

A note of introduction: „Clavierland“ is what Mozart called Vienna, writing to his father in June of 1781, soon after surveying his new situation. And it was all that and more. As Peter Branscombe spells out in detail here (and Volkmar Braunbehrens discusses elsewhere in the website). Mozart was ready for Vienna, but no less importantly, Vienna was ready for Mozart.

Peter Branscombe

The Land of the Piano:
Music, Theatre and Performance
in Vienna around 1800

VIENNA AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY witnessed what is generally regarded as the most glorious period in the history of music; it was also a period of lively theatrical and artistic activity. For the historian, the period marks the change from a predominantly feudal society to one in which, although the imperial family and the aristocracy maintained positions of great power, the middle classes had achieved a considerable measure of autonomy, nowhere more marked than in cultural life. The population of the city grew slowly, as the figures from the official censuses make clear: in 1783 the inner city and its suburbs had a population of 207,797. By 1800 the number had risen to 231,049, but in 1812 - doubtless owing to the exigencies of the wars with France - the figure had slipped back to 224,548. Thereafter the population began to rise quite steeply: 260,224 people in 1820, 317,768 in 1830 and, by 1851, 431,147.¹

The cultural historian will be aware that, though civic pride led to the foundation of Vienna's principal musical institution, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, in 1812, and to the expansion of the Akademie der bildenden Künste in the same year, the number of Vienna's theatres did not increase with the growth in the population. Indeed it may be held to have decreased with the dissolution of the Theater auf der Landstraße in the mid-1790s, even if the replacement of the Theater auf der Wieden by the splendid and considerably larger Theater an der Wien in 1801, and the rebuilding of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt as the Carltheater in 1847, with a capacity of 2,000, as well as modifications to other theatres, did produce some increase in overall capacity. It was 1869 and 1888 respectively before the Kärntnertor-Theater and the old Burgtheater on the Michaelerplatz were replaced by the grandiose, and considerably larger, new buildings of the Hofoper (Staatsoper) and Burgtheater on the Ringstraße. By then, however - to look far beyond the chronological confines of the present study - the native vitality of the popular theatre tradition had ebbed away, to be replaced by the more international genre of operetta, and the impromptu nature of the city's musical life had given way to the more strictly regimented concert series of the Philharmoniker and the vogue for celebrity recitals.

At the turn of the century the spirit of the baroque lingered on. Martin Johann ('Kremser') Schmidt did not die until 1801, and in the opera house a work such as *The Magic Flute* proclaimed its allegiance to the old order in several ways: the central conflict between Good and Evil is a legacy of the baroque; the bold transformation scenes, the use of traps and a flying machine, as well as the numerous sets of considerable complexity and brilliance, hark back to the splendours of the Jesuit theatre and the court opera of a century earlier; and Mozart in his score employs historicising contrapuntal devices such as fugue, fugato and chorale prelude, as well as hymn, in addition to more modern forms from *opera seria* and *opera buffa*, folksong and, especially, of course, *Singspiel*. Vincenz Sachetti, who was responsible for the designs for the new productions of the opera in the Freihaus-Theater in 1798 and the new Theater an der Wien in 1802, may also have been the artist commissioned by Schikaneder in the latter year to paint the fresco on the ceiling of his little Schloss in Nussdorf, which depicts the Queen of Night in triumph on a cloud-chariot drawn by night birds, and accompanied by her Three Ladies, Monostatos, bats and two putti.²

The range of talents of many of Vienna's artists in the period under review is by modern standards remarkable. Not only were most composers also virtuosi on one or more instruments: some of them were gifted singers or actors as well. Further, there were no rigid barriers preventing performers from distinguishing themselves in both the classical and the popular repertory. Of the singers who took part in the premiere of *The Magic Flute*, for instance, Benedict Schack and Franz Xaver Gerl as well as Schikaneder himself were skilful composers of unassuming theatre music (Schack had also been a fine woodwind player and may have played Tamino's flute as well as singing the part); the first Pamina, Anna Gottlieb, had created the role of Cherubino in *The Marriage of Figaro* at the court opera as a twelve-year-old, and in 1792 was to begin a long second career as comic actress in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt; Joseph Nouseul had been an actor in the court theatre, and was to be one again, after his engagement at the Theater auf der Wieden. Vincenc Tuček, later a successful composer and music director in Vienna and Budapest, came to notice when he sang Tamino in the first Czech production of *The Magic Flute* at Prague in 1794. Ignaz Schuster, one of the finest of the comic actors in the Leopoldstadt Theatre in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, was a good composer and versatile singer, able in Bäuerle's parody of Rossini's *Tancredi* to do a brilliant and sustained take-off of the distinguished court opera soprano Borgondio, as well as sing bass in the court chapel choir.³ And a visitor to Vienna, J. W. Fischer, writes of hearing Mass in the Peterskirche on a Sunday morning in July 1802:

Besonders zog unter den Sängern auf dem Chore ein sehr braver Baß meine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich. Man sagte mir, daß es Herr [Leopold] Pfeiffer vom Leopoldstädter Theater sey. Ich habe nicht bald irgendwo einen braveren Kirchensänger gehört.⁴

[Among the singers in the choir-loft my attention was particularly drawn to a very good bass. I was told it was Herr [Leopold] Pfeiffer of the Leopoldstadt Theatre. I have hardly heard a better church singer anywhere.]

Joseph Drechsler, best remembered as the composer of three of Raimund's plays and as a prolific composer for the Leopoldstadt in the 1820s, started his career on the music staff of the court opera and concluded it as Kapellmeister at St Stephen's Cathedral (from 1844); during his middle years he was concurrently professor of organ, harmony and thoroughbass at the seminary of St Anna, choirmaster of its church, and founder of a music school; Johann Strauss the younger was later one of his pupils; from 1823 Drechsler was choirmaster at the Pfarrkirche am Hof, and Beethoven recommended him to the Archduke Rudolf in that year.

