

Salzb., 14<sup>th</sup> Octob.,  
1785

Just as I wanted to start writing, Herr Rahm<sup>2</sup> came in with the young *Cannabich*.<sup>3</sup> They are on their way to Italy, and because *Le Brun*<sup>4</sup> is now in *Verona* with his wife, [5] as she is singing an *opera* there, – and 2 pipers in one inn are not good for anybody – , Herr Rahm etc. are going to *Gratz*, and then to *Venice* over *Triest*. I had to introduce him to Count *Lizow*,<sup>5</sup> – they will be here until tomorrow, – unless perchance Herr Rahm and perhaps the young *Canabich*<sup>6</sup> too need to play at court, because Countess *Schönborn*<sup>7</sup> is also here, [10] Count *Guntaker* and his wife,<sup>8</sup> – but Prince *Baar*<sup>9</sup> has left; on the other hand, Count *Clamm*<sup>10</sup> from Prague |: the *amant*<sup>11</sup> of *Md.<sup>me</sup> Duschek*<sup>12</sup> :| is also here. – We are therefore waiting to see what happens. –

Perhaps you already know that a week ago, before 7 o'clock in the evening, Dr. *Hutterer*<sup>13</sup> was conducted from the jail to the castle by 5 men in close formation. [15] For how long? – For an indefinite period, they say. – Even the military lawyer *Rieder*<sup>14</sup> is to be taken to the castle for 3 months, I hear, – or is perhaps already up there: – because he had some papers sent to *Hutterer* – or sent some off, – I do not know for certain. –

From Herr Rahm, – and already from *Marchand*'s<sup>15</sup> letters, [20] I gather that not a hundredth part of everything they are saying here about the *Illuminati*<sup>16</sup> story in Munich is

---

<sup>1</sup> BD: Maria Anna Walburga Ignatia (“Nannerl”), née Mozart, (1751-1829). After her marriage in 1784 her name was Maria Anna von Berchtold zu Sonnenburg. In all letters to Nannerl after her marriage Leopold refers to her as “Frau Tochter” [madam daughter] and to his son-in-law as “Herr Sohn” [esteemed son].

<sup>2</sup> BD: Friedrich Ramm, oboist, joined the court music in Mannheim aged 14, travelled to Paris with Mozart, went to Munich with the court in 1778.

<sup>3</sup> BD: Karl Konrad Cannabich (1771-1806), violinist, son and successor of Christian Cannabich, director of the court music first in Mannheim and then in Munich.

<sup>4</sup> BD: Ludwig August Lebrun (1752-1790), oboist first of all at court in Mannheim and then in Munich. Married to the singer Franziska Dorothea Lebrun, née Danzi (1756-1791), likewise employed in the court music.

<sup>5</sup> “Graf”. BD: Lützwow Johann Nepomuk Gottfried, Count [Graf] Lützwow, commander of the fortress in Salzburg, vice-president of the Council of War [Kriegsrat]. Mozart wrote the clavier concerto KV 246 for his wife, Gräfin Lützwow, a niece of Salzburg Archbishop Hieronymus. in 1776. Cf. No. 0319/37, 39.

<sup>6</sup> BD: Karl Konrad Cannabich (1771-1806), violinist, son and successor of Christian Cannabich, director of the court music first in Mannheim and then in Munich.

<sup>7</sup> BD: Maria Theresia, Countess [Gräfin] Schönborn, née Coloredo, sister of the Archbishop of Salzburg, wife of Franz de Paula Gundacker I, Count [Graf] Coloredo (1731-1807), eldest brother of the Archbishop, Imperial Court Counsellor [Reichshofrat] and (from 1788) Prince [Fürst] and Imperial Vice-Chancellor [Reichsvizekanzler].

<sup>8</sup> BD: Maria Anna Regina Ludmilla, née Imperial Countess [Reichsgräfin] Mansfeld.

