

Dorothea Link -- MOZART'S APPOINTMENT TO THE VIENNESE COURT¹

Mozart's appointment to the court of Joseph II in December 1787 has received surprisingly little scholarly attention.^{2/} The established view of it as a paltry concession to his genius by a tight-fisted emperor was articulated as early as 1799 in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, where Mozart was reported as having said of his salary: 'Too much for what I do; too little for what I could do'.^{3/} Indeed, Mozart's salary of 800 gulden does seem disappointingly small when compared with the 2000 gulden paid to Christoph Willibald Gluck, his apparent predecessor. When, in addition, Mozart's dire financial needs in the last years of his life appear not even to have begun to be met by his court salary, the lack of interest in the position on the part of scholars is perhaps understandable. But the appointment should be measured not by Mozart's needs but by the standards of the court. The following examination of court music under Joseph II will provide the basis for a re-evaluation of Mozart's appointment.^{4/}

1. A short version of this paper was read at the Sixteenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, 14-20 August 1997, London, England. I am indebted to the late Eugene Wolf and John Rice for their critical reading of the present text. I am also grateful to the Jubiläumsfonds of the Österreichische Nationalbank for a grant that funded part of the research (Jubiläumsfondsprojekt Nr. 5392).
2. In the paper 'Marginalien zur materiellen Existenz eines Künstlers am kaiserlichen Hof und beim Adel in Wien am Beispiel Mozarts' that he read at the conference 'Musik für Hof, Adel und Bürgertum', 20 September 1997, Rovereto, Italy, Walther Brauneis touched on aspects of Mozart's duties at court in a new light, a topic that he intends to develop more fully in a larger study.
3. C. Eisen, *New Mozart Documents* (London: Macmillan, 1991), 77.
4. The only complete history of the Hofkapelle remains L. von Köchel's brief study *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna: Beck'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1976). Detailed studies of the Hofkapelle have since appeared for the 16th and 17th centuries but not for later periods, save for a recent article by M. Eybl, 'Die Kapelle der Kaiserinwitwe Elisabeth Christine (1741-1750) I: Besetzung, Stellung am landesfürstlichen Hof und Hauptkopisten', *SMw*, xlv (1996), 33-66. For the larger context, see D. Beales, 'Clergy at the Austrian Court in the Eighteenth Century', *Monarchy and Religion*, ed. M. Schaich (London: German Historical Institute/Oxford University Press, 2005). My thanks to Dr Beales for sending me a manuscript copy of his paper. A few words might be said here about the archival sources for the Hofkapelle in the late 18th century. The salaries for the Hofkapelle's personnel are recorded in the Hofzahlamtsbücher (hereafter abbreviated HZB), which are kept in the Hofkammerarchiv, Vienna (HKA). The documents dealing with the daily business of the Hofkapelle are housed in the Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv, Vienna (HHStA), where they form part of the records kept by the two court departments that at different times had jurisdiction over the Hofkapelle - the *Obersthofmeisteramt* (OMeA) and the *Oberstkämmereramt* (OKäA). Theoretically all the Hofkapelle material should be found between the two departments. However, some time in the 19th century a large number of the Hofkapelle documents were extracted from the files of the OMeA and OKäA and assembled into a separate file called 'Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle'. Some of the theatre records were similarly extracted and put into a file called 'General Intendanz der Hoftheater' (Gen. Int.). Unfortunately, much of the archival material such as contracts with musicians and applications of various sorts did not survive the re-ordering, especially from Joseph's reign. Many of the more numerous such documents surviving from the administration of Franz (Francis) II (Holy Roman Emperor, 1791-1806; Emperor of Austria as Franz I, 1804-35) were assembled into the 'Kaiser Franz Akten'.

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The golden age of the Viennese Hofkapelle culminated in the musical establishment of Joseph's grandfather Charles VI (1685-1740). Numbering 134 members at its peak, the Hofkapelle supplied all the court's ceremonial and entertainment needs.^{5/} As court employees, the musicians enjoyed employment for life, occupied positions within the court's hierarchy according to which they were promoted, and were entitled to pensions. Salaries varied widely but, on the whole and especially when compared with those in the later part of the century, they were relatively high. This was the public face of employment in Charles's Hofkapelle. In practice, however, the picture was not as rosy. Musicians were chronically paid late or not at all. The court archives are crammed with petitions asking for salaries in arrears.^{6/} All that came to an end in 1740 when Charles VI died. Confronted by serious financial problems, Maria Theresia was forced to make drastic changes to the court's musical establishment. She split off the opera from the Hofkapelle and contracted the opera out to an impresario.^{7/} The impresario agreed, for a set fee, to supply the court with operas for all its ceremonial needs. For the remainder of the performing year he was permitted to use the court theatre to offer entertainment of his choice, within limits, to a paying public, from which enterprise he hoped to make a profit.^{8/}

What remained of the Hofkapelle, which was now redefined as the body of musicians who provided church, table and chamber music, Maria Theresia continued to keep at the court's expense until 1751, when she subcontracted it to the Kapellmeister Johann Georg von Reutter.^{9/} While maintaining control of the Hofkapelle, the court instructed Reutter to replace court musicians, when they died or retired, with musicians of his own from a fixed annual budget provided by the court, according to a schedule of wages also drawn up by the court.^{10/} The saving to the court lay in the new appointments, who were paid

5. Köchel, *Hof-Musikkapelle*, 10.

6. My thanks to Andrea Sommer-Mathis of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften for sharing with me her extensive knowledge of the court of Charles VI.

7. The term used is *verpachten* (verb; *Pacht*, noun), which refers to a broad range of lessee arrangements that are in many ways similar to today's subcontracting and privatization.

8. F. Hadamowsky, *Wien: Theater Geschichte: von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des ersten Weltkriegs* (Vienna: Jugend & Volk, Edition Wien and Dachs-Verlag, 1988; rev. 2/1994), 201-5, summarizes the terms of the arrangement made in 1741 with the lessee of the opera, the court dancer Franz Joseph Selliers. The contract ran until 1748. Subsequent lessee arrangements varied from one lessee to the next, with sometimes greater, sometimes lesser degrees of participation by the court and with ever-changing terms of employment for the theatre personnel. Because of its complex nature, the history of the court opera during this period, which lasted until 1776, is as yet imperfectly understood. The history of lessee theatre actually extends back to Charles VI, who had twice explored the idea of giving the opera to a lessee. The first attempt had been in 1720 with Franz Ferdinand Klominger (*ibid.*, 159-61). The second had been in 1728 with Selliers and the tenor Francesco Borosini (*ibid.*, 190-96). Although nothing came from either of these attempts, they laid the groundwork for later. The contract drawn up with Selliers by Maria Theresia in 1741 was to a large extent based on the terms previously negotiated with him by her father.

9. Reutter (1708-72) was appointed court composer in 1731. In 1747 he became second Kapellmeister at court, and in 1751, when the Hofkapelle was restructured and the first Kapellmeister Luca Antonio Predieri retired, he became its sole Kapellmeister.

10. The details were worked out in two stages, in 1751 and 1756. The contract for 1751 can be found in HHStA, OMeA, Prot.21, ff.105v-111v and 118v-119r. The revised wage schedule from 1756 can be found in Count Anton Corfiz Ulfeld's report of 12 January

substantially less than their predecessors and who, as employees of Reutter, were not entitled to pensions.^{11/} Gradually the membership of the Hofkapelle changed, so that at the time of Reutter's death, in 1772, 35 of its musicians were employees of Reutter and eight were employees of the court.

While Reutter's own records for the Hofkapelle have not been preserved, the composition of the Hofkapelle at the time of his death can be read from the court records of 1772, which clearly indicate which musicians of the reconstituted Hofkapelle (see below) were court musicians from pre-Reutter times and which had been engaged by Reutter.^{12/} This distinction is shown by means of different typography in **Table 9.1**. Consequently, it is puzzling how Köchel arrived at his widely cited observation that by the time of Reutter's death in 1772 the Hofkapelle had shrunk to a rump of 20 decayed musicians or, as he put it, '20 for the most part invalids, including one bass, one bassoonist, one oboist, but not a single violoncellist, no double bass - not even an organist'.^{13/} A list of musicians employed by Reutter in 1765 survives in a document from that year.^{14/} From a comparison with the summary personnel list for the Hofkapelle drawn up by Köchel for the years 1765-71, it becomes apparent that Köchel did not take note of any of Reutter's replacement appointments made after 1765.^{15/} In point of fact, between 1756 and 1772, the composition of the Hofkapelle remained fairly constant at five sopranos, five altos, five tenors, five basses, two organists, nine or ten violinists, two cellists, three double basses (*Violonisten*), three trombones and two bassoons. Trumpeters were normally not included in the personnel lists of the Hofkapelle from 1756, possibly even earlier, since they were borrowed from the military.^{16/}

At Reutter's death (1772) the contract with him expired. Joseph decided against striking a similar contract with Reutter's successor Florian Leopold Gassmann.^{17/} Instead he proposed that the court once again engage its musicians directly, but, rather than placing them on salary, pay them on a piecemeal basis. The *Musikgraf* Count Johann Wenzel Sporck, however, in a

(*footnote 10 continued*) 1757 (HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton I, ff.7-14, as Lit.A (ff.12-13): Status des von Ihrer Kay: König: Mays: untern 19bris '756 allergnädigst resolvirten Reglement der unter dem Hof-Kapellmeister d. Reutter stehenden- zu Kirchen- Tafel- und Cammer-Diensten gewidmeten Hof-Music). A copy of this schedule also forms part of Count Johann Wenzel Sporck's report of 18 March 1772, as Lit.A (see n.18 below). For details about Reutter's duties, as outlined in a report of 3 January 1761, see D. Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart and Viennese School 1740-1780* (New York and London: Norton, 1995), 137-42.

11. In early 1756, as a further potential means of economizing, the court also explored the idea of dispensing with its instrumentalists and using only singers for the church services 'in the Roman style' (HHStA, OMeA, Prot.23, ff.323, 353).

12. HKA, HZB 171, pag.681-759.

13. '. . . bei seinem Abscheiden im Jahre 1772 der Stand derselben auf 20 grösstentheils Invaliden zusammen-geschmolzen war, darunter 1 Bassist, 1 Fagottist, 1 Oboist and gar kein Violoncellist, kein Contrabassist – ja sogar kein Organist!': Köchel, *Hof-Musikkapelle*, 12.

14. HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton 1, f.18v, in Sporck's report, 3 Oct 1765.

15. Köchel, *Hof-Musikkapelle*, 85-8.

16. The only other wind player encountered on the personnel lists examined here is the oboist Daniel Hartmann, who is listed only once, on the personnel list of the reconstituted Hofkapelle of 1772. He is identified as a court musician from pre-Reutter days. He died two weeks after the list was drawn up.

17. Gassmann (1729-74) was engaged in 1763, as ballet composer and successor to Gluck, by the director of the court theatre Count Giacomo Durazzo. He spent 1765, the year of mourning on the death of Franz I, in Venice, where he met Salieri, whom he took

memorandum of 18 March 1772, raised a number of objections.^{18/} He pointed out that if the musicians were paid for each service to the court at the standard rate of two gulden per service, the cost over the year would be higher than paying them salaries. He also argued that the quality of music would deteriorate, as musicians would send substitutes in order to avoid certain services, such as those at Schönbrunn which involved long travel time, or whenever they found more lucrative engagements elsewhere. Moreover, he reminded Joseph, piecemeal compensation would look unseemly for the court and, finally, it would create unnecessary hardship for the musicians and their families. Joseph took Sporck's advice and engaged Reutter's former musicians with tenure and on salary, according to the salary scale drawn up by Sporck. The figures are those reported in **Table 9 .1**. Joseph's decision, written in the margin of Sporck's memorandum, was issued the same day as a state council resolution ('Staats Raths Resolutzion'; for a transcription and translation, see **Appendix: 1**. Joseph's Resolution regarding the Hofkapelle, 1772). The salaries were even lower than those fixed in 1756.^{19/} The bass Joseph Stadler, for example, who had been paid 400 gulden in 1756, was now paid 300. Similarly, the salary of the violinist Giuseppe Trani shrank from 600 to 400 gulden. The lower salaries were justified by the fact that the services to the court were much reduced compared to former times.^{20/} But the musicians were free to take up additional employment elsewhere, and many of them played in the churches.^{21/}

(footnote 17 continued) back to Vienna as his apprentice. In 1766 Gassmann was appointed court composer to Joseph's *Kammermusik*.