Movement between theatres and genres was not uncommon. J. H. F. Müller, a tower of strength to the emergent Burgtheater company, had begun his career as a disciple of Prehauser and Weiskern in the Hanswurst ensemble.⁵ Joseph Weidmann made his career as actor, director and playwright in the Burgtheater, yet he was widely regarded as being stylistically and temperamentally closer to the suburban theatre tradition; indeed, an entry in Wenzel Müller's diary records Weidmann's assumption of a genuine *Volkskomödie* role:

D. 12^{te} July 1804 wurde das neu=Sonntagskind im Theater an der Wien gegeben,
H: Weidmann k: k: Hof Schauspieler, spielte den Hausmeister darin.⁶

[The 12th July 1804 *Das Neusonntagskind* was given in the Theater an der Wien. Herr Weidmann, imperial and royal court actor, played the concierge in it.]

Friedrich Baumann ('Baumann der Jüngere') moved in the opposite direction. From the theatre at Brünn and then the Theater in der Leopoldstadt (where Mozart wrote for his benefit night on 7 March 1788 'Ein deutsches Kriegslied', K539) Baumann progressed to the court theatre and the Theater an der Wien, maintaining his reputation as a talented singer and actor in works like Schenk's *Der Dorfbarbier*, in which a contemporary called him 'die derbe, komische Natur selbst' ('coarse, comic nature personified'),⁷ and, as the last exponent in the Burgtheater 'im niedrig komischen Fache' ('in the low comic genre'), making much of roles like Klaus in *Die deutschen Kleinstädter* and Peter Gutschaf in *Die Organe des Gehirns*, both by Kotzebue (Castelli, I, p. 225).

For much of its history Vienna has hardly deserved its reputation as a city in the forefront of artistic development. However, during the 1780s, and perhaps intermittently in the following decades, this cherished belief is rather more than a myth. The theatre as well as music flourished. Apart from the two court theatres, which catered mainly for the aristocracy and the upper middle classes, there were four suburban theatre companies catering for the local communities, though there is abundant evidence that the audiences included aristocrats and burghers from the city. There was also a very large number of amateur or semi-amateur groups performing frequently, mainly in private houses or in small locales. Though one may question the accuracy of the figure, Joseph Sonnleithner states in his introduction to *Die dramatische Unterhaltung unter guten Freunden* that there were no fewer than

84 amateur theatre groups performing operatic as well as dramatic works for select audiences of friends.⁸

Lest the inclusion of amateur performances of opera should appear an unlikely exaggeration, it may be salutary to remind ourselves that on 13 March 1786 Mozart directed a private performance of *Idomeneo* in the Palais Auersperg, which he had revised for the occasion, rewriting the part of Idamante for tenor and adding the duet 'Spiegarti non poss' io' and the aria 'Non temer, amato bene'. Other operatic performances mounted by Prince Johann Adam Auersperg included Righini's *Armida* in July 1782 and, just over a month before the staging of *Idomeneo*, Gluck's *Alceste* under the composer's direction; there was also a performance of Salieri's *Axur* there in January 1788.⁹ Further indications of the range and adventurousness of Viennese amateur musical performances are to be found in the pages of the annual *Theater-Kalender* published at Gotha, for instance in the issues for 1793 and 1794 under 'Nachrichten von gesellschaftlichen Bühnen ... Wien'.¹⁰

Mrs St George, the widow of a British army colonel, mentions in the journal of her visit to Vienna in 1800 that she attended a concert performance of an opera at the house of a 'Dr. Franc' – presumably Dr Johann Peter Frank, father of the Dr Joseph Frank whose memoirs were included in Robert Prutz's and Wilhelm Wolfsohn's *Deutsches Museum*,¹¹ and who married the well-known singer Christine Gerardi in 1798.

June 30 [1800]. - Went to a concert at Dr Franc's. He is a physician, who is supposed to have great skill in his profession. His son's wife sings remarkably well, and with some other amateurs performed the opera of *The Horatii and Curiatii* - the words Metastasio's, the music Cimarosa's - the former very poetical and affecting, the latter brilliant, pathetic, and expressive. I find the *noblesse* can sometimes waive etiquette, and sacrifice their dignity to their amusement, for the auditors were chiefly of the first class.¹²

Concert Life in Vienna

THERE ARE MANY LACUNAE IN THE DOCUMENTATION for the early history of concert life in Vienna. Even after the foundation of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde there was no regularly organised series of concerts, and the Gesellschaft's orchestra was initially amateur (the traditional date of the foundation of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra is 1842). Earlier attempts to establish concert series had only limited success. Forty years before the establishment of the Gesellschaft the Tonkünstler-Societät was instigated by Gassmann for charitable purposes, specifically the support of retired musicians and their families. Its first concert (there were normally four each year, two in Advent, two in Lent, with a major choral work repeated in each pair of concerts) took place on 29 March 1772 with Gassmann's oratorio *La Betulia liberata* as the principal item. From the beginning of the new century Haydn's two late oratorios began to dominate the programmes, often producing very substantial sums for the charity. Another institution that favoured sacred choral music was the series of *Concerts spirituels* inaugurated by Franz Xaver Gebauer in the autumn of 1819; here the normal pattern was a mixture of orchestral music (usually including a symphony by Haydn, Mozart or Beethoven) and choral music – either a complete mass, or movements from choral works.

J. S. Bach did not figure in the programmes until 1839, but Handel was regularly performed, though usually with the revised orchestration initially of Mozart, and then of I. F. Mosel.

The cult of Handel in Vienna, and indeed the interest in earlier music, is largely attributable to the efforts of an amateur, Baron Gottfried van Swieten, son of Maria Theresia's court physician, and Prefect of the Imperial Library as well as President of the Court Commission on Education and Censorship. He presumably became acquainted with the music of Bach and Handel during his years as Austrian Ambassador in Berlin (1770-7); soon after his return to Vienna he began a regular series of concerts of old music, held on Sundays at noon in his rooms at the library. Among the most enthusiastic participants was Mozart.

Ich wollte sie gebeten haben, daß wenn sie mir das Rondeau zurück schicken, sie mir auch möchten die 6 fugen vom händel, und die Toccaten und fugen vom Eberlin schicken.— ich gehe alle Sonntage um 12 uhr zum Baron von Suiten — und da wird nichts gespielt als Händl und Bach.— ich mach mir eben eine Collection von den Bachischen fugen.— so wohl sebastian als Emanuel und friedeman Bach.— Dann auch von den händlischen.¹³

[I wanted to ask you, when you send me back the Rondeau, be so kind and send me also the 6 fugues by händel, and the Toccatas and fugues of Eberlin. — I go every Sunday at 12 o'clock to Baron van Swieten — and nothing is played there but Händl and Bach. — I'm busy making myself a Collection of Bach fugues. — sebastian as well as Emanuel and friedeman Bach. — Also of händl's too.]