<sup>9</sup> BD: Wenzel Johann Joseph, Count [Graf] Paar, from 1769 Prince [Fürst], (1719-1792), postmaster to the Hereditary Lands [Erblandpostmeister]; along with his son Wenzel, chamberlain and president of the Viennese Lodge “Zur gekrönten Hoffnung” [“At the Sign of Hope Crowned”] (cf. No. 0921), he appears on Mozart’s subscription list for 1784 (cf. No. 0780/18, 37).

<sup>10</sup> BD: Christian Philipp, Count [Graf] Clam-Callas († 1805), patron of music in Prague.

<sup>11</sup> = “Lover”.

<sup>12</sup> BD: Josepha Duschek (1753-1824), singer, wife of Franz Xaver Duschek (1731-1799), pianist and composer in Prague. They met the Mozarts in 1777. Mozart wrote two works for Josepha: KV 272 (cf. No. 0337/84); KV 528 (cf. No. 1070/809).

<sup>13</sup> BD: Dr. jur. Johann Hutter, Imperial and university notary, advocate to the Archbishop, the consistory and the court council. His arrest seems to have followed on his representation of the Salzburg farmers in their campaign against higher taxes.

<sup>14</sup> BD: Joseph Rieder, Profos (officer in military court) in the fortress in Salzburg.

<sup>15</sup> BD: Munich theatre director Theobald Marchand, two of whose children studied music with Leopold.

<sup>16</sup> BD: Secret society founded at Ingolstadt University in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt (1748-1830), banned in Bavaria in 1784.

true. The investigation they have undertaken is right, some stubborn minds have been sent away, or have gone themselves; the rest, who made a sincere declaration about it in front of the Elector,<sup>17</sup> have stayed – even one of the heads, the esteemed *Dr. Bader*.<sup>18</sup> – [25] The most comical thing is that an index of 70 or more persons in Bader’s *lodge* is going around here, most of whom are high-ranking clergymen, including esteemed Count von Spauer,<sup>19</sup> *cathedral canon* in Salzb. – According to what Herr Rahm tells me, the genuine Freemasons |: of whom the Elector<sup>20</sup> himself is a member :| are quite enraged at these sectarians, for which reason they are pursuing a thorough enquiry against this fanaticism. [30]

The key woman brought the bags and said that what’s-his-name is coming the next day and would fetch everything, he would stay at the Hecht.<sup>21</sup> Tresel<sup>22</sup> was there 5 times in the morning and 4 times in the afternoon, but there was no-one to be found at the Hecht or anywhere else. On the following days she went to the *Robinis*<sup>23</sup> and Geschwendners<sup>24</sup> [35] and finally tracked down Unterberger’s wife’s<sup>25</sup> servant at the Traube,<sup>26</sup> who said, in a most friendly way, I am under strictest orders not to load anything, but since it concerns the most gracious esteemed administrator,<sup>27</sup> I already know it will be right in my lady’s eyes, for she is happy to do anything for the most gracious gentleman and the most gracious lady. He will therefore now have delivered the barrel, peas, lentils and beans, [40] along with the valuable old bag.

---

Here comes the messenger! My thanks first of all for the fish and the fine shrimps, and Leopoldl<sup>28</sup> sends thanks for the shirt and linen cloth. That will provide bibs from the folded seam, and I will supply something more to make neck ruffs. The larger pair of leggings cannot for that reason be used sensibly yet, the others are much too small. [45] In the meantime, Leopoldl has had quite a teething diarrhoea,<sup>29</sup> otherwise he is in fine form, has fairly grown, and is disgruntled when he does not immediately get, or when one does not immediately guess, what he wants. I personally would wish that you could see him; yet in the meantime he will get on with the job of growing, and if he becomes as big as the eldest Amand,<sup>30</sup> you will no longer recognise him. [50] As we now have weather more like September and the finest days, little Leopoldl has not yet moved into the winter room. It is no doubt good that one does not need to heat the rooms, since one cannot get wood and has to

---

<sup>17</sup> “vor dem Churfürsten”. BD: Karl Theodor (1724-1799). Studied in Leyden and Leuven. From 1742 Elector [Kurfürst] of the Palatinate, where he encouraged the arts in Mannheim, and from 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1777, Elector of Bavaria. Cf. No. 0363/30.

