

VIENNA AND BEYOND: COBENZL'S ENGAGEMENT WITH MUSIC AND THE STYLISTIC CHANGE AROUND 1781

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The patronage of the Cobenzl family covers a long period and a large geographical area in eighteenth-century Europe. In the absence of a comprehensive work on this subject, previous research has mostly underlined single aspects or events. In this, it can overlook, however, the over-generational consistency of a true cultural policy in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The different roles in musical patronage assumed by single members of the Cobenzl family should be therefore considered together with the political rise of the House Cobenzl. On the other hand, these roles should be nearly specified in terms of the historical distinction between amateur (*dilettanti*) and professional (*professori*) musicians. According to the social conventions of the time, nobles were usually not allowed to undertake a professional career as musicians or even as actors. At the same time, as we will see in the case of the Cobenzls, they received a thorough education in music and the arts.

As a matter of fact, public musical life and theatrical performances were still more of an exception. If we take the arrival of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) in Vienna as an important point of reference for the history of Classicism in music, his first engagements in the Austrian capital often consisted in private or semi-private performances in the aristocratic salon or middle-class parlor. Main actors in the development of the Classical style, such as Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and Mozart, were highly dependent on such forms of musical patronage at the time, especially when they tried to emancipate from the traditional employment at court. According to the authoritative definition of Raphael Kiesewetter and Ludwig Finscher, a decisive and epoch-making development of the Classical style mainly drew on instrumental and vocal masterpieces for a relatively larger ensemble: that is, on string quartets and quintets, piano concerts, and symphonies, as well as the German *Singspiel*, opera, mass and oratorios that were written by Haydn and

Mozart in 1781–1803¹. Heinrich Besseler placed more attention on other genres, such as the sonata and, above all, the free fantasy, for describing a «stylistic change around 1781» in Mozart². The present investigation will regard, instead, variations and sonatas for piano and violin that Mozart wrote or published in Vienna in the same year.

Mozart's establishment in Vienna is differently connected with the personal engagement of the Cobenzls, which still deserves a more comprehensive evaluation in terms of a wider cultural commitment. The first part of the present contribution will track, in this sense, the development of their musical patronage from Ljubljana to Brussels in the period from 1740 to 1780, including first contacts with the Mozart family in Salzburg and on their way to Paris. The second part will focus on Cobenzl's direct support of Viennese cultural life during crucial years of the development of the Classical style in the 1780s. Thus, a time span from around 1781 to 1786, coinciding with Mozart's arrival and affirmation as a free-lance composer on the Viennese scene, takes on particular importance in the engagement of Cobenzl as part of the Viennese nobility in Vienna's private musical and theatrical life.

Letters and further documents will then allow reconstructing at least some activities in these fields that see either a passive or an active participation of the Cobenzls in selected entertainments. Such general subdivision will be applied both in the third part dedicated to musical repertory, since variations and sonatas could be either written for or only dedicated to members of the Cobenzl family, and in the fourth part on theatre. In this regard, theatrical life included not only public opera performances, but also with the rich tradition of the *Comédie de Société* in the houses of the Viennese nobility.

Since historical documents that were available for the current investigation cover, in case, different time spans, and the selection of reported musical and theatrical events is highly dependent on the personal preferences of their respective authors, research results can barely be considered conclusive. On the contrary, they are expressively intended to delineate some tendencies for some future lines of research. In the conclusions a hypothesis will be formulated that could partly explain why the Cobenzls played a key role in Mozart's establishment in Vienna, but they seem then to literally disappear from both Mozart's later correspondence and further developments of the Classical style.

1 Ludwig FINSCHER, Art. *Klassik, Inhalt und Grenzen des Epochenbegriffes*, in *MGG Online*, 2016ff., printed 1996, online 2016, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/13296>.

2 The expression «Stilwende von 1781» is used in Heinrich BESSELER, *Bach als Wegbereiter*, in «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», 12, no. 1 (1955), pp. 1–39: 37.

1. Beyond Vienna: patronage and education in the Cobenzl family (1740–1780)

The roots of Cobenzl's cultural commitment in Vienna at the time of Mozart and Haydn go back to an ongoing action in the fields of patronage, intensive networking, and a thorough education program for preparing their own children to public office in the empire. Considering that this 'preparatory' phase extends over several decades in the eighteenth century, we can take the year 1740 as an ideal point of departure for the current historical narration. In this year, Johann Caspar (Giovanni Gasparo) Count Cobenzl (1664–1742) became a leader of the *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium* in present-day Ljubljana, a purely musical academy active from at least 1701 until ca. 1769. The *Academia Philharmonicorum* followed the foundation of a *Societas Unitorum* in 1688 and a learned *Academia Operosorum Labacensium* in 1693³. Giovanni Gasparo's son Karl (Carlo) Count Cobenzl (1712–1770)⁴ (**tav. 13**) visited in his formation years until 1753 several courts and towns—including Würzburg and Mannheim—and got acquainted with people of all ranks⁵. It should be then added that the Mannheim court orchestra was in the process of gaining an international reputation for its orchestral music, for the Elector Carl Theodor

3 On the history of the *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium* see: Aleš NAGODE, *Vloga plemstva iz slovenskega dela avstrijskih dednih dežel v življenju in delu Wolfganga A. Mozarta* (*The Nobility of the Slovene Part of Austrian Lands and its Role in the Life of W. A. Mozart*), in «Muzikološki Zbornik» («Musicological Annual»), 43, no. 1 (2007), pp. 91–98: 94, and Metoda KOKOLE, *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium v evropskem okviru* (*Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium in the European context*), in *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium, 1701–2001: 300let (300 years)*, Ljubljana, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti (Muzikološki Inštitut), pp. 205–257. Giovanni Gasparo was already one of the members of the *Societas Unitorum* who later joined the *Academia Philharmonicorum*.

4 For biographical information on Carlo Cobenzl see the index entry *Cobenzl, Johann Karl Philipp Graf von*, in *Deutsche Biographie*, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118837036.html> [last access: 31 August 2021], and Arianna GROSSI, *Art. Cobenzl, famiglia*, in Cesare SCALON, Claudio GRIGGIO, Ugo ROZZO (eds.), *NL. L'Età veneta, Udine, Forum*, 2009, pp. 739–741: 739.

5 As Catherine Phillips reports, Carlo attended the Court of Würzburg during his studies at the University of Leiden. After that, he resides between 1743 and 1753 for longer periods in Mainz (1743; 1746–53), Bonn (1743–46) and Ratisbonne (1746), and spent some time in Worms (1748), Mannheim (1748), Hannover (1750) and Aschaffenburg (1752). Already the atmosphere in Würzburg, «where men of learning, artists and musicians were highly valued at Court, must have presented a striking contrast to Vienna». See Catherine Victoria PHILLIPS, *Art and Politics in the Austrian Netherlands: Count Charles Cobenzl (1712–70) and His Collection of Drawings*, PhD Diss., University of Glasgow, 2013, p. 80.

significantly promoted a circle of musicians generally known as the ‘Mannheim School’ in the period 1743–1778⁶.

In 1753 Carlo was finally appointed as the minister plenipotentiary in the Austrian Netherlands and settled down in Brussels. Together with his wife Marie Therese, he belonged from the very beginning among the ‘official’ sponsors of both the *Concert Noble* and the *Concert Bourgeois*—two semi-private concert institutions of recent foundation. The society named *Concert noble* or «une compagnie de la noblesse» organized a few concerts in the *Maison du Roi* or ‘Brodthuys’ until ca. 1767, whereas a concert attendance of the Count and Countess Cobenzl is reported in the *Gazette du Bruxelles* already on 22 March 1754⁷. On the other side, the members of the *Concert Bourgeois* or «compagnie de bourgeois» started their activities in winter 1753 and obtained the *Petite Boucherie* from December 1755 on as a permanent venue for their concerts⁸. On 3 June 1761 the *Concert Bourgeois* held a concert in presence of the Cobenzls to celebrate the return to Brussels of Charles of Lorraine. The press reported on this event as follows, also mentioning the presence of Count Starhemberg:

The Directors of the Concert Bourgeois had a Prologue performed to celebrate the return of the Prince, entitled Arts, set to music by M. Vitzthumb. *The Temple of the Arts*, set to music by M. Vitzthumb. Minerva was represented by Mlle. Nonancourt, Apollo by M. Compain, the Music by M. Chatillon: all actors and singers of the Comédie. Mrs. Van Maldere & Massart performed several brilliant pieces, one for violin and the other for cello, to great applause. H.R.H. honored the concert with His Presence. and appeared satisfied. Mr. the Count Staremberg Ambassador of the Court of Vienna to that of France & his Exc. Madame the Countess of Cobenzl were also there. The bonfires, the illuminations, the cannonades followed the concert⁹.