Apart from directing these informal Sunday concerts, intended for a small circle of interested acquaintances, van Swieten played an important part in the promotion of choral music, most obviously in his encouragement of Haydn to compose *Die Schöpfung* (*The Creation*) and *Die Jahreszeiten* (*The Seasons*), the texts of which he prepared, and for the setting of which he provided numerous suggestions.¹⁴ It is surely no coincidence that in 1779, the year after Swieten took up his new post in Vienna, Handel's name appears for the first time in the annals of the Tonkünstler-Societät, *Judas Maccabaeus* in Starzer's arrangement being given in the Karntnertor-Theater on 21 and 23 March. In the mid-1780s Swieten was the moving force behind the formation of the Gesellschaft der Associierten, a group of music-loving noblemen who put on performances of oratorios, beginning with *Judas Maccabaeus* in 1786, and reaching their apogee with the first performances of *Die Schöpfung* in 1798 and *Die Jahreszeiten* in 1801. These concerts took place in Prince Schwarzenberg's palace on the Mehlmarkt, or in Count Johann Esterházy's palace; other performances took place in Jahn's Rooms in the Himmelpfortgasse or in the Burgtheater. Mozart's activities with the Associierten included directing the performance of C. P. E. Bach's *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Christi* in Lent 1788, and orchestration and direction of Handel's *Messiah* (1789), *Alexander's Feast* and the St Cecilia Ode (the revisions were completed in July 1790; it is not known when these works were first performed). Mozart also arranged *Acis and Galatea*, first heard at a concert arranged for his own benefit at Jahn's Rooms in November 1788 and then repeated at the Esterházy Palace on 30 December 1788. The Handel cult in Vienna, which began well after the composer's death and witnessed performances of *Alexander's Feast* in Lent 1771 and 1772,¹⁵ as well as an earlier

performance of the St Cecilia Ode,¹⁶ is a striking example of the incipient sclerosis of the musical arteries that later tended to make Vienna not the world's musical capital so much as a museum for the accepted masterpieces of previous generations.

The number and kind, as well as the location, of concerts in Vienna in this period is bewildering. Mary Sue Morrow has produced valuable calendars of the public and private concerts given between 1761 and 1810 that suggest a remarkable variation in the frequency of such events.¹⁷ We must not assume that even her researches have traced every concert, particularly in the private sphere (where problems of definition arise). In the thirty-one years between 1780 and 1810 — roughly the period from Mozart's arrival in Vienna until the death of Haydn — there were 347 private concerts (on average eleven each year, though one was recorded for 1780, and as many as twenty-seven in 1784 and twenty-six in 1809) and 733 public concerts (on average twenty-four each year, with a low figure of two in 1790, and highs of forty-seven in 1785 and forty-one in 1808). Documentation is comparatively full for the 1780s, thanks largely to the intensity of research into Mozart's activities; the decline in musical life during the Turkish War is clear from the figures both for public and private concerts: after three successive years, 1786-8, each with thirteen private events, the number per year falls to four and three in 1789 and 1790, before picking up somewhat with nine, six and sixteen in the years 1791-3. During this period the figures for public concerts are fourteen, twenty-six and twenty-three in 1786-8, ten in 1789, and two in 1790, followed by twenty-five, ten and twenty-six for the years 1791-3. The deaths of two monarchs in three years help to account for the low figures in 1790 and 1792.

A feature of Viennese musical life during this period is the patronage, and in some cases more active participation, of members of the greatest families in the land, from the Habsburgs down. One repeatedly meets the names of the princely families Esterházy, Golitsin (Galitzin), Grassalkovics, Lobkowitz, Lichnowsky, Paar, Palm, Sachsen-Hildburghausen, Schwarzenberg and Trauttmansdorff, and among the counts' families those of Apponyi, Batthyany, Franz and Johann Esterházy, Fries, Hatzfeld, Kinsky, Razumovsky, Thun-Hohenstein and Zichy. Some of these noblemen kept their own orchestras, or at least wind bands (*Harmonien*); they participated in Vienna's musical life by performing, arranging and promoting concerts, and donating sums for musical purposes such as the performance and publishing of works, as well as, in Beethoven's case, by guaranteeing him an annual income. If Eduard Hanslick is somewhat too tidy in his judgment that this golden age of aristocratic patronage came to an end in 1809,¹⁸ the year of the second French occupation, the foundations for a new musical culture were by then beginning to be established, thanks to the growing influence of middle-class or recently ennobled families such as the Arnsteins, Greiners, Hochenadels and Sonnleithners.

Early fruits of the increasing influence of the bourgeoisie include the foundation of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1812, its object being 'the advancement of music in all its branches', and the establishment of a conservatory in 1817.¹⁹ Other aims of the Gesellschaft, not all of them swiftly achieved, included the performance of grand choral works (starting with Handel's *Timotheus*, as

Alexander's Feast was then known, in the Winter Riding School in 1812 and 1813) and of more modest orchestral and chamber concerts for members, held in the Redoutensäle of the Hofburg; the encouragement both of individual talent and even more of corporate ensemble playing; and the establishment of a music library (the later Archiv der Musikfreunde). With the publication of the first number of the *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1813, re-established by Mosel in 1817, Austria acquired its first regular music periodical.

Despite the wealth of musical life in this period, Vienna was slow to acquire custom-built concert halls. Even after the foundation of the Musikfreunde it was some years before they acquired, rebuilt and opened their hall in the house 'Zum roten Igel' in the Tuchlauben which was in use from 1831 until the Neues Musikvereinsgebäude was completed in January 1870. The principal venues for concerts in the age of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were the five permanent theatres, the casino in the Mehlgrube between the Kärntnerstraße and the Neuer Markt, the Redoutensäle of the Hofburg, Ignaz Jahn's Rooms in the Himmelpfortgasse, the Trattnerhof on the Graben, the refreshment pavilion in the Augarten, and various other open-air locations in the summer months. In 1807 and 1808 the Festsaal of the University was the venue for a notable series of concerts, the last of which, the famous performance of *Die Schöpfung* under Salieri's direction in honour of Haydn's 76th birthday, saw the old composer's last public appearance.

