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## Mozart in Italy and the Enigma of a Collection: Newly-Discovered Portraits and Artifacts

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In a letter written at Brussels on 4 November 1763, addressed to his Salzburg friend, landlord and financier Johann Lorenz Hagenauer, Leopold Mozart briefly described what he called his 'Peruvian treasures and riches': 'Little Wolfgang has been given two magnificent swords, one from Count von Frankenberg, Archbishop of Malines, the other from General Count de Ferraris. My little girl has received Dutch lace from the archbishop, and from other courtiers cloaks, coats and so on. With snuffboxes and etuis and such junk we shall soon be able to rig out a stall'.<sup>1</sup> This was just a first, brief description of a horde of valuable objects that the family collected on their travels: by the time the Mozarts returned to Salzburg in 1766, they had with them, or had sent ahead, several large coffers full of gifts, items that they had purchased while on tour, and memorabilia. Beda Hübner, the librarian of St Peter's, Salzburg, noted in his diary for 8 December 1766:

I... saw all the tributes and presents which the aforesaid Herr Mozart and his children had received from the great monarchs and princes during their costly journey: of gold pocket watches he has brought home 9; of gold snuff-boxes he has received 12; of gold rings set with the most handsome precious stones he has so many that he does not know himself how many; earrings for the girl, necklaces, knives with golden blades, bottle holders, writing tackle, toothpick boxes, gold *objets* for the girl, writing tablets and suchlike gewgaws without number and without end... but the most valuable and the most beautiful I have seen is the snuff box from the King of France, filled by the King with his own hands with 50 *Louis d'or*, ie. 500 florins, with this express rider: should he, Mozart, be obliged by necessity to sell this snuff box, he was to return it to the King to buy, and he would give him 100 *Louis d'or*, ie. 1000 florins for it.<sup>2</sup>

To be sure, bits and pieces of the Mozart family's 'treasures' – whether acquired on tour or later – have been known for some time, among them Leopold Mozart's handwritten prayer book, a few gold watches and rings, playing cards, a snuff box, a silk letter case and a small mother-of-pearl case with ivory leaves.<sup>3</sup> Others have been discovered more recently, including Leopold's collection of topographical engravings collected on the "Grand Tour" of 1763-1766 and in Italy between 1770 and 1773, and a number of manuscripts and prints once part of the family's music library.<sup>4</sup> For the most part, however, it has been assumed that the family's possessions more or less vanished into thin air.

Yet it seems unlikely that these items should have disappeared altogether. As the examples of the Mozarts' topographical engravings and music library show, at least some of the material passed into private hands and was only belatedly recognized to derive, in the first instance, from the Mozarts – and that chiefly because some later, private collections were donated to, or acquired by, libraries and archives and re-entered the public domain. But what of those collections that have remained in private hands since the eighteenth century, collections that have never been systematically investigated? And in particular, what of those private collections owned by families and friends close to the Mozarts? What follows briefly describes part of one such collection of Mozartiana owned by the Hagenauer family, who figured among the Mozarts' inner circle. But more than that: the Hagenauer collection also includes what is arguably an hitherto unknown portrait in oils of Mozart, executed in Vienna during the early years of Wolfgang's residence there.<sup>5</sup>

### The Hagenauer Family

During the eighteenth century, Salzburg owed its economic well-being in no small part to its location on a natural travel route between Italy to the south, and the rest of Europe to the north, east and west. Its merchants engaged widely in international trade: salt from the mines at Hallein was an especially important commodity, as were spices. Indeed, Salzburg was home to at least a dozen traders in spices and groceries with connections across Europe.



I. Johann Lorenz Hagenauer, portrait in oils, 1754 (privately owned, Vienna)

By the late 1780s, the spice firm founded in the 1670s by Georg Hagenauer stood near the top of the pack: it was valued at 13,800 florins, less than the 23,500 florins of the firm run by Raimund Felix Atzwanger, but considerably more than the 5,250 florins of Niklas Reifenstuhl.<sup>6</sup> And much of its success was due to the efforts of Johann Lorenz Hagenauer (1712-1792, **Figure 1**), under whose stewardship the family business expanded well beyond its original premises at 7-9 Getreidegasse, including the purchase, in 1789, of the spice business of Franz Josef Bauernfeind at 4 Kranzmarkt. This newly-acquired business, directed by Johann Lorenz's son Leopold Judas Thaddä (1761-1828), flourished as well: between 1789 and 1792 its sales more than doubled, from 14,409 florins to 28,984 florins.<sup>7</sup> Even earlier, Hagenauer had expanded his spice trade into Italy, chiefly through the efforts of his son Ignaz Joachim (1749-1824), who first visited Venice in 1771 and was based in Trieste at least since 1779.<sup>8</sup> It, too, was a success. When Ignaz Joachim's brother, Kajetan Rupert (1746-1811, later known P. Dominicus, see below) visited him in May 1791, he wrote in his diary: "The house is close to the most beautiful square, fronting the Grand Canal and, at the back, a wide street, it is 490 square *Klafter* [900 square meters] two stories high and so regularly and comfortably built, with a tiled roof, marvelous vaulted rooms and still lovelier lofts. The window of my room looked out over the Grand Canal. It was a wonderful sight for me when I woke up in the early morning."<sup>9</sup>

When Johann Lorenz Hagenauer died on 9 April 1792, the Salzburg branch of the family business was taken over by Johann Nepomuk Anton (1741-1799), but only for two years: his wife died in 1794, at the age of 46, and the depressed Johann Nepomuk suffered a mild heart attack shortly afterwards. The business then fell to the youngest son, Leopold Thaddäus Felix, and to two daughters, Maria Theresia (1740-1820) and Maria Ursula (1753-1831), who ran the business at 7-9 Getreidegasse. Following the death of Maria Ursula in 1831, the family business was inherited by the last living child, Maria Franziska (1755-1836), who sold it to the firm's bookkeeper, Joseph Schuler, and arranged for what was left of the contents of the family home to be shipped to her nephew, Joseph Paul Hagenauer, the son of Ignaz Joachim and heir to the family business in Trieste. Some, perhaps many, items may have arrived in Italy much earlier, however: Johann Lorenz Hagenauer's will shows that Ignaz Joachim inherited material items from the family home on the death of his father in 1792, and a second legacy came from the estate of his mother, Maria Theresia, in 1800.<sup>10</sup> All in all, then, the Hagenauers' possessions were largely relocated to Italy between 1792 and 1831, where they remained as part of what eventually became, through marriage, the Locatelli-Hagenauer family, based at Cormòns.

### The Mozarts and the Hagenauers

Although it is not known when Leopold Mozart became acquainted with Johann Lorenz Hagenauer, they must have established a strong, personal relationship from not later than the early or mid-1740s: shortly after Leopold's marriage to Anna Maria Pertl in 1747, the newly-weds rented a third floor flat from Hagenauer at 9 Getreidegasse, where the family remained until 1773. The Mozarts and Hagenauers were exceptionally close, at least in part because they had children of similar ages (Nannerl Mozart was born in 1751 and Wolfgang in 1756 while the Hagenauers' first daughter, Maria Martha, was born in the same year as Nannerl and their second two years later; the sons closest in age to Wolfgang were Ignaz Joachim and Leopold Judas Thaddä). This relationship continued even after the early tours, and throughout the 1770s and 1780s. When Johann Lorenz's son Kajetan Rupert (1746-1811), who professed at St Peter's in 1765 as P. Dominicus,<sup>11</sup> celebrated his first mass on 15 October 1769, Wolfgang composed the mass K66 for the occasion; afterwards he improvised at the organ and the next day, at a grand meal for fifty guests at the Hagenauer's summer house in Nonntal, Nannerl and Wolfgang entertained the company with music.<sup>12</sup> As late as 1783, when Wolfgang and his wife visited Salzburg, Nannerl Mozart recorded in her diary at least eight occasions when the families got together;<sup>13</sup> in January 1785 Leopold wrote to his daughter; 'I've been at Hagenauer's three times, and stayed in the little parlour at the back with the daughters, because in the front room there were already two professors – the regent of the priests' seminary, the buildings intendant, and the priest from Gnigl playing a double round of *Brandeln*;<sup>14</sup> and in the summer of 1786, Leopold not only gave music lessons to the daughters of Johann Nepomuk Anton Hagenauer, but also sold him a clavichord.<sup>15</sup>

It was not only with the Hagenauer family in Salzburg that the Mozarts had close relations. After Ignaz Joachim Hagenauer's move to Trieste, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's move to Vienna, the composer took it upon himself to contact Ignaz Joachim in his search for a good opera libretto.<sup>16</sup> By the same token, the Mozarts were also in close touch with another branch of the Hagenauer family, that of Johann Lorenz's cousin, the architect Johann Baptist Hagenauer (1732-1811). Johann Baptist had married the Italian portraitist Rosa Barducci in 1764 and when Wolfgang and his father were in Vienna in 1773, Leopold arranged for her to paint a portrait of his recently deceased friend, Franz Joseph Niderl von Aichegg (1719-1773), a contemporary of his at the Salzburg University in the late 1730s; Niderl had come to Vienna for medical treatment but died on 9 September and on 11 September Leopold wrote to his wife: "I hope that on Dr Niderl's departure you will have been prepared for what is certainly a sad occurrence, so that you will not be as pained to hear of his death as I was when I called on him and found that he had already passed away. . . . I had to send for Madame Rosa yesterday, and she duly came. I'd just met her in the street as she had to paint the poor doctor as there wasn't even a portrait of him in the Niderls' house."<sup>17</sup> About two years later, Rosa painted a portrait of Mozart's mother;<sup>18</sup> which the composer tried to recover from her shortly after his move to Vienna in 1781:

As for Madame Rosa, I must tell you that I called on her three times until at last I had the good fortune to find her at home. You would hardly recognize her, she has grown so thin. When I asked her about the portrait, she offered to make me a present of it, adding that she did not need it and that she would send it to me the following day. But three weeks went by and no portrait. Again I went to her house, three times without success, finally I went there one day very early in the morning when she and her lump of a husband were still at breakfast. Well instead of wanting to give me the portrait for *free*, she had suddenly decided *not to let me have it at all*. It occurred to me that in such cases, the best way to treat Italians is to be a little rude.<sup>19</sup>

Given the closeness of the Mozart and Hagenauer families, it is not surprising to find that they were Leopold Mozart's chief correspondents during the early tours, to Germany, England, Holland, France and Switzerland between 1763 and 1766 and to Italy between 1770 and 1773. Leopold wrote to Johann Lorenz and his wife with accounts of their travels, the successes of the children, local and international gossip and descriptions of the people they met and the places they visited. Hagenauer, for his part, acted as a go-between for Leopold during his absences from Salzburg, in both public and private matters. He saw to the distribution in Germany of music published by Wolfgang in Paris and London, and of the family portrait which had been engraved in Paris;<sup>20</sup> he arranged for Leopold's colleagues to perform some of Wolfgang's early published sonatas at court;<sup>21</sup> and he interceded in the matter of Leopold's appointment as deputy Kapellmeister in 1763.

In addition to providing Leopold with news from home and performing other services for him, Hagenauer also acted as an intermediary between Salzburg's rich merchants and minor nobility and the Mozarts, sometimes with requests for Leopold to purchase foreign items of value not generally available in Salzburg. In 1765, for instance, Leopold was on the lookout for English watches:

What you wrote to me about the watch, was something I'd also long given thought to. But it seemed to me too soon. They are astonishingly expensive, but also astonishingly good. Repeating watches are less in fashion here than in Germany or France. But most gold watches, which cost 20 guineas apiece, with balance springs and cogs set in diamonds, one won't find better or more accurate anywhere in the world. I'll inform you about all the different types in due course.<sup>22</sup>

In another letter, Leopold wrote about the most economical way to send Hagenauer a length of scarlet cloth that he requested. In fact, the Mozarts acquired so many items while on tour, both for themselves and for others, that on 19 September 1765 Leopold wrote to Hagenauer to look out for a very large chest which he had dispatched from London and asked him to purchase a writing desk for him, with drawers big enough for storing all the "plunder":

The most important thing I have to tell you is that I've arranged for Monsieur Teissier to send you via Hamburg a very large *chest or strongbox*. Signed: L.M. I don't know when it will

arrive, assuming it hasn't already done so. Monsieur Teissier informs me that it left for Hamburg on board the *Wilhelmus* under Captain Adrian Janssen. I'd have preferred it if he'd written to tell me who he's sent it to in Hamburg. There are all manner of things inside it. Leave it unopened until we arrive, and see that it's not left somewhere that's too damp, although the polished steel items that it contains are well wrapped. — I also need you to buy me a good *stationery box*: I mean one like yours, with good large drawers. In short, a beautiful and good box, even if it's expensive; where else shall I put all my plunder?<sup>23</sup>

Most important, though, Hagenauer acted as the Mozarts' banker while on tour. Although Archbishop Schrattenbach subsidized their travels in part, Hagenauer essentially underwrote the venture, providing letters of credit to his business contacts that enabled Leopold to draw cash whenever he needed it, wherever he was in Europe. Typically the process involved "a letter which could be presented to a specified business contact elsewhere, and the letter would authorize the recipient to provide a specified sum of money. When moving on again, if no Salzburg merchants had direct contact with anyone at the next destination, the initial credit could be extended by a letter from the first contact to a business acquaintance of his own, and any money drawn from such a third party would be reimbursed in stages along the merchant network, the debt eventually finding its way back to Salzburg."<sup>24</sup> A letter of 28 June 1764 from London, for instance, includes a detailed account of the way in which Leopold used his various letters of financial credit from Hagenauer:

I have just received the enclosed bill of exchange from Paris and therefore hasten to forward it to you without delay in order that you can make use of it straightaway. I do not really understand how these matters are transacted at a distance and so I spoke with two local bankers, Loubier et Teissier, who are very good friends of mine and who, after seeing the letter I received from Messrs Tourton et Baur and noting the figure of £ 179½ quoted therein, have agreed that the value of 200 louis d'or is correct, given the difference in the exchange rate. You will not fail, therefore, to send this as soon as possible to Hamburg and, once it has been accepted, credit me with the sum of 2250fl. At the same time I have pleasure in reporting that I have again deposited a small sum of 100 guineas with the aforementioned bankers Loubier and Teissier, which I could pay to someone in the service of Salzburg who is currently in these parts. If you yourself can use this sum in Paris, The Hague, Amsterdam, Hamburg etc. or elsewhere, it would be most agreeable to me, and as I see that I shall probably still have to transfer a certain balance to Salzburg, I would ask you to be mindful of this and lend me a hand.<sup>25</sup>

Hagenauer provided the Mozarts with credit throughout the 1770s as well: in 1774, when father and son were in Munich, Leopold asked his wife to arrange a letter of credit with Johann Lorenz,<sup>26</sup> and in 1778, when Wolfgang was traveling with his mother, he drew 150fl from the banker Dietrich Heinrich Schmalz in Mannheim, which was entered as a debit on Leopold's account with Hagenauer, much to Mozart père's dismay and with no little embarrassment, as he explained to his son in a letter of 23 February: "Old Herr *Hagenauer* was very upset to hear that you had to draw 150 florins in Mannheim as these people want us to do well and earn some money. But when I told him what you'd written and explained that your board and lodging was costing you nothing and that you'd be receiving 200 florins<sup>27</sup> and that you also had some pupils, he was very pleased. I naturally had to ask him to be patient over payment of the 150 florins but he replied: it doesn't matter. *I've every confidence in Herr Wolfgang, he'll do his duty to you as a son, just let him go to Paris, while you relax.*"<sup>28</sup>

### A New Mozart Portrait?

Considering their professional and personal relations, it is only to be expected that some items once owned by the Mozarts, or items that passed through their hands, might have ended up with the Hagenauers. It seems to be the case, for instance, that some of the valuable gifts Leopold received on the grand tour were used to repay Leopold's debts to Johann Lorenz. And it is just as likely that Leopold, out of friendship, made the Hagenauers gifts of various things, either unique items or others of which – like snuffboxes – he had multiple examples. Or, as in the case of the English watches (see above), it may be that Leopold purchased items in foreign countries at Hagenauer's request. No doubt, as close

friends, the families were keen to have mementos of each other as well, such as keepsakes and portraits.

Not all the Mozartiana once owned by the Hagenauers had to come directly from Leopold during his lifetime, however. It is documented, for instance, that Johann Lorenz's wife, Maria Theresia, purchased several items at Leopold Mozart's estate auction, which was held in Salzburg on 25 September 1787, including a gold circlet ring, a woman's gilded watch chain, a brass watch key as well as three watch keys made of English steel, and a study lamp.<sup>29</sup> Apparently the Hagenauers were prepared to spend significantly. The most costly purchase made by Maria Theresia was a cutlery wall cabinet with knives and forks, as well as spoons, for which she paid the enormous sum of 58 florins 14 kreutzer (chiefly because of the value of the silverware) – of all the documented completed sales in the auction, this lot was by far the most expensive. And this raises questions as to exactly how many, and how many expensive, lots of Mozartiana the Hagenauers were prepared to purchase, since the auction inventory, as it survives today, is incomplete: twenty pages are missing, including – as the sums of lots offered, sold and realized shows – what were probably the most valuable items in the sale.<sup>30</sup> It is not out of the question that some of these were bought by the Hagenauers too.

