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obsolescent religion. Aeschylus may have been trying to bring that religion into line with the best thought of his age, but Sophocles seems to treat it as a mere convention and Euripides to regard its cruder features with positive hostility. But the Christian religion was alive when Bach wrote and is alive to-day, and Bach's devout Christianity is as unquestionable as his musical genius. It is the arias and the chorales of the Bach Passions that transform the historical record of the Hero's death at the hands of weak and wicked men into the eternal record of the Cross, the Redemption of Mankind.

MARIA THERESIA PARADIS AND MOZART¹

BY HERMANN ULLRICH

IT would be strange if Mozart, once settled permanently among the intense and abundant musical life of Joseph II's Vienna had not repeatedly met, at the houses of the music-loving nobility and in the public concert-rooms, a well-known and much discussed artist: the blind pianist and singer, Maria Theresia Paradis.

This is not the place to expatiate at length on the heart-searching biography of a young girl who aroused general interest and compassion by the early loss of her sight, by her exceptional talent and later by the unsuccessful attempt to cure her made by the ingenious but at that time wholly misunderstood psycho-therapist Anton Mesmer.² When Mozart settled in Vienna in 1781 this unhappy episode dated but a few years back (to 1777-78), and a report on it must have come to the composer's ears, since he had been on friendly terms with the Mesmer family for a number of years and had more than once stayed at their magnificent house in the Landstrasse suburb where the much-discussed "magnetic" cures were effected. The enormous sensation caused in Vienna by the half-successful and later wholly disastrous treatment of Maria Theresia continues to vibrate in the 'Denkwürdigkeiten' written by the friend of her youth, "Vienna's Mme. Récamier"—Karoline Pichler.³

At the time Mozart settled in Vienna Maria Theresia must have already been a fairly familiar figure in the city's musical life. For she had appeared as an "infant prodigy" as early as 1770, when she sang the soprano part in Pergolesi's 'Stabat Mater' before her godmother, the Empress Maria Theresia, at the Augustinian church, accompanying herself on the organ.⁴ Her pianoforte master, Leopold Kozeluch, who was *persona grata* at court and well liked in Vienna, had doubtless smoothed her path for her, and her family's connection with the court

¹ The present essay forms part of a larger work by Dr. Ullrich, dealing with the life and work of Maria Theresia Paradis, which he does not expect to be able to complete before his impending return to Vienna, which he hopes will enable him to consult the MSS. of her compositions, preserved in the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. But he considers that this chapter on her connection with Mozart, and particularly on the problem of the pianoforte Concerto K.456, constitutes a complete piece of work in itself, the publication of which in English need not be delayed pending the study of further sources.—Ed.

² I cannot forbear to thank Professor O. E. Deutsch, Mr. Paul Hirsch and Mr. C. B. Oldman most cordially for the assistance they kindly offered me by directing my attention to literary references and source-material.

³ Karoline Pichler, 'Denkwürdigkeiten', vol. i, pp. 45-7 (Vienna, 1843).

⁴ Fétis, 'Biographie universelle', Vol. 5/6, p. 450; Constantin Wurzbach, 'Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertumes Oesterreich', vol. xxi., p. 286ff (1870); Ernst Gerber, 'Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler' (Leipzig, 1792); 'Oesterreichische Nationalencyklopaedie' (hereafter abbreviated O.N.E.), vol. iv, p. 153 (Vienna, 1838); Johann C. W. Kühnau, 'Die blinden Tonkünstler', p. 189ff (Berlin, 1811).

could not fail to be a further advantage.⁵ Although a perusal of the 'Wiener Zeitung' of the 1780s (not accessible in London at the time of writing) might yield more precise data on the extent and nature of her concert activities, it may be assumed that they existed. Colour is lent to this not only by the fact that she learnt a considerable concert repertory under Kozeluch's guidance,⁶ but above all by the assertion found in various sources that after her return from her great tour in western Europe, she no longer appeared in public, or only occasionally.⁷ Indeed, it is hardly imaginable that the concert tours undertaken by her in 1783 and 1784 could have been preceded by no public concert of any note in Vienna. Where else could she have gained the experience necessary for her appearance in the great west-European capitals? Moreover, it is unlikely that Le Gros, who was an excellent musician, as we know from Mozart's biography, should have engaged an unknown beginner for the Concert spirituel, which he had directed since 1777 and which was patronized by the cream of Paris and Versailles society.

