

**Mozart Society of America and Society for Eighteenth-Century Music**  
**Joint Conference in Salzburg**  
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**Paper Session 1: Mozart in Salzburg**

The *cassatio* in Mozart's Salzburg

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Long before the Köchel catalogue, writers struggled with a proper classification of Mozart's Salzburg *Gebrauchsmusiken*. In his letter of 29 November 1800 (BD 1323), Georg Nikolaus Nissen informed the publisher Breitkopf & Härtel on behalf of Mozart's widow Constanze that he was about to send a now-lost thematic catalogue of Mozart's fragments. After the instrumental music for full orchestra there were to be listed "other works in several parts: such as pieces for wind instruments alone, *Notturni*". Later in his letter, Nissen explained the use of "Notturno": "The works customarily called *Serenades* and *Notturni* and *Gassations* are one and the same; one therefore needs only one name, and definitely not that of *Serenade*, because it is used in a different sense above". Moreover, he added with some disgust: "*Gassations* is an ugly, incomprehensible provincial expression".

Mozart's *cassationes* or "orchestral serenades" as they are now typically called show a mix of features of the more prominent orchestral genres symphony and concerto: they usually consist of more than four movements and normally contain movements with soloistic instruments, often in keys unrelated to the main key of the *cassatio*. Typically they are transmitted with a set of marches. Some but not all originated as "Final-Musiken" (i.e. music for the commencement of the university), another musical term not widely used.

Mozart's *cassationes* are part of an originally much larger Salzburg repertory. A comparison of Mozart's compositions with works by Leopold Mozart, Michael Haydn and lesser known local composers such as Joseph Hafeneder and Johann Georg Scheicher helps to explain that *cassatio*—once terminological confusions have been settled—may well serve to characterize a specific kind of "other works in several parts", characteristic for Salzburg, a city with a music tradition of its own in Mozart's time.

*Il sogno di Scipione*: One Dream, Two Archbishops, Four Interpreters

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Mozart's *Il sogno di Scipione* (Scipio's Dream) was originally composed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the ordination of Prince-Archbishop Schrattenbach. When the seventy-four-year-old ruler died, however, *Il sogno* was repurposed. Evidence suggests that the *serenata* (possibly just a portion of it) was performed for the installation of the next Archbishop of Salzburg who was taking over the post after a highly contentious, protracted election. This presentation will consider why this libretto was chosen and the messages it conveyed to each 'reader' or recipient: the two Archbishops, Leopold Mozart and his son.

After I reexamine the arguments concerning who possibly selected the libretto, I will show why the text was suitable to honor Schrattenbach's years of service and why it remained appropriate for the enthronement of the controversial and much younger Colloredo.

The next section of my presentation involves some speculation. If Leopold, as some scholars suggest, selected this text, what musical and moral lessons did he possibly hope it would deliver? Certainly, setting the libretto would give Wolfgang experience in setting verse by Metastasio, the most revered poet of the age. The work contains aria texts in different meters and affects amenable to various musical treatments. The libretto also includes substantial passages of *versi sciolti* intended to be rendered as recitative. (As Mattheson comments, composing “a good recitative is not such a trifling matter as many think.”) Thus, *Il sogno di Scipione* would allow Wolfgang to practice as well as showcase skills he learned during their recent sojourn in Italy. Undoubtedly the story’s main theme would have appealed to Leopold as well: persistence leads to success; fortune cannot be trusted.

And what of the fifteen-year-old Wolfgang? How might he have “read” Scipio’s dream? Metastasio’s libretto also celebrates self-determination and autonomy. The title character gains knowledge through listening to multiple perspectives, but in the end, it is Scipio, not his father or uncle, who must decide what course to take.