6 On the history and definition of the term Mannheim School see Bärbel PELKER, Art. *Mannheimer Schule*, in *MGG Online*, 2016ff., printed 1996, online published 2016, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/12551>.

7 Marie CORNAZ, *Le Concert Bourgeois. Une société de concerts publics à Bruxelles durant la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, in «Revue belge de Musicologie» / «Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap», 53 (1999), pp. 113–136: 116 and 116–117, n10.

8 *Idem*, p. 116.

9 *Gazette des Pays-Bas*, Thursday, 4 June 1761, supplement, in Cornaz, *Le Concert Bourgeois* cit., p. 121: «Les Directeurs du Concert Bourgeois ont fait exécuter pour célébrer le retour du Prince un Prologue ayant pour titre. *Le Temple des Arts*, mis en Musique par M. Vitzthumb. Minerve y étoit représentée par Mlle. Nonancourt, Apollon par M. Compain, la Musique par M. Chatillon: tous acteurs & chanteurs de la Comédie. Mrs. Van Maldere & Massart y ont exécuté avec applaudissement. plusieurs morceaux brillans l’un de Violon, l’autre de Violoncelle. S.A.R. a honoré le concert de Sa Présence. & en a paru satisfaite. Mr. le Comte de Staremberg Ambassadeur de la Cour de Vienne à celle de France & son Exc. Madame la Comtesse de Cobenzl y étoient aussi. Les feux de joie, les illuminations, les cannonades ont succédé au concert».

The Austrian diplomat Georg Adam von Starhemberg (1724–1807) played an important role as the Ambassador to the Court of France in the rapprochement of France and Austria. He is mainly known for having concluded the Treaty of Versailles in 1756, for which he was later elevated to the rank of prince, and for having thereafter negotiated the marriage of the Archduchess Maria Antonia with the Duke of Berry, the future King Louis XVI of France. Before becoming the successor of Carlo as minister plenipotentiary after his death in January 1770, Starhemberg accompanied the Archduchess during her bridal ride. He held the highest office in the travel escort up to the French border and was the only member of the Austrian entourage allowed to accompany future Queen Marie Antoinette to Versailles. As the main person responsible for the smooth running of the journey, he was also in charge to prove the observance of the ceremonial along the route of the bride, which also included musical and theatrical performances. The example of Freiburg shows how important it was at the time to maintain good relations with courts and towns, which employed professional musicians and singers not at least for the essential representative purposes in the age of Absolutism. In this case, local authorities initially planned an opera and had then opted for a ballet performance. After an unsuccessful request to Würzburg, musicians of the Mannheim court were finally hired¹⁰.

Against this background, Carlo's interest for music and the arts in Brussels and before was not motivated by personal interest alone, but it should be originally considered a must-have for a diplomat and statesman, of which the Cobenzl and his peers were and certainly remained conscious in the time to come. Brussels has also been the first station in the diplomatic career of the Dutch-born baron Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803)¹¹, who is nowadays better-known for his later patronage of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven in Vienna. His supervisor Carlo Cobenzl reported in 1756 that «music takes the best part of his time»¹². Swieten continued to maintain friendly relations with

10 On the role of Starhemberg in the bridal ride of Marie Antoinette, and the planning of the cultural program in Freiburg see Carmen ZIWES, *Die Brautfahrt der Marie Antoinette 1770: Festlichkeiten, Zeremoniell und ständische Rahmenbedingungen am Beispiel der Station Freiburg*, in «Aufklärung», 6, no. 2 (1992) (Zum Wandel von Zeremoniell und Gesellschaftsritualen in der Zeit der Aufklärung), pp. 47–68: 50 and 53.

11 For biographical information on van Swieten as a patron and his musical expertise see Edward OLLESON, Art. *Swieten, Gottfried (Bernhard), Baron van*, in *Grove Online*, printed 2001, online published 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27216>. For a biographical profile see Marion BRÜCK, Art. *Swieten, Gottfried Freiherr von*, in *NDB*, 25 (2013), pp. 731–732, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118620185.html> [last access: 31 August 2021].

12 Edward OLLESON, *Gottfried van Swieten, Patron of Haydn and Mozart*, in «Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association», 89th Sess. (1962–63), pp. 63–74: 64.

the Cobenzl family and shared his musical interests in correspondence with them. In a letter to Carlo he comments, for instance, on the performance of the «serenata teatrale» *Il Parnaso confuso* by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787) in these terms: «The Archduchess Opera is a unique thing in its kind, and could not be admired enough regardless of the rank of the characters»¹³. *Il Parnaso* was one of three operas that Gluck wrote in connection with the remarriage of Joseph II. It was premiered on 24 January 1765 in Schönbrunn with the active participation of four archduchesses as singers and Joseph's brother Leopold as conductor¹⁴.

Such accounts confirm how salient a good music education remained for the nobility in matters of social relationships and advancement under the Habsburg monarchy – especially during the Josephine era. In this respect, the members of the Cobenzl family were first well informed about current events or attended them regularly. Secondly, they provide their children with music education as part of a thorough educational program, which should prepare them for their duties in society. Nevertheless, only a few details about the music education of Carlo's children are known at the current state of research. While Carlo's son Ludovico Giuseppe (Louis) Cobenzl (1753–1809) played the second violin during his period of studies in Strasbourg (1767–1770)¹⁵ – which might suggest his participation in string quartet performances –, the marriage contract of his sister Maria Carlotta (Charlotte) Cobenzl (1755–1812) with Count Rumbeke of 1778 contains an indication about «un forte piano et un petit clavecin»¹⁶. In this, especially the ownership of a fortepiano testifies a modern attitude towards keyboard music.

13 Gottfried van Swieten on 16 February 1765 to Carlo Cobenzl (Brussels, Archives générales Rég. 1239, fol. 108/9), in Irene BRANDENBURG, Renate CROLL Gerhard CROLL, Elisabeth RICHTER, Art. *Gluck, Christoph*, in *MGG Online*, 2016ff., online published 2016, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/13147>: «L'Opéra des Archiduchesses est un chose unique dans son genre, et n'a pas pu être assez admiré indépendamment du rang des personnages».

14 Brandenburg et al., *Gluck, Christoph* cit.

15 For a comprehensive survey on the education of Louis Cobenzl, also including music, dancing, and theatre visits, see Federico VIDIC, «Uno degli uomini conversevoli più alla moda». *La formazione dell'ambasciatore Louis Cobenzl*, in this volume.

16 On the marriage contract dated 13 June 1778 see Georges ENGLEBERT, *Une grande dame cosmopolite au XVIIIe siècle: la comtesse Charlotte de Thiennes de Rumbeke, née Cobenzl*, in Elisabeth SPRINGER, Leopold KAMMERHOFER (eds.), «*Archiv und Forschung*»: das Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte Österreichs und Europas, Wien – München – Oldenbourg, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1993, pp. 178–187: 178. Georges ENGLEBERT, *Une amie du Prince de Ligne et dame cosmopolite au XVIIIe siècle: la comtesse Charlotte de Thiennes de Rumbeke née Cobenzl*, in «*Nouvelles annales Prince de Ligne*», 12 (1998), pp. 145–164: 148.