In any case, the Hagenauers were collectors, and at least since the seventeenth century, the family prized its heritage and possessions, maintaining a private archive of important documents and preserving the family's material possessions<sup>31</sup> including art and fine clothing, topographical engravings,<sup>32</sup> silverware,<sup>33</sup> furniture and, it seems, family mementos or mementos of family friends.<sup>34</sup> Yet the whereabouts of many of these items became clouded, at least to some members of the family: with the split of the Hagenauers into northern and southern branches, direct contact with some of the family's possessions was eventually lost to the Austrian branch of the family. Nevertheless, a rich oral history was passed from generation to generation and without any direct and specific knowledge of the survival of numerous family treasures, including the collection's apparent Mozartiana, the Austrian Hagenauers provided a partial list of items known to have been owned by the family and presumed by them to have been transported to Italy:<sup>35</sup>

As far as the number of things from the family, the list is so long and large, it would take many hours. But to name a few, let me begin

- 1 sign of J.L. Hagenauer that was in the family home and announced the business. It is from the 1760s
- 2 Spice table from family business
- 3 3 portraits of J.L. that are identical and were made by same painter and showed the spice table
- 4 letters of business Letters of agreement between Mozart the elder and J.L. [added on 22 June: this concerns the tours and the division of money and the letters showed amendments (changes) after it was realized that payment came many times in the form of snuff boxes and watches]
- 5 confirmation of ownership owning sign from 1761
- 6 portraits of J.L. children by Rosa Barducci Hagenauer (J.L. helped J.P. Hagenauer and Rosa) Keys to the church and homes of Hagenauer
- 7 portrait of Mozart in side profile made from smaller portrait sent by young Mozart to his family when Mozart was 27 and has red coat [added on 22 June: this painting was painted as a return gift from a painter of royals in Vienna as a gesture of appreciation to Mozart for writing some music for his family relations. . . it is side profile because it is said Mozart wanted it that way]
- 8 young boy Mozart made larger from a miniature
- 9 violinschuler book dedicated to J.L. by Mozart elder [added on 22 June: this book was in very good condition until one unknown child in the family scribbled on it in red ink]
- 10 snuff boxes gifts from aristocratic admirers of Mozart during travels. Over 12 fine painted snuff boxes from France and England [added on 22 June: these boxes were not gifts. They were payment from Leopold as business partner. There were also several nice watches but they disappeared]
- 11 Letters from J.L. to Ignaz Hagenauer from Salzburg to Trieste in 1780s father to son
- 12 sword from Mozart elder to J.L. Hagenauer with Freemason emblem
- 13 many books from library of J.L. Hagenauer with some very old Emblem of family crest (in einem Sporn ein Dreieck mit einem Baum, links und rechts je ein Adler).





Property mark of old hagenauer was initials in circle jhl  
 • 14 Old relics of saints from j.l. hagenauer and from Mozart elder. Both collected these as does my mother!

It was no small stroke of good fortune, then, that in 2003 and 2004 an American collector became acquainted with the Italian Hagenauers (the Locatelli-Hagenauers) and was able to purchase from them, or from a dealer who had made earlier purchases, a number of items still owned by the family.<sup>36</sup> Not all of the material described by the Austrian Hagenauers was accounted for: the sale did not include the family sign or spice table, the portraits of Johann Lorenz Hagenauer's children, the letters written to Trieste, the copy of Leopold Mozart's *Gründliche Violinschule*, or the letters of agreement between Leopold and Hagenauer. But it did include at least one or two items



2. Lutheran bible, in Martin Luther's translation, published at Altdorf in 1753, with Johann Lorenz Hagenauer's ownership mark (privately owned, California)

independently described by the Austrian Hagenauers, together with others representative of the treasures described by them as well as items that unequivocally derive from the eighteenth-century Hagenauers:

3. Ceremonial Masonic sword, probably Vienna 1780s (privately owned, California)

A Lutheran bible, in Martin Luther's translation, published at Altdorf in 1753, with Johann Lorenz Hagenauer's ownership mark (Figure 2)<sup>37</sup>

4a. Circular snuff box in tortoise shell with painted exterior and gilding, France, c1760-1770; painting probably after Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755) (privately owned, California)

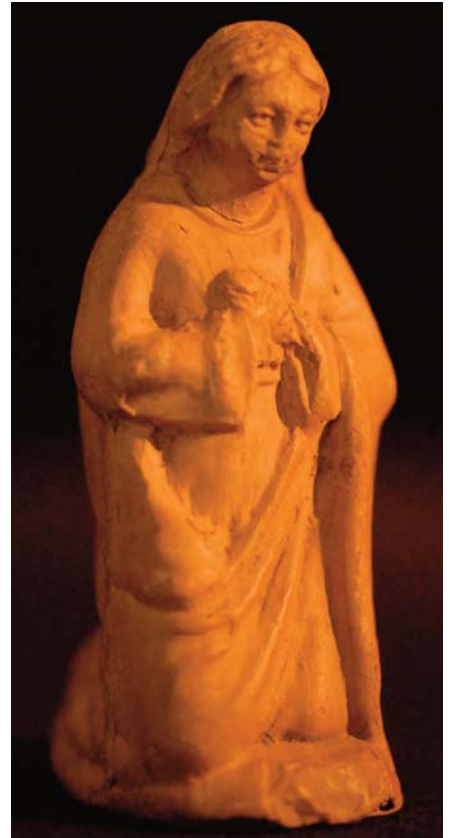


A ceremonial Masonic sword (item 12; Figure 3): During his visit to see Wolfgang in Vienna in early 1785, Leopold applied for, and became a member of, Mozart's lodge, "Beneficence." He was proposed on 28 March, admitted on 6 April, and promoted to the "second grade," and then "third grade," at the lodge "True Concord," on 16 and 22 April, respectively.<sup>38</sup> According to expert opinion, the sword can be dated to 1780s Vienna.

4b. Hinged snuffbox with tortoise shell interior; France, c1760-1770; painting probably after François Boucher (1703-1770) (privately owned, California)



Two snuff boxes (item 10), one circular snuffbox in tortoise shell with a painted exterior and gilding, the other a hinged snuffbox with tortoise shell interior (Figures 4a and 4b): Expert opinion<sup>39</sup> suggests that both are of French origin and date from c1760-1770, contemporaneous with the Mozarts' visits to Paris in 1763-1764 and 1766. The painting on



5. Belt or strap (relic), possibly identical to a relic described by Leopold Mozart in a letter written at Rome on 14 April 1770 (privately owned, California)

6a. Religious statuette (privately owned, California)

6b. Religious statuette (6a detail; name "Mozart" carved on the base, as well as the date "1770"

7. Georges-Louis le Rouge, *Le parfait aide de camp* (Paris, 1760) (privately owned, California)

the circular snuff box is probably after Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755) and that on the hinged snuff box probably after François Boucher (1703-1770).

A reliquary and other relics (item 14): A contemporaneous label ("S. Felicis mart.") on the bone in the reliquary identifies it as belonging to the ninth-century Paduan saint, St Felicity. The back of one of the relics includes the inscription "Ex Ossibus. S. Antonii Pat.," that is, St Anthony of Padua; Mozart and his father visited Padua on about 10 February and from 12-14 March 1771. A second relic, a belt or strap (**Figure 5**), may be the identical to a relic described by Leopold Mozart in a letter written at Rome on 14 April 1770: "We saw St Rosa of Viterbo, whose body like that of St Catherine at Bologna can be seen to be incorruptible. From the first saint we brought away a fever powder and relics, and from the second we took a belt as a remembrance."<sup>40</sup> The Mozarts were in Bologna from 24-29 March 1770 (a second visit, from 20 August to 13? October 1770 postdates Leopold's letter of 14 April). The collection also includes a small statuette; of uncertain provenance. The name 'Mozart' is carved on the base, as well as the date '1770' (**Figures 6a and 6b**), possibly by the composer or his father, although this is not certain.

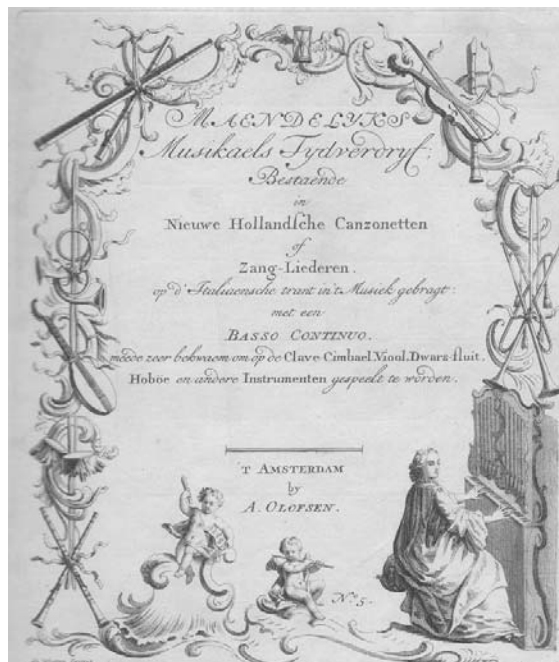
Additionally, the collection includes several items not among those described by the Hagenauers but that, like the items described above, nevertheless date from places and times that correspond with the Mozarts travels around Europe:

A copy of Georges-Louis le Rouge, *Le parfait aide de camp* (Paris, 1760; **Figure 7**): Given its author, date and French publication, this book may have been acquired – like the circular snuffbox described above - by Leopold during the Mozarts' stays in Paris in 1763-1764 and 1766. According to the title page, le Rouge was engineer and geographer to the Conte de



8. Antoine Mahaut, *Maendelyks Musikaels Tydverdryt: Bestaende in Nieuwe Hollandsche Canzonetten of Zang-Liedern*, Amsterdam, 1751-1752 (privately owned, California)

9a-b. Playing cards and wrapper, Lyon, c1760s (privately owned, California)



Clermont, Louis Henri Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, whom the Mozarts had met in Paris and who was responsible for inviting the family to Dijon, as Leopold described in a letter of 16 August 1766: "From Paris we went to Dijon in Burgundy, where we stayed 14 days. This was thanks to the Prince of Condé, who engaged us to go there for assembly of the Burgundian Estates, which only happens every three years."<sup>41</sup> The Mozarts' concert at Dijon on 18 July was given "by permission of the Prince de Conde."<sup>42</sup> Leopold apparently shared with Louis Henri Joseph de Bourbon a passion for military matters, which are frequently mentioned in his letters.