18. Sporck to Joseph, Allerunterthänigste *Nota*, with 4 appendixes, 18 March 1772 (HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton 1, *Nota*, ff.23-7, 35; Lit.A, ff.36-7; Lit.B, f.33; Lit.C, f.31; Lit.D, ff.29-30). Sporck served as *Musikgraf* from 1764 to 1775. The *Musikgraf* was the court authority directly responsible for the administration of the court's music. He reported to the *Obersthofmeister*, who had jurisdiction over everything pertaining to court ceremony and protocol, including music.

19. Until the mid-1790s, inflation did not exist, which makes it possible to compare salaries at face value throughout the 18th century. See J. Moore, 'Beethoven and Inflation', *Beethoven Forum*, i (1992), 191-223.

20. An idea of the number and kind of church services for which the Hofkapelle provided music can be obtained from the yearly summary provided by Sporck in his *Nota* of 18 March 1772 (f.27), as well as from the itemized account prepared by Giuseppe Bonno, in which he listed the services of musicians hired piecemeal (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.371, Konvolut 14, *Nota über die Auslagen der Hofmusikkapelle*, no.3, 31 August 1775: Verzeichnüß der besonders bestellten Tonkünstlern zu Hof-Kapellen, und Kammer Musiquen von 1ten May bis lezten July 1775). For gala occasions, consisting mainly of the formal dinner on New Year's Day, normally two or three *virtuosi* were engaged. At New Year 1777, for example, the singers Clementina Poggi and Caterina Cavalieri and the oboist Friedrich Ramm were each paid 50 ducats for their performances. The following year the singer Bologna and the cellist [?Ignaz] Baumgartner were each paid 50 ducats, and the year after that the singers Cavalieri and Suttor and the cellist Joseph Weigl were paid 30 ducats apiece. The Hofkapellmeister was also responsible for providing the music for court balls. A bill submitted by Bonno for a court ball held on 11 September 1775 shows that he hired 221 extra players to form four orchestras (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.371, Konvolut 14, *Nota über die Auslagen der Hofmusikkapelle*, no.3, 31 August 1775: Verzeichnüß der besonders bestellten Tonkünstlern zu den Hof Ball des 11. September 1775).

21. Cf. the personnel lists for the churches in Vienna drawn up for Joseph II on 21 June 1783 and published by O. Biba, 'Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783', *Beiträge zur*

By way of providing pensions for the Hofkapelle, Joseph enrolled its members in the musicians' pension plan created the previous year by Gassmann, known variously as the Pensions-Sozietät, the Tonkünstlersozietät or the Musikalische Wittwen und Waisen Gesellschaft.^{22/} Joseph agreed to pay 1800 gulden a year for ten years into the plan on his musicians' behalf. At the end of this period, the musicians were to take over payment of their own premiums and the court would be free of all further pension obligations to them. Musicians appointed to the Hofkapelle after 1772, like other musicians who joined the society voluntarily, were required to pay the annual premium of 12 gulden. Joseph's annual contribution of 1800 gulden, almost four times the amount the 32 musicians in the Hofkapelle would have paid in premiums had they subscribed to the plan on their own, went a long way towards helping build up capital for the society, whose main source of revenue consisted of the twice-yearly fund-raising concerts given by the members themselves. The concerts brought in anywhere from 232 gulden, cleared in December 1792 when Joseph Weigl's cantata *Venere e Adone* was performed, to 2394 gulden, realized in April 1781 when Mozart appeared on a programme that featured Johann Georg Albrechtsberger's *Die Pilgrime auf Golgatha*.^{23/} The pension scheme proved to be extremely successful. By 1781 the society had grown to 104 members, and 100 years later counted as one of the most venerable institutions in Viennese musical life.^{24/}

In setting up his Hofkapelle Joseph also stipulated that the few remaining court-appointed musicians from pre-Reutter days were not to be replaced when they died or retired. As it turned out, the musicians engaged in 1772 also were not replaced when they died or retired, forcing the Hofkapellmeister to engage more and more musicians on a piecemeal basis. By 1787 the number of active musicians in the Hofkapelle had shrunk from 43 in 1772 to 27. The attrition over the years can be observed in [Table 9.1](#). Joseph's apparent policy of allowing the Hofkapelle to atrophy was indeed intentional, as is made clear by the following incident. On the death of the first tenor Ferdinand Hoffmann, who had been paid 400 gulden, the tenor Leopold Panschab, who received 300 gulden, applied to be moved into Hoffmann's place, as was the practice. The Kapellmeister Giuseppe Bonno supported Panschab's request with a letter,^{25/} as did Count Eugen Wrba. In response to the latter, Joseph wrote on 27 June 1783: 'Let it be known once and for all that there will be no new appointments to or promotions within the Hofkapelle until further notice' .^{26/}

Joseph's reluctance to fill the vacant positions in the Hofkapelle in preference to hiring musicians on an ad hoc basis (thereby reverting to his position in 1772)

(continuation of footnote 21) *Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte, i.(Eisenstadt, 1971), 24-51.

22. See C.F. Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät: auf Grundlage der Societäts-Acten bearbeitet* (Vienna: Selbstverlag des 'Haydn', 1871).

23. *Ibid.*, 42.

24. *Ibid.*, 16.

25. Bonno (1711-88) was made court composer in 1739. From about 1749 to 1761 he also directed the Friday evening concerts given by Prince Joseph Friedrich Sachsen-Hildburghausen.

26. 'Es ist für allmal beschlossen, daß bei der Hofkapellen Niemand von neuem mehr aufgenommen werden solle, auch keine Vorrückung in die offen werdende Plätze zu geschehen hat, bis nicht andre Anordnungen diesfalls erfolgen' (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.37I, Konvolut 14, *Nota* über die Auslagen der Hofmusikkapelle, no. 8, 27 June 1783: Das allerunterthänigste Gesuch des Hoftenoristen Leopold Panschab).

is consistent with the way he operated the court theatre. In 1776 Joseph had taken the theatre back from the lessee and placed it under direct court administration, taking a personal interest in its management. He first established the German acting company and then over the years experimented with Singspiel and Italian opera, for a while (1785-8) maintaining two orchestras.^{27/} As the entire venture was undertaken on a provisional basis, the theatre's personnel were normally engaged on one-year contracts.^{28/} Accordingly, they were not provided with any pensions, not even the German actors, who formed the backbone of Joseph's theatrical enterprise.^{29/}

In January 1774 Gassmann died. His positions as both Hofkapellmeister and 'Compositor' in the *Kammermusik* were refilled (see Table 9.1). Bonno was appointed Kapellmeister at a salary of 1200 gulden, the same amount that Gassmann and, before him, Reutter had received, and Antonio Salieri was made 'Kammer Musicus' also at Gassmann's former salary.^{30/} This shuffle set off

[text continues on page 10]

27. For an overview of Joseph's theatrical enterprise, see D. Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783-1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1-4.

28. By the early 1790s the long-term adverse effects of the provisional nature of the theatre on its personnel were starting to show. The poverty of so many, in terms of both income and lack of provision in old age, was the issue addressed in two proposals made to the emperor. The first advocated unifying all the court's musicians into a single body: [1791] Entwurff wonach die k:k: Hof und Kammermusik, auch das k:k: Hoftheater Orchester eine Besoldungs Zulag erhalten könnte; wie auch den Individuen für [*sic*] ihre Person im ereignenden Fälle eine Pension abzureichen wäre. The six surviving appendixes of the seven belonging to this document became separated from it at foliation and have been reassembled here in the order indicated (HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton 1, Entwurff, ff.71-7; Beilage B, f.87; Beilage C, ff.78-9; Beilage D, ff.66-71; Beilage E, ff.173-6; Beilage F, ff.89-90; Beilage G, f.193). While the author's name is missing, he clearly is someone who was well informed and had access to the court's records. The second proposal suggested founding a pension fund for the actors, modelled on that of the Tonkünstlersozietät: Anonymer Vorschlag dtto 6 Xber 1793 zur Gründung eines Pensionsfonds für die deutschen Schauspieler (HHStA, Kaiser Franz Akten, alt 155, 156, ff.126-9).

29. One of the things Leopold II did during his short administration of the theatre was to grant pensions to the German actors, but this benefit was withdrawn by Franz in early 1793. Although the court was under no contractual obligation to provide pensions, it sometimes granted pensions to actors and musicians for discretionary reasons, for example as a reward for long years of service (as in the case of the violinist Giuseppe Trani; see Appendix: 3. Joseph's memorandum) or as maintenance payments in cases of illness or misfortune (as in the case of the cellist Johann Hoffmann, reported in the Entwurff, f.77). Another type of pension encountered here was that allowed to certain court employees, such as the poet Metastasio and the theatre engineer Antonio Bibiena, whose services were no longer required but who nonetheless continued to carry their titles and to draw their salaries (see Table 9.1). The issue of pensions is extremely complex and needs careful case-by-case study.

30. Salieri's salary of 100 ducats works out to the 426 gulden 40 kreuzer that is recorded in the account books. Gassmann's salary of 416 gulden 40 kreuzer is equivalent to 100 ducats as well, but calculated at a different rate. For a summary of the shifting values and types of ducats in use at this time see D. Edge, 'Mozart's Fee for *Così fan tutte*', *JRMA*, cxvi (1991), 218-19. On 1 February 1786 the imperial ducat was standardized at four and a half gulden or florins (abbreviated f. or fl.). The gulden, in turn, was made up of 60 kreuzer (abbreviated Kr. or x).

TABLE 9.1 The personnel of the Hofkapelle, 1 May 1772, with subsequent changes to February 1788^a

roman type - musicians previously employed by Georg von Reutter
italic type - court employees (these salaries are gross, subject to the *Arrha* tax)

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Hof und Kammer Musik Director

Sporck, Graf Johann Wenzel, 5000 fl.; in the account book of 1774 onwards, 4000 fl.; transferred out 13 Apr 1775; position left vacant

Poeta

Metastasio, Pietro, 3750 fl.; in the account book of 1774 onwards, 3000 fl.; † 12 Apr 1782

Copist

Ercolini, Giuseppe, 400 fl.; † 17 July 1781

Theatral Ingenieur

Bibiena, Antonio, 1000 fl.; salary discontinued in 1774 after the court ceased hearing from him

Theatral Zeichner

Altamonte, Andrea, 312 fl. 30x; in 1774, 250fl.; † 13 June 1780

Hofkapellmeister

Gassmann, Florian Leopold, 1200 fl.; † 22 Jan 1774, replaced by:
Bonno, Giuseppe, on 1 Feb 1774, 1200 fl.

Compositores

Gassmann, Florian Leopold, 416 fl. 40x; † 22 Jan 1774; in 1774 he was called 'Kammer Musicus', a position in which he was replaced by Antonio Salieri on 1 Feb 1774 (see below)

Wagenseil, Georg Christoph, 1500 fl.; † 1 Mar 1777; position discontinued

Bonno, Giuseppe, 800 fl.; position discontinued after he became Hofkapellmeister in 1774

Gluck, Christoph, appointed 'Hof Compositor' on 16 Oct 1774, 2000 fl. ('Compositor' in 1778; 'Kammer-Compositor' in 1785); † 15 Nov 1787; position discontinued

Sopranisten

Schlemmer, Michael, 300 fl.

Weber, Franz, 200 fl.; † 24 Aug 1778

3 choirboys, 600 fl.; increased to 4 choirboys in 1784, 800 fl.

Reutter, Maria Theresia, cantatrice, 2000 fl.[no longer active]; † 6 Apr 1782

Altisten

Pacher, Anton, 300 fl.

Almendinger, Andreas, 300 fl.; released 1 July 1772

Ragazzoni, Pietro, 600 fl. [no longer active]; † 22 Mar 1777

Galli, Pietro, 600 fl. [no longer active]

4 choirboys, 800 fl.

