, *Chronik* 82 (12 October 1790), 687. The *Wahlkapitulazion* (electoral capitulation) was an agreement made between the electors and emperor before the election that confirmed rights and privileges.



In the first act of this imperial drama the electors convened in Frankfurt to choose their next imperial leader. The *Wahltag* (election day) was set for Thursday, 30 September 1790 in the Cathedral of St Bartholomew.<sup>41</sup> Archbishop-Elector Friedrich Carl Joseph von Erthal of Mainz (1719–1802) summoned to the city the remaining ecclesiastical electors, the Archbishops Clemens Wenceslaus of Trier (1739–1812) and Maximilian Franz of Cologne (1756–1801). The latter, a patron of the young Beethoven, was also acquainted with Mozart, as the two had met in Vienna prior to Maximilian Franz's election as elector in the early 1780s.<sup>42</sup> Ambassadors represented the five secular electors who were not present at the Frankfurt election.<sup>43</sup>

Mozart arrived at the national drama just before the curtain was raised. In what way, if any, he was involved in these ceremonies remains unknown. Yet although he had no official responsibilities, one may assume that Mozart made an effort to witness the pageantry of the emperor's election, arrival and coronation if for no other reason than to be amongst the well-to-do. When Mozart first arrived in Frankfurt he reported that he was busy with work, but this soon changed, for within a few days he wrote: 'fängt ein unruhiges Leben an – man will mich nun schon überall haben' (a hectic life begins – now I am wanted everywhere).<sup>44</sup> If he took part in the celebrations, he would have heard bells ringing and the citizen militia performing music in the streets at 6 a. m. on 30 September to mark the beginning of the *Wahltag*.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical electors met the election ambassadors at Frankfurt's main square, known as the 'Römer', and from there they processed to the cathedral.

Like productions at the public theatres, the official ceremonies were ticketed events. According to Hommel, there were three types of tickets. The first allowed the bearer to be in the cathedral, the second provided entrance to the choir and the third (and most coveted) allowed entry to the conclave itself.<sup>46</sup> It would have been difficult for Mozart to secure a ticket, as there was a limited number of them.<sup>47</sup> Those fortunate enough to obtain entry into the cathedral were among the few to witness first-hand this highly anticipated event.

Shortly after 10 a. m. the election officials entered the cathedral to the accompaniment of trumpets and drums. Eyewitnesses noted that the Auxiliary Bishop of Mainz sang an antiphon once the officials reached the choir and 'nach dessen Beendigung hielt er das hohe Amt, wozu die Mainzische Kapelle eine trefliche Musik von Riggini [*sic*] treflich aufführte' (after its conclusion he celebrated high mass, for which the Mainz Kapelle splendidly performed well-suited music by Righini).<sup>48</sup> Vincenzo Righini (1756–1812), whom Mozart is likely to have known from the Italian's time in Vienna and tenure as substitute Kapellmeister during Salieri's

41 Although the *Reichstadt* Frankfurt officially became a Protestant city in 1533, the Cathedral of St Bartholomew remained an independent *Stift* (ecclesiastical foundation) until 1803. During this period Frankfurt's Catholics belonged to the neighbouring Archbishopric of Mainz, as St Bartholomew was never an episcopal cathedral.

42 Maximilian Franz was the youngest brother of Joseph II and Leopold II, and was elected Archbishop-Elector of Cologne in 1784.

43 Included in this group were the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the Electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg-Prussia and Braunschweig-Lüneburg (Hanover).

44 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 116.

45 Hommel, *Briefe*, 116.

46 Hommel, *Briefe*, 116.

47 There were about eighty tickets of the first type, twenty of the second and seven or eight of the third. Hommel, *Briefe*, 116.

48 Hommel, *Briefe*, 119. See also Schubart, *Chronik* 80 (5 October 1790), 673. Sources do not agree on which antiphon, if any, was performed here. While Hommel and Schubart claim that *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was sung before the mass, the author of the *Vollständiges Diarium* states that *Veni Creator Spiritus* was heard here: Johann Christian Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium der Römisch-Königlichen Wahl und Kaiserlichen Krönung Ihro nunmehr allerglorwürdigst regierenden kaiserlichen Majestät Leopold des Zweiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Jäger, 1791), 279. A handful of additional sources indicate that an antiphon was not performed before the mass. While it is possible that either *Veni Sancte Spiritus* or *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung before the mass and again before the oath, *Veni Creator Spiritus* was almost certainly performed following the mass and before the oath, while *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was sung after the oath. See Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics', 182–184, 187.





absence in 1787, served as the Mainz Kapellmeister from 1787 until 1793, when he took a position in Berlin.<sup>49</sup> Righini's *Missa solennis* in D minor (1790) is today known by the misnomer 'Krönungsmesse' (coronation mass), which has led some scholars too hastily to accept it as such.<sup>50</sup> In fact, it was without doubt composed as the election mass of 30 September, over a week before the coronation.<sup>51</sup>

At the conclusion of the mass, the antiphon *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung, and the electors and representatives swore an oath to elect the man who would ensure Germany's salvation.<sup>52</sup> This was followed by a performance of the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.<sup>53</sup> Election officials and those bearing the appropriate ticket then made their way into the conclave and the doors were locked behind them. When the Mainz cathedral provost eventually emerged and proclaimed Leopold's election, people cheered, cannons fired from the city walls and bells rang throughout the city.<sup>54</sup> In accompaniment to this happy commotion, the Mainz Kapelle performed a *Te Deum*.<sup>55</sup> The conclusion of this opening act was a festive procession back to the Römer. That evening the Mainzer Nationaltheater performed Dittersdorf's *Doktor und Apotheker* (1786), which was followed by a ball hosted by Prince Anton Theodor von Colloredo (1729–1811).<sup>56</sup>

According to Schubart, Leopold's arrival formed the second act of the Empire's national drama. This interval between the election and coronation was a period of celebration and increasing anticipation for the finale, as the coronation day had yet to be decided.<sup>57</sup> On 2 October 1790 ringing bells and cannon fire announced the arrival of the imperial relics from the *Reichsstädte* Aachen and Nuremberg for use in the coronation.<sup>58</sup> On the following day, a Sunday, those in Frankfurt attended services in the city's churches, one of which included a mass by Ferdinando Mazzanti (c1725–?1805) and a *Te Deum* by Niccolò Jommelli (1714–1774).<sup>59</sup>

Onlookers waited a significant amount of time before they could behold the emperor-to-be, even after the cavalcade entered the city walls. Frankfurt's *Stallmeister* (masters of the horse) opened the procession and were followed by secular electoral officials, sacred electors and finally Leopold himself.<sup>60</sup> Many in attendance were impressed by this visual representation of imperial power; a Saxon Swiss Guard described Leopold's arrival as 'der schönste und beste Tag' (the most beautiful and best day).<sup>61</sup> From his vantage point, the soldier claimed that it took one and a half hours from the onset of the cavalcade until the point at which he saw the

49 Christoph Henzel, 'Righini, Vincenzo', *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (5 August 2016).

50 For example, see Hertz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven*, 258; and David Black, 'Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music, 1781–91' (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2007), 226.