Nine issues of *Maendelyks Musikaels Tydverdryt: Bestaende in Nieuwe Hollandsche Canzonetten of Zang-Liedern* by Antoine Mahaut, for months October 1751-June 1752 (Figure 8). Although the actual date of publication is uncertain – not all eighteenth-century periodical publications appeared on time – the date is close enough to the Mozarts' visit to Holland in late 1765 and early 1766 to suggest that they purchased or were given a copy there.

A deck of playing cards (Figures 9a and 9b): Although the exact date of these cards is unknown, the original wrapper indicates that they were manufactured – and presumably sold – in Lyon, where the Mozarts visited from about 26 July to 20 August 1766 and where Mozart witnessed a hanging.<sup>43</sup> The presence in the collection of French playing cards is telling: in eighteenth-century Salzburg, the importation of "foreign" playing cards was prohibited by law. Accordingly, a deck of French playing cards is likely to have made its way there only if it were brought to Salzburg by someone who had visited France – as the Mozarts had.<sup>44</sup>

10a-b. Pewter snuff box, Holland, c1760, with three Dutch coins dated 1758-1760 (privately owned, California)



A mid-eighteenth century pewter snuff box of Dutch origin (Figures 10a and 10b), containing three Dutch coins dated 1758-1760: As noted, the Mozarts were in Holland in late 1765 and early 1766.

Given the Hagenauers' European-wide connections, it is not out of the question that items like these may have ended up with them independent of their close contact with the Mozarts. However, there is little evidence that such items circulated in Salzburg generally at the time, and considering that the dates and origin of many of them very nearly match the Mozarts' travels



throughout Europe, together with the Hagenauer family's close ties to the Mozarts both as friends and bankers and their later purchase of items from Leopold Mozart's estate, the simplest explanation for them is that they were at one time owned by the Mozarts and acquired by them on their travels – and, accordingly, that the collection is at least in part a reliable source of hitherto unknown Mozartiana.



11. "W.A. Mozart," portrait in oils, attr. Joseph Hickel, Vienna, c 1783-1785 (privately owned, California)

In addition to those items that may derive from the Mozarts and their European tours, the majority of the items known to the Austrian Hagenauers represent important family documents, artifacts and keepsakes. And according to family tradition, they included a "portrait of Mozart in side profile made from smaller portrait sent by young Mozart to his family when Mozart was 27 and has red coat" (item 7; **Figure 11**). More specifically it was reported that one of the family grandaunts, who had seen the portrait hanging in the family home, "spoke of a painting of Mozart in profile. She thought, he painted it because Mozart wrote some music for his family. The painter painted for the court and was at that time an important painter in Vienna (think originally from Germany). The painting shows Mozart's in his favorite coat she said. The Elder Mozart brought it back from Vienna but it ended up at JLH [Johann Lorenz Hagenauer]. . . there was also a small version, but that was probably sold with the other things."<sup>45</sup>

This oral tradition, buttressed by forensic investigations of the picture<sup>46</sup> and other details (discussed below), seems to confirm what the physical appearance of the man in the red coat might suggest: that the sitter may well be Mozart.<sup>47</sup> Even beyond the oral tradition and forensic evidence, however, there is testimony in Mozart's letters with respect to a red jacket that was reported to be his favourite, lending credence to the Hagenauer testimony. In a letter of 28 September 1782 Mozart wrote to his patroness Baroness Martha Elisabeth von Waldstätten:

As for the beautiful red coat that tickles my fancy so dreadfully, I'd be grateful if you could let me know *where I can get it* and *how much it costs*, as I've forgotten – I was so taken by its beauty that I didn't notice the price. – I really must have a coat like that, as it's worth it just for the buttons that I've been hankering after for some time; – I saw them once, at Brandau's button factory opposite the Café Milani on the Kohlmarkt, when I was choosing buttons for a suit. – They're mother-of-pearl with some white stones round the edge and a beautiful yellow stone in the centre. – I'd like to have everything that's good, genuine and beautiful!<sup>48</sup>

and then on 2 October 1782:

I committed a terrible blunder yesterday! – I kept thinking that I had something more to say — only I couldn't get it out of my stupid skull! and it was to thank your Grace for having immediately taken so much trouble over the beautiful coat — and for your Grace's goodness in promising me one like it — but it never occurred to me; which is usually the case with me; — I often regret that I did not study architecture instead of music, for I have often heard it said that the best architects are those to whom nothing ever occurs.<sup>49</sup>

To be sure, the mention of a red coat – possibly including even the buttons described by Mozart (although this is far from clear) – in two letters hardly proves that the sitter is Mozart.<sup>50</sup> Not only were red coats not uncommon in Vienna at the time, but on at least three other occasions, both earlier and later, Mozart was himself depicted in a red coat, in the portrait by Saverio dalla Rosa executed at Verona in 1770, the family portrait of 1780-1 traditionally attributed to Johann Nepomuk della Croce, and in the posthumous Barbara Krafft portrait of 1819 (itself based on models sent to her by Nannerl, **Figures 12-14**).<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, there is no question that Mozart actually owned a red coat, as his estate



12. W.A. Mozart by Saverio dalla Rosa, Verona, 1770 (privately owned, Switzerland)



13. W.A. Mozart, traditionally attributed to Johann Nepomuk della Croce but possibly not by him, Salzburg, 1780-1781 (Salzburg, Mozart-Museum)

14. W.A. Mozart by Barbara Krafft, Salzburg, 1819 (Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde)



documents show,<sup>52</sup> and as independent testimony to a family recollection, the conjunction of letters and documents lends weight to the specificity, as opposed to the generality, of the evidence.<sup>53</sup>

Experts have suggested a number of painters who might have executed the portrait, including Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder (1722-1789) and Johann Baptist Lampi the Elder (1751-1830), who had studied in Salzburg, settled in Vienna in 1783 and from 1785 was a member of the Viennese Akademie der bildenden Künste (Lampi was also, for a while, Mozart's neighbour when the composer rented a flat at 5 Domgasse, the so-called "Figaro-haus"); the style of the portrait is generally consistent with both. Martin Braun, on the other hand, was the first to suggest Joseph Hickel,<sup>54</sup> a name that – like the red coat – resonates in the Mozart letters and similarly buttresses the family testimony: "The painter painted for the court and was at that time an important painter in Vienna (think originally from Germany)." On 3 November 1781 Mozart wrote to his father: "At 11 o'clock at night I was presented with a *Nachmusik* for 2 clarinets, 2 horns and 2 bassoons – and of my own composition too. – I wrote it for St. Theresa's Day — for Frau von Hickel's sister, the sister in law of Herr von Hickel (court painter); it was performed for the first time at [her] house."<sup>55</sup>

The work described here is the first version of the serenade for winds K375, while the sister of 'fr: v: Hickl' was Therese Wutka or Witka. Her brother-in-law was Joseph Hickel (1736-1807), painter to the imperial court from 1776. Hickel, who had studied for about ten years at the Viennese Akademie der Bildenden Künste and was commissioned by Empress Maria Theresia in 1768 to travel to Italy to paint portraits of the nobility there, was appointed deputy head of the Vienna Gemäldegalerie in 1772. One of the most sought-after painters in Vienna, he may have painted more than 3000 portraits, including members of the Austrian imperial family, members of the nobility and middle classes and - what is especially important for his connection to Mozart - actors at the Hofburg theatre, including Mozart's brother-in-law Joseph Lange.<sup>56</sup>

Hickel had one other important connection to Mozart: like the composer, he was active in Viennese Masonic circles in the 1780s. Apparently his association with the Masons was at times uncomfortable, as a series of documents from 1783 shows.<sup>57</sup> But he was nevertheless admitted to the lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht," a sister lodge of Mozart's "Zur Wohltätigkeit." They may have met, as brothers, on several occasions (Mozart's earliest documented visits to the lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht" were 24 December 1784 and 7 January 1785<sup>58</sup>) in addition to whatever meetings may have taken place through mutual acquaintances, Mozart's friendship with Hickel's sister-in-law, or through intermediaries at court.

As with the red jacket, the fact that Mozart mentions the Hickels in his letters and that he composed a work for them does not prove unequivocally that he is the sitter in the portrait. Even given its earliest likely date, 1783 (see below), the picture apparently postdates the composition of the serenade by a considerable time. But this does not necessarily mean that the two events are unrelated or even that the evidence, allowing for the vagaries of time and transmission, is unrelated, since the counterargument assumes that the serenade and picture represent some immediate quid-pro-quo. Yet Mozart clearly had long-standing relations with the Hickel family, relations that are not completely documented. So it may be that the picture – if the Hagenauer testimony is broadly correct – more generally represents a friendly "artistic exchange" between two families. There is no reason to think it must

represent an instance of one-for-one cultural-artifact barter or gift-giving. For the same reason – the on-going if not-always-documented connection between Mozart and the Hickels – there is no reason to suppose that the absence of an unequivocal reference to the portrait in the composer's later correspondence is telling in any way, or a strike against its authenticity; not all of Mozart's social relationships are documented by the letters (or for that matter by any contemporaneous document), not all of the gifts or monies given to him are recorded there and – most striking of all – not all of Mozart's letters, or the letters of his father, which may also have mentioned the portrait, survive.<sup>59</sup> That Mozart may have had an ulterior motive or intended an additional purpose when composing the serenade – his letter of 3 November 1781 continues: "the chief reason I composed it was to let Herr von Strack, who goes there every day, hear something of my composition; so I wrote it rather carefully"<sup>60</sup> – might be seen as a possible objection to the association of the portrait with the Hickels. Yet Mozart's private, after-the-fact confession is irrelevant: as he explicitly says, it was composed in the first instance for Hickel's sister-in-law and had its premiere at her house. As far as the Hickels and anyone they spoke with were concerned, then, the serenade was composed for them – and as such may have been deserving of an artistic gift in return.