(TABLE 9.1 The personnel of the Hofkapelle, 1 May 1772, continued)

Tenoristen

Hoffmann, Ferdinand, 400 fl.; † 4 June 1783
 Panschab, Leopold, 300 fl.
 Brichta, Adalbert, 300 fl.
 Krottendorfer, Joseph, 300 fl.
Borghy, Cajetan, 1500 fl.; † 18 Jan 1777

Bassisten

Herrich, Karl, 700 fl.; † 22 Nov 1779
 Gsur, Tobias, 400 fl.
 Ulbrich, Anton, 300 fl.
 Stadler, Joseph, 300 fl.; † 6 Jan 1777
 Haberda, Cyrillus, 300 fl.

Kammer Musicus Jubilaty [retired]

Mancini, Giovanni Battista, 1500 fl.

Organisten

Arbesser, Ferdinand, 400 fl.
 Albrechtsberger, Georg, 300 fl.

Violinisten

Trani, Giuseppe, 400 fl.
 Adam, Joseph, 300 fl.; retired 1 Feb 1780
 Teuber, Mathaeus, 300 fl.; † 5 Sept 1785
 Tuma, Jakob, 300 fl.; † 7 May 1784
 Kreibich [Kreybig], Franz, 300 fl.
 Huber, Karl, 300 fl.; † 15 Jan 1779
Giegl, Karl, 300 fl.; † 14 Sept 1781
 Hoffmann, Anton, 300 fl.
 Braun, Francesco, 300 fl.; † 8 June 1780
 Klemp, Johann, 300 fl.

Violoncellisten

Hoffmann, Johann, 300 fl.
 Orsler, Joseph, 300 fl.

Violonisten

Kammermayer, Joseph, 300 fl.
 Grebner, Leopold, 300 fl.

Trombonisten

Christian, Ferdinand, 500 fl.; † 26 Apr 1783
 Thomas, Wenzel, 300 fl.; † 20 Dec 1775
 Ulbrich, Ignaz, 300 fl.

Hautboist

Hartmann, Daniel, 500 fl.; † 17 May 1772

Fagottisten

Fridrich, Franz Philipp, 400 fl.; † 4 Feb 1777
 Steiner, Michael, 300 fl.; † 6 Apr 1781

(TABLE 9.1 The personnel of the Hofkapelle, 1 May 1772, continued)

Ober-Trompeter

Hofbauer, Johann Peter, paid from Hoffutteramt; † 7 Mar 1780,
replaced by:

Neuhold, Peter; disappears from the account books after 1784

Concert Dispensator

Schallhaß, Ferdinand, 400 fl.; retired 30 Sept 1782, replaced by:
Wravezy [Wraveczi], Jakob, 200 fl.

Instrument Diener

Zeis, Franz Xavier, 300 fl.; increased to 400 fl. in 1773

Wagner, Joseph, 300 fl.; † 7 Dec 1788

Orgelmacher

Ferschl, Fridolin, 200 fl.; † 19 May 1785

Lautenmacher

Stadlmann, Joseph, 400 fl.; † 27 Dec 1781

KAMMER MUSICI

Gassmann, Florian Leopold ('Compositor' in 1772; 'Kammer Musicus' in 1774) 416 fl.
40x; † 22 Jan 1774, replaced 1 Feb 1774 by:

Salieri, Antonio, 426 fl. 40x ('Kammer Musicus' in 1774; 'Kammer Compositor' in 1785);
position discontinued when he became Kapellmeister in 1788

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, from 1 Dec 1787 as 'Kammer Musicus', 800 fl.

Kreibich, Franz, 250 fl.

Huber, Karl, 250 fl.; † 15 Jan 1779, replaced by:

Ordonnez, Karl, 250 fl.; released because of health problems on 28 Feb 1783, replaced
by:

Woborzill, Thomas, 250 fl.

Ponheimer, Otto Heinrich, from 30 Aug 1784 (former Kammer Musicus to Archduke
Maximilian), 300 fl.

Hofmann, Johann Baptist, from 30 Aug 1784 (former Kammer Musicus to Archduke
Maximilian), 300 fl.

a. HKA, HZB 171 (1772-3), Hofkapelle, pag.681-759; HZB 173 (1774-8), Hofkapelle, ff.350v-375v and Hofstaat, ff.169v-170v; HZB 174 (1778-84), Hofkapelle, ff.357v-381r and Hofstaat, ff.177v-178r; HZB 178 (1785-7), Hofkapelle, pag.535-607; HZB 183 (1787), Hofkapelle, ff.13v-17r; HZB 184 (1788), Hofkapelle from 1 November 1787 to 29 February 1788, f. 1.

further changes. Bonno's former position of 'Compositor', carrying a salary of 800 gulden, was now discontinued, but several months later, on 16 October, a composer position was created for Gluck.^{31/} He was appointed 'Hof Compositor' at a salary of 2000 gulden. This appointment was in a sense honorary, since Gluck had few obligations beyond serving at state events, as he did in 1781 when three of his operas were mounted for the state visits of the Grand Duke of Russia and his wife and the Württembergs.^{32/}

Some personnel lists for the Hofkapelle include the *Kammer Musici*, the musicians who made music with Joseph in his private apartments, although technically these musicians were members of his *Hofstaat* (his personal attendants) and, like other court employees, enjoyed tenure and the right to a pension.^{33/} Joseph's *Kammer Musici* after 1766 consisted of Gassmann and the two violinists Franz Kreibich and Karl Huber. Joseph's valet Kilian Strack, we are told, was an unofficial but indispensable participant in the daily music sessions as well.^{34/} In 1774 when Gassmann died, Salieri, as mentioned above, took his place. Huber died in 1779 and was replaced by Carlo d'Ordonez,^{35/} who in turn was replaced in 1783 by Thomas Woborzill, the leader of the Burgtheater

31. Gluck was engaged in 1754 by Durazzo to adapt *opéras comiques* and later to compose operas and ballets for the court theatre. His close association with the Viennese court, falling as it did in the *Pacht* period, did not lead to his being made a court composer until 1774, although the court did grant him a pension - or what was in effect a minimum guaranteed income of 600 gulden a year - in 1763 (E. Grobeger, *Gluck und d'Afflisio*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995, p.20). According to Daniel Heartz (private communication), Gluck's appointment in 1774 was made to prevent him from accepting an invitation from Marie Antoinette to move to Paris. The munificent salary of 2000 gulden was forced out of Joseph if he wanted to top his sister's offer.

32. The visits formed part of the elaborate negotiations that went into arranging the marriage of Archduke Franz, Joseph's intended successor to himself, and Princess Elisabeth of Württemberg. As Elisabeth was the sister of the wife of Grand Duke Paul, this marriage strengthened Austria's alliance with Russia.

33. In the account books for 1774-8 and 1778-84 the *Kammer Musici* are listed with Joseph's *Hofstaat* and in the account books for the other years in the Hofkapelle, where they are, however, clearly shown as *Kammer Musici*. It seemed to make no difference for accounting purposes where they were listed, as both types of employee were paid from the same account, the *Universal Kammeral Zahlamt*.

34. The account books do not show him as a *Musicus* but as a *Kammer-Diener*, who was paid a salary of 1150 gulden (e.g. HKA, HZB 174, f.164v). Our knowledge about his musical function comes from a contemporary report about Joseph's musical activities published in the *Bossler'sche Musikalische Korrespondenz der deutschen Filarmonischen Gesellschaft*, 28 July 1790, quoted in R. Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: sein Leben und seine weltlichen Werke unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner 'grossen' Opern* (Munich: E. Katzschler, 1971), iii, 55-8.

35. Ordonez (1734-86) was released from service four years later on account of poor health (HKA, HZB 174, ff.177v-178r: 'Laut O[berst]h[of]m[eister]a[mt] Intimati dd 8ten et decret 20ten Marz '783 ist dieser wegen seiner Krankheit Umstände von dem Dienste der Kammer Musique enthoben worden und soll ihm sein Gehalt nur bis Ende Hornung '783 entrichtet, sodann aber eingezogen worden'). He received a pension of 125 gulden (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.109, p.61, 8 March 1783). See D. Young, 'Karl von Ordonez (1734-1786): a Biographical Study', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, no.19 (1983-5), 31-56, which not only corroborates and extends these findings with further documents, but also reveals how Ordonez's illness was used as an excuse to pension him off from his regular government post, which he had continued to hold while serving in the *Kammermusik*. This position had paid 1000 gulden; the pension came to only half that amount.

orchestra. In 1784 when Archduke Maximilian moved to Cologne, Joseph inherited his two *Kammer Musici*, the violinists Otto Heinrich Ponheimer and Johann Baptist Hofmann.^{36/} Since the *Kammer Musici* were court employees, their salaries were subject to a tax called the *Arrha*. These deductions are clearly noted in the account books and readily distinguish the court employees from the musicians in the Hofkapelle who were members of the Pensions-Sozietät and whose salaries were not taxed. Kreibich and Huber were both *Kammer Musici* and *Hof Musici*. In their former positions they were paid 250 gulden less a tax of 5%, while in the latter they received a flat salary of 300 gulden.

Another group of musicians who were called 'Kammer Musici' but who had a completely separate function from the ones who made music with Joseph every day was the *Harmoniemusik*. This highly polished wind band provided table music whenever Joseph entertained.^{37/} It consisted of the clarinettists Anton and Johann Stadler, the oboists Georg Triebensee and Johann Went, the bassoon players Wenzel Kauzner and Ignaz Drobney, and the horn players Jakob Eisen and Martin Rupp. Joseph created the ensemble in the spring of 1782. At that point, three of its members - Triebensee, Went and Kauzner - were already playing in the theatre orchestra,^{38/} to which Joseph now added the other five.^{39/} They thus received two salaries, 400 gulden as *Harmonie* players and 350 gulden as orchestral players. Both salaries were drawn from the theatre account, although their function as *Harmonie* players had nothing whatever to do with the theatre. The account books register this fact by listing the *Harmoniemusik* salaries under 'salaries paid to extra parties' ('extra angewiesenen Partheyen').^{40/} Why did Joseph not pay those salaries from the *Hofstaat* budget? For one thing, their cost could be absorbed by the theatre, which was a profitable venture. For another, by these means Joseph avoided

36. They were appointed as Archduke Maximilian's *Kammer Musici* as of 1 February 1776 (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.371, no.2, Auskunft der k.k. OberstenHofMeister Amts). Their appointments and salaries of 300 gulden are confirmed in HKA, HZB 174, f.266v. Their transfer to Joseph's *Kammermusik* is noted in HZB 182, pag.605 and 607, as 'bestätt[igt] vom 30 August 1784'.

37. 'Sie kamen aber nie zur Kammermusik; sondern spielten nur zuweilen während der Tafel, besonders wenn sie in einem Lustgarten gehalten wurde' (*Bossler'sche Musikalische Korrespondenz*, in Angermüller, *Salieri*, iii, 58).

38. They were appointed as of 1 January 1777 (F. Hadamowsky, *Die Josefinische Theaterreform und das Spieljahr 1776/77 des Burgtheaters: eine Dokumentation*, Vienna: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1978, p.105). Ignaz Drobney had been playing on a freelance basis in the Hofkapelle as early as 1775 (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.371, Konvolut 14, *Nota* über die Auslagen der Hofmusikkapelle, no.3, 31 August 1775: Verzeichnüß der besonders bestellten Tonkünstlern zu Hof-Kapellen und Kammer Musiquen von 1ten May bis letzten July 1775).