51 For additional reports naming Righini as the composer of the election mass see Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 70; Schubart, *Chronik* 80 (5 October, 1790), 673; *Die Krönung Leopold des II. zum römischen Kaiser: Beschrieben von einem Augenzeugen* (Frankfurt am Main: Eßlinger, 1790), 26; Julius Wilhelm Hamberger, *Merkwürdigkeiten bey der römischen Königswahl und Kaiserkrönung: Im Anhang Kaiser Leopold II. Wahl und Krönung* (Gotha: Perthes, 1791), 181; and Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1792), 292.

52 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 279.

53 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 282. The antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is also chanted by cardinals upon entering the Sistine Chapel for papal conclaves.

54 Between 225 and 300 cannons were fired. Erna Berger and Konrad Bund, eds, *Wahl und Krönung Leopolds II. 1790: Brieffagebuch des Feldsachers der kursächsischen Schweizergarde* (Frankfurt am Main: Kramer, 1981), 51, and 'Ueber die Kaiserwahl und Krönung Leopolds II', *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 5 (November 1790), 583.

55 Hommel, *Briefe*, 123.

56 Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics', 187–188 and 330, and Hommel, *Briefe*, 130.

57 In this period the imperial family and selected guests embarked on a pleasure cruise on the Main. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und Gelehrten Sachen* 124 (16 October 1790), unpaginated.

58 This included the sword of Charlemagne, the sceptre, the *Reichsapfel* (orb) and the imperial crown.

59 Schubart, *Chronik* 82 (12 October 1790), 691.

60 For details on the procession see 'Ueber die Kaiserwahl und Krönung', 584–588.

61 Berger and Bund, eds, *Brieffagebuch*, 57.



emperor, whose section lasted equally as long.<sup>62</sup> When Leopold eventually did reach the cathedral, in the afternoon, music, trumpets and drums continued to play without end.<sup>63</sup>

A local newspaper indicates that a *Te Deum* was among the music heard upon Leopold's arrival.<sup>64</sup> Although not mentioned in such reports, an additional piece was probably performed to mark the future emperor's presence in Frankfurt. The famous bass singer Ludwig Fischer (1745–1825) recalled that during the coronation procession he 'sang dem Kaiser den Glückwunsch' (sang congratulations to the emperor).<sup>65</sup> Fischer, for whom Mozart composed the part of Osmin in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, performed the second-act aria 'Wenn das Silber deiner Haare' from the patriotic opera *Günther von Schwarzburg* (1777) by Ignaz Holzbauer (1711–1783).<sup>66</sup> Holzbauer composed this aria for Fischer, who performed the role of Rudolf at the opera's premiere in Mannheim. Mozart was familiar with the piece, and, although unimpressed with the opera's libretto, he considered Holzbauer's music 'sehr schön' (very beautiful) upon hearing it reprised in Schwetzingen.<sup>67</sup> The text of the aria, which is heard during the opera's fictional coronation scene set in fourteenth-century Frankfurt, reflects well the idyllic mood of the city in October 1790; it praises the emperor, proclaims Teutonic greatness and instructs the masses to behold their new ruler upon his throne. The emperor's arrival was a magnificent display of imperial prestige and sovereignty, one that must have greatly increased anticipation for the coronation.

The finale of the Reich's great national drama was the coronation itself. By this time personnel representing the Empire's courts had ventured from their *Residenzen* to Frankfurt. So many had left Vienna that the British ambassador there, Robert Murray Keith (1730–1795), informed London of the consequences:

It is impossible that any capital can be more barren of interesting intelligence than Vienna is, at this moment. It would appear that the ceremonies of the election & coronation at Francfort [*sic*] had, during the last week, so much engrossed the time of the Sovereigns there, and of their ministers, that all correspondence in relation to government affairs had been suspended.<sup>68</sup>

As on the election day, these sovereigns heard bells tolling in the early hours of 9 October to signal the beginning of the *Krönungstag* (coronation day). While Leopold was led to St Bartholomew's Cathedral, ticket holders like Hommel made their way into the crowded church and vied for a spot in the vicinity of the imperial throne.<sup>69</sup>

Trumpeters and drummers accompanied Leopold's entrance from the organ loft above the choir. Hommel noted 'während [Leopold] so durch die Kirche ging . . . stimmte die kaiserliche Kapelle, angeführt und beseelt von Salieri, ein trefliches: *Ecce mittam Angelum meum* an' (as [Leopold] went through the church, the imperial Kapelle sang an excellent *Ecce mittam Angelum meum* that was directed and animated by Salieri).<sup>70</sup> When the antiphon was completed, the Electors of Trier and Cologne led Leopold to the altar. Here, the Reich's symbolic relics surrounded the archduke at his kneeler and the Elector of Mainz began the mass.

62 Berger and Bund, eds, *Briefstagebuch*, 60–61.

63 Berger and Bund, eds, *Briefstagebuch*, 63.

64 *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto* 157 (4 October 1790), 719.

65 Paul Corneilson, *The Autobiography of Ludwig Fischer: Mozart's First Osmin* (Malden, MA: Mozart Society of America, 2011), 36.

66 On *Günther von Schwarzburg* see Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics', 18–35; Silke Leopold, 'The Idea of National Opera c.1800', in *Unity and Diversity in European Culture c.1800*, ed. Timothy Blanning and Hagen Schulze (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 25–32; and Klaus Pietschmann, 'Nationale Identitätskonstruktion im deutschsprachigen Musiktheater des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Die deutsche Nation im frühneuzeitlichen Europa: Politische Ordnung und kulturelle Identität?*, ed. Georg Schmidt (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010), 297–301.

67 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 2, 125.

68 GB-Lna, FO 7/22, 80.

69 Hommel, *Briefe*, 166.

70 Hommel, *Briefe*, 171, and A-Whh, ÄZA 93-1, 55r (without mention of Salieri).



The identity of Leopold's Frankfurt coronation mass has long been in question. Although it was once believed that Mozart's Mass in C major, 'Krönungsmesse' (K317), was performed at the various coronations of Leopold II and Franz II between 1790 and 1792, David Black has demonstrated that this work was used only for later Habsburg installations.<sup>71</sup> As noted above, some have identified Righini's Mass in D minor, composed for the imperial election, as the coronation mass, while others have suggested masses by Ignaz Walter (1755–1822) and Peter von Winter (1754–1825), based purely on inscriptions used for marketing purposes.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, no known musical source identifies definitively the composer of the mass performed at Leopold II's coronation.