An up-to-date education was ensured not only through private music lessons, of which we have no further notice concerning the period in Brussels, but also through music patronage itself. This included the support of famous musicians such as the violinist and composer Leopold Mozart (1719–1787) with his children Wolfgang Amadeus and Maria Anna, and the occasional exchange with further music patrons. Carlo's nephew Philipp Cobenzl (1741–1810)¹⁷ made acquaintance with the Mozart family during his studies at the University of Salzburg (1759–1765), while the next meeting took place in Brussels towards the end of 1763. On that occasion Leopold Mozart had knowingly taken a leave from employment at the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg for undertaking a concert tour with his two children, stopping in Brussel just before their famous trip to Paris¹⁸ (**fig. 25.1**).



Fig. 25.1. Louis Carrogis Carmontelle, *Portrait of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart playing in Paris with his father Johann Georg and his sister Maria Anna* (1763), drawing. Paris, Musée Condé.

- 17 For biographical information on Philipp Cobenzl see the articles of Constantin von WURZBACH, *Cobenzl, Johann Philipp Graf*, in *BLKO*, vol. 2, Wien, Verlag der typografisch-literarisch-artistischen Anstalt, 1857, pp. 391–392; Hermann HÜFFER, *Cobenzl, Philipp Graf von*, in *ADB*, vol. 4, Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1876, pp. 363–369; Hellmuth RÖBLER, *Cobenzl, Philipp Graf von*, in *NDB*, vol. 3, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1957, pp. 298–299.
- 18 On the Cobenzls' support and acquaintance of Mozart in Brussels and Salzburg see Nagode, *Nobility* cit., pp. 94–96. On early meetings of the Mozart family with Carlo and Philipp Cobenzl in the 1760s see the travel notes of Leopold Mozart (Brussels 4 October – 15 November 1763) in Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg (ed.), collected and explained by Wilhelm A. BAUER and Otto Erich DEUTSCH, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe* (*Mozart. Letters and Records. Complete Edition*), 1962ff., Ullrich KONRAD (ed.),

In 1769 it was Count Karl von Zinzendorf (1739–1813) who paid a visit to the Cobenzl family, giving, in this connection, a detailed account of his meeting with Charlotte in his diary¹⁹. The diaries of Zinzendorf represent one of the main sources for the musicological research on Viennese Classicism, whereby this designation stays for a much broader historical phenomenon. Despite—or in reason of—the undisputed centrality of Austrian capital in the development of the Classical style, it should never be forgotten that this involved, indeed, different networks in and from all over the Austrian Empire and far beyond. While Zinzendorf served the Austrian Empire in a variety of locations, including Trieste, before taking government posts in Vienna²⁰, the Cobenzl family could rely around 1780 on an expanding network in the four corners of Europe as well as in Viennese political and cultural life. This network already included some of the main actors and witnesses of the stylistic change around 1781: van Swieten, Zinzendorf, and, of course, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

2. The establishment of the Cobenzl family and Mozart's arrival in Vienna (1781)

In early 1781 all threads of our story seem to run together: Charlotte Rumbeke visited her uncle Guidobaldo Cobenzl (1716–1797) in Gorizia before moving with her husband to Vienna²¹. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was highly motivated after the large success in Munich of his opera *Idomeneo, re di creta* K. 366²² to leave his employment at the court of Salzburg for embarking on a (difficult) career as a freelance musician in Vienna. His later librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749–1838) had just arrived in Gorizia, receiving enthusiastic support by Guidobaldo. The younger brother of Carlo Cobenzl spent most of his lifetime in Gorizia, where he founded together with Raimondo Della Torre the *Accademia degli Arcadi romano-sonziaci* in 1780²³. According to David Do

extended edition with an introduction and supplement, 8 voll., Kassel and Munich, Bärenreiter, and DTV, 2005, II, no. 69, p. 111. Carlo Cobenzl's recommendation letter was useless for Paris, as reported in the letter of Leopold Mozart to Lorenz Hagenauer in Salzburg (Paris, 1 April 1764), *idem*, II, no. 83, p. 141.

19 Englebert, *Une grande dame* cit., p. 178.

20 For general information on Karl von Zinzendorf's biography and his stations in public service see Franz von KRONES, Art. *Zinzendorf, Karl Graf von*, in *ADB*, vol. 45, Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1900, pp. 340–345.

21 Grossi, *Cobenzl, famiglia* cit., p. 740.

22 Premiere of Mozart's opera *Idomeneo*: Munich, 29 January 1781.

23 See: Giulia DELOGU, *Trieste «di tesori e virtù sede gioconda». Dall'Arcadia Romano-Sonziaca alla Società di Minerva: una storia poetica*, PhD Diss., Università di Trieste, 2013/2014.

Paço, «[a]s his influence was growing at the Viennese court and his son Philipp had just entered Joseph II's personal government circle, Cobenzl was keen to attract some artists and poets to Gorizia who could foster the city's reputation and celebrate its glory»²⁴ (**tav. 20**).

Philipp Cobenzl, Guido's son, embodied the Josephist intellectual ideals of a reforming elite, also known as the Austrian political Enlightenment, to which Da Ponte can henceforth be furtherly ascribed²⁵. Following his appointment as Vice Chancellor to State in Vienna, Philipp led one of the two major parties at the Viennese court, as opposed to that of Grand Chamberlain Franz Xaver Orsini-Rosenberg, who had previously embarked on his career at the service of Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo of Tuscany. As Do Paço has pointed out, there is, however, only a partial correspondence between the patronage of Cobenzl and Rosenberg and their respective German and Italians alliance at court:

Although Rosenberg was relatively close to Italian authors and composers, Salieri, his client, was free to work alternatively with Casti or Da Ponte. Salieri's direct privileged access to the emperor was the guarantee of his autonomy. Da Ponte was connected to Cobenzl who funded his trips to Vienna and Dresden, which granted him the protection of Joseph II, but he could also work with Mozart, Salieri and Martini²⁶.

Mozart needed in any case several well-to-do patrons in Vienna, pupils, and lucrative commissions to compensate for the loss of his salary in Salzburg²⁷. For this purpose, his father Leopold had already recommended him to contact the most influential families of the time: the Hartig, Kaunitz, Cobenzl and Lehrbach²⁸. Shortly after his arrival in Vienna on 16 March 1781²⁹, Mozart had soon dined with Philipp Cobenzl (**tav. 26**) and other members of the family. As he wrote in a letter dated 24 March to his father: «I have already eaten twice at Countess Thun's, and go there almost every day [...]».

24 David DO PAÇO, *Circulation and Social Mobility: Lorenzo Da Ponte's Career from Gorizia to New York (c.1780–c.1830)*, in Pierre-Yves BEAUREPAIRE, Philippe BOURDIN, and Charlotte WOLFF (eds.), *Moving scenes: the circulation of music and theatre in Europe, 1700–1815*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2018, pp. 171–187: 174.

25 *Idem*, p. 172. Cfr. Antonio TRAMPUS, *Giovanni Filippo Cobenzl e le riforme giuseppine*, in this book.

26 Do Paço, *Circulation* cit., p. 179.

27 Royce E. WATES, *Mozart. An introduction to the music, the man, and the myths*, Milwaukee, Amadeus Press, 2010, p. 121.

28 Letter of Leopold Mozart to his son in Munich (Salzburg, 2 December 1780), in Konrad, *Mozart. Briefe*, III, no. 551, p. 43.

29 Wates, *Mozart* cit., p. 119.

I have also eaten at Count Cobenzl's, and that because of Countess von Rumbeck, his cousin, the sister of the Cobenzl in the *Pagerie*, who was in Salzburg with her sire»³⁰. With «Countess Thun» Mozart refers to one of his earliest patrons in Vienna, Countess Maria Wilhelmine Thun-Hohenstein, née Uhlfeld (1744–1800). On 28 March he remarked in the closure of the same letter: «I have Countess Rumbeck as a pupil»³¹.

