

1 | The chamber music with keyboard in Mozart biography

MARTIN HARLOW

The most perfunctory survey of the biographical literature devoted to Mozart – from the late eighteenth century to the present day – reveals an avid curiosity into the composer's life history, perhaps a compulsive tendency to situate and contextualise his music. Although Mozart's music might be clearly intelligible without knowledge of either his life or his eighteenth-century environment – twin assertions made by Charles Rosen¹ – it is precisely *because* of the music that we have been excited to investigate his circumstances. History does not, after all, demonstrate the same craving for a backdrop to the works of Paul Wranitzky or Joseph Martin Kraus – two composers also born in 1756 – however thrilling or tedious their lives may have been.

Only recently has biography itself become a topic for serious musical scholarship. Not until Maynard Solomon's contribution to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in 2001 did a musical dictionary include an entry on the subject.² Now the constructive methods of music biography have come to the foreground, and the premises upon which earlier writers created lives of composers and performers have begun to be examined. The impact of those inherited lives on our modern perceptions of these musicians has been highlighted, and the potential for interpretative biography to play a new role in current musicology has been proposed.³ Examining the lineage of biographical tropes is not quite a new endeavour: from as long ago as 1920, when Hermann Abert proposed a need for the periodic updating of

¹ C. Rosen, 'Describing Mozart' in *Critical Entertainments: Music Old and New* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 71.

² M. Solomon, 'Biography' in *NG2*. See also 'Thoughts on Biography', *19th-Century Music*, 5/3 (1982), 268–76.

³ A landmark work in English was H. Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars: Studies in Musical Biography* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988). Important later studies include H. Danuser, 'Biographik und musikalische Hermeneutik: Zum Verhältnis zweier Disziplinen der Musikwissenschaft' in J. Kuckertz (ed.), *Festschrift Rudolf Stephan zum 65. Geburtstag* (Laaber: Laaber, 1990), pp. 571–601; R. A. Solie, 'Changing the Subject', *Current Musicology*, 53 (1993), 55–65; K. Painter, 'Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie', *MQ*, 86/1 (2002), 186–235; J. T. Pekacz, 'Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and Its Discontents', *JMR*, 23/1 (2004), 39–80; J. T. Pekacz (ed.), *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

musical biographies, there has been an articulation of their historical contingency.⁴ But today it is acknowledged that biographies are conditioned by cultural perceptions of the age in which they were written; that biographers bring to bear complex interpretative judgements, products of their authors' intellectual and societal inheritance; and that biographies can be read as valuable documents of reception history.⁵ A biography is not only (or even) a tool for orientation, and a sequence of unfolding revelations and truths about the composer: it can have powerful agency in the promotion of a composer's image and oeuvre. The methods of biographers might play a determining role in establishing frameworks for comprehension of repertory, for performers, listeners or scholars. It is this hypothesis that is tested in this chapter, which examines the placement of the chamber music with keyboard in some important Mozart lives.⁶

Of eighteenth-century musicians Mozart is exceptional in that documentary resources reveal more about him than about any earlier composer.⁷ And the most fertile source for Mozart biographers has been the abundant extant letters of his family – including a substantial number by Mozart's widow and sister after his death – which are seminal for details of Mozart's life and for matters pertaining to the authenticity, chronology and genesis of his music. Leopold's diligent collection of the letters – it is clear that he planned to use these for an epistolary biography of his own⁸ – means that Mozart's early life to his settling in Vienna in 1781 is particularly well documented.

Correspondence relating to the chamber music with keyboard until Leopold's death in 1787 mostly highlights business concerns: financial

⁴ H. Abert, 'Über Aufgabe und Ziel der musikalischen Biographie', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (1919–20), 417–33.

⁵ See, for example, Pekacz, 'Memory, History and Meaning', 56 and 79.

⁶ Other studies of repertory in Mozart biography have focused on the *Requiem*. See B. Ebisawa, 'The Requiem: Mirror of Mozart Performance History', *EM*, 20 (1992), 279–94; C. Eisen, 'Mozart's Leap in the Dark' in S. P. Keefe (ed.), *Mozart Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–24, at p. 22; and, for an examination of deathbed images and the composer's reception, A. Davidson, 'Painting for a Requiem: Mikhály Munkácsy's *The Last Moments of Mozart* (1885)', *EM*, 39/1 (2011), 79–92.

