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James Armstrong

Towards a History of the Eisenstadt Castle Sacred Music Archive

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**James I. Armstrong, Jun.**

**Toward a History of the Esterházy Church  
Music Archive**

The patronage of sacred music at the Esterházy court in Eisenstadt has roots extending back to the seventeenth century. During the years 1673–74 on completion of a nearly ten-year renovation of the Eisenstadt palace that included the installation of a new organ in the “Schloßkapelle”, Paul I Esterházy founded a standing church music ensemble that was to remain active into the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The repertory for this ensemble over a period of nearly two hundred years is reflected both in the surviving collection of sacred music as well as in inventories and catalogues dating from the early eighteenth century through the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Esterházy sacred music collection is remarkable not only for the richness and representative breadth of its contents, particularly where the early nineteenth century is concerned, but also because it survives almost completely intact in the form it reached in the middle of the nineteenth century. As such this collection can be studied not only in its constituent parts but also as an organic whole. This essay will serve both as an introduction to the archive for those who may not know it and as an update for specialists concerning recent findings. We begin with a description of the nature and contents of the Esterházy church music collection, followed by a discussion of its attendant inventories and catalogues; this, in turn, will be followed by a short account of church music at the court of Fürst Nicolaus II Esterházy. We conclude with a presentation of new findings concerning the church music collection. These findings may be summarized as follows.

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<sup>1</sup> János Hárach, *Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt*, in: *Haydn Yearbook*, vol. 9 (1975), p. 9. For documentation concerning the disbanding of the church music ensemble in December of 1866 following the death of Fürst Paul Anton Esterházy (21 May 1866) see Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Theater Collection: *Acta Musicalia (=AM)* 3814. At that time the ensemble was composed of Orchestra Director and Organist Karl Zagitz (then in service 37 years and 7 months), violinists Johann Lorenz (48 years service), Josef Schlögl and Lorenz Kugler, violoncellist Johann Uhl (53 years and 11 months service), bassist Leopold Kienberger, “Tenorist-provisorisch” Franz Eigner, singers Elisabeth Waldhier and Ida Rasz, and “Musik Ansager” Carl Duzár.

A recently-discovered thematic catalogue of solemn and ordinary Masses from 1805 as well as three newly-found inventories dated 1804, 1809 and 1824 now make it possible to outline a history of acquisition in the church music collection during the nineteenth century, the years of its greatest growth. In addition, the “Nachlaß-Verzeichnisse” of Johann Georg Albrechtsberger and Joseph Haydn that accompanied the purchase of their musical estates in 1810 have recently come to light. The latter is already known to scholars in another copy; the former provides a new tool to reconstruct the portion of Albrechtsberger’s “Nachlaß” purchased by Nicolaus II. Finally, the chronology for certain of Joseph Haydn’s Masses will be re-examined. New evidence will be adduced to support the dating of a hypothetical second version of the “Missa in honorem B. V. M.” (Hob. XXII:4) between 1772 and 1774. These findings are in part the result of an on-going research project—now half complete—to create a new electronic thematic catalogue of the church music archive held in the Esterházy palace in Eisenstadt.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE CHURCH MUSIC COLLECTION

Following common practice, the music for sacred worship at the Esterházy court was kept separately from the secular and dramatic music.<sup>3</sup> This is reflected in the separate inventories and catalogues maintained for each portion of the collection. The surviving operatic and symphonic repertory that formed the core of the Esterházy secular and dramatic music has received the greatest scholarly attention while the church music collection has to date received only modest attention, with a focus on the works of Albrechtsberger, Beethoven, Joseph and Michael Haydn, and more recently Hummel. Only the monograph studies of James Dack and Ulrich Tank have attempted an overview of music at the Esterházy court, and both have focused on the era from the documented beginnings of court music in the seventeenth century up to the dissolution of

