

# CONSTANZE MOZART VS THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

## PART I

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**Mozart's alleged grave at St. Marx today; a cenotaph. The broken column has a hidden Freemason message: top Masonic scholar, Albert G. Mackey, writes: "In Freemasonry, the broken column is, as Master Masons well know, the emblem of the fall of one of the chief supporters of the Craft."<sup>1</sup> This memorial was remodeled by Florian Josephu-Drouot, a Viennese sculptor, in 1950**

Wikipedia.org, "Austria, Vienna, St. Marx Cemetery, The gravestone of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart"  
Photograph: Invisigoth67, 26 June 2006 CC BY-SA 2.5

Scholars have posited that Constanze did not really love Mozart, her first husband, because she failed to place a proper headstone over his grave. But her actions were consistent with those of a grieving widow. Among other clues, Constanze's diary

entry of 11 August 1829 survives as evidence that, despite suffering her share of problems with Mozart, she had been genuinely devoted to him.

After his death she lovingly maintained his fortepiano in fine working order: In Constanze's diary, she writes of a note that rested on Mozart's fortepiano; she eventually sent the instrument to her eldest son, Karl:

My dear Clavier (upon which Mozart liked so much to play and composed the zauberflote, la Clemenza di Tito, the Requiem and a Freemason Cantata): Preserved; how happy I am about this, I am not able to describe it, Mozart loved this Clavier so dearly and because of this I love it twice as much."<sup>2</sup>

That Constanze hoped posterity would read this entry, and be convinced of her false passion, is hardly likely.

Moreover, wherever she traveled, Constanze carried her favorite painting of Mozart (by Joseph Lange, amateur artist, actor, and husband of her sister, Aloysia), in a wooden case that she had custom-made. Vincent and Mary Novello visited Salzburg in 1829, to present a small sum of 63 English pounds, given by aficionados and musicians in London, to Mozart's aging, bed-bound sister Nannerl.<sup>3</sup> Vicent Novello noticed the wooden case, remarking in his travel diary:

By far the best likeness of him in M. [Madame] Nissen's opinion is the painting in oils done by the Husband of Madame Lange (the eldest sister of Mrs. Nissen) from which the portrait of Mozart contained in her Biography [Nissen's biography] – is unfinished but admirably done... in a wooden case as if it had been travelling.<sup>4</sup>

Mary Novello's travel diary contained this comment:

...the divine portrait of Mozart she has kept in a case and very wisely has refused to have it finished for fear the divine expression should be lost by some unlucky touch...<sup>5</sup>



**A portrait of Vincent Novello in 1836, by Edward Petre Novello, his son**

Wikipedia.org {{US-PD-expired}}

This image was provided by Dcoetzee, from the National Portrait Gallery, London

The following comment from Constanze, recorded in Mary's diary, reveals a touching tribute to Mozart, as the two women gazed at Lange's unfinished portrait on the wall:

She assured us that it exactly resembled him, and it is much more beautiful than the engraving [possibly the wax medallion by Leonhard Posch], the forehead is high and ample in the extreme, full of genius, the mouth of sweetness and beauty, both this latter feature and the nose are exaggerated in the engraving, they are much more delicate in the painting... Mozart had very delicate hands.<sup>6</sup>

Mary Novello recorded this comment from Constanze:

... [Mozart] was always in a good humor, rarely melancholy but of a very gay humour, indeed he was an angel she exclaimed, and is one now – there was no affectation about this, but said quite simply...he was of so sweet a disposition altogether that it was impossible to argue with him...<sup>7</sup>

This is a woman who cherishes loving memories of her first husband; Constanze did recognize Mozart's phenomenal musical talent, and still retained a poignant tenderness for him, thirty-eight years later.

During one visit with Constanze, she showed Vincent and Mary pieces of Mozart's hair, some of which she gave to Vincent, as well as some of Mozart's personal possessions. She offered him Mozart's inkstand, stained with ink. (Vincent could not accept it; he felt that Constanze should keep it.) The inkstand particularly fascinated Vincent Novello; he considered it 'the fountain whence had issued such exquisitely beautiful creations':

She also shewed me the Inkstand out of which he had written most of his works amongst others the 'Figaro', 'Don Giovanni', the 'Tito', 'Zauberflote' – and the Requiem – she has had the good taste to preserve it just in the same state as he left it, with all the blots running from the time he wrote the last page just before he died... I shall certainly envy whoever ultimately becomes possessed of this curious inkstand, as well as the person who may be the inheritor of the Portrait of Mozart by M. Lange.<sup>8</sup>

On the walls around Constanze and her sister, Sophie's apartment, on the Nonngasse, near the Nonnberg Abbey, the Novellos noticed various portraits of Mozart and his family. Vincent wrote in his travel diary:

Over the sofa, the one containing Mozart and his sister playing a Duett with the father sitting down and the Mother's portrait in a picture frame, over that the portrait of her second Husband, Mr. von Nissen.

In the other Room, the portrait of Mozart as a Boy with an embroidered waist and a sword, and the picture of his two Sons in a very affectionate and graceful attitude as if they were fondly attached to each other. The Youngest [Wolfgang] who stood by me just as I was looking at it, told me that he was about five years old when it was done.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, Constanze kept many of the letters her husband had received, including some of Leopold Mozart's correspondence, sorted by date. (Nannerl also possessed many of the family letters; which, all counted, came to around four hundred.) The Nissens had moved to Salzburg from Copenhagen, so that Nissen could utilize the family letters in his *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*.

As a remembrance, Constanze gave Vincent a part of a letter Leopold wrote to his son. The composer's widow also showed him her precious gold watch that Mozart had given her as a bridal present, on their wedding day, 4 August 1782. The watch came from Paris, and, she told Novello, she wore it pinned in her clothing, "inside her bosom." Constanze confided to Vincent that "although she had received other watches since, she had never worn any but that one."<sup>10</sup>

Contrary to the assertions of some scholars, the evidence shows that Constanze behaved like a woman who adored her composer husband, and who sincerely wished to honor his memory. But later, she was thwarted, for unknown reasons.

When Georg Nissen, Constanze's second husband, died in 1826, she laid him to rest in the serene cemetery at Salzburg's St. Sebastian Church, where she worshipped regularly. When the Novellos visited Constanze in 1829, she took them to Nissen's grave, after which Vincent noted in his travel diary that "it is a simple pyramid, with four inscriptions, and as usual surrounded by flowers."<sup>11</sup>

However, today, a majestic gray stone monument, crowned with a cross, one of the largest in the cemetery, marks that grave, replacing the original stone Constanze erected.

