

A note of introduction: Mozart, Britain and the British – this is an aspect of his life that began early and continued through his last years. Mozart told his father at one point, "ich bin ein ErzEngelländer." I am proud to have Professor Peter Branscombe as a Guest Author to tell us the story in detail.

Peter Branscombe

MOZART THE ARCH-ENGLISHMAN*

'Ja wohl habe ich, und zwar zu meiner grossen freude |: denn sie wissen wohl daß ich ein ErzEngelländer bin :| Engellands Siege gehört!'¹ Thus wrote Mozart to his father on 19 October 1782, rejoicing in Britain's successful lifting of the siege of Gibraltar achieved by naval forces under the command of Admiral Lord Howe – an event Mozart celebrated, or at least began to celebrate, in the sketched composition of Michael Denis's 'Bardengesang auf Gibraltar', K386d (Anh. 25). The work did not proceed beyond bar 58, by when he had sketched as far as the beginning of the fourth verse of eleven. Mozart informed his father about this work in the letter of 28 December 1782:

... und zugleich arbeite ich an einer Sache die sehr schwer ist, das ist an einen Bardengesang vom Denis über gibraltar; – das ist aber ein geheimnüss, denn eine ungarische Damme will den Denis diese Ehre erweisen. – die ode ist erhaben, schön, alles was sie wollen – allein – zu übertrieben schwülstig für meine feine Ohren ... (*BuA*, III, 246)

This little display of Anglomania falls between the more obvious manifestations of Mozart's interest in Britain and the British, his childhood visit to London – when of course he had no say in the matter of where he went and little say in what he did – and his extended and warm friendship with British visitors to Vienna in the mid 1780s, which might have led to a second visit to Britain. As we shall see shortly, he also came across a number of Britons during his Italian tours in the early 1770s.

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1. *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. W. A. Bauer, O. E. Deutsch and J. H. Eibl. 7 vols (Kassel, etc., 1962-75); here III, 239. All quotations from the Mozart family letters and travel notes are cited from this edition, identified in the text as, for instance: (*BuA*, III. 246).

For the Anglo-Saxon there is a sad irony in the fact that, though the earliest of Mozart's compositions for more than one voice was the English motet 'God is our Refuge', K20, receipt of which was acknowledged by the British Museum on 19 July 1765, Mozart did not again set English words – apart from one sentence in Nardo's polyglot aria 'Con un vezzo all'Italiana' in *La finta giardiniera*, K196, composed in late 1774 or the first weeks of 1775: 'Ah my life pray you, say yes' (no 14). Had Mozart lived to return to London at J. P. Salomon's invitation in the early 1790s he would doubtless have had English words to set. The suggestion that Mozart in the last months of his life was contemplating a setting of *The Tempest* need not detain us for two reasons: even had he planned such an opera, it would have been to a German libretto;² and no reference to such a project from Mozart's correspondence or his circle is known.

As Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart travelled southwards in the spring and early summer of 1770, they met an increasing number of British residents in Italy, many of them Jacobite sympathizers. The Scottish element in Rome had been strong since the 1720s, with William Mosman and Andrew Hay active as painters, copiers and dealers, soon to be followed by greater artists in Allan Ramsay, Gavin Hamilton and Robert Adam. Other British residents in Rome included James Byres, Colin Morrison and the Abbé Grant. Naples attracted numerous Britons of talent – Ramsay came to study under Solimena, and by the 1760s David Allan, James Clark and John Runciman were established in Naples. The presiding genius of the community was William Hamilton (knighted in 1772), for many years the British envoy. He and his friend Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Fortrose, were considerable patrons of the arts, and distinguished archaeologists.³ The importance of music in their lives is attested by a pair of paintings by Pietro Fabris (in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh); one shows Niccolò Jommelli seated, writing at a table, presumably trying to

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2. Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents. A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London and Basingstoke, 1991), pp.65-7, reveals the hopes of F. W. Gotter and F. H. von Einsiedel that Mozart could be persuaded to set to music their adaptation, *Die Geisterinsel*; he might further have mentioned that Hensler's *Der Sturm*, with music by Wenzel Müller, was successfully produced at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Vienna, in November 1798.
 3. James Holloway, 'Scotland's Artistic Links with Europe', in: *Scotland Creates. 5000 Years of Art and Design*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (London, 1990), pp. 61-77.

compose, while at the other side of the room six gentlemen are practising or watching fencing; the other painting, a different view of the same room, shows chamber music being played, while in the left foreground the artist includes himself and the canvas on which he records the scene and its participants. The reason for the sudden interest taken in this picture in 1991 is that an Italian and an American scholar have independently identified the youth and the older man seated at the keyboard as Wolfgang and Leopold Mozart.⁴ Though for the moment it is probably wise to delay a decision on the correctness of the identification (the problems include matters of chronology as well as of identification; though Jommelli and the Mozarts were all at Naples in May and June of 1770, one of the paintings is dated 1771); if it is confirmed it will provide further evidence of the Mozarts' contact with the British colony in Naples, and its visitors. In this context it is worth noting that there is no mention of the Mozarts in the extant papers of William Hamilton that are preserved in the British Library, London.