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<sup>2</sup> Grateful thanks are due to the F. E. Familien Privatstiftung, Dr. Stefan Ottrubay, Mag. Theresia Gabriel, Dr. Gottfried Holzschuh, Dr. Bruno Greutter, Dr. Josef Pral and Dr. Heribert Scheck for their support and partnership in this venture. I also wish to acknowledge the College of William and Mary for assigning me both Semester and Summer Research Assignments to further this cataloguing project, and the Reves Center for International Studies for providing a travel grant. I am indebted to Mag. Peter Schreiber who catalogued the windband portion of the church music archive for the new thematic catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> Oratorios were included among the secular and dramatic works.

the “Kapelle” in 1790.<sup>4</sup> These monographs provide the most recent summary of scholarship concerning sacred music at court. There is no similar general study that addresses the practice of sacred music from 1790 onwards, the era best represented by the works surviving in the church music archive.

Today, the church music collection is preserved in two locations. The greater part of the collection is held in the Esterházy palace in Eisenstadt<sup>5</sup> while the balance is kept in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in Budapest. The Eisenstadt portion of the archive comprises over 2,000 works by more than 260 composers and consists mainly of sacred vocal works preserved in manuscript parts. A small number of works are preserved in score; some are autograph scores while others are the elegant work of copyists—presentation copies handsomely bound in leather. There is also a small collection of print music that includes both sacred vocal works as well as a number of liturgical books from the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century containing service music. In addition to the vocal repertory there is also a single church sonata<sup>6</sup> (one of 20 that originally belonged to the collection) as well as a group of 103 works for windband.<sup>7</sup> The earliest surviving sacred works preserved in Eisenstadt date from the early part of the eighteenth

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<sup>4</sup> James Frederick Dack, *The Origins and Development of the Esterházy Kapelle in Eisenstadt until 1790*, Ph.D. dissertation, 2 vols., University of Liverpool 1976; Ulrich Tank, *Studien zur Esterházy'schen Hofmusik von etwa 1620 bis 1790*, Regensburg 1981 (*Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, Bd. 101).

<sup>5</sup> Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt.

<sup>6</sup> Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1750), *Sonnata à 3 Ex G*, (19/133, Nowak 1, KIR 1). – Where reference is made to a specific piece in the church music archive, three identifiers (where possible) will be given. The first identifier is the signature reference to an entry in the 1858 inventory and is composed of two numbers. The first number of this signature indicates the work's location under the relevant systematic heading, in this case “Kirchen Sonaten”. The second number indicates the folio number on which the entry can be found. Note that the folio number to which this signature refers is written in red pencil in the 1858 inventory (where it differs from the black-ink pagination) and originated in the foliation of the 1824 inventory. The second identifier refers to the shelf list inventory of the Eisenstadt church music archive made by Leopold Nowak in June of 1948 and typed in July of 1957. The last identifier is the new signature given this piece in the most recent electronic thematic catalogue begun in 1999.

<sup>7</sup> The collection of windband music originally belonged among the secular and dramatic music and was so catalogued.

century<sup>8</sup> while the most recent dateable works extend into the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

János Hárích, who entered Esterházy service as archivist in 1928, states that until 1918 the music collection (both sacred and secular) was kept in Eisenstadt. Then in the early 1920s, he maintains, the secular music was moved to Hungary.<sup>10</sup> It is unclear from Hárích's account when the segment of the sacred music collection now in Budapest was removed from Eisenstadt. The guiding principle, however, seems to have been to move those manuscripts deemed at the time to have been particularly valuable. First among these were the autograph scores and parts of works by Joseph and Michael Haydn and Georg Albrechtsberger that were acquired either by commission or through the purchase of their musical estates. Also deemed important were the works of Esterházy composers Wenzel Zivlhofer<sup>11</sup>, Gregor Werner, Franz Novotny and Johann Nepomuk Hummel<sup>12</sup>. Gregor Werner's works—all of them sacred and numbering more than 460 compositions—were all removed to Budapest.<sup>13</sup> In addition, an autograph score of a Mass by Gott-

