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Countess Hatzfeld sings Elettra's "Tutte nel cor vi sento" in Bonn (1785–1789)

Dexter Edge

Anton Reicha, Autobiography (from Audeon et al. 2011, vol. 1, 102)

Il y avait à la cour une comtesse qui chantait souvent dans les concerts qui s'y donnaient et où l'électeur lui-même faisait sa partie d'alto dans les morceaux de symphonie. Cette comtesse avait une si belle voix et chantait avec tant d'âme qu'elle électrisait tout le monde. Elle y éxécuta une fois la 6eme scène d'Idomeneo de Mozart dont l'air est ré mineur[,] cette scène fit une telle impression sur nous (Van Beethoven et moi) que nous n'en faisons que rêver jour et nuit durant plusieurs semaines de suite*[.]*

* Réserve pièce 3 ajoute: «Cette impression fut telle pour moi que je ne l'oubliai jamais.»

[translation:]

There was at court a countess who often sang in the concerts that were given there and in which the Elector himself played the viola part in symphonic pieces. This countess had such a beautiful voice and sang with such soul that she electrified everyone. Once she performed the 6th scene of Idomeneo by Mozart, with the aria in D minor. This scene made such an impression on us (van Beethoven and me) that we did nothing but dream of it day and night for several days following.

* [3rd added note] This impression was such for me that I never forgot it.

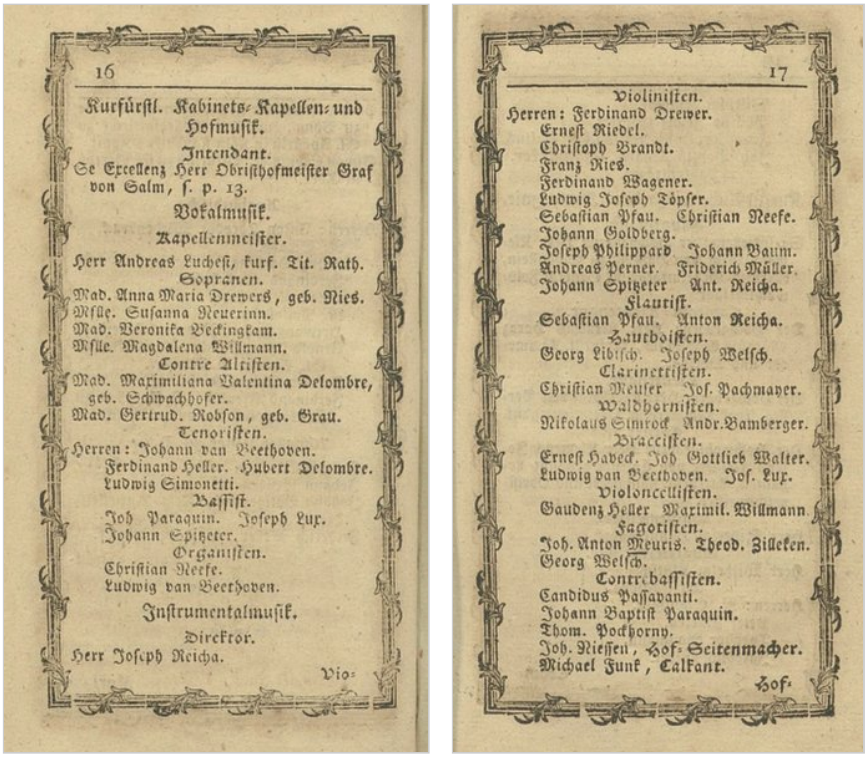
Commentary

This anecdote is found among notes for additions to a manuscript memoir of the composer and music theorist Anton Reicha (1770–1836). The memoir and notes survive in two copies; neither is in Reicha's own hand, but their content is held to be genuine. For the anecdote given here, the textual differences between the two copies are inconsequential (for details, see the discussion in the *Notes* below).

Reicha was raised by his uncle Joseph, and the two came to Bonn in 1785, when Joseph took up the position of concertmaster in the court orchestra of the Elector of Cologne. Anton was 15

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years old at the time, just 10 months older than Beethoven, and the two teenagers soon became friends. Anton joined the court orchestra by 1790, when his name first appears in the court calendar; he is listed there both as a violinist and as second flute. The same calendar shows Joseph Reicha as director of the orchestra, Ludwig van Beethoven as organist and violist, Beethoven's sometime teacher Christian Gottlob Neefe as organist and violinist, and the music dealer and publisher Nikolaus Simrock as first horn (on Neefe as Beethoven's teacher, see May 1999).



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Kurfürstl. Kabinets- Kapellen- und Hofmusik.

Intendant.

Se Excellenz Herr Obristhofmeister Graf von Salm, s. p. 13.

Vokalmusik.

Kapellenmeister.

Herr Andreas Lucheſi, kurf. Tit. Rath.

Sopranen.

Mad. Anna Maria Drewers, geb. Nies.
Mſlle. Suſanna Neuerinn.
Mad. Veronika Beckingkam.
Mſlle. Magdalena Willmann.

Contre Altriſten.

Mad. Maximiliana Valentina Delombre, geb. Schwachhofer.
Mad. Gertrud. Robſon, geb. Grau.

Tenoriſten.

Herren: Johann van Beethoven.
Ferdinand Heller. Hubert Delombre.
Ludwig Simonetti.

Baſſiſt.

Joh Paraquin. Joſeph Lux.
Johann Spitzeter.

Organiſten.

Christian Neefe.
Ludwig van Beethoven.

Inſtrumentalmuſik.

Direktor.

Herr Joſeph Reicha.

Vio-

17

Violiniſten.

Herren: Ferdinand Drewer.
Erneſt Riedel.
Chriſtoph Brandt.
Franz Ries.
Ferdinand Wagener.
Ludwig Joſeph Töpſer.
Sebaſtian Pfau. Chriſtian Neefe.
Johann Goldberg.
Joſeph Philippard Johann Baum.
Andreas Perner. Friderich Müller.
Johann Spitzeter Ant. Reicha.

Flautiſt.

Sebaſtian Pfau. Anton Reicha.

Hautboiſten.

Georg Libiſch. Joſeph Welſch.

Clarinettiſten.

Chriſtian Meuſer Joſ. Pachmayer.

Waldhorniſten.

Nikolaus Simrock Andr. Bamberger.

Bracciſten.

Erneſt Habeck. Joh Gottlieb Walter.
Ludwig van Beethoven. Joſ. Lux.

Violoncelliſten.

Gaudenz Heller Maximil. Willmann.

Fagotiſten.

Joh. Anton Meuris. Theod. Zilleken.
Georg Welſch.

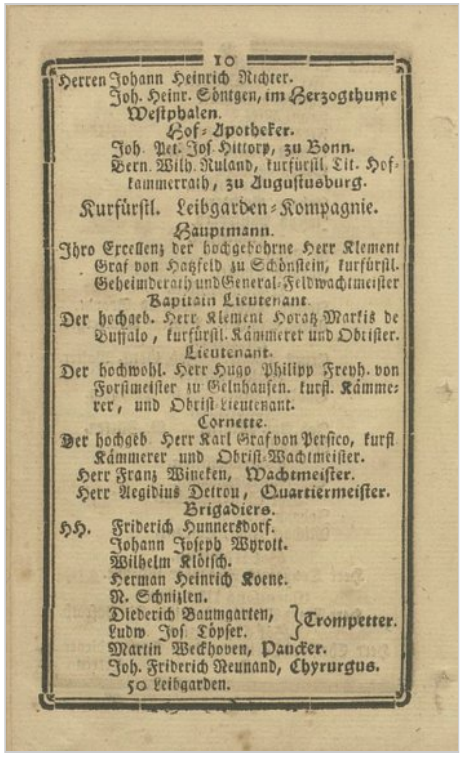
Contrebaſſiſten.

Candidus Paſſapanti.
Johann Baptiſt Paraquin.
Thom. Pockhorny.
Joh. Nieſſen, Hof-Seitenmacher.
Michael Funk, Calkant.

Hof-

Kurkölnischer Hofkalender auf das Jahr 1790, 16–17
(Universität Bonn)

Anton Reicha's anecdote tells of hearing an unnamed countess sing scene 6 in D minor from Mozart's *Idomeneo*. The performance had such an impact on young Anton and his friend Beethoven that they could think of little else for days, and Anton vividly recalled the performance decades later. The scene is Elettra's "Tutte nel cor vi sento" and its preceding accompanied recitative; the singer was almost certainly Countess Maria Anna Hortensia von Hatzfeld, Mozart's Elettra in the production of *Idomeneo* at the theater of Prince Auersperg in Vienna in Mar 1786 (see our entry on that production). Countess Hatzfeld is said to have lived in Vienna in her youth, but by the 1780s she was based in Bonn, where her husband Count Clemens August Johann Nepomuk von Hatzfeld (1743–1794) was an official in the electoral court.