One could be tempted to observe a clear separation of roles: Philipp was generally active as a patron of the arts in the frame of his political commitment, while Charlotte became Mozart's first piano pupil in Vienna only a few days after this dining. However, these roles of 'patron' and 'pupil' should not be oversimplified. After his dismissal from the service of Archbishop Colloredo in June 1781, Mozart accepted the hospitality of the Viennese high nobility. So, he spent in July almost three weeks at Cobenzl's hunting lodge in Kahlenberg, an hour's drive from Vienna, where Philipp had laid out the first English garden in the surroundings. This garden must have been magnificent, as we learn from the accounts of Mozart and Zinzendorf³². Apart from that, English gardens were quite a political statement: as the opposite of the well-structured French garden, they were a symbol of equality and served as a usual location for freemasons' meetings. For this, they had been long forbidden under Maria Theresa and readmitted only under the new Emperor Joseph II³³. The ideal of the English garden was also an important model for the development of the free fantasy for keyboard instruments as the opposite of the ruled-dominated sonata³⁴. In this sense, it seems not to be a coincidence

30 Letter of Mozart to his father in Salzburg (Vienna, 24 and March 1781), in Konrad, *Mozart. Briefe* cit., III, no. 585, pp. 98–99 (24 March): «bey der gräfin Thun habe schon 2 mal gespeist, und komme fast alle tage hin [...]. – bey dem grafen Cobenzl habe auch gespeist, und das wegen der gräfin v: Rumbeck seine Muhme, die schwester vom Cobenzl in der Pagerie, welche mit ihrem herrn in Salzburg war». Engl. translation (Bauer/Deutsch) in Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg (ed.), *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – Online-Edition*, <https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1151&cat=3> [last access: 31 August 2021].

31 *Idem* (28 March), p. 101: «die gräfin Rumbeck habe zur *schülerin*». Engl. translation, *idem*.

32 The visit took place 11–31 July 1781. See Otto Erich DEUTSCH, *Mozart. A documentary biography*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1966, p. 196, n1, and Daniel HEARTZ, *Mozart's Sense for Nature*, in «19th-Century Music», 15, no. 2 (1991), pp. 107–115: 112. Konrad, *Mozart. Briefe* cit., III, no. 661, ([Kahlenberg], 13 July 1781), pp. 139–140. For Zinzendorf's accounts on his visits of 2 May 1781 and 31 July 1783 see Englebert, *Une grande dame* cit., p. 180, and Alfred von ARNETH (ed.), *Graf Philipp Cobenzl und seine Memoiren (Souvenirs des différentes époques de ma vie)*, Wien, Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1885, p. 45.

33 Wates, *Mozart* cit., pp. 123–125.

34 On the reception history of the English garden in the German *Gartenkunst* and the comparison with the free fantasy see Annette RICHARDS, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Pictorial*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 64–71.

that free fantasy was an important genre in the development of Mozart's style from 1782 up to his famous Fantasy in C minor of 1785.

The Viennese development is knowingly related to the strict collaboration between Mozart and—the already mentioned—Baron van Swieten that specifically regards not only this genre as such, but also more generally the study of music of Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759), Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), and of his elder son Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788)³⁵. In a larger discourse about the emergence of the Classical style, Ludwig Finscher observes that

[i]t is not simply an addition of personal styles and masterpieces. Part of the uniqueness of the situation is that the personal styles reacted to each other and to the Viennese constellation. This is clearer than with Haydn in the case of Mozart, who only actually developed his personal style in the first Viennese years, especially in the simultaneous confrontation with Haydn's opus 33 and the encounter with the works of Bach and Handel with Baron Gottfried Bernhard van Swieten³⁶.

Apart from the important action of van Swieten we should furtherly consider a larger context of patronage and cultural influence that also includes Philipp Cobenzl and usually went even beyond the mere financial or personal support in the good society.

In case of his cousin Charlotte Rumbeke, there is another reason that makes it difficult in detail to distinguish between a role of a 'pupil' or that of a 'patron', as Mozart's services were requested not only for regular lessons in the morning, but also for home music making in the evening. Under this point of view, Cristina Bragaglia's description of the Rumbeke portrait of 1781 (**tav. 24**) offers an ideal point of departure for further investigations. As Bragaglia observes, nothing in this portrait is left to chance: the letter in the hand of

35 For a compact survey on van Swieten's patronage of Mozart see Hertz, *Mozart* cit., pp. 62–65. Standard literature on the history of the free fantasy includes Peter SCHLEUNING, *Die freie Fantasie. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der klassischen Klaviermusik*, Göppingen, Kümmerle, 1973, Laurenz LÜTTEKEN, *Das Monologische als Denkform in der Musik zwischen 1760 und 1785*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1998, and Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, cit.

36 Finscher, *Klassik* cit.: «Dabei geht es nicht einfach um eine Addition von Personalstilen und Meisterwerken. Zum Einzigartigen der Situation gehört, daß die Personalstile aufeinander und auf die Wiener Konstellation reagierten. Deutlicher als bei Haydn ist das bei Mozart, der in den ersten Wiener Jahren seinen Personalstil erst eigentlich entwickelt, vor allem in der gleichzeitigen Auseinandersetzung mit Haydns opus 33 und der Begegnung mit den Werken Bachs und Händels beim Baron Gottfried Bernhard van Swieten».

Charlotte stays for her exceptional engagement with the cultural debate of her time, while the books and musical scores at her feet testify her passion for music and theatre³⁷.

3. Music for Countess Charlotte Rumbeke, née Cobenzl

Most of the instrumental works from the Viennese context, known to be related to members of the Cobenzl family, were composed for Charlotte Cobenzl-Rumbeke, or dedicated to her in the 1780s. In case of Mozart's variations, it is, however, not easy to ascertain, which set of them he concretely wrote for the countess or for a different unknown purpose. Neither the 'external evidence' of letters and historical documents nor the 'internal evidence' provided by music analysis are conclusive in this sense. From a music analytical perspective, it should be said that we are possibly not dealing with the very first version of these pieces, especially if they were much more conceived in the context of Mozart's piano improvisations. Thanks to contemporary reports, such as that of the singer Michael Kelly, we know that Mozart joined the company of colleagues at the home of the Bohemian composer Leopold Koželuch (1747–1818), where he performed fantasias and capriccios on the pianoforte before supper and dancing. Kelly continues:

He [Mozart] gave me a cordial invitation to his house, of which I availed myself, and passed a great part of my time there. He always received me with kindness and hospitality. – He was remarkably fond of punch, of which beverage I have seen him take copious draughts. He was also fond of billiards, and had an excellent billiard table in his house. Many and many a game have I played with him, but always came off second best. He gave Sunday concerts, at which I never was missing. He was kind-hearted, and always ready to oblige; but so very particular, when he played, that if the slightest noise were made, he instantly left off³⁸.

Commenting on this passage, Edward Klorman put a stress on the difference between domestic music making at Koželuch's home, which seems to be more a kind of social event in the fashion of a "musical dinner party", and Mozart's

37 Cristina BRAGAGLIA VENUTI, *Scrivere una lettera tra Settecento e Novecento*, in EAD., Maddalena MALNI PASCOLETTI (eds.), *Dalla penna d'oca alla macchina da scrivere. Guglielmo Coronini Cronberg e la bella scrittura*, Gorizia, Libreria Editrice Goriziana, 2015, pp. 96–113: 97.

38 Michael KELLY, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane* (London, 1826), 1: pp. 225–226, cit. in Edward KLORMAN, *Mozart's Music of Friends. Social Interplay in the Chamber Works*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 10.

Sunday concerts. Especially Mozart's insisting on absolute silence during his performances—known from current classical concert practice—was, therefore, unusual for even comparably formal house concerts of this epoch³⁹.