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<sup>8</sup> Marc' Antonio Ziani (c. 1652–1715), *Psalmi breviss. de B. V. Maria et Apostolis* (160/157, Nowak 1236), parts acquired in 1728 (AM 755, Kopiaturrechnung dated 29 Nov. 1728); Antonio Caldara (1670–1736): *Missa Dolorosa* (172/49, Nowak 120, KIR 127a), autograph score dated Vienna, 14 June 1717; *Missa Spei* (172/49, Nowak 121, KIR 127b), autograph score dated Vienna, 30 June 1718 at end of *Kyrie* and Vienna, 5 June 1718 at end of *Agnus* (these two scores entered the archive only in 1810 as part of J. Haydn's "Nachlaß"); Johann Kaspar Ferdinand Fischer (c.1665–1746), *Litaniae de B. M. V.* (156/157, Nowak 197, KIR 228), MS copy of the third in a collection of eight litanies published in: *Litaniae Lauretanae VIII. Cum Annexis IV. Antiphonis pro toto Anno . . . Opus 5*, Augsburg 1711, likely to have entered the archive prior to 1721.

<sup>9</sup> Carl Thomas (1790–1858), *Offertorium "Fundamenta ejus"* (Ps. 86) (Nowak 1428), dated 1858.

<sup>10</sup> Hárích, *Inventare*, p. 116.

<sup>11</sup> Wenzel Zivlhofer, *Alma Redemptoris*, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, *Zeneműtár (=H-Bn): Ms. Mus. IV. 415* [formerly Esterházy Archiv (=EA) 41/201].

<sup>12</sup> Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837), *Te Deum*, H-Bn: *Ms. Mus. IV. 455* [formerly EA 22/111].

<sup>13</sup> For transcription and annotation of a thematic catalogue made by Hárích of Gregor Werner's works formerly part of the Esterházy church music archive and now in Budapest see Róbert Árpád Murányi, *Thematischer Katalog der Werke G. J. Werners in Budapest*, in: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Bd. 38, Heft 1–2 (1997), pp. 151–228. This article also gives a brief history of the transfer of a portion of the Esterházy music archive to Budapest and presents a document from Hárích dated January 1930 outlining his subsequent plans for organizing the Budapest portion of the music archive—a blueprint that was only partially followed.

lieb Muffat<sup>14</sup> acquired through Joseph Haydn's estate and the autograph of Johann Joseph Fux's *Te Deum* (1706)<sup>15</sup> are also now held in Budapest.<sup>16</sup>

A peculiarity in the history of the church music collection should be noted in the case of Michael Haydn's sacred works. As might be expected, many of the parts are either authentic or autograph. In the interests of keeping all the authentic and autograph material together, it was thought best to remove these parts to Hungary with the other autograph material. Those parts deemed to be inauthentic were left behind in Eisenstadt. This leaves an incomplete set of parts in both Eisenstadt and Budapest for many of Michael Haydn's works.<sup>17</sup>

### THE INVENTORIES AND CATALOGUES

Students of the Esterházy church music collection are fortunate to have access to a number of inventories and catalogues recording its contents. The inventories and non-thematic catalogues—those we will designate collectively as the principal catalogues—are dated 1721, 1737–8, 1804, 1809, 1824 and 1858. With the aid of documents that make reference to catalogues and inventories now lost, it is possible to place these catalogues in a larger context. This is particularly important in the case of the nineteenth-century inventories, for it is now possible to trace the origins of the well-known 1858 inventory back at least to 1804 and perhaps to 1802. In addition to the principal catalogues, there are also two supplemental thematic catalogues: the first dates from 1805 and records only the solemn and ordinary Masses, the second—the only surviving volume in a series of thematic catalogues recording the contents of the entire church music collection—may be tentatively dated 1812/1813 and contains only the Vespers, Litany, *Te Deum*, Hymn and *Miserere* settings. First, we will examine the principal catalogues,

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<sup>14</sup> Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770), *Missa in labore Requies*, H-Bn: Ms. Mus. IV. 521 [formerly EA 273/27].

<sup>15</sup> Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741), *Te Deum*, H-Bn: Ms. Mus. 2.776 [formerly EA 48/113], dated 2 December 1706.