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Herren Johann Heinrich Richter.
Joh. Heinr. Söntgen, im Herzogthume Westphalen.
Hof-Apotheker.
Joh. Pet. Jos. Hittorp, zu Bonn.
Bern. Wilh. Ruland, kurfürstl. Lit. Hofkammerrath, zu Augustusburg.

Kurfürstl. Leibgarden-Kompagnie.

Hauptmann.
Ihro Excellenz der hochgebohrne Herr Klement Graf von Hatzfeld zu Schönstein, kurfürstl. Geheimderath und General-Feldwachtmeister
Kapitain Lieutenant.
Der hochgeb. Herr Klement Horatz Markis de Buffalo, kurfürstl. Kämmerer und Obrister.
Lieutenant.
Der hochwohl. Herr Hugo Philipp Freyh. von Forstmeister zu Gelnhausen. kurfl. Kämmerer, und Obrist-Lieutenant.
Cornette.
Der hochgeb. Herr Karl Graf von Persico, kurfl. Kämmerer und Obrist-Wachtmeister.
Herr Franz Wineken, Wachtmeister.
Herr Aegidius Detrou, Quartiermeister.
Brigadiers.
HH. Friderich Hunnersdorf.
Johann Joseph Wyrott.
Wilhelm Klötsch.
Herman Heinrich Koene.
N. Schnitzen.
Diederich Baumgarten, } Trompetter.
Ludw. Jos. Löpser. }
Martin Weckhoven, Paucker.
Joh. Friderich Reunand, Chyrurgus.
50 Leibgarden.

Kurkölnischer Hof=Kalender auf das Schaltjahre 1784, 10
(Universität Bonn)

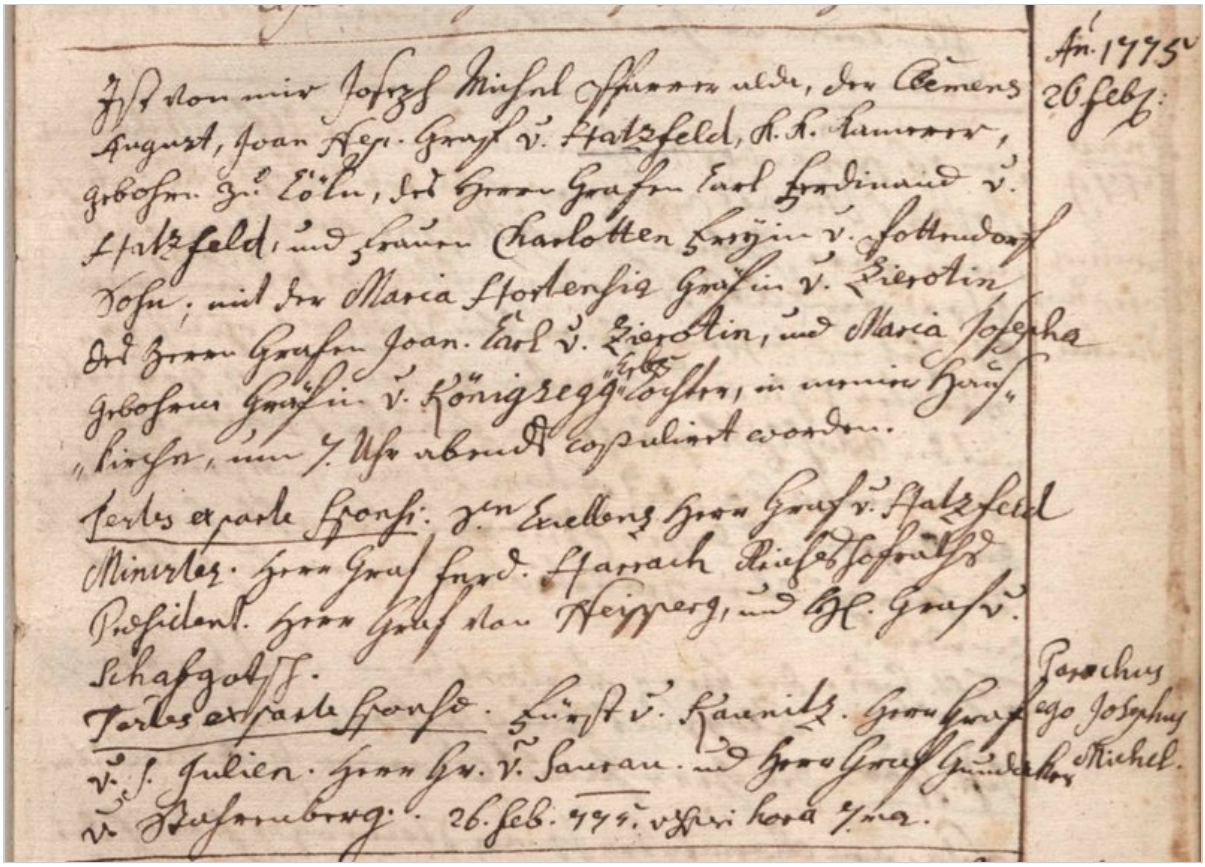
The viola-playing Elector in Reicha's anecdote is Maximilian Franz (1756–1801), the youngest brother of Emperor Joseph II; Max Franz became Elector of Cologne in 1784 following the death of his predecessor Count Maximilian Friedrich von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1708–1784; on Max Franz as violist, see *Magazin der Musik*, ii:959).

Reicha gives no hint of the date of Countess Hatzfeld's performance of "Tutte nel cor vi sento," and little is known about concerts at court in Bonn during this period. However, the performance must have taken place at some point between 1785, when Reicha arrived in Bonn, and Nov 1792, when Beethoven left permanently for Vienna. But it seems unlikely that "Tutte nel cor vi sento" would have had quite such a profound impact on young Reicha and Beethoven if they had already heard the even more astonishing *Don Giovanni*, first performed in Bonn on 13 Oct 1789 (see our entry on that performance); so we may tentatively suggest that the Countess's performance took place before that date. It might be thought that her performance in Bonn likely followed her appearance as Elettra in Auersperg's production of *Idomeneo* in Vienna in Mar 1786. But Robert Münster has shown that a member of the Hatzfeld family (quite possibly Count Franz Ludwig von Hatzfeld, one of the Countess's brothers-in-law) owned scores of Elettra's arias as early as 1783 (Münster 2001, 92–94); given the direct family connection, we cannot rule out the possibility that Countess Hatzfeld had already known and performed "Tutte nel cor vi sento" before Auersperg's production. From a cautious perspective, then, we can suggest that the Countess's performance in Bonn took place somewhere in the years 1785 to 1789. To understand the impact on young Reicha and Beethoven, we have to imagine what it

would have been like to hear “Tutte nel cor vi sento” for the first time, before knowing *Don Giovanni* and before Beethoven had written the works of Beethoven.

Countess Maria Anna Hortensia von Hatzfeld was born Countess Zierotin in 1750. The exact date of her birth appears to be unknown, as is the place, but the Zierotins were an old Moravian aristocratic family with a seat in Bludov. Little is known about the Countess’s early years, although Neefe, in a long report on music in Bonn in 1783, writes that she “ist von den besten Meistern im Singen und Clavierspielen zu Wien unterrichtet worden” (“[she] was instructed in singing and keyboard playing by the best masters in Vienna”; *Magazin der Musik*, i:387). Maria Anna Hortensia von Zierotin and her sister Franziska (1745–1831) were grandnieces of Elector Maximilian Friedrich von Königsegg-Rothenfels; their mother, Countess Maria Josepha von Zierotin, née Countess von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1724–1785), was the oldest daughter of Max Friedrich’s older brother Carl Ferdinand (for the Zierotin sisters, see this modern genealogy; for the Königsegg-Rothenfels line, see this genealogy from 1771). We do not know precisely when the sisters moved to Bonn, but in 1767 Franziska married Maximilian Karl Heinrich Joseph von Taxis, who apparently resided in Cologne, and in 1775 Maria Anna Hortensia married Count Clemens August Johann Nepomuk von Hatzfeld.

Genealogies published during Countess Hatzfeld’s lifetime (and subsequent scholarship based on them) give the date of her marriage as 1772 (see, for example, this genealogy from 1794 and Braubach 1949, 323), but this is incorrect. The marriage took place on 26 Feb 1775 in the Deutschordenskirche, St. Elisabeth, in Vienna.