Strangely, the date and place of Constanze's birth on the second monument are incorrect. Letters that Karl Mozart wrote to his friend Johann Ritt Finetti made queries; Finetti informed Karl that the original stone placed by Constanze was crumbling, and that Mozarteum authorities, in preparation for centennial celebrations of Mozart's birth, wanted permission to erect a new monument.

Finetti and Karl's friend and Mozarteum curator, Alois Taux, fulfilled this mission. Taux and his wife planted pansies around the grave, and this tradition continues to the present day.

Apparently, Karl's friends failed to check thoroughly for Constanze's birth date and place [she was born in 1762, in Zell im Wiesental, a town located in the Black Forest, on the river Weise, in Baden-Württemberg, not Freiburg]. Nevertheless, the incorrect details do not detract from the elegant monument.

Most interesting is the inscription on the front:

Constanze  
von  
NISSEN  
*Witwe* [widow]  
MOZART  
born Weber.



**Constanze and Nissen’s grave at St. Sebastian Church, Salzburg**

Wikipedia Commons.org  
 Photograph: ManfredK 14 September 2021  
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The name MOZART stands out radiantly in pure gold letters, a touching tribute to her first husband; one that would withstand the elements, and the passing of centuries. Constanze would have approved of this final honor to her “inexpressibly beloved husband,” where the Church, the government, or the Court authorities could not intervene. For her final resting place, Constanze Mozart Nissen planned to be buried with Nissen, in the grave.

Plaques surrounding the grave are those with names of Leopold Mozart’s mother-in-law, Euphrosina Pertl; (Mozart’s maternal grandmother), Constanze’s favorite aunt, Genovefa Weber (mother of the composer Carl Maria von Weber); and Johanna (Jeanette) Berchtold von Sonnenburg, Nannerl’s daughter, who died at age 16.

A plaque with Leopold Mozart's name stands near the grave, but he, in fact, is buried in another grave at St. Sebastian's; a communal grave, Nr. 84 in the arcade. Constanze knew Mozart's father disliked, perhaps even despised, her, so perhaps out of respect for her first husband, she made separate burial arrangements, or his body was moved later.<sup>12</sup>

Recently, I had sent an email to the Mozarteum, asking for information about Leopold Mozart's grave. A few weeks later, I received a message from Dr. Christoph Großpietsch, who works at the repository. It contained several bombs – details that I had never read about.

Here is an excerpt from his fascinating reply of 18 December 2024. It turns out that Constanze and Nissen's gravesite is not generally known today, and we don't know where Leopold Mozart is buried:

Leopold Mozart was buried in the St. Sebastian cemetery in 1787. That's right. There was a general burial ground ("Kommunegrab"). Leopold Mozart was buried here. But this "Kommunegrab" was closed around 50 years later. This Kommunegrab is, as you mention, near "no. 84" at the "arcade", but it is not clear, where it was exactly. You are right, it was not at the place where the well known stone for Constanze and Nikolaus Nissen was later erected.

Constanze Nissen, Mozart's widow and her second husband Nikolaus Nissen were buried in another part of the cemetery. Several relatives from the Mozart family were also buried in St. Sebastian's Cemetery. There is no "original" gravestone existant neither for Leopold nor for them. But today you can see a gravestone.

It was erected by the Mozart researcher Johann Engl later, who believed around 1897 that he knew of a family grave for Leopold Mozart, Constanze and Nikolaus Nissen and the other Mozart relatives near the entrance to the cemetery.

In 2005, bones were dug for a documentary film by the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF) in search of DNA from WAM [Mozart]. But the makers of the film did not find anything and they did not know that Mozart related relics could not be found at this location. Engl's claim was false. It was based on information from a third party who claimed to have known an old mortician who was said to have made this suggestion.

Engl had considered a less reliable source to be correct. The gravestone is therefore actually a memorial stone. The so called "grave" near the entrance to the cemetery is a so called cenotaph. But one thing is true. Leopold was buried in the St. Sebastian cemetery.

I, like countless others, believed that Constanze and Nissen's gravesite was where their earthly remains rest. I have visited the cemetery, and sat near their grave, in

silent reverence. But at least we know that they are somewhere in St. Sebastian's cemetery.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, St. Sebastian Church played a special role in the movie, *The Sound of Music*. The graveyard scene toward the end of the movie, where the von Trapp family was hidden by nuns, as the Nazis burst into the church, was filmed in the church cemetery. You will recognize Constanze and Nissen's "gravesite," briefly.

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In 2004, Innsbruck's Institute of Forensic Medicine received permission to exhume Mozart's relatives from the grave at St. Sebastian Church. A big surprise happened, when the family vault was opened; nine skeletons and several bones were discovered. It was believed originally that these were the bones of Leopold Mozart, Genovefa Weber, Jeanette Berchtold von Sonnenburg and Euphrosina Pertl.

An article in *The Guardian* notes: "The grave has been extensively renovated and moved," stated Gerhard Reiter, the archeologist supervising the dig. Reiter continues, "The exhumation was proving trickier than expected because more bodies are buried in the vault in Salzburg's Sebastian cemetery than originally thought."<sup>13</sup>

Tests to see if DNA could be pulled from the bones were to have been revealed in 2006. Scientists were particularly excited to test for mitochondrial DNA, which is passed down from the female line.

A skull, found from a grave digger at St. Marx Church, Joseph Rothmayr, in 1801 (he did not bury Mozart), was claimed to be Mozart's, so the DNA investigation was considered of utmost importance. Results were inconclusive, but today the skull is held at the Mozarteum in Salzburg. (The mandible is missing.)





**The skull believed to be Mozart's**

It was a shock when it turned out that none of the bodies exhumed were related. The skull in Hyrtl's possession, disappeared in 1842, but in 1868 it turned up again.

The skull was passed from grave digger Joseph Rothmayr to Jakob Hyrtl, who eventually willed it to his brother, Joseph. The story is quite interesting. Joseph Hyrtl was an Austrian anatomist, who had studied at the University of Prague. In 1850, Hyrtl published his *Handbook of Topographic Anatomy*, the first textbook of applied anatomy ever issued.

Hyrtl collected human skulls; his collection of 139 skulls was donated in 1874 to the Mütter Museum in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in his attempt to counter racist claims of phrenologists.