⁷ C. Eisen, 'Contributions to a New Mozart Documentary Biography', *JAMS*, 39/3 (1986), 615. The letters are best known in their English translations by Emily Anderson (see *LMF*); the first critical edition was by Ludwig Schiedermair (1914). The most authoritative source, in German, began publication in the early 1960s (see *MBA*).

⁸ This intention was expressed in the preface to the second edition of Leopold's *Violinschule* (1769). An exploration of the letters, from an eighteenth-century perspective, is attempted in D. Schroeder, *Mozart in Revolt: Strategies of Resistance, Mischief and Deception* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999). Schroeder uses the letters between Mozart and his father to reveal the composer's rebellious tendencies.

remuneration for works through dedication; dealings with publishers; and the traffic of works for commercial dissemination. Other letters refer to the supply of chamber works for Nannerl's domestic use; and to isolated records of pieces used in concertising. The dedication, advertisement and dissemination of the sixteen early sonatas (K.6–15, 26–31) are matters relayed in a number of letters from Leopold to his friends the Hagenauers in Salzburg, written from Paris, London and Olmütz between 1764 and 1767. Another proposed set of sonatas is first mentioned in October 1777, in a letter from Mozart to Leopold. It recorded Mozart's interest in the six sonatas with violin by Joseph Schuster, and his intention to publish a similar set were he to remain in Mannheim. Letters from early 1778 confirm Mozart's work towards the set and the preferable prospects for their engraving in Paris. Back-and-forth correspondence between Mozart and his father in the summer of 1778 concerns these works (K.301–6): the benefits of publication for self-publicity; the fee to be received; and Leopold's famous encouragement of Mozart, in a letter of 13 August 1778, to write more music, if only to secure greater income. But shortly before Mozart's departure from Paris in September the sonatas were still not engraved. Mozart wrote of his wish to present them to the Electress of the Bavarian Palatinate in person in Munich. After their publication by Sieber in November 1778, Mozart finally offered to her the sonatas in January 1779. After leaving Salzburg, and the service of Archbishop Colloredo, Mozart reported to his father from Vienna in May 1781 of his reliance upon income to be generated from a subscription for another six sonatas with violin (K.296, 376–80). He wrote to his sister in July 1781 that only the Sonata in F, K.376 and the Sonata in G, K.379 were new for the set, and he mentioned the composition of three variations (including those on French songs for keyboard and violin, 'La bergère Célimène', K.359 and 'Hélas, j'ai perdu mon amant', K.360). He reported too of the engraving of the Sonatas by Artaria; they were eventually published in November of that year. Of the six it was probably K.379 that Mozart composed on the night of 7 April, 'between eleven and twelve': he relates that only the violin part for Brunetti was scored, his own keyboard part being memorised. This sonata was performed at a concert for the Archbishop Colloredo, for which Mozart received no payment, the composer complaining of the missed opportunity of a potentially lucrative invitation to play at Countess Thun's on the same night. The subscription list for the sonatas proved disappointingly small: a summer 1781 letter explained that the problem stemmed from the wealthy Viennese being away from the city. In December he sent the sonatas, along with the two-keyboard Sonata in D, K.448, to Nannerl. Variations for Nannerl were

promised (then again in early March 1782 and a year later), though delayed due to problems in their copying.

In April 1784 Mozart described his successful Burgtheater *Akademie*, highlighting his new Quintet with keyboard and winds, K.452, performed at this concert, as the best work he had yet composed. In the summer Mozart described a performance of the Quintet in a concert at the Döbling residence of Gottfried von Ployer. Ployer's relative Barbara played the Piano Concerto in G, K.453; Mozart the Quintet; then together they performed K.448. Mozart took fellow composer Paisiello to the concert, to hear his pupil and his music. In spring 1784 the composition of the Sonata with violin in B flat, K.454, is mentioned; it was written for the visiting Mantuan virtuoso Regina Strinasacchi, for her concert at the Kärntnertheater on 29 April. In June, Mozart wrote to his father of the publication by Torricella of the work, as a set of three sonatas, with the Piano Sonatas, K.333 and 284.

