

# NEWLY DISCOVERED LEOPOLD MOZART SOURCES AT WOLFEGG CASTLE

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While cataloguing the music manuscripts held at the Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg at Wolfegg Castle, Dr Gertraut Haberkamp discovered a complex of eight works by Leopold Mozart among its holdings.<sup>1</sup> It consists of six symphonies, three of them previously unknown,<sup>2</sup> and two further sets of parts, one for the widely known divertimento the *Musikalische Schlittenfahrt*, the other for the *Oratorium pro quadragesima*.<sup>3</sup> RISM mentions the types of paper the manuscripts are written on, but only one, and does not identify them at all. In the case of Leopold Mozart copies, however, it is important to assess the closeness of a copy to the composer as there are only a few surviving autographs. And here two different complexes can be identified: the instrumental works on the one hand, and the *Oratorium pro quadragesima* on the other.

## Six symphonies and the *Musikalische Schlittenfahrt*

All of the parts of the six symphonies, as well as the *Musikalische Schlittenfahrt*, are written on paper from the mill of Johann Sigismund Hofmann, at Lengfelden near Salzburg (I S H; countermark: wild man with club within a crowned coat of arms), a paper type found in most of the authentic sources for Leopold Mozart's compositions that are of Salzburg provenance. Alan Tyson found the same watermark in many of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's autographs as well and it is commonly found in Salzburg manuscripts up to about mid-1772.

All seven sets of parts are copied by Josef Richard Estlinger (1720–1791). Estlinger, like Leopold Mozart, matriculated at Salzburg University on 7 December 1737, Estlinger among 'Poetae', Leopold Mozart among 'Logici'.<sup>4</sup> From 1760 he was an official member of the Salzburg Hofkapelle as 'Hofviolinist' (double bass player) and from at least this time he also worked as a copyist for the ensemble. Estlinger was the Mozarts' preferred copyist, even to the extent that Leopold Mozart, who was distrustful of copyists generally, left him copies to prepare during the family's absences from Salzburg.<sup>5</sup> In a letter from Vienna to Johann Lorenz and Maria Theresia Hagenauer, dated 14 October 1767, Leopold writes:

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1 I am indebted to Dr Gertraut Haberkamp, Munich, and Prof. Dr Johannes Hoyer, Augsburg, for drawing my attention to the Wolfegg collection. Further, I am obliged to Dr Bernd M. Mayer, Wolfegg, for allowing me access to the collection and for his help with this study. Heidi Asmus kindly assisted with the translation. Haberkamp's catalogue of the Wolfegg collection is published on the 2002 CD-ROM edition of RISM A/II. My study dealing with relations between the Waldburg family and Leopold Mozart, together with a detailed thematic catalogue of the sources, will be published as part of the series 'Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung'.

2 D7, D8, D24 and the unknown symphonies D27, D28 and D29. Leopold Mozart's symphonies are identified here by the numbers assigned them in Wolfgang Plath, 'Mozart, Leopold', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), volume 12, 675–679, and Cliff Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart and their Relationship to the Early Symphonies of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: A Bibliographical and Stylistic Study' (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1986). The previously unknown works were given numbers following on from Plath/Eisen.

3 A2.03. Leopold's vocal music is catalogued in David M. Carlson, 'The Vocal Music of Leopold Mozart (1719–1787): Authenticity, Chronology and Thematic Catalog' (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976).

4 Virgil Redlich, *Die Matrikel der Universität Salzburg 1639–1810. 1. Text der Matrikel* (Salzburg: Pustet, 1933 = *Salzburger Abhandlungen und Texte aus Wissenschaft und Kunst* 5), 462. See also Ernst Hintermaier, 'Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806. Organisation und Personal' (PhD dissertation, Salzburg, 1972), 91–92.

5 Cliff Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Copyists: Aspects of Attribution, Chronology, Text, Style, and Performance Practice', in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 259.



Ich habe dem herrn Estlinger gewisse Synfonien zum copieren zurück gelassen, ich hoffe, sie werden fertig seyn; dieß sind eben diejenigen Synfonien die ich nach Donaueschingen zu senden habe. ich werde mit nächster Post ein Schreiben an den Fürsten einsenden, welchem man diese Synfonien beyfügen und durch den Postwagen fortschicken muß.<sup>6</sup>

I left Herr Estlinger certain symphonies to copy which I hope are now ready. These are the symphonies which I have to send to Donaueschingen. By the next post I shall send you a letter for the Prince which should be enclosed with the symphonies and should be sent off by the mail coach.