Jacob Hyrtl, receiving "Mozart's" skull from Rothmayr, willed it to his brother, Joseph, the anatomist, after his death in 1868. An article, "Skull of Mozart: the owners since January 1891," informs: "we are told the extraordinary story behind the skull."<sup>14</sup>

Here is how Joseph Hyrtl came into ownership of "Mozart's" skull. His brother, Jacob, an engraver, liked to roam around the St. Marx Cemetery, and one night, was overtaken by a dreadful storm. The grave digger at the time, Joseph Rothmayr,

invited him to come and dry out in his home, and he took the skull out to show Hyrtl.

Hyrtl's brother was a professor of anatomy, and Jacob commented that the skull would incite great interest, whereupon the grave digger presented him with the relic. This is how Joseph Hyrtl came into ownership of "Mozart's" skull – though he didn't receive it until Jacob's death in 1868.<sup>15</sup>

The skull was donated to the Mozarteum Foundation in 1902. The Vienna Natural History Museum investigated the skull in the early 1990's, concluding that "there is nothing to dispute the theory that this is Mozart's skull."<sup>16</sup>

Still, all scientific experiments conducted on the skull have failed to exclusively rule in the fact that Mozart's skull had been discovered.

A humorous story ensued when a problem arose with transporting the skull from Salzburg to the forensics lab in Innsbruck. Nobody would insure the skull. Finally, the Mozarteum agreed to transport it in a security van, used for bank deliveries.

At the forensics lab, two of the skull's teeth were removed, for DNA extraction. One was bleached and chopped in half, for the extraction. Later, a forensics professor glued it back together and inserted it back into the skull.<sup>17</sup>

Results from the tests came back: inconclusive. The skull's authenticity has never definitely been proven. Today, the Mozarteum still retains the skull.

Rothmayr claimed that he found the skull in the upper portion of earth in a common grave at St. Marx, in 1801:

Ten years passed and the grave was redug. The digger, remembering the composer Mozart and the exact place in which he had put his coffin took the uppermost skull, wrapped it in linen, and kept it in a cupboard at his home, showing it only to his most intimate friends.<sup>18</sup>

First of all, Rothmayr was *not* the grave digger at St. Marx in 1791, when Mozart allegedly was buried there. Simon Preuschl was.<sup>19</sup> Preuschl never made a peep about burying the famous composer, and authorities at St. Marx seemed to have no clue that Mozart had, indeed, ever been taken there. We would think that a grave digger would deign to make a few gulden, by taking visitors to the renowned composer's burial site.



**The iron gate at St. Marx Church, Vienna, leading to the cemetery**

Wikimedia Commons.org, “Sankt Marxer Friedhof Eingang”  
Photograph: Invisigoth67, April 2007

The grave diggers at St. Marx during Mozart’s time and beyond, are listed in Duda, Kerner and Dalchow’s book, *Mozarts Tod 1791 – 1971*:

From 1786 until 1802 was Simon Preuschl, then until 1809 Josef Rothmayer [he died in November of that year, and his grave is today at St. Marx Cemetery, along with another grave digger, Joseph Löffler], finally Josef Löffler, and from 1828 to 1850, Johann Radschopf was the grave digger at St. Marx Cemetery.<sup>20</sup>



### **Gravestone for grave diggers Joseph Rothmeyer and Joseph Löffler at St. Marx**

Wikimedia Commons.org  
Photo: Papergirl, 7 August 2016

Peter Davies confuses Joseph Rothmayer [or Rothmayr] as the “sexton” of St. Marx. He writes a fantastical, imaginary tale:

The only person who knew the precise location of Mozart’s grave was the sexton of St. Mark’s [sic], Joseph Rothmayer. He was a great admirer of the deceased composer, and it is alleged that he identified Mozart’s corpse by encircling it with stout wire. Subsequently, during a moment of animated musical enthusiasm, Rothmayer raided the grave and he pilfered Mozart’s skull. He kept it as a sacred, albeit ghoulish relic.<sup>21</sup>

There was a fire at the church, which destroyed records in the 1840’s, but even shortly after Mozart died, his friends went looking for him, but could find no records of his burial at St. Marx Cemetery.

The only clue we have that Mozart was conveyed to St. Marx is from an entry in the register of the parish of St. Stephen’s Cathedral, dated 6 December 1791 (St. Marx was the proper church to transport Mozart’s body to, owing to where he lived in Vienna):

Died the previous day the Honorable Herr Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Imperial and Royal Conductor and Court Composer, in the house called “Kleines Kaiserhaus,” No. 970 Rauhensteingasse, aged thirty-six; cause of death, high malaria [miliari] fever; buried in the cemetery of St. Marx; third-class burial, for which paid eight florins fifty six kreuzers, and for the carriage three florins.<sup>22</sup>

All sorts of romantic myths have ensued about Mozart’s burial; they are only myths. There is not one substantive piece of evidence about what happened to the composer’s corpse, after he was last seen in his apartment by Ludwig Gall, dressed in a black suit or robe-like garment, and lying in a coffin in a hallway, at 970 Rauhensteingasse.

Gall, “a young protégé of Mozart,” relates how he came to view the dead composer; he had come into the city to go to the music dealer Lausch:

...and when I arrived he said, ‘Imagine what a misfortune has happened to us: Mozart died this last night!’ Quite appalled I rushed at once to the apartment, still doubting the Job’s News, but alas I was soon convinced of its truth. – Mad. Mozart herself opened the door of the apartment and led me to a little room on the left, where I saw the dead Master on the bier, lying in a coffin, in a black suit with a cowl down over his forehead, hiding his blond hair, with his hands folded over his breast...<sup>23</sup>

At least Gall’s narrative is believable; he was an eyewitness. Freemasons wear black to show that “every man is equal as a Freemason, no matter their background. Freemasons come from all walks of life, therefore a dark suit unites the solidarity of the organisation in an understated manner.”<sup>24</sup>

But soon the romantic myths would ensue, about Mozart’s burial.