<sup>18</sup> BD: Dr. Franz Xaver von Baader (1765-1841), Catholic philosopher, chairman of the Munich Illuminati lodge; some of the members were from Salzburg, and formed their own eclectic lodge, “Zur Fürsicht” [“At the sign of Providence”], in 1783.

<sup>19</sup> BD: Friedrich Franz Joseph, Count [Graf] Spaur (1756-1821), cathedral canon in Salzburg, Brixen and Passau. Allegedly founder (under the aegis of Archbishop Hieronymus) and first chairman of the eclectic lodge “Zur Fürsicht” [“At the sign of Providence”] in Salzburg.

<sup>20</sup> BD: Unlikely, since Karl Theoder banned Freemasonry in Bavaria.

<sup>21</sup> BD: “The Pike”, an inn in Salzburg.

<sup>22</sup> BD: Therese Pänckl, servant in the Mozart household in Salzburg for many years.

<sup>23</sup> BD: Probably the family of Georg Sigismund/Siegmund Robinig von Rottenfeld (1760-1823), son of the factory owner Georg Joseph Robinig von Rottenfeld (1710-1760).

<sup>24</sup> BD: Joseph Franz Xaver Geschwendtner (1740-1800), city councillor and merchant in Salzburg.

<sup>25</sup> BD: Wife of the landlord of the Traube mentioned elsewhere in the letter.

<sup>26</sup> BD: “The Grape”, an inn in Salzburg.

<sup>27</sup> “Pfleger”. BD: Johann Baptist von Berchtold zu Sonnenburg (1736-1801), regional administrative official, Mozart’s brother-in-law. Nannerl was his third wife.

<sup>28</sup> BD: Nannerl’s son Leopold (born in Salzburg on 27<sup>th</sup> July, 1785) had remained with Leopold since the birth; Nannerl returned to St. Gilgen at the beginning of September.

<sup>29</sup> BD: “Zahn-Laxieren”, a form of diarrhoea often suffered during teething.

<sup>30</sup> BD: Captain-Lieutenant Johann Vital von Amann (1741-1795), son of Franz Anton von Amann (†1785).

pay around 3 florins<sup>31</sup> for what does come in, – there is great unrest in the town because there is no wood coming in: the farmers simply have other work to do. [55] – The bread price is beginning to fall again.

The story with the cook is astonishing. Here one sees what an abominable difference there is between purely a game with praying nuns and true Christianity. Who in the world could have expected that from a person who spent 6 years as a sister in a nunnery? [60] Could such a thing possibly have occurred to a reasonable human being? It is and will always continue to be a good thing to abolish women's convents. In it there is neither true calling, – nor supernatural moving, neither true spiritual eagerness nor a genuine school of true devotion and mortification of the passions, but nothing other than compulsion, hypocrisy, pretence, a show of holiness and an infinite amount of childishness, and in the end concealed malice. [65] – Your previous cook is an angel in comparison, cooked well, was thrifty, a bright disposition, not deceitful, and if, as far as I am concerned, she was slightly intoxicated in the evening, what does it matter? – you will not get an angel from heaven who has no faults. – and such an angel will certainly not go to St. Gilgen. – What is to be done? I simply do not know. [70] Thank God that I have kept the child here, otherwise it would have been even worse: I myself thank our good Lenerl<sup>32</sup> for her assistance, which you will greatly need along with Christian patience, for in such cases blustering and shouting are of no help, it only makes it worse and hardens stubborn heads: what I have noticed about Monica<sup>33</sup> is that she is not among the speedy, [75] and that friendly words have more effect than heated or rough ones, for she is extremely sensitive. She became a friend of the cook in hospital, she can and will speak to her too. But if both become rebellious: – then good advice is precious! [80] The cross borne by the best marriages are the servants. I said before that good words achieve more than blustering, – I understand that as applying to those servants where it is appropriate, and then right from the beginning. But if one of these domestics says for a second time: I will not do that, otherwise I will leave at once; and I am not doing it, then I, if I were the esteemed administrator,<sup>34</sup> would send for the bailiff and lock the servant up for a couple of days on bread and water, [85] and then repeat it until she does it: if, namely, I am requesting something fair which is her duty. If that happens here and I go to the city *legal officer*,<sup>35</sup> then she does do it: for otherwise every servant could defy her master and run away during his time. In short! the 6 years this servant spent in a convent and her behaviour form the greatest contradiction! [90] Now you must, as far as possible, avoid all vexation and take moisturising things for the pressure on your breast, and continue with the *sago*; this is not wind, but it may be a weakness or from the womb; if it comes from the womb, Nandl<sup>36</sup> it says it would be good to take scrapings from a proper castoreum, [95] and simmer it in meat broth in a little mug, and drink some of it, but it must be one of your own mugs because it retains the smell. One also sews the castoreum into a very fine little cloth with a band on it and ties it so that the castor sac is behind the knee joint. But the little band must be very long so that one can tie it below and above the knee joint. [100] *Dr. Prex*<sup>37</sup> has called on us almost every day since that time, so much so that his visits are making me anxious, only today he is not yet called; when the child was ill, he came twice a day. Today it seems he will come when he leaves the garden inspector's wife, who gave birth to a boy 2 days ago. –