Only one of the many descriptions, memoirs and official documents related to the coronation provides a clue as to the mass's composer. According to Hommel, when the mass began 'die Musik dabei war schön: man hörte Salieri'n ohne ihn zu sehn' (the music was beautiful: one heard Salieri without seeing him).<sup>73</sup> A book examining Salieri's life and works published by Ignaz Franz Edlen von Mosel (1772–1844) soon after the composer's death adds credence to the implication that the Viennese Kapellmeister composed the coronation music:

Seine Trauer über solchen Verlust ward bald durch die Ausführung jener Geschäfte unterbrochen, welche ihn als kaiserl. Hofkapellmeister oblagen. In dieser Eigenschaft mußte er mit der Hofmusikkapelle zu den Krönungen seines neuen, nicht minder huldvollen Gebieters, des Kaisers Leopold II., nach Frankfurt, Prag und Preßburg, wo er, nebst anderen seiner Compositionen, ein eigens für diese Feierlichkeiten geschriebenes, großes Te Deum aufführen ließ.<sup>74</sup>

His grief for such a loss [the death of Joseph II] was soon interrupted by the execution of his responsibilities as imperial Kapellmeister. In this capacity he was obliged to travel with the court Kapelle for the coronation of his new, equally gracious ruler, the Emperor Leopold II, to Frankfurt, Prague and Pressburg, where he performed, alongside other compositions of his, a great Te Deum especially written for these festivities.

Although Hommel does not explicitly mention a mass, it is entirely possible that one was included among Salieri's 'other compositions' heard at the coronation. If Hommel and Mosel are to be believed and Salieri had composed the coronation mass, then a likely candidate is his Mass in D major (later dubbed the 'Hofkapellmesse' or 'Kaisermesse').<sup>75</sup> Although this work has been traditionally dated to 1788, it is possible that it was written somewhat later.<sup>76</sup> In any case, it remains the only known orchestral mass setting Salieri composed in the years surrounding the coronation.<sup>77</sup> And if Salieri composed the mass in 1788, as Mosel

71 Black argues that of all of Mozart's mass settings, only the Mass in C major, 'Solemnis' (K337), could have been performed at one of these coronations. Yet, although he speculates that this work may have been used at Franz II's Frankfurt coronation in 1792, Black claims that there is no evidence directly connecting the mass with the event. Black, 'Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music', 201–207 and 239–240. Indeed, the Mass in D major (1792) by Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel (1750–1817) appears far more likely to have been the setting used in the 1792 Frankfurt coronation. During Righini's absence that spring Sterkel assumed the Mainz Kapellmeister's responsibilities, and he corresponded with the Viennese court regarding musical preparations for the upcoming coronation. Bound in a presentation copy, Sterkel's mass includes a dedication to Franz II and contains only the movements that the Mainz and Viennese Kapellen performed during the coronation. Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics', 208–209.

72 See, for instance, Hertz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven*, 258; and Paduch, 'Festmusiken', 231. The masses by Walter and Winter were probably performed in various churches in Frankfurt on the Sunday before the coronation.

73 Hommel, *Briefe*, 173.

74 Ignaz Franz Edlen von Mosel, *Ueber das Leben und die Werke des Anton Salieri* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1827), 138.

75 Salieri's Mass in D major is preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn, HK.485\* Mus.).

76 Black, 'Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music', 146–147.

77 Jane Hettrick, 'A Thematic Catalogue of Sacred Works by Antonio Salieri: An Uncatalogued Holograph of the Composer in the Archive of the Vienna Hofkapelle', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 33/3 (1986), 232.



suggests, then using an already composed piece for the coronation would have had its advantages.<sup>78</sup> Although chroniclers were careful to point out which sections were performed with orchestral accompaniment, there are no reports of the musicians taking part in either the Sanctus or Agnus Dei.<sup>79</sup> Using an earlier setting would have therefore allowed Salieri to appropriate only the necessary sections and would thus save him the trouble of composing a new *Missa brevis*. Moreover, the Mainz and Viennese Kapellen collaborated in the performance of the liturgical music, with the former making up the majority of the instrumental and vocal ensemble. An artist's impression of the coronation gives an idea of how this orchestra appeared (Figures 1a–c).<sup>80</sup> Employing a previously composed mass for this collaboration had the added benefit of requiring less preparation time, which would have been minimal in any case.

Following the Gloria, Leopold knelt at the altar and the Elector of Mainz executed the anointment.<sup>81</sup> As Leopold was anointed with oil in the sign of the cross, the Kapellen sang the antiphons *Unxerunt Salomonen Sadock* and *Unxit te Deus tuus, oleo laetitiae*.<sup>82</sup> Together the three electors placed the crown upon Leopold's head and the archduke then swore an oath on the Aachen Bible. At this moment Leopold became emperor. The sound of trumpets and drums accompanied the Electors of Trier and Cologne as they escorted the new emperor back to his kneeler. The Kapellen next performed the Credo and Offertory, and the Secret was said. After the Agnus Dei the emperor's guides brought him to the consecrator to receive the Eucharist. The electors directed Leopold II to the throne of Charlemagne during a performance of the responsory *Desiderium animae ejus*.<sup>83</sup> Church bells rang, large and small weapons were fired and trumpets and drums sounded as Leopold reached the throne.<sup>84</sup> The Kapellen then performed Salieri's *Te Deum laudamus de Incoronazione*, composed specifically for this moment.<sup>85</sup> During its performance the new emperor was handed the sword of Charlemagne and conferred an accolade on nobles from each electoral

78 Black, 'Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music', 146.

79 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 315–332; A-Whh, *ÄZA* 93-1, 47r–86r; and *Aechtes vollständiges Protokoll des kurfürstl. hohen Wahlkonvents zu Frankfurt im Jahre 1790* (Frankfurt am Main, 1791), volume 2, 431–455. Even if these portions of the mass ordinary were not set to music, they may have been chanted or said inaudibly by one of the ecclesiastical electors.