Until recently, it was not possible to identify Estlinger's handwriting with certainty: over the course of his copying career he used different forms of g- and f-clefs, which changed between 1760 and 1764. Based on parts for a sacramental litany by Anton Cajetan Adlgasser,<sup>7</sup> the serenade in D major by Leopold Mozart<sup>8</sup> and some pieces from so-called 'Nannerl-Notenbuch', however, Cliff Eisen showed that parts previously identified as copied by several unidentified scribes were, in fact, all in the same hand<sup>9</sup> – as Walter Senn had presumed in 1962.<sup>10</sup> The Wolfegg parts, then, because they show what Eisen described as 'mixed clefs', are to be dated to between 1760 and 1764. And because they exhibit only the 'new' form of Estlinger's bass clef, they were presumably written towards the end of that period. Taking into account the title-page of D28, which describes Leopold Mozart as 'vice Maestro di Capella / di S:A:R: in Salisburgo', and the fact that he held this position only from 28 February 1763 and the family was abroad from 9 June 1763, it is likely that the parts were written during this three-month period.

Three of these works, whose authenticity has now been established based on the identity of the copyist and the paper type, are otherwise unknown (symphonies D27, D28 and D29, see Example 1).<sup>11</sup> Symphonies D7, D8 and D24, on the other hand,<sup>12</sup> are known from other collections. Parts for D7 and D8 are among the holdings of the music collection of the Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, and mainly written by 'Copyist 1' (as Eisen identifies the main copyist of the Leopold Mozart materials in that collection<sup>13</sup>). 'Copyist 1' is likely to be Franz Claudi Wagner, an Augsburg town musician who also copied for the Augsburg Collegium Musicum, which at one time owned several now-lost compositions by Leopold Mozart.<sup>14</sup> As there is no known authentic specimen of Wagner's handwriting, and proven connection to Leopold Mozart, D7 and D8 were previously regarded as works of uncertain authenticity.<sup>15</sup> Now, however, both symphonies can be regarded as authentic works (even if the Wolfegg copy of D7 lacks horn parts).

6 Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), volume 1, 241; the English text is taken from Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 21.

7 Christine D. de Catanzaro and Werner Rainer, *Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (1729–1777): A Thematic Catalogue of His Works* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000), 55–58, No. 3.53; manuscript parts at Salzburg, St Peter, shelfmark Adl 90.1.

8 Plath Divertimento D7; manuscript parts at Stift Seitenstetten, Austria, shelfmark V. 1451 (see Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Copyists', 259).

9 For the changes in Estlinger's handwriting, see Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Copyists', 259–264.

10 Walter Senn, 'Die Mozart-Überlieferung im Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg', in *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch* (Augsburg: Seitz, 1962 = Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben 62/63), 333–368.

11 Shelfmarks K2, No. 46 (D27), K2, No. 47 (D28) and K5, No. 2 (D29). All three symphonies will be published in the series 'Documenta Augustana Musica'.

12 Shelfmarks K5, No. 1 (D7), K5, No. 3 (D8) and K5, No. 4 (D24).

13 This collection is now at the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg; see shelfmarks 02/HR III 4½ 4° 519 (D7) and 02/HR III 4½ 4° 520 (D8).

14 For 'Copyist 1', see Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 250–255, and, more generally, Josef Mančal, 'Augsburg als Herstellungs- und Handelszentrum für Druckmedien im 18. Jahrhundert. Das Beispiel Leopold Mozart', in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 915.

15 Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 262–263. Also see Cliff Eisen, ed., *Leopold Mozart, 'Ausgewählte Werke I. Sinfonien'* (Bad Reichenhall: Comes, 1990 = Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg 4), X and XVIII–XXIX.