#### A Lesson from Fux: Species Counterpoint and Fugal Technique in Three String Quartet Finales of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (K. 168, 173, 387)

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Links between Johann Joseph Fux’s species counterpoint method and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s music have attracted little attention in the literature. This lacuna is surprising, since Mozart had extensive experience with Fux’s *Gradus ad Parnassum*, both as a young composer (his youthful counterpoint exercises *à la Fux* are on display at the Mozart Geburtshaus in Salzburg), and later as a composition teacher of Thomas Attwood. Though Mozart’s musical spontaneity seemingly runs contrary to the mechanical treatment of rhythm and dissonance that the discipline of species counterpoint entails, there is one genre where Mozart adopted Fuxian counterpoint to evoke “learned style”: his string quartets. Two early quartets, K. 168 and 173 (of 1773) end with fugal finales (recalling Haydn’s Sun Quartets, Opus 20), and the later K. 387, the first of the “Haydn Quartets,” seamlessly blends species counterpoint, fugue, and sonata form in its finale.

This paper will illustrate how Mozart adopts a learned musical language in these three finales in deference to the musical demands of the string quartet--already viewed as the premier genre of chamber music—by adopting Baroque contrapuntal device learned from Fux. The finales of K. 168 and 173 are fundamentally student pieces, a veritable primer of how to use contrapuntal artifice to vary a subject. K. 168 illustrates stretto and subject variation by melodic inversion, while K. 173 begins with a chromatic subject as a technical complication. The finale of K. 387 represents a musical lesson in how to progress from Fux-style florid counterpoint on a cantus firmus (main theme) to a full fugal exposition (subordinate theme), linked by a homophonic transition in deference to Classical norms. Mozart goes beyond mere learned

display: counterpoint as presented in Fux's *Gradus* becomes but one of many musical tools to develop his ideas.

“nam nihil est intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu”:  
 Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756)  
 as a Reflection of Musical Humanism in Eighteenth-Century Salzburg  
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Notwithstanding his disparaging comments about the general state of music in Salzburg disclosed in a letter of August 7, 1778 to Abbé Joseph Bullinger, Wolfgang Amadé Mozart benefitted immeasurably from his early musical education, under the tutelage of his father Leopold — an exceptionally broad education based to a large extent upon Leopold's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756). With this treatise, the single most important contribution of a consummate *musicus*, Leopold's legacy embraces the facets of *musica theorica* (i.e. his understanding and teaching of music fundamentals, history of music theory, and music pedagogy), and *musica practica* (his activities as composer and performer). Leopold Mozart assembled a volume inspired by his own humanist training, initially at the Gymnasium and at the Jesuit School of Saint Salvator (both in Augsburg). Subsequently he continued his study of philosophy and the humanist tradition at the Benedictine University of Salzburg and after his sudden departure from the University, pursued these interests in his own private studies in Salzburg, making use of an extensive library of printed materials (including pre-eighteenth-century publications) that attest to his ongoing interest in historiography. In fact, Leopold's broad education resulted in his distinct approach to music historiography in the fusion of the humanist tradition with the critical observations of Enlightenment thinking, focussed on the *ratio* (reasoning) as the origin of the *scientia musicae*, with both strands of inquiry readily recognized in the paratexts to the treatise. Of the numerous authors identified by name in Leopold Mozart's treatise — without detailing the contributions of the individuals to the humanist tradition and Enlightenment philosophy — Johann Mattheson, in his exploration of the Latin dictum “nam nihil est intellectu, quod non prius in sensu” (from his *Das neu eröffnete Orchester*, Hamburg, 1713, p. 4) appears to have offered full justification for his exploration of the *disciplina musicae* as a *scientia mathematica* and its accountability for both strands of inquiry, that is, *musica theorica* and *musica practica*. In this light, the aforementioned letter of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart may indeed account for the unprecedented shift away from the contemporary performance scene in Salzburg. The humanist training of father Leopold provided a template for the education of his son Wolfgang and the resulting knowledge that his son later passed on to his own students, in particular Thomas Attwood.

Playing the *partitura*: Mozart as Organ Accompanist  
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One of Wolfgang Mozart's official duties as a Salzburg court organist included accompanying concerted church music. In the late eighteenth century, organists mainly accompanied through

the medium of basso continuo. In order to understand how Mozart practised this form of improvisation, it is necessary to examine his early musical training. Unfortunately, very little information on this aspect of Mozart's musical instruction with his father survives. Nevertheless, six manuals on playing a 'partitura' (a term Austrian musicians used to describe basso continuo accompaniment) written by Salzburg court organists, help shine light on the matter. These manuals, written from the time of Georg Muffat to Michael Haydn, detail a systematic method for improvising a basso continuo.