<sup>16</sup> When the electronic thematic catalogue of the Eisenstadt collection is complete, it will be possible to make a full inventory of those works in Budapest originally belonging to the sacred music collection.

<sup>17</sup> In the Eisenstadt church music collection many sets of parts for Graduals of Michael Haydn are missing anywhere from 10 to 12 parts. A search in H-Bn among some of the corresponding Graduals revealed the missing parts.

both extant and lost, in chronological order and then proceed to a discussion of the supplemental thematic catalogues.

## §1. Inventories and Non-Thematic Catalogues

### (a) “Prothocolum inventationis Tempore Incepti Tutoratus” (1721)<sup>18</sup>

The first inventory of the sacred music collection of which we have knowledge was compiled in 1721 and appears as part of a much larger inventory of Esterházy holdings and effects made on the death of Fürst Michael Esterházy. In this volume under the heading “Status Capella” we find a description of the contents of the Eisenstadt palace chapel followed by a list of 331 pieces categorized under seventeen systematic headings. Works by composers associated with the Esterházy court (Ignaz Prustmann, Franz Rumplnig, Franz Schmidbauer, Franz Zeller, Franz Zivilhofer, and Fürst Paul I Esterházy) stand alongside a substantial repertory of works by composers employed at or associated with the Viennese court.<sup>19</sup> Only a few pieces surviving today in the Eisenstadt sacred music collection answer the descriptions of pieces as they are given in the 1721 inventory. An absolute identification, however, cannot be made as the entries in the inventory include only a short title, the number of vocal and instrumental voices employed and, only on occasion, the composer’s surname.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Burg Forchtenstein (=BF): Prot. 6022. This inventory is transcribed with commentary in Hárích, *Inventare*, pp. 11–21. Hárích omits the chapel description. See also Dack, *The Origins and Development*, vol. 2, p. 336 for an independent transcription of this inventory including the detailed description of the palace chapel.

<sup>19</sup> Hárích, *Inventare*, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Johann Kaspar Ferdinand Fischer (c.1665–1746), “Litaniae de B.M.V.”, (156/157, Nowak 197, KIR 228), MS copy of one of a collection of litanies published in: *Litaniae Lauretanae VIII. Cum Annexis IV. Antiphonis pro toto Anno . . . Opus 5* (Augsburg, 1711). In the 1721 inventory there are six different entries that read “L[itaniae] à 6 A[utore] Fischer”. The surviving litany setting is scored for 4 voices, 2 violins and continuo. Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1750), *Sonata à 3 Ex G*, (19/133, Nowak 1, KIR 1). In the 1721 inventory there are two entries that could possibly refer to the surviving sonata by Albinoni: “No. 8. Son[ata] à 3. la Bocimi A[utore] Sigr Albinoni” and “No. 14. Son[ata] à 3 la Mellirý A: Albinoni.”

(b) “Catalogus Über die dermalig Brauchbare Chor oder Kirchen Musicalien” (1737–1738)<sup>21</sup>

In 1738 “Kapellmeister” Gregor Werner prepared a new catalogue of more than 350 compositions comprising the “useable” church music. As the 1737–8 catalogue contains relatively few of the pieces listed in the 1721 inventory, we can infer that Werner viewed a substantial portion of the sacred music collection as unusable. Werner replaced these works with more than 100 pieces of his own composition and added a repertory of works by new composers not mentioned in the 1721 inventory.<sup>22</sup> This catalogue, like its predecessor, gives only a short title for each work and the number of voices employed. In many cases the composer’s surname is given as well. Once again, there are seventeen systematic headings, in some cases different from those in the 1721 inventory.