(a)

Allegro assai

88 bars

Andante grazioso

60 bars

Allegro

176 bars

(b)

Allegro

72 bars

Andante

70 bars

Menuet

Trio

42 bars

Allegro

106 bars

(c)

Allegro

138 bars

Andante

57 bars

Presto

123 bars

Example 1 (a) Symphony D27 (D-WWW, shelfmark K2, No. 46, reproduced by permission). (b) Symphony D28 (D-WWW, shelfmark K2, No. 47, reproduced by permission). (c) Symphony D29 (D-WWW, shelfmark K5, No. 2, reproduced by permission)



The authenticity of D24 is more easily established. This symphony was known as a copy from Stift Lambach in Oberösterreich, written by the organist there, Joseph Fischer<sup>16</sup> (the copy lacks a second violin part). Eisen catalogued the symphony as probably genuine based on the documented connection between the Mozart family, Stift Lambach and its abbot, Amandus Schickmayr von Steindelbach.<sup>17</sup> Because the symphony is not listed in the Lambach catalogue of 1768, it was impossible to assign it either a date of composition or of copying.<sup>18</sup> The Wolfegg source now allows the authentication of the symphony as well as its dating to ‘by 1764’.<sup>19</sup>

Two sets of parts are known for the popular *Musikalische Schlittenfahrt*. The parts held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek<sup>20</sup> derive from the Augsburg Collegium Musicum; its motto ‘Concordia et Libertate’ is to be found on the title-page together with the remark ‘All’ Uso Della’ / Compagna di Musica / in Augusta’. A study of the hands shows that the Munich parts were mostly written by the Salzburg court copyist Johann Jakob Rott, who also worked for Leopold Mozart;<sup>21</sup> the violin parts and two of the three basso parts are by unidentified copyists. Considering that the parts derive from the Augsburg Collegium Musicum, it is likely that they were used for the first performance of the work in January 1756. A second copy is housed at the Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, Regensburg. Gertraut Haberkamp dates this copy, which is written on Unold paper from Wolfegg, to about 1790.<sup>22</sup> The newly discovered Wolfegg parts of the *Musikalische Schlittenfahrt*<sup>23</sup> are at least as authentic as the Munich parts; and since it is impossible to name the copyist of the Munich violin parts, the Wolfegg parts, written by Estlinger, should now be considered the more authentic.

## Oratorium pro quadragesima

The set of parts of *Oratorium pro quadragesima*<sup>24</sup> is not of such demonstrable authenticity. The work itself has been known since 1910 when Josef Liebeskind wrote about a manuscript score of the work in a

16 The source is now at the Stadtarchiv Augsburg, shelfmark M.G. II 50. Concerning its removal from Lambach to Augsburg, see Josef Mančal, ‘Mozart-Schätze in Augsburg’, in *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* 3 (Augsburg: Wißner, 1995), 52–54, and Roland Biener, ‘Über handschriftliche Quellen zum sinfonischen Schaffen Leopold Mozarts. Archivalisch-historische Untersuchungen’ (MA thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 1998), 54–59. The transfer of the manuscripts to Augsburg has not always been noted in the literature; in his facsimile edition of the Lambach catalogue of 1768, Charles Sherman mistakenly refers to the manuscripts as ‘no longer extant’; see his *The Lambach Thematic Catalogue (1768): A Facsimile Edition with Annotations and Commentary* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2001).

17 Eisen, ‘Symphonies of Leopold Mozart’, 275, and *Leopold Mozart, Ausgewählte Werke*, XXI and XXIX. Concerning the Mozart family and Stift Lambach, see Gerhard Allroggen, ‘Mozarts Lambacher Sinfonie. Gedanken zur musikalischen Stilkritik’, in *Festschrift für Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Kohlhasse and Volker Scherliess (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1978), 7–19, reprinted in *Leopold Mozart. Auf dem Weg zu einem Verständnis*, ed. Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath (Augsburg: Wißner, 1994 = *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* 1), 119–130; I quote from the 1994 edition, 120, n. 7. See also Biener, ‘Über handschriftliche Quellen zum sinfonischen Schaffen Leopold Mozarts’, 54.

18 Eisen, ‘The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart’, 109–112.

19 An earlier edition of the symphony, following the Lambach source, includes a reconstructed second violin part (Augsburg: Wißner, 2002, ed. Roland Biener); it should be amended in light of the Wolfegg discovery.