80 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 320–321; and A-Whh, *ÄZA* 93-1, 57r. In an index identifying the officials present at the coronation, Antonio Salieri is listed along with the Deputy Kapellmeister Ignaz Umlauf (1746–1796) and fifteen unnamed chamber musicians. Names of officials from Mainz are transmitted a few pages later. Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, appendix 2, 5, and 12. Within the 'Lista, e specificazione dell' accord fatto da me Antonio Salieri . . . con li Signori musici della cappella di Magonza, ed altri, per li servizi di chiesa e di tavola fatti in Francofort nell' Incoronazione di S[u]a S[acra] c[esarea] m[aestà] di Imperiale Leopoldo II' (List and specifications of the agreement between me, Antonio Salieri . . . and the gentlemen musicians of the Mainz Kapelle and others for their services in the church and at the table in Frankfurt at the coronation of His Holy Imperial Majesty the Emperor Leopold II), Salieri names forty-two musicians from Mainz and Vienna who took part in the ceremony. Salieri includes here the Mainz Hofkapelle nearly in its entirety together with only a handful of members from his own Kapelle, such as the violinists Franz Hofer and Zeno Franz Menzel, the cellist Joseph Weigl and the tenor Valentin Adamberger. A-Whh, *ÄZA*, 92-Konv.B, 166r–167r. For a list of the Mainz and Viennese Hofkapellen c1790 see *Kurmainzischer Hof- und Staats-Kalender: Mit einem Verzeichniß des erhohen Domkapitels, auch aller zum kurf. Hof- und Kurstaate gehörigen Stellen und Aemter* (Mainz: St Rochus Hospitalsbuchdruckerei, 1790); and *Kaiserlich-Königlicher Hof- und Ehrenkalender auf das gemeine Jahr nach der gnadenreichen Geburt unsers Seligmachers Jesu Christi 1791: Zum Gebrauche des Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofes* (Vienna: Ghelenschen Erben, 1791), unpaginated. No Viennese list from 1790 survives.

81 A-Whh, *ÄZA* 93-1, 59v.

82 Hommel, *Briefe*, 175, and Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 322. Both antiphons describe the anointment of a new king.

83 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 325. Although Salieri had set the responsory *Desiderium animae ejus* (A-KR, D 16/86), there is no evidence to suggest that it was performed at the 1790 coronation.

84 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 325.

85 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 325. See also Hettrick, 'A Thematic Catalogue', 232. The autograph of Salieri's *Te Deum / a / 4 Voci / 2. Violoni / 2. Oboe / 2. Trombe, e Timpani / Viola, Violoncello / Violone, Fagotti / Organo, e M. D. C.* is located in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn, HK.491 Mus.). Black has suggested that Salieri composed



Figure 1a (Colour online) Leopold II's coronation in the Cathedral of St Bartholomew, 9 October 1790. Musicians located in the centre and right lofts. Historisches Museum Frankfurt, Grafische Sammlung, C19709. Used by permission

court.<sup>86</sup> At the end of the ceremony the dean and singers of the monastery of Aachen were presented to the emperor, who then swore an oath upon the Bible.<sup>87</sup> The electors and Leopold then left the church for the Römer via a wooden bridge draped in cloth of the imperial colours gold, black and white. Many onlookers, perhaps including Mozart, observed the procession from the surrounding buildings (Figure 2). Once at the Römer, the emperor and coronation officials enjoyed a banquet, where members of the Mainz and Viennese Hofkapellen performed *Tafelmusik*.<sup>88</sup> Given Mozart's duties at court, it is possible that a portion of the music heard during this *Tafel* included some by the *Kompositor der Kammermusik*.

If Mozart was unable to procure a ticket to see the coronation with his own eyes, he could still have witnessed its brilliance by walking the streets and admiring music sounding from the richly illuminated electoral palaces.<sup>89</sup> The illuminations of the Elector of the Palatinate's palace, together with his Kapelle, impressed upon Hommel 'die Idee eines Feenpallasts' (the idea of a fairy palace).<sup>90</sup> Although the displays were not equally pleasing, the music captivated Hommel nevertheless: 'Das Kurmainzische Palais war zwar sehr einfach verziert, aber unnachahmlich erleuchtet, und die Musik der Kapelle vom Balkon herab brachte Leben in die todte Schönheit' (The electoral Mainz palace was indeed very simply adorned, but inimitably illuminated. The music of the Kapelle, coming down from the balcony, gave life to the dead elegance).<sup>91</sup> Mozart would have been acquainted with many of the musicians who performed at these residences. And even if he did not hear music emanating from the city's palaces on the evening of the coronation day, there remained an abundance of musical diversions in addition to opera and the official ceremonies.

---

the *Te Deum* for Joseph II's return to Vienna in 1788 and recast it for Leopold II's coronation two years later. Black, 'Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music', 147.

86 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 325.

87 *Aechtes vollständiges Protokoll*, 447.

88 Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 328; A-Whh, *ÄZA*, 92-Konv.B, 166r–167r; and A-Whh, *ÄZA* 93-1, 81v.

89 On the illuminations see Jäger, *Vollständiges Diarium*, 332–336.

90 Hommel, *Briefe*, 189.

91 Hommel, *Briefe*, 189–190.

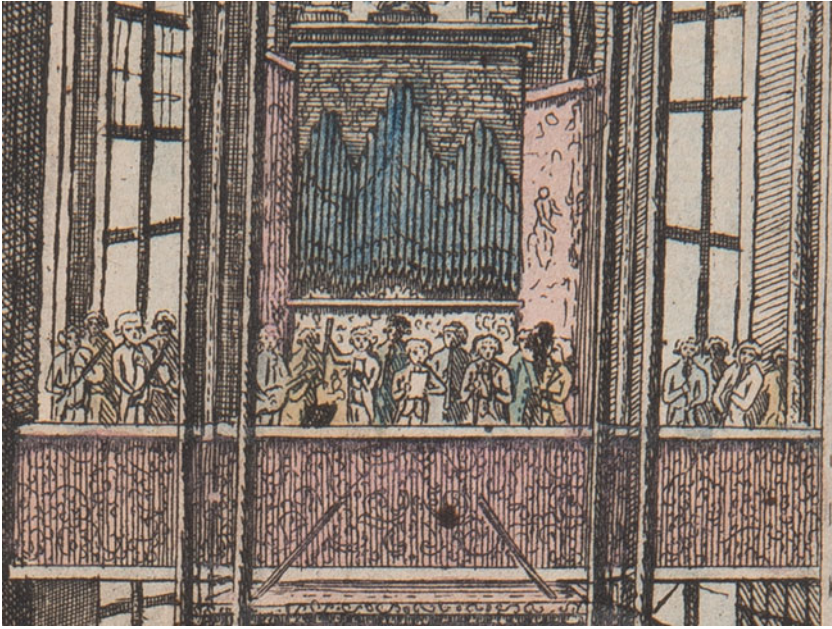


Figure 1b (Colour online) Centre loft, showing musicians (detail). Historisches Museum Frankfurt, Grafische Sammlung, C19709.



Figure 1c (Colour online) Right loft, showing musicians (detail). Historisches Museum Frankfurt, Grafische Sammlung, C19709.