---

<sup>31</sup> BD: A *klafter* (approx 1 cord) could otherwise be bought for 2 florins.

<sup>32</sup> BD: Nannerl's serving girl Lena, often called Lenerl.

<sup>33</sup> BD: Leopold's daily household help.

<sup>34</sup> Leopold's son-in-law.

<sup>35</sup> "StattSyndicus".

<sup>36</sup> BD: Maria Anna Pietschner (1732-1805), Leopold's servant girl ("child nurse").

<sup>37</sup> BD: Dr. med. Johann Nepomuk Prex (1733-1809), Landschaftsphysicus [= "physician to the parliament of the three estates"]. The Mozarts encountered him in Paris in 1766. In 1778 he offered Wolfgang his "fine nag" if he should return to Salzburg.

[105] In the course of today I must also congratulate Teresia,<sup>38</sup> will also pass on congratulations for all of you, especially to Frau Haselberger.<sup>39</sup>

Some days ago I received a letter from Herr Reitter,<sup>40</sup> because I told him I would perhaps write to him saying that if he wanted to go to St. Gilgen, he could pass his time in St. Gilgen instead of in Ried until he goes to Salzburg. [110] I have now replied to him that he had not understood me properly, that it would not be worth the trouble for such a short time: – it would be different if he had decided to stay there for at least a year, or would decide to do so. – my dears! It will prove difficult to get an upright and reliable person to go out there: [115] he sits his time away, – and what prospects does he have? – –

One of the miracles is that Tresel<sup>41</sup> and Nandl get on so well with each other. Tresel is so inexpressibly enamoured of little Leopoldl that she does everything, tolerates any rough words, and washes, and goes errands, and does everything; – that in turn has put the other on friendly terms with her; [120] she does the sweeping when the child sleeps, when the other has to go out etc. etc. In short! Tresel does everything for the sake of the child! Sings and plays with the child so that you would split your sides laughing, and serves the food to Nandl and pushes everything her way just because of Leopoldl. Now I must close. I kiss my esteemed son<sup>42</sup> and yourself from the heart, recommend to you once again that you avoid vexation [125] and look away from everything that cannot be changed, and I am eternally your sincere father

Mozart mp<sup>43</sup>

The 15<sup>th</sup> Oct.

---

<sup>38</sup> BD: Name-day on 15<sup>th</sup> October.

<sup>39</sup> BD: Probably the wife of the Johann Stephan Has(e)lberger mentioned in Nos. 0813/10 and 0890/81, 87.

<sup>40</sup> BD: He was meant to come to St. Gilgen as tutor to Nannerl's three youngest stepsons.

<sup>41</sup> BD: Therese Pänckl, servant in the Mozart household in Salzburg for many years.

<sup>42</sup> Leopold's customary form of address for his son-in-law.

<sup>43</sup> mp = *manu propria* = in his own hand.