Although we do not have any comparable reports on the Cobenzl yet, we can get various hints from the examination of historical documents and musical works. In this way, we can try to ascertain the function of music at home Cobenzl—and maybe what Charlotte's piano lessons in Brussels and with a famous teacher like Mozart in Vienna were good for. For answering these questions, it is also useful to compare the profiles of Charlotte with that of the pianist Josepha Barbara Auernhammer (1758–1820): that is, between a student destined to be an amateur and another one destined for a possible professional career⁴⁰. They both were said to have been Mozart's pupils in Vienna from 1781 and—as we know from Charlotte's marriage contract—both women were no absolute beginner in piano playing. Nevertheless, only Auernhammer explicitly aimed at making music for a living and joined Mozart in official concert performances. This does not imply that music played only a subordinate role in Charlotte's life. Instead, it was certainly a relevant part of her social life as a member of the Viennese aristocracy.

One hint is given by the kind of music making that Mozart mentioned in some letters to his father, and further commentaries on his piano pupils in early 1782. One of Charlotte's servants has asked him, for instance, «to come to the Countess for a little music» on 12 January⁴¹. The designation clearly corresponds to an informal occasion of domestic music making. About ten days later Mozart describes three (female) pupils, including Charlotte, as not particularly tough⁴². In the sum of these sparse details, we should assume that the progress of the countess might have been comparatively modest. On 25 May of the same year, the piano lesson for Charlotte at 11:00 was part of a

39 Klorman, *Mozart's Music of Friends* cit., p. 11.

40 Among the diverse biographies of Auernhammer see Claudia SCHWEITZER, Art. Auernhammer, *Aurnhammer, von Auernhammer, Auerhammer, Auerbahn*, Josepha, *Josephine*, Barbara, verh. Bessenig, *Bösenhönig, Pößkönig*, in Freia HOFFMANN (ed.), *Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Sophie Drinker Institut, 2006–2015, online published 2012 <https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/auernhammer-josepha>; Melanie UNSELD, Art. *Josepha (von) Auernhammer*, in Beatrix BORCHARD and Nina NOESKE (eds.), *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003ff., first published March 7, 2003, last updated 14 November 2018, [https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/artikel/Josepha_\(von\)_Auernhammer.html](https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/artikel/Josepha_(von)_Auernhammer.html).

41 Letter of Mozart to his father in Salzburg (Vienna, 12 January 1782), in Konrad, *Mozart. Briefe* cit., III, no. 657, p. 191: «zu einer kleinen Musick zur gräfin kommen». Engl. translation (Bauer/Deutsch) in *Mozart Briefe – Online* cit., <https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1223&cat=3> [last access: 31 August 2021].

42 Letter of Mozart to his father in Salzburg (Vienna, 23 January 1782), *idem*, no. 660, p. 195.

very busy day, ending with the first concert participation of Mozart in Augarten. In that occasion, the composer played together with Auernhammer his Concert in E flat major K. 365 for two pianos⁴³, a concert piece he had previously written for the duet with his sister Anna Maria.

In 1781 Mozart must have written for his lessons with Charlotte at least one of the three sets of variations K. 352, 359 and 360, and none of them requests the great mastery of virtuoso playing. On the contrary, it is the simplicity and clarity of the variations themes that is particularly striking. The theme of the eight Variations on «Dieu d'amour», K. 352 is taken, for example, from a choral piece in an opera of the French composer André Ernest Modeste Grétry (**ex. 1a**): *Les mariages samnites* (*The Samnite Marriages*) is an opéra comique in three acts, premiered on 12 June 1776 in Paris. Mozart's theme for piano solo (**ex. 1b**) is not the result of a mere transcription and reduction of the orchestral score, but it obviously eliminates the repetitions for the original ensemble. Furthermore, it shows a clear structure for piano scoring with chords, octaves, and single notes in the left hand. The right hand begins in parallel or broken thirds and does not present any technically demanding passage even in the *cantabile* passages of the theme, where the fingers are expected to move more independently.

Choeur et Marche

The musical score is for a choral and march piece. It features the following parts: Horn in E, Horn in C, Flute, Violin I, Violin II, Soprano, Chorus, and Cello/Bass. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: 'Cephalide Eliane avec le chœur: Dieu d'a-mour en ce jour viens avec Mars nous def-fen-dre'.

Ex. 1a. Grétry, *Les mariages samnites*, choir and march «Dieu d'amour», bars 1–8, orchestral score.

43 *Idem* (Vienna, 25 January 1782), *idem*, no. 674, p. 209.



Ex. 1b. Mozart, Variations in F major, K. 352 for piano solo, theme, bars 1–16.

The theme from the Variations in G major K. 359 is then quite unique in Mozart's work for violin and piano, because it can be easily reduced to a version for piano solo without significant changes (**ex. 2**). Its tripartite form (the embellished recapitulation is omitted here) fits well with the teaching requirements of the piece in question. The pedal point with parallel thirds in the middle section resembles the minuet, another popular genre in instrumental (and composition) teaching.

Ex. 2. Mozart, Variations in G major, K. 359 for violin and piano, theme, bars 1–8, original version (above) and piano reduction (below).



Ex. 3. Mozart, Sonata in D major, K. 448 for two pianos, bars 1–9, opening.

Differently from didactic variations, the three last sonatas of Mozart's first edition project in Vienna⁴⁴ show already some virtuoso features and were all almost certainly written for Auernhammer. For that, the sonatas for solo piano K. 380, 376, and 377 are generally called 'Auernhammer Sonatas'. Especially the two pieces in F major created in summer 1781 have a range that covers the whole fortepiano keyboard from the lower to the upper F⁴⁵. A duet piece, the Sonata in D major, K. 448 for two pianos (ex. 3), was furtherly delivered for a joint performance at a musical event sponsored by her father Johann Michael Auernhammer. As Mozart reported, the musical event was also attended by Baron van Swieten and Countess Uhlfeld-Thun⁴⁶, while there is also in general no indication about the presence of Charlotte or other members of the Cobenzl family in this or similar events in his further correspondence. Due to the general scarcity of further known information on

44 The volume includes the following pieces in this order: Violin Sonatas no. 17 in C major, K. 296, no. 26 in B-flat major, K. 378, no. 27 in G major, K. 379, no. 28 in E flat major, K. 380, no. 24 in F major, K. 376, no. 25 in F major, K. 377.

45 Daniel HEARTZ, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven, 1781–1802*, New York – London, W. W. Norton & Company, 2009.

46 Cliff EISEN and Stanley SADIE, Art. *Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus*, in *Grove Online*, printed 2001, online published 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27216>. Letter of Mozart to his father in Salzburg (Vienna, 24 November 1781), in Konrad, *Mozart. Briefe* cit., III, no. 644, pp. 176–177. Margaret W. MCCARTHY, *Two-Piano Music around Beethoven's Time: Its Significance for the College Teacher*, in «College Music Symposium», 17, no. 2 (1977), pp. 131–143; 136 Hertz, *Mozart* cit., p. 63.

this matter, it is, however, better not to jump to conclusions, until new material emerges from further archival research.

Besides the evidence from the Mozart research, only little is known about further musical activities of Charlotte or provides a clear reference for a general evaluation of her musicianship. The *Six variations pour le piano forte* dedicated to her by Auernhammer, who delivered set of variations for various Viennese noblewomen⁴⁷, existed, for instance, only as a manuscript and went finally lost⁴⁸. The same as Koželuch's *Trois sonates pour clavecin où Forté-Piano dédiées a Madame de Rombeck*, Op. 26⁴⁹ (1788), this repertory belongs to a tradition of *Hausmusik* and *Gebrauchsmusik* that was gradually dying out in favor of a clear separation of amateur and professional musicians. As Christopher Hogwood summarizes, «Kozeluch led the last generation that attempted to preserve and integrate the world of the serious amateur into front line musical life before a permanent divide opened up between great' music (difficult, professional, for listening) and the anodyne world of salon music (easy, amateur, for playing)»⁵⁰. This perspective contrasts with Finscher's attempt to define the classical style. Therefore, any of the best quartets by Koželuch and further contemporary composers in Vienna, such as Johann Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812), and the younger Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1832), are not quite on a par with those of Haydn and Mozart. Similarly, Koželuch's G minor Symphony of 1787 cannot be compared with the «works of the classics», such as Mozart's symphony in the same tonality of 1788⁵¹. This 'impossible' comparison between 'minor' composers and the «Klassiker», as well as the role of domestic music making, improvisation, and 'minor' genres in the development of Classical style, is crucial. It is, in fact, not only a general matter of how to define Viennese Classicism and Classical style, but it also more specifically affects the role assumed by the Cobenzls as part of this history –

47 For diverse lists of existing works see Theophil ANTONICEK, Art. *Auernhammer, Josepha Barbara*, in *MGG Online*, first published 1999, online published 2016, revised by Michael LORENZ, 2014, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/14750>, Schweitzer, *Auernhammer* cit., and Unseld, *Auernhammer* cit.