Despite this chronological distance, all the manuals follow a remarkably consistent method of instruction. Thus, they reflect a tradition of basso continuo instruction in eighteenth-century Salzburg in addition to providing details of Mozart's own practice. Through an analysis of these manuals' methods, I demonstrate that Salzburg court organists practised basso continuo accompaniment from within a contrapuntal paradigm. This means that organists realised an accompaniment by adding layers of counterpoint to a bass and not, as may be commonly presumed, by stacking chords above it. This contrapuntal approach affects not only how we understand eighteenth-century basso continuo in practice but also how we process its wider implications for music theory. In relation to Salzburg, for instance, it suggests that late eighteenth-century organists in that city understood musical structures primarily as interval combinations and not through Jean-Philippe Rameau's theory of *basse fondamentale*.

## Paper Session 2: Church Music in Salzburg

*Pietas Christiana* (Salzburg, 1770): A Latin Play with Music by Michael Haydn

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Florian Reichssiegel's Latin tragedy *Pietas Christiana* was performed in Salzburg in August 1770 with music by Michael Haydn. No musical sources directly connected with the play have come to light, meaning that the full extent of Haydn's contribution is unknown. It may have included an overture, incidental music for orchestra, and settings (as arias) of two dedicatory poems. The only surviving music by Haydn that we can identify as composed for *Pietas Christiana* are two choruses. "Cantate Domino laeta pueri cantica" and "Sicut cervus ad fluentia cursitat" still exist, as Gerhard Croll, Manfred Hermann Schmid, and Johanna Senigl have shown, because Haydn reused them as graduals or offertories whose non-liturgical texts allowed them to be performed "pro omni tempore" (that is, during Mass at any time of year).

Studies of Haydn's choruses for *Pietas Christiana* have hitherto focused on "Cantate Domino," a series of elaborations of the *tonus pelegrinus* for chorus interspersed with solo episodes. Haydn's choral passages served Mozart, as Croll showed in an article published in 1991, as a model for the choral component of "Lodi al gran Dio," the final number of *Betulia liberata* (1771). Mozart's achievement, argued Croll, lies in the clever way he used Haydn's music as part of a larger musical and dramatic structure.

In this paper I will pull back from "Cantate Domino" and its connection with Mozart, directing equal attention to both of Haydn's choruses, to Reichssiegel's role (through his texts and stage directions) in shaping Haydn's music, and to the play itself, based on an episode in the early history of Christianity in Japan. I will conclude by proposing a production of *Pietas Christiana* with Haydn's choruses and a speculative reconstruction, using his existing music, of the rest of the play's original musical component.

Quotations and Vestiges of Gregorian Chant in the Masses

of Mozart and Michael Haydn

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The concerted mass, as it was cultivated at the courts of Salzburg and Vienna during the eighteenth century, typically demonstrates an inter-historical stylistic fusion encompassing modern and dated compositional techniques and venerable elements of ecclesiastical music tradition. The foundational and most salient aspect of this fusion is the integration of Renaissance-rooted polyphonic choral procedures into late Baroque and Classical formal and orchestral frameworks. Also prominent in numerous examples from this genre, including notable works by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Johann Michael Haydn, but seldom examined, is an array of references to melodies and structural principles from the Gregorian chant repertoire. Such elements further heighten the inter-historical dimension of these works while honoring their enduring extra-musical function.

This paper will survey examples from the masses of Mozart and Haydn in which such references to this oldest type of Catholic ecclesiastical music underscore these composers'

sensitivity to the inter-historical style imperative and its liturgical underpinnings. It will begin to explicate and classify different ways in which chant elements are incorporated and perceived in their works. This will entail a reconsideration of some scholarly assessments of Mozart's employment of chant gestures and an exploration and comparison of Haydn's longer history of drawing upon the same. Finally, it will consider how these examples shed some light on chant practice in the their Salzburg and Viennese milieux, helping to refine the long-standing notion that Gregorian chant held little importance in their time.