Where private concerts are concerned, a bewildering array of locations was used; in many cases one can only guess at the precise location, but numerous musical events were held in the palaces of the Princes Paar and Golitsin, and the town palaces of the Princes Schwarzenberg and Lobkowitz, and of the Counts Esterházy and Fries, to give some prominent examples. Some of these palaces were large enough to accommodate considerable numbers of performers and listeners. The Palais Lobkowitz just off the Augustinerstraße has a special place in the affections of Beethoven's admirers as the site of the first performances of many of his works: the 'Eroica' and Fourth symphonies, the *Coriolan* Overture, the Fourth Piano Concerto and the op. 96 Violin Sonata. After the Congress of Vienna, when the sway of the old aristocratic families was on the decline, an increasing number of minor aristocratic and middle-class apartments gained in importance as venues for private concerts and recitals, among them several that are singled out by Leopold Sonnleithner for particular mention, such as those of Hochenadel, Kiesewetter (who made a speciality of editing and performing old music), Neuling, Zizius and Zmeskall.²⁰

Amateur music-making of a less formal kind characterised the activities of the Schubert circle. The famous Schubertiads of the composer's last years took the place of the earlier music-making he took part in, initially with his father and brothers, and then with the orchestra of Otto Hatwig, a former orchestral musician who was the leading spirit behind a mainly amateur orchestra. The Schubertiads were comparatively small gatherings of literary, artistic and of course musical people, mainly young, male, and unbuttoned in their gaiety. The earliest of which a record survives took place at the apartment of Franz von Schober on 26 January 1821, attended by fifteen or sixteen persons. What Franz von Hartmann refers to as

a 'große große Schubertiade' took place at Joseph von Spaun's on 15 December 1826; he names twenty-four who were present, including several ladies, though the total number attending was clearly higher.²¹ Grillparzer, the painter Leopold Kupelwieser, Schober, Mayrhofer and Bauernfeld were there, and this is probably the occasion immortalised some forty years later in an imaginative reconstruction by Moritz von Schwind, 'Schubert Abend bei Joseph von Spaun', with Johann Michael Vogl singing to Schubert's accompaniment. From other accounts we know that, when women were present, Schubert often provided dance music at the piano, sometimes extemporising waltzes and Ländler that he wrote down later.²²

Other Forms of Popular Music

A FIELD OF MUSICAL ACTIVITY THAT GAINED IN APPEAL during this period is dance-music. It is often forgotten that Haydn and Beethoven, as well as Mozart, wrote quantities of music for the carnival balls in the Redoutensäle; Schubert's output of Deutsche, Ländler, Ecossaises, waltzes and minuets is extremely extensive. The most popular tunes from operatic and orchestral music were swiftly arranged for dancing; the initially small ensembles of Michael Pamer, Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss senior required far more music than they themselves could supply. We read in the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna 1796, p. 100) that persons requiring the services of instrumentalists for private dances could engage players who on Saturday mornings congregated on the Hoher Markt and on other days on the Brandstatt (Brandstätte) opposite St Stephen's; public dances were held in numerous locales, at first in the Mehlgrube and Jahn's Saal, and from 1807 in two spacious new halls, the Apollosaal in the Zieglergasse (jocularly referred to by Apollo in Meisl's mythological caricature *Orpheus und Euridice*, II, i), and 'Zum Sperl' in the Leopoldstadt.

Eye-witness reports suggest that good music could be heard almost anywhere. An anonymous writer in the *Wiener Theater Almanach für das Jahr 1794* expressed his surprise at the choice of music sung by prisoners at the Militär-Stockhaus near the Neues Tor:

Ich gieng einst an diesem Fenster vorüber, und hörte die Unglücklichen zu meinem größten Erstaunen das bekannte Duett aus der *Cosa rara: pace caro mio sposo* im Chor anstimmen. Als sie es geendigt hatten, sangen sie das sanfte Liedchen des verstorbenen Herrn von Iacquin: *ich sass im Dunklen Buchenhayn*. Fürwahr eine glückliche Phantasie, die ihnen ihren finstern Kerker in einen dunklen Buchenhain umwandeln konnte!²³

[I was once going past this window and to my greatest surprise heard the unfortunate wretches strike up the well-known duet from *Cosa rara*, 'Pace, caro mio sposo'. When they had finished it they sang the gentle little song of the late Herr von Jacquin, 'Ich saß im dunklen Buchenhayn'. In truth a fortunate fantasy that could turn their gloomy dungeon into a shady beech-grove!]

And Joseph Richter, in his famous anonymously published *Briefe eines Eipeldauers an seinen Herrn Vetter in Kakran, über d'Wienstadt*,²⁴ indicates the ease with which one could become familiar with the latest musical hits:

Auf der Wiedn habn s' jetzt wieder ein neue Opera, die heißt: der Spiegel von Arkadi, und wenn d' Wienerinnen nur von ein Spiegel hören, so sind s' gleich dabey; d' Opera soll deswegn auch ein rechten Beyfall finden. Aber da brauch ich kein Geld aus z' gebn: denn man hört d' Liedl davon schon jetzt auf allen Strassen, und in ein paar Tagen führn d' Bierhäuslmusikanten den Herrn Vettern schon d' ganze Opera um 1 kr. auf.²⁵

[At the Wieden Theatre they've got a new opera again, called *The Mirror of Arcady*, and when Viennese women so much as hear of a mirror, they're there in a flash; the opera is said to find much applause for that reason. But I don't need to spend any money, for one can hear its songs already in every street now, and in a few days the tavern musicians will perform the entire opera for my cousin for 1 kreuzer.]