39. Joseph to Rosenberg, 8 February and 24 April 1782 (Link, *National Court Theatre*, 209, n.15).

40. The surviving annual theatre account books for 1776 to 1794 are found in the HHStA as Gen. Int., S.R. 11-28: Rechnungen der k.k. Theatral- Hof- Directions Cassae. For a description of the account books, see Edge, 'Mozart's Fee', 213-14; also Link, *National Court Theatre*, 399-400. Selected transcriptions of S.R. 19-27 (1782-3 to 1793-4) are provided in *ibid.*, *passim*. The complete account book for 1776-7 is transcribed in Hadamowsky, *Josefinische Theaterreform*, 93-116. The theatre year ran from Easter to Easter. However, for accounting purposes a fixed fiscal year, which ran from 1 March to the following 28/29 February, was adopted for the years 1788-9 and 1789-90, and again from 1793. See Link, *National Court Theatre*, 16. The financial year for the Hofkapelle, on the other hand, followed the military year, i.e. 1 November to 31 October.

having to make them court employees. The *Harmonie* players did, in fact, raise that very issue in a petition to the emperor on 12 May 1785, in which they asked for equal status with the other *Kammer Musici*.^{41/} The court official who presented their case to the emperor recommended granting their request, pointing out that it would not cost the court anything, as the petitioners were already members of the Pensions-Sozietät. Joseph gave them tenure as they requested, but continued to pay them, as before, from the theatre account. In 1791 Joseph's successor Leopold II transferred the payment of their salaries from the theatre to the *Hofstaat* account,^{42/} for which reason they thenceforth show up on the personnel lists of the Hofkapelle.

The year 1787 saw a number of important changes. On 22 April Joseph Starzer died. Starzer had been engaged as a court ballet composer years ago when there had been a ballet company. Since 1776 he had been paid his former salary of 2000 gulden from the theatre account under the rubric 'salaries paid to extra parties'.^{43/} This was not an active position and, not surprisingly, when he died he was not replaced.^{44/}

41. HHStA, OKaA, Akten, Karton 9, no.197, Allerunterthänigster Vortrag des treu gehorsamsten Obersten Kämmeres Grafen v. Rosenberg das von denen Kammer-Musicis allerunterthänigst gemachte Gesuch wegen Ertheilung eines Hof-Decrets, und Kleidergeld betreffend. The document also reveals that Triebensee, Kauzner and Went had previously been employed by 'the late Prince Schwarzenberg'. Perhaps this was Prince Joseph Adam (1722-82). Another Prince Schwarzenberg is also known to have maintained a *Harmoniemusik*, at least by 1785. See Joseph's memorandum to Rosenberg, 11 March 1785, in R.P. von Thurn, *Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor: ungedruckte Briefe und Aktenstücke aus den Kinderjahren des Burgtheaters* (Vienna: Heidrich, 1920), 61, instructing Rosenberg to enquire whether Prince Schwarzenberg was releasing the oboist Deymer from his service. This *Harmoniemusik* would have been the one heard by Count Karl Zinzendorf in 1787 and 1788. A potentially useful article, judging from the English abstract in *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature*, is J. Zálaha, 'Hudební život na dvore knízat ze Schwarzenberku v 18. století' [Musical life at the Schwarzenberg court during the 18th century], *Hudební věda*, xxiv (1987), 43-62.

42. HKA, HZB 187, pag.192: 'Nachtrag. Laut Verordnung vom 7.März '791 über einen Vortrag des O[berst] Hofmeisters und Musikgrafen, und Theater Direktors sollen nach Entschliessung S[eine]r Maj[estät] den 8. Individuen der Kammerharmonie, welche in dieser Eigenschaft aus dem Theatralfond als eine Besoldung unter der Rubrik der besonders angewiesenen Partheyen zusammen mit jährl[ichen] 3200f. bisher bezahlt worden, ihre Gehaltsbeträge künftig von dem Univer[sal] Kammeral Zahlamt wie die Besoldungen der übrigen Kammertonkünstler vom 1ten März d[ieses] J[ahres] an entrichtet, und an die Theatralkasse abgegeben werden'.

43. He is listed as 'gewesten Ballets Music Compositori' (former composer of ballet music) in the account book for 1776-7, transcribed in Hadamowsky, *Josefinische Theaterreform*, 105, and in all subsequent theatre account books up to his death.

44. According to Gerhard Croll, Mozart was Starzer's successor: 'Als solcher [k.k. Hof-Musik-Compositor] war Mozart der Nachfolger Joseph Starzers mit dessen Besoldung' (J.H. Eibl, ed., *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens: Addenda und Corrigenda*, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1978, p.55). As neither the salaries nor the positions of Starzer and Mozart match, this suggestion can now safely be discarded.

On 24 October 1787 Salieri's position as Kapellmeister of the Italian opera company was converted into a court position (see [Appendix: 2](#). Decree making Salieri a court employee as Kapellmeister of the Italian opera, 1787). The decree confirmed his existing title and salary of 853 gulden 20 kreuzer (or 200 ducats) and then added that, as a reward for his good services, he was thenceforth to enjoy the right of tenure in this position. Salieri, of course, had tenure as *Kammer Compositor*, but his position in the opera was only marginally more secure than the existence of the company itself.^{45/} Indeed, only two weeks earlier, Joseph had considered dissolving the Italian opera, as Count Karl Zinzendorf recorded in his diary: 'The emperor wants to dismiss the Italian opera because of the Turkish war'.^{46/} On 15 October Joseph decided instead to discontinue the Singspiel.^{47/} In the light of this, his decree for Salieri a week later is rather striking.^{48/}

45. Salieri did have some sort of assurance from Joseph, but possibly only oral, that he would continue to receive the salary of 200 ducats that he was paid as opera Kapellmeister no matter what happened. According to an account reported by Salieri's biographer Ignaz Mosel, in connection with Salieri's marriage in 1774, Joseph's guarantee of this income, in addition to the 100 ducats Salieri received as *Kammer Compositor*, persuaded the bride's guardian to consent to the marriage. At that time Salieri was receiving a salary of 300 ducats as opera Kapellmeister for the theatre lessee Count Koháry, but this income, as the guardian pointed out, was not secure. Just how Joseph guaranteed 200 ducats of Salieri's salary is not known, but in 1776 when Joseph took over the theatre Salieri was retained as 'former maestro for the former theatre lessee Count Johann Koháry' and his salary of 200 ducats was paid from the theatre account under 'salaries paid to extra parties'. See J.A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 40-41.

46. 'L'Empereur veut renvoyer l'opera Italien a cause de la guerre des Turcs' (HHStA, Kabinettsarchiv, Nachlaß Zinzendorf, Tagebücher des Grafen Zinzendorf, Bd.32, 6 October 1787, in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 302). The diary of Count Johann Karl Christian Heinrich von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf (1739-1813) spans the years 1747-1813. The passages dealing with theatre and music in Vienna from Easter 1783 to Easter 1792 are transcribed in *ibid.*, 191-398. Many of these excerpts have previously been transcribed in O. Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne: von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. (1792)* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1970). See also D. Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', *JRMA*, cxxii (1997), 205-57.

47. The Singspiel company was disbanded on 29 February 1788, the end of the theatre year (Link, *National Court Theatre*, 12). The Italian company, however, was spared only for the moment. On 31 March 1788 Zinzendorf reported that the emperor, now in the field with his army, was still determined to close the Italian opera, which he then did on 29 July, when he instructed Rosenberg to give the singers their notice (*ibid.*, 302, n.181). At the last moment the company was spared again, this time through the efforts of Da Ponte (*ibid.*, 326-7).

48. It would be interesting to know how much of this news reached Mozart in Prague, where he was preparing *Don Giovanni* for its premiere on 29 October. In a letter of 4 November 1787 to Gottfried von Jacquin, Mozart reported that 'the people here are doing their utmost to convince me to stay a few more months to write another opera, - but regardless of how flattering the offer is, I cannot accept it' ('Man wendet hier alles mögliche an um mich zu bereden, ein paar Monathe noch hier zu bleiben, und noch eine Oper zu schreiben, - ich kann aber diesen antrag, so schmeichelhaft er immer ist, nicht annehmen': *MBA*, iv, 58; *Letters*, 913). One wonders why not, unless Mozart was anticipating further changes at court that might affect him and that required his presence in Vienna. It is not altogether irrelevant that Joseph intervened in Prague to command that *Le nozze di Figaro* be given on 14 October for the Archduchess Maria Theresia (*ibid.*, iv, 55).

On 15 November, after a lengthy illness, Gluck died. Clearly he was not going to be replaced. However, his death did free up a composer position in the court's musical establishment that could be newly filled. On 6 December Joseph appointed Mozart to his *Kammermusik* with tenure and entitlement to a pension, at a salary of 800 gulden, to begin on 1 December 1787. Three documents pertaining to the appointment are extant, all reproduced by Otto Erich Deutsch in his documentary biography.^{49/} First, the *Oberstkämmerer*, Rosenberg, put into writing the imperial order to appoint Mozart.^{50/} Secondly, he passed on Joseph's instructions concerning payment of Mozart's salary to the *Obersthofmeister*.^{51/} Finally, he himself issued the letter of employment and sent it to Mozart.^{52/}

The first two documents refer to Mozart as a 'Kammer Musicus', although the letter of employment itself does not give him a title but merely states that he is to be engaged for the *Kammermusik*. This leaves open the possibility that his function there was that of 'Composer', which is indeed how he is named in the account books from 1790 onwards.^{53/} By comparison, when Salieri served in the *Kammermusik*, the account books for 1774 call him a 'Kammer Musicus', and those for 1785 and thereafter 'Kammer Composer'. His predecessor Gassmann was called 'Kammer Musicus' in every account book except the one for 1772, where he is called 'Composer'. Gluck was called 'Hof Composer' at his appointment in 1774, 'Composer' in the account book for 1778 and 'Kammer Composer' from 1785 on. Bonno was called 'Composer' in 1772, as was Georg Christoph Wagenseil.^{54/} The apparent looseness with which these titles are used in the account books is not helped by referring to the *Hof- und Ehren-Kalender* and the *Hof- und Staats-Schemata*, which also do not always agree with each other or with the account books.^{55/} The important

49. O.E. Deutsch, *Mozart: die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 269-70; (Eng. trans. by E. Blom, P. Branscombe and J. Noble as *Mozart: a Documentary Biography*, Stanford University Press, 1965), 305-7. For those documents that Deutsch cites without archival references, the references are supplied below.

50. Vortrag des OKäA vom 6 Dez 1787 (HHStA, OKäA, Akten, Karton 9, no.84, ff.1-3).

51. *Nota* des kais: königl: Obersten Kämmerers ddo 7 Decem. 1787 (HHStA, OMeA, Karton 20, 1787, Nr.1839). A cross-reference to this document can be found in OMeA, Prot.45, 1787 (alphabetically): 'Mozart Wolfgang neu aufgenommener Kammer Musicus mit jähr: 800 fl. Gehalt Nr.1839'. Cross-references to all three documents are made in OKäA, Index 137, 1787 (alphabetically): 'Mozart Wolfgang, k.k. Kammermusicus'.

52. The letter of employment survives in the Mozarteum, Salzburg. Mozart's salary is further noted in HKA, HZB 184 (1788), f.18v: 'Kammer Musicus bey S[eine]r M[ajestät] dem Kaiser, Mozart Wolfgang, laut Ver[ordnung] ddo 13 Xber '787 a la [des Monats] 800f od.d.a. 760f'. After the deduction of the *Arrha* tax of 40 gulden Mozart's salary came to 760 gulden.

53. Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, 307, reviews the titles applied to Mozart more fully here than in the German edition.

54. Wagenseil (1715-77) was appointed court composer in 1739. Between 1741 and 1750 he also served as organist in the chapel of Empress Elisabeth Christine, the widow of Charles VI. In addition, from 1749 he gave keyboard lessons to the imperial archduchesses.

55. The *Hof- und Ehren-Kalender* is the internal directory to the court for the use of the court itself. The *Hof- und Staats-Schemata* are public directories to the court and government. My thanks to Walther Brauneis for this clarification.

observations for our purposes are, first, that there seems to be at least one composer in the Hofkapelle and one in the *Kammermusik*, whatever they are called; and, second, that composer positions are not transferable in the same way as other positions, for example that of Hofkapellmeister, which carries with it a standard salary and which must be filled on the death of the holder. The evidence thus suggests that Mozart was from the beginning appointed as a composer and, in his capacity as composer in the *Kammermusik*, enjoyed the honour of serving the emperor personally.