(c) Haydn’s Catalogue of 1765

In November 1765, we have reference to a catalogue of the church music collection in the form of a directive from Fürst Nicolaus I Esterházy (1714–1790) to Haydn. In the well-known “Regulatio Chori KissMartoniensis”, Nicolaus outlines measures Haydn must take to bring order to an apparently disorderly church music ensemble and music library. He begins by enjoining Haydn:

[ . . . ] First, to prepare a catalogue, in three identical copies, of all the extant instruments in the choir-loft, as well as of the music, according to the enclosed formula, with indication of the composers, number of parts, etc. and will deliver the same within eight days: one to us, the second to the bookkeeper’s office, and the third to the choir-loft. [ . . . ]<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> AM 4251. For a transcription and commentary see Hárích, *Inventare*, pp. 22–31.

<sup>22</sup> Hárích, *Inventare*, p. 30.

<sup>23</sup> “[ . . . ] Erstlich ein dreyfaches gleichlautendes Inventarium über alle befindliche Chor-Instrumenten und Musicalien nach beyliegenden formulare mit Benennung deren Authorn, Stimmen etc. Vom heutigen dato an innerhalb acht Tügen zu verfassen, zu unterschreiben, und von dießen eines Uns, das andere in die Buchhalterey, und das dritte auf dem Chor abzugeben: [ . . . ]” AM 346, draft copy dated “Süttör den [day and month left blank] 1765”. Cited after Dénes Bartha, *Joseph Haydn, Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, Kassel 1965, p. 50. Translation from H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, London 1959, p. 5. A private communication from Dr. Josef Pratl indicates that the original of this document is to be found in BF: Eisenstädter District (=ED) (Buchhalterey) 537/765. The original is dated “Süttör den 3<sup>1</sup>: 9bris 765.” and bears Joseph Haydn’s signature with the date “Eisenstadt den 4<sup>1</sup> 9bris 765.” Haydn’s signature certified his receipt of the “Regulatio Chori”.

The formula referred to provides a template for the requested catalogue; it specifies that the music is to be listed according to genre from “Missae Solemniores” to Vespers, Litanies, “Symphonien”, Offertories, etc.<sup>24</sup> This catalogue and its copies, if they were made at all, are at present lost.

(d) The Inventories 1802–1804

The references we have concerning catalogues of the church music collection during Haydn’s tenure are limited to the beginning and end of his career. In a letter to Haydn from Fürst Nicolaus II Esterházy (1765–1833) dated Eisenstadt, 14 August 1802, we find further reference to a catalogue. With only weeks before Haydn was to give the première of the “Harmoniemesse”, Nicolaus was intent on making arrangements to see that the responsibilities of his aging Kapellmeister would be transferred in an orderly fashion. To this end the Fürst indicates in his letter that he has decided to appoint Claviermeister Johann Nepomuk Fuchs (1766–1839) to the post of Vice-Kapellmeister and asks that Haydn supervise the making of two new catalogues of the music collection. The newly appointed Vice-Kapellmeister is to be charged with making a catalogue of the church music while Luigi Tomasini (1741–1808), leader and violinist, is to draw up a catalogue of the chamber music.

[. . .] In this connection, the personnel is instructed to obey the following order: the whole band—male and female singers, without exception—is to hold a weekly rehearsal; their superiors will decide on which day it is to be held. They are likewise responsible for the music, and should draw up a CATALOGUE under your supervision: the Assistant Kapellmeister the church music, the leader Lougi [sic] Tomasini the chamber music, with the stipulation that no one—under the most severe penalty—is to be allowed to copy or print either scores or other pieces which are part of our MUSICAL COLLECTION; a special room will be designated for this purpose. [. . .]<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Bartha, *Gesammelte Briefe*, p. 51.

<sup>25</sup> “In diesem Zusammenhang wird dem Dienst-Personali zur genauesten Befolgung anzudeuten sey, daß die gesammte Kapelle mit Sänger und Sängerinnen ohne Ausnahme wochentlich einmall öffentliche Probe zu halten hat; wozu die Bestimmung des Tages denen Vorgesetzten einberäumt wird, so wie Selben auch die Musicalien nebst einem zu verfassenden CATHALOG und zwar im Kirchenfach dem Vice-Kapellmeister, in Kammer-Musik-Piecen aber dem Concertmeister Lougi [sic] Tomasini unter ihrer Verantwortung anvertrauet werden, mit dem Beding, weder Sparten, noch sonstige Stücke, welche in unseren Musicalien Magazin, wozu ein

Though these catalogues have not yet come to light, it is possible that the church music catalogue is the first in a hypothetical series of related inventories of the church music collection extending from 1802 to 1858.<sup>26</sup>

In a letter from 1804 to János von Kárner<sup>27</sup> from Vice-Kapellmeister Fuchs, we find evidence of a church music catalogue being forwarded from Fuchs to Kárner and—on 13 December of that year—from Kárner to Hummel.<sup>28</sup>

Your Well-born [Sir]!