The probability is, therefore, that Mozart frequently heard Maria Theresia play in the concert-rooms where he himself appeared, such as the Augarten, the "Mehlgrube" and the Burg Theatre; and he must also have come across her in the not too extended circles of the music-loving nobility and citizenry, where he was himself a favourite guest and teacher in the earlier eighties. Presumably she too taught among the same set of people. Although the sources do not mention any extensive teaching activity of the blind artist's part until after her return from London (1786),⁸ it may be assumed that she taught already before her grand tour (1784), more particularly because she accepted pupils even during her sojourn in Paris.⁹

What appears the more remarkable in view of all this is the complete silence about this colleague of his preserved by Mozart in his letters, in which he so often mentions the luminaries of the contemporary Viennese musical world and to whose artistic efforts he frequently reacts critically.¹⁰ It is true, on the other hand, that the names of even more famous fellow-artists, such as Gluck or Haydn, make but rare appearances in his

⁵ Her father was "imperial councillor" (Riemann, ii, 1340) or "imperial and royal government councillor" (Irene Pollak-Schlaffenberg, "Die Wiener Liedmusik von 1778-1789" in 'Studien zur Musikwissenschaft' [Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich], part v, p. 107, 1918)). According to Wurzbach, *op. cit.*, Joseph Anton von Paradis (born July 24th 1733) was imperial and royal court secretary to the Court Chamber of Commerce, later to the Austrian Court Chancellery and lastly councillor of the Lower Austrian Government Board (*cf.* Gerber, *op. cit.*, and Kühnau, who follows him here also). The family's close connection with the court is moreover proved by the empress's willingness to stand godmother to Maria Theresia and by her later grant of an annuity of 200 florins for educational purposes (Fétis, *loc. cit.*; Grove, Dictionary, iv, 44 [C. F. Pohl]; Wurzbach, *op. cit.*; Gerber, *op. cit.*; Stefan Zweig, 'Heilung durch den Geist', pp. 67 and 74; 'Franz Anton Mesmer' gives the figures as 200 ducats, also as 800 florins, Fétis as 250 florins. The other authors have it unanimously and therefore trustworthily as 200).

⁶ Gerber, *loc. cit.*, says: "Under this master [Kozeluch] she contrived to play compositions of his and by other masters to the extent of upwards of sixty pianoforte concertos, which she performed, with the greatest accuracy and the most subtle expression, in a manner wholly worthy of her teacher". Similarly in O.N.E., *loc. cit.*, and Kühnau, *op. cit.* "60 Klavierkonzerte"—a sign of the coming Germanophile tendencies. We shall see that in Paris she played concertos by Haydn and Kozeluch, possibly also by Mozart.

⁷ According to O.N.E. and Kühnau, the latter giving as his source the 'Berliner Zeitung' (1810), Maria Theresia did not appear in public at all after her return from London, but performed only in private circles and for the rest devoted herself entirely to teaching. But Hanslick ('Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Wien', vol. i, p. 124, 1869) proves that she did occasionally appear after 1786, as for instance at the concerts of the Tonkünstlergesellschaft in 1787 and 1790, where each time she played a concerto by Kozeluch. As late as 1798 she played "from particular friendship" a concerto of her own at a concert given in Jahn's hall by the singer Caldarini. Information to the same effect in Friedländer, 'Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert', vol. i, p. 312, Grove, iv, 41, and Wurzbach, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Riemann, *op. cit.*; Wurzbach, *op. cit.*; Gerber, *op. cit.*; Kühnau, *op. cit.*

⁹ The 'Journal de Paris', No. 273, September 29th 1784, p. 1153, announces a benefit concert to be given by Paradis on October 2nd following and adds: "Mlle. Paradis exécutera un nouveau concerto de M. Kozeluch [sic]. Une demoiselle de ses élèves exécutera aussi un concerto de clavecin du même maître". Similarly in No. 276, October 1st 1784, where this pupil is expressly described as an "amateur".

¹⁰ See for instance Mozart's letters to his father on G. F. Richter's pianoforte playing (Schieder, 'Mozarts Briefe', vol. ii, No. 269; Anderson, 'Letters of Mozart and his Family', vol. iii, No. 511), on Kozeluch (letter of July 13th 1781, *op. cit.* ii, 186; iii, 416), on Clementi (June 7th 1783, *op. cit.* ii, 254; iii, 491), on Righini (August 29th 1781, *op. cit.* ii, 191; iii, 422), on Pleyel (April 24th 1784, *op. cit.* ii, 268; iii, 510) and on the oboist Fischer (April 4th 1787, *op. cit.* iv, 282; iii, 546).

correspondence, and we have to bear in mind the fact that many of Mozart's letters of precisely this period are lost.¹¹

Leopold Mozart mentions Maria Theresia but once in his letters, so far as they are preserved, namely in the familiar passage in the letter of February 16th 1785 to his daughter,¹² where he speaks of the Concerto which Wolfgang "made for the Paradis to Paris" (*nach Paris*), afterwards played by the composer himself with great success at a concert given by the singer Luisa Laschi on February 13th 1785. The mere mention of the name, without comment, indicates that Maria Anna Mozart knew all about the person referred to.

Mozartian research assumes, on the authority of Abert,¹³ who in turn cites the 'Wiener Musikzeitung' of 1817, p. 289, that Paradis was at Salzburg in the summer of 1783, that she was in touch with the Mozart family and that Wolfgang made her acquaintance at that time in his father's house during his and Constanze's conciliatory visit.¹⁴ There can hardly be any doubt about Maria Theresia's stay at Salzburg in the summer of 1783, even though the local newspapers and the police registers remain to be examined for positive proof. Nor can it be doubted that she would have called on the distinguished archiepiscopal *Vice-Kapellmeister* and father of a famous son. Yet, *que diable allait-elle faire dans cette galère?* What drew her to Salzburg at a time when pleasure-trips were difficult and unusual, while long-distance visits were not customary except among close relatives? Nothing but a concert tour, in which Salzburg was a halt, can be imagined to have brought Maria Theresia to that town, which was an important postal stage on the way to southern Germany and France.