Having engaged Mozart, Joseph next proceeded to a reorganization of the Hofkapelle. On 12 February 1788 he consolidated the Hofkapelle with the theatre under the management of Rosenberg, to permit, as he said, a more economical use of their pooled resources (see [Appendix: 3](#). Joseph's memorandum to his *Obersthofmeister* regarding the restructuring of the Hofkapelle, 1788). Rosenberg had been the unofficial head of the theatre since 1776 when Joseph had taken over the theatre from the lessee.^{56/} Traditionally the theatre, like the Hofkapelle and *Kammermusik*, had fallen under the jurisdiction of the *Obersthofmeister*. However, in the spring of 1776 the office of the *Obersthofmeister* did not have the necessary personnel to take on Joseph's theatre project. The long-serving *Obersthofmeister* Prince Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch died on 18 April 1776, 18 days after the beginning of the theatre season.^{57/} His subordinate in music was the *Musikgraf*, but this position was still vacant from when the previous *Musikgraf* Sporck had been transferred out on 13 April 1775. Consequently, Joseph asked Rosenberg, the *Oberstkämmerer*, to act temporarily as the head of the theatre. As *Oberstkämmerer*, Rosenberg was responsible for seeing to the physical needs of the court: he supervised all domestic personnel, from personal physicians to chambermaids to the gardeners in Schönbrunn. Although he reported directly to the emperor, in the court hierarchy he ranked below the *Obersthofmeister*, who was the highest official at court. Assigning the theatre to the *Oberstkämmerer* thus went against established court practice, which is why no steps were ever taken to formalize Rosenberg's function as head of the theatre. Now, in 1788,

56. Count (Prince as of 1790) Franz Xaver Wolf Orsini Rosenberg (1723-96) began his career as a diplomat for the Viennese court with postings to London, Milan, Copenhagen and Madrid, where he arranged the marriage of Archduke Leopold and Maria Luisa of Spain. In 1766 he served as Leopold's chief adviser in Florence, was recalled to Vienna in 1772 by Maria Theresia and was later made *Oberstkämmerer* by Joseph. In 1776 he became, in effect, director of the court theatre. Except for 20 months during the reign of Leopold II and at the beginning of Franz's reign, he served in this capacity until August 1794, when the court put the theatre back into the hands of a lessee.

57. Prince (after 1764) Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch (1706-76) was appointed by Maria Theresia to her court in 1742, first as *Obersthofmarschall*, then as *Oberstkämmerer*, and finally as *Obersthofmeister*, as successor to Count Anton Corfiz Ulfeld, who died on 31 December 1769. His diary, spanning 1742 to 1776, was published, along with supplementary entries in an unknown hand, as *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, Kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters 1742-1776*, i-vii, ed. R. Khevenhüller-Metsch and H. Schlitter (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen and Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1907-25); viii, ed. M. Breunlich-Pawlik and H. Wagner (Vienna: AdolfHolzhausens Nfg., 1972).

when it seemed expedient to join the Hofkapelle to the theatre, the two were united under Rosenberg. This change involved transferring the Hofkapelle from the office of the *Obersthofmeister* to that of the *Oberstkämmerer*. With the Hofkapelle also went the trusteeship of the Tonkünstler pension fund.^{58/} The *Obersthofmeister* Prince Georg Starhemberg did not take kindly to this loss to his office.^{59/} Zinzendorf, who met Starhemberg's wife on the day of the changes, reported: 'Princess Starhemberg was quite worked up about whether it was right for the emperor to allow himself the pleasure of rearranging his Hofkapelle'.^{60/}

Joseph also made changes within the Hofkapelle. He pensioned off the aged Bonno at full salary and in his place appointed Salieri at the same salary Bonno had received^{61/} (see [Appendix: 4](#). Instructions to Salieri regarding the restructured Hofkapelle, 1788). Ignaz Umlauf, who was about to lose his position as Kapellmeister of the Singspiel, was appointed Salieri's substitute and music librarian ('Substitut und Besorger der Musikalien'), still at his former salary of 850 gulden but now with the deduction for the *Arrha* tax.^{62/} The many vacancies in the Hofkapelle were now filled as well, as shown in [Table 9.2](#), where the new players are marked with asterisks. The violin section, which had stood at four members, now reduced to three by the retirement of Trani, saw 11 new appointments. The oboe positions, which had been vacant since May 1772, were now filled by Triebensee and Went. Similarly, the bassoon positions, vacant since 1781, were taken by Kauzner and Drobney. All the new appointments, however, were made on a contractual basis, as in the theatre (see [Appendix: 3](#). Joseph's memorandum to his *Obersthofmeister* regarding the restructuring of the Hofkapelle, 1788). Their salaries were generally half those of their permanently employed colleagues, because they were not as frequently called upon. At this point, about 19 of the Hofkapelle's 23 orchestral players were also members of the theatre orchestra.^{63/}

[text continues on page 20]

58. HHStA, OMeA Prot.45, 1788 (alphabetically): 'Music-Societät unter den Schuz des ersten Obersten Hof Meisters gestanden-wird dem obersten Kämmerer überlassen Nr.281'. See also Starhemberg's confirmation of the change to Rosenberg, 28 April 1788 (HHStA, OKäA, Akten, Karton 10, no.113).

59. Prince (after 1765) Georg Adam Starhemberg (1724-1807) was appointed *Obersthofmeister* on 1 August 1783.

60. 'la P^{esse} Starhemberg. . .s'entendit beaucoup sur ce qu'il etoit juste de laisser a l'Emp. le plaisir de changer l'arrangement de la musique de sa Chapelle' (Zinzendorf, 12 February 1788, in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 311).

61. Salieri's letter of appointment as Hofkapellmeister is found in HHStA, OKäA, Akten, Karton 10, Konvolut 1788, no.99, CCLXXXIV.

62. Umlauf (1746-96) had joined the theatre orchestra as a viola player during the lessee period in 1772. He was engaged for Joseph's theatre orchestra on 1 January 1777. In 1778, when Joseph expanded his theatre to include Singspiel, he appointed Umlauf as the Kapellmeister. When the Singspiel company was disbanded the first time, in 1783, Umlauf was appointed assistant to Salieri in the Italian opera. When the Singspiel company was dissolved a second time, on 29 February 1788, he was appointed assistant to Salieri in the Hofkapelle. The fact that his salary was as of that point subjected to the *Arrha* tax argues for his having been made a court employee, although Joseph's instructions regarding the Hofkapelle neglect to say so.

63. The musicians in the court theatre orchestras cannot be identified from the payment records alone, as many of their names appear in several spellings and usually without their Christian names. Helpful information can sometimes be found in other sources. For example, a personnel list from 1791 points out which musicians in the Hofkapelle and *Kammermusik* also played in the court theatre orchestras, namely Drobney, Fux [Fuchs], Grebner, Hofer, Johann [Baptist] Hoffmann, Joseph Hoffmann, Huber, Kauzner, Johann Klemp, Kreibich, Maratschek, Menzel, Müller, Orsler, Pirlinger, Ponheimer, Scheidl,

TABLE 9.2 The personnel of the Hofkapelle, 1 March 1788^a

roman type - musicians appointed to the Hofkapelle in 1772

italic type - court employees (these salaries are gross)

* -- musicians employed on contract

— — — — —

Hofkapellmeister

Salieri, Antonio, 1200 fl.

Substitut, und zur Besorgung der Musicalien

Umlauf, Ignaz, 850 fl.; also to Umlauf [as an allowance] for [raising and training the] 8 choirboys, 1600 fl.^b

Sopranist

Schlemmer, Michael, 300 fl.

Altist

Pacher, Anton, 300 fl.

Tenoristen

**Adamberger, Valentin*, 800 fl.^c

**Ruprecht, Martin*, 400 fl.^d

Brichta, Adalbert, 300 fl.

Krottendorfer, Joseph, 300 fl.

Panschab, Leopold, 300 fl.

Bassisten

Gsur, Tobias, 400 fl.^e

Ulbrich, Anton, 300 fl.

Haberda, Cyrillus, 300 fl.

**Hoffmann, Joseph*, 300 fl.^f

Wrawezzi [Wrawecz], Jakob, 300 fl.^g

Violinisten

Kreibich, Franz, 400 fl. (also Kammer Musicus)

Hoffmann, Anton, 300 fl.

Klemp, Johann, 300 fl.

**Scheidel, Joseph*, 150 fl.

**Hofer, Franz*, 150 fl.

**Müller, Wenzl*, 150 fl.

**Maratschek, Karl*, 150 fl.

**Hueber, Thaddäus*, 150 fl.

**Ponheimer, Otto*, 150 fl. (also Kammer Musicus)

**Hoffmann, Joseph Junior*, 150 fl.^h

**Hoffmann, Joseph [Johann] Baptist*, 150 fl. (also Kammer Musicus)

**Mentzel (Menzel, Menzl), Zeno Franz*, 150 fl.ⁱ

**Fuchs, Peter*, 150 fl.

**Pirlinger, Joseph*, 150 fl.

Violoncellisten

Hoffmann, Johann [Nikolaus], 300 fl.

Orsler, Joseph, 300 fl.

(TABLE 9.2 The personnel of the Hofkapelle, 1 March 1788, continued)

Contrabassi

Kammermayer, Joseph, 300 fl.

Grebner, Leopold, 300 fl.

Organisten

Arbesser, Franz Ferdinand, 400 fl.

Albrechtsberger, Georg, 300 fl.

Trombonist

Ulbrich, Ignaz Karl, 300 fl.^j

Hautboisten

*Triebensee, Georg, 100 fl.

*Went [Vent], Johann, 100 fl.

Fagottisten

*Kauzner, Wenzl, 100 fl.

*Trobney [Drobney], Ignaz, 100 fl.

Instrument Diener

Zeiss, Johann, 400 fl.

Wagner, Joseph, 300 fl.

KAMMER MUSICI

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 800 fl.

Kreibich, Franz, 250 fl.

Woborzill, Thomas, 250 fl.

Ponheimer, Otto Heinrich, 300 fl.

Hoffmann, Joseph [Johann] Baptist, 300 fl.

Jubilati

Galli, Pietro, 600 fl.

Mancini, Giovanni Battista, 1500 fl.^k

Notes to Table 9.2

^a HKA, HZB 184 (1788), Hofkapelle from 1 March 1788, ff.159v-159³/₄r, and HHStA, OKäA, Akten, Karton 19, Konvolut 1788, no.100, Besoldungsstand der neu regulirten kaiserl- königlichen Hofkapelle.

^b Previously billeted in a seminary attached to the Kirche am Hof, the choirboys were on 1 November 1782 put into the care of Umlauf so that they could also occasionally sing in the opera chorus and thereby widen their experience (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.371, no.3, 1772-84, Die Hofsängerknaben betreffenden Akten).

^c Adamberger had previously sung in both the Singspiel and the Italian opera companies, where his salary had been 2133 gulden 20 kreuzer. After his appointment to the Hofkapelle, his salary was divided between the Hofkapelle, where he received 800 gulden, and the Italian opera, where he received 1333 gulden 20 kreuzer. His association with the Hofkapelle went back to the early 1780s, when he was regularly engaged for the New Year's Day gala (e.g., HHStA, OMeA, S.R.371, Konvolut 14, *Nota über die Auslagen der Hofmusikkapelle*, no.42, 2 January 1783).

^d As a singer in both the Singspiel and the Italian opera, Ruprecht had received a salary of 700 gulden. After his appointment to the Hofkapelle, his name disappears from the lists of the Italian opera company.

^e Choirmaster at the Schottenkirche, who was one of four applicants in 1772 for the post of court Kapellmeister, which went to Gassmann (B. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986, pp.70-71). The other two unsuccessful applicants were Leopold Hoffmann, who was Kapellmeister of both St Stephan's and St Peter's, and Joseph Starzer.

^f Probably the same Joseph Hoffmann who in 1787-8 had sung in both the Italian opera at 200 gulden and the Singspiel at 200 gulden, and who also supplied the chorus for both companies. After his appointment to the Hofkapelle, he is no longer listed as a soloist in the Italian company, although he continued to supply the chorus.

^g The account books show Wraveczi as a bass for the first time on 1 March 1788. However, the HZB 185 (1789) notes that his appointment as a bass dates back to 24 August 1783, a date corroborated by the annual *Hof- und Staats-Schemata*. It is not clear why he was not listed as a bass in the Hofkapelle before 1788. The Hofkapelle account books, however, show him as *Concert Dispensator* from 1782 to 1787 with a salary of 200 gulden. As of 1788 the position of *Concert Dispensator* was eliminated, and the duties associated with the post were assigned to Umlauf.