But this is to anticipate. It was in Florence, where the Mozarts stayed from 30 March until 6 April, that they first encountered a number of Britons. On the day of their arrival Mozart should have played at Earl Cowper's, but he had contracted catarrh during the journey and had to be excused; at 'Mylord Covvper's' he would also have met Sir Thomas and Lady Hesketh (cousin of William Cowper, the poet), and Thomas Linley.⁵ The latter he met on 3 April, the start of a touching, and poignantly brief, friendship. 'Il Ragozzo inglese Tomaso Linley', as he is named in the Mozarts' *Reisenotizen* (*BuA*, 1, 332), of an age with Wolfgang but destined to die even younger – in a boating accident in 1778 – was a fine violinist, then studying with Pietro Nardini. Leopold Mozart told his wife of their music-making and their affection for each other in his letter from Rome of 21 April:

dieser knab, welcher wunderschön spielt, in des Wolfg: Grösse und alter ist, kam in das Hauß der gelehrten Poetin Sgra Corilla ... diese 2 knaben producierten sich wechselweise den ganzen abend unter beständigen umarmungen. den anderen tag Ließ der kleine Engelländer, ein allerliebster Knab, seine Violin zu uns bringen, und spielte den ganzen nachmittag, der Wolfg. accompagnierte ihm auf der Violin. (den tag darauf) ... diese 2 knaben spielten den ganzen nachmittag wechselsweise, nicht als knaben, sondern als männer! der kleine Tomaso begleitete uns nach Hause, und weinte die bittersten Thränen, weil wir den tag darauf abreiseten ... (*BuA*, I, 338)

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4. Apart from reproductions in newspapers – *The Times*, 5 December 1991, *The Scotsman*, 8 December 1991 – the picture is included (as fig. 4.14) in *Scotland Creates* (see note 3).
 5. *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, ed. O. E. Deutsch (Kassel, etc., 1961), pp. 103-04. Future references to this volume are identified in the text as, for instance: (Dok. 105).

On the morning of their departure, Leopold concluded his letter, young Linley came to their inn and presented Wolfgang with an Italian sonnet that he had persuaded Corilla Olimpica to write for him the previous evening, 'Per la partenza del Sgr. W. A. Mozart da Firenze'.⁶ Linley then accompanied the Mozarts' coach as far as the city gate; 'Ich wünschte, daß du diese Scene gesehen hättest', he tells his wife.

Another Englishman whom the Mozarts met in Florence is listed in the *Reisenotizen* (*BuA*, I, 332) as 'S: Ex: il Cavalliere Orazio Mann ambaßadore d'Inghilterra', uncle of the 'Mr. Horatio Man Esqr: at Bourn rear [!] Canterbury, Kent' (*BuA*, I, 196) with whom the Mozart family stayed from 25 to 30 July 1765 on their way from London to Dover at the end of their extended stay in England.

When the Mozarts moved on to Rome, where they arrived on 11 April, they found Britons in profusion. In the letter of 21 April already quoted, Leopold writes: 'wir haben hier erstaunlich viel Engelländer angetroffen, unter anderen den Mister Beckfort,⁷ der uns bey der Lady Effingham⁸ in London kannte, und mit welchem wir heute frühe in Geßellschaft anderer Engelländer in dem Garten de Villa Medici ... ein paar Stund spatzieren giengen' (*BuA*, I, 337). The same letter reports a meeting with a more notable, even notorious personage than the cousin of the author of *Vathek*: 'Gestern beym Principe Ghigi, wo unter anderen der so genannte Re d'Inghilterra oder *Pretendent*, und der Secretario di Stato Cardinal Pallavicini zugegen waren' (*BuA*, I, 338). By then, fat, florid and fifty, and known as Count Albany, Bonnie Prince Charlie was living out his days in exile in Rome. The Mozarts came across him again a few days later: Leopold's letter of 28 April includes the statement, 'wir waren bey der Principeßa Barbarini, wo wir den Prinz Xaveri von Sachsen, auch den Pretendenten oder so genannten könig v Engelland ... angetroffen ...' (*BuA*, I, 343).

6. The sonnet is printed in *BuA*, I, 332-3 and Dok. 105; the two boys had got to know one another at the house of its author, *recte* Maria Maddalena Morelli Fernandez.

7. This was William Beckford of Somerley, as C. B. Oldman has demonstrated; see his article: 'Beckford and Mozart', *Music and Letters*, 47 (1966), 110-15.

8. 'Lady Effingham in St. Jams's Place', as she is identified in the list of names noted down by Leopold Mozart during the stay in London (*BuA*, I, 194), was born Elizabeth Beckford; she became a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte.