20 Shelfmark Mus.ms. 5306.

21 For the identification of Rott’s hand, see Carlson, ‘The Vocal Music of Leopold Mozart’, 114; Eisen, ‘The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart’, 33, and ‘The Mozarts’ Salzburg Copyists’, 268; and Ernst Hintermaier, ‘Eine Spezifikation des Salzburger Hofkopisten Johann Jakob Rott aus dem Jahre 1757’, in *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, ed. Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath (Augsburg: Wißner, 1997 = *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* 2), 17–27.

22 See Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die Musikhandschriften der Fürst-Thurn-und-Taxis-Hofbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog* (Munich: Henle, 1981 = *Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen* 6), 159, 440 and 443, where the watermark is numbered Rtt 192.

23 Shelfmark K5, No. 5.

24 Shelfmark K4, No. 46.



private collection that he had purchased from the estate of Hans Michael Schletterer, music director of the St Anna church at Augsburg and the first to catalogue the rich musical holdings of Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, in 1894.<sup>25</sup> This score was written in the nineteenth century and given to the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek at Bern in 1935.<sup>26</sup> It remained largely unknown, however, probably because the transfer of the Liebeskind estate to the *Schweizerische Landesbibliothek* was a private transaction (although it was cited by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini in 1963, based on Liebeskind's text).<sup>27</sup> A 1987 essay by Cliff Eisen, however, brought the score back to public notice.<sup>28</sup>

The Wolfegg parts are written on paper with four different watermarks, two of them from the paper mill of the Unold family at Wolfegg (Eisen watermarks 2D and 2E<sup>29</sup>), one with the watermark 'WALDSE/ZEL' that probably derives from the mill at Eberhardzell near Waldsee,<sup>30</sup> and one with an unidentified pine tree mark. With the exception of the violone part, on paper with the pine tree mark, all of the parts are written on Unold paper; the 'WALDSE/ZEL' watermark is found only in the wrapper. Unold watermarks are found in many other Leopold Mozart manuscripts. The symphony D6 at the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection,<sup>31</sup> for example, although it is mainly by Rott and Estlinger, nevertheless has an additional basso part, by 'Copyist 12', on paper with watermark 2D.<sup>32</sup> Since parts by this scribe are found only in this collection, Eisen assumed him to be a musician at the Wallerstein court.<sup>33</sup> Watermark 2E is found in three South German copies of symphonies by Leopold Mozart: a set of parts for the symphony D15,<sup>34</sup> the already mentioned copy of the *Musikalische Schlittenfahrt* at the Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, Regensburg, and a set of parts for symphony G9, by an unidentified scribe, at the music collection at the Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Bartenstein'sches Archiv.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, parts not of Salzburg provenance for eighteen Leopold Mozart symphonies in the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection, mainly prepared by 'Copyist 1', are written on Unold paper.<sup>36</sup> The fact that the parts of the *Oratorium pro quadragesima* are primarily on Wolfegg paper suggests that they were written somewhere in southern Germany.

All the Wolfegg parts of *Oratorium pro quadragesima* were prepared by the same unidentified copyist and a comparison of his hand with sets of parts of two oratorios by František Xaver Brixi also held at the Wolfegg

25 Josef Liebeskind, 'Besprechung von Musikalien', in *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 11 (1909/1910), 361–362; concerning Schletterer, see Franz Körndle, 'Schletterer, Hans Michael', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005), volume 14, 1404–1406. A score of the oratorio, made after the Liebeskind source for use as part of a recent research project at Augsburg University, was used to compare both versions.

26 Shelfmark MLHs 106 (Ms. 1409). I am indebted to Dr Gabriella Hanke Knauss for this information (personal communication, 19 June 2003). See also Cliff Eisen, 'Leopold Mozart Discoveries', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 35 (1987), 2.

27 Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, 'Un oratorio sconosciuto di Leopold Mozart', in *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 189.

28 Eisen, 'Leopold Mozart Discoveries', 3–4.

29 Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 232–233.

30 Little is known concerning Eberhardzell mill and no facsimiles of watermarks used by it during the eighteenth century are published. In general, see Friedrich von Hößle, *Württembergische Papiergeschichte. Beschreibung des alten Papiermacher-Handwerks, sowie der alten Papiermühlen im Gebiet des Königreichs Württemberg* (Biberach/Riß: Höhn, 1926), 52–53.

31 Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, shelfmark 02/HR III 4½ 4° 518.