^h Joseph Hoffmann, junior, was engaged in 1785, but, by order of the emperor, spent the first three years of his appointment studying with Pietro Nardini in Florence (HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton 1, [1792] Extract der HofMusik Status, wie lang jeder mit oder ohne Decret dienet, f.89r).

ⁱ The account books (S.R.22-7) name both a Karl Menzel (Menzl) and a Zeno Franz Mentzel. Whether these are really two different people cannot be determined. A Menzl without a Christian name is listed as a first violinist in the Kärntnertheater orchestra from 1 October 1785 to the end of February 1788, the entire duration of the Singspiel's existence. Payments for additional services at the German opera during 1786-7 and 1787-8 are listed for a Karl Menzel. The indexes to the account books in question, however, list only one Menzel, which suggests that the violinist throughout was Karl Menzel. But in 1788-9, when the Singspiel was no longer in existence, the account book shows a payment to Zeno Franz Menzel for substituting for the violinist Plaske in the Burgtheater orchestra (which played for the Italian opera and German spoken plays). That same year on 1 March, as already noted, Zeno Franz was engaged for the Hofkapelle. In the next extant account book, for the year 1791-2, a Menzel is listed as a second violinist in the Burgtheater orchestra. The same book also records a payment made to Zeno Menzel for playing a violin recital in Laxenburg in August. Again, the index lists only one Menzel. The account book for 1793-4 continues to list a Menzel in the second violins of the Burgtheater orchestra. By way of making a correction, I should point out that the index to my book *National Court Theatre*, 540, contains an erroneous entry for a Paul Menzel, which should read simply 'Menzel'. The 'Paul' came about as a misreading of 'Karl' in the Korrent handwriting.

^j Ignaz Ulbrich had been engaged in 1771, but his brother Anton had been filling in for him since 1773, 'with the highest permission' (HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton 1, [1792] Extract der HofMusik Status, wie lang jeder mit oder ohne Decret dienet, f.89v). Their father was the bass Anton Ulbrich (HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton 1, f.193: Entwurff [1791], Beilage G: Lista der dermallen bestehenden k:k: Hofmusik Personalis, wie solches unter Item März 1788 neu bestellet worden).

^k Mancini wrote the influential singing treatise *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (Vienna, 1774).

Within weeks of his appointment Mozart could congratulate himself on his good fortune: in the hierarchy of the court's composers he was now second only to Salieri. He could hardly have expected such rapid advancement. In his letter of 11 April 1781 to his father, in which he assessed his chances for a position at court, he described the line of succession as consisting of Bonno, Salieri, Starzer and then possibly himself^{64/} (significantly, Mozart did not include Gluck in the hierarchy). Now Starzer was dead, Bonno was retired, Salieri was the first composer and Mozart was the second.

This observation helps shed some light on the petition Mozart sent to the court in May 1790, soon after Leopold II had ascended to the throne. In his petition he wrote: 'I venture to apply for the post of second Kapellmeister, particularly as Salieri, that very gifted Kapellmeister, has never devoted himself to church music, whereas from my youth up I have made myself completely familiar with this style'.^{65/} Mozart asked to be promoted to second Kapellmeister, a position that did not exist, deferring to Salieri's expertise in opera, while recommending himself as a composer of church music. Mozart clearly expected Leopold to reorganize his musical establishment, perhaps along the lines of Charles VI's Hofkapelle, where the first Kapellmeister was responsible for the opera and the second for church music.^{66/}

What eventually happened when Leopold at last turned his attention to his *Hofmusik* at the beginning of 1791 was quite different. He kept the Hofkapelle and the theatre together, but transferred both back to the office of the *Obersthofmeister*. At the same time, he replaced Rosenberg with Count Johann Wenzel Ugarte, whom he installed as *Musikgraf*.^{67/} This much was not

(*continuation of footnote 63*) Tribensee, Went, Woborzill (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.197, Status des Obersthofmeisteramt 1791, p.27: Status der Hof Kapellen Musick samt Pensionisten). Also, Bonno's quarterly bills for the services of extra musicians reveal that some of the newly appointed musicians had been playing freelance in the Hofkapelle for many years, among them Thomas Woborzill, Joseph Pirlinger, Wenzel Müller, Thadäus Hueber, Ignaz Drobney and Joseph Mayer (HHStA, OMeA, S.R.371, Konvolut 14, *Nota über die Auslagen der Hofmusikkapelle*, no.3, 31 August 1775: Verzeichnüß der besonders bestellten Tonkünstlern zu Hof-Kapellen und Kammer Musiquen von 1ten May bis letzten July 1775).

64. '<Ich darf nur sagen das ich hier bleibe> - denn, was ich Componiere ist nicht dazu <gerechnet> - und dann, <Wienn>, und - <salzburg>? - Wenn der <Bono stirbt, so ist Salieri kapellmeister> - dann anstatt <Salieri> - wird <starzer> einrücken, anstatt <starzer> - weis mann noch <keinen>' (MBA, iii, 106; *Letters*, 724). The text in angle brackets was originally written in a code devised by the Mozarts to evade the archbishop's censor.

65. Draft of a letter from early May 1790 (*Letters*, 938-9; MBA, iv, 107).

66. The Hofkapelle of Charles VI was still used as a point of reference, as seen, for example, in the *Entwurff*, f.22r, where the argument for better remuneration for the musicians in 1791 is supported by appending the wage schedule for Charles's Hofkapelle.

67. Leopold to Starhemberg, 25 January 1791 (HHStA, OMeA, Akten 1791, no.165), regarding the appointment of Ugarte (1748-96) as *Musikgraf* as of 1 February 1791. The letter is transcribed and translated by J.A. Rice, *Emperor and Impresario: Leopold II and the Transformation of Viennese Musical Theatre, 1790-92* (diss., U. of California, Berkeley, 1987), 364-6, who provided extensive documentation for and discussion of Leopold's administration of the theatre. Da Ponte reported that Leopold described Ugarte as a 'sacco di Paglia' ('bag of straw'; L. Da Ponte, *Memorie*, New York: Pubblicate dell'autore, 1823-7, 2/1829-30, i, 134). A man with no will of his own was the ideal *Musikgraf* for Leopold, who wanted to exercise complete control over the theatre.

unexpected but, unpredictably, he removed Salieri from the opera. While he could not deprive Salieri of his title and salary, thanks to Joseph's having given him tenure, he did relieve him of all duties in the theatre except for writing one opera a year. 'Although Kapellmeister Salieri will continue to draw his present salary, he too [like Francesco Bussani] will as of 1 November be removed from the direction of the theatre, in which only Weigl will remain, and when he is indisposed, Umlauf, but only to accompany, without any say in either the distribution of the roles or anything concerning the opera company'.^{68/} Salieri's theatrical duties were assigned to his young assistant Joseph Weigl.^{69/} This meant that Salieri had essentially only one function left at court, that of Hofkapellmeister.^{70/} This was bad news for Mozart. Although he too retained his position and rank, he missed out on a promotion.

68. 'Der Kappelmeister Salieri, wird a 1ma 9bris zwar bey dem, was er dermalen bezieht, verbleiben, aber von der Theater direction gleichfalls dispensiret werden, bey welcher der einzige Veigel und wann dieser verhindert seyn sollte, der Umlauf zu verbleiben haben wird, bloß zu accompagniren, und ohne jedoch etwas weder in der Austheilung deren Rollen noch bey der Troupe zu sagen zu haben', Leopold to Ugarte, 27 July 1791 (HHStA, Handbilleten-Protokoll, Bd.78b, ff.197r-202r, transcribed in Rice, *Emperor and Impresario*, 374). The explanation given by the court was 'that it was demeaning for famous men like Salieri to spend their time serving at the keyboard [i.e. conducting]; accomplished artists such as he should preoccupy themselves only with composition' (from Weigl's autobiography, as transcribed by R. Angermüller, 'Zwei Selbstbiographien von Joseph Weigl (1766-1846)', *Deutsches Jb der Musikwissenschaft für 1971*, 55). Weigl was supposedly appointed in Salieri's place 'to honour the master through his scholar' ('um in dem Schüler den Meister zu ehren': I.F.E. von Mosel, *Über das Leben und die Werke des Anton Salieri*, Vienna: 1.8. Wallishausser, 1827, p.138; ed. R. Angermüller, Bad Honnef: Bock, 1999, p.115). The dismissal was a sensitive issue for Mosel, who could not publicly criticize the father of his emperor. Consequently, he invented the story that Salieri had asked to be relieved of his duties as Kapellmeister. However, in 1864 Thayer was already sceptical of Mosel's account. The point about the composition of one opera a year can be found in the Berlin *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* of 20 October 1791, as reported in A. W. Thayer, *Salieri: Rival of Mozart*, ed. T. Albrecht (Kansas City: Philharmonia of Greater Kansas City, 1989), 132.

69. This promotion represented a big leap in his career. Weigl (1766-1846) joined the Italian opera in 1785-6 as Salieri's apprentice and was paid 100 gulden for assisting at rehearsals. In 1786-7 and 1787-8 the amount was raised to 200 gulden. In 1788-9 his job was converted into a salaried position ('Cembalist'), although his salary remained at 200 gulden, or 16 gulden 40 kreuzer a month. Under Leopold he received several increases in quick succession: on 1 March 1791 his salary was increased to 50 gulden a month, on 1 January 1792 to 88 gulden 20 kreuzer a month and on 1 March 1792 to 1000 gulden a year (Link, *National Court Theatre*, 13). Leopold was keen on having a Kapellmeister as young as Weigl, who was not quite 26, since he himself wanted to make the most important musical decisions. Not only did he bar Weigl from allocating roles in the operas, he also forbade him to compose operas, which was a major blow to the young composer (Angermüller, 'Zwei Selbstbiographien', 55-6).

70. The bulk of his sacred music dates from this point on (Mosel, *Salieri*, 138). See also R. Angermüller, 'Geistliche Werke von Antonio Salieri in der k.k. Hofkapelle in Wien (1820-1896)', *SMw*, xv (1996), 67-132, and J.S. Hettrick, 'A Thematic Catalogue of Sacred Works by Antonio Salieri: an Uncatalogued Holograph of the Composer in the Archive of the Vienna Hofkapelle', *Fontes artis musicae*, xxxiii (1986), 226-35.

Mozart died soon thereafter. For the time being he was not replaced, the court's position being that Mozart's post had been created expressly for him, as can be read in the correspondence surrounding Constanze Mozart's petition for a pension: 'The late Hofkompositor Mozart was accepted into Court service expressly to prevent an artist of such outstanding genius from being obliged to seek his subsistence abroad'.^{71/} Of course, it was only a matter of time before another composer appointment would be made. It happened unexpectedly soon, for when Leopold suddenly died on 1 March 1792, everything changed again. His young son Franz was overwhelmed with problems, and he had an incompetent *Musikgraf* in Ugarte. Having declared only on 12 March that 'there is no necessity to fill the position of Compositor',^{72/} Ugarte appointed Leopold Kozeluch on 28 August 1792 as Mozart's replacement, retroactive to 12 June. He gave him the extraordinary title of 'k.k. Kammerkapellmeister und Hofmusik Compositor' and the astonishing salary of 1500 gulden.^{73/} The letter of appointment specifies that his duties included composing one opera or oratorio a year or two if His Majesty wished it. His salary was to be paid from the theatre account, although his title, unclear as it is, puts him in either the *Kammermusik* or the Hofkapelle. Until Salieri's forced retirement from the theatre in 1791, after which he was required to compose one opera a year, operas had been commissioned individually and were usually paid for at a standard 450 gulden each.^{74/} With a few exceptions, oratorios had neither been commissioned nor performed by the court since the Pensions-Sozietät began its fund-raising concerts, which were built around oratorios. That this appointment was ill-conceived is borne out by what followed.

On 10 November 1792 Franz removed Ugarte from the management of the theatre and pressed Rosenberg, now aged 69, back into service.^{75/} Soon thereafter Rosenberg submitted a report suggesting ways to save money.^{76/} These included dismissing the superfluous people engaged in the past year,

71. Count Johann Chotek to Starhemberg, 5 March 1791, in Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, 443; *Dokumente*, 388. More or less the same formulation is found again in Starhemberg's representation to Emperor Franz, 12 March 1792, *Dokumente*, 390; *Documentary Biography*, 445.