(Vienna, St. Elisabeth Deutscher Orden, Tauf-, Trauungs-. Sterbebuch, 01,2,3-01, 42)

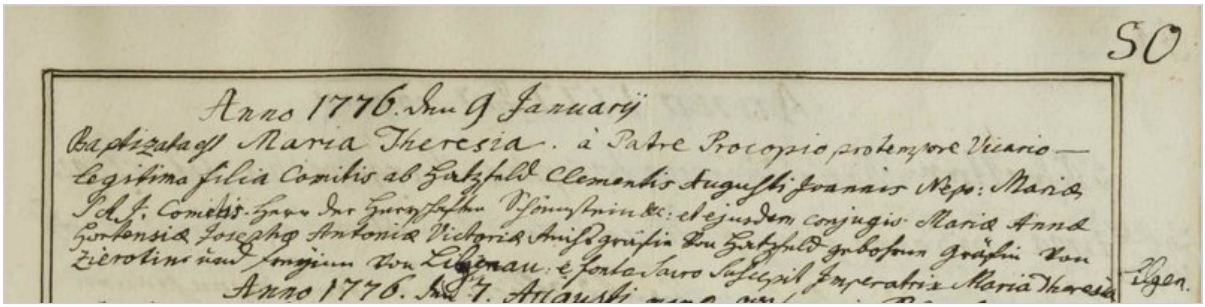
Through this marriage Countess Hatzfeld became sister-in-law to (among others) her husband's younger half-brothers August Clemens (1754–1787)—for whom Mozart wrote the solo violin part in the *scena con rondò* "Non temer, amato bene," K. 490, for Auersperg's *Idomeneo* in 1786—and Hugo Franz (1755–1830), whose 1786 letter regarding *Idomeneo* we discuss elsewhere on this site. (On August Clemens, see our entry on Auersperg's *Idomeneo*; on Hugo, see our entry for 23 Mar 1786.)

On 6 May 1775 the *Wienerisches Diarium* reported that Countess Hatzfeld had been made a member of the Sternkreuzorden (Order of the Starry Cross) by Empress Maria Theresia:

> Bey dieser Gelegenheit geruheten Al=
> lerhöchst Ihre Majestät nachfolgenden Da=
> men in den hochadelichen Sternkreuzor=
> den allergnädigst aufzunehmen:
> *[...]*
> Maria Anna Hortensia Gräfinn v. Hatz=
> feld, gebohrne Gräfinn von Zierotin *[...]*
> [*WD*, no. 30, Sat, 6 May 1775, [6]]
>
> On this occasion, Her Sovereign Majesty
> most graciously vouchsafed to accept the
> following ladies into the aristocratic

Sternkreuzorden:
[...]
Maria Anna Hortensia, Countess von Hatzfeld,
née Countess von Zierotin *[...]*

Countess Hatzfeld’s only known child, a daughter, Maria Theresia (1776–1838) was baptized at the Hofburgpfarre in Vienna on 9 Jan 1776.


50
Anno 1776. den 9 Januarij
Baptizata est Maria Theresia. à Patre Procopio protempore Vicario —
legitima filia Comitis ab Hatzfeld Clementis Augusti Joannis Nep: Maria
Jos. Comitis Sacr. Rom. Imperii Principis &c. et ejusdem conjugis Maria Anna
Hortensia Josepha Antonia Victoria Antistitia Zu Hatzfeld gebohrne Gräfin von
Zierotin nata Comitum von Libenau. e forte sacro Sufficit Imperatrix Maria Theresia
Anno 1776. [illegible]
Ligen.

(Vienna, Hofburgpfarre, Taufbuch 01-03, 50)

Countess Hatzfeld’s own mother, Countess Maria Josepha von Zierotin, died in Vienna on 5 Jun 1785 at no. 759[I] in the Untere Bäckerstraße, now Sonnenfelsgasse (*WZ*, no. 47, Sat, 11 Jun 1785, 1387); the house was part of the Kölner Hof, torn down in 1793.

Countess Hatzfeld’s life has been little studied. At present, apart from Reicha’s anecdote, nothing specific is known about her musical activities in Bonn, and our knowledge of her activities in Vienna, musical and otherwise, is haphazard. Nearly all of her known performances in Vienna are documented solely in the diaries of Count Zinzendorf; the musical references in these diaries have been comprehensively mined only for the period 16 Apr 1783 to 8 Apr 1792 (Link 1998), so there are likely other references to Countess Hatzfeld still to be found before or after those dates.

The following table lists all of Countess Hatzfeld’s known performances in Vienna as a singer or actress (those in 1774 were under her maiden name, Countess Zierotin):

Date	Day	Event	Type	Location	Sources
1774-02-22	Tue	music	vocal	Zierotin	Zinzendorf (Morrow 370)
1774-03-05	Sat	concert	vocal	Wallenstein	Zinzendorf (Morrow 370)
1774-03-12	Sat	music	vocal	Wallenstein	Zinzendorf (Morrow 370)
1778-03-14	Sat	music	vocal	Paar	Zinzendorf (Morrow 371)
1782-07-23	Tue	*Armida* (Righini)	opera	Auersperg	Zinzendorf
1783-10-14	Tue	music	vocal	Galitzin	Zinzendorf (Link 213)
1784-03-07	Sun	*Le Mari mort;* *La Comtesse d’Escarbagnac*	plays	Liechtenstein	Zinzendorf (Link 219)
1784-03-14	Sun	*Rose et Colas* (Monsigny)	opera	Liechtenstein	Zinzendorf (Link 219)
1784-03-21	Sun	*Piramo e Tisbe*	opera	Liechtenstein	Zinzendorf (Link 221)

Date	Day	Event	Type	Location	Sources
1784-03-25	Thu	*L'ami de la maison* (Grétry)	opera	Liechtenstein	Zinzendorf (Link 222)
1785-11-26	Sat	*La Gageure*	play	Sickingen	Zinzendorf (Link 258)
1785-12-30	Fri	*Les Mœurs du tems*	play	Rumbeke	Zinzendorf (Link 261)
1786-02-12	Sun	*Alceste* (Gluck)	opera	Auersperg	Zinzendorf (Link 264)
1786-03-13	Mon	*Idomeneo* (Mozart)	opera	Auersperg	Zinzendorf (Link 267); *Pfeffer und Salz*
1793-02-14	Thu	music	vocal	Galitzin	Zinzendorf (Morrow 385)
1793-02-21	Thu	music	vocal	Galitzin	Zinzendorf (Morrow 385)
1793-11-18	Mon	*Axur* (Salieri)	opera	Auersperg	*Wiener Theater-Almanach* (1794 & 1795); Zinzendorf

Righini's *Armida* was repeated at Prince Auersperg's on 11 Oct 1782 in honor of the return visit to Vienna of Grand Duke Paul of Russia and his wife Maria Fyodorovna, the so-called "Count and Countess of the North" (on this performance and the evidence for it, see our entry on Auersperg's *Idomeneo*). At present we have no evidence that Countess Hatzfeld reprised the title role that she had sung at Auersperg's on 23 Jul 1782 (we do not even know if she was in Vienna at the time of the second performance), but the possibility cannot be ruled out. We also know from a report in the *Preßburger Zeitung* that Countess Hatzfeld participated in a performance at Auersperg's in 1786 before 8 Feb, but we currently do not know the title of the work performed (see our entry on Auersperg's *Idomeneo*). A report in the *Wiener Theater-Almanach für das Jahr 1795* states that *Axur* was performed several times at Prince Auersperg's (see below). The relevant portions of Zinzendorf's diary entries for 12 Feb 1786, 13 Mar 1786, and 18 Nov 1793 are transcribed in full in our entry for Auersperg's *Idomeneo*; his entry for 23 Jul 1782 is transcribed below, as are shorter extracts from those for 12 Feb 1786 and 18 Nov 1793. For Zinzendorf's entries in 1774 and 1778, see the *Notes* below.

The 17 documented performances in the table place Countess Hatzfeld in Vienna in 1774 and 1778, then each year from 1782 to 1786, and again in 1793; she may, of course, have visited Vienna in other years for which we have no documentation. Seven of the performances in the table are operas, three are plays, and seven are vocal performances at private gatherings. All of the operas and plays were given in private theaters or houses, but there is evidence to suggest that at least some of the performances in Auersperg's theater may have been open to the public in something like the modern sense (see our entry on Auersperg's *Idomeneo*).

Countess Hatzfeld's documented performances in Vienna tend to be grouped together within relatively short periods of time, a pattern consistent with short visits from Bonn. In 1784, she is

known to have appeared four times in five different works within a span of 18 days, all at Prince Liechtenstein’s in Vienna: in two plays on 7 Mar; as Rose in Monsigny’s *Rose et Colas* on 14 Mar; with Baroness Anna von Pufendorf (Mozart’s Ilia in 1786); in *Piramo e Tisbe* on 21 Mar; and finally as (in Zinzendorf’s words) “la jeune personne” (presumably Agathe) in Grétry’s *L’ami de la maison* on 25 Mar.

According to Gottron, on 25 Oct 1784 a “Comtesse v. Hatzfeld” sang the role of Rosina in an amateur performance of Paisiello’s *Il barbiere di Siviglia* at the electoral court in Mainz (Gottron 1959, 164). This may well have been Maria Anna Hortensia, who had many connections to the court in Mainz through her husband’s family (see our entries on Hugo von Hatzfeld’s letter to Großmann and *Idomeneo* at Prince Auersperg’s).