Sacred and Theatrical Style, and Consequent Performance Considerations  
in Michael Haydn's *Requiem*, MH155

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Upon the death of Sigismund Graf Schrattenbach, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, on 16 December 1771, Johann Michael Haydn received the charge to write a Requiem Mass for the Prince-Archbishop's funeral service that would be held on January 2. Haydn completed the *Requiem in C minor (Missa pro defuncto Archiepiscopo Sigismundo)*, MH155, in just two weeks. In Catholic Austria during this time several edicts were made regarding aspects of church music that were considered abuses, particularly the intrusion of "theatrical" style into the liturgy. Benedict XIV's papal bull *Annus qui hunc* of 1749 famously identified some of these abuses and excesses, which was followed by decrees in Vienna within the next five years that sought to formalize aspects of *Annus qui hunc*. Even as late as the 1780s, Schrattenbach's successor Hieronymus Graf von Colloredo, as well as Emperor Joseph II, continued to make specific proscriptions in order to simplify sacred music and reduce its "theatrical" elements.

Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) contains one of the most complete discussions of the styles of church, theater, and chamber music, and was quoted by many later eighteenth-century music theorists on these styles. Part I, Chapter 6—"On the Art of Gesticulation [*Geberden-Kunst*]"—gives clear, helpful information on the distinction of the styles and gesture, and thus is a most helpful aid in making performance decisions. Using Mattheson (and others) as a guide, this study makes the case that Michael Haydn vividly expressed the time-honored liturgical texts of the *Requiem* by sprinkling the sacred style with carefully selected evocative theatrical gestures. Effective performance decisions require a recognition of the relationship between these two styles and their use by Haydn, to ensure the verity of the liturgical message, enlivened by compelling expressivity, in a manner that "moves souls towards piety and devotion" rather than towards pleasure (*Annus qui hunc*, §5).

Motto Technique in Mozart's Church Music of 1774

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Of the music Mozart composed for Salzburg Cathedral, the Credo from the Missa brevis in F Major, K. 192 (June 1774), has been the most scrutinized. Not only is this Credo based on the four-note Fuxian tune that rises in prominence later, but it also entails a striking insertion of a learned element into the current choral style. Following precedents, Mozart repeatedly places the

slow-moving cantus firmus, do-re-fa-mi, “Credo, Credo,” between clauses of the lengthy text, transposing it to begin new sections that then go on to deploy the words quickly.

This paper argues that the tune in this Credo is an example of a motto, a short, frequently recurring figure that provides motivic unity and also articulates sectional divisions. The motto resembles the slow-moving head of a fugue subject, distributed over the entirety of the work, standing out in the midst of a busy texture and affirming the key of the moment. Mozart thus grafts the ecclesiastical tone of *stile antico* onto the sectional organization and key plan of the partly polyphonic, partly operatic style of Salzburgian church music.

What has been overlooked is that Mozart uses this motto technique not only in the Credo but also in other movements from 1774, of various musical characters: the Church Sonata K. 144; the Kyrie and Agnus Dei, also from K. 192; the Kyrie and Agnus Dei from the Missa brevis in D Major, K. 194; the Sancta Maria from Litaniae Lauretanae, K. 195; and portions of the Dixit et Magnificat, K. 193. Mozart’s employment of the technique is sparser in the church music after 1774, but this paper speculates that the impression of the motto – the infusion of the motivic insistence of fugue into otherwise galant structures – manifests itself later in Mozart’s instrumental music in the guise of so-called “monothematic” movements.