This narrative retells an enchanting fantasy:

On the 6<sup>th</sup> December the plain coffin was carried through the streets on the shoulders of two men, followed by the faithful Süssmayr. At St. Stephen’s Church a few others joined the procession, including, it is thought, Albrechtsberger, Lange, Schikaneder, Van Swieten, and Salieri; but the appalling weather – it was a day of storm and heavy snow – soon drove them all home.<sup>25</sup>

This was a fabricated falsehood. Written recordings three times a day at Vienna’s *Sternwarte* – the observatory, noting the weather -- shows no such storm on 6 December. The weather obsessive, Count Franz Zinzendorf, also recorded daily weather recordings, every evening, in French; his diary, now kept at the Austria

State Archives, notes, on 6 December: “Mild weather, with frequent mist or drizzle.”<sup>26</sup>

Peter Davies adds an interesting aside:

However, Carl Bär checked the official weather records on 7 December: a light southerly breeze at 3:00 p.m. that afternoon increased to strong south-westerly wind gusts of maximum velocity at 10 p.m. Carl Bär concluded that such weather conditions were consistent with the alleged storm and that Mozart was buried on 7 December 1791.<sup>27</sup>

Davies continues:

Bär proposed that the alleged snow storm was in fact a dust storm, in keeping with the official record of strong evening wind gusts, which would have disturbed the surface layer of limestone dust on the streets at that time.”<sup>28</sup>

Mozart *could* have been buried in a coffin; Gall witnessed him in a coffin in his apartment, on 5 December. Because of the over-crowding of graveyards in Vienna, Joseph II recommended false-bottomed coffins; the corpse could receive a seemly funeral, but the body was slid into the ground, and the coffin reused. However, the Emperor rescinded this law in 1785.

Author Francis Carr comments:

Not one of Mozart’s biographers has mentioned any other Austrian, famous or obscure, who was buried in this unorthodox manner. Joseph’s decree of 1784 was rescinded in the following year, six years before Mozart died. It discouraged the use of coffins; but we know that Wolfgang was put in a coffin; and there was nothing in this decree which forbade burial in single, marked graves in graveyards.<sup>29</sup>

Joseph Deiner, in his *Memoirs* [Vienna, 1856], related how the Mozarts’ maid awakened him early on 5 December 1791 to “come and dress” her master. His recollections were written for the centenary of Mozart’s birth, the “editorial version of a report from “an ordinary man” who had been “in personal contact” with Mozart”:

At 5 o’clock in the morning the front door bell of the “Silver Snake” was violently rung. Deiner opened. Mozart’s maid, Elise, stood before the door, sobbing. The landlord asked what she wanted. – “Herr Deiner,” said the maid, “please come and dress our master!”—“To go for a walk?” – “No, ; he died an hour ago; please he is dead; he died an hour ago; please hurry—” Mozart’s funeral took place at 3 o’clock in the afternoon of 7 December in St. Stephen’s Cathedral, not in the body of the church, but in the Crucifix Chapel on the north side, where the Capistrano pulpit stands.<sup>30</sup>

Deiner clothed the body of Wolfgang Mozart in a black suit, or robe, perhaps his black Masonic suit, laying him on a bier in a coffin near the piano in the sitting room, where Constanze would see her husband for the last time.

Deiner writes:

[He] found Mozart's widow dissolved in tears, and so weak that she could not stand upright. He performed for Mozart the services which it is usual to pay to the dead. In the morning Mozart was laid on the bier and covered with a black drapery from the burial society, as was then the custom, and which usage continued until the year 1818. The corpse was taken into the study and placed near his pianoforte.<sup>31</sup>

Deiner's *Memoirs*, however, proved to be full of inconsistencies. There was no tavern in Vienna called the "Silver Snake"; one named *Zur Goldenen Schlange* – *The Golden Snake*, was not at the street address, at Nr. 12 in the Kärntnerstrasse; it was then at Nr.1083. Deiner was not the landlord; this was Joseph Preisinger.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, when Ludwig Gall arrived, Mozart's corpse was not in the room with his fortepiano; rather, it was in a coffin on a bier, in a small room to the left, when he entered at the front door.

However, since the memoir was written sixty-five years after Mozart's death, perhaps the elderly Deiner's memory was not as sharp as it was, as a younger man.

Sophie Haibl reported in her 7 April 1825 letter to Nissen: "If it were possible to increase her [Constanze's] pain, so it must have happened, that on the day following that horrifying night, brought people here in droves, crying and screaming loudly for him."<sup>33</sup>

Now that the composer was gone, as Nissen writes in his *Biographie W.A. Mozarts*, "The death of Mozart excited public interest. On the day of his death, many persons stood outside his apartment and made known their sympathy in many different ways."<sup>34</sup>

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Author Maynard Solomon observes that something seems askew with the handed-down narrative of Mozart's burial:

... Dalchow, Duda, and Kerner are right to raise questions about the obscurities surrounding Mozart's death, to ask why there is no contemporary report of a funeral procession from the

house in the Rauhensteingasse to St. Stephen's Cathedral; no authentic description of the blessing at St. Stephen's; no believable memoir by anyone accompanying the body en route to the cemetery; and no witness to the burial.<sup>35</sup>

Imagine if an internationally renowned musician were to die one night. His body disappears and is rumored to be in a city graveyard, although no records document his burial. Church authorities claim to know nothing about where he has been laid to rest. No authorities are interested in the event.

Although the star earned incredible amounts of money during his last year, and his close associates were extremely wealthy men, in prominent social positions, he is buried in the least expensive grave available – third class. None of his friends, even his closest friends -- some of whom are millionaires, lend one kreuzer for a stone to mark the ground, where he lies for eternity.

The physicians who attended the international star in his fatal illness are mute, and his widow makes no attempts to visit the cemetery, where she has been informed that the body of her husband is interred.

Rulers of other countries promised to reward Mozart well if he would live at their courts and compose music. But Mozart refused, inexplicably, to leave Vienna, the city of his burnt-out dreams.

His last year had proven especially lucrative; composing two operas and other works, he earned more money—3,725 *florins*, or the equivalent of \$74,500.00 U.S. today—than in any previous year of his struggling career.<sup>36</sup>

During Mozart's final summer, his music was performed for the festivities of Emperor Leopold II's coronation in Prague more than the music of any other composer.

But, yet, Vienna refused to recognize Mozart's death with any sort of solemnities. In comparison, we should point out the magnificent, funeral ceremonies - along with massive grave monuments -- that Beethoven, Salieri, and Gluck received.

At Beethoven's funeral, the entire city of Vienna went into mourning. Schools closed, and people stayed home from work. Thousands lined the streets on 29 March 1829, crying for the beloved musician, who had glorified Vienna with his marvelous works. Funeral activities were carried out with all solemnity before a crowd estimated at more than 10,000. The most prominent Austrian dramatist of



the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Franz Grillparzer, wrote the oration, which was delivered by the renowned actor, Heinrich Anschutz, in the Währing cemetery.