Though Charles Burney does not mention these persons in his own travel notes for his stay in Rome between 20 September and 14 October, he does specify finding 'near twenty Englishmen, chiefly artists' at the English Coffee House on Sunday 30 September.⁹

In Naples, where they arrived on 14 May, the Mozarts wasted little time before paying a visit on 18 May to their acquaintance from London, William Hamilton, 'dessen frau ungemein rührend das Clavier spielt ... Sie zitterte, da sie vor dem Wolfg: spielen sollte.' On this occasion they also 'fanden Mr: Beckfort und M. Weis bekannte aus Engelland alda' (*BuA*, I, 348).¹⁰ Mrs Hamilton (née Catherine Barlow) was one of a group of five noble ladies (Leopold Mozart was premature in calling her 'Lady Hamilton') who arranged a concert on 28 May at which Wolfgang performed (*BuA*, I, 352; Dok. 111).

Though the Mozarts and Charles Burney were travelling in Italy at the same time in the second half of 1770, and indeed visited many of the same towns and met several of the same people, their different itineraries and different purposes meant that they only came together on one occasion. This was on 30 August, at the church of S. Giovanni in Monte, Bologna, towards the end of Burney's ten-day-long visit to that city, where the Mozarts (who had already spent five days there in late March) had arrived on 20 July and would remain until around 13 October. For both parties, the principal magnet was Padre Giambattista Martini - though he was not present at the meeting on 30 August; in Burney's words: 'he did not choose to go himself ...; and said he wished to have the opinion of an unprejudiced professor, an utter stranger to them all'.¹¹ Burney describes the meeting with Mozart (whom he had met and heard at Naphtali Franks's house in London in 1764¹²) at some length:

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9. *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (= *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, vol. 1), (London, 1959), p. 215.
10. 'M. Weis' has been identified as William Vyse, later Chancellor of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Coventry; see C. B. Oldman, 'Beckford and Mozart' [as note 7]. Burney met him in Rome on the day after his arrival, 21 September, and found him to be 'an agreeable young gentleman' (*Musical Tour* [as note 9], p. 201).
11. Padre Martini is referring to the members of the Philharmonic Society; see *Musical Tour* [as note 9], p. 161.
12. *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney*, vol. 1, 1751-1784, ed. Alvaro Ribeiro, S.J. (Oxford, 1991), p. 91, note 15.

There was a great deal of Company. Dr. Gentili met me there; and among the rest, who should I meet but the celebrated little German, Mozart, who in 1766 astonished all hearers in London by his premature musical talent. I had a long conversation with his father ... The little man is grown considerably but is still a little man ... He astonished the Italian Musicians wherever he stopt. He is now at the age of 12, ingaged to compose an Opera for Milan ... I ... shall be curious to know how this extraordinary boy acquits himself in setting words in a language not his own. But there is no musical excellence which I do not expect from his extraordinary quickness and talents, under the guidance of so able a musician and intelligent a man as his father ... (ibid., pp. 161-2)

Despite Burney's evident admiration for young Mozart – not quite so young as he supposed: he was then fourteen and a half, not twelve – the only other observation about him contained in the two volumes of travel journals is a somewhat dismissive secondhand opinion quoted from an unidentified visitor to Salzburg, and by implication the opinion of Burney too:

my correspondent went to his father's house to hear him and his sister play duets on the same harpsichord; but she is now at her summit, which is not marvellous; 'and', says the writer of the letter, 'if I may judge of the music which I heard of his composition, in the orchestra, he is one further instance of early fruit being more extraordinary than excellent.'¹³

For a more positive (though scarcely generous or perceptive) judgment on Mozart from Burney we have to turn to the latter's entry on Mozart for A. Rees's *The Cyclopaedia*, in which Haydn's comment to the publisher Broderip is retailed:

'He [Mozart] was truly a great musician. I have often been flattered by my friends with having some genius; but he was much my superior.' Though this declaration had more of modesty than truth in it, yet if Mozart's genius had been granted so many years to expand as that of Haydn, the assertion might perhaps have been realized in many particulars.¹⁴

13. *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and The Netherlands*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (= *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, vol.II), (London, 1959), p. 238.

14. Cited by C. B. Oldman, 'Dr. Burney and Mozart', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1962/63*, (1964), pp. 75-81 (here p. 81).

Before leaving Italy for Vienna we should include one further meeting with an acquaintance from London; it took place in Milan during the Mozarts' second Italian journey that culminated in the production of the serenata *Ascanio in Alba*. Leopold wrote to his wife on 21 September 1771:

Vor einigen Täggen ist die Miß Devis hier angelangt; sie fuhr auf der Post bey unserer wohnung vorbey. ich erkannte sie und sie erkannte uns, dann wir stunden eben auf dem Balcon. ich gieng ... sie zu besuchen ... Sie, ihre schwester, Vatter und Mutter hatten eine unaussprechliche freude: ich zeigte ihrem Bedienten des H: Haße wohnung an, und gleich kam H: Haßes Tochter mit einer solchen freude, die nicht auszusprechen, denn sie sind von Wienn aus Herzensfreunde. alle haben sich alsogleich urn euch erkundiget, sie empfehlen sich. [du] wirst dich wohl erinnern, wer die Miß Devis ist, mit der Glaß=orgl? — (*BuA*, I, 438)