The same satirical source points engagingly to the social importance for a girl of having some musical accomplishment:

Oder wenn ein Fräule im Hause ist, so muß s' ein Weil eins aufn Klavier schlagen, und dazu singen, daß den Herrn und Fraun der Schlaf vergeht. Da muß sich der Herr Vetter um 's Klavier herumstellen, und bravo schreyen, wenn d' Fräule gleich oft heult, wie ein kleiner Hund. Das ist wahr, solche Talenti zur Musik trifft man in der ganzen Welt nicht an, wie z' Wien. Es giebt kein Fräule, und nicht einmahl mehr ein Burgerstochter, die nicht 's Klavier schlägt und dazu singen kann. D' Wienstadt allein könnt ganz Europi mit Firtosinnen versehn.²⁶

[Or if there's a young lady in the house she must bang away at the piano for a while and sing to her own accompaniment and keep the men and women awake. The cousin has to stand by the piano and shout bravo even if the young lady often howls like a little dog. That's true, such musical talents are not to be found in the whole world as they are in Vienna. There isn't one young lady, not even a burgher's daughter, who can't play the piano and sing. The city of Vienna alone could provide the whole of Europe with female virtuosi.]

Jupiter makes a similar point in Meisl's mythological caricature *Die Entführung der Prinzessin Europa* some twenty years later: 'Die Gitarre- und Klaviermeister bringen zum Segen / Manchem Ehmman und Papa Kopfweh zuwegen.' ('The guitar- and piano-teachers bless many a husband and father with headaches.')

The demand for music-lessons was considerable, and was frequently met, at high cost to their creative activities, by composers from Mozart down. Residents and visitors alike would have had no trouble in securing the services of teachers. Handbooks and guides, as well as newspapers, advertised what was available. *Nützliches Adreß- und Reisebuch oder Archiv der nöthigsten Kenntnisse von Wien für reisende Fremde und Inländer* ('Useful Address- and Travel-Book or Archive of the most necessary Information about Vienna for Travelling Foreigners and Residents') is one such.²⁸ Successive numbers and editions of Johann Pezzl's *Skizze* (later *Neue Skizze*) von Wien (1786-1812) confirmed the demand for information that was as entertaining as it was useful. J.F. Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*²⁹ contained details that a modern reader can hardly help finding amusing: 'Bartenstein, Freiherr v., Reichshofrath, spielt die Violine gut ... Claus, ein junger Mediciner, spielt die Flöte ganz artig und hat einen schönen, klaren Ton.' ('Bartenstein, Baron von, Imperial Councillor, plays the violin well ...

Claus, a young medic, plays the flute very charmingly and has a lovely clear tone').³⁰ The Gerold publication of 1792 (note 28) came out in a revised and extended edition in 1797, under a new title, *Sicheres Adreß- und Kundschaftsbuch für Einheimische und Fremde, welche vorläufige Kenntniß von der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien haben wollen* ('Accurate Address- and Information-Book for Natives and Visitors wishing to have Current Information about the Capital City and Residence of Vienna'); this volume contains the names and addresses of the personnel of the theatres, with an extensive section listing the 'dancing-masters, ... musicians, composers and masters of the keyboard', plus, listed as 'Bürgerl[iche] Künstler [civic, or middle-class, artists] in Wien', details of some seventy instrumentalists, including such eminent musicians as 'Hr. Joseph Weigel' among the cellists, the brothers Stadler among the clarinetists, and the Weidingers among trumpeters (pp. 422-6). Other sections cover language-teachers, French polishers and teachers of drawing.

Instrument-makers and Music Publishers

THOUGH INSTRUMENTS OF ALL KINDS WERE PRODUCED IN VIENNA, the city is most famous for its keyboard-makers. The fame of Johann Andreas Stein (who removed from Augsburg to Vienna in 1794 after the marriage of his talented daughter Nannette to Johann Andreas Streicher, thus giving birth to the yet more famous firm of 'Nannette Streicher née Stein') is due among music historians largely to Mozart's praise for his instruments. However, Mozart's later preference was for the fortepianos of Anton Walter. Other distinguished Viennese makers in this period were Schanz, Seidel, Hofmann, Könnicke, Brodmann, Conrad Graf and Wachtl (Bösendorfer began production in 1828). It is impossible to hazard a guess at the total production of pianos, but it is clear that, even among the not especially musical families, a piano was part of the essential furniture of a smart apartment. Even though most of these makers began mass production considerably later, there was reason beyond the need to silence the doubts of his father for Mozart to write home shortly after his final removal to Vienna: '—und mein fach ist zu beliebt hier, als daß ich mich nicht Souteniren sollte. hier ist doch gewis das Clavierland!' ('—and my speciality is too well loved here for me not to be able to Maintain myself. This is very definitely the land of the piano!').³¹

The enormous demand for printed music in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth can be inferred from the rapid progress from the handwritten copies that were regularly advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung* in the 1780s as being available from agencies such as those of Laurenz Lausch and Johann Traeg, to the mass of printed material brought out by publishers like Artaria, Cappi, Diabelli, Haslinger, Hoffmeister, Mechetti, Mollo, and the Musikalisches Magazin in the Unterbreunerstraße. The supreme achievement of the late Alexander Weinmann is the series of catalogues of Vienna's musical publishing houses, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages*, which including revisions runs to some twenty-eight volumes. These catalogues bear witness to the extraordinary productivity of composers during the six or seven decades from Mozart's day on to the middle of the century, reflected in the almost insatiable demand for compositions written for, or arranged for, the pianoforte, with

or without voice, and with or without one or more wind or string instruments – editions exist for almost every imaginable combination.

Artaria was one of the most important suppliers from the mid-1770s on, initially with imported printed editions, then with its own imprint. Haydn enters the catalogue in 1780, Mozart in 1781, and Beethoven in 1793. But for the less demanding customers, series like *Raccolta d'arie* (1787-1804) proved very popular, consisting of piano reductions of favourite numbers from current stage works.

Diabelli soon gained ground, with successful series of music for guitar and for piano solo and duet. Vocal music was again much in demand: for decades the *Neueste Sammlung komischer Theatergesänge* put the best-loved numbers from operatic and *Volkstheater* works before the public, in neatly arranged and cleanly printed reductions. Details of the consecutive numbering, as of price, were added by hand on the blanket title-page, and the same practice obtained with similar publications from other houses: Diabelli's own *Favoritgesänge*, Steiner's *Sammlung komischer Theater-Gesänge*, and Haslinger's *Theatralisches Panorama. Sammlung der beliebtesten Theater-Gesänge*, to name well-known examples.