Salieri and Haydn, as well, were both fêted with huge funerals, attended by massive crowds. For Haydn, people from all segments of society mourned him, and solemnities took place in every principal church, “not only in Vienna, but also in France. Napoleon ordered a special guard placed at Haydn’s residence, and commanded important officers to conduct the body to its final resting place. Two weeks later, Mozart’s *Requiem* was sung in Haydn’s honor. The whole art-loving world of Vienna was present...”<sup>37</sup>

So, where was the “whole art-loving world,” for Mozart?

Today, such an event would excite the news media and millions of fans worldwide, not to mention, arousing the interest of law enforcement authorities. The fact that the extraordinary circumstances surrounding Mozart’s death occurred more than two centuries ago, makes his case no less poignant.

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Compare the silence in Vienna, when Mozart died, to the impressive memorial activities in Prague:

On 14 December 1791, the Friends of Music in Prague, Czechoslovakia, gave a magnificent funeral ceremony for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Kammercompositeur*,<sup>38</sup> who had died in Vienna, Austria, nine days earlier. All of Prague’s finest musicians participated in the solemn, grand farewell concert arranged by the Prague Orchestra of the National Theater.

Invitation cards were issued to the public:

The orchestra of the Prague National Theatre begs to announce that on 14 December at 10 O’clock a Solemn Mass for Capellmeister and Kammercomponist *Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart*, who fell peacefully asleep in the Lord on 5 December in Vienna, will be held in the Small Side Parish Church of St. Niclas as a mark of its boundless veneration and esteem. To which a very respectful invitation is extended to the high nobility and the honoured public.<sup>39</sup>

For one-half hour, the bells of the parish church tolled their woeful *clung*. The entire city emerged in such a throng that the Wälsche Platz erupted in total confusion with a tangle of coaches. An immense crowd of Mozart admirers filled the church, far exceeding its 4,000 maximum capacity.

The *Wiener Zeitung* reported on 24 December:

On the appointed day the bells of the parish church were rung for half an hour; almost the entire city streamed thither, so that the Wälsche Platz could not hold the coaches, nor the church (which is, moreover, big enough to hold nearly 4,000 people), the admirers of the dead artist. The Requiem was by Kapellmeister Rössler, it was admirably performed by 120 of the leading musicians, first among whom was the well-loved singer Mad. *Duschek* [Josepha, Mozart's close friend].

In the middle of the church stood a finely illuminated catafalque; 3 choirs of drums and trumpets sounded forth with muffled tones...solemn silence lay all about, and a thousand tears flowed in poignant memory of the artist who through [his] harmonies so often tuned all hearts to the liveliest feelings.<sup>40</sup>

Only in Vienna, where Mozart's magical concertos, operas, and other works, had enchanted, in theaters and opera houses, was nothing done, in any kind of memorial. Only the songs of the black winter birds, flying overhead, broke the silence.

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## THE MYSTERIOUS EXEQUIEM IN VIENNA

Wait – stop the music. There *was* something that happened, on 10 December 1791, five days after Mozart's death, at St. Michael's Church in Vienna. It was a performance called an *Exequiem*, and was alleged to be Mozart's *Requiem*. An online website, The Voice of God, carries a brief description of this: "10 December 1791: Humanity hears the Requiem for the first time":

In the evening of 10 December 1791 the *Requiem* was heard for the first time! Gathered in St Michael's Church to attend the memorial for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, the audience, holding their breath, listened to the heavenly masterpiece that Mozart had only heard within himself. As the *Requiem* unfolded to the world, Mozart was offering humanity his last, most precious gift, and the proof that he will go on living forever, through his divine Music.<sup>41</sup>



**St. Michael's Church, in Vienna's inner city, which was right across from the Burgtheater, in Mozart's time. The church still stands, untouched by time. On 10 December, an *Exequiem*, featuring music from "Mozart's" *Requiem*, was performed, under the aegis of Emanuel Schikaneder and Joseph Edler von Bauernfeld**

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Photo: Gryffindor, September 2007

But how could this be? Wasn't it true, that Mozart didn't finish the *Requiem*? Didn't Constanze secretly give sketches of the mass to Franz Süssmayr, to complete, after his death? Didn't Franz Süssmayr write a letter to music publishers in Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, on 8 February 1800, confessing to having completed Mozart's *Requiem*?

Emanuel Schikaneder, director and actor at the Freihaus Theater, and his financier, Joseph Edler von Bauernfeld, presented a mass entitled *Exequiem* (funeral rite or ceremony), which has long baffled scholars. (Robbins Landon calls Bauernfeld "Schikaneder's silent partner.")<sup>42</sup> The *New Crowned Hope* 1785 membership roster, where Bauernfeld was an Entered Apprentice, lists him as a clerk of the Imperial Royal Joint Court Chancellery.<sup>43</sup>

On 16 December 1791, Viennese journal, *Der Heimlicher Botschafter* [The Secret Messenger] reported, “Herr Schikaneder had obsequies performed for the departed [Mozart], at which the Requiem, which he composed in his last illness, was executed.”<sup>44</sup>

Schikaneder and Bauernfeld paid 14 florins, 12 kreuzer, for the 10 December performance, which was advertised as a requiem mass or exequies for Mozart at St. Michael’s Parish Church in Vienna.<sup>45</sup>

Regarding Mozart, the 13 December 1791 edition of the Berlin journal *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* maintained that “One of his last compositions is said to have been a mass for the dead, which was performed at his last rites.”<sup>46</sup>

However, new scholarly efforts have ascertained that it “can now be confirmed that a requiem mass was in fact held for Wolfgang Mozart, something that Mozart research has previously only surmised. According to a recently discovered entry in the book of accounts of the Viennese Barnabite religious order, the Mozart exequies were held on 10 December 1791 in St. Michael’s imperial parish church next to the Hofburg. . . .

“Looking at the itemized costs listed in the account book from St. Michael’s, one is struck by the absence of any outlay for music,” writes Walther Brauneis. “This almost certainly means that the musicians of St. Michael’s . . . provided their services without charge and wished in this way to do last honors to the departed Mozart.”<sup>47</sup>

Citing a 10 December 1791 itemized report from St. Michael’s Church archives, Walther Brauneis expresses his puzzlement regarding several aspects of the performance:

For (titles) Herr Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. . . . 14 florins 2 kreuzer. What can this mean? Schikaneder’s performance was under the title of Exequiem, not the work known as the Requiem, as Mozart had specified as his last work. Further cash outlays were: tolling of bells, 3 florins 36 kreuzer; a Requiem mass for 6 florins; vestments for requiem mass at 1 florin 30 kreuzer, a pall, or cloth covering a coffin or bier, at 45 kreuzer, and two pallbearers at 18 kreuzer.<sup>48</sup>

The tolling of bells, a cloth, a coffin, and two pall bearers? No wonder Brauneis was puzzled. Was an empty coffin brought into the church? A decidedly eerie

scenario, but Schikaneder might have arranged it for special effects. In fact, we can count on this – Schikaneder had an expert eye for the most spectacular dramatic effects, and we can imagine the sepulchral impact the coffin and pall bearers would have on the audience.