Marianne Davies was a virtuosa on the glass harmonica, and her sister Cecilia enjoyed considerable success as an opera singer; the former is named several times in the Mozart family correspondence.¹⁵

A fortunate link between Mozart's British acquaintances from Italy and his ones from his Vienna years is provided by the fact that three of the latter became acquainted with each other in Italy at the very time when Mozart was committing himself to the independent existence in the Austrian capital that was to bring him a unique blend of joy and misery, triumph and neglect during his last ten years of life.

Of Mozart's British colleagues and friends the one to whom we owe most in respect of our knowledge of the composer is Michael Kelly – then often called O'Kelly, giving rise to some nice Italian and Austrian spellings of his name – who was born in Dublin on Christmas Day 1762, and died at Margate on 9 October 1826. His *Reminiscences*, one of the most readable and lively of books though ghost-written by Theodore Hook and unreliable in points of detail, provides an entertaining introduction. Kelly had been studying and singing in Sicily, and arrived at Leghorn in June 1781:

After we had been visited by the officers of health, I went on shore to shew my passport at the Custom-house; I had on a Sicilian capote, with my hair (of which I had a great quantity, and which, like my complexion. was very fair) floating over it: I was as thin as a walking-stick. As I stepped from the boat, I perceived a young lady and gentleman standing on the Mole, making observations; as the former looked at me she laughed, and as I approached, I heard her say to her companion in English, which, of course, she thought I did not understand. 'Look at that girl dressed in boy's clothes!' To her astonishment, I answered in the same language, 'You are mistaken, Miss; I am a very proper *he* animal, and quite at your service!'

15. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Davies, Cecilia', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), V,273; the Davies sisters had earlier lived in the same house in Vienna as Hasse (*BuA*, V, 305).

We all laughed till we were tired, and became immediately intimate; and these persons, my acquaintance with whom commenced by this childish jest on the Mole at Leghorn, continued through life the warmest and most attached of my friends. All love and honour to your memories, Stephen and Nancy Storace! *He* was well known afterwards, as one of the best of English composers, and *she* was at that time, though only fifteen, the prima donna of the Comic Opera at Leghorn.¹⁶

Stephen Storace was born in London on 4 April 1762, and died there shortly before his thirty-fourth birthday. He studied in Naples from about 1776 before returning to London in the early '80s. The success of some chamber works in 1782 seems to have led to the invitation to compose a comic opera for Vienna, where his sister Nancy (Ann, born in London on 27 October 1765) was apparently trying moderately hard not to become the mistress of Emperor Joseph II. Stephen Storace ('ein Engländer' was how he described himself on the Viennese playbills, patriotically declining the temptation to re-Italianize his name) wrote two operas for the Burgtheater, *Gli sposi malcontenti* and *Gli equivoci*, in both of which his sister Nancy and Michael Kelly had leading parts. During the première of the former, on 1 June 1785, Nancy lost her voice, and it was five months before Mozart, Salieri and a forgotten Italian composer, Cornetti (Alessandro Cornet?), united to write a cantata (K477a, totally lost) to celebrate her recovery. This occasional piece, entitled *Per la ricuperata salute di Ophelia*, and announced in the *Wienerblättchen* on 26 September 1785 as published by Artaria at 17 kreuzer, puzzled O.E. Deutsch (Dok. 222-3) and other commentators. The mystery, occasioned by the name 'Ophelia' where 'Mme. Storace' might have been expected, is to be explained by the fact that the première of the long-rehearsed and much-discussed new Casti/Salieri opera, *La grotta di Trofonio*, was delayed until 12 October 1785 by Storace's illness; 'Ofelia' was her role in the opera. This makes it clear that, even if Storace was not yet *bühnenfähig*, she was far enough on the road to full recovery to justify composition and publication of a celebratory cantata, and for no cast-change to be required for *La grotta*.

Stephen Storace's second opera for Vienna (like the lost cantata it had a libretto by da Ponte) was an adaptation of *The Comedy of Errors*. Though less successful than *Gli sposi malcontenti*, performed no fewer than twenty-nine times in three seasons, *Gli equivoci* enjoyed eleven performances spread over five seasons after its première on 27 December 1786. It has been suggested that Mozart may have helped with the orchestration of these operas, and the influence of *Figaro* is clear in the second of them.

16. Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, edited with an introduction by Roger Fiske (London, New York and Toronto, 1975), p. 48.