48 Tammaro DE MARINIS, *I libri di musica della Contessa Sofia Coronini Fagan salvati a Gorizia nel settembre 1916*, Milano, coi tipi di Bertieri e Vanzetti, 1919. On this issue see also Alessia ZANGRANDO, *Da Charlotte Cobenzl a Sophie de Fagan: un percorso musicale attraverso gli spartiti dell'Archivio Coronini Cronberg*, in this volume.

49 Sonata 25 in D major op. 26 no. 1, Sonata 26 in A minor op. 26 no. 2, Sonata 27 in E flat major op. 26 no. 3.

50 Christopher HOGWOOD, *The keyboard sonatas of Leopold Koželuch*, in «Early Music», 40, no. 4 (2012), pp. 621–637: 626. For a recent and differentiated explanation of the term *Hausmusik* and *Gebrauchsmusik* at Mozart's time, also in distinction to today's concert practice, see Klorman, *Mozart's Music of Friends*, cit., especially pp. 4 and 6.

51 Finscher, *Klassik* cit.

either as a pupil, patron, spectator, or a music amateur. The separation of professional and amateur musicians is reflected at this time in the terminological distinction between «virtuosos» and «amateurs». Schönfeld's Yearbook for Vienna and Prague of 1796 make, however, another fundamental distinction between (1) «Special Friends, Protectors and Connoisseurs», (2) both categories of musicians, which are taken together, and (3) that of and «[organizers of] Amateur Concerts». The first list is introduced as follows: «In this category we include those patrons who have not only celebrated, supported, and made known individual musicians in all kinds of ways, but have given music a new strength and luster which is especially important, since music is so little paid in comparison with other amateur activities». The lists of major patrons and concert organizers include, of course, «[h]is Excellency Baron van Swieten». Especially «Princess Lignowsky [Lichnowsky], née Countess von Thun» is presented both as a major patron and an excellent pianist.⁵² Countess Rumbeke, on the contrary, is only counted as an active musician: «*Rombec, Her Excellency Countess, née Countess Kobenzl*, has a great mastery of the pianoforte, playing with precision, taste, and speed, so that she can be counted among the greatest artists of the instrument»⁵³. Due to the scarcity of further individual recordings as an active musician or dedicatee of musical works, we should assume that Charlotte or, more generally, the Cobenzl family could have been no longer able or willing to cover the costs of musical patronage – or at least not at same level as some of their peers in the higher nobility did.

4. Music and theatre between Vienna and Petersburg

In summer 1784, Mozart's Sonata in B flat major, K. 454 for violin and piano (**ex. 4**) was published along with the piano sonatas K. 284 and K. 333 in D major⁵⁴ under the title: *Trois Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte. La troisième est accomp. d'un violon ... Dediées à son Excellence Madame la Comtesse Therese de Kobenzl* (**fig. 25.2**). The dedicatee Maria Teresa Giovanna (Marie Therese) Cobenzl, née Leonardi della Rovere di Montelabate (1755–1824) usually resided with her husband Louis Cobenzl at the Russian court in Petersburg. Since no further work of Mozart or other Viennese composers is known to have been dedicated to Marie Therese, the question is how this singular dedication came

52 Johann Ferdinand von SCHÖNFELD, *A Yearbook of the Music of Vienna and Prague, 1796*, Engl. trans. Kathrine TALBOT, in Elaine R. SISMÁN (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 289–320: p. 291.

53 *Idem*, p. 311.

54 Nagode, *Nobility* cit., p. 96.



Fig. 25.2. *Trois Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Piano-forte. La troisième est accomp. d'un Violon oblg. composées par Mr. W.A. MOZART Dediées A Son Excellence Madame La Comtesse Terese De Kobenzl Née Comtesse de Montelabate, Epouse de son Excell. Monsieur Le Comte Louis de Kobenzl Ministre Plenipotentiaire de S. M. J. R. Ap. & C. à la Cour de Sa Maj. Imperatrice de toutes les Russies & C. par son très humble et très Obeissant serviteur Christoph Torricella Marschand d'Estampes et Editeur de Musique & C., Ouvre VII.*

about, and if Charlotte could have also been involved in the dedication of the sonata collection. The duet piece is called 'Strinasacchi' sonata after the Venetian violinist Regina Strinasacchi (1761–1839), who visited Vienna in 1784, appearing both in private concerts organized by aristocratic patrons and in commercial concerts organized by musicians and entrepreneurs. If we take a closer look at the chronological sequence of events, there is, in any case, no trace of an engagement of the Cobenzls at an earlier stage, neither at the arrival of the Strinasacchi in Vienna, nor in connection with the composition and premiere of Mozart's duo sonata. A proof in favor of a possible involvement of Charlotte might be found in the correspondence of the Cobenzl family. According to an autograph letter sent by Louis Cobenzl to his uncle Guidobaldo on 14 February 1784, Charlotte had temporarily moved to his brother at the Russian court after having wasted all money of his husband

Count Rumbeke⁵⁵. Strinasacchi gave an academy in the Burgtheater on 29 March, this means only after her departure from Vienna. This first public performance was followed on 15 April by a private concert in the residence of Prince Kaunitz, probably to promote her second public appearance at the Kärntner Theater on 29 April. On this occasion, she performed together with Mozart his Sonata K. 454⁵⁶.

By 9 June Mozart had sold the piano sonatas K. 333 and K. 284, together with the ‘Strinasacchi’ sonata to the printer Torricella⁵⁷. In the meantime, somebody must have ensured the support of the Cobenzl family for the edition. The composer himself does not even mention the dedication of the sonatas. Previous research has underlined, however, some details of this edition project that establish much more a connection between printer and patrons: First, the publication of keyboard sonatas with and without violin in the same volume shows, for Daniel Heartz, «how close these two genres remained in the 1780s»⁵⁸. Secondly, the lavish title page contains masonic symbols, such as two figures with set square and trowel. The reason is that Torricella, the engraver Joseph Zahradniczek, and the husband of the dedicatee were all freemasons. As a further aspect, Ernst Hertrich mentions the crowned coat-of-arms on the title page, which remained empty in the first edition. The second issue reproduces, instead, the arms of both the Count

55 Letter of Louis Cobenzl to his father Guidobaldo Cobenzl (Petersburg, 17 February 1784), private collection. Auction text available at <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/henri-godts-antiquarian-bookdealer-and-auctioneer/catalogue-id-srhen10010/lot-151084f6-8886-4466-bc7c-a72700c4e966> [last access: 31 August 2021]: «(Belgique, Archivalia, Cobenzl) - COBENZL, Louis de (Bruxelles 1753–1809 Vienne).- Lettre autographe signée au comte Guidobald de Cobenzl. “Pétersbourg, 17 février 1784”. 2 1/2 pp. in-12°, en français, sur papier vergé au filigrane d’Adriaan Rogge (restes de cachet de cire rouge). Transcription jointe. Intéressante missive dans laquelle le comte de Cobenzl, ambassadeur d’Autriche à Saint-Pétersbourg, informe son “cher Oncle” de l’arrivée de sa sœur Charlotte, qui après avoir ruiné son mari le comte de Thiennes de Rumbeke, s’en était séparée pour vivre chez son frère Louis. Il relate les premiers pas de celle-ci à la cour de Catherine II de Russie et sa participation à des pièces de théâtre (à l’Hermitage?), la conclusion d’un traité avec l’empire ottoman et les cadeaux somptueux que lui-même, son épouse et d’autres (le baron de Sadeler et le baron de Herbert) ont reçus de l’impératrice.»