Figure 2 (Colour online) Leopold's procession to the Römer, 9 October 1790. Georg Vogel, *Abbildung des Rückzugs Ihrer Römisch-Kaiserlichen Mayestät Leopold II.* (Nuremberg, 1790). Historisches Museum Frankfurt, Grafische Sammlung, C14645. Used by permission

## THE CORONATION CONCERTS

Like Mozart, many other composers journeyed with or without their courts to profit from the atmosphere and circumstances surrounding the coronation, some producing their own benefit concerts. Leopold's accession to the imperial throne inspired musicians from all corners of the Reich to compose works honouring their new emperor. Taking full advantage of the situation, such pieces featured topics drawn from imperial history, whether recent or remote in time. Those unable to make the journey took part in the celebrations by composing vocal and instrumental works representing the apotheosis of Leopold.

By far the most common pieces composed to celebrate the occasion were coronation cantatas. The best known is certainly the young Ludwig van Beethoven's *Cantate auf die Erhebung Leopold des Zweiten zur Kaiserwürde* (WoO 88), composed while he was in the employ of the Elector of Cologne. The organist of the *Reichsstadt* Nördlingen, Christoph Friedrich Wilhelm Nopitsch (1758–1824), contributed to this genre with his cantata *Ihr Völker frohlocket mit Jubel*.<sup>92</sup> Although it is not known whether the Duke of Württemberg's Kapellmeister, Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg (1760–1802), was present in Frankfurt, his coronation cantata was performed there during the celebrations.<sup>93</sup> The Mainz tenor Ignaz Walter also

<sup>92</sup> The music is lost; however, a printed libretto is held in the Stadtarchiv Nördlingen (D-NL, 321-19). Nopitsch also set a cantata, *Lasst uns frohlocken und jauchzen und singen*, for Franz II's coronation (D-NL, 321-20).

<sup>93</sup> *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto* 157 (4 October 1790), 714.



composed a *Krönungskantate*.<sup>94</sup> Additionally, the Milanese Kapellmeister Václav Pichl (1741–1805) composed *Leopolds Krönungs-Ouverture*, a symphonic piece dedicated to the emperor and electors and sold by J. J. Hummel in Berlin.<sup>95</sup> As the *Journal von und für Deutschland* made clear, composers produced these works in such quantities so that the *Reichsstädte* could use them in their own celebrations.<sup>96</sup>

Musicians who had the means to travel to Frankfurt also contributed music to the coronation festivities. The *Journal von und für Deutschland* included musical performances within a list of coronation events.<sup>97</sup> In addition to concerts by Johann Hässler and Abbé Vogler (discussed below), the journal mentions three performances. First was that of Carl Franz (1738–1802), who played before the emperor on the baryton, despite being best known today as Haydn's principal horn player at the Esterházy court.<sup>98</sup> Audiences also heard two unnamed horn virtuosos, possibly a reference to the brothers Ignaz Böck (1754–after 1815) and Anton Böck (1757–after 1815), who were active in the Rhineland during this period.<sup>99</sup> The final concert included on the journal's list was by the blind flute virtuoso Friedrich Ludwig Dülon (1768–1826).<sup>100</sup> All these musicians were masters of their respective instruments and had undertaken tours throughout the Reich and Europe. It is little wonder that they invested in concerts during the Frankfurt coronation: they recognized the rarity of the gathering and the opportunity for fame and fortune that accompanied it.

The *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto*, an important periodical that reported on various aspects of European news, announced the Frankfurt concerts of two of Mozart's rivals. The Erfurt organist Johann Wilhelm Hässler (1747–1822), a former pupil of Johann Christian Kittel (1732–1809), advertised two such concerts to take place in Frankfurt's St Katharinen-Kirche.<sup>101</sup> Mozart and Hässler were well acquainted, as the two had competed in a musical contest in Dresden as recently as 1789.<sup>102</sup> Hässler's first coronation performance was publicized as an organ concert to be held on Saturday, 2 October, though there is no information about the programme.<sup>103</sup> The second announcement, printed on 15 October, promoted a vocal piece with full instrumental accompaniment, *Leopold II. Liebling Seines Volks*.<sup>104</sup> The organist Georg Joseph 'Abbé' Vogler (1749–1814) also presented two concerts to the Frankfurt public. As with Hässler, Mozart had a competitive relationship with Vogler, albeit a less public one.<sup>105</sup> It was announced on 4 October that the organist would play his *Die Geschichte Sauls und Davids* along with other pieces.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, the first of Vogler's coronation

94 Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, 1812–1814), volume 4, 502.

95 *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto* 161 ([11] October 1790), 732, and Václav Pichl, *Leopolds Krönungs-Ouverture* (Berlin: Hummel, 1790; D-RUI, HKS. Nr. HS364).

96 C. H. Schmid, 'Verzeichniß einiger Speculationen, welche die letzte Kaiserwahl und Krönung zu Frankfurt am Mayn veranlaßte', *Journal von und für Deutschland* 8/1 (1791), 55.

97 Schmid, 'Verzeichniß einiger Speculationen', 55–57 (concerts listed on 56).

98 Franz had learnt the baryton while in the service of the Esterházy's, and he embarked on a concert tour throughout the Empire after his release from their employ. On Carl Franz see Horace Fitzpatrick and Paul R. Bryan, 'Franz, Carl', *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (5 August 2016).

99 The Böck brothers received their musical training from Joseph Vogel in Regensburg and travelled widely throughout Europe, including the Rhineland. On the Böck brothers see Horace Fitzpatrick and Thomas Hiebert, 'Böck', *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (5 August 2016).

100 Dülon never had a court appointment, and thus relied on concert tours as his primary means of income. See Ardal Powell, 'Dülon, Friedrich Ludwig', *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (5 August 2016).

101 On Johann Hässler see Geoffrey Norris and Klaus-Peter Koch, 'Hässler, Johann Wilhelm', *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (5 August 2016).

102 On the Hässler–Mozart rivalry see Woodfield, *Performing Operas for Mozart*, 155–158.

103 *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto* 156 (2 October 1790), 709.

104 *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto* 163 (15 October 1790), 740. A copy of the libretto is preserved in Frankfurt at the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg (D-F Mus. W 381).

105 On Mozart and Vogler see Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, trans. Stewart Spencer, ed. Cliff Eisen (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 405–406.