32 Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 262, 264, 287 and 323, where he refers to Rott as copyist 'Salzburg 1'; for the identification of Rott by name, see n. 21 above.

33 Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 323.

34 Shelfmark Galuppi 11; see Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 269 and 325; and Haberkamp, *Die Musikhandschriften der Fürst-Thurn-und-Taxis-Hofbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog*, 72.

35 Shelfmark 161; Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 284 and 325. G9 is widely known as 'Sinfonia da caccia'.

36 Eisen, 'The Symphonies of Leopold Mozart', 129–136; for reproductions of the watermarks, see 329–333.



## Recitativo [1]

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Canto

Basso

Wie, wel - cher Sün - den - haß ver - hül - let doch die Au - gen dei - nes

Her - zen? Er - wa - che doch ein - mal, o trä - ger

A - dams - sohn Be -

*f* *p* *f* *f*

Example 2 Leopold Mozart, *Oratorium pro quadragesima* (D-WWW, shelfmark κ4, No. 46, reproduced by permission)



112 *Un poco adagio*

Ma - chet doch dem Sün - der kund, ma - chet doch dem Sün - der kund, ob nicht

Je - sus mehr em - pfun - den der nur ei - nem Men - schen - her - zen. Bos - heit.

Wut, Ver - we - gen - heit, als die schar - fe Gei - sel -

Example 3 Leopold Mozart, *Oratorium pro quadragesima*, Aria 3 (D-WWW, shelfmark κ4, No. 46, reproduced by permission)

collection<sup>37</sup> shows that all three were written by the same copyist, who signed his initials *P.S.* at the end of the oratorio 'Nun hat mein liebster Herr'. Because the provenance of the Wolfegg collection can no longer be traced,<sup>38</sup> it cannot be assumed that this is the handwriting of the *regens chori* then in service at the Stiftskirche at Wolfegg.<sup>39</sup>

37 Shelfmark κ4, No. 47, František Xaver Brixi, oratorio *Casus Petri* (RISM A/II, No. 454.000.078); shelfmark κ4, No. 48, Brixi, oratorio *Nun hat mein liebster Herr* (RISM A/II, No. 454.000.079). The works are identified according to Gertraut Haberkamp's manuscript catalogue of the collection.

38 I am indebted to Dr Bernd M. Mayer for this information (personal communication, 16 December 2003).

39 Not far from Wolfegg is the former Benedictine abbey of Ottobeuren, which during the eighteenth century maintained close relations with Salzburg University and today owns the largest collection of works by František Xaver Brixi in Bavaria; see Robert Münster, 'Franz Xaver Brixi in Bayern', in *De musica disputationes pragenses* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), volume 2, 68–71. A comparison of the copyists' names contained in the collection's catalogue produced no



The source itself differs in some significant ways from the Liebeskind score. The Wolfegg parts contain no horns and the 'Sinfonia' is one bar longer. 'Recitativo 1' is a completely different piece of music set to the words 'Wie, welchen Sündenschlaf verschließet doch die Augen deines Herzens' (instead of 'Wie, träger Adamssohn'; see Example 2) and the second part of 'Aria 3', 'Redet nun, ihr offenen Wunden', is set to entirely different music (Example 3). 'Recitativo 5', 'O siehe, Gottes Sohn', is also shorter than in the Liebeskind source.<sup>40</sup> These substantial differences suggest that the Wolfegg parts are independent of the source used to prepare the Liebeskind score and that another set of parts must have been extant in the nineteenth century.

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matches to the P.S. initials in the Wolfegg collection; see Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Die Musikhandschriften der Benediktiner-Abtei Ottobeuren. Thematischer Katalog' (Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen 12, Munich: Henle, 1986), 262–265. The existence of one P. Petrus Sedelmayr, who was sworn in as a member of the order in 1746, seems insufficient as evidence for establishing a possible identification; see Aegidius Kolb, 'Ottobeuren und Salzburg', in *Ottobeuren. Festschrift zur 1200 Jahrfeier der Abtei*, ed. Aegidius Kolb and Hermann Tüchle (Augsburg: Winfried-Werk, 1964), 300.

40 The differences between the Wolfegg parts and the Liebeskind score are described in my forthcoming edition of the oratorio, to be published in the series 'Documenta Augustana Musica'.