## Lecture-Performance

### *L'oca del ... Salisburgo?*

Mozart's Opera Fragment (1783-1784) and its Salzburg Reconstruction (1936)

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On 21st December 1782, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart informed his father about an opera request received from the Court Theatre Director Count Franz Xaver Orsini-Rosenberg. Commissioned was an Italian opera to be performed by an Italian troupe engaged for the next season. While in Salzburg between July and October 1783, Mozart outlined a rough preliminary draft and some 'key points' of this composition, closely collaborating with his 'partner' in the Munich '*Idomeneo*' project', the Salzburg Court Chaplain Giovanni Battista Varesco. Mozart had barely started his work on *L'oca del Cairo* (*The Goose of Cairo*), when the opera had to be abandoned: at the end, only six incomplete copies with various arias and ensembles survived from this endeavour, as well as a collection of other sketches.

In 1855, the German printer Julius André completed the incomplete scores and published them, thus turning *L'oca del Cairo* into a perpetual "work in progress," ever open to experimentations by the musicians of subsequent generations. Taking as a case study one of these experimentations undertaken by the Italian composer Virgilio Mortari (in cooperation with the poet Diego Valeri), the 1936 reconstruction of Mozart's original concept created for and staged by the Salzburg State Theatre, the present paper seeks to investigate the *Rezeption* and *Wirkung* (Everist 1999 and 2012) of Mozart's fragmentary opera *L'oca del Cairo* in pre-war Austria.

The investigation will be based on the collection of related materials from the Archive of the Salzburg State Theatre and the Bibliotheca Mozartiana of the Salzburg Mozarteum Foundation—full and piano scores, director's and prompt books, booklets, and reviews—and vividly illustrated by a team of professional opera singers.

### Paper Session 3: Mozart and Opera

#### Vestiges of Plague Literature in Mozart's *Idomeneo*

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When Mozart left Salzburg for Munich on November 5, 1780, he brought with him a partly finished score for his new opera, *Idomeneo, re di Creta*, along with a libretto by the Salzburg poet Giambattista Varesco. Over the next ten weeks, he insisted on many changes to the libretto, as documented in correspondence with his father, who remained in Salzburg until just before the premiere and served as intermediary between the composer and his librettist, who also remained in Salzburg. We therefore know much about the creation of the opera, but one important character is unmentioned in this correspondence: the monster that rises from the sea to terrorize the citizens of Crete and thereby force the eponymous king to admit to his subjects that their misery will not abate until he fulfills his vow to sacrifice his son to Neptune, the god of the sea. In a crucial recitative in Act 3, the High Priest of Neptune describes the monster's rampage and begs Idomeneo to stop it. This passage was not contained in the French opera that Varesco used as the model for his translation, so he needed to find his own words for it. His text, however, raises questions: why have "thousands and thousands" perished and why are "swollen" bodies "exhaling poison" and "groaning in every doorway"? Varesco must have known that in ancient versions of the legend, as told by Virgil and Servius, a plague, rather than a monster, afflicts the people of Crete. He therefore apparently turned to plague literature, including versions by Lucretius, Ovid, Procopius, and especially Boccaccio, for words to describe the suffering of Idomeneo's subjects. As a result, the High Priest's recitative more closely describes the devastation of a plague than the rampage of a sea-monster.

#### Dramatic Profiles of Mozart's Singers:

Dorothea Wendling, Mattia Verazi, and Mozart's Ilia

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As eighteenth-century theatre poets were responsible for the staging of both their own and imported operas, veritable schools of acting seem to have developed within companies that employed Italian librettists for extended periods. Naturally, these schools informed what we might describe as singers' "dramatic profiles."

One example is Dorothea Wendling, the original Ilia in Mozart's *Idomeneo* (1781), whose career in the Mannheim company (1753-1780) coincided with the court librettist Mattia Verazi's tenure (1755-1780). Wendling not only created roles in at least ten operas for which Verazi had either written or adapted the librettos; the majority of productions in which she sang during her career, and which earned her the sobriquet "the German Melpomene of Mannheim's golden age," were probably directed by him.