If there is an inconsistency in the evidence, it concerns how the picture made its way to Salzburg. But this in turn also suggests a circumscribed range of dates for the portrait's execution that is also broadly consistent with Mozart's biography, extant letters, his purchase of a red coat and his acquaintance with the Hickels. In one of the Hagenauer communications it was stated that according to a family grandaunt, "The Elder Mozart brought it back from Vienna." Since Leopold Mozart did visit Wolfgang in Vienna, but only once, from February to April 1785, this testimony dates the picture between late 1782, when Mozart acquired the red coat (assuming, that is, that the coat in the picture is identical to the one described in Mozart's letter), and 25 April 1785, the day Leopold left Vienna. In another, however, it was claimed that the portrait was "sent by young Mozart to his family when Mozart was 27," that is, in 1783 or at the very start of 1784. If that is the case, it may also explain an otherwise obscure passage in Mozart's letter to his father of 3 April 1783: "Here is the Munich opera and two copies of my sonatas! – the promised variations will be sent at the next opportunity, for the copyist was able to finish them. Two portraits will follow as well; – I only hope that you will be satisfied with them; both seem to me equally good, and everyone who has seen them is of the same opinion."<sup>61</sup>



15. Constanze Mozart by Joseph Lange, Vienna, c1782 (Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery)

It is tempting to think that the "2 portraits" Mozart intended to send to his father were pictures of himself and his relatively-new wife (they had married on 4 August 1782): Leopold had not seen Wolfgang since the winter of 1781 and he had never met Constanze. If this is so, then the portrait may be half of a pair of 'wedding portraits'. But if this is the case, then it is unlikely that the "missing" portrait of Constanze is the well-known painting of her now housed at the Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow (**Figure 15**), and generally assumed to date from about 1782.<sup>62</sup> Presumably the two would have been more or less the same size and painted from the same perspective (and would be by the same artist: the portrait of Constanze is by her brother-in-law, Joseph Lange); "Mozart" in a red coat, however, is nearly one third as big again as the portrait of his wife, and while he is in profile, she is in half-profile. It is not out of the question, of course, that one or the other of these portraits was originally a different size, as it is clear not only from the Hagenauer testimony ("portrait of Mozart in side profile made from smaller portrait"), but also from a letter of Nannerl Mozart (see below), that copies were sometimes made of original portraits, in different sizes, different media, and from different perspectives. Coincidentally, Nannerl Mozart also wrote of a 1783 portrait in profile, in a letter to the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf & Härtel of 4 January 1804: "In 1783 he sent me his portrait from Vienna, very small, in pastel, I would have had a copy made but because it is in profile, this painter would not be able to do it *en face* and to guarantee that it would be a perfect likeness. If you like, however,

I will speak with other painters, whether they might do such a thing, and approximately how much it would cost."<sup>63</sup> The pastel described by Nannerl cannot be identical to "Mozart" in a red coat, which is painted in oils. But it is possible – again, because both Nannerl and the Hagenauers speak of copies – that the two pictures are related in some way. Regardless, the



16a-b. "W.A. Mozart" and "Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart, double miniature (possibly Vienna, 1767-1768, attr. Johann Eusebius Alphen (privately owned, Switzerland)



18. W.A. Mozart, attr. Pietro Antonio Lorenzoni, Salzburg c1763 (Salzburg, Mozart-Museum)



#### Epilogue: A miniature of Mozart and his sister

At about the same time that the Hagenauer "Mozart" was "discovered," another likeness of the composer – in fact a double miniature on ivory said to be Mozart and his sister – was being studied in Switzerland (Figures 16a and 16b). This was not entirely a

"new" portrait: it was first reported and reproduced by Herbert Eimert in the *Kölnische Zeitung Sonntagsblatt* for 10 December 1939. But little notice was taken of it at the time, and it was not until 2005 and 2006 that it first received serious attention.<sup>64</sup> As far as was known, the Swiss double-miniature had no connection to the Hagenauers and, hence, to the credibility of a secure, Mozart-related provenance; that was to be discovered only later. Unlike the Hagenauer 'Mozart', then, the investigation begins with forensics and with the identification of the artist. The forensics, undertaken by the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft and including an analysis of the pigment, date the miniatures to the period around 1765-1770 (with some retouching in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).<sup>65</sup> The art historical studies suggest a similar date. According to Robert Keil, a leading expert on Viennese miniatures, the artist can only be the Vienna-born Johann Eusebius Alphen (1741-1772), a student in Paris of the French miniaturist Jean Baptiste Massé (1687-1767).<sup>66</sup> Alphen was seemingly the only artist of the time to combine French and Austrian miniature-painting techniques – as here – including the rectangular format typical of Vienna but rare in France, and the combination of watercolour and opaque or poster paint. Both in style and technique, the "Mozart" miniatures are to all intents and purposes identical to Alphen's miniatures of the Austrian Archduchess Maria Anna, signed and dated by him "peint par Alphen 1769."<sup>67</sup>

There is no question that the Mozarts and Alphen were acquainted. Apparently they first met in Brussels in October or November 1763, as recorded by Leopold Mozart in his travel notes at the time ("Mr Alfen, an excellent miniature artist"). And they met again in Paris, probably in May 1766. Still later, in Italy in 1771, Mozart wrote to his sister, "Herr von älfen is in Milan and he's the same as he was in Vienna and Paris."<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, the Mozarts and Alphen met at least four times, in Brussels, Paris, Milan and, in 1767 or 1768 during the



17. "W.A. and Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart", miniature attr. Johann Eusebius Alphen, c1765 (Salzburg, Mozart-Museum)

family's visit there, in Vienna – a meeting that is consistent with the date, style and substance of the double miniature. Nor was this the only time Alphen might have painted the Mozart children. A second double miniature, said to be by Alphen and picturing Wolfgang and his sister, is now housed at the Mozart-Museum, Salzburg (Figure 17).

There is rarely agreement, especially among musicologists, whether a portrait is a good likeness or not (especially with respect to Mozart, for whom perhaps only three authenticated likenesses from before 1770 survive and none from the period 1767-9).<sup>69</sup> So it is no surprise that at a colloquium sponsored by the Maggini-Stiftung in October 2005, a panel of Mozart experts concluded that a comparison of the double miniature with other portraits was suggestive rather than conclusive.<sup>70</sup> One of the chief reservations, however, concerned the apparent lack of any indication, any object or attribute, that the sitter is a composer or performer. Yet such evidence is clearly to be seen on the Mozart portrait: the composer holds in his hand a manuscript that is the correct shape and size for a music manuscript of the time, and both note stems and note heads can be clearly seen (Figure 18). Apparently then, the sitter is indeed a musician, and one about Mozart's age at the time – and he is accompanied by a young woman about Nannerl's age.

In short, given the attribution of the miniatures to Alphen and their date, the Mozarts documented acquaintance with the artist throughout the 1760s – including in Vienna in 1767-8 – the similarity of the children's appearance to the Mozarts together with their correct ages and the musical reference in the Mozart likeness, as well as the tradition of a second miniature by Alphen of the Mozart children, the circumstantial evidence suggests that the Swiss "Mozarts" are indeed authentic portraits of Wolfgang and Nannerl. And as it happens, the provenance of the miniatures, which was also unknown to the Maggini-Stiftung colloquium, can now – like the provenance of the Hickel-attributed portrait — be tied to the Hagenauers. For in addition to directly identifying the "Man in the Red Coat" as having once been part of the Hagenauer family collection, at least one Hagenauer also identified the Alphen-attributed miniatures as also belonging to them. That it was not among the collection purchased in Italy is no stumbling block to a Hagenauer provenance and, hence, to its likelihood as a Mozart artifact: it is known that at least some items owned by the Italian branch of the Hagenauer family were sold by the early 1940s if not earlier.<sup>71</sup> To be sure, all Mozart portraits are enigmatic, many of them in terms of their provenance and likeness, and all of them in terms of their substance and expression. For a Mozart portrait is more than a likeness, it is a biographical artifact, an image onto which we more often than not project a Mozart we want to see. As such there can never be a fixed canon of "authentic" Mozart likenesses, for there are no firm grounds for judging *both* appearance *and* provenance. What is more, new pictures – like the Hagenauer "Mozart" or the Alphen miniatures – will continue to be discovered. The idea that all sources and resources have been exhausted, that there is nothing new to learn or discover about the composer – that there is nothing new to *think* about the composer — flies in the face of common sense and history.