Fétis, in fact, in his otherwise pretty reliable article, expressly mentions Salzburg as the next stage after Linz in the great concert tour of 1784, which was later to culminate in Paris and London,¹⁵ and Gerber says that this tour took Maria Theresia "to the foremost cities and courts in Germany". Among these was unquestionably the residence of the prince-archbishop of Salzburg.¹⁶ However, the details of her meeting with W. A. Mozart during his visit to Salzburg (end of July to October 30th 1783) are so precise that they cannot be reconciled with the supposition that she did not stay there until she undertook her journey to Paris, which we know she did not begin until 1784.¹⁷ Her presence in Paris before April 1st 1784, to be referred to presently, is a further reason for doubting the supposition. If we are to believe Fétis,

11. Schiedermair, *op. cit.*, vol. i, preface, p. xxv: "Part of Mozart's letters, of his father's and his wife's dating from the 1780s appear unfortunately to have been irrevocably lost and may have been lost sight of during journeys and removals or may have been purposely destroyed later on". According to Zweig, *op. cit.*, p. 67, Paradis once performed in Mozart's presence, but no documentary proof of this assertion is offered.

12. 'Leopold Mozarts Briefe an seine Tochter', ed. by O. E. Deutsch and B. Paumgartner, p. 68 (1938), also Schiedermair, *op. cit.*, iv, 304.

13. Jahn-Abert, 'W. A. Mozart', vol. ii, p. 41, and footnotes 1 and 2.

14. C. F. Pohl, in Grove, iii, 549: "He [Mozart] also became intimate with Marie Thérèse Paradis, the blind pianist, who was then in Salzburg". Pohl's Mozart articles were revised and enlarged by Sir Henry Hadow and C. B. Oldman. F. Schnürer-Waldheim, in his book on Anton Mesmer, p. 94 (Vienna, 1930) makes Paradis undertake "a great concert tour in the summer of 1783, which took her by way of Salzburg, where she called on the Mozarts, to Paris".

15. Fétis, *loc. cit.*

16. Salzburg was, until its secularization in 1803, a sovereign principality and a German national branch-state of the Holy Roman Empire. Interesting particulars of conditions in Salzburg's musical life in Mozart's time are to be found in K. Schneider's 'Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg' (Salzburg, 1935).

17. On the period of the beginning of the Paris journey see Riemann, *op. cit.*, 1340; Grove, iv, 44; Köchel-Einstein, pp. 577-8; Fétis, *loc. cit.*; Pollak-Schaffenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 107; Wurzbach, *op. cit.*; vol. xxi, pp. 286ff; Gerber, *loc. cit.*; Eitner, 'Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellenlexicon', vol. vii, p. 316; Deutsch-Paumgartner, *op. cit.*, p. 507; Carlo Schmidl, 'Dizionario universale dei musicisti', vol. xii, p. 230 (Milan, 1938); 'New Encyclopedia', p. 635 (New York, 1931). Blümmel's evident error in his edition of Karoline Pichler's 'Denkwürdigkeiten', note 65, p. 448 (Vienna, 1914) remains to be discussed farther on. On the other hand the information in J. Brown's 'Biographical Dictionary of Musicians', p. 459 (London, 1886) that Paradis "appeared in Paris and in London 1780" may be ignored as being clearly erroneous.

Wurzbach, Gerber, the O.N.E. and Blümml,¹⁸ when they say that her arrival in Paris was preceded by an intensive concert activity in southern Germany and Switzerland, it seems improbable that so extensive a programme could have been carried out between January 1st 1784 and April 4th, which was the day of her first appearance in Paris. For communications were slow at that time, and we must bear in mind that Maria Theresia travelled with her mother, that two women travelling without a courier could not cover long distances rapidly and that at a time when there were no concert agencies it was impossible to carry out complicated arrangements at short notice.¹⁹

The explanation of the contradiction, which is complicated by the inexact records of contemporary sources and further by disagreements among modern authors, seems to be that Paradis undertook two different tours: a first one that took her to Switzerland by way of Salzburg and southern Germany in the summer of 1783 and a second that led her from Vienna and Salzburg to Paris early in 1784. Blümml is therefore right in mentioning a first and a second concert tour,²⁰ even though he makes the mistake of delaying the beginning of each journey by a year (1784 instead of 1783 for the south German journey and 1785 instead of 1784 for the visit to Paris). Hanslick also appears to have several journeys in view,²¹ for he describes the Paris visit as "the great concert tour."