106 *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto* 157 (4 October 1790), 713.





concerts took place two days later in the Dreikönigskirche located in Sachsenhausen – at that time a suburb of Frankfurt – where Mozart's accommodation was located. Vogler performed a second concert on the evening of 8 October in the Katharinen-Kirche, which was advertised as his final performance before departing the city. To entice audiences, Vogler programmed three 'new' works: *Wiens Befreyung unter Leopold I.*, *Den Tod des Menschenretters Herzog Leopold von Braunschweig* and *Die Hirtenwonne vom Donnerwetter unterbrochen*.<sup>107</sup>

Mozart's own concert in Frankfurt was designed to earn a substantial profit from an affluent audience, and possibly even to secure a favourable court position. But he was not after merely any court appointment. In the final years of Joseph II's reign, Mozart had become second only to Salieri in the hierarchy of the Viennese Hofkapelle. However, Mozart's position and the generous salary that accompanied it were placed in jeopardy when Joseph died in February 1790. In an attempt to ensure his continued employment at court, he petitioned Leopold only months later to appoint him second Kapellmeister.<sup>108</sup> In this request Mozart offered to Leopold his expertise as a composer of sacred music, claiming that, although a capable musician, Salieri 'sich nie dem kirchen Styl gewidmet [hat]' (never devoted himself to church music).<sup>109</sup> Dorothea Link suggests the petition indicates that Mozart was expecting the new Habsburg ruler to reorganize his Hofkapelle so that, as first Kapellmeister, Salieri would be responsible for opera, while Mozart would direct the church music as the newly created second Kapellmeister.<sup>110</sup> Mozart's hopes were only wishful thinking. The petition remained unanswered at the time of the coronation, where Mozart was unable to display his skills as a composer of church music to the Habsburg court. It is possible that Mozart's Frankfurt concert was in part conceived as a last-ditch effort to impress the new emperor, so as to ensure he retained his court appointment.<sup>111</sup>

It seems Mozart was indeed 'living a hectic life' during the festivities, for as late as 8 October he was still unaware of when his concert would take place, informing Constanze that it would probably be Wednesday (13 October) or Thursday (14 October), and that he would leave Frankfurt on Friday (15 October).<sup>112</sup> Frequenting the theatre and socializing with friends and fellow musicians may have afforded Mozart an opportunity to arrange for members of the Mainzer Nationaltheater to perform at his benefit concert. Countess Maria Anna Hortensia von Hatzfeld (1760–1813) had close connections to the Mainz court and played an integral part in organizing Mozart's concert.<sup>113</sup> Indeed, Mozart wrote to Constanze that 'wenn die Academie ein bischen gut ausfällt, so habe ich es meinem *Namen* – der gräfin Hatzfeld, und dem Schweizerischen Hause, welche sich sehr für mich interessieren, zu danken' (if my concert is at all successful, it will be thanks to my *name*, and to Countess Hatzfeldt and the Schweitzer family, who are working hard on my behalf).<sup>114</sup> By 13 October preparations were finalized, as that day Mozart applied for permission from the city magistrate to

107 *Franckfurter Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten* 85 (8 October 1790), unpaginated. This final piece is commonly mentioned in connection with Beethoven's Symphony in F major, 'Pastoral', Op. 68, which depicts a similar topic between the third and fifth movements.

108 On Mozart's petition see Dorothea Link, 'Mozart's Appointment to the Viennese Court', in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 153–178.

109 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 107. Translated in Link, 'Mozart's Appointment', 167.

110 Link, 'Mozart's Appointment', 167.

111 When Leopold finally did reorganize the *Hofmusik* at the beginning of 1791, Mozart was not promoted, but rather kept in his current position. See Link, 'Mozart's Appointment', 167–170.

112 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 117.

113 Mozart had known the countess for some time, as she had performed the part of Electra in the 1786 production of *Idomeneo* (K366) at the Auersperg Palace in Vienna. See Karl Böhmer, *Mozart in Mainz* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 23 and 25.

114 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 117–118. Translated in Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 428. Franz Maria Schweitzer (1722–1812) was a banker and privy councillor in Frankfurt.



hold his concert the following morning in Frankfurt's *Schauspielhaus*, where the Mainzer Nationaltheater performed.<sup>115</sup>

Yet despite the planned concert date of 14 October, a broadside announced that 'Kapellmeister' Mozart would give a performance for his benefit on Friday, 15 October (Figure 3).<sup>116</sup> The concert began at 11 a. m. and consisted of two parts. According to the broadside, the first half began with 'a new grand symphony' by Mozart and was followed by a soprano aria, a piano concerto and another aria. The concert's second half consisted of a concerto by Mozart, a duet, an impromptu fantasia and a symphony. Mozart himself played the piano during at least the concertos and fantasia. Although it is unknown which musicians accompanied him, they might have come from the Mainz court, since the soprano Margarete Luise Schick (1773–1809) and the castrato Francesco Ceccarelli (1752–1814) sang the arias and were both members of the Hofkapelle.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps Countess Hatzfeld, together with Ceccarelli, a friend of the Mozart family since his tenure at the Salzburg court (1777–1788), helped Mozart secure an orchestra for his concert, which may have included the Mainz musicians Johann Philipp Freyhold, the brothers Heinrich Anton and Philipp Carl Hoffmann, Georg Anton Kreusser (1746–1810) and Righini, among others.<sup>118</sup>

Count Ludwig von Bentheim-Steinfurt (1756–1817) wrote an account of Mozart's performance in his journal. He noted that the concert began with a symphony by Mozart which he had 'long possessed', despite it being advertised as 'new'.<sup>119</sup> The count's comment has led scholars to believe that this was one of the printed symphonies: the Symphony in D major (K297), the Symphony in B flat major (K319) or the 'Haffner Symphony' in D major (K385).<sup>120</sup> However, Neal Zaslaw has argued convincingly that this work may have been one of Mozart's last three symphonies: those in E flat major (K543), G minor (K550) or C major (K551).<sup>121</sup> According to the count, Schick then sang a 'superb Italian aria, "Non so di chi"', which some suggest may have been Mozart's 'Al desio di chi t'adora' (K577).<sup>122</sup> It was later reported that Mozart and his old friend, the musician-*Intendant* Ignaz von Beecke (1733–1803), had performed a four-hand piano concerto during the coronation festivities.<sup>123</sup> If so, this collaboration very well could have taken place at Mozart's concert, most likely as the second concerto. Therefore the strongest candidates for the piano concertos at the end of the concert's first half and beginning of the second include those in F major (K459), in D major, 'Krönungs-Konzert' (K537), and the Concerto for Two Pianos in E flat major (K365).<sup>124</sup> Although unlikely, Ceccarelli's scene and rondeau may have been 'A questo seno deh vieni . . . Or che il cielo' (K374), which Mozart had composed for him years earlier.<sup>125</sup> Bentheim-Steinfurt noted that he recognized the duet as one he owned, which he 'identified by the passage "Per te, per te", with ascending notes'. He further reported that Mozart

115 Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente*, 329.

116 D-F, Mus S31/1790-10-15. The broadside also indicated that tickets were available for purchase between Thursday afternoon and Friday morning.