No other chamber music with keyboard is mentioned in the family correspondence between 1785 and Leopold's death in May 1787, though a reduction in the number of letters from Mozart (only four are extant from 1786) might account for this. One of these is a letter to the Mozarts' one-time servant Sebastian Winter in Donaueschingen, from August 1786, hoping to draw to the attention of Prince Joseph von Fürstenberg Mozart's latest compositions, including the Sonata with violin in E flat, K.481, the Piano Trio in G, K.496 and the Piano Quartet in G minor, K.478. The Piano Quartet in E flat, K.493 was probably the 'Quatuor in caritatis camera' performed in Prague, at the home of Count Thun, referred to in a letter from Mozart to Gottfried von Jacquin in January 1787. After May of that year the family correspondence really runs dry: there are a few letters from Mozart to Nannerl and her first husband, but the majority of extant letters between 1787 and 1791 are concerned with Constanze and Michael Puchberg, those to the latter discussing the seemingly parlous state of Mozart's financial affairs.⁹ Puchberg was the recipient of a letter from June 1788, requesting a substantial loan. Mozart noted here that he had composed a new piano trio, probably that in E, K.542 – a work entered into his manuscript thematic catalogue, the 'Verzeichnüss', on 22 June – suggesting that this might be played at Puchberg's house. This was probably the trio, and K.493 the quartet that Mozart urged Nannerl to play for Michael Haydn at her St Gilgen home in summer 1788.

⁹ On Mozart's finances see J. Moore, 'Mozart in the Market-Place', *JRMA*, 114/1 (1989), 18–42. See also her 'Mozart Mythologized or Modernized', *JMR*, 12 (1992), 83–109.

For biographical data one is struck both by the richness of the letters, and by the imbalance that the resource provides: apart from abundant evidence of publication plans particularly for the sonatas with accompaniment, from the early years to 1781, much chamber music with keyboard is concealed from view. Of the Piano Trios in E flat, K.498, in B flat, K.502, in C, K.548 and in G, K.564, and the final Sonata with violin in A, K.526, we learn nothing at all from the letters.

The letters made an important contribution to the first reflection on Mozart's life, 'more a collection of anecdotes peppered with random observations on the works than a genuine biography'.¹⁰ This was Friedrich Schlichtegroll's 6,000-word obituary notice, published in 1793: one of ten in the second volume of his *Nekrolog*.¹¹ Schlichtegroll had probably never met Mozart, and he consulted Joseph Retzer in Vienna and Albert von Mölk in Salzburg, who, in turn, requested material from Nannerl. Nannerl then drew on memories of Johann Schachtner, a family friend.¹² Little material concerns Mozart's Vienna years, the majority recounting his childhood and adolescence. A major impact of Schlichtegroll's lopsided account was to establish the legend of Mozart as the 'eternal child'. The publication and dedication of the juvenilia (K.6–15, 26–31) receives due attention, but only two works from the Vienna years – *Die Zauberflöte* and the *Requiem* – are cited, Schlichtegroll feeling it superfluous to enter into detailed discussion of his 'sonatas, piano concertos, symphonies and quartets', instrumental music which he must have presumed was sufficiently familiar to his readership.

For Franz Xaver Niemetschek's biography, published in Prague in 1798, the author collaborated with Constanze, and drew upon his own acquaintances with the Mozart family, their relations and friends.¹³ There is heavy reliance on Schlichtegroll for references to pre-Vienna material, much drawn almost verbatim from the *Nekrolog*. The section devoted to Mozart's last decade is partisan in tone, focusing on works for, and his reception in Prague, although with little specificity to particular pieces. In

¹⁰ J. Daverio, 'Mozart in the Nineteenth Century' in S. P. Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 173.

¹¹ F. Schlichtegroll, 'Johannes Chrysostymus Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart' in *Nekrolog auf das Jahr 1791* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1793), pp. 82–112.

¹² The sources for the *Nekrolog* have been painstakingly examined by Bruce Cooper Clarke in 'The Annotated Schlichtegroll' at www.aproposmozart.com: it is clear that Nannerl drew heavily on the family correspondence for her contribution. See also B. Cooper Clarke, 'Albert von Mölk: Mozart Myth Maker? Study of an 18th-Century Correspondence Source', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1995), 155–91.