It is curious that Leopold Mozart, who went out of his way in 1787 to give Marianne a detailed description of the passing visit of Nancy Storce and her English travelling-companions, nowhere mentions Maria Theresia Paradis's similar (second) sojourn early in 1784.²² However, here again we have to reckon with the possibility that a letter was lost.

A concert tour from Vienna to France and England was no small matter in the age of the stage-coach. We may thus suppose that Maria Theresia had worked out the plan for this journey, at any rate in its outlines, by the time of her visit to Salzburg in the summer of 1783 and that she discussed it with her new friends, the Mozarts, who had plenty of experience in such matters. It is quite possible that on that occasion Mozart may have promised his young fellow-artist a concerto for her appearance in Paris, possibly at her own request. His complaisance towards other musicians and his unflinching readiness to write concertos and other works for their repertory is a well-known trait in his character and one which many of his friends did not hesitate to exploit. It is sufficient to point to the four horn concertos composed for Ignaz Leutgeb (K.412, 417, 447 and 495), to that for the clarinet written for the elder Anton Stadler (K.622) and to the oboe concerto for Ferlendis (K.313). Perhaps Mozart was attracted by the idea that a pupil of Kozeluch's, who was regarded as his successful rival in Vienna, should play a concerto of his in Paris, the very place that had shown him so much indifference in 1778.

The identity of the "glorious concerto" mentioned by Leopold Mozart in the letter already cited²³ has never, in my opinion, been established beyond controversy. Apart from that passage no indication is to be found anywhere, not even in W. A. Mozart's own letters, nor

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Eitner, *op. cit.*, vii, 316; Wurzbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 286; Gerber, *op. cit.*; Kühnau, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Blümml, *op. cit.*, note 65, p. 448; Pollak-Schlaffenberg, *loc. cit.*, lets Paradis meet Leopold and W. A. Mozart "on a journey" at Salzburg in 1784, overlooking the fact that Wolfgang never again visited his native town after 1783.

²¹ Hanslick, *op. cit.*, i, 124.

²² Letter of March 1st 1787 in Deutsch-Paumgartner, p. 460.

²³ Letter of February 14-16th 1785, Schiederemair, vol. iv, No. 304; Anderson, iii, No. 523.

does his father's contain the usual brief reference to the key or to the circumstances of composition. Mozart's own catalogue of his works, which occasionally reveals the artist for whom a certain work was written,²⁴ offers no clue in this instance.

Mozartian research, in so far as it has concerned itself with the question at all, has plumped more or less definitely for the Concerto in B \flat major, K.456, unfortunately without giving reasons for such a supposition.²⁵ I shall therefore try to examine the question anew and to suggest a solution.

We may from the very start exclude from our consideration the pianoforte concertos written during the Salzburg period: that is to say, all those up to and including that in E \flat major, K.271, as also the first three composed in Vienna, K.413, 414 and 415. For all these concertos were already in existence when Mozart met Maria Theresia in the summer of 1783,²⁶ and he could not have informed his father about any of them that he had "made [them] for the Paradis to Paris". Which, of course, is not to say that she could not have taken one of these early concertos to Paris and possibly played it there.

If we bear in mind the unequivocal wording of the letter already cited several times, we cannot fail to conclude that no other concerto can be in question except one of those beginning with K.449, written in close succession from February 1784 onward.

The faulty expression "to Paris" (*nach Paris*), although ungrammatical and unusual even in the pre-classical German of the 1780s and in view of Mozart's habit of using dialect words and provincialisms, will hardly bear any other interpretation than the assumption that the work in question must have been written at a time when Paradis was no longer in Vienna. It must therefore have been forwarded to her "to Paris"—if indeed she ever received it. Nevertheless, let us examine the possibility that what Leopold Mozart intended to say was that Wolfgang had composed the work "for Paris", *i.e.* for a performance in Paris.

The time and duration of Maria Theresia's sojourn in Paris were formerly a matter for controversy. Contemporary sources, such as Gerber, Kühnau, Gräffer and, following them, O.N.E. and Wurzbach postpone her visit to 1785 and assess its duration at 5–6 months.²⁷ Later research, on the other hand, unanimously places the Paris visit in the year 1784.²⁸ It is not merely Gerber's unreliability which points to the correctness of this view, but we have a positive argument in its favour in the chronology of the visit to London, which directly followed that to Paris. C. F. Pohl shows that Paradis went to London in November

²⁴ *e.g.* 'Scena con Rondo', K.505, "für Mlle. Storace und mich"; supplementary rondo for 'Figaro', "Al desio", K.577, "für Mme. Ferraresi"; aria for 'Cosi fan tutte', "Rivolgete a lui lo sguardo", K.584, "für Bennucci"; clarinet Concerto, K.622, "für Herrn Stadler den Aelteren".