Despite Stephen Storace's success in Vienna it was his sister who made the more profound impression. Chaperoned by her mother (who nevertheless allowed a most unsuitable English musician, John Fisher, who was more than twice her age, to marry her) she was the leading soubrette at the court opera from 1783 until 1787. Mozart intended the role of Eugenia for her in his unfinished opera buffa *Lo sposo deluso*, K424a (1783/84). She is remembered above all as the first Susanna in *Le nozze di Figaro*, and it was presumably for her farewell concert in Vienna on 23 February 1787 that Mozart wrote the scena and rondo 'Ch'io mi scordi di te — Non temer, amato bene', K505, with accompaniment for obbligato piano and orchestra ('für Mad:^{selle} storace und mich', the entry reads in the *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke*¹⁷).

Michael Kelly was a man of many parts: notable tenor singer, theatre manager, music publisher, composer and, in his later years and following his father's example, wine trader; his doubtful reputation in these last two areas led Sheridan to suggest that the sign above his premises should read: 'Michael Kelly, composer of wines and importer of music'.¹⁸ And Thomas Moore wrote in 1801, in a letter to his mother, who had known the Kellys in Dublin: 'Poor Mick is rather an imposer than a composer. He cannot mark the time in writing three bars of music; his understrappers, however, do all that for him, and he has the knack of pleasing the many.'¹⁹ The chief of his 'understrappers' – ghost-writers who supplied the harmonization and orchestration of his melodies for the long list of his operas for the London stage – was the old castrato singer, Ferdinando Mazzanti. However, Kelly had earlier obtained the services of a more distinguished musician as collaborator. In his own words:

I had composed a little melody to Metastasio's canzonetta, 'Grazie agl'inganni tuoi,' which was a great favourite wherever I sang it. It was very simple, but had the good fortune to please Mozart. He took it and composed variations upon it, which were truly beautiful; and had the further kindness and condescension to play them wherever he had an opportunity. Thinking that the air thus rendered remarkable might be acceptable to some of my musical readers, I have subjoined it. (*Reminiscences* [as note 16], p. 113)

17. *Mozart's Thematic Catalogue. A Facsimile*, with introduction and transcription by Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson (London, 1990), fol. 9^v, where it is dated 27 December 1786.

18. Alec Hyatt King, 'Kelly, Michael', *New Grove* [as note 15], IX, 855.

19. Quoted by Roger Fiske in the Introduction to his edition of the *Reminiscences* [as note 16], p. X.

'The Poetry by METASTASIO, The Melody composed by MICHAEL KELLY, and arranged by MOZART, with variations at VIENNA in the year 1787' is the superscription to the facsimile reproduced in the *Reminiscences* (pp. 114-5), and the musical text bears out the need for 'understrappers', for the time-signature is given as 3/4, whereas it could hardly be in a firmer 2/4, and there is a mistake in the keyboard accompaniment. It is a pleasing melody, in A major, set as a vocal duet. Nothing is known of variations by Mozart on this tune; but there is a complete sketch in Mozart's hand, K532, probably dating from 1787, that has a very similar melody, though Mozart set it a semitone higher. His version is 26 bars long against Kelly's 28 bars, and he set it as a terzetto - for soprano, tenor and bass - with uncompleted accompaniment for one flute, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns and contrabasso. Mozart failed to put any words against the vocal lines, but the Metastasian words set by Kelly (the canzonetta 'La libertà a Nice') would readily fit the melody.

Of greater significance than this musical borrowing, repaid with interest, is what Kelly tells us about Mozart in the musical, theatrical and social context of Vienna in the 1780s. Most of this material is doubtless familiar to the Mozartian, either from the *Reminiscences* direct²⁰ or from the excerpts included by O. E. Deutsch in the documentary volume.²¹ Valuable as are these excerpts, they will not satisfy the connoisseur; and he or she will wish that Kelly had included even more detail in his chapters 9 to 12, which cover the years in Vienna and the return via Salzburg. The description of Mozart is memorably vivid ('He was a remarkably small man, very thin and pale, with a profusion of fine fair hair, of which he was rather vain ...' (p. 113)). Even if it may be wise to take some touches with a pinch of salt, Kelly's description of the rehearsal period for the *Figaro* première (with Britons in three of the eleven roles, thanks to Kelly's doubling of Don Basilio and Don Curzio) in

20. *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, including a period of nearly half a century: with original anecdotes of many distinguished persons, political, literary and musical* (London, 1826, 2/1826); in addition to the edition cited [see note 16] there is a further modern edition with introduction by A. H. King (London, 1968).

21. *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* [as note 5], pp. 454-9; English edition, *Mozart. A Documentary Biography*, translated by Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe and Jeremy Noble (London, 1965, 3rd edn, 1990), pp. 530-6.

chapter 11 is of the greatest importance; and the casual mention of Stephen Storace's quartet party is surely one of the most splendid examples of namedropping in the history of music:

The players were tolerable; not one of them excelled on the instrument he played, but there was a little science among them, which I dare say will be acknowledged when I name them:

The First Violin. . . . HAYDN.
 " Second Violin. . . BARON DITTERSDORF.
 " Violoncello. . . . VANHALL.
 " Tenor MOZART.