72. Ugarte quoted by Starhemberg in his report to Franz, 12 March 1792, *ibid.*

73. The letter of appointment is transcribed in K. Pfannhauser, 'Wer war Mozarts Amtsnachfolger?', *Acta mozartiana*, iii (1956), 12.

74. See Edge, 'Mozart's Fee', 220-24.

75. Franz's letter to Rosenberg is transcribed in E. Großegger, *Pächter und Publikum 1794-1817* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), i, 66-7. The separation of the theatre from the Hofkapelle is noted in HKA, HZB 188, f.225, as: '24 and 30 November 1792. Trennung der Hoftheatral direction von jener der Hofmusik'. Ugarte retained control of the Hofkapelle and custodianship of the funds of the Pensions-Sozietät.

76. The report is no longer extant, save for two appendixes (HHStA, Gen. Int. (Akten) 1, Konvolut 1792, no.7, 1.Beilage, ff.55v and 56r; 2.Beilage, f.57). However, the summary of the report recorded in the index to the theatre records is quite detailed (HHStA, Gen. Int. 1, Verzeichniss & Index über die Theater-Acten vom Jahre 1792 bis incl. 1805: 1792, Protokollszahl 7, 21 Dez., Anträge wegen Ersparung): 'Herabminderung des Besoldungsstandes, Abdankung v. Beamten u. Musikern, der Maler Platzler u. Grill, des Maschinisten Gagliari, des statt des kürzlich verstorbenen Mozart aufgenommenen Kozeluh (da ohnehin Salieri u. Weigl als Kapellmeister fungiren) u. des Cemballisten Teuber (im Kärntnerthortheater) . . .'. Franz's resolution is written directly below the summary of Rosenberg's recommendations: 'Die Besoldungen des Platzler, Galieri und Grill können in Ersparung gebracht. . .werden. Ebenso ist auch Kozeluch entbehrlich, u. kann ihm allenfalls eine Expektanz gegeben werden. Teuber is ganz überflüssig . . .'.

among them Kozeluch. Rosenberg referred to him as 'Kozeluch who was engaged in place of the recently deceased Mozart'; this is the reference that names him as Mozart's successor.^{77/} In his response to Rosenberg's recommendation, Franz decreed: 'Kozeluch, too, is dispensable and should in any event be dismissed'. Among the other personnel targeted by Rosenberg for dismissal was Anton Teyber, who had been appointed Kapellmeister to the opera by Leopold on 1 December 1791.^{78/} Franz approved of his dismissal as well, declaring that Teyber was 'completely superfluous'. Both their salaries were discontinued at the end of the theatre year, 29 February.^{79/}

On 8 February 1793 Teyber sent a petition to the emperor reminding him that he had given up a good position as court organist in Dresden to respond to Leopold's summons to come to Vienna and suggesting that, if he could not be retained in the theatre, he be made a court organist or keyboard instructor to the imperial children.^{80/} Ugarte acknowledged that an alternative position had to be found for Teyber.^{81/} However, as the court already had two organists, Georg Albrechtsberger and Georg Summerer,^{82/} the only way Ugarte could see of engaging Teyber was as Mozart's replacement. 'The position of composer in the Hofkapelle, which has remained vacant since Mozart's death and which carries with it a salary of 800 gulden, offers a means of creating the desired alternative position and thereby appointing Teyber'.^{83/} Apparently, as Kozeluch had been dismissed, the position was once again open. Starhemberg concurred with Ugarte's solution and on 20 February appointed Teyber 'Kompositor in der k.k. Hofmusik', at a salary of 500 gulden, with the additional responsibility of giving keyboard lessons to the imperial children.^{84/}

77. Pfannhauser questioned the claim made in the secondary literature that Kozeluch was Mozart's successor. On the basis of the documents he assembled, he concluded that only Anton Teyber was appointed as such. However, he overlooked Rosenberg's report of 21 December 1792 – which would have altered his conclusion – perhaps because it is filed with the theatre and not the Hofkapelle documents.

78. The theatre account book for 1791-2 does not name his position but simply lists him under the heading of Kapellmeister in third place under Salieri and Weigl (Link, *National Court Theatre*, 435; also Rice, *Emperor and Impresario*, 393). Rosenberg referred to him here as 'der Cembalist Teuber'.

79. The theatre account book for 1792-3, where both of their salaries would have been notated along with a reference to their dismissal, is no longer extant. However, the account book for the following year, which begins on 1 March 1793, shows that no payment was made to either in 1793-4 (Link, *National Court Theatre*, 443).

80. Pfannhauser, 'Mozarts Amtsnachfolger', 14.

81. Ugarte to Starhemberg, 14 February 1793 (*ibid.*, 14-15).

82. Georg Summerer (Summer) was appointed second court organist on 1 December 1791, when the first organist Ferdinand Arbesser retired and the second organist Georg Albrechtsberger moved into his place. Summerer had been appointed keyboard instructor to Princess Elisabeth of Württemberg, the intended bride for Archduke Franz, in 1782 (letter of 5 October 1782: *MBA*, iii, 236; *Letters*, 826).

83. 'Die Compositors Stelle bei der k.k. Hofkapelle, welche seit dem Tode des Mozart, und mit selber eine Besoldung von 800 fl. erledigt geblieben ist, biethet die Gelegenheit dar, den Teyber eine Anstellung und durch selbe den erst-besagten Ersatz zu verschaffen' (Pfannhauser, 'Mozarts Amtsnachfolger', 15).

84. Starhemberg, 20 February 1793: 'daß Teyber bey der k.k. Hofmusik als Kompositor mit jähr^{en} 500 f. und mit der untereinstigen Verbindlichkeit die Durchlauchtigsten Herrschaften im Klavier ohne einer besonderen Bezahlung zu unterrichten angestellt werden solle' (*ibid.*).

Meanwhile Kozeluch, too, protested at his dismissal. Not all the documents survive, but enough to follow the story. On 8 April Franz gave Kozeluch a written assurance that he would continue to receive his salary.^{85/} However, Rosenberg evidently held firm, for on 18 April Ugarte submitted a report to Starhemberg about 'the Kozeluch affair'.^{86/} On 5 July Kozeluch complained to Franz that his salary still had not been paid since the end of February.^{87/} A note in the *Hofzahlamtsbuch* for 1793 shows that a solution was finally reached on 26 July. Kozeluch was thenceforth paid from the Hofkapelle.^{88/} Thus, in the end, through sheer administrative incompetence, Mozart was replaced twice.

I would now like to return to Mozart's appointment in 1787 and place it into the wider context of political events. Joseph met Catherine II of Russia in the Crimea in May to discuss the situation with Turkey. By the end of the summer it had become clear that war was imminent. On 10 September Joseph moved the wedding of Archduke Franz, his designated heir, forward from the following Easter to directly after New Year. The culmination of years of careful preparation, this politically important union had to be brought about before both he and Franz went off to war, which Joseph did on 29 February 1788, his nephew a short time later. Joseph's other preparations for the war, both great and small, included making changes to his musical and theatrical establishment. At the beginning of October, out of financial considerations, Joseph considered dissolving the Italian opera. Instead, he discontinued the Singspiel, but at the same time secured Salieri's position as Kapellmeister of the Italian opera by making him a court employee. On 6 December 1788 he took Mozart into his service. Mozart's letter of appointment, as will be recalled, was issued not by the *Obersthofmeister*, the proper authority at the time, but by Rosenberg, the *Oberstkämmerer*. This detail is revealing. It shows that when Joseph made Mozart's appointment he had already decided upon the consolidation of the court's musical personnel under Rosenberg. He probably also had already decided to make Salieri Hofkapellmeister, which meant that Salieri's position in the *Kammermusik* would have become vacant. Mozart was in a sense Salieri's replacement and would have been appointed even if Gluck had not died just then. Either way, composer appointments were not compulsory, and on the eve of war, an appointment such as Mozart's could easily have been postponed. Joseph needed neither a new *Kammer Compositor*, nor a more vigorous Hofkapellmeister at the head of a renewed Hofkapelle, nor a tenured opera Kapellmeister for a company on the brink of dissolution just as he was about to leave for the battlefield. And yet he made these appointments. In doing so, Joseph secured the futures of his two most valued composers.

85. HHStA, Gen. Int. (Akten) 1, Konvolut 1793, no.42, Beilage, 8 April 1793.

86. The document dealing with 'der Angelegenheit des Kapell-Meister Kozeluch' survives only in the form of a brief summary (HHStA, Verzeichnis zu Kaiser Franz Akten, Fasz.161, 1793, Konvolut 2, no.16).

87. HHStA, Gen. Int. (Akten) 1, Konvolut 1793, no.42, Kozeluch to Franz, 5 July 1793.

88. HKA,HZB 192 (1793-1801), pag.1823.

APPENDIX

1. Joseph's Resolution regarding the Hofkapelle, 1772

Staat Raths Resolutzion (HHStA, Hofakten, Hofmusikkapelle, Karton 1, f.87):

Das Musik Personale ist eingerathenermaßen in beständigen Salarien zu unterhalten. Ich will hiezu, da die Dienste jezo seltner als sonsten seynd vom 1. April *hujus anni* anzufangen jährlich 12000 f. gewidmet haben, worunter jedoch der Gehalt des Kapellmeisters pr: 1200 f. nicht mit inbegriffen ist. Ausser deme sind auch zur Herstellung eines Pensions Fundi jährlich 1800 f. jedoch nur auf 10 Jahre abzugeben, daß solchemnach der fixirte jährliche Aufwand für die Hofmusik mit Inbegriff des Kapellmeisters in 15000 f. bestehen wird, die erübrigenden 5000 f. die solchemnach in dem bisherigen Pachtquanto der 20000 f. zurückbleiben können zur Belohnung fremder durchreisender Virtuosen, die man etwa auf einige Zeit hier behalten wollte, oder auch zu Remunerrung hiesiger Tonkünstlern, die man zu einigen Produktionen nacher Hof kommen läßt, verwendet werden.

Es sind übrigens diejenige Individua, die bishero ausser dem Pachtquanto, aus dem Kammeralzahlamt bezahlet worden, auch aus gegenwärtigem Statu, nur mit Ausnahme des Lautenmachers und Instrumentendiener vollkommen zu excindiren; Sie können jedoch nach Maaß ihrer Tichtigkeit zur Hofmusik gegen den geniessenden Gehalt ferners gebraucht werden, mit ihren Absterben aber sind auch deren Salarien gänzlich einzuziehen.

Er hat in dessen Verfolg den Personal und Besoldungsstand individualiter zu entwerffen, und nicht minder den Plan zu pensionirung abzufassen, ein und das andere aber zu meiner Begnehmigung dem nächstens zu überreichen; da auch meine Willensmeinung ist, womit künfftig die Kammer in das Geschäft der Hofmusik, so weit die Verwendung der dazu gewidmeten Besoldungs und Pensions Geldern im ganzem betrifft, das Einsehen zu nehmen habe, so wird folglich der Stand des personalis von Zeit zu Zeit bei jeglicher Veränderung desselben an besagte Kammer zur Zahlungs Anweisung abzugeben seyn, wornach er von aller Verrechnung künfftig enthoben bleibet.

Joseph, Wien den 18 Marti 1772.

Translation

As advised, I shall engage the music personnel on salary. To this end I want to allocate 12,000 fl. annually towards salaries, since the services are now fewer than before, to start on 1 April of this year. This figure does not include the Kapellmeister's salary of 1200 fl. In addition, 1800 fl. are to be contributed towards the creation of a pension fund, but only for ten years. Accordingly, the fixed annual cost of the Hofkapelle, including the Kapellmeister's salary, will amount to 15,000 fl. The remaining 5000 fl. from the 20,000 fl. that previously comprised the *Pacht* budget can be used to pay visiting *virtuosi* from abroad, whom we might wish to retain here for a while, or also local musicians, whose services may be needed for special occasions.