Brauneis conjectures:

The obvious question of interest – what music was performed on this special occasion?—can be answered only with some reserve. We can, however, infer from reports contained in the local Viennese newspaper *Der heimlicher Botschafter* of 16 December 1791 and in the Berlin journal *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* of 31 December 1791 that parts of Mozart’s Requiem were performed...

At the time of Mozart’s death, the composing of the Requiem had reached as far as the close of the Hostias. In his characteristic *particella* format, Mozart had composed ninety-nine pages altogether, although he had completed instrumentation only for those containing the Requiem aeternam.<sup>49</sup>

We don’t know what was heard on the 10th of December, at St. Michael’s Church, but if it was “Mozart’s” *Requiem*, this lends credence to Mozart scholars and musicologists, Luca Bianchini and Anna Trombetta’s hypothesis, that he didn’t compose the *Requiem*; he already had a finished score, loaned from Count Franz Walsegg, who had paid another musician to compose it.<sup>50</sup>

This is particularly prescient; in the 7 January edition of the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt*, this comment was reported: “When it [the *Requiem*] has been copied, it is going to be performed at a memorial service for him in St. Michael’s church.”<sup>51</sup> If, indeed, Mozart had not finished the *Requiem*, at his death, how was it going to be copied?

Emanuel Schikaneder, ever the ultimate dramatist, organized an extravagant show – something that the city of Vienna had no interest in doing -- possibly presenting Mozart’s “swan song,” with funeral accoutrements, and the coffin and pall bearers, in an unforgettable performance. We can bet that the *Exequiem* on 10 December, was a fantastic production – whatever it was.

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For nearly a decade, Mozart had enchanted the public in concert halls, theaters and opera houses, with his fantastical, musical elixirs, performed to audiences who

were bewitched by his preternatural sounds. Yet, in Vienna, Mozart's death seemed to arouse little "official" interest, despite his apparent popularity.

His death seemed to be ignored at the illustrious Viennese Court, where his myriad friends held positions, and among his Freemason Brothers. Curiously, it appears as if none of the nine physicians in Mozart's Masonic Lodge, *Crowned Hope*, visited him when he was ill at the end of his life.

They seem to have denied Brother Mozart the Freemason concept of "Brotherly love," a tenet central to the beliefs of the Masons. Number One – the most important point of the *Fifteen Points of Freemasonry*, unequivocally states:

1. Every Mason shall cultivate brotherly love and the love of God, and frequent holy church.<sup>52</sup>

But neither eyewitnesses Constanze Mozart or Sophie Haibl, make any mention of any members of Mozart's Lodge, *Crowned Hope*, coming by 970 Rauhensteingasse, to see how Brother Mozart is doing. They certainly didn't visit the composer over the last weekend of his life, when Sophie Haibl was at the apartment.

Then, sometime on 5 December 1791, after Mozart's corpse had been carefully dressed in a black suit, and laid on a bier in a coffin near his fortepiano at 970 Rauhensteingasse in Vienna, his body vanished.

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Up to this point, going forward from Monday, 5 December 1791, just hours after Mozart has breathed his last, the story becomes one of mystery and puzzlement. But then, it turns, uncannily, into a ghastly tale of the macabre.

On leaving the apartment on Rauhensteingasse, the deceased composer's next stop should have been at the crucifix chapelle, at St. Stephen's Cathedral, for last rites. Nevertheless, the body turned up at a most astonishing place.

No scholars have noticed or questioned a strange story that appears in doctors Gunther Duda, Dieter Kerner and Johannes Dalchow's book, *Mozarts Tod 1791 – 1971*, who unearthed this story that defies the incredulous:

This strange report appeared in the *Donau Morgenblatt*, Nr. 15, on 18 January 1856:

New contribution to the dispute over Mozart's funeral. A reliable source (born in Vienna), inspired by the journal dispute, informs us of some new details of the matter in a letter from which we gather the following:

While continuing my studies in Vienna, I gathered a few friends together every week to form quartets... On this occasion... my mother repeatedly told us the following experience, which I pass on here with her own words:

“I was a young woman around 17 years old, and often visited a girlfriend in Schikaneder’s House [Freihaus Theater]. Once during a visit, she received me with the statement that she had something important to show me, and that I should follow her. She led me into the theater, where, in an adjoining room, a bier stood, she pulled the cloth back and—here lay Mozart out on the bier. A shudder ran down my spine in that moment, but it remains unforgettable.”<sup>53</sup>

*What in the world*, we surely ask, is Mozart’s cold corpse doing, in Schikaneder’s Freihaus Theater? And, why would it be there, instead of going to St. Stephen’s Cathedral, for last rites, and then transported to St. Marx? This story, however, seems entirely credible; why would the young woman, or anyone, make up such an indelible event? And keep quiet about it, until years later?

Duda, Kerner, and Dalchow uncover more lurid news:

An 1856 article in the newspaper *Die Donau* attempted to explain how Mozart’s corpse came to rest at the Freyhaus Theater. Written by J.E. Höbling, a city docent, the article repeated the 17-year-old’s story, then commented: “What, then, Mozart laid out in the Freyhaus? How could that be? Why don’t we ever find any information about that anywhere? What connection could that have with Mozart’s burial at the St. Marx cemetery?

This is easy to explain . . . the inconsolable and helpless widow could not keep Mozart’s body in the house because he had died of an inherited illness (hitzigen Friesel), while he was still unburied, needed to find a place for him and perhaps she herself had requested it.”<sup>54</sup>

That Constanze would have wanted her husband’s body to be left in a grimy theater room, for visitors and apartment-dwellers to stumble across accidentally, seems ludicrous.

And why would Schikaneder have subjected his employees and room-renters at the Freihaus, to a decaying corpse, whose gruesome, carrion-like odor clung for weeks to the former room where it had lain, and now, to rooms in his theater?