(p. 122)

Among other nuggets for which posterity owes gratitude to Michael Kelly are the verbal picture of a wild boar interrupting Salieri's *al fresco* rendition of the aria he had just composed for *Tarare*²² (p. 101), lists of some of the more prominent British residents in and visitors to the Austrian capital (pp. 123, 133), and anecdotes about the introduction of horse-racing to Vienna by the British nobility (p. 134).²³

The fourth of Mozart's British friends from the mid-1780s is Thomas Attwood, who was born in London in November 1765, the son of a coal-merchant and trumpeter. The Prince of Wales, whose service he entered as a page in 1781, sent him to Italy to study in 1783. He removed to Vienna in August 1785, becoming Mozart's pupil in theory and composition. He studied with Mozart from autumn 1785 at least until August 1786 – he stayed on in Vienna until February 1787, remaining in touch with Mozart, so he may have continued to benefit from the latter's advice if no longer from his formal instruction. The most valuable guide we have as to Mozart's method of teaching is contained in the exercise-books that young Attwood wrote under Mozart's instruction. They contain a very large number of corrections, and every now and then comments, in Mozart's hand. This treasure, K506a, was long ago divided

22. Kelly uses the French title, misspelt *Tarrare*, for the opera that da Ponte and Salieri revised for Vienna under the title *Axur, re d'Ormus* (première 8 January 1788).

23. 'It was quite a novel spectacle to the good people of Vienna, — and gentle and simple, high and low, crowded to the Prater to see my Lord Anglais turned jockey' (p. 134). Further evidence of the popularity of the Sport of Kings is provided by Ferdinand Eberl's comedy *Das Wettreiten der Engländer*, staged in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 23 May 1787 and given twelve times in the following months; and by fashion plates issued in the 1820s by the *Theaterzeitung* (for instance *Modebilder* 136 and 528, and *Wiener Moden*, XV 43/1829).

into four parts, by far the most extensive being preserved in the British Library; it was formerly in the possession of C. B. Oldman, and it is reproduced, edited in part by Oldman, as volume X/30/1 of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (1965), the only music volume to have been edited by a British scholar.²⁴

As Oldman put it, Attwood's exercises for Mozart, 'are valuable not only for the light they throw on the prentice years of a notable English composer, but as evidence that Mozart, given an apt and congenial pupil, took his duties as a teacher with the utmost seriousness'.²⁵ This attitude did not exclude some fun as well — 'You are an ass', wrote Mozart in the margin twice when Attwood confused soprano and alto clefs (*NMA*, X/30/1, p. 44). On another occasion Mozart evidently had to miss an arranged lesson, leaving the exercise-book open on his table at the previous lesson's corrections with the sentence in his neat hand and imperfect English: 'This after noon I am not at home, therefore I pray you to come to morrow at three a half / Mozart mp', (p.24), the final two words corrected underneath to '& a half'. Usually Mozart's corrections were written in Italian; but this is the period of Mozart's keenest study of the English language, which leads not only to such further comments to Attwood as 'There are many faults in this Exempl / attentive' (p. 9), but also to the entries he wrote in the albums of friends and acquaintances: 'Patience and tranquillity of mind contribute more to cure our distempers as the whole art of medecine' on 30 March 1787 for his brother Mason J. G. Kronauer (Dok. 253); and for his friend Joseph Franz von Jacquin he wrote on 24 April of the same year, 'Don't never forget your true and faithfull friend / Wolfgang Amadè Mozart'.(Dok. 256)

Kelly does not comment on the quality of Mozart's English, but he does pay a compliment to the latter's brother-in-law, Joseph Lange ('Langé'), (without indicating that he was aware of the relationship): 'He spoke English very well, and had the reputation of being a good scholar' (p. 108). Kelly also

24. In 1990, The British Library published *Mozart's Thematic Catalogue. A Facsimile*, introduced and transcribed by Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson; in the following year a German edition, *Mozart. Eigenhändiges Werkverzeichnis. Faksimile* was brought out as Serie X, Supplement of the *NMA: Werkgruppe 33, Abteilung 1*. In 1992 Alan Tyson's great two-volume study of Mozart's watermarks (*Wasserzeichenkatalog*) was published as Abtlg. 2. Perhaps these are only marginally to be considered as 'music volume[s to have been] edited by a British scholar', but they provide a vital contribution to Mozart studies and a welcome addendum to the present article.