This provides a dramaturgical context for Wendling's soulful and very modern acting style. According to the preface to *Ifigenia in Tauride* (1764), for example, where Wendling created the title role, Verazi ventured to "make the subject more interesting" by "rectifying the characters of these roles," thus allowing them to "excite the pity and compassion of others." His

emphasis on visual and ensemble acting, psychological nuance and emotional buildup, conveyed by abundant stage directions, corresponds to contemporary reports on Wendling's acting. "It's indescribable," as an anonymous commentator wrote in 1781, "how this woman empathized with the poet, how the finest nuances of beauty never escaped her, how she recorded every emotion with shades that were quite her own, how she was able to put down what the poet didn't specify and the composer didn't indicate, but quite according to their innermost feelings, their most hidden ideas." Though Varesco's libretto for *Idomeneo* has much fewer stage directions than Verazi's libretto, the latter give an idea of the type of dramatic performance Mozart could and would have expected from his Ilia.

Constructing Pamina's "Ach ich fühl's" as a Siciliana Lament  
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Before singing her only aria in *Die Zauberflöte*, Pamina expresses a sense of abandonment, underscored by an allusion to death and an unescapable fate—characteristics of grief and lament in operatic tradition. The text of "Ach ich fühl's" reinforces such conventions, by depicting sentiments such as loss of happiness, shedding of tears, and the well-known reaction of serious female characters to being abandoned by their lovers: death. Scholarship on this aria primarily employs motivic analysis to demonstrate how Mozart expresses Pamina's grief; however, like other arias in the *Singspiel* tradition, the idiosyncratic setting of "Ach ich fühl's" resists typification. Either Mozart created a unique setting or something has been lost to modern ears that needs to be reconstructed. In this paper, I argue that Mozart is indeed playing with an older convention of aria type: the siciliana lament. This type is construed with markers from both the siciliana dance (slow tempo markings, dotted figures, and the Neapolitan sixth chord) and the lament (the phrygian tetrachord, *passus* and *saltus duriusculus*). I reconstruct this convention through close study of such markers in arias by Alessandro Scarlatti and Händel (including two examples from *Messiah*), pedagogical pieces such as Aprile's *solfeggi*, and instrumental music by Boccherini and Mozart (the slow movements of K. 280 and 488). The musical parameters derived from the analyzed pieces provide a network of markers that can be employed to recognize siciliana laments—including "Ach ich fühl's." In recognizing the way Mozart evokes this tradition in Pamina's aria, I demonstrate how the siciliana lament functions as an effective depiction of grief, invokes the high pastoral topic associated with sensible heroines like Pamina, and provides modern listeners with renewed tools for understanding this piece.

#### Paper Session 4: Salzburg and Mozart Reception

Elegy for Maria Anna Meindl: Black Europeans in Salzburg in the Time of Mozart

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In 1778, Leopold wrote to Wolfgang and his mother in Paris to report on the gossip of Salzburg. Siegmund Haffner the Younger, the wealthy twenty-two-year-old merchant's heir and Mozart family friend (for whom the "Haffner" Serenade K. 250 and "Haffner" Symphony K. 385 were composed), was planning to marry a cook formerly in the service of a Salzburg court chamberlain. Leopold described the cook—a Black woman identified by scholars as Maria Anna Meindl—using racist language, and he and his wife derided Haffner's choice and the ensuing scandal. In the end, Haffner's guardians refused to allow the marriage. He never married, and as the last of his father's line, he spent the remainder of his life in philanthropic endeavors, leaving the bulk of his fortune to the poor and to charitable institutions in Salzburg.

How did Meindl come to Salzburg, and from where? Was she one of the *Hofmohr(inn)en* (Court Moors), Black servants and attendants employed chiefly as exotic ornaments in the courts of German-speaking Europe? What happened to Meindl after her betrothal to Haffner was quashed? I have found only half-answers to these questions: she appears to have been abused by her previous employer, to have eventually married, and to have lived to age seventy-nine, possibly as a beneficiary of Haffner. Telling her story requires an inquiry into the presence of Black Europeans in Salzburg and its environs in the late eighteenth century. But as a Black woman and a domestic worker, Meindl's archival footprint is frustratingly small.