²⁵ The identification is made unreservedly by Thompson, 'Encyclopedia', p. 1360; Pollak-Schlaffenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 107; Schieder, *op. cit.*, iv, 397, note 304; Grove, iii, 340 and iv, 44; Eric Blom, 'Mozart', p. 129; conjecturally by Jahn, 'Mozart', ii, 395, followed by Abert, ii, 41; Paumgartner, 'Mozart', p. 301 (1927). Köchel-Einstein quotes Abert without further comment; Deutsch-Paumgartner say the Concerto was K.456; Schnürer-Waldheim, *op. cit.*, p. 94, lets Paradis play "a concerto composed for her at the court of Louis XVI in April 1784".

²⁶ K.413, in F major, was written in the winter of 1782–83, also K.415, in C major, which Mozart played at the subscription concert of March 23rd 1783; K.414, in A major, dates from the autumn of 1782 or early 1783 (see Köchel-Einstein, 3rd edition, pp. 501, 507–9).

²⁷ Gerber, *loc. cit.*: "In the summer of 1785 she went to Paris and there not only had the honour of playing before the queen, but was also heard several times at the Concert spirituel with the most flattering success"; Kühnau, *loc. cit.*, mentions a sojourn of five months; Gräffer, 'Dosenstücke', i, 231 (Vienna, 1836), says that she "played and sang in Paris before Marie Antoinette in 1785"; O.N.E. decides for about six months in the summer of 1785.

²⁸ Grove, *loc. cit.*; Pollak-Schlaffenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 107; Eitner, vii, 316; Schnürer-Waldheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 and 111, where, it is true, she does not get to Paris until April 1784, which according to newspaper reports is impossible. James Brown's wrong date (1780) in the 'Biographical Dictionary of Musicians', p. 459, has already been cited as a curiosity. Wurzbach, by the way, contradicts himself, for elsewhere in his article he asserts that Paradis was heard on the organ in Paris in 1784.

1784²⁹ and that—according to custom and exactly as the Mozart children had done in 1764—she played first at court and at the residence of the Prince of Wales (Carlton House), afterward appearing, on November 16th 1785, for the first time as solo pianist at the Professional Concerts, which at that very time made their beginning under that title at the Hanover Square Rooms. The contemporary Paris journals wholly agree with these conclusions of Pohl's. Of the only two French journals of the period at present accessible at the British Museum, the 'Journal de Paris' and the 'Mercure de France', the former contains detailed announcements of the concerts at which Paradis appeared as well as some isolated notices, the latter critical estimates. Both, moreover, precisely indicate the duration and the success of her visit. No. 91 of the 'Journal de Paris', of March 31st 1784, announces her first appearance at the Concert spirituel in the Tuileries as follows: "Mlle. Paradis, aveugle depuis l'âge de deux ans, exécutera pour la première fois un concerto de clavecin". The two journals vied with each other in publishing enthusiastic discussions of her performance, which was unquestionably an exceptional success.³⁰

Deux nouveaux virtuoses ont produit la sensation la plus vive, Mlle. Paradis et Mr. Gervais. La première, aveugle depuis l'âge de deux ans, a touché un concerto de clavecin; il faut l'avoir entendue pour se faire une idée du tact, de la précision, de la volubilité et de la netteté de son jeu. Jusqu'à présent on a cru que le clavecin étoit un instrument qui ne pouvoit faire aucun effet dans une salle aussi vaste que celle du Concert. Mlle. P. est la première, qui en eût tiré un part tel, qu'on n'a perdu aucune note de son concerto, et qu'on a été surpris des nuances de forte et piano, que cet instrument sembloit ne pouvoir comporter. Elle a été applaudie avec transport et les applaudissements on redoublé lorsqu'après son concerto elle a paru dans une loge; cette jeune personne, aussi intéressante par elle-même que par son talent, arrive de Vienne en Autriche: elle est l'élève de Mr. Kozeluch.³¹

No. 100 of the same journal, April 9th 1784, says in connection with the appearance of another pianist, Mlle. de Vasseur: "On a souffert impatiemment le concerto de fortepiano qu'elle a touché, parce qu'il faut un talent transcendant pour se faire entendre après Mlle. Paradis". The 'Mercure de France' says in No. 15 of April 10th :

Un talent plus étonnant encore peut-être, par la privation d'un des organes qui sembloit indispensable, c'est celui de Mlle. Paradis, aveugle depuis l'âge de deux ans, et qui touche le clavecin avec un netteté, une précision, dont on n'avoit pas l'idée. Son succès a été prodigieux et devoit l'être; nous croyons impossible de porter cet instrument à un plus haut degré de perfection.

And in a later issue :

Mlle. Paradis est la seule artiste, donc notre nation ne puisse se glorifier. Cette habile claveciniste est véritablement bien étonnante. Aveugle depuis l'âge de deux ans, il est inconcevable à quel point de perfection elle a porté la connoissance de son instrument. Il n'est pas douteux que la privation d'un sens n'influe sur la délicatesse des autres; mais quand on songe à la nécessité ou elle est de charger sa mémoire d'une infinité de petits détails que la seule inspection de l'œil rend si facile, on ne sait ce qu'on doit admirer le plus, de la perfection de son jeu, ou des efforts de la patience, qu'il lui a fallu pour l'acquérir. On ne connoit point sur le clavecin d'exécution plus nette, plus précise et plus finie. . . .³²

All told Maria Theresia appeared fourteen times: eleven at the Concert spirituel and three at benefit concerts of her own.³³ The programmes

²⁹ C. F. Pohl in Grove, iv, 44, and, supplementing this, in 'Haydn in London', pp. 17 and 78 (Vienna, 1867). The 'St. James's Chronicle', to whose issue of February 19th 1786 Pohl refers, could unfortunately not be made accessible to me, for it is not in the British Museum's newspaper catalogue. It was evidently one of those "parish weeklies" in which England abounds.