117 Mozart was once so captivated by Schick's singing that he was reported to have said 'Nun will ich nicht weiter singen hören' (Now I do not want to hear any more singing). Konrad Levezow, *Leben und Kunst der Frau Margarete Luise Schick, gebornen Hamel, Königl. Preuss. Kammersängerin und Mitglied des Nationaltheaters zu Berlin* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1809), 15.

118 John Rosselli, 'Ceccarelli, Francesco', *Grove Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)> (5 August 2016).

119 Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 428.

120 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 6, 401.

121 Neal Zaslaw, 'Mozart as a Working Stiff', in *On Mozart*, ed. James M. Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 107.

122 Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 428, and Böhmer, *Mozart in Mainz*, 28.

123 Felix Joseph Lipowsky, *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon* (Munich: Siel, 1811), 16.

124 When Johann André published K459 and K537 in 1794, he included a note stating these concertos were performed at the 1790 coronation. Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente*, 329.

125 Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 6, 401.



Mit gnädigster Erlaubniß  
 Wird Heute Freytags den 15ten October 1790.  
 im großen Stadt-Schauspielhause  
 Herr Kapellmeister Mozart  
 ein großes  
**musikalisches Konzert**  
 zu seinem Vortheil geben.

---

Erster Theil.

Eine neue große Simphonie von Herrn Mozart.  
 Eine Arie, gefungen von Madame Schick.  
 Ein Concert auf dem Forte-piano, gespielt von Herrn Kapellmeister  
 Mozart von seiner eigenen Komposition.  
 Eine Arie, gefungen von Herrn Cecarelli.

---

Zwenter Theil.

Ein Concert von Herrn Kapellmeister Mozart von seiner eigenen Kom-  
 position.  
 Ein Duett, gefungen von Madame Schick und Herrn Cecarelli.  
 Eine Phantasie aus dem Stegreife von Herrn Mozart.  
 Eine Symphonie.

---

Die Person zahlt in den Logen und Parquet 2 fl. 45 kr.  
 Auf der Gallerie 24 kr.

---

Billets sind bey Herrn Mozart, wohnhaft in der Kahlberggasse No. 167. vom Donner-  
 stag Nachmittags und Freytags Frühe bey Herrn Cassirer Scheidweiler und an der  
 Cassé zu haben.

---

Der Anfang ist um Eilf Uhr Vormittags.

Lichtdr. n. d. Original v. C. F. Fay, Frankfurt a/M.

Figure 3 (Colour online) Broadside announcing Mozart's Frankfurt concert, 15 October 1790. Undated photograph by Carl Friedrich Fay (Frankfurt am Main), D-F, Mus. S31/1790-10-15. Used by permission



Table 1 Mozart's Frankfurt benefit concert, 15 October 1790

Broadside	Reconstruction
<b>Part I</b>	
'A new grand symphony by Herr Mozart'	Symphony in D major (K297), in B flat major (K319), in D major, 'Haffner' (K385), in E flat major (K543), in G minor (K550), or in C major (K551)
'An aria sung by Madame Schick'	An aria by a contemporary or 'Al desio di chi ch'adora' (K577)
'A concerto on the fortepiano, played by Kapellmeister Mozart, of his own composition'	Piano Concerto in F major (K459) or in D major, 'Krönungs-Konzert' (K537)
'An aria sung by Herr Ceccarelli'	An aria by a contemporary or 'A questo seno deh vieni. . . Or che il cielo' (K374)
<b>Part II</b>	
'A concerto [played] by Kapellmeister Mozart, of his own composition'	Piano Concerto in F major (K459), in D major, 'Krönungs-Konzert' (K537), or Concerto for Two Pianos in E flat major (K365)
'A duet sung by Madame Schick and Herr Ceccarelli'	A duet by a contemporary
'An impromptu fantasia by Herr Mozart'	
'A symphony'	A symphony by a contemporary, possibly by a member of the Mainz Hofkapelle; Symphony in D major (K297), in B flat major (K319), in D major, 'Haffner' (K385), in E flat major (K543), in G minor (K550), or in C major (K551). Not performed

improvised a fantasy and that the 'last symphony was not given, for it was almost 2:00 p.m. and everybody was sighing for dinner.'<sup>126</sup> In total the concert lasted approximately three hours (Table 1).

Although reconstructions of the concert frequently propose an all-Mozart programme, a number of works, particularly the vocal pieces, were probably by other composers. The broadside distinguishes clearly which works Mozart composed and performed. Because concert preparations were rushed, it is possible that those pieces not specifically naming Mozart (the arias, duet and final symphony) were taken from the Mainzer Nationaltheater's repertory. Indeed, it seems likely that the soloists and orchestra from Mainz would have performed at least a few pieces from their current repertories given the time constraints. While Bentheim-Steinfurt does not identify any of the orchestra's musicians by name, he does report that it included five or six violinists, who played with precision. The nobleman concluded his account by declaring that 'there was only one accursed thing that displeased me very much: there were not many people.'<sup>127</sup>

Mozart shared Bentheim-Steinfurt's displeasure with the turnout. The venture was not nearly as lucrative as he certainly had hoped. In a letter to his wife on the day of the performance, Mozart wrote that, regarding his honour, the concert was magnificent; however, financially it 'mager ausgefallen ist' (failed poorly), and he attributed his bad luck to 'ein groß Déjeuné bei einem Fürsten und großes Manöver von den Hessischen Truppen' (a large *déjeuner* of a prince and a grand manoeuvre by the Hessian troops).<sup>128</sup> The affluent audience that Mozart had hoped would fill his auditorium – indeed the very motivation behind his costly trip to Frankfurt – was at a very different type of theatre that day. Instead of spending their morning consuming music, Leopold II and the elite of the Holy Roman Empire were preoccupied first with a representational act of homage organized by (among others) Count Georg Adam von Starhemberg (1724–1807) and Baron von Franz

<sup>126</sup> Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 428.

<sup>127</sup> Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 428.

<sup>128</sup> Bauer, Deutsch and Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe*, volume 4, 118.



von Albini (1748–1816), and then with Landgrave Wilhelm IX of Hesse-Cassel's (1743–1821) military parade.<sup>129</sup> The social ramifications of not taking part in or at least being seen at such public displays of reverence to the emperor and Reich would have been far-reaching to a person of rank. Mozart and Countess Hatzfeld had chosen a bad day for the concert.