¹³ F. X. Niemetschek, *Leben des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart, nach Originalquellen beschrieben* (Prague: Herrl, 1798). Here as *Mozart: The First Biography*, trans. H. Maunter (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2007).

the final section of the book – ‘Nachricht von Mozarts Werken’ – the oeuvre is divided into eleven classes. After Mozart’s dramatic works, the second class concerns compositions for keyboard.¹⁴ Pride of place is given to the concertos, but of the sonatas with and without accompaniment, the piano trios are deemed to be most original. Mozart’s ‘famous’ Quintet, K.452, receives special mention, ‘considered by connoisseurs as his masterpiece as regards instrumentation’ (p. 73). Testimony may have come from the April 1784 letter, or perhaps Constanze’s reminiscences. But the privileging of K.452 is surprising, not least because the first printed edition only appeared after publication of Niemetschek’s study.¹⁵

The letters were the principal source for the first substantial biography – running to more than 900 pages – which was by Constanze’s second husband, the Danish diplomat Georg Nissen.¹⁶ Nissen died in 1826, before the publication of the work in 1828, it being completed by the Dresden physician Johann Heinrich Feuerstein, who supplied a foreword, and may well have had a hand in some of the text. The work is now notorious for its chaotic organisation, likely due to Feuerstein’s crude collation of Nissen’s material.¹⁷ Evidence from letters, concert reports, reviews and so forth, is connected by innocuous and uncritical prose, and Nissen’s work is thus better regarded as an early documentary biography. Through its inclusion of a large proportion of the extant family correspondence, it would have offered the early-nineteenth-century reader remarkable insights into Mozart’s life and his relationships. Since it was both endorsed by and dedicated to Mozart’s widow, an impressive list of subscribers was secured. Constanze was understandably keen to secure the income from the enterprise, and we can surmise that her principal contribution may have been to excise material which did not support myths surrounding Mozart’s life and death that were already well ingrained by the 1820s.

Anecdotes derived from earlier sources are included. A reminiscence of Constanze, published in 1799 in the *AmZ*, concerned the presence of a Polish count at a concert given by Mozart at which K.452 was performed. The count commissioned a trio for flute which Mozart did not compose, later taking possession of the score of the Quintet after which a version for

¹⁴ The order of the other nine classes – symphonies; cantatas; scenas and arias; songs; other instrumental concertos; string quartets and quintets; wind Harmoniemusik; dance music; and church music – might suggest some hierarchy.

¹⁵ Augsburg: Gombart, 1799 or 1800, plate number 285.

¹⁶ G. N. von Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1828).

¹⁷ M. Solomon, ‘The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in Early Mozart Biography’ in C. Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies* (Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 1–59, at pp. 51, 53.

piano quartet appeared from the firm of Artaria.¹⁸ The anecdote about the first performance of the Sonata with violin, K.454, with Mozart performing with an incomplete score in the presence of Emperor Joseph II, also derives from Constanze; this too was published in the *AmZ*. The record of the Viennese publisher Hoffmeister's cancellation of a contract for three piano quartets on account of the difficulty of that in G minor, K.478, appears first in Nissen's work (p. 633) and may also have originated from Mozart's widow.

Nissen remains a curious mismatch between purposefully presented sources and rambling reflections on genres within Mozart's oeuvre in the appendix (perhaps a contribution of Feuerstein). Aside from the collection of anecdotal materials, there is little reference to the chamber music with keyboard outside of the letters. And much else is taken from earlier sources. The summary of Mozart's piano playing, and its reception by the Viennese public, is lifted word for word from the first edition of Niemetschek 1798 (pp. 452–3). Nissen did offer a new approach to biography, and advances are revealed when comparison is made with Johann Aloys Schlosser's work, also of 1828, published in Prague.¹⁹ Of its nearly 200 pages only 40 are devoted to the composer's life, the rest given over to anecdotes and a reprint of Mozart's 'Verzeichnüss'. All material is plagiarised from earlier sources.²⁰

Alexander Oulibicheff's 1843 study was an expansive psychological biography.²¹ Oulibicheff was a Russian civil servant and an amateur music enthusiast. His prime concern in the biographical first part was to improve upon Nissen, which he saw merely as the shambolic raw material for a biography (p. vi). Certainly Oulibicheff set about his task with gusto, the result being a three-part work of nearly 1,200 pages. The opening biographical account, itself of more than 300 pages, is followed by a general music history, and thence analyses of what Oulibicheff describes as Mozart's main works, those which he felt offered the deepest insights into the composer's

¹⁸ *AmZ*, 1 (6 February 1799), cols. 289–92. See C. Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 77–81. Of the authenticity of the anecdotes Eisen observes that 'It may be that all of the anecdotes said to derive from Constanze, even if they are based on fact, were filtered through Rochlitz's – the editor of the *AmZ* – fertile imagination and interpreted according to his own lights.' See p. 81.

¹⁹ J. A. Schlosser, *Wolfgang Amad. Mozart.: Eine begründete und ausführliche Biographie desselben* (Prague: Buchler, Stephani and Schlosser, 1828). The book was dedicated to Constanze.