Countess Hatzfeld was by all accounts a formidable and expressive singer, who sang at a professional level. Schönfeld’s description in the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* in 1796 is particularly enlightening:

> Hatzfeld, Gräfinn von; Diese Dame
> ist eine besondere Liebhaberinn, Kennerinn
> und Beschützerinn der Tonkunst; sie hat ei=
> ne der stärksten und klärsten Bruststimmen,
> die es giebt; sie hat sehr viel Geläufigkeit
> in Passagen, einen herrlichen Triller, und
> schöne Manieren, und ist überhaupt ganz
> geeignet für den großen erhabenen Gesang
> und Bravourarien. In der Kraft erhebt sie
> das Herz, in der Oper (beim Privattheater)
> erregt sie Bewunderung, und in einem Kon=
> zertsaale macht sie Vergnügen. Ihre aus=
> übende Kunst übersteigt die gewöhnliche Di=
> lettantenfähigkeit in mancher Betrachtung.
> [Schönfeld 1796, 25]

> Hatzfeld, Countess von. This lady is
> a special amateur, connoisseur, and
> protector of music; she has one of the
> strongest and clearest chest voices that
> exists; she has very great fluency in
> passage work, a magnificent trill, and
> beautiful embellishments, and is in general
> entirely suited to grand sublime singing
> and bravura arias. In her strength she
> elevates the heart, in opera (in private
> theater) she excites admiration, and in
> a concert hall she gives pleasure. Her
> practiced art surpasses the usual abilities
> of a dilettante in many respects.

Her first documented performance in an opera was the title role in Righini's *Armida* on 23 Jul 1782 at the theater of Prince Auersperg. Zinzendorf attended:

> [Tue] 23. Juillet. *[...]*
> *[...]* allois chez le P^ce^: adam auersperg *[...]*
>
> Le Theatre com
> mença a 7h ½ M^e^: de Hazfeld armide, M^elle^: augenbruk[er]
> Renaud. M^r^: Aubain Ubaldo. musique de Righini peu saillante.
> [les] acteurs jouerent a merveille. moi enfonce dans la loge avec l'ar-
> chiduc, Cobenzl, beaucoup de Dames. *[...]*
> [HHStA, Zinzendorf Tagebücher, 1782]

> Tue, 23 July. *[...]*
> *[...]* [I] went to Prince Adam Auersperg's *[...]*
>
> The theater
> began at 7:30. Madame de Hatzfeld Armide, Mademoiselle
> Auenbrugger Renaud, Monsieur Aubain Ubaldo, music by
> Righini unremarkable. The actors played marvelously. I was
> squeezed in the box with the Archduke, Cobenzl, and many
> ladies. *[...]*

On 14 Oct 1783, Zinzendorf was at the residence of the Russian ambassador, Prince Galitzin, "ou M^e^ de hazfeld chanta en imitant la Storace" ("where Madame de Hatzfeld sang imitating Storace"; Link 1998, 213); Nancy Storace had made her debut with the company of the court theater in Vienna just a few months earlier, on 22 Apr 1783. On 14 Mar 1784 Zinzendorf heard Countess Hatzfeld sing the role of Rose "a merveille" ("marvelously") in Monsigny's *Rose et Colas* at Prince Liechtenstein's (Link 1998, 219), and a week later he found Countess Hatzfeld and Baroness Pufendorf "a ravir" ("ravishing") in *Piramo e Tisbe* at Liechtenstein's (Link 1998, 221).

Countess Hatzfeld's performance of the title role in Gluck's *Alceste* in the theater of Prince Auersperg on 12 Feb 1786 made a particularly strong impression:

> *[...]* 12. Fevrier. *[...]*
> A 5h ½ chez le P^ce^:
> adam auersperg. *[...]*
>
> L'opera d'alceste ne commença qu'a 6^h^ ¾. M^e^. d'hazfeld
> née Zierotin joua ce role dans la grande perfection, surtout
> les airs Non vi turbate, no, [&c], et l'air du cri.

> 12 February *[...]*
>
> At 5:30 pm at Prince
> Adam Auersperg's. *[...]*
>
> The opera *Alceste* did not begin until 6:45. Madame de Hatzfeld
> née Zierotin played this role with great perfection, above all
> the arias "Non vi turbate, no, &c." and the aria of the cry.

"Non vi turbate, no" is Alceste's aria at the end of scene 2 of Act II of Gluck's opera, and the "l'air du cri" may have been Alceste's "Ah per questo già stanco core" at the end of the Act II. (For a longer extract of this passage and further discussion, see our entry on Auersperg's *Idomeneo*.) Four decades later, tenor Michael Kelly also recalled her performance in this role:

> I had the honour
> of being patronized by Prince Ausberg *[sic]*. *[...]*
>
> His Highness also was a great
> patron of musical performances. He had a beautiful theatre in his palace, at which I saw the Countess Hatzfeld perform inimitably well, in Gluck's serious opera of "Alceste."—She was a charming woman, and full of talent.
> [Kelly 1826, i:201]

An anonymous writer in the short-lived journal *Pfeffer und Salz*, after criticizing Mozart's *Idomeneo* at Auersperg's in Mar 1786 as "mit Accompagnement zu sehr überfüllte" ("too overladen with accompaniments"), raved about Countess Hatzfeld's performance as Elettra:

> Die Gräfin Hatzfeld, welche vor=
> treflich singt, und (ohne eben den
> Verdiensten der Gräfin Buffendorf die
> beym F. Auersberg mitsang, zu nahe zu
> treten), unsere Storaze fast übertrift,
> hat Hrn. Mozarten ein ansehnliches Ge=
> schenk gemacht. Wäre Herr Mozart
> reicher als die Gräfin, so wärs hier
> an ihm gewesen, Geschenke auszuthei=
> len: Denn seine Opera hat durch die
> Kunst der Gräfin, nicht sie durch die
> Opera in den Augen der Kenner gewon=
> nen.
> [*Pfeffer und Salz*, 1786, i:15–16, punctuation corrected]

> The Countess Hatzfeld, who sings
> splendidly, and (without wishing to
> disparage the merits of Countess *[sic]*
> Pufendorf, who also sang at Prince
> Auersperg's) nearly surpasses our Storace,
> has given Herr Mozart a considerable gift.
> Were Herr Mozart richer than the Countess,
> it would be on him to dispense gifts:
> for his opera gained in the eyes of
> connoisseurs through her singing,
> not she through the opera.

(For a longer extract of this passage and fuller discussion, see our entry on Auersperg's *Idomeneo*.)

Countess Hatzfeld's last documented performance was as Aspasia in Salieri's *Axur* in Auersperg's theater on (probably) 18 Nov 1793. Zinzendorf, who did not attend the performance, remarked in his diary that her performance had been the topic of conversation that evening at the Russian ambassador's:

> 18. Novembre. *[...]*
> Dinée chez l'Amb. de Russie *[...]*
>
> On parle beaucoup de
> l'opera d'Axur, qui se joue au Théatre du P^ce^: auersberg
> par M^e^: de Hazfeld *[...]*

> 18 November. [...]
> Dined at the Russian ambassador's *[...]*
>
> There was much discussion of
> the opera *Axur*, which was played at the theater of Prince
> Auersperg by Madame de Hatzfeld.

Her performance in *Axur* was also singled out in a short report on Auersperg's theater printed in the *Wiener Theater-Almanach für das Jahr 1794*:

> [...] Heuer gab der Adel auf demselben
> Hrn. Salieri's beliebte Oper: Axur, auf
> welcher die Frau Gräfinn von H** die Rol-
> le der Aspasia vortrefflich sang.
> [*Wiener Theater-Almanach für das Jahr 1794*, 58]

> This year [i.e. 1793] the nobility gave in the
> same [theater] Herr Salieri's popular opera
> *Axur*, in which Countess von H[atzfeld]
> sang the role of Aspasia splendidly.

The following year, the almanac mentioned her performance again, this time not hiding her identity:

[1]

Nachricht
von Privattheatern.
[...]

[4]

Das zweyte hervorstehende Privattheater war im fürstlich Auerspergischen Hause. Heuer gab diese Gesellschaft zu wiederholten Mahlen die grosse Oper des Herrn Salieri, *Axur, Rè d' Ormus*. Frau Gräfinn von Hatzfeld sang und spielte die Rolle der Aspasia vortrefflich. Auf zwey Zuschauer machte ihre Darstellung so tiefen Eindruck, dass sie ihre Empfindungen in den zwey folgenden Gedichten äusserten.
[*Wiener Theater-Almanach für das Jahr 1795*, 4]

News
of Private Theaters
[...]

The second prominent private theater was in the house of Prince Auersperg. This year [1794] the company gave several repetitions of the great opera by Herr Salieri, *Axur re d'Ormus*. Countess von Hatzfeld sang and played the role of Aspasia splendidly. Her performance made such an impression on two in the audience that they expressed their feelings in the two following poems.