We can be certain that by no means everyone who later claimed to have been a pupil of Mozart was actually taught composition or keyboard by him. But the desire for instruction went beyond individual tuition, as is clear from the large number of books of instruction published. An announcement in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 13 April 1796 informed readers that 'a hitherto unknown manuscript Tutor by Mozart for the Learning of Thoroughbass' ('Ein noch unbekanntes geschriebenes Fundament zur Erlernung des General-Basses von Mozart') was available from Joseph Haydenreich's shop in the Schmelzgasse for 4 fl. 30 kr. (*Dokumente*, p.418 /p.480). This is presumably the same *Kurzgefaßte Generalbaßschule* that was advertised by S. A. Steiner & Co. on 22 August 1817 in the Vienna *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Köchel, 6, p.911). A further edition appeared in Berlin in 1822, and English and Italian translations were also produced. The fact that grave doubts about the authenticity of this tutor are held is in this context less significant than the fact that there was considerable demand for such books of instruction. To take further examples almost at random, Albrechtsberger's treatises, published between 1790 and 1804, were considered important enough for his pupil Ignaz von Seyfried to publish *J. G. Albrechtsberger's sämtliche Schriften über Generalbaß, Harmonie-Lehre, und Tonsetzkunst* nearly twenty years after his death.³² Seyfried was also responsible for the publication of Preindl's *Wiener Tonschule* (1827) and *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre* (1832). Joseph Drechsler found time among his other activities to write several tutors, including a *Theoretisch-practischer Leitfaden, ohne Kenntniß des Contrapunctes phantasiren oder präludieren zu können* (Vienna, 1835). A predecessor in the sphere of music for the popular comedy, Ferdinand Kauer, published with Artaria tutors for flute, piano, violin and cello, as well as a study of thoroughbass and a singing manual in the late 1780s and early 1790s, and around 1802 Joseph Eder brought out his *Neu verfasste Klavier Schule ... samt einer Anweisung das Forte Piano gut zu stimmen*, doubtless aiming to increase sales by offering practical advice on tuning the pianofortes that were being manufactured in large numbers. Not surprisingly, the most famous teacher of music in Vienna in the

first half of the nineteenth century, Simon Sechter, is the author of a series of treatises and practical guides, published between 1819 and 1854.

Amateur Music-making and Theatricals

AN INVALUABLE SOURCE FOR INFORMATION about the less-publicised aspects of musical life in Vienna from the second decade of the nineteenth century until the 1850s is the memoirs of Leopold von Sonnleithner. These 'Musikalische Skizzen aus Alt-Wien'

were published by Georg, Prince Czartoryski in the Viennese periodical *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* between 1861 and 1863, and were republished in 1961 by Otto Erich Deutsch in three numbers of the *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*.³³ They provide details about the patrons who arranged concerts in their homes, and about the repertory and the performers, amateur and professional, who took part. They amplify information derived from playbills, programmes and newspapers about the musical life of the city; the thorough coverage makes the more regrettable the lack of similar documentation for the period dominated by Mozart and then by the young Beethoven.

A striking feature of Sonnleithner's sketches is the prominent part played by women in Vienna's amateur musical life. Apart from those who, still often at risk to their social reputation, went on the stage as professional singers or actresses, there were some women talented and intrepid enough to make the grade as instrumentalists – in Mozart's day there were Regina Strinasacchi and Barbara Ployer, as well as the blind virtuosi Maria Theresia Paradis and Marianne Kirchgessner. What is clear from Sonnleithner's records is the very considerable number of highly gifted female musicians, especially pianists, who made a major contribution to the private musical scene. Many of the leading professionals of the day took part in some of the matinées and soirées – familiar names occur like Antonie Campi, Siboni, Saal, Nestroy (in the 1820s) and even Lablache among singers, and Schuppanzigh and his quartet colleagues and Hellmesberger among string players; a whole galaxy of pianists and composers appeared, including Beethoven and Schubert, Moscheles, Mayseder and Czerny.

Some private patrons were ambitious enough to put on performances of *Die Schöpfung* with forces ranging from almost complete orchestral resources to string quintet or one or two pianos, with or without string bass. Beethoven directed an account of *Christus am Ölberge* at the inn 'Zum römischen Kaiser' on 1 March 1814 for the society named 'Reunion'. Naturally, chamber music was the principal diet for the amateur circles, though several included operatic ensembles, even sizable finales, among their programmes. Others included declamations, and at the home of General Georg Schall von Falkenhorst dramatic entertainments were mounted, running even to Grillparzer's *Die Ahnfrau* – Josef, the son of the house, went on to become a professional actor and senior producer at the Theater in der Josefstadt, his name telescoped to Josef Forst.

Not surprisingly, less is known about amateur dramatics and readings in the Vienna of this period than is the case with musical performances, doubtless mainly because of posterity's greater interest in music, and the fact that, more modest

resources and skills being required, fewer references to non-musical soirées are to be found. As we have seen, there were many houses in which music was regularly performed for the benefit of family and friends. Where plays are concerned, the most popular authors, among amateurs as well as in the court and suburban theatres, were the prolific, talented but essentially shallow trio of Schröder, Iffland and, especially, Kotzebue. Their work, as evidence from the repertory lists of the principal theatres, surviving records from the smaller ephemeral stages and references in memoirs and letters show, was immensely popular at every level.³⁴

Lovers of Jane Austen will recall that the company at Mansfield Park, having endlessly debated their choice of play for home theatricals, happily agreed on *Lovers' Vows* (*Das Kind der Liebe*) as the ideal solution to their quandary.³⁵ Though Kotzebue's best (and certainly his best known) play, the comedy *Die deutschen Kleinstädter*, dates from after his time as court theatre secretary in Vienna (1797-8),³⁶ its influence in the Austrian capital as the first of the Krähwinkel plays can hardly be overstated. With breathtaking solipsistic enthusiasm Kotzebue has his 'Herr Bau-, Berg- und Weginspektorssubstitut' ('deputy inspector of buildings, mountains and roads') speak admiringly of his own assumption of the role of the young simpleton, Peter, in *Menschenhaß und Reue*, and in the last scene refer with unconscious irony to a notorious quarrel between Kotzebue and Iffland, promising the heroine as an epithalamium 'eine Ehrenpforte' ('a triumphal arch').³⁷