25. C. B. Oldman, 'Thomas Attwood, 1765-1838', *Musical Times*. 106 (1965), 844.

informs us that Attwood 'was Mozart's favourite scholar', and proceeds to convey what he represents (after a gap of exactly forty years) as Mozart's actual words to him:

'Attwood is a young man for whom I have a sincere affection and esteem; he conducts himself with great propriety, and I feel much pleasure in telling you, that he partakes more of my style than any scholar I ever had; and I predict, that he will prove a sound musician.' (p. 116)

Daniel Hertz has suggested that Mozart paid his pupil a backhanded compliment, making fun of a fugue subject in F major by Attwood in the exercise-book, where it is dated 'August the 13.' (p. 163) — the year is certainly 1786. 'Its theme, key and order of entries reappear, with only a slight variant in the third bar, as the fugato of the last movement of Mozart's *Ein musikalischer Spaß* (K522, dated den 14:^{ten} Juny' 1787), which could be taken as a commentary on the fledgling composer.'²⁶ Perhaps; — though we should bear in mind that Attwood took his exercise-books back to Britain with him, and thus the theme in question, and that the gap between Attwood's fugue being set before Mozart and the latter's composition of the *Musikalischer Spaß* was a comparatively long one.

That Mozart seriously intended to re-visit Britain in 1786/87 is made clear by correspondence between his father and his sister — letters between Mozart and his father from this period are lost, but Leopold made scathing comments to Nannerl about what he saw as his son's selfish and irresponsible plans:

Daß ich einen sehr *nachdrücklichen Brief* schreiben musste, kannst dir leicht vorstellen, da er mir keinen geringern Vortrag macht, als *seine 2 kinder* in meine Versorgung zu nehmen, da er im halben fasching eine Reise durch Teutschland nach Engelland machen möchte etc:—(*BuA*, III, 606; 17 November 1786)

He goes on to indicate that a Salzburg acquaintance had mentioned to Wolfgang that the latter's nephew was a fine lad — thereby informing him that his father was acting as foster-father to Nannerl's child, and giving him and Constanze the idea that they could leave their two children (one of whom in the meantime died) in Salzburg while undertaking the journey to England. The complicity between father and daughter excludes the son and daughter-in-law: Leopold had no intention whatsoever of taking in Viennese grandchildren.

26. D. Hertz, 'Thomas Attwood's Lessons in Composition with Mozart', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 100 (1974), 175-83 (here p. 181).

His letter to Nannerl of 1 [-2] March 1787 describing the passage through Salzburg of the British musicians with whom Mozart had probably been hoping to be travelling again carries implied imprecations against 'deinen Bruder' and the Anglo-Saxons. The continuation of this letter includes a recapitulation of the (lost) injunctions to Wolfgang of the previous November that he should not even contemplate journeying to London for the summer, or without at least 2,000 gulden in his pocket, and without firm contracts for concerts or an opera; 'so wird er den Muth verloren haben, da natür: Weise der Bruder der Sängerin für diesesmahl eine opera schreiben wird' (*BuA*, IV, 29) — a reference to Stephen Storace's contract to compose *La cameriera astuta* for the King's Theatre in the coming season.

Despite paternal discouragement Mozart certainly did not abandon hopes of profiting from his British connections, even if his hopes of actually travelling to London himself seem to have faded soon after the departure of the group of his British friends. It was December 1790 before Johann Peter Salomon, on the visit to Vienna during which he persuaded Haydn to accompany him to London, evidently tried and failed to get Mozart to commit himself to a London visit.²⁷ We may well wonder whether Leopold Mozart showed any sign of remorse when showing the Storaces, Attwood and Kelly round Salzburg on 27 February 1787 for depriving them of the company of Wolfgang.

At all events, Mozart's father had been dead for three and a half years when the last invitation to London for which we have documentary evidence was penned. This was a letter from Robert Bray O'Reilly, lessee of the Pantheon in Oxford Street, dated 26 October 1790, offering Mozart £300 for the composition of 'au moins deux Operas ou sérieux ou comiques', provided he could be in London by the end of December 1790 and stay until the end of June 1791.²⁸ As Mozart did not return to Vienna from his abortive visit to Frankfurt for Leopold II's coronation until the second week in November he may not have replied to this letter; certainly there is no evidence that he even received it. What Deutsch failed to recognize in commenting on this letter is that the commission was almost certainly offered to Mozart at the instigation of his former pupil Attwood: the letter begins: 'Par une personne attachée à S. A. R. le Prince de Galles j'apprends votre dessein de faire un voyage en Angleterre ...' Attwood was, as we have seen, in the service of the Prince of Wales, and although we have no direct evidence that Mozart had any epistolary contact with him or the other British friends after their departure from Vienna, it is perfectly plausible that Attwood recommended his old teacher to the prince.

27. C. F. Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London. Erste Abtheilung: Mozart in London* (Vienna. 1867). p. 140.