The poems follow, one in French:

Original	Translation
INPROMTU [sic] *A Madame la Comtesse de Hatzfeld,* *née Comtesse Zerodin; qui joua dans l’* *opera D’ Axour, le role* *D’ ASPASIE.*	*IMPROMPTU* *To Madame Countess von Hatzfeld* *née Countess Zierotin, who played* *the role of ASPASIA* *in the opera Axur.*
Vous triomphez, divine Aspasie! Par vos Jeux, et par vos chants, Vous relevez le faste de l’Asie, Par les graces, les Agrémens. La voix, Votre charmant Génie, Reunit tous les Coeurs; L’ amour se joint à l’ Envie, Pour Vous offrir des Fleurs.	You triumph, divine Aspasia! By your acting, by your singing, You raise up the splendor of Asia, By your embellishments and ornaments, Your voice, Your charming genius, Uniting all hearts; Love joins with Desire In offering you flowers.

and one in Italian:

A Sua Eccelenza La Signora Contessa d' H a t z f e l d, per la Rappresentazione d' Axur.	To Her Excellency Madame Countess von Hatzfeld, for the performance of *Axur*.
Dove mai più vaga ASPASIA, Dove mai si vidde ancora? Nò, che in Ciel più bella, sorgere Mai non viddesi l' Aurora:	Where, oh where, could one see a more charming ASPASIA? Nowhere: for not even the Dawn, seen rising into the sky, could be more beautiful.
Che se poi all' aura scioglie. Quella voce, che ci bea, Tu non sai, al canto armonico Se sia Donna, o se sia Dea:	For if the voice that delights us floats on air, you do not know if the song is that of a woman or a goddess.
Come mai si al vero fingere Puoi, AXUR, un cor tiranno, Nel veder di tale ASPASIA L' amoroso e vivo affanno?	How can you, AXUR, truly pretend to have a cruel heart when you see the passionate and vivid suffering of such an ASPASIA?
Il tuo fato io non invidio, O ATAR, ma' i tuoi talenti, Perchè troppo, oh Dio! son rapidi De la Scena i bei momenti:	I do not envy your fate, ATAR, only your talents; for your big moments on stage go by, alas, too quickly.
Se ad AXUR, or fiera, or tenera Porge prieghi, o mostra sdegno, Se ad ATAR le dolci smanie, Dell' amor non dubbio pegno	If she pleads to AXUR—now fiercely, now tenderly—or shows anger; if she shows sweet longing to ATAR, I do not doubt her declaration of love.
Finge ASPASIA: oh Dio! quant'anima! Quanti vezzi! e quai concetti! Chi mai vidde tanta grazia in si opposti varij affetti?	ASPASIA acts. Oh God! What spirit! What charms! And what ideas! Who has ever seen so much grace in such contrasting and varied emotions?
Ah non fia giammai che veggasi Un' ASPASIA a questa uguale; Ah non fia.... ma no' che ASPASIA A pur anco una rivale.	Ah, let no ASPASIA ever be seen who equals this one. Let no.... But ASPASIA does indeed have a rival.
E qualor rivolgo il ciglio A colei, che i cori alletta, Alle grazie, ai vezzi ingenui Dell' amabile FIAMMETTA,	And whenever I turn my eyes to her| who charms every heart—to the beauties and innocent delights of the lovely FIAMMETTA,
Che, o la voce al canto scioglia,	Whether her voice dissolves in song, or

Original	Translation
O in bei giri il piede mova, Sua beltà, novello Proteo, Vaga è sempre, e sempre è nuova:	her feet move in pleasing steps, her beauty is always charming, always new to me, a latter-day Proteus.
Mai si bella negli Esperidi Presentossi al Pastor fido, Frà gli amori, e frà le Grazie La vezzosa Dea di Gnido,	Never was the charming goddess of Cnidus [Venus] more beautiful, appearing in the Hesperides to the faithful shepherd among the cupids and graces,
Come allor, che co' bei Geny Nella Danza tuoi seguaci, Tu ti mostri, e un serto roseo A formar tu ti compiaci.	Than you, when you appear with the lovely genies, your companions in the dance, and take delight in making a garland of roses.
Quale incanto! oh Dio! che grazie; Che leggiadro portamento! Io ti viddi, e felicissimo Fù per me quel bel momento!	What enchantment! Oh God, what beauties! What graceful bearing! I saw you, and that lovely moment was happiest for me!
Si Tu sol, rivale a ASPASIA, O FIAMMETTA, esser Tu puoi, Ma i Tuoi pregi son di spechio Nella gara ai pregi suoi;	Yes, you alone, FIAMMETTA, can be a rival to ASPASIA, but your merits are those of a mirror in competition with her merits.
Che se tanto e' vaga ASPASIA, E FIAMETTA [*sic*], a Lei somiglia, Indecisa è l'Alma attonita Su la MADRE, e su la FIGLIA.	For if ASPASIA is so charming, and FIAMMETTA resembles her, the astonished soul cannot decide between the MOTHER and the DAUGHTER. *(translation by John Rice)*

The reference to Aspasia and Fiametta as mother and daughter (which the characters are not) implies that Countess Hatzfeld's daughter Maria Theresia sang the role of Fiametta in Auersperg's production of *Axur*. She was just 17 years old at the time of Zinzendorf's diary entry on the production on 18 Nov 1793. We do not know who sang the roles of Axur or Atar.

In his long 1783 report to the *Magazin der Musik* on musical life in Bonn, Neefe writes that Countess Hatzfeld was a brilliant and expressive pianist as well:

> Frau Gräfin von Hatzfeld, ist von den besten Meistern im Singen und Clavierspielen zu Wien un= terrichtet worden, denen sie in der That viel Ehre macht. Das Recitativ declamirt sie vortreflich, auch parlante Arien hört man von ihr mit Vergnügen. Auf dem Fortepiano spielt sie sehr brillant, und überläßt

> sich dabey völlig ihrem Gefühl. Deswegen hört man oft das *Tempo rubato* von ihr, ohne das sie tact= schwankend ist. Für Tonkunst und Tonkünstler ist sie enthusiastisch eingenommen.
> [*Magazin der Musik*, i:387–88]

> Frau Countess von Hatzfeld was instructed in singing and keyboard playing by the best masters in Vienna, to whom she in fact does much honor. She declaims recitative excellently, and one hears her with pleasure in *parlante* arias. She plays very brilliantly on the fortepiano, and gives herself over completely to her feelings. For that reason one often hears *tempo rubato* from her, without her having an unsteady beat. She is enthusiastically smitten by music and musicians.

Two manuscript copies of the so-called vocal "Notturni" attributed to Mozart—K. 346, K. 436–439, and K. 549—bear dedications to Countess Hatzfeld on their title pages; both title pages name Mozart's friend Gottfried von Jacquin as the composer (on these manuscripts, see Edge 2001, 699–708). The copy in the music collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Mus. ms. 15166) is entirely in the anonymous hand that Edge calls Viennese Mozart-Copyist 1, one of the most important Mozart copyists in Vienna during and just after the composer's lifetime. The title page of the Berlin copy reads:

> Sei Notturni / dedicati / A Sua Eccellenza la Signora / Contessa Hortensia d'Hatzfeld / e composti / [Dal umilissimo Servo Godofredo / nobile de Jacquin]

The original attribution was later covered by a paste-over with the attribution "di / Wolfgango Amadeo Mozart" written in a different hand.

The archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna possesses a similar score of the "Notturni," likewise mostly in the hand of Viennese Mozart-Copyist 1 (VI 569/Q 3817; K. 549 is in the hand of Maximilian Stadler). The title page of that copy, although now somewhat faded and partially obscured by later overwriting, appears originally to have read identically:

> Sei Notturni / dedicati / A Sua Eccellenza la Signora Contessa / Hortensia d'Hatzfeld / e composti / Dal umilissimo [servo] Godofredo / nobile de Jacquin

(Both title pages are reproduced in facsimile in Mörner 1971, xx.)