Grillparzer gives a lively account of his own youthful home dramatics ('nur Ritterstücke' – 'only plays about knights') in his *Selbstbiographie*:

Mein Vater nahm scheinbar oder wirklich von unsern Kunstbestrebungen keine Notiz, ja ich erinnere mich nicht, daß er unsern Darstellungen auch nur ein einziges Mal einen Blick gegönnt hätte. Die Mutter wurde dadurch gewonnen, daß unser Klavierlehrer Gallus, der die Sache, wie jede Kinderei, mit Eifer auffaßte, sich bereit erklärte, unsere Produktionen mit Ouvertüre und Zwischenakten in freier Phantasie auszuschnücken. Diese seine Improvisationen, zu denen er, wenn die Handlung bedeutender wurde, sogar melodramatische Begleitungen fügte, verschaffte[n] unsern Absurditäten sogar eine gewisse Zelebrität.³⁸

[My father apparently or really took no notice of our artistic endeavours, indeed I do not remember that he even once honoured our performances with a single glance. But my mother was won over by them to the extent that our piano-teacher Gallus, who responded to the matter, as to every other piece of childishness, with enthusiasm, declared himself ready to embellish our productions with freely extemporised overture and entr'actes. These improvisations, to which, when the dramatic action became more significant, he even added melodramatic accompaniments, even gained for our absurdities a certain celebrity.)

In a culture like that of Vienna, in which music played a dominant part, instrumental accompaniment to the spoken word was understandably a popular device. This is nowhere more apparent than in the vogue for melodrama in the opera house (the best-known instance is the dungeon-scene in *Fidelio*) and the spoken theatre (Beethoven's *Egmont* music contains a magnificent melodramatic setting of the hero's monologue just before he is led out to execution). There are innumerable examples – Schubert wrote melodramas in four of his stage works,

starting with two in his gruesome-Gothick setting of Kotzebue's *Des Teufels Lustschloß* (1813-14).³⁹ He also tried his hand with conspicuous but often underrated success at a piano-accompanied example for a domestic occasion, the birthday of the lawyer Karl Josef von Pratobevera on 17 February 1826. The text begins with the words 'Leb wohl, du schöne Erde', the opening of the last five stanzas of a one-act play, *Der Falke*, by Adolf von Pratobevera, the son of the birthday celebrant. Schubert's setting, D 829, is traditionally known as 'Abschied von der Erde' (as in the Old Complete Edition and first edition of Deutsch's *Thematic*

Catalogue); the autograph is untitled but an early manuscript copy has the heading 'Abschied. Melodramatisch'.⁴⁰ As the author's sister, Franziska ('Fanni'), was a talented singer it is surprising that Schubert did not set the words as a *Lied*; perhaps she was to be absent from the celebration, and the composer was accordingly asked to set the words as an accompanied speech for the actor taking the role of Hugo, the old knight, whereas in the play the words were originally given to Mechtild, Hugo's daughter-in-law, with an indication that they were to be sung.⁴¹

A more unusual form of domestic music-making is described by a British visitor to Vienna; what makes this particularly interesting, apart from its unfamiliarity, is the identity of the musician concerned:

I entered into conversation with the princess, and the intended performances very naturally became the subject of our remarks. She said that although the living pictures were a novel exhibition in Vienna, they were not new to her, for some years previously, she gave a fête at Eisenstadt, one of her country seats, where they were executed for the first time. Her chapel master, Haydn, the celebrated composer, heightened the interest of the exhibition on that occasion, by performing on the organ some extemporaneous music of a strikingly appropriate character.⁴²

Internal evidence enables us to identify the princess as Marie Hermenegild, wife of Nikolaus II Esterházy, for whose name-day Haydn composed his late Mass settings. The occasion described in the above passage was a grand assembly at court at which an entertainment of *tableaux vivants* was to be presented.

The range of artistic activity in the Vienna of this period was indeed amazingly broad. If one artist comes closest to conveying the essence of the place and the age – in his love-hate relationship towards it, as idol of society and then as victim of its fickle taste, in his activities as composer, performer, promoter, director, keen amateur dancer, small-time dramatist and doggerel poet, drawer, vivid letter-writer – that artist is, despite his comparatively brief residence in Vienna and his early death, Wolfgang Amadè Mozart. He must have the last word. He told his sister in a letter on 4 July 1781, 'Meine einzige Unterhaltung besteht im Theater' ('My sole entertainment is the theatre').⁴³ And where his own sphere was concerned, he managed to maintain for ten years the opinion of Vienna that he expressed to his father in the first flush of his enthusiasm at being there, and a free man; he wrote on 4 April 1781: 'P:S: ich versichere sie, daß hier ein Herrlicher ort ist – und für *mein Metier* der beste ort von der

Welt.' ('P.S. I assure you that this is a Splendid place – and for *my metier* the best place in the world.')