Mozart's hitherto unexplained decision to postpone his concert and departure may in part have been influenced by misleading news that circulated throughout Frankfurt. The *Journal von und für Deutschland* reported: 'Eine eigne Art von Speculation war das Ausstreuen falscher Gerüchte. So wurden viele Menschen verleitet, um einen Tag zu früh nach dem Manoeuvre im Hessischen Lager zu fahren' (A particular type of speculation was the spread of false rumours. Thus many people were misled into travelling a day too early to the manoeuvre in the Hessian camp).<sup>130</sup> Perhaps Mozart and Hatzfeld had also heard that these spectacles were to take place on 14 October only after requesting permission to perform the day before. Under the impression that the parade would conflict with the concert as planned, they considered delaying the performance until 15 October, which – although this was Mozart's intended date of departure from Frankfurt – they believed would be free from such acts of reverence. Furthermore, a morning concert had the added benefit of avoiding competition with that evening's opera. Mozart would likely have been especially sensitive to such scheduling conflicts, for his concert in Leipzig on 12 May 1789 had coincided with a theatre performance and resulted in an equally meagre audience.<sup>131</sup> Believing the rumour and determined not to make the same mistake twice, Mozart and Hatzfeld unwittingly postponed the concert to the very moment the displays of homage actually took place. By the time they realized what had happened, it was too late. The paltry turnout at Mozart's concert, a performance conceived to showcase his musical prowess to the Reich's elite and change his fortunes once and for all, was the consequence of hearsay.

That Mozart's performance was poorly attended is not surprising, given that his was but one of many 'sideshows' during the celebrations. Some who attended multiple concerts, like Hommel and Schubart, made clear which they preferred. Not only did Schubart describe Vogler as 'der erste Orgelspieler in Europa' (Europe's premier organist), but he also claimed that no one understood the organ so deeply as Vogler – that only J. S. Bach and Handel were his equals.<sup>132</sup> Schubart's comments on Vogler's second concert are comparably positive, and he even wrote a poem 'An Vogler'.<sup>133</sup> Hommel, who heard Hässler, Mozart and Vogler perform, also preferred Vogler.<sup>134</sup> He confided that 'vor allen hat Voglers Orgelkonzert tiefen Eindruck auf mich gemacht' (above all, Vogler's organ concert made a deep impression on me).<sup>135</sup> Schubart and Hommel make no further mention of Hässler or Mozart. Similarly, the *Journal von und für Deutschland*, which advertised printed music and listed performances by Franz, Dülon, the two horn virtuosos, Hässler and Vogler, did not acknowledge Mozart's concert.<sup>136</sup>

The music of Leopold II's election and coronation celebrations culminated in the Mainzer Nationaltheater's production of the opera *Oberon, König der Elfen* (1789) by Paul Wranitzky (1756–1808) hours after Mozart's

129 Part of the monument erected at the site of the parade, the Leopoldsäule, survives today and is located in Frankfurt-Seckbach. It marks the location of the manoeuvres, where Leopold ate lunch at the Hessian camp. The camp was constructed to protect the city from the French and contained about six thousand soldiers. *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung: Von Staats[-], gelehrten, historis[chen] und oekonomis[chen] Neuigkeiten* 251 (20 October 1790), unpaginated.

130 Schmid, 'Verzeichniß einiger Speculationen', 57.

131 Woodfield, *Performing Operas for Mozart*, 162.

132 Schubart, *Chronik* 72 (7 September 1790), 614. As an organist himself, Schubart may have been biased.

133 Schubart, *Chronik* 79 (1 October 1790), 670.

134 Hommel attended the second concert because he wished to hear Vogler's 'masterpiece', the *Hirtenwonne vom Donnerwetter unterbrochen*. Hommel, *Briefe*, 93.

135 Hommel, *Briefe*, 93.

136 See Schmid, 'Verzeichniß einiger Speculationen', 55–57.



concert on the evening of 15 October.<sup>137</sup> Although the company continued to perform in Frankfurt in accordance with its normal schedule, this event was the last major performance associated with the imperial coronation of 1790. Mozart departed Frankfurt the following day.<sup>138</sup>



Leopold II's Frankfurt coronation was a fruitful context for music. The city temporarily hosted the ensembles of three resident theatres in addition to musicians such as Beecke, the brothers Böck, Ceccarelli, Dülon, Fischer, Franz, Hässler, Mozart, Righini, Salieri, Schick and Vogler. In making the costly journey to Frankfurt, musicians travelling with and independently of their courts hoped to improve their fortunes by performing before the Empire's elite. When choosing to pawn personal items to finance his journey, Mozart must have calculated that if he failed to appear in Frankfurt, he would miss out on the profits that others were sure to reap. Although he had no official responsibilities at the imperial coronation, Mozart recognized the ceremony as a rare opportunity to promote himself and his music, and perhaps to gain the support of potential patrons, including even the new emperor himself. But the coronation was about more than a performance or even future employment. It was also a rare opportunity to meet with musicians in faraway imperial centres and hear and discuss their music. Considering the variety of musical performances – aside from the imperial election, arrival and coronation – Mozart's concert was only a minor contribution to the events of this two-week period.

The performance that had the potential to change Mozart's fortunes – and as a consequence even the history of music – was poorly attended because of a mere rumour. But hearsay was not the only reason why the concert failed to yield Mozart's desired results. Whereas Hässler and Vogler advertised their concerts in the *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto*, Mozart did not. Perhaps he spent too much time at the theatre or was otherwise distracted by official ceremonies and celebrations, causing his concert preparations with the Countess Hatzfeld to be rushed. Or Mozart may have been so confident in his reputation, in his ability to 'certainly achieve something', that he deemed a newspaper advertisement superfluous. Yet the few who wrote about the coronation concerts preferred Vogler above all others and saved their praise for the Abbé. It is indeed telling that Hässler, Vogler and others are praised in memoirs and reports from the coronation, whereas Mozart is not. In the end, Mozart's investment in performing in Frankfurt at the imperial coronation of Leopold II did not pay off. His concert was just one of many, was scarcely mentioned in contemporary accounts, and had to be ended prematurely because it went on for too long.

---

<sup>137</sup> Although one periodical claimed that the Mainz and Trier companies staged the opera twenty-four times over a period of six weeks, a reconstruction of the Mainz company's *Spielplan* indicates only fourteen performances in four years. Furthermore, no extant playbills indicate that Böhm's troupe staged *Oberon* during the coronation. *Musikalische Korrespondenz der deutschen Filarmonischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1790* 19 (10 November 1790), 147, and Glatthorn, 'The Theatre of Politics', 178–179 and 317–342.

<sup>138</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente*, 330. Mozart's failure in Frankfurt may explain his journey to Mainz after the coronation festivities on 16 October. In an attempt to provide Mozart with the audience he hoped for in Frankfurt, Countess Hatzfeld may have used her influence at court to arrange a performance before the elector and distinguished guests. Mozart's Mainz concert of 20 October 1790 took place in the electoral palace and probably featured the same programme as in Frankfurt. See Böhmer, *Mozart in Mainz*, 21–22.