Furthermore, those individuals who have all along been paid from the *Kammeralzahlamt*, and not from the *Pacht* budget, are to be completely eliminated from the present *Statu* [composition of the Hofkapelle], with the exception of the lute maker and the *Instrumentendiener* [who dispenses and collects the instruments]. The former individuals, however, can continue to serve in the Hofkapelle according to their capabilities, since they are on salary anyway. Upon their deaths, however, their salaries, too, are to be withdrawn.

Accordingly, he [Sporck] is instructed to draw up a personnel list with a wage schedule showing each individual's salary and to draw up the pension plan and show both to me for my approval as soon as possible. As it is also my wish that henceforth the *Kammer* [*Kammeralzahlamt*] oversee the affairs of the *Hofmusik* as far as the use of the moneys dedicated to salaries and pensions is concerned, every change in personnel must be reported to the *Kammer* for payroll purposes. Following this, he [Sporck] will be relieved of all further accounting.

Joseph, Vienna, 18 March 1772

2. Decree making Salieri a court employee as Kapellmeister of the Italian opera, 1787

HHStA, OKäA, Akten 9B, no.72:

Decret Für den Anton Salieri als Kapellmeister bei dem k:k: national Theater. Von der k:k: obersten theatral Hofdirecksion wegen, dem Anton Salieri hiemit in Gnaden anzuzeigen: Es hat gedachte k:k: theatral HofDireksion in Anbetracht seiner in der Musick besizenden vorzüglichen Fähigkeiten auch durch gezeigte gute Kompositionen, und hirdurch sich erworbenen Beifall überhaupt aber wegen seine fleisig, geleisten theatral Diensten, demselbe zum Kapellmeister bei dem k:k: national Theater mit einen jährl[ichen] Gehalt von 853f 20x bennennet. Demnach wird er Anton Salieri als Kapellmeister in dem k:k: nat. Theater angestellt, und ihme gegenwärtiges decret ertheilt, kraftwessen er sich aller und jeder Vorrechten, so dieser ihm allergnädigst verliehene Charakter mit sich bringet, zu erfreuen haben soll, und es verbleibt gedachte k:k: oberste theatral Hof Directsion demselben mit ferneren Gnaden gewogen.

Wien den 24 8ber '787.

Translation

Decree for Anton Salieri as Kapellmeister at the k:k: national theatre. By order of the k:k: highest court direction for the theatre, it is herewith imparted to Anton Salieri in grace that, in consideration of his superior talents in music, his demonstrated good compositions and justly earned approbation, and altogether the industry with which he carries out his duties in the theatre, the k:k: court direction for the theatre names him Kapellmeister of the k:k: national theatre at an annual salary of 853 fl. 20x. Accordingly, he, Anton Salieri, is appointed Kapellmeister of the k:k: national theatre and is granted the present decree, which entitles him to the enjoyment of each and every privilege that comes with this office. The k:k: highest court direction for the theatre commends him with continuing grace.

Vienna, 24 October 1787

3. Joseph's memorandum to his *Obersthofmeister* regarding the restructuring of the Hofkapelle, 1788

Joseph to Prince Georg Starhemberg, 12 February 1788 (HHStA, Kabinettskanzlei: Protocollum separatum aller Hand-Billets, 1788, no.207):

Nachdem ich entschlossen bin die Hofkapelle mit der Theatral Direction unter dem O. Kämmerer dergestalt zu vereinigen, daß sich beyde die Hände bieten, und dadurch beyden einiger Nützen und Ersparniß zugehe: so will ich es Ihnen hiermit zuwissen machen, damit Sie hiernach das Nöthige einverständlich mit dem O. Kämmerer einleiten, und wird das Geld, so die Kapelle jährlich kostet, dem O. Kämmerer zur Theatral Kassa hinüber zu geben seyn, damit von dortaus die Unkosten bestritten, und sammtliche Individua allda gezahlet werden. Zu gleicher Zeit will ich den alten Kapellmeister Bono wegen seiner langjährigen Dienste mit seinem ganzen Gehalte jubiliren und so auch den 1. Violin Trani; an die Stelle des ersten ernenne ich den Salieri zum Kapellmeister, der auch dießfalls mit einem Decret zu versehen und ihm der hierauf ausgemessene Gehalt anzuweisen ist. Alle übrigen Subjecte der Kapelle, die nicht schon mit Decreten versehen sind, haben deren Keine zu bekommen, sondern sind nur wie die theatral Individuen von einem Jahr auf das andre aufgenommen und also nicht Pensions fähig. In dieser Gemäßheit also werden Sie das Erforderliche zu veranstalten haben.

Translation

As I have decided to unite the Hofkapelle with the theatre administration under the *Oberstkämmerer*, so that each may extend a hand to the other to bring about mutual benefits and savings, I herewith acquaint you with this decision so that you, in conjunction with the *Oberstkämmerer*, can make the necessary arrangements. The money that is annually budgeted for the Hofkapelle is to be transferred to the *Oberstkämmerer* into the theatre account, from which henceforth all operating expenses as well as all salaries are to be paid. At the same time, I want to pension off the old Kapellmeister Bonno at full salary on account of his service for so many years; similarly also the first violinist Trani. As Bonno's successor in the position of Kapellmeister I designate Salieri, who is accordingly to be provided with a decree [of appointment] as well as the applicable salary. All other members of the Hofkapelle who do not already have a decree are not to receive one, but are to be engaged from one year to the next like the theatre personnel. They are similarly not eligible for pensions. In this matter, then, you are requested to do what is required.

4. Instructions to Salieri regarding the restructured Hofkapelle, 1788

HHStA, OkäA, Akten, Karton 10, Konvolut 1788, No.99, CCLXXXII:

Nachdem S[einer] R[ömisch] K[aiserlich] K[öniglich] A[postolischen] Maj[estät] allerhöchst zu befehlen geruhet haben, daß mit 1ten März '788 die Hofkapelle, und der theatral Orkester neu regulirt werden solle, und hierzu zum Kapellmeister den Anton Salieri allergnädigst ernennet habe, als wird ihm gegenwärtige Instruktion von Seiten des k:k: Oberstkämmeramts hirmit ertheillet

1. Daß er alle Dienste bei der Hofkapelle und im Theater bei Opern nach möglichkeit selber verrichte.
2. Daß er seinen Substituten Umlauf das Musick Archive der Hofkapelle, welches vormalls der Concert dispensator Wrawrieci in Verwahrung gehabt übergebe, und

vorzüglich darauf sehe, daß Selbes in gutter, und gehöriger Ordnung erhalten werde, wodurch einige Copiatur Spesen in Ersparung kommen.

3. Daß er der sämmtlichen Hofkapelle, und dem theatral Orkester mit allem Ernst auftrage, bei jedem Dienste selbst zu erscheinen, und niemallen einen Substituten zuschicken, als nur im Fahl einer Krankheit, wo er aber vorher benachrichtiget werden muß.

4. Daß die sonst beim Theater aufgenommenen extra Musici so viell möglich erspart werden, da der Orkester ohnehin zahlreich ist, und da durch nur neue Unkosten verursacht werden.

5. Daß bei den Copiatur Spesen, welche jährlich bei dem Theater eine namhafte Ausgab betragen, die genaueste Wütschaft eingeführt werde, und vorzüglich darauf zu sehen ist, ob die vom Kopisten in seinen Contis angesetzte Bögen seine Richtigkeit haben, daher ist es nothwändig, daß bei jedem verfertigten Werke die Bögen gezehlt, und in seinen Conto die Richtigkeit derselben adjustiret werde, auch ist in Zukunpft der Copiatur Bogen bei cler Hofkapelle, wie beim Theater gewöhnlich, nur mit 6 x zu bezahlen.

6. Solle der Lautenmacher Stadlmann welcher bei jeden Dienste die Instrumenten hergerichtet, und die Besaitung besorget, und dafür jedes mall 2 f. erhalten hat, für die Zukunpft nicht mehr genommen werden, damit aber der Dienst nicht leidet, so müssen die 2 ohnehin angestellte Instrument Diener diese Bedienung versehen, wenn aber an einem Instrument etwas fellete, so ist solches dem Lautenmacher zur Reparatur von ihnen zu übergeben über welches er alle Vierteljahr dem Hofkapellmeister einen Conto einzureichen hat.

7. Gleiche Bewantniß hat es mit dem Orgelmacher Rumel, so mit seinen Dienste ganzlich aufhört, und nur über die benöthigte Reparation einen Conto ebenfalls Vierteljährig dem Hofkapellmeister zu übergeben haben wird.

8. Da nur ein Tromponist in dem Statu aufgenommen ist, so solle der 2te von dem Kapellmeister Angestellte in die Vierteljährige Berech[n]ung Dienstweiß angesetzt werden.

9. Die 2 Instrument Diener haben die sammtlichen Instrumente von Lautenmacher zu übernehmen, und die Besaitung zu besorgen, selbe in gehöriger Ordnung aufzubewahren, auch darauf zu sehen, daß im Fall ein Kirchen Dienst ausser der Hofkapelle gehalten werde, die Instrumente in gutten Stand dahin gebracht werden.

10. Clarinetti, und Waldhorn sind in Hinkunpft bei Kirchen Diensten gänzlich wegzulassen.

11. Solle von Seiten des Hofkapellmeisters mit allen Ernst gesehen werden, daß bei deutschen Comedien der Orkester nicht mit fremden Substituten versehen werde, wodurch die Musik meistens so elend ausfällt, und nur bei erheblichen Ursachen kann der Hofkapellmeister erlauben, daß ein Substitut geschickt werden darf.

Exped[iert] Wien den 20. Hornung 1788

Translation

According to the order given from on most high by His Roman Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty, the Hofkapelle and the theatre orchestra are to be newly regulated as of 1 March 1788. To this end He has graciously appointed Anton Salieri as Kapellmeister, who is herewith instructed by the office of the *Oberstkämmerer*

1. To carry out all the duties in the Hofkapelle and, within the theatre, in the opera as far as possible personally.

2. To put his substitute Umlauf in charge of the Hofkapelle's music library, which was previously under the custodianship of the *Concert dispensator* [the person who dispenses and collects the music] Wrawrieci, and to make sure that it is kept in good and proper order, which should lead to some savings in copying costs.
3. To impart earnestly to the entire Hofkapelle and the theatre orchestra that the musicians must appear for every service and that they cannot send a substitute except in the case of illness, in which case, however, they must notify the Kapellmeister beforehand.
4. To try to employ the extra musicians who are usually engaged for the theatre as little as possible, since the orchestra is numerous anyway, and since doing so would only create new expenses.
5. To exercise the most precise economy with the copying costs, which amount to a considerable expense each year at the theatre. Utmost attention must be given to the number of sheets reported on the copyist's bill, for which reason it is necessary to count the sheets and check the number against the bill for every completed job. Also, the copying fee for one sheet shall in future be only 6 x, as in the theatre.
6. The string-instrument maker Stadlmann, who previously received 2 fl. every time he came to prepare the instruments and to care for the strings, shall in future no longer be called upon for this service. However, as these things still need to be done, the two *Instrument Diener*, who are employed anyway, are to take them over. If, however, there is something wrong with an instrument, it is to be given to the string-instrument maker for repairs, for which he is to submit quarterly bills to the Hofkapellmeister.
7. The same applies to the organ builder Rumel, whose regular service shall similarly cease, and who shall henceforth submit quarterly bills to the Hofkapellmeister for only the necessary repairs.
8. As only one trombonist has been engaged for the Hofkapelle, a second shall be hired by the Kapellmeister on a piecemeal basis, and his remuneration shall be included in the quarterly payments.
9. The two *Instrument Diener* are to take over all of the lute maker's instruments as well as the care of the strings. They are to see to their proper storage and, whenever a church service is held in a place other than the court chapel, they are to take responsibility for seeing that the instruments are safely transported there [and back].
10. In future clarinets and horns are to be completely left out of church services.
11. The Hofkapellmeister should make it his utmost concern to see that no outside substitutes perform in the theatre orchestra for the German plays, because the result is usually so dreadful. The Kapellmeister can allow a substitute to be sent for only the weightiest of reasons.

Enacted Vienna, 20 February 1788

[Acknowledgment: My thanks to Michael Lorenz for the corrected spellings of Peter Neuhold in Table 9.1 and Wrawieci in Appendix 4, No.2.]

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