56 Dorothea LINK, *Vienna’s Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf*, in «Journal of the Royal Musical Association», 122, no. 2 (1997), pp. 205–257: 210 and 238, note 30.

57 On the first edition of the sonatas K. 284, K. 333, and K. 454 see Ernst HERTRICH, *Preface*, in ID. (ed.), *Mozart, Klaviersonate B-Dur KV 333 (315c) / Piano Sonata in B major K. 333 (315c)*, Munich, G. Henle, HN 397, 2012, pp. III–IV, 2012.

58 Heartz, *Mozart* cit., p. 55.

Louis Cobenzl and his wife Marie Therese⁵⁹. Altogether, the dedication seems to have originated in the context of Freemasonry, to which the engraver Torricella as well as Louis and Philipp Cobenzl belonged. The dedication could have been accompanied with financial support of the edition. In that case, Charlotte Rumbeke was out of question due to her financial situation, while Marie Therese Cobenzl could have represented the sole ‘female’ alternative for the role of dedicatee.



Ex. 4. Mozart, Violin Sonata in B-flat major, K. 454, bars 1–4, incipit

A certain difficulty for the Cobenzl family to meet larger expenses for musical patronage becomes evident in the case of musical theatre⁶⁰. Particularly engaged noblemen and noblewomen did not remain, in fact, only mere spectators at the opera, but they could either be actively involved in theatrical performances, or also help composers to promote further performances at private locations. The common frame was a form of private entertainment called *Comédie de Société*. Theatre represented, indeed, not only a matter of personal interest for the higher nobility, but also in a wider sense a question of social status. From the sparse accounts in the diaries of Karl Zinzendorf about members of the Cobenzl family, we learn, for example, that Philipp Cobenzl attended an opera performance in the lodge of the emperor Joseph II on 28 May 1784⁶¹. The presence of Charlotte Rumbeke and of their sister-in-law Marie Therese Cobenzl respectively on 6 April and 30 May 1785 in the lodge

59 Full dedication text: «Madame la Comtesse Terese de Kobenzl | Née Comtesse de Montelabate, Epouse de son Exell. Monsieur | le Comte Louis de Kobenzl Ministre Plenipotentiaire». See Hertrrich, *Preface* cit., p. III–IV, 2012.

60 Another reason for their lack of commitment to this field might have been a predilection for drama or other genres of patronage. However, the latter hypothesis is not necessarily supported by the accounts of the time, which show this generation of Cobenzl also attending opera performances together with the *crème de la crème* of the Viennese higher nobility.

61 Dorothea LINK, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna. Sources and Documents 1783–92*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 227 (28 May 1784), 243 (6 April 1785), 246 (30 May).

of Great Chamberlain Rosenberg⁶² is then a proof for Charlotte's renewed presence in Vienna after the financial distress and 'escape' to Petersburg in early 1784. In the following winter 1786–1786, the House Cobenzl-Rumbeke invited them to a series of *Comédies de Société* and further events, which apparently marked her return to society. A further analysis of Zinzendorf's notes reveals, in this sense, some interesting details (**table 1**): first, Charlotte organized her private entertainments in collaboration with Countess Uhlfeld-Thun, also repeating a couple of previous theatrical performances, on two different occasions. Secondly, a lot of repertory had already been put on the stage several decades before. Finally, Charlotte's own events followed only after the temporary return of Louis Cobenzl and his wife Marie Therese from Petersburg⁶³, and the foundation at her birthday party of a solely literary academy to her honour: the *Académie Lyrique*.

Comédie de Société	Titles	Uhlfeld Thun	Cobenzl Rumbeke	Performer list (s. Zinzendorf)
Th 3.11.1785	Zinzendorf's present for Countess Rumbeke			
We 23.11.1785	(1), (2)	X		«des Roombek»
Sa 26.11.1785	(3), (4)	X		«Count Rumbeke»
Sa 10.12.1785	<i>Académie Lyrique</i> in honour of Countess Rumbeke			
Tu 20.12.1785	(5), (6)		X	«Countess Rumbeke»
Fr 30.12.1785	(7), (8)		X	«Countess» and «Count Rumbeke»
Th 5.1.1786	(5), (4)		X	(only Rumbeke's fellows?)
Fr 10.2.1786	(9), (10)		X	«Countess Rumbeke»
Sa 18.2.1786	Zinzendorf's further meeting at Countess Rumbeke's			

Table 1. *Comédies de Société* at Thun's and Rumbeke's in winter 1785–86⁶⁴.

62 *Idem*, pp. 243 and 246. The «Madame Cobenzl» mentioned by Zinzendorf can only be the wife of Louis Cobenzl, since Philipp Cobenzl was actually not married and Charlotte is always indicated with her married name of Rumbeke.

63 In a laissez-passer dated 25 November 1785 (preserved in Gorizia: ASGo, ASCC, AeD, b. 258, f. 659), Catherine of Russia authorizes Louis Cobenzl to a temporary return to his court in Vienna. For further details on this document see Vidic, *Louis Cobenzl* cit., in this volume.

64 (1) «Regnard's *La serenade* and (2) *Les valets maîtres*». (3) *La gague* and (4) *La manie des arts*, (5) *La mère jalouse* and (6) Poisson's *L'impromptu de campagne*, (7) Regnard's *Les Ménéchmes* and (8) Saurin's *Les mœurs du temps*, (9) *Fanfan et Colas* and (10) Edmé Boursault's *Le Mercure galant*. For detailed information about the titles, including first performances, and complete performer lists for the entertainments of 1785–1786 see Link, *Vienna's Private* cit., pp. 241–242. For a full transcription of Zinzendorf's diary entries on these events see Link, *The National Court Theatre* cit., pp. 256 (3 November 1785), 257–258 (23 November), 258 (26 November), 259 (10 December), 260 (20 December 1785), 261 (30 December), 262 (5 January 1786), 264 (10 February), and 265 (18 February).

On 8 December, Count Ludwig von Starhemberg (1762–1833)⁶⁵ told Zinzendorf that Philippe Cobenzl was preparing a party for Charlotte Rumbeke on her birthday the day after tomorrow. In this frame a new academy would have been founded in honour of the birthday child. Zinzendorf declined in this connection the offer to become the president of the academy⁶⁶. At the end, it was van Swieten who accepted the position instead, as we can read in Zinzendorf's quite detailed account of the evening:

10. December: At the home of M^e de Roombek, whose birthday is tomorrow. In the apartment of Mons[ieur] was written on a paper attached to the wall, Académie Lyrique. Swieten President of the Academy, M. de Bessieres Perpetual Secretary. Chotek, Wilzek, me on armchairs, Father Louis, Canon Hazfeld and some others. There were many men and women behind us, some sitting, some standing. After the President's speech, M^e de Roombek took the chair in front of him. After the speech of Bessieres a crown of flowers was placed on her head. Furstenberg read a 'speech of the donkeys'. We went to the other room, where Father Louis and Poniatowsky were standing sentry at the entrance to the alcove. We played six proverbs, *les pleureurs d'homère. un malheur ne vient jamais seul, l'avocat chansonnier*. where Clary and Louis Starh[emberg] read couplets in honor of M^e de Roombek and crowned her again, *l'enragé*, where she throws a dead rat on some ham to Louis Starh[emberg]. *le malade*, enfin le *Qu'importe, le cela et cela, et le point du tout*. The M^{rs} de la force distinguished herself. I did not leave there until midnight⁶⁷.