<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962-1975), i:108-109: "Der Wolfgangerl hat 2 Magnifique degen bekommen, deren einer von Erzbischoff v. Mecheln grafen v. Frankenberg, ist. der 2<sup>te</sup> vom general comte de ferraris. das Mädll hat Niederländer spitzen vom Erbischoff bekommen. von andern Cavalieren saloppe Mäntel ecc: von tabatieres und etuis und solchem Zeug könnten wir bald einen Stand aufrichten."

<sup>2</sup> Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart. A Documentary Biography* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: A. C. Black: 1966), 67-68.

<sup>3</sup> For pictures and descriptions of these items, see Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961 = *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe X/32*), 279-83 and 366-368.

<sup>4</sup> Leopold's collection of topographical engravings is described and illustrated in Rudolph Angermüller and Gabriele Ramsauer; "du wirst, wenn uns Gott gesund zurückkommen läst, schöne Sachen sehen." Veduten aus dem Nachlaß Leopold Mozarts in der Graphiksammlung des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 42/1-2 (1994), 1-48. For the Mozarts' music library, see Cliff Eisen, "The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library" in *Mozart Studies* 2, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 85-138.

<sup>5</sup> Shortly after my original article on the "Mozart" portrait ("Ein neu entdecktes Mozart-Porträt," *Acta Mozartiana* 55/1-2 (2008), 55-73) appeared, a different account was published by Daniel N. Leeson, *The Mozart Cache. The Discovery and Examination of a Previously Unknown Collection of Mozartiana* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2008). Leeson was the first to publicize some items from the collection (*San Jose Mercury News*, 22 January 2006) and the first to make a connection between the items described here and the Hagenauers; his argument for the authenticity of the portrait, however, depends primarily on biometrics and he was unaware of the direct oral testimony of the Hagenauers as well as some important documents that bear on the biographical narrative he constructs to account for the history and authenticity of the collection (see below).

<sup>6</sup> Gunda Barth, "Die Hagenauers. Ein Salzburger Bürgergeschlecht aus Ainring: Die Einbindung einer Handelsfamilie in Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur Salzburgs im späten 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" in *Heimatchbuch Ainring* (Ainring: Gemeinde Ainring, 1990), 312. More generally concerning the Hagenauers, see Gerhard Ammerer and Rudolph Angermüller, eds., *Salzburger Mozart-Lexikon* (Bad Honnef, 2005), 153-60 and Rudolph Angermüller; "Der Mozart-Freund Johann Lorenz Hagenauer: Notizen zur Biographie," *Mozart Studien* 17 (2008), 359-72.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> It was not only in Trieste that the Hagenauers were internationally active. According to Johann Lorenz Hagenauer's estate documents (Landesarchiv, Salzburg, shelfmark Stadtsyndikat Nr. 346) the family not only had connections in numerous smaller towns in Bavaria and Austria, but also did business in Regensburg, Mainz, Nürnberg, Würzburg, Klagenfurt, Wörgl, Munich, Augsburg, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Venice and Marseilles, among others.

<sup>9</sup> Art. "Hagenauer, Linie B" in *Salzburg Mozart-Lexikon* (Bad Honnef: K. H. Bock, 2005), 159: "Das Haus liegt beynahe an dem schönsten Platz ist von Vorne auf den grossen Kanal, und rückwärts in eine Breite Gasse gesetzt, es nimt einen Umfang von 490 [Quadrat] Klaftern ein, ist 2 Stock hoch und so regelmässig als komot gebauet, hat eine Tachung von Ziegl, herrliche Gewölber; und noch schönere Getreid- oder Schittböden. Die Fenster von meiner Wohnung giengen auf dem großen Kanal hinaus. Es war für mich ein frapanter Anblick, als ich frühmorgens erwachte."

<sup>10</sup> Landesarchiv, Salzburg, shelfmark Stadtsyndikat Nr. 346. Leeson's claim that the items made their way to Trieste as a coherent collection, and only in 1831 (Leeson, *The Mozart Cache*, 13-14 and 25, among others), is accordingly not certain. Leaving aside the fact that no evidence shows the collection was at any point a coherent whole, or that Leopold arranged for it to be squirreled away by Johann Lorenz in the event of his, Leopold's, death, the dispersal of the Hagenauer effects, documented by their estate papers, shows that the items might just as easily have been shipped to Italy piece-meal.

<sup>11</sup> Wolfgang, who was nine years old at the time, was sure he was losing a friend for life; see Leopold Mozart's letter of 27 November 1764: "I and all my family send you and your wife millions of congratulations on the beginning of the new career for your son Kajetan. . . . Little Wolfgang wept when I read out this portion of your letter; and when he was asked why, he said he was sad as he believed that he would never see him again." Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:175: "Ich und alle die meinigen wünschen ihnen und dero Frau Gemahlin million Glück zu der angetretenen Standes Veränderung des Herrn Sohns Caietan. . . . Der Wolfgangerl hat geweinet, da ich es aus dem Briefe abgelesen, und auf befragen warum? - - so war es ihm leyd, weil er glaubte, daß er ihn nun nicht mehr sehen werde."

<sup>12</sup> See Deutsch, *Mozart. A Documentary Biography*, 94, for the relevant passage from the Hagenauer family calendar and Herbert Klein, "Autobiographisches und Musikalisches aus dem Jugendtagebuch des späteren Abtes P. Dominikus Hagenauer," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift. Sonderheft 1967*, 27-8, for a fuller account. Dominicus was eventually elected abbot of St Peter's, a position he owed at least in part to Leopold Mozart's campaign on his behalf. See Leopold's letter to his daughter of 1 February 1786; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:347.

<sup>13</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:284 and 289-90; for translations, see Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family. Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 410, 420 and 422.



<sup>14</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:364: "ich wahr 3 mahl beym Hagenauer; und blieb hinten bey den Töchtern im Stübl, weil vorn schon 2 Professorn, — der Regent im Priesterhauß, Bauverwalter, und H: Pfarrer in der Gnigl waren zum doppelten brandspiel." Concerning the Mozarts playing of games in general, see Günther Bauer, *Mozart. A Great Lover of Games* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Bad Honnef: K. H. Bock, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:556. Johann Anton, or Johannes as he was known, had three daughters: Maria Theresia (1776-?), Anna Elisabeth (1777-?) and Josepha Aloisia (1778-?). For the sale of the clavichord, see Leopold's letter of 17 August 1786; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:573.

<sup>16</sup> See Mozart's letter of 21 December 1782; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:244.

<sup>17</sup> See Leopold Mozart's letter of 11 September 1773; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:498-499: "Ich hoffe ihr werdet bey der Abreise des H: Dr: Niederl euch zu einer allenfalls traurigen Begebenheit vorbereitet haben, damit es euch nicht so schmerzhaft fällt seinen Todt zu hören, als es mir fühl, da ich ihn zu besuchen kam und bereits verschieden fand. . . . Gestern habe nach der Md<sup>me</sup>: Rosa schicken müssen, welche dann auch gekommen, und ich hatte sie eben auf der gasse angetroffen, weil sie den armen Doctor mahlen soll, indem in dem Niederlischen hause nicht einmahl sein Portrait ist."

<sup>18</sup> This portrait is reproduced in Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, 33.

<sup>19</sup> See Mozart's letter of 27 June 1781; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:134: "Wegen der Mad<sup>me</sup>: Rosa muß ich ihnen sagen daß ich 3 mal hingieng bis ich endlich das glück hatte sie anzutreffen; sie würden sie fast nicht mehr kennen, so mager ist sie. als ich sie um das Portrait ersuchte, so wollte sie mir es gar verehren, mit dem zusatz: sie brauche es so nicht; und als den folgenden Tag würde sie mir es schicken. — es giengen aber 3 Wochen herum, und es kamm kein Portrait; ich gieng wieder 3 mal umsonst hin, endlich gieng ich aber in aller frühe hin, da sie noch mit ihrem Bäurischen Ehegemahl [Johann Baptist Hagenauer] beym frühstück war: — da sprang sie vom verehren bis aufs gar nicht hergeben herab. — mir fiel aber ein daß man mit den Italiern in dergleichen fällen ein bischen grob seyn müsse . . .".

<sup>20</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, 7.

<sup>21</sup> See Leopold Mozart's letter to Hagenauer of 3 December 1764; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:178.

<sup>22</sup> Letter of 3 December 1764; see Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:178: "Was Sie mir wegen der Uhr geschrieben, war auch längst mein gedanke. allein es dachte mich noch zu fruh zu seyn. Sie sind erstaunlich theuer; aber auch erstaunlich gut. Die Repetir uhren sind hier weniger im schwunge als in Teuschland und Franckreich. aber meistens goldene Uhren deren eine 20 guinee kostet, die unruhe und räder gehen auf diamanten, man kann auf der Welt nichts accurates und bessers sehen. ich werde ihnen von allen Sorten seiner zeit Nachricht geben." According to a letter of 18 April 1765, one watch was intended for the family friend Viktoria Robinig, the wife of the local nobleman Georg Joseph Robinig von Rottenfeld; see Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:185. Mozart composed at least one work for the Robinig family which is presumed to be the divertimento K334; see his letter 29 May 1782; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:210.