³⁰ That success found its echo also in German periodicals, such as the Weimar 'Teutsche Merkur' of 1784-85 (see Schnürer-Waldheim, p. 94) and Goeking's 'Journal von und für Deutschland', part 8, 1786.

³¹ 'Journal de Paris', No. 95, April 4th 1784.

³² 'Mercure de France', No. 17, April 24th 1784.

³³ The dates of the Concert spirituel performances were April 1st, 4th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 16th, 18th, May 30th and June 10th. Those of the benefit concerts April 28th, July 7th and October 2nd.

and criticisms leave no doubt that she appeared as pianist, except at the Concert spirituel of April 13th 1784, when she sang in a "Scène italienne de M. Kozeluck avec accompagnement de clavecin obligé". This was clearly some kind of cantata or an operatic aria arrangement for concert use, and it will be remembered that she was a well-schooled singer³⁴ and had already at the age of eleven sung a soprano solo at the Augustinian church in Pergolesi's 'Stabat Mater' and accompanied herself on the organ.³⁵ During her stay in Paris the commission of inquiry into the accusations levelled at Mesmer by his professional colleagues, instituted by Louis XVI, was sitting. Mesmer's opponents availed themselves of Maria Theresia's presence to cite her case against the psycho-therapist in order to prove him a quack. It passed understanding, sneered a certain Dr. Doppet, who had been a pupil of Mesmer's, how the latter could pretend to have restored her sight, since in spite of that this great singer represented herself as blind.³⁶ It may therefore be supposed that she sang in that "scène italienne" and accompanied herself on the pianoforte.

Her last appearance in Paris took place on October 2nd 1784 at a benefit concert in the Salle du Musée, Rue Dauphine, at which she and one of her pupils played concertos by Kozeluch. After that date her name is no longer mentioned in the periodicals, a sure sign that she must have departed for London without delay. If we consider that in Paris too she probably followed the custom of the period by first presenting herself at court, in order to secure for herself the patronage of the king and queen as well as the nobility,³⁷ it may be conjectured that she arrived in Paris at the beginning of March 1784 and remained there until the end of October. Her visit would thus have lasted eight months, not "five to six".³⁸

As we have seen above, only a pianoforte concerto written after Mozart's meeting with Paradis at Salzburg in the summer of 1783 can be our concern. We know from Mozart's own manuscript catalogue of his works³⁹ that the Concerto K.456 dated from September 30th 1784, which means that it was either begun or finished on that day.⁴⁰ Bearing in mind the time taken by the copying of the score, the postal transit, the writing out of the parts in Paris, the necessary study and the rehearsals, we are bound to conclude that this Concerto could not have reached performance before the end of October at the earliest. At that time, however, Maria Theresia was either in London already or on the point of leaving for England. It is not to be supposed that Mozart, reliable and punctual as he was, would have left a promise unfulfilled for several months and implemented it only at a time at which he knew it would be too late for the composition to serve its purpose. Not that he could have been aware of every detail of an itinerary necessarily liable to undergo all sorts of changes; but it can hardly be doubted that Paradis, during her visit to Salzburg or at any rate before her departure from Vienna, gave him at least approximate details of the time and duration of her Paris sojourn, if he was expected to write a concerto for that city. All this considered, it seems difficult to suppose that K.456 can really be the

³⁴ Riemann, ii, 1340. Her teacher had been Righini. Wurzbach, xxi, 236ff, praises her singing as infinitely touching. In Brussels she sang the cantata by Pfeffel set to music by Kozeluch (O.E.N., iv, 153).

³⁵ See note 4.

³⁶ Schnürer-Waldheim, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³⁷ Riemann, *loc. cit.*; Grove, i, 44; Wurzbach, *op. cit.*; Gerber, *op. cit.*; Schnürer-Waldheim, *loc. cit.*; Kühnau, *op. cit.*

³⁸ Grove, *loc. cit.* (6 months), Wurzbach (5 months), Gerber and Kühnau (do.).

³⁹ See the new edition in facsimile by O. E. Deutsch (Vienna, 1938).

⁴⁰ Cf. Köchel-Einstein, Preface to 1st edition, p. xiii.

concerto he "made for the Paradis to Paris". What is more, these reflections even more certainly rule out later concertos, such as K.459, in F major, of December 11th 1784, K.466, in D minor, of February 10th 1795 or K.467, in C major, of March 9th 1785.