28. O. E. Deutsch. Dok. 332/377-8; Deutsch wrongly names the impresario as Robert May O'Reilly.

Mozart certainly used the opportunity of his friends' departure from Vienna to explore the possibilities of the London music-publishing trade. None of his works had first appeared in Britain since his father's publication of the six violin sonatas, K10-15, during the family's residence in 1765. It seems that Stephen Storace may have brought back from Vienna a variant manuscript of the Piano Quartet in E flat, K493, which was published in his *Collection of Original Harpsichord Music* (vol. 1, no. 1) in 1787, a few months after Hoffmeister's Viennese printing of the familiar version.²⁹ The Rondo for keyboard K494 (dated 10 June 1786) was also published by Storace (vol. 1, no. 4 in his *Collection*; entered at Stationers' Hall, 26 April 1788), again a few months after the Hoffmeister first edition. Storace was absolutely the first to publish the Piano Trio in G major, K564, the autograph of which Mozart dated 27 October 1788, and which was brought out by Birchall & Andrews as vol. 3, no. 5, in Storace's *Collection* (entered at Stationers' Hall, 23 July 1789 (see Tyson, [as note 29], p. 103)). There is no correspondence extant between Mozart and Storace, but it is clear that their relationship continued on some kind of business footing after the latter left Vienna in February 1787.

If Stephen Storace was responsible for bringing some of Mozart's instrumental compositions before the London public, his sister has her share in the credit for introducing numbers from Mozart's stage works to the British audiences. The pasticcio *La villanella rapita*, given for the first time at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, on 27 February 1790, contained at least four numbers by Mozart. As *The Morning Herald* reported on 1 March, 'All the music of the opera deserving celebrity is by Mozart — and it is to the praise of [Nancy] Storace that so many of these have been introduced' (Eisen, [as note 2], p. 151).

There was also an important reverse musical trade between London and Vienna in which Mozart was involved. This is the series of arrangements of Handel choral works that he undertook for Baron Gottfried van Swieten. The Viennese vogue for Handel goes back to Joseph Starzer's arrangement of *Judas Maccabaeus* for the Tonkünstler-Sozietät in 1779, and was furthered in the following decade by the group of aristocratic *Associierte* established for the encouragement of performances of oratorios. Mozart's *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke* records the beginning of his involvement in the enterprise in the following entry: 'NB: im Monath November [1788], Händels Acis und Galathée für Baron Suiten bearbeitet.'³⁰ And the series continues with 'Messias' (March 1789; in each case the spellings are Mozart's), 'Caecilia' and 'Alexanders-Fest' in July 1790.

29. See A. Tyson, 'The earliest editions of Mozart's Duet-Sonata K.19d', *Music Review*, 30 (1969), 98-105 (here p. 103); H. Federhofer's *Kritischer Bericht to NMA VIII/22* (1958), 21-2; and G. Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Bibliographie / Textband* (Tutzing, 1986), p. 263.

30. Fol. 19^v in the edition cited in note 17 above.

As is clear from Mozart's letter to his father of 10 April 1782, he was captivated by the instrumental works of Handel and the Bachs within months of his settling in Vienna, thanks to the espousal of them by van Swieten, whose own enthusiasm was presumably kindled during his time as Imperial and Royal Ambassador in Berlin in the 1770s. In his last years Mozart then had the opportunity to refurbish the instrumentation of large-scale Handel choral works, adding to the original modest-scale orchestra parts for flute(s), clarinets, bassoon(s) and horns; he revised the trumpet parts for *The Messiah* and *Alexander's Feast*, and the former further acquired three trombones. Some of these Mozartian reorchestrations have continued in use to the present day, naturally without receiving much approval from the Early Music brigade.

No consideration of Mozart's links with Britain would be complete that ignored the contribution of British musicians to performance history, and British musicologists to international scholarship. It would be invidious to mention people who are still active when considerations of space preclude others, but there is a long and distinguished tradition of writing, starting with the well-known 'Account of a very remarkable young musician' received by the Royal Society on 28 November 1769 from the Honourable Daines Barrington (Dok. 86-92/95-101), on via the *Travel Diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the Year 1829*,³¹ Edward Holmes's *The Life of Mozart* (London, 1845), Lady [Grace] Wallace's translations of Ludwig Nohl's *Life of Mozart* (London, 1877) and of Nohl's edition of the Mozart letters (London, 1865 and 1867), and Pauline Townsend's translation of Otto Jahn's *Life of Mozart* (London, 1882 and 1891), to the researches of C. B. Oldman and A. Hyatt King by the time of the second centenary celebrations in 1956.

Among British musicians none has made a longer-lasting or more powerful contribution than Sir Thomas Beecham. Though the second half of the twentieth century has witnessed a remarkable flowering of British Mozartian talent among conductors, Beecham's pioneering advocacy of the five great comic operas, culminating in the still unsurpassed recording of *Die Zauberflöte* in 1937-38, and of very many orchestral works, played a decisive role in establishing the credentials of Britain as one of the outstanding nations in the Mozart renaissance leading up to the celebrations of the second centenary of his death.³²

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31. Published as *A Mozart Pilgrimage* (London, 1955), transcribed and compiled by Nerina Medici di Marignano and edited by Rosemary Hughes.

32. By 2006, when the Mozart celebrations of 1991 had been swamped by a further Mozart Year, the name of Beecham should in this context no longer stand alone: Roger Norrington, John Eliot Gardiner, Christopher Hogwood and Trevor Pinnock, to name just four British conductors, have contributed materially to our understanding of Mozart's music through their pioneering work in period performing practice.