Mozart's son, Karl, aged seven at the time when his father died, never forgot the pervasively intense, repellent odor, that grew even stronger after Mozart died, signaling an inner decay. It was said that the stench was so unbearable, that an autopsy could not be performed – though it doesn't appear that anyone tried to perform one.

Furthermore, why would this young woman invent such a story? Perhaps, something of a secretive nature was being conducted at the Freihaus Theater; something the 17-year-old girl was not meant to see. Indeed, how many other people may have observed Mozart's body in the Freihaus that day, if the woman's story holds true?

Still, no one uttered a word. And the trail, then, turns cold.

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<sup>1</sup> Mackey, Albert G., *Masonic Jurisprudence: The Written and Unwritten Laws of Freemasonry*, Richmond, Virginia: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., Inc., Section VIII, The Right of Burial, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Abert, Hermann, "Konstanze Nissens Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1824–1837," *Mozarteums Mitteilungen*, February 1920, Heft 2, 52.

<sup>3</sup> The patrons who donated the money are listed in Medici and Hughes, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: The Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829*, Appendix III, "The Presentation to Mozart's Sister," 328-329.

<sup>4</sup> *A Mozart Pilgrimage: The Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829*, ed. Nerina Medici & Rosemary Hughes, London: Eulenburg Books, 1975, 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 80 and 114.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>12</sup> Thanks to Viennese scholar and archivist Dr. Michael Lorenz for this information. He cites Walther Brauneis, "Am Grabe Leopold Mozarts," *Auf eigenem Terrain, Festschrift G. Walterskirchen*, 401.

<sup>13</sup> *The Guardian*, Luke Harding in Berlin, Tuesday, 26 October 2004, "Scientists dig up family skeletons."

<<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/oct/27/austria.arts>> (24 November 2024).



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<sup>14</sup> “Skull of Mozart: the owners since January 1891,” in English-language papers by Puech Pierre François, Academia.edu, <[https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull\\_of\\_Mozart\\_the\\_owners\\_since\\_January\\_1891\\_in\\_English\\_language\\_papers?auto=download&email\\_work\\_card=download-paper](https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull_of_Mozart_the_owners_since_January_1891_in_English_language_papers?auto=download&email_work_card=download-paper)> (24 November 2040).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> KLS.com, Posted 19 January 2006, “DNA analysis fails to solve mystery of Mozart’s skull,” Copyright 2006 dpa Deutsche Presse-Agentur GmbH, <<https://www.ksl.com/article/148686/dna-analysis-fails-to-solve-mystery-of-mozarts-skull>> (24 November 2024).

<sup>17</sup> *The Guardian*, Luke Harding in Berlin, Sunday, 8 January 2006, “DNA detectives discover more skeletons in Mozart family closet.” <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jan/09/arts.music>> (24 November 2024).

<sup>18</sup> “Skull of Mozart: the owners since January 1891,” in English-language papers by Puech Pierre François, Academia.edu, <[https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull\\_of\\_Mozart\\_the\\_owners\\_since\\_January\\_1891\\_in\\_English\\_language\\_papers?auto=download&email\\_work\\_card=download-paper](https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull_of_Mozart_the_owners_since_January_1891_in_English_language_papers?auto=download&email_work_card=download-paper)> (24 November 2040).

<sup>19</sup> Duda et al, *Mozarts Tod 1791-1971*, Pähl: Verlag Hohe Warte, 1971, 121 and 180.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>21</sup> Davies, Peter J., *Mozart in Person: His Character, His Health*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1989, 171.

<sup>22</sup> “Skull of Mozart: the owners since January 1891,” in English-language papers by Puech Pierre François, Academia.edu, <[https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull\\_of\\_Mozart\\_the\\_owners\\_since\\_January\\_1891\\_in\\_English\\_language\\_papers?auto=download&email\\_work\\_card=download-paper](https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull_of_Mozart_the_owners_since_January_1891_in_English_language_papers?auto=download&email_work_card=download-paper)> (24 November 2040).

<sup>23</sup> Landon, H. C. Robbins, *Mozart’s Last Year 1791*, New York: Schirmer Books, 168.

<sup>24</sup> PocketWatch, “The Freemason Dress Code,” <<https://www.pocketwatch.co.uk/blog/the-freemason-dress-code#:~:text=The%20reason%20behind%20this%20dress,organisation%20in%20an%20understated%20manner>> (13 December 2024).

<sup>25</sup> Slonimsky, Nicolas, “The Weather at Mozart’s Funeral,” *The Music Quarterly*, Jan. 1960, Vol. 46, No. 1, published by Oxford Journals, 12.

<sup>26</sup> Davies, *Mozart in Person: His Character, His Health*, 168.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 170.

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- <sup>29</sup> Carr, *Mozart & Constanze*, New York: Avon Books, 1983, 138-139.
- <sup>30</sup> Deutsch: *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 565; see pages 563 -566 for the full *Memoir*.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 565.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 566.
- <sup>33</sup> Nissen, Georg, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, 574.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 572.
- <sup>35</sup> Solomon, Maynard, *Mozart: A Life*, New York: Harper Collins, 1995, 588, fn 43.
- <sup>36</sup> Braunbehrens, Volkmar, *Mozart in Vienna 1781-1791*, Translated by Timothy Bell, New York: HarperPerennial, 1990, 138.
- <sup>37</sup> Sadie, Stanley (Ed.), *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2, Oxford University Press, 1995, 372.
- <sup>38</sup> Contemporary documents of advertisements, personal letters, diaries, and the like sometimes refer to the composer as “Herr *Kapellmeister* Mozart.” Nevertheless, *Kammercompositeur* is more correct. Mozart’s official title was not “Director,” rather, “Chamber Composer.”
- <sup>39</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 424.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 427.
- <sup>41</sup> The Voice of God, “10 December 1791: Humanity hears the Requiem for the first time,” <<https://mozartschildren.wordpress.com/2012/12/10/10-december-1791-humanity-hears-the-requiem-for-the-first-time/>> (13 December 2024).
- <sup>42</sup> Robbins Landon, H. C., *Mozart’s Last Year 1791-1971*, 169.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* Nissen’s *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* mentions Bauernfiend [sic] in connection with Constanze Mozart: “So that she would not abandon herself to despair [at Mozart’s death], she was brought to Herr Bauernfeld, an associate of Schikaneder, and then to herr Goldhann,” 572.
- <sup>44</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 425.
- <sup>45</sup> Brauneis, Walther, “Exequies for Mozart: A New Documentary Finding Concerning the Requiem Mass Held for W. A. Mozart in St. Michael’s Church in Vienna on 10 December 1791,” Group 1, <<http://www.aproposmozart.com>> (15 April 2006).
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup> Mackey, Albert G., *Jurisprudence of Freemasonry: The Written and Unwritten Laws of Freemasonry*, “The Fifteen Points,” 23, Richmond, Virginia: Macoy Publishing Supply Co., Inc., 1980.
- <sup>49</sup> Duda et al, *Mozarts Tod: 1791–1971*, 148-149.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

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<sup>2</sup> Abert, Hermann, “Konstanze Nissens Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1824–1837,” *Mozarteums Mitteilungen*, February 1920, Heft 2, 52.