The thorny question of the attribution and date of the "Notturni" is beyond the scope of this commentary. It suffices here to note that some material for the "Notturni" survives in Mozart's hand, and it is plausible to think that the pieces may have been collaborations between Mozart and Jacquin. The paper-types of the autograph material suggest a date no earlier than 1787.
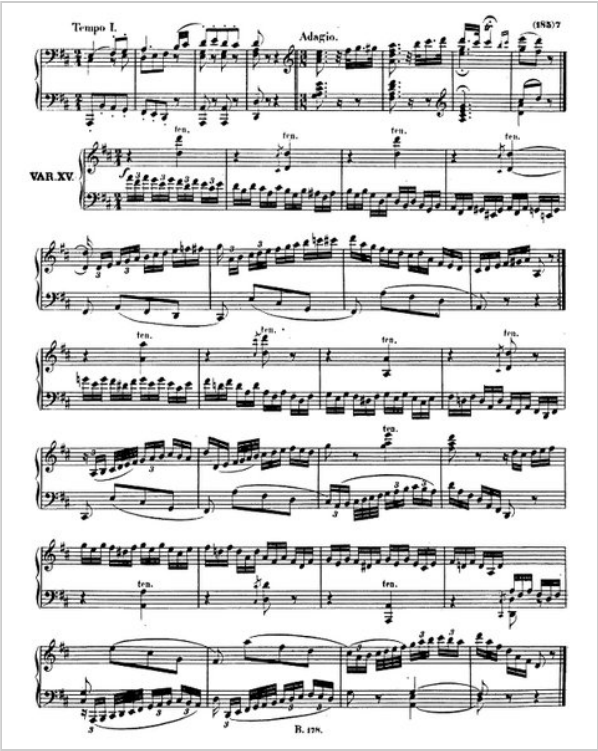
The attribution of the aria "Io ti lascia, o cara, addio," K. 621a, has been perhaps even more contentious (see Edge 2001, 655–63). An autograph leaf of the final 17 measures of the aria survives in the collection of the Mozarteum in Salzburg; in the autograph, the aria is scored for bass voice and strings, and is in the key if E-flat major. However, a manuscript copy of the aria survives in the same library with an attribution to Jacquin (Salzburg, Mozarteum, M. N. 53(a)). This version is scored for soprano, strings, and winds, and is in the key of G major. This copy, like those of the "Notturni," is in the hand of Viennese Mozart-Copyist 1. The title page reads:

Cavatina
Io ti lascio o cara addio
Del Sig^{e}: Godofredo [nobile?] de Jacquino

The original attribution has been thoroughly crossed out and replaced by "Mozart" in a different hand. (For a facsimile of this title page, see Edge 2001, 572.) Constanze Mozart believed that Jacquin had composed the melody and that Mozart had added the string parts; she also believed that Jacquin had written the aria for the departure of Countess Hatzfeld (Edge 2001, 656–57). The paper-type of the autograph (Tyson 95) is one that Mozart acquired after his return to Vienna from Prague in Nov 1787 following the premiere of *Don Giovanni*.

A plausible reading of the evidence is that Jacquin wrote the melody (and perhaps the text) of this short aria for the departure of Countess Hatzfeld—who visited Vienna often, but lived in Bonn—and asked Mozart to orchestrate it. Given that the original version of K. 621a was for bass voice, it seems reasonable to think that Jacquin intended it for himself to sing at some private function attended by Countess Hatzfeld. The later transposition for soprano suggests that this version might have been made for the Countess herself. At present we have no documentary evidence that Countess Hatzfeld was in Vienna in 1787 or 1788, the most likely dates for K. 621a and the "Notturni," but it would not be at all surprising to discover that she had been. On the evidence of these manuscripts, it seems likely that Jacquin, who was only 20 years old in 1787, had a crush on the Countess.

Countess Hatzfeld's fine musicianship and her deep interest in music led several prominent composers to dedicate works to her. The most famous is Beethoven's 24 Variations on Righini's Arietta "Venni, Amore," WoO 65, a technically difficult set that speaks highly of the Countess's own pianistic skills if she was capable of playing it. (On WoO 65, see Brandenburg & Staehelin, 1984, and Whiting 1991, 79–97.)



Ludwig van Beethoven, 24 Variations on Righini's Arietta, "Venni amore,"
WoO 65, Variation 15

The theme for the variations comes from the final number, "Venni, Amore," in Righini's *XII Ariette italiane*, published by Schott in Mainz in 1788. The set is dedicated to Princess Frederica (Friederike) Charlotte of Prussia (1767–1820), the oldest daughter of King Friedrich Wilhelm II. "Venni, Amore" is a simple 16-bar tune to which Righini adds increasingly elaborate vocal embellishments in each of the subsequent five verses. Recalling Schönfeld's statement that Countess Hatzfeld excelled in passage work and embellishment, we may wonder whether Beethoven might have heard her sing Righini's arietta and was inspired to produce his own set of variations in her honor.



XII

ARIETTE ITALIANE

Composte e Dedicate

a sua Altezza Reale la Principessa
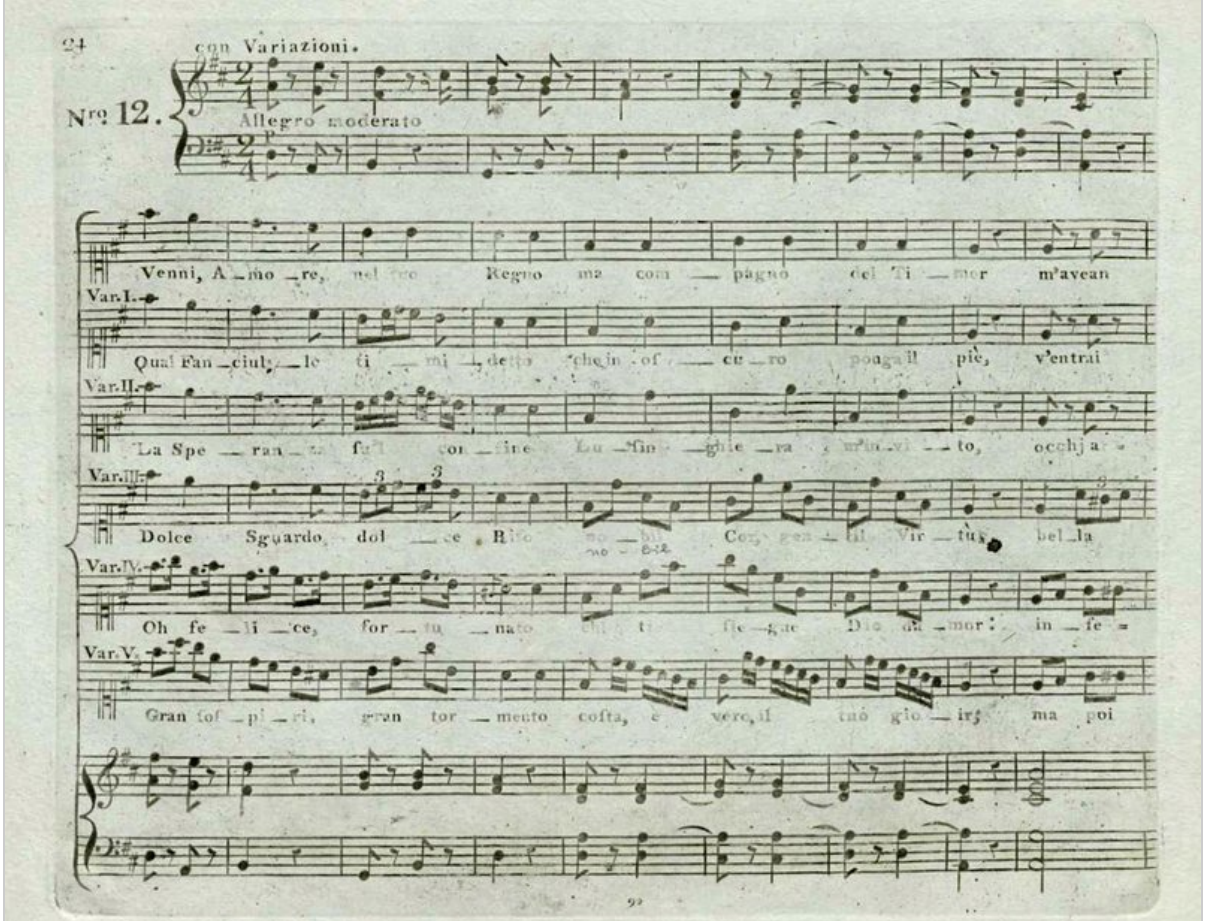
Federica di Prussia.

Dal Umilissimo e Devotissimo Servitore

Vincenzo Righini

Direttore della Musica e Maestro di Capella di S.A.E. di Magonza

N.o 92. in Magonza presso B. Schott. 1 Rth.



24

con Variazioni.

N.ro 12.

Allegro moderato

Venni, A — mo — re, nel tuo Regno ma con — pagno del Ti — mor m'avean

Var. I.

Qual Fan — ciul, — le ti — mi — dette chi in — of — cu — ro poga il pie, v'entrai

Var. II.

La Spe — ran — za fu — cor — ine Lu — sin — ghie — ra — m'in — vi — to, occhja —

Var. III.