In point of time, on the other hand, four other concertos would fit the case: K.449, in E \flat major, of February 9th 1784, K.450, in B \flat major, of March 15th 1784, K.451, in D major, of March 22nd 1784 and K.453, in G major, of April 12th 1784. We know, however, from a letter to Leopold dated May 15th 1784⁴¹ that Mozart wrote the concertos in E \flat and G for his pupil Barbara Ployer. These two must therefore be eliminated from our investigation, which becomes narrowed down to K.450 and K.451, the dates of which show that they could doubtless easily have been copied for Paradis and sent to Paris in good time. But we also know from the same letter that the scores had not yet been copied by May 15th. Mozart sent them to his father that same day, together with the "Linz" Symphony, K.425, and the concertos in E \flat and G for the purpose of making copies, which were destined either for Leopold or for friends and pupils at Salzburg, certainly not for Maria Theresia in Paris. Not only would Mozart have been sure to mention such a dedication in his letter; he would have had a copy for Paris made in Vienna, not at Salzburg. Moreover, he omits to request the speedy return of the scores as soon as the copy was done, which he would have been sure to do had he intended to have one of these two concertos copied in Vienna on their return from Salzburg. All these circumstances seem to invalidate the supposition that either K.450 or K.451 is the "glorious concerto".⁴²

Not in this way, then, may we hope to come any nearer an answer to the riddle. As for a critical investigation of stylistic features, it appears to give no special preference to either of the two concertos in question. Mozart himself, in his letter of May 26th 1784,⁴³ calls them both concertos that are "bound to make the performer perspire", though he says that the B \flat major is more difficult than the D major. F. Blume, in his study of Mozart's pianoforte concertos,⁴⁴ considers the works K.449-451 as being in a transitional form, "in which the contest between symphonic form and the soloist's share became the touchstone of composition", while in the third group, in which he ranges the concertos up to K.467 and K.491, "the solution found through the soloist's participation in the structure is now placed in the service of psychological development". This carefully thought-out classification brings us no nearer to the solution of our problem. Paradis undoubtedly possessed an advanced and carefully schooled technique,⁴⁵ for her master had been Kozeluch, of whom Hanslick says that no other, save Mozart, had had a greater influence on the development of pianoforte playing.⁴⁶

The peculiar nature of Maria Theresia's technique of assimilation made it possible for her to overcome even very considerable mechanical difficulties. All the concertos in question must have been equally

41. Schieder-mair, ii, No. 271; Anderson, iii, No. 513.

42. We do not know when Leopold returned to Wolfgang the scores he had received in May 1784. They may possibly have been among those which Mozart received back after his father's death through his brother-in-law Sonnenburg or the executor, Councillor Ernst von Gilowsky (Deutsch-Faumgartner, *op. cit.*, p. 569 note).

43. Schieder-mair, *op. cit.*, ii., No. 272; Anderson, iii, No. 514.

44. 'Mozart-jahrbuch', 1924, p. 106ff.

45. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1360-61; Fétis, *op. cit.*, 5/6, p. 450: "Elle jouait avec une rare perfection"; Wurzbach, *op. cit.*: "Great technical proficiency in pianoforte playing"; Max Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 312: "Under Kozeluch's guidance she developed into an excellent pianoforte player"; Gräffer, *op. cit.*, i, 231; Hanslick, *op. cit.*, i, 424, calls her and Auernhammer "the two famous pianists".

46. *Ibid.*

accessible to her, both technically and musically. Her musical memory was evidently developed in the supernormal way usual with the blind. Gerber reports that she was able to retain even complex pieces like the fugues in Handel's 'Lessons' and the rondos in C. P. E. Bach's 'Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber' after having had them played to her. Her compositions she used to dictate. Kühnau, clearly following the 'Leipziger Musik Zeitung' of 1810-11 and a report in the 'Berliner Zeitung' of July 18th 1810, describes a system of musical notation invented for her by her friend Ridinger, which enabled her to distinguish between notes of different pitch and duration by means of pegs of various shapes stuck into boards. Kühnau declares that this system was so simple that any copyist could grasp it in a short time. In this way Maria Theresia set down her compositions, while her pupils did the same for her with music by other composers which she wished to learn. She thus possessed an admirably functioning substitute for her missing sight, not only in her exceptionally developed hearing, but also in her sense of touch. It is obviously a case of what medicine calls "vicarious function of the senses". A further proof of the truth of all this is the fact, commented on by Zweig and Schnürer-Waldheim, that her technique perceptibly deteriorated during the time of her temporary cure at Mesmer's hands, which made it necessary for her newly to learn the technique of pianists with normal eyesight that was unfamiliar to her. Once she had become blind again her former assurance was restored. From a technical point of view, therefore, even very difficult passages could not have been beyond her reach. (The Editor, to whom I am indebted for this suggestion, refers especially to the cross-hands passages in the finale of the B \flat major Concerto, K.450.)