²⁰ Primarily Schlichtegroll, 1793; Niemetschek, 1798; E. L. Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: Kühnel, 1812–14); and Rochlitz (see note 17). The book ran to a third edition, in 1844.

²¹ A. Oulibicheff, *Nouvelle biographie de Mozart suivie d'un aperçu sur l'histoire générale de la musique et de l'analyse des principales oeuvres de Mozart* (Moscow: Semen, 1843); reprinted as *Mozart* (Paris: Librairie Séguier, 1991).

psyche. He affords space to the string quartets dedicated to Haydn, and gives extensive coverage to Mozart's operas from *Idomeneo* to 'La Flute Magique'. Pre-eminent amongst these is *Don Giovanni*, allotted 140 pages, nearly a third of the final part.²² The *Requiem* takes its fitting position at the conclusion. Other works deemed to merit close attention are the last three symphonies and the string quintets, and, perhaps more surprisingly, 'Various Pieces for Singer accompanied by the keyboard', the 'Restored Scores of Handel' and the overture of 'La Flute Magique', each devoted their own chapters. Nowhere does Oulibicheff make reference to a piece of chamber music with keyboard. Even the keyboard concertos excite no more than a passing mention. As Daverio has noted, Oulibicheff's study accords with the Romantic premise that led him to believe that Mozart's works offered a 'window onto his soul' and 'revelations of his innermost being'.²³ If this is the case, then – for Oulibicheff at least – the keyboard music would appear to reveal little of the essential Mozart.

This implicit relegation of parts of Mozart's output is a probably unintended feature of the first biography of Mozart in English, by Edward Holmes and published in 1845.²⁴ Holmes hoped to offer the first full account of Mozart's compositions, and to this end used the 'Verzeichnüss', as well as André's catalogue of manuscript materials²⁵ and his own firsthand inspection of source materials, as the backbone for what he regarded to be a comprehensive study. The hagiographic tone of earlier writings finds no place in Holmes. Mozart's genius is to be justified, and, as an experienced musician and writer, who had travelled extensively in the early 1840s particularly to research this work, Holmes professes a scientific and objective orientation: 'Every available source of information has been diligently explored to render this memoir complete; and the author has endeavoured throughout, as much as possible, to let Mozart tell his own story' (p. 1).

The first sixteen sonatas with violin are mentioned in the already standard 'early years' narrative, after Schlichtegroll: perhaps Victorian courtesy forestalls mention of their musical substance. The six Mannheim and Paris sonatas with violin are consigned to a footnote (p. 132); and the Vienna

²² See R. E. Wates, 'Eduard Mörike, Alexander Ulibishev and the "Ghost Scene" in *Don Giovanni*' in *Studies in the History of Music. Vol. 3: The Creative Process* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1992), pp. 31–48. Both Mörike's popular novella *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag* (1856) and Oulibicheff's account share the idea of the composer inspired by other-worldly voices.

²³ Daverio, 'Mozart in the Nineteenth Century', p. 173.

²⁴ E. Holmes, *The Life of Mozart* (London: Chapman Hall, 1845). Reprinted with introduction by Ernest Newman (London: Dent & Sons, 1912).

²⁵ J. A. André, *Thematisches Verzeichnis derjenigen Originalhandschriften von W. A. Mozart, welche Hofrath André in Offenbach a. M. besitzt* (Offenbach am Main: André, 1841).

sonatas with violin are given only cursory mention (p. 163), to ensure full exposure. The Quintet, K.452 is more prominent, this in spite of the fact that in Holmes's day the work was better known in its arrangement for piano quartet. Holmes musters evidence from the letter of April 1784 – the 'best work' narrative – and calls upon Constanze's reminiscence of the Polish count. Constanze's anecdote of the composition and performance of K.454 becomes a prop to reveal the marvels of Mozart's creative process, and his phenomenal memory: 'The composition, conceived one day, and performed the next, without having been written down, is seventeen pages long!', this story used to 'prove that he could both imagine and retain the whole of a composition before putting a single note upon paper' (p. 199).²⁶