<sup>23</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:204: "das nothwendigste nun, was ich ihnen zu sagen habe ist, daß ich durch Mr Teißier eine sehr grosse Kiste oder Verschlag über Hamburg an sie habe abgehen lassen. Sig: L. M. Wenn sie nun Anlangen wird /:wenn sie noch nicht angelanget ist/ das weis ich nicht. Mr: Tessier giebt mir Nachricht, daß solches auf dem Schiff *Wilhelmus* mit Capitain Adrian Janssen nach Hamburg abgegangen. Es wäre mir lieber er hätte mir geschrieben an wem er es in Hamburg adressiret hat. Es sind Sachen von allen Gattungen darinne, lassen sie solche nur uneröffnet bis zu unserer Ankunft, und sehen sie gleichwohl, daß es an kein gar zu feuchtes Ort kommt; Obwohl, was von polirten Stahl darinne ist, ist gut eingemacht. — Nun ist auch nothwendig, daß sie mir einen guten *Schreib Commot Kasten* kauffen. Ich verstehe, wie der ihrige, mit guten grossen Schubladen. Kurz! einen schönen und guten Kasten: wenn er auch Theuer ist; wo werde ich sonst allen den Plunder hinbringen?" The coffer is mentioned again in Leopold's letter of 12 December 1765 from The Hague. Hagenauer had by this time received the chest sent from London, and Leopold told him to look out for another coming from Holland and a pair to be sent from Paris; see Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:213-214.

<sup>24</sup> Halliwell, *The Mozart Family*, 47.

<sup>25</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:154-5: "Mit der letzten Pariser Post erhalte hierbey geschlossenen Wexl Brief; Ich unterlasse demnach nicht solchen alsogleich an Sie einzusenden, um also gleich Gebrauch davon machen zu können. Da ich mich auf diesen Handel sonderheitlich in die ferne nicht viel verstehe, so habe mit den hiesigen Banquiers Loubier et Teissier als meinen sehr guten Freunden darüber gesprochen, die dann nach Einsehung meines von Ms: Tourton et Baur aus Paris erhaltenen Briefs und der darinnen angestzten 179½ chang: Difference den Valeur der 200 Louis d'or richtig gefunden. Sie werden demnach nicht ermangeln solchen alsobald nach Hamburg zu schicken, und nach geschechener dessen acceptirung mir die 2250 f: gut zu schreiben. Anbey kann ich ihnen mit Vergnügen melden, daß ich bey erst benannten Banquiers Loubier et Teissier abermahl eine kleine Summa von 100 guinées liegen habe, die ich iemand in Salzburg zu Diensten in diesen Gegenden könnte bezahlen lassen. Können sie selbst solche in Paris, Haag, Amsterdam, Hamburg etc. oder sonst wo gebrauchen; so wird es mir höchst angenehm seyn: und da ich sehe, daß vielleicht immer etwas über-rest nach Salzburg zu übermachen haben werde; als[o] ersuche dafür Bedacht zu seyn, und mir an die Hand zu gehen." An earlier account of Leopold's financial arrangements is described in a letter written at Brussels on 4 November 1763; see Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:108-9.

<sup>26</sup> See Leopold's letter of 28 December 1774; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:510.

<sup>27</sup> Here Leopold refers to a commission Mozart received – but never fulfilled, at least not completely – for the composition of several flute quartets and concertos for Ferdinand Dejean, a retired surgeon with the Dutch East Indies Company. See François Lequin, "Mozarts' . . . rarer Mann," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 29/1-2 (1981), 3-19.

<sup>28</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ii:294: 'da du in Manheimm 150f nehmen musstest, war der alte H: Hagenauer sehr betrübt, dann diese Leute wünschen uns Verdienste und Einnahme. da ich ihm aber; das, was du mir geschrieben, sagte, und da euch euere Verpflegung nichts kostet und du 200f bekommen werdest, auch Scolaren hättest, so war er sehr vergnügt. ich muste ihn natürlicher weise bitten, er möchte wegen der Bezahlung der 150f gedult haben; so antwortete er mir: Ey was! Ich habe alles Vertrauen auf dem H: Wolfgang, er wird als Sohn schon seine Schuldigkeit thun, lassen sie ihn nur nach Paris kommen; und leben sie ruhig.'

<sup>29</sup> The catalogue of Leopold Mozart's estate auction is published in Rudolph Angermüller, "Leopold Mozarts Verlassenschaft," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 41/3-4 (1993), 1-32. For Maria Theresia Hagenauer's purchases, see lots 134, 148 150, 171 and 304. The estate auction attracted buyers from all strata of Salzburg society, from the tower watchman, local instrument makers and the court apothecary to members of the Salzburg nobility, including Franz Karl Hannibal Graf von Dietrichstein (1711-1794), president of the Salzburg court chamber; and Leopold Joseph Maria Graf von Kuenburg (1739-1812), a high court official.

<sup>30</sup> For the most convincing and complete account of the administrative details concerning Leopold's death in May 1787, an analysis of the estate auction, and a discussion of the division of the proceeds between Mozart and his sister; see Halliwell, *The Mozart Family*, 545-566.

<sup>31</sup> The earliest document in the archive, which consists partly of originals and partly of transcriptions of originals, appears to be a marriage certificate for one Georg Hagenauer from 1614.

<sup>32</sup> See above concerning Leopold Mozart's interest in topographical engravings; apparently this was a passion he shared with Hagenauer.

<sup>33</sup> Johann Lorenz Hagenauer's estate inventory (Landesarchiv, Salzburg, shelfmark Stadtsyndikat Nr. 346) includes separate categories for cash, clothes, linen, tin tableware, copper and bronzeware, furniture, paintings, business inventory, silver jewelry and jewelry in general (*Praetiosa*), but does not specifically identify paintings and portraits part of the family holdings. This appears to have been the case generally for late eighteenth-century estate inventories; see, for example, Mozart's estate inventory (Deutsch, *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, 493-508) which lists cloths, household goods (including even a coffee grinder) and books but makes no mention of any artwork or portraits; items such as these apparently left no paper trail, at least among people of Mozart's or the Hagenauer's social class.

<sup>34</sup> For a description of some of the Hagenauer possessions, based on Johann Lorenz's estate inventory from 1792, see Barth, "Die Hagenauers. Ein Salzburger Bürgergeschlecht aus Ainring: Die Einbindung einer Handelsfamilie in Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur Salzburgs im späten 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," 319.

<sup>35</sup> The following is based on emails from the Hagenauers, from 12 March and 22 June 2007. I have retained the original orthography. The Hagenauers were first contacted in November and December 2006 (personal communication of 8 May 2008) and I interviewed them in June 2007.

<sup>36</sup> See Leeson, *The Mozart Cache*, 9 and 18.

<sup>37</sup> Even beyond its documented purchase from the Hagenauers, the collection includes – in addition to the bible – a number of eighteenth-century family portraits, among them an original oil painting of Johann Lorenz Hagenauer, long thought to be lost, that served as the model for the image on his headstone at St. Peter's, Salzburg. (Concerning portraits of Johann Lorenz Hagenauer in the collection, see Leeson, *The Mozart Cache*, 29-33.) The Mozarteum similarly accepts without question that the collection originated with the Hagenauers (see <http://www.mozarteum.at/>).

<sup>38</sup> See Deutsch, *Mozart. A Documentary Biography*, 241-244.

<sup>39</sup> Auction valuation by Bonhams & Butterfields, San Francisco.

<sup>40</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:334: "alda [Viterbo] sahen wir die hl: Rosa von Viterbo, die /:so wie die hl: Catharina di Bologna in Bologna:/ unverwes zu sehen sind. von der ersten haben wir fieberpulver und Reliquien, von der zweyten eine gürtl zum angedenken mitgenommen."

<sup>41</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:228: "Wir sind von Paris nach Dijon in Burgund gegangen, wo wir 14. Täge waren. Es geschache solches wegen dem Prinzen von Condé, der uns dahin engagiert wegen der Versammlung der Staaten von Burgund, welches alle 3. Jahre nur geschiehet."

<sup>42</sup> For a transcription of the original concert poster; see Deutsch, *Mozart. A Documentary Biography*, 56-57.

<sup>43</sup> The event seems to have elicited indifference on Mozart's part. Wolfgang wrote to his sister from Milan on 30 November 1771: "ich habe auf dem domplatz hier 4 kerl hencken sehen. sie hencken hier wie zu lion"; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:452. "I saw four rascals hanged here in the cathedral square. They hang [people] here just like they do in Lyon" (Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i:452: "ich habe auf dem domplatz hier 4 kerl hencken sehen. sie hencken hier wie in lion.")

<sup>44</sup> Concerning the Mozarts' card playing, see Bauer, *Mozart. A Great Love of Games*, 117-68.

<sup>45</sup> Email of 16 April 2007. The discrepancy in descriptions of how the portrait made its way to Salzburg is discussed below.

<sup>46</sup> The painting was examined in early 2008 by experts at both Christie's and Sotheby's, who pronounced it consistent with a dating of mid-1780s Vienna. Also see fn. 54 below.

<sup>47</sup> Painted in oils, the portrait measures approximately 19 by 14 inches. The presumed dating of the picture to the mid-1780s and similarity of the sitter to Mozart represents the initial impression of the Mozarteum as well (personal communication from Ulrich Leisinger; 19 May 2006).