One thing, at any rate, emerges clearly from the concert programmes published by the 'Journal de Paris': the Mozart concerto written for Maria Theresia Paradis was never played by her in Paris. She had only works by Kozeluch, Gervais and Haydn in her programme, so far as their publication shows. If the "concerto de clavecin" she played at her first public performance there on April 1st 1784 and repeated on the 4th was one of Mozart's, it is clear for chronological reasons that only one of the Salzburg works or one of K.413-15 could have been in question.⁴⁷ Whether she played the Concerto K.456 in London I am unable at the moment to establish, nor is it probable that this will ever be done, considering the general vagueness of the programmes of that time.⁴⁸

If we exclude the possibility that Mozart told his father an untruth in the matter of the concerto written for Paradis and similarly reject the supposition (for which indeed there are no grounds whatever) that Paradis herself for some reason or other released Mozart from a promise

⁴⁷ The newspapers at that time usually contented themselves with indicating the composer and the category of a musical work performed. Detailed indications and critical appraisals were rare. The 'Mercure de France' of April 24th 1784, p. 176, says: "Ses concertos, qui sont de M. Hozeluck [*sic.*], son maître, ont paru très bien faits et d'un goût aussi agréable qu'original". Kozeluch's concertos, too, are described in the Paris papers merely as "un concerto" or "un nouveau concerto". Not all the "new" concertos played by Paradis, presumably, were actual first performances. She would repeat a programme, yet even so announce a "new concerto". This accounts for the notice in the 'Mercure de France' of the Concert spirituel of June 10th 1784, at which Paradis had again played "un nouveau concerto de la composition de M. Kozeluck" and where a Symphony by Candeille and a 'Sinfonie concertante' by Davaus had their first performances. Paradis is not mentioned and the critic says: "les autres morceaux que nous ne détaillons pas, parce qu'ils n'offrent aucune nouveauté, ont cependant été applaudis avec plus de vivacité qu'à l'ordinaire".

⁴⁸ The London daily papers of the period, 'The Morning Post', 'The Morning Herald' and 'The Morning Chronicle', as well as the issues of 'The Times' published before 1811—until January 1st 1788 under the name of 'The Daily Advertising Register'—were not yet to be found in their usual place in the British Museum at the time this article was completed, but remained with the so-called Burney Collection, of which they form part, at their place of evacuation. (Information received from Mr. C. B. Shearcroft, Superintendent, British Museum Newspaper Library, March 9th 1946, and Mr. M. A. Ellis, Department of Printed Books, April 4th 1946.)

he had already fulfilled, there seems to be but one way out: it is not unthinkable that she had originally intended to make a longer stay in Paris, possibly until the year 1785, but later decided to shorten it for some unknown reason, perhaps the discovery that her popularity had begun to wane through all too frequent appearances. Mozart, unaware of this, might thus have intended the Concerto K.456 for a Concert spirituel of the end of the season, the last three of which took place by tradition on December 8th, 24th and 25th. In that case the unforeseen curtailment of the sojourn in Paris might have caused Mozart to refrain from sending the work to Paris, or it might have been forwarded to Maria Theresia from Paris to London. If that had been so, then Mozart was certainly entitled to designate K.456 as "made for the Paradis to Paris". But we have to take a great deal for granted to believe in the traditional assertion that this was the work written for her. The question is very doubtful. Will it ever be conclusively answered?

THE CLAVECIN WORKS OF FRANÇOIS COUPERIN

BY WILFRID MELLERS

IN Tudor England the relation between the secular and ecclesiastical keyboard schools was always intimate. Bull and Gibbons are equally remarkable as composers of organ fantasies with their roots in the polyphonic vocal tradition and as composers of virginal pieces which, however complex they may become, at least start from secular song and dance. This intimate inter-relation was indeed one of the secrets of the extraordinary richness of English music at the turn of the century; but by so supremely making the best of both worlds, the new and the old, it to some degree sacrificed the potentiality to develop the new in the direction the future demanded. English keyboard music of the period is of a variety and subtlety which is not exceeded by any period of European history—certainly not by the contemporary French keyboard school. But if it was consummately mature and beautiful, it was also as much an end as a beginning. Byrd, Gibbons, Farnaby and Bull were not followed by a "classical" keyboard composer as Chambonnières was followed by Couperin.

In France the earlier clavecinists were not, of course, uninfluenced by the polyphonic organ composers of the church: Chambonnières's beautiful pavane 'L'Entretien des Dieux' shows in its false relations and fluid rhythm a clear kinship with the "vocal" methods of Titelouze, and a still more obvious relation to such an amalgamation of tendencies as we can observe in Couperin's early organ masses. But in general the secular keyboard pieces stem from a different tradition—the lutenist composers who in France had evolved a much more autonomous "school" of composition than their English counterparts; and behind them from secular attitudes which had flourished in the French tradition for more than two centuries.

For while the more important works of the greatest of French composers, Josquin and Lassus (if one may claim them as such) show a rhythmic polyphony no less subtle and complex than that of Byrd or Palestrina, it is undoubtedly true that an elegant, dance-assimilated, relatively homophonic tradition had, all through the sixteenth century, played a central part in French musical culture. The symmetry and