Dolce Sguardo, dol — ce Ri — Co — gen — til Vir — tus bel — la

Var. IV.
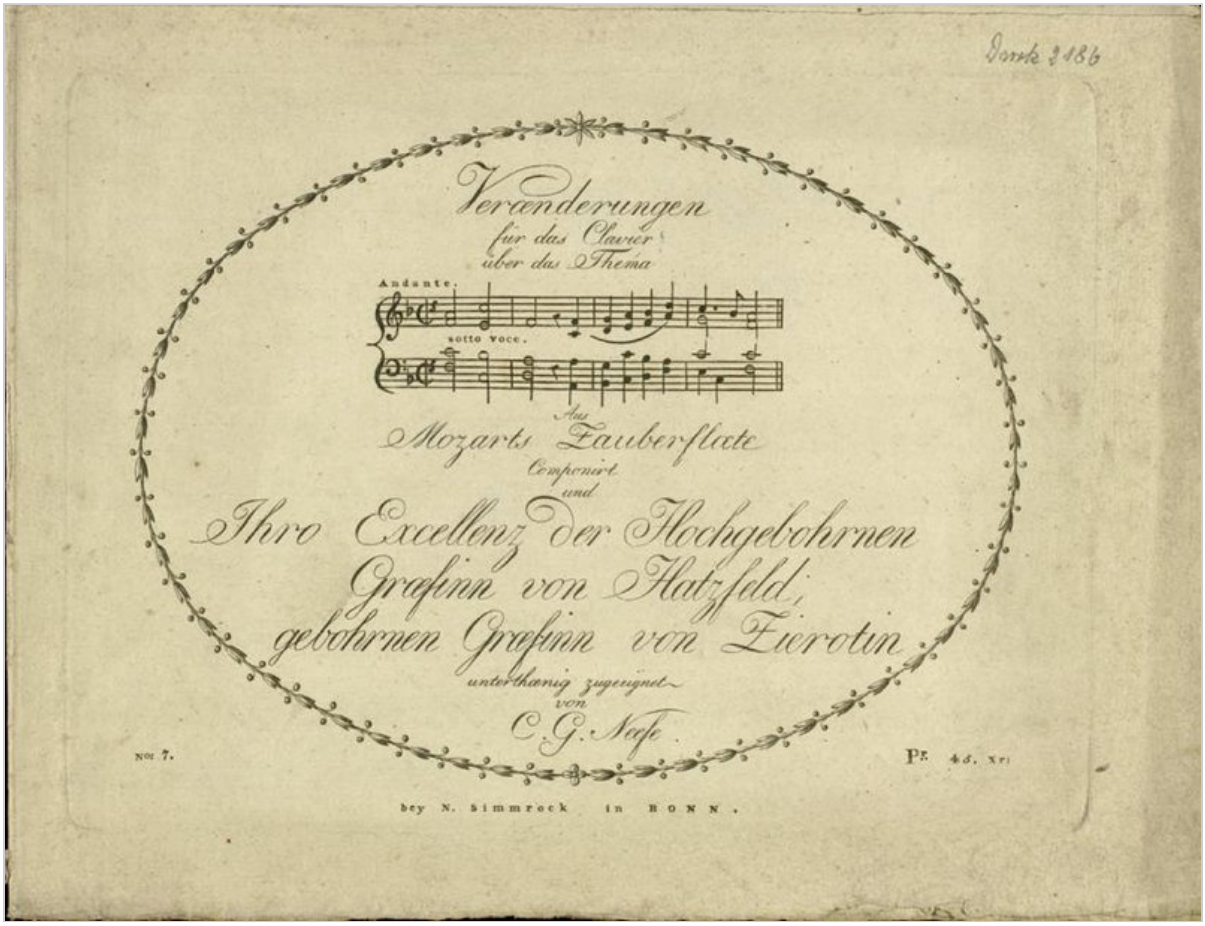
Oh fe — li — ce, for — tu — nato chi ti sie — gue Dio di — mor: in — fe —

Var. V.

Gran tof — pi — ri, gran tor — mento costa, e vero, il tuo gio — ir; ma poi

Vincenzo Righini, "Venni, Amore", *XII Ariette italiane*
(BSB)

At least four other published musical works were dedicated to Countess Hatzfeld: a set of three keyboard sonatas by Leopold Kozeluch (Vienna: Torricella, 1784); a set of 12 lieder by Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel (Mainz: Schott, 1789); a set of variations by Neefe on the March of the Priests from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (Bonn: Simrock, 1793); and a setting by Sterkel of a Petrarch sonnet (Leipzig: Kühnel, 1808/1809).



(IMSLP)

Countess Hatzfeld was a subscriber to Mozart's Lenten concerts in the Trattnerhof in 1784 (*Briefe*, iii:307), and she is on the list of subscribers (two copies) for Artaria's first edition in 1795 of Beethoven's Piano Trios, op. 1.

Countess Hatzfeld's husband died in Bonn on 16 Sep 1794; this is also the last year for which we have any evidence of her performing (assuming that performances of *Axur* took place at Auersperg's that year). Almost nothing is currently known about her life past that point. A notice

of bankruptcy proceedings against her was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* by the court of Lower Austria on 21 May 1800:

> **Konkurs gräfl. Hatzfeldscher Gläubiger.**
> Von den k. k. ni. öst. Landrechten wird anmit bekannt gemacht: Es sey von dem Gerichte in die Eröffnung eines Konkurses über das gesammte im Lande Oesterreich unter der Ens befindliche be= weg= und unbewegliche Vermögen der Frau Hor= tensia Gräfin v. Hatzfeld, gebohrnen Gräfin v. Zie= rotinn, gewilliget worden. *[...]*
> [*WZ*, no. 41, Wed, 21 May 1800, 1687]
>
> **Bankruptcy, creditors of Countess Hatzfeld.**
> It is hereby made known by the imperial royal state court of Lower Austria: the opening of a bankruptcy proceeding has been approved by the court against all movable and immovable assets in the land of Austria below the Ens of Frau Countess von Hatzfeld, née Countess Zierotin. *[...]*

A notice published a week later refers to her failure to repay a very substantial debt incurred in 1795.

Countess Maria Anna Hortensia von Hatzfeld, née Countess Zierotin, is said to have died on 31 Dec 1813. The place of her death is unknown: a sad end to the life of a brilliant musical talent whose life had intersected Mozart's.

Reicha's memoirs contain three other anecdotes about Mozart and his works. One is found in a note about *Idomeneo* added to the anecdote about Countess Hatzfeld's performance of "Tutte nel cor vi sento":

> Cet opéra n'a eu qu'une seule représentation depuis qu'il existe. Mozart tenait le piano, tous les acteurs se mirent dedans en éxécutant le quatuor en mib du 3eme acte. Mozart en rit et pour rire plus à son aise, il cacha sa tête sous le piano. Grâce à l'editeur qui a fait graver la partition elle fut conservée à la posterité. [Audéon et al. 2011, 102n45]
>
> This opera has had only had a single performance since it came into existence. Mozart was at the piano, all the actors broke down performing the quartet in Eb in the 3rd act. Mozart laughed about it, and to laugh more comfortably, he hid his head under the piano. Thanks to the editor who engraved the score, [the opera] was preserved for posterity.

The quartet in Act 3 is "Andrò ramingo e solo," for Ilia, Elettra, Idamante, and Idomeneo. Reicha is of course wrong about the single performance, but the comment would seem to place the anecdote at a rehearsal for the first production in Munich. *Idomeneo* was first published in

keyboard score in 1797 by Schmidt and Rau in Leipzig, on commission from Constanze Mozart; the first edition in full score was published by Simrock in 1805. The anecdote is clearly hearsay.

Reicha also relates an anecdote about Beethoven performing a Mozart piano concerto in Bonn:

> Beethoven exécuta à la cour un concerto de Mozart sur le piano, il me prie de lui tourner les feuilles. Les cordes du piano cassent à tout moment, sautent en l’air; les marteaux s’embarassent entre les cordes cassées et Beethoven veut à toute force terminer son morceau, il me prie donc de dégager les marteaux à mesure qu’ils s’arrêtaient et d’enlever les cordes cassées, pour parvenir à tout j’avais plus affaire que lui, car il m’a fallu tourner autour du piano pendant tout le morceau. [Audéon et al. 2011, 102]
>
> Beethoven was playing a piano concerto by Mozart at court; he asked me to turn the pages. The strings of the piano were breaking constantly, flying into the air; the hammers were becoming tangled in the broken strings, and Beethoven wanted to complete his piece at all costs. So he asked me to untangle the hammers as they stopped working and to remove the broken strings. To accomplish all of this I had more to do than he did, for I had to circle the piano during the whole piece.

Assuming this incident actually took place—and it is Reicha’s personal reminiscence, so there is no reason to doubt it—it must have happened in Bonn before Beethoven left permanently for Vienna in Nov 1792. The concerto cannot be identified with certainty, but Beethoven is known to have had the Concerto in D minor, K. 466, in his repertoire, and it is easy to imagine Beethoven breaking strings in that work.

Reicha also writes of attempting to visit Mozart’s grave in Vienna around 10 years after Mozart’s death:

> Etant à Vienne, j’ai voulu voir le tombeau de Mozart; on me dit qu’il était impossible d’en retrouver la trace; il n’y avait qu’environ 10 ans qu’il était mort. On l’avait enterré sans le moindre cortège; des polissons criaient: voilà l’ivrogne de musicien que l’on conduit au tombeau. [Audéon et al. 2011, 98]
>
> Being in Vienna, I wanted to see the grave of Mozart; I was told that it was impossible to find any trace of it; it was only around 10 years since he had died. He was buried without the least cortège; the street urchins cried: there goes the drunkard musician being taken to his grave.