Peter Branscombe

Notes

1. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien für das Jahr 1883*, p. 20; information kindly supplied by the Archivdirektor of the Magistrat der Stadt Wien.
2. The painting is reproduced in black and white as plate 557 in O. E. Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern* (Kassel, etc., 1961), and in colour on the cover of Wolfgang Sawallisch's recording of *Die Zauberflöte*, EMI CDS 7 47827 8.
3. E. von Bauernfeld, *Erinnerungen aus Alt-Wien* (Vienna, 1923), p. 424.
4. *Reisen durch Oesterreich, Ungarn ... in den Jahren 1801 und 1802* (Vienna, 1803), pp. 100-1.
5. J. H. F. Müller, *Abschied von der k.k. Hof- und National-Schaubühne* (Vienna, 1802), p.46.
6. „Kaiser-königl privilegirtes Theater in der Leopoldstadt in Wien ...“ MS Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, shelf-mark 51926 Ib.
7. I. F. Castelli, *Memoiren meines Lebens*, ed. J. Bindtner (2 vols, Munich, [1913]) I, p.224.
8. *Philipp Hafters gesammelte Schriften*, 3 vols (Vienna, 1812), III, p. 4.
9. O. E. Deutsch, *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel, etc., 1961), p. 234; English edn, p. 267 (cited in the text as *Dokumente*).
10. *Theater-Kalender* (Gotha, 1793), pp. 71-9 and (1794), pp. 94-100.
11. *Deutsches Museum* (Leipzig, January 1852), II/i, pp. 27-8, 'Aus den ungedruckten Denkwürdigkeiten der Aerzte Peter and Joseph Frank', here cited after Deutsch, *Dokumente*, p. 476, English edn, p. 561.
12. *Journal Kept During a Visit to Germany in 1799, 1800*, edited and privately published by the Dean of Westminster (preface dated 10 June 1861), from the journal of his mother, Mrs St George, p. 55.
13. *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. W. A. Bauer, O. E. Deutsch and J. H. Eibl (7 vols, Kassel, etc., 1962-75), III, p. 201; see also Mozart's letter to his sister of 20 April 1782, III, p. 202.
14. See Edward Olleson, 'The Origin and Libretto of Haydn's *Creation*', *Haydn Yearbook* 4 (1968), pp. 148-68; *The 'Creation' and the 'Seasons'. The Complete Authentic Sources for the Word-Books*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (University College Cardiff Press, 1985).
15. Deutsch, *Dokumente. Addenda und Corrigenda* (Kassel, etc., 1978), p. 63, English edn, p.370.
16. Information given to Charles Burney by Gluck in 1772; see *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (Oxford, 1959), p. 83.
17. Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*, *Sociology of Music* No. 7 (Stuyvesant, NY, 1989). See here especially pp. 237-364, 365-411.
18. *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna, 1869 repr.1971), p. 52.

19. C. F. Pohl, *Die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ... und ihr Conservatorium* (Vienna, 1871).
20. For bibliographical details see note 33.
21. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel, etc., 1964), p. 115 and pp. 388-9; English edn, p. 162 and pp. 571-2.
22. See for example Leopold von Sonnleithner's reminiscences of Schubert in O. E. Deutsch, *Schubert. Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde* (Leipzig, 1957), p. 141; English edn, p. 121.
23. Pp. 175-6; the references are to Martin y Soler's successful opera of 1786 *Una cosa rara*, and to Mozart's talented friend Gottfried von Jacquin, whose song referred to is no. 2 in a set of six that included two 'borrowed' from Mozart; see Köchel 6, p. 602 (K 530).
24. The series continued for many years under various titles. Quotations are from the selection in two volumes edited by Eugen von Paunel, *Josef Richter. Die Eipeldauer Briefe 1785-1797*, and ditto, *1799-1813* (Munich, 1917-18).
25. I, p. 248 = 15tes Heft (1794), Vierter Brief; the reference here is to the Schikaneder/Süssmayr opera *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, first performed on 14 November 1794.
26. I, p. 66 = Viertes Heft (1794), Vierter Brief.
27. Karl Meisl, *Die Entführung der Prinzessin Europa, oder So geht es im Olymp zu!* (I, 2; 1816); cited from Karl Meisl, *Ausgewählte Werke*, 11 = Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, vol. 4, ed. Otto Rommel (Vienna, etc., n.d.), pp. 10-11.
28. (Vienna: Gerold, 1792).
29. (Vienna, 1796).
30. Cited from Hanslick, *Concertwesen*, p. 68.
31. *Briefe* (see note 13), III (1963), pp. 124-5, letter of 2 June 1781. [For a slightly different but related slant on Mozart in the "Land of the Piano", see the pre-concert talk by Volkmar Braunbehrens, "Hier ist doch gewis das Clavierland!" in translation elsewhere in the website.]
32. (Vienna, 1826); a second edition followed in 1837, reprinted in 1975; and there were early editions in French and English.
33. *ÖMZ* 16/ii (February 1961), pp. 49-62; 16/iii (March 1961), pp. 97-110; 16/iv (April 1961), pp. 145-57.
34. G. Gugitz and E. K. Blümml, *Alt-Wiener Thespiskarren* (Vienna, 1925).
35. Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*, vol. I, chapter 14 et seq.
36. After his resignation in December 1798 he was granted a pension of 1,000 gulden a year (as 'Dichter des Hoftheaters') against submission of all his new plays, 45 of which were staged in twelve years. See E. Wlassack, *Chronik des k. k. Hof- Burgtheaters* (Vienna, [1875]), pp. 88-91.
37. See *Die deutschen Kleinstädter*, II, 2 and IV, 12.
38. F. Grillparzer, *Selbstbiographie*, cited from *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Peter Frank and Karl Pörnbacher (4 vols, Munich, 1965), IV, p. 29.
39. See P. Branscombe, 'Schubert and the Melodrama', in *Schubert Studies. Problems of Style and Chronology*, ed. E. Badura-Skoda and P. Branscombe (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 105-41 (pp. 139-40).
40. Witteczek-Spaun Collection; see the revised edition of Deutsch's *Thematic Catalogue, Franz Schubert. Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge*, ed. the editorial board of the NGA and Werner Aderhold (Kassel, etc., 1978), p. 523 .
41. See Clemens Höslinger, 'Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Freiherrn von Pratobevera', in *Schubert-Studien. Festgabe der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zum Schubert-Jahr 1978*, ed. Franz Grasberger and Othmar Wessely (Vienna, 1978), pp. 119-29 (p. 126).
42. *Journal of a Nobleman; comprising an account of his travels, and a narrative of his residence at Vienna, during the Congress*, published anonymously (2 vols, London, 1831), II, p. 105-6; see P. Branscombe, 'Hanswurst Redivivus: Haydn's Connexions with the "Volkstheater" Tradition', in *Joseph Haydn. Bericht über den Internationalen Joseph*

Haydn Kongress Wien ... 1982, ed. E. Badura-Skoda (Munich, 1986), pp. 369-75 (p. 372).

43. *Briefe*, III, p. 138; Mozart used almost the same words in talking of the theatre to his father in the letter of 26 May 1781 (III, p. 121) and to his wife on 3 October 1790 (IV, p. 116).

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