<sup>48</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:232-3: "wegen dem schönen rothen frok welcher mich ganz grausam im herzen kitzelt, bittete ich halt recht sehr mir recht sagen zu lassen wo man ihn bekommt, und wie theuer, denn daß habe ich ganz vergessen, weil ich nur die schönheit davon in betrachtung gezogen, und nicht den Preis. – denn so einen frok muß ich haben, damit es der Mühe werthe ist die knöpfe darauf zu setzen, mit welchen ich schon lange in meinen gedanken schwanger gehe; – ich habe sie einmal, als ich mir zu einem kleide knöpfe ausnahm, auf dem kohlmak in der Brandauischen knöpffabrique vis a vis dem Milano gesehen. – diese sind Perlmutter, auf der seite etwelche weisse Steine herum, und in der Mitte ein schöner gelber Stein. – Ich möchte alles haben was gut, ächt und schön ist!"

<sup>49</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:233-4: "Ich habe gestern einen großen Bock geschossen! – es war mir immer als hätte ich noch etwas zu sagen – allein meinen dummen Schädel wollte es nicht einfallen! und das war mich zu bedanken daß sich Euer Gnaden gleich so viel Mühe wegen dem schönen Frack gegeben – und für die Gnade mir solch einen zu versprechen! – allein, mir fiel es nicht ein; wie dies dann mein gewöhnlicher Fall ist; – mich reuet es auch oft daß ich nicht anstatt der Musik die Baukunst erlernt habe, denn ich habe öfters gehört daß derjenige der beste Baumeister sey, dem nichts einfällt."

<sup>50</sup> Indeed, it is not clear from Mozart's letters whether he actually acquired the coat: he writes only of "your Grace's goodness in promising me one like it."

<sup>51</sup> The three portraits are also reproduced in Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, 11, 15 and 23. For a compelling argument that the 1780-1781 family portrait is by an unknown artist, not della Croce, see Dieter George, 'Ist Johann Nopomuk della Croce der Maler des grossen Mozartschen Familienbildes?', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1994*, 65-78. Concerning the Krafft, see Nannerl Mozart's letter of 2 July 1819 to Joseph Sonnleithner in Vienna; Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iv:455-6.

<sup>52</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, 495.

<sup>53</sup> Dr. Otto Biba (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna) suggests that the jacket worn by the sitter may in fact not correspond even generally to the kind of coat described by Mozart in his letters; according to him, 'frok' (or 'Frack') was used as a foreign word in Vienna to describe the latest dress coat fashion from England and France, not the apparently more traditional jacket depicted in the painting. However, contrary to Biba's claim, the style of jacket worn by the sitter in the Hagenauer portrait is not a traditional jacket but corresponds to the style of dress coat known as 'Justaucorps', an article of courtly gala wear in vogue during the 1780s and known as a 'Frac à la française'. See Ingrid Loschek, ed., *Reclams Mode- und Kostümllexikon* (Stuttgart, 1987-2005), xxx:284. I am indebted to Dr. Andrea Mayerhofer-Llanes of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, who also confirmed for me the style and details of the sitter's jacket (personal communication).

<sup>54</sup> This was in the summer of 2006; in March 2007, Braun consulted with Dr. Hermann Mildnerberger of the Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, who in a telephone conversation confirmed that "the style of painting was typical for Vienna of the 1780s" (personal communications, 7 and 8 May 2008).

<sup>55</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:171: "auf die Nacht um 11 uhr bekam ich eine NachtMusick von 2 clarinetten, 2 Horn, und 2 Fagott – und zwar von meiner eignen komposition. – diese Musick hatte ich auf den thesias tag – für die schwester der fr: v: Hickl, oder schwägerin des H: v: Hickl /: Hofmaler :/ gemacht; alwo sie auch wirklich das erstmal ist producirt worden."



<sup>56</sup> Concerning Hickel, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Art Online*. Hickel's brother, Anton (1745-1798) was also an artist and, like Joseph, studied at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste. He worked with Joseph until 1777 and in 1779 began a career as an itinerant portraitist, traveling to Munich, Mannheim and Mainz among others. In 1785 he was appointed court painter to Emperor Joseph II and in 1786 he traveled to Paris, where his patrons were Marie Antoinette and Marie Thérèse Louise of Savoyen-Carignan, Princess of Lamballe. Hickel left for London in 1789, where his work was held in high esteem, and relocated to Hamburg in 1797. Further concerning the Hickels, see Joseph Neuwirth, *Zur Geschichte der Kammermaler Josef und Anton Hickel aus Böhmisches-Leipa* (Vienna, 1927); Edith Thomasberger, "Joseph und Anton Hickel. Zwei josephinische Hofmaler" in *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 36-37 (1992-3), 5-133; Otto Erich Deutsch, "Die Ehrengalerie des alten Burgtheaters," *Studien aus Wien. Neue Folge* (Wiener Schriften 27); and Gerhard Leistner, *Joseph Hickel. Bildnis einer Wiener Sängerin 1792* (Regensburg: Kunstforum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg, 1996). For reproductions of Joseph Hickel's portraits of Viennese actors and playwrights (in particular Gottfried Prehauser; Konrad Steigentesch, Friedrich Wilhelm Weikern, Johann Heinrich Müller; Franz Karl Brockmann, Johanna Sacco, Anna Stephanie, Joseph Lange, Christina Weidner and Josef Weidmann), see György Sebestyén, *Burgtheater-Galerie* (Vienna: Tusch, 1976), 25-28, 32-36 and 39; for other portraits, see Leistner, *Joseph Hickel*.

<sup>57</sup> Hans-Josef Irmén and Heinz Schuler; *Die Wiener Freimaurerlogen 1786-1793. Die Protokolle der Loge "Zur Wahrheit" (1785-1787) und die Mitgliederverzeichnisse der übrigen Wiener Logen (1786-1793)* (Zülpich: Prisca, 1998), 114-115 and 120-121.

<sup>58</sup> Joseph Heinz Eibl, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Chronik eines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977), 84.

<sup>59</sup> A case in point, and one related specifically to Mozart portraiture, is the silverpoint etching of Mozart by Doris Stock, recently purchased by the Mozarteum and published by them in facsimile; see Geneviève Geffray, *Das letzte Porträt Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts. Die Silberstiftzeichnung von Doris Stock* (Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 2006). Unlike Mozart's documented acquaintance with the Hickels, there is no contemporaneous evidence that he met Stock's family, let alone sat for a portrait; neither Stock nor her family are mentioned in Mozart's letters. But that has proved no stumbling block to the etching's acceptance as an authentic portrait from life of the composer.

19. Leopold Mozart with W.A. and "Nannerl" Mozart, Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle, watercolour, Paris, late 1763 (Paris, Musée Carnavalet)

20. Michel Barthélemy Ollivier, *Tea at Prince Louis-François de Conti's, in the Temple*, 1766 (Paris, Musée du Louvre)

21. "W.A. Mozart", miniature (see 16a), detail.



<sup>60</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:171: "die hauptursache aber warum ich sie gemacht, war, um dem H: v. strack /: welcher täglich dahin kömmt :/ etwas von mir hören zu lassen. und deswegen habe ich sie auch ein wenig vernünftig geschrieben."

<sup>61</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iii:262-3: "Hier schicke ich ihnen die Münchner oper und die 2 Exemplare von meinen Sonaten! – die versprochenen Variationen werden ihnen mit nächster gelegenheit schicken, den der Copist konnte sie nicht fertig machen. auch folgen die 2 Portraits; – wünsche nur daß sie damit zufrieden seyn möchten; mir scheint sie gleichen beyde gut, und alle die es gesehen sind der nemlichen Meynung." The Munich opera is *Idomeneo*; neither the sonatas nor the variations can be identified with certainty.

<sup>62</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, 165 and 335.

<sup>63</sup> Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, iv:437: "1783 schickte er mir seinen portrait von Wien ganz klein in bastel, ich würde von diesen die copie haben machen lassen, aber das es in profil ist, so wäre dieser Mahler nicht in Stande gewesen, solches en face zu machen, und zu versichern, daß es vollkommen gleichen würde. Wenn es Ihnen aber gefählig ist, so werde ich mit dennem fremden Mahlern reden, ob sie solches unternehmen wollen, und wie hoch es beylaufig kämme."

<sup>64</sup> The first and to-date only exhibition of this double miniature was at the Albertina, Vienna, in 2006. See Herbert Lachmayer, *Mozart. Experiment Aufklärung im Wien des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2006), 225 nr. 135.

<sup>65</sup> A copy of the report is among the papers of the Maggini-Stiftung, Langenthal.

<sup>66</sup> In general, see Robert Keil, *Die Porträtminiaturen des Hauses Habsburg* (Vienna, 1999).

<sup>67</sup> I am indebted to Robert Keil for making his research available to me. His original report is also housed at the Maggini-Stiftung, Langenthal.

<sup>68</sup> Bauer-Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, i.110, 227 and 451.

<sup>69</sup> These are a portrait in oils attributed to Pietro Antonio Lorenzoni from c1763, a watercolour by Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle from late 1763, and Michel Barthélemy Ollivier's *Tea at Prince Louis-François de Conti's, in the Temple* from the summer of 1766 (**Figures 19-21**); they are also reproduced in Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, 3, 5 and 8.

<sup>70</sup> Documents concerning this colloquium are also housed at the Maggini-Stiftung.

<sup>71</sup> Leeson, *The Mozart Cache*, 17.

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