The sum of the initiatives on behalf of Charlotte seems not to be centered on musical entertainments. For the offer of primarily spoken theatre, an improvised theatre in her own apartments was arranged, because her household did not have a private theatre. Philipp, Louis and Charlotte Cobenzl probably could not afford to put the current opera repertory on the stage

65 Son of the ambassador at the court of France Georg Adam Starhemberg, see above.

66 Link, *The National Court Theatre* cit., p. 259.

67 *Idem*: «10.Décembre: Chez Me de Roombek. dont c'est demain le jour de naissance. Dans l'appartement de Mons[ieur] étoit écrit sur un papier attaché au mur, Académie Lyrique. Swieten Président de l'académie, M. de Bessieres Secrétaire perpétuel. Chotek, Wilzek, moi sur des fauteuils, le Pce Louis, le Chanoine hazfeld et quelques autres. Beaucoup de femmes et d'hommes derrière nous, les uns assis, les autres debout. Me de Roombek après le discours du Président occupa le fauteuil devant lui. Après le discours de Bessieres on lui mit a elle une couronne de fleurs sur la tête. Furstenberg lut un discours des ânes. On passa dans l'autre chambre, ou le Pce Louis et Poniatowsky étoit en sentinelle a l'entrée de l'alcove. On joua 6.proverbes, *les pleureurs d'homère. un malheur ne vient jamais seul, l'avocat chansonnier*. ou Clary et Louis Starh[emberg] lusent des couplets a l'honneur de Me de Roombek et la couronnèrent de nouveau, *l'enragé*, ou elle jeta un rat mort sur du jambon a Louis Starh. *le malade*, enfin le *Qu'importe, le cela et cela et cela, et le point du tout*. Le Mis de la force se distingua. Je ne partis de la qu'à minuit.»

themselves, although they would have the opportunity to do it. This was probably due to the financial, logistic, and musical effort connected with the production of repertory under conditions of private performances. It was the Carniolan Prince Johann Adam von Auersperg (1721–1795), who had finally the means of organizing the only Viennese performance of Mozart’s *Idomeneo* as well as a professional performance of *La Serva padrona* of Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816) in March 1786 (**table 2**) – the latter upon a long-term request of Joseph II⁶⁸.

Comédie de Société	Composer, Opera Title	Performers
Sunday 12.2.1786	Ch. W. Gluck, <i>Alceste</i>	amateur
Monday 13.3.1786	W. A. Mozart, <i>Idomeneo</i>	amateur
Sunday 26.3.1786	G. Paisiello, <i>Serva padrona</i>	professional

Table 2. *Comédies de Société* with opera performances at Auersperg’s private theatre⁶⁹.

In the first case, Mozart had long searched for support to put his opera on a Viennese stage. Already in June 1781 he gave a rendition at the piano of his opera *Idomeneo* in front of Countess Uhlfeld-Thun and Baron van Swieten⁷⁰. After that, the countess received the autograph score and brought it to her summer residence. In January 1782, Mozart finally asked his father to send him another copy of the score, because the countess must have lost it, while Auernhammer was apparently not able to find a second copy he had brought to Vienna⁷¹. Prince Auersperg had later not only the means for an elaborate theatre production, but especially an own private theatre in the Josephstadt⁷². In the second case, Joseph II. planned to stage Paisiello’s *La serva padrona* in the Burgtheater. For this purpose, he had received the score from his ambassador to the court of Petersburg, Louis Cobenzl, already in 1783⁷³.

68 Daniel HEARTZ, *Constructing 'Le nozze di Figaro'*, in «Journal of the Royal Musical Association», 112, no. 1 (1986), pp. 77–98: 82.

69 Link, *Vienna’s Private* cit., pp. 219–220 and 244. See also Zinzendorf’s diary entries for 12 February, 13 March and 26 March 1786 in Link, *The National Court Theatre* cit., pp. 264, 267 and 268. See also Hertz, *Constructing 'Le nozze di Figaro'* cit., p. 82.

70 Link, *Vienna’s Private* cit., p. 221.

71 Letter of Mozart to his father (Vienna, 30 January 1782), in Konrad, *Mozart. Briefe* cit., III, no. 661, pp. 195–196.

72 For a comprehensive survey on the history of the performance of *Idomeneo* from Mozart’s arrival in Vienna to his performance at Prince Auersperg’s, see Dexter EDGE, *Idomeneo* at Prince Auersperg’s (March 1786), in ID. and David BLACK (eds.), *Mozart: New Documents*, first published 29 July 2018, updated 10 August 2018, <https://doi.org/10.7302/Z20P0WXJ> [last access: 31 August 2021].

73 On Joseph II’s interest for the operas of Paisiello see Hertz, *Constructing 'Le nozze di Figaro'* cit., p. 82.

Future research should address the question, whether the Cobenzl family remained on the margins of Viennese cultural life, as the current state of research suggests, or if they rather changed their cultural policy in the course of time, especially after their political rise and cultural engagement in the early 1780s. By 1784, Charlotte had reportedly exhausted all financial resources of her husband. This happened probably while she was pursuing an ambitious cultural program of his own after her arrival in Vienna, like his father Carlo Cobenzl had already done in Brussels before⁷⁴. The fact, however, that the Cobenzl family was repeatedly helped from its misfortune is not only a sign of high recognition for their contribution to the cultural life at different locations, but especially a recognition for their service to the Empire in a strategic field: culture. Around 1786 Louis Cobenzl served as a good mediator between the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, procuring musical scores of the Italian composer Paisiello for the opera-hungry emperor. At the same time, the Cobenzl family was never able to put its favorite operas on the stage for their own, as Prince Auersperg did in his private theatre. With Joseph II's death in 1790, another question regards also more generally the end of the Josephine era, which determined a political change under Leopold and a rapid loss of political influence of Philipp Cobenzl, his family and allies towards the other major party around Grand Chamberlain Rosenberg. A financial and political disgrace could, for instance, have caused a loss of relevance in the field of musical patronage as well. As a further and last aspect, some members of the Cobenzl family have made acquaintance with the young Mozart and supported him long before his final establishment in Vienna—in the frame of a thorough and up-to-date education. Nevertheless, they disappeared from Mozart's correspondence after their engagement around 1781 and even despite the later support of the Torricelli edition in 1784. Charlotte was still counted among the best amateurs in Vienna in 1796. A further evaluation of the Cobenzl engagement with music also depends on the role assigned to 'minor' composers and amateur musicianship in the history of the Classical style.

74 For a comparison between the portraits of Charlotte Cobenzl-Rumbeke and Carlo Cobenzl, including an explanation of their significance, see Bragaglia, *Scrivere una lettera* cit., p. 99.

Abstract

A European network of nobility played a central role in the patronage and development of the Classical style in music. In this sense the Cobenzl family offers a good example of the local and international dimension of the 'Viennese Classicism'. Their engagement with music will be related to the patronage of Wolfgang A. Mozart (1756–1791) and discussed in a broader context of the stylistic change around 1781. Mozart's first encounter with the Cobenzls took place in the 1760s in Salzburg and then in Brussels, where Charles Cobenzl (1712–1770) served as the minister plenipotentiary in the Austrian Netherlands. Brussels was the last stay of Leopold Mozart (1719–1787) before the famous trip to Paris, when he was on a concert tour with his two children Maria Anna and Wolfgang Amadeus. At the same time, the development of the Viennese style is strictly connected with local taste and social conventions. In Vienna W. A. Mozart was furtherly acquainted with Philipp Cobenzl (1741–1810) as an important patron of the arts, while Charlotte Cobenzl de Rumbeke (1755–1812) was Mozart's first piano pupil after his arrival in Vienna in 1781. Departing from historical documents and musical repertory, the different roles will be specified in terms of the historical distinction between 'dilettanti' and 'professori' and compared with Mozart's contemporary collaboration with the pianist Josepha Barbara Auernhammer (1758–1820). In the conclusions a hypothesis is formulated that could partly explain why the Cobenzls played a key role in Mozart's establishment in Vienna, but they seem then to literally disappear from both Mozart's later correspondence and further developments of the Classical style.

Keywords

Charlotte Rumbeke; Louis Cobenzl; Johann Philipp Cobenzl; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; musical patronage