I do not inquire into Meindl's life to shed new light on Mozart's Haffner music. Nor does Leopold and Maria Anna's casual racism when discussing Meindl shed any new light on Wolfgang's biography (he may or may not have shared his parents' views). Rather, to attempt an admittedly incomplete "elegy" for Meindl is to confront the ways the marginalized of Salzburg—Black Austrians, domestic workers, working-class women—haunt the voluminous Mozart correspondence, often infantilized and dehumanized. Drawing on the work of Kira Thurman, Nancy Nenno, and researchers associated with the Black Central European Studies Network, my paper offers a meditation on archival silence and the persistence of "white ignorance" (Mills, 2007) in music history.

Sets, Settings, and Stage Décor in *Die Zauberflöte* and Contemporary Magical Operas

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Reports of *Die Zauberflöte*'s earliest performances barely comment on Mozart's music, but virtually all highlight the opera's spectacular scenery and splendid costumes. Despite their telegraphic brevity, several speculate on the production's cost, putting forth extravagant numbers that may have been leaked by Schikaneder himself. Like these reports, the Theaterzettel also emphasizes the opera's visual elements, advertising its "realistic costumes" and the "artistic diligence" of the Wiednertheater's painter and set designer. The emphasis on sets, costumes, and stage décor in *Die Zauberflöte*'s early reception suggests that the opera's appeal was more closely tied to its visual spectacle than to Mozart's music.

However, the stage descriptions in the libretti of contemporaneous works show that *Die Zauberflöte*'s visual appearance was, for the most part, remarkably conventional. Like many magical operas, *Die Zauberflöte* emphasizes the supernatural by alluding to remote and exotic locations, by employing sumptuous materials in its stage décor, and by presenting theatrical effects that bedazzle audiences and characters alike. In fact, some of *Die Zauberflöte*'s stage sets and décor were probably reused from operas presented at the Wiednertheater in the same season, including *Der Stein der Weisen*, *Der dumme Gärtner*, and *Der wohltätige Derwisch*.

But not all is conventional in *Die Zauberflöte*. Mozart's last opera is unique in the number of its sets and the quantity of newly-designed stage décor. Whereas operas produced at the Wiednertheater had an average of six or seven different sets per production, *Die Zauberflöte* might have employed up to eleven, giving credit to the speculations about its high production cost. Although today *Die Zauberflöte* is mostly valued for its musical and dramatic features, its early success was also prompted by its conventional, yet unique, visual spectacle.

Prague vs. Salzburg:  
Patriotism, Isolationism, and the Bohemian *Mozart-Denkmal* in the 1830s  
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From the late eighteenth century on, Prague's artists and intellectuals claimed that the Bohemian capital was more important for Mozart's legacy than Salzburg and Vienna. These sentiments led to proposals for the establishment of a Mozart foundation in Prague. The first such proposal came in 1831 from Prague University professor Martin Adolf Pleischl. In 1837, Pleischl's proposal was expanded into a call for a foundation that would collect and publish Mozart's compositions and provide scholarships for Bohemian music students and composers. In the spring of 1837, the project's proponents organized fundraising concerts and submitted petitions to authorities, so that in the fall of 1837, a room in Prague's University Library could be dedicated to Mozart. The room featured the composer's bust and two bookcases with Mozart scores. The other plans never came to fruition, and the Bohemian *Mozart-Denkmal* remained mostly unknown outside of Prague.

This paper shows that the ambitious plans for the Bohemian *Mozart-Denkmal* were driven by cultural patriotism. The main reason why Pleischl's proposal was revived precisely in 1837 had to do with the Pragocentric anniversary of the 1787 premiere of *Don Giovanni*. During the same year, moreover, Central European Mozart fans organized collections for the Salzburg Mozart monument (eventually dedicated in 1842), and the Prague *Mozart-Denkmal* promoters both modelled their activities on these efforts and disparaged them. Several Prague commentators criticized the Bohemian *Mozart-Denkmal* as a narrow-minded undertaking that diminished the Salzburg efforts and isolated Prague from international trends. These voices eventually prevailed, members of Prague's elites supported the Salzburg monument, and the Bohemian *Mozart-Denkmal* remained incomplete. The anti-Salzburg, isolationist rhetoric of 1837 would nevertheless periodically reappear in later Bohemian and specifically Czech national discourse on Mozart's legacy in Prague.