The production of *Le nozze di Figaro*, K.492, dominates the narrative for 1785 and 1786, with incidental mention of several songs, an orchestral dirge for the Freemasons (K.477) and the Piano Quartet, K.478, as compositions from 1785 (p. 213). Detail of the withdrawal of Hoffmeister's contract (from Nissen) leads Holmes to a description of the piano quartets, the 'sole resource of families who found pleasure in that kind of musical instrumentation', as having been 'debased by vulgar use and association; their original beauty has been obscured by familiarity'. Holmes summarises, in a theme that recurs throughout his work, that Mozart suffered the misfortune of his genius being in advance of his age (p. 214).²⁷ *Figaro* becomes a locus for discussion of works which appear either side of it in the 'Verzeichnüss'. The prominent wind instruments in the Piano Concerto in C minor, K.491 merit attention, as does the unfavourable reception of the Piano Quartet in E flat, K.493 (p. 229). But after mention of the four-hand Piano Sonata in F, K.497, Holmes inexplicably passes by the Piano Trio in E flat, K.498, fast-tracking to the next works that command his interest: the string quintets of the spring of 1787.

In 1787, Holmes describes 'orchestral minuets, waltzes, and country dances, for the court balls', as being 'inferior occupation' (p. 238). And in 1788 – dominated by the three symphonies written in the summer – distinguished works include the Piano Sonata in F, K.533, the keyboard Adagio in B minor, K.540 and additions for the Viennese premiere of *Don Giovanni*. Otherwise compositions from 1788 'were but light work for the composer, and require no detailed observation': a 'war song' (K.552), canons for voices (K.553–62), the string Divertimento, K.563, and the

²⁶ This clearly refers to the seventeen pages in the piano part of the first edition, published by Torricella in 1784.

²⁷ On Holmes's view of Mozart as innovator, see E. D. MacKerness, 'Edward Holmes (1797–1859)', *ML*, 45/3 (July 1964), 213–27, at 219–21.

Piano Trio in G, K.564 (pp. 245–6). One would trust that lighter still, and therefore excluded, were the Piano Trios in E, K.542 and in C, K.548.

Holmes, as had Oulibicheff, privileged certain works and genres, with minor productions being regarded as satellites of masterworks. Pre-eminent are the operas, symphonies and ‘serious’ chamber music, the string quartets and quintets. The subordination of the chamber music with keyboard in Mozart biography was therefore well-formulated before the pioneering work of Otto Jahn.²⁸ Holmes’s work was applauded by Jahn, for the sense he had made of the ‘really interesting portions of Nissen’s materials’ (vol. I, p. ix). But Jahn’s 1856–9 biography was the first rigorous study of Mozart, a foundation for subsequent Mozart scholarship, and even modern musicology.²⁹ Jahn’s aspiration was to create, through the systematic investigation of sources, an interdependent life-and-works where ‘in the biography as in the individual, the artist and the man are indissolubly united’ (vol. I, p. xiii). For George Grove, who reflected on its impact in the first English edition of 1882, Jahn had founded a new branch of musical literature, which bore fruit in Köchel’s thematic catalogue (1862) and later composer studies by Jähns, Nottebohm, Chrysander, Thayer and Spitta (Preface).

In a cradle-to-grave account of Mozart’s life – interposing aspects of his artistic world, as composer and performer – it is in his Vienna years that Jahn discusses the chamber music with keyboard, included in a chapter ‘Mozart’s Pianoforte Music’. This organisation precludes detailed discussion of the sixteen early sonatas with violin,³⁰ or the Mannheim and Paris set. A domestic function characterises the Viennese set of six sonatas with violin, evidenced by their differences in design, for the sake of variety. Of these, that in G, K.379, is singled out, its complementary major–minor key first movement being described as the finest for its ‘depth of feeling’. Most sonatas with violin, including the later K.481, 526 and 547, were composed for piano pupils, their teachers and friends: the kind of music favoured in social circles. For this reason the sonatas ‘have no great depth of passion or scholarly treatment, but are well supplied with beautiful melodies and startling harmonic inflections, and are made interesting, sometimes even

²⁸ O. Jahn, *W. A. Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1856; 2nd edn 1867; 3rd edn by H. Dieters, 1889–91; 4th edn by Dieters 1905–7). Here as *Life of Mozart*, 3 vols., trans. P. Townsend (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1882).

²⁹ From the perspective of the professional historian, William Stafford considers Jahn’s work unsurpassed until scholarly advances in the 1950s. W. Stafford, ‘The Evolution of Mozartian Biography’ in Keefe, *The Cambridge Companion*, pp. 200–11, in particular p. 203.

³⁰ Jahn notes, however, that Leopold thought well of these ‘independently of their childish authorship’ (vol. I, p. 37).