Notes (⇧)

Reicha’s anecdote on the performance of “Tutte nel cor vi sento” in Bonn is given in a rather loose English translation in Heartz 2009 (694).

Reicha's memoir and his notes for additions survive in two different manuscript sources:

- "Notes sur Antoine Reicha," Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra [F-Po], Carton 2073.
- "Notices sur Reicha," Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire [F-Pc], Papiers Aristide Farrenc, Rés. F 1246 (4).

So far as we are aware, the source in F-Po was first transcribed in Laing 1952, which includes an English translation on facing pages. The transcription of the anecdote about the aria is on pp. 334 and 336. The same manuscript was transcribed again in Vysloužil 1970, with a Czech translation; here the transcription of the anecdote is on p. 43. The manuscript in F-Pc was transcribed, with an extensive introduction and a German translation, in Audéon et al. 2011. Here the anecdote appears on p. 102. We have used the version in Audéon et al. as our primary document.

The text of the anecdote differs slightly in the two manuscripts.The version in F-Po reads (in Vysloužil's transcription) :

> Il y avait à la cour de l'Electeur une Comtesse qui chantait souvent dans les concerts qui s'y donnaient et où ce Prince lui-même faisait sa partie d'alto dans les morceaux de symphonie. Cette Comtesse avait une très bonne voix et chantait avec tant d'âme qu'elle électrisait tous ceux qui l'écoutaient. Elle y exécuta une fois la sixième scène d'Idoméneo de Mozart dont l'air est en ré mineur. Cette scène fit une telle impression sur moi et sur Van Beethoven, que nous ne faisions qu'en rêver jour et nuit pendant plusieurs semaines de suite. Cette impression fut telle pour moi que je ne l'oubliai jamais.

Differences from the version in Audéon et al. are shown in red; none are substantive. Vysloužil has incorporated Reicha's added note "Cette impression…" into his main text. Laing's transcription of the version in F-Po is essentially identical to Vysloužil's.

Unfortunately, Gottron does not cite a source (and we have so far been unable to locate one) for his claim that "Comtesse v. Hatzfeld" (presumably Maria Anna Hortensia) sang the role of Rosina in a performance of Paisiello's *Il barbierie di Siviglia* at the court in Mainz on 25 Oct 1784 (Gottron 1959, 164). According to Gottron, the role of Almaviva in that performance was sung by "Graf August," whom Gottron speculates may have been August von Hatzfeld. He does not specify whether he means August Clemens or Clemens August; Gottron also refers to this "August" as "Intendant", but it was actually Count Franz Ludwig von Hatzfeld who took up the position of Hofmusikintendant in Mainz, a few years later (on the several members of the Hatzfeld family and their connections to Mainz, see the section on August Clemens von Hatzfeld in our entry on *Idomeneo* at Prince Auersperg's).

Morrow (1989, 370) incorrectly states that the performance on 22 Feb 1774 in the table above was by "Mme de Zierotin" and the one on 5 Mar 1774 by "Mme Zerotin," while attributing the performance on 12 Mar 1774 to "Mlle de Zerotin." (Only the performances on 5 and 12 Mar 1774 are listed in her Concert Calendar Index.) However, in his diary entry for 22 Feb, Zinzendorf explicitly distinguishes between the location (the residence of "M^{e}: de Zierotin", Madame de Zierotin, the mother) and the performer "La Comtesse Hortense", namely the daughter, Countess Maria Anna Hortensia von Zierotin (the

accompanist was Giuseppe Scarlatti). On 5 Mar, Zinzendorf writes that the performer was “M^{lle}: de Zerotin”, that is, Mademoiselle Zierotin, again implying Maria Anna Hortensia.

> [Tue] 22. Fevrier. *[...]*
>
> Chez
>
> M^{e}: de Zierotin. La Comtesse Hortense chanta d’abord du françois ensuite avec la Weigelin de l’Italien, Scarlattij l’accompagnoit. *[...]*

> [Tue] 22 February *[...]*
>
> At
>
> Madame de Zierotin’s. Countess Hortensia sang first some French, then some Italian with la Weigelin. Scarlatti accompanied. *[...]*

> [Sat] 5. Mars. *[...]*
>
> Au Concert de la Haute noblesse
>
> chez M^{e}: la C^{esse}: de Wallenstein. M^{lle}: de Zerotin et M^{e}: de Goes y chanterant, Vogarti joua de la flûte, mais le plus beau morceau fut un Concert sur deux clavecins joué par les deux soeurs *[...]*

> [Sat] 5 March *[...]*
>
> To the concert of the high nobility
>
> at Madame la Comtesse de Wallenstein’s. Mademoiselle de Zierotin and Madame de Goëss sang there. Vogarti played the flute, but the most beautiful piece was a concerto on two keyboards played by the two sisters. *[...]*

> [Sat] 12. Mars. *[...]*
>
> Au Concert chez M^{e}: de Wallenstein
>
> M^{elles}: de Wrbna, de Kevenh. de Zerotin y firent entendre leurs talens. *[...]*

> [Sat] 12 March *[...]*
>
> To the concert at Madame de Wallenstein’s.
>
> Mademoiselles de Wrbna, de Khevenhüller, de Zierotin made their talents heard. *[...]*

Zinzendorf does not identify “les deux soeurs,” but one wonders whether they might have been Maria Anna Hortensia and her sister Franziska.

In a letter to Constanze from Frankfurt written on 8 Oct 1790, Mozart writes:

> — wenn die Akademie ein bischen gut ausfällt, so habe ich es meinem *Namen* — der gräfin Hatzfeld, und dem Schweitzerischen Hause, welche ich sehr für mich interessiren, zu danken. — [*Briefe*, iv:117–18]
>
> — If my academy has any success at all, it will be because of my *name*, and because of Countess Hatzfeld and the Schweitzer house, who take an interest in me.—

Mozart was in Frankfurt for the coronation of Leopold II as Holy Roman Emperor, and is referring to the concert he planned to give for his own benefit (the concert took place on 15 Oct). The commentary to this letter in *Briefe* identifies "gräfin Hatzfeld" as "wahrscheinlich Freifrau Sophie von Hatzfeld, verehelichte von Coudenhoven" ("probably Baroness Sophie von Hatzfeld, married von Coudenhoven"; *Briefe*, vi:401). The possibility that Mozart is referring to Countess Maria Anna Hortensia von Hatzfeld" is dismissed without evidence as "unwahrscheinlich" ("improbable").

Sophia von Hatzfeld (1747–1825) was the sister of Count Clemens August Johann Nepomuk von Hatzfeld, Maria Anna Hortensia's husband. Sophia was thus also the half-sister of Counts August Clemens, Hugo Franz, Franz Ludwig, and Maximilian von Hatzfeld (see this genealogy from 1794). In 1772 Sophia married Baron Georges Louis de Coudenhove (1734–1786), who became a privy councilor to the electoral court in Mainz. Sophia's mother (and thus also the mother of Clemens August Johann Nepomuk) was Charlotte Sophie von Bettendorf, whose cousin Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal (1719–1802) became Elector of Mainz in 1774. Sophia von Coudenhove became an important figure in the musical and theatrical life in Mainz and at the electoral court (Mohr 1968, 126 and 130); whether or not her especially close relationship with the elector was also physical remains uncertain. According to Mohr (1968, 130), she was elevated to the status of Countess by Leopold II in Oct 1790, and it seems to be on this basis and Sophia's importance in the cultural life of Mainz that Mohr (and following him, the commentary to *Briefe*) identified her as Mozart's "gräfin Hatzfeld."

It seems to have gone unremarked, however, that Mozart is unlikely to have referred to Baroness (or Countess) von Coudenhove as "gräfin Hatzfeld." In this branch of the Hatzfeld family (one very closely associated with Mainz), Maria Anna Hortensia is the only other possibility: Hugo Franz and Maximilian were cathedral canons and remained unmarried; and Franz Ludwig, an official in the electoral court in Mainz, did not marry until 1799 (see his entry in this genealogy from 1824).

Glatthorn (2017, 105ff) assumes (possibly correctly) that Mozart's "gräfin Hatzfeld" was Maria Anna Hortensia, but does not mention the claim in the prior Mozart literature that Mozart was referring to Sophia von Coudenhove.

The Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität Köln (D-KNmi) preserves a large collection of manuscripts of vocal music that are said (in the RISM listings) "mutmaßlich" ("presumably") to come from the collection of "Clemens August von Hatzfeld" (Countess Hatzfeld's husband). We do not know the basis for this claim. The RISM catalog contains 202 manuscripts with this annotation (search on "hatzfeld" with library siglum "D-KNmi"). Most are arias for soprano (a few are for tenor); composers include Anfossi, Andrea Bernasconi, De Majo, Galuppi, Guglielmi, Hasse, Jommelli, Lampugnani, Lapis,

Latilla, Perez, Piccinni, Righini, Sacchini, Sales, Salieri, Sarti, Schuster, Terradellas, Traetta, and others. The collection seems to include no music by Mozart.

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