<sup>3</sup> The patrons who donated the money are listed in Medici and Hughes, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: The Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829*, Appendix III, “The Presentation to Mozart’s Sister,” 328-329.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 80 and 114.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>10</sup> *A Mozart Pilgrimage: The Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829*, ed. Nerina Medici & Rosemary Hughes, London: Eulenburg Books, 1975, 116.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 110.

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<sup>13</sup> *The Guardian*, Luke Harding in Berlin, Tuesday, 26 October 2004, “Scientists dig up family skeletons.”

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<sup>14</sup> “Skull of Mozart: the owners since January 1891,” in English-language papers by Puech Pierre François, Academia.edu,

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<sup>16</sup> KLS.com, Posted 19 January 2006, “DNA analysis fails to solve mystery of Mozart’s skull,” Copyright 2006 dpa Deutsche Presse-Agentur GmbH,

<<https://www.ksl.com/article/148686/dna-analysis-fails-to-solve-mystery-of-mozarts-skull>> (24 November 2024).

<sup>17</sup> *The Guardian*, Luke Harding in Berlin, Sunday, 8 January 2006, “DNA detectives discover more skeletons in Mozart family closet.”

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<sup>19</sup> Duda et al, *Mozarts Tod 1791-1971*, Pähl: Verlag Hohe Warte, 1971, 121 and 180.

<sup>20</sup> Duda, Kerner, Dalchow, *Mozarts Tod 1791 – 1971*, 180.

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- <sup>21</sup> Davies, *Mozart in Person: His Character, His Health*, 171.
- <sup>22</sup> “Skull of Mozart: the owners since January 1891,” in English-language papers by Puech Pierre François, Academia.edu, <[https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull\\_of\\_Mozart\\_the\\_owners\\_since\\_January\\_1891\\_in\\_English\\_language\\_papers?auto=download&email\\_work\\_card=download-paper](https://www.academia.edu/19176914/Skull_of_Mozart_the_owners_since_January_1891_in_English_language_papers?auto=download&email_work_card=download-paper)> (24 November 2040).
- <sup>23</sup> Landon, H. C. Robbins, *Mozart’s Last Year 1791*, New York: Schirmer Books, 168.
- <sup>24</sup> PocketWatch, “The Freemason Dress Code,” <<https://www.pocketwatch.co.uk/blog/the-freemason-dress-code#:~:text=The%20reason%20behind%20this%20dress,organisation%20in%20an%20understated%20manner>> (13 December 2024).
- <sup>25</sup> Slonimsky, Nicolas, “The Weather at Mozart,” *The Music Quarterly*, Jan. 1960, Vol. 46, No. 1, published by Oxford Journals, 12.
- <sup>26</sup> Davies, *Mozart in Person: His Character, His Health*, 168.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., 170.
- <sup>29</sup> Carr, *Mozart & Constanze*, 138-139.
- <sup>30</sup> Deutsch: *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 565; see pages 563 -566 for the full *Memoir*.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., 565.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., 566.
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- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., 572.
- <sup>35</sup> Solomon, Maynard, *Mozart: A Life*, New York: Harper Collins, 1995, 588, fn 43.
- <sup>36</sup> Braunbehrens, Volkmar, *Mozart in Vienna 1781-1791*, 138.
- <sup>37</sup> Sadie, Stanley (Ed.), *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2, Oxford University Press, 1995, 372.
- <sup>38</sup> Contemporary documents of advertisements, personal letters, diaries, and the like sometimes refer to the composer as “Herr *Kapellmeister* Mozart.” Nevertheless, *Kammercompositeur* is more correct. Mozart’s official title was not “Director,” rather, “Chamber Composer.”
- <sup>39</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 424.
- <sup>40</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 427.
- <sup>41</sup> The Voice of God, “10 December 1791: Humanity hears the Requiem for the first time,” <<https://mozartschildren.wordpress.com/2012/12/10/10-december-1791-humanity-hears-the-requiem-for-the-first-time/>> (13 December 2024).
- <sup>42</sup> Robbins Landon, H. C., *Mozart’s Last Year 1791-1971*, 169.

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<sup>43</sup> Robbins Landon, H. C., *Mozart's Last Year 1791-1971*, 169. Nissen's *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* mentions Bauernfiend [sic] in connection with Constanze Mozart: "So that she would not abandon herself to despair [at Mozart's death], she was brought to Herr Bauernfeld, an associate of Schikaneder, and then to herr Goldhann [Goldhahn]," 572.

<sup>44</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 425.

<sup>45</sup> Brauneis, Walther, "Exequies for Mozart: A New Documentary Finding Concerning the Requiem Mass Held for W. A. Mozart in St. Michael's Church in Vienna on 10 December 1791," Group 1, <<http://www.aproposmozart.com>> (15 April 2006).

<sup>46</sup> Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 432.

<sup>47</sup> Brauneis, Walther, "Exequies for Mozart: A New Documentary Finding Concerning the Requiem Mass Held for W. A. Mozart in St. Michael's Church in Vienna on 10 December 1791," Group 1, <<http://www.aproposmozart.com>> (15 April 2006).

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>50</sup> This is from their book, *Mozart: The Fall of the Gods, Part II*, "An Unusual Requiem," which is scheduled for publication in English in January 2025.

<sup>51</sup> Cooper Clarke, Bruce, "From little seeds," *The Musical Times*, Vol. 137, No. 1846, Dec. 1996, 13.

Online at JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stab/e/1004265> (15 December 2024).

<sup>52</sup> Mackey, Albert G., *Jurisprudence of Freemasonry: The Written and Unwritten Laws of Freemasonry*, "The Fifteen Points," 23, Richmond, Virginia: Macoy Publishing Supply Co., Inc., 1980.

<sup>53</sup> Dalchow, Duda, and Kerner, *Mozarts Tod: 1791-1971*, 148-149.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 149.