With this report comes the requested catalogue of the church music accompanied by the request that, in order to avoid having to recommence this work soon again, the catalogue not be misplaced. With regard to the Mass composed by Ferdinand Huber and delivered to His Highness the Fürst, I can recommend at most a gift of 50 Gulden as a great kindness, accompanied by the refusal of any further works and the reminder to strive with his admirable genius in behalf of his trade ["Handwerk"], not however, in behalf of art. I remain with all admiration

Your Well-born's

Most obedient  
Johann Fuchs  
Vice Kapellmeister

1. The catalogue was sent to Concertmeister Hummel on the 13th of December 1804 by command of His Highness.<sup>29</sup>

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besonderes Zimmer bestimmt werden wird, allein vorfindig sind, unter schärfester Ahndung abschreiben zu lassen, (od. herauszugeben)." AM 1937 [formerly BF: CD 2341/802]. Original German cited after Bartha, *Gesammelte Briefe*, p. 407. Translation from H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, Bloomington, Indiana 1977, p. 229.

<sup>26</sup> Landon's supposition that the catalogue referred to here is the thematic catalogue held in the Burgenländisches Landesmuseum (ex coll. Sándor Wolf; LM 56099) is incorrect. As will be seen later, the thematic catalogue belonging to the Burgenländisches Landesmuseum was made by Anton Prinster in 1812 or 1813 as part of a series of thematic catalogues recording the contents of the sacred music collection. See Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, p. 207, n. 3; supposition repeated in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, p. 229, n. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Director of the Central Administration Chancery ("Zentralfdirektions Kanzlei").

<sup>28</sup> BF: CD 4631/804. See Appendix 1 for a transcription of the German original. Translation is the author's.

<sup>29</sup> This is only one of a number of annotations appearing on the front cover of this document. Compare with original in Appendix 1.

Fuchs' request to his superior, Kárner, that the forwarded catalogue not be misplaced is as striking as it is unusual. Fuchs couples his request with the wish to avoid "doing the work soon again" ["um nicht die Arbeit wieder erneuern zu müssen"]. What work is he referring to? Was a previous catalogue—perhaps the one from 1802—misplaced or lost, forcing him to the trouble of having a new catalogue made? If a catalogue was misplaced, was it Hummel who did so?

Even before his official engagement at the Esterházy court as Concertmeister on 1 April 1804, Hummel had been hard at work to fulfill the mandate given him by the Fürst to strengthen the musical establishment both in terms of repertoire and personnel. One of Hummel's many responsibilities was to rejuvenate the music collection by purchasing new music—particularly sacred music. Under Hummel's guidance the church music collection grew substantially in both quantity and quality. Knowing that Hummel would have had need of the church music catalogue in order to decide what additional music should be acquired and further that he was likely in possession of the church music catalogue in December of 1804, it is plausible that Hummel could have been in possession of the church music catalogue some months earlier and misplaced it. As Fuchs and Hummel were not on the best of terms, particularly after an incident in October of 1804, a lost catalogue would only have made matters worse.<sup>30</sup> Though speculative, this theory helps to explain both the unusual tone and oblique language of Fuchs' letter as well as the fact that the church music inventory had to pass through the hands of an intermediary, Kárner, to be transferred from Vice-Kapellmeister to Concertmeister. In summary, we posit that a catalogue of the church music collection was likely lost in 1804 and a new one made.

Though firm evidence is lacking at present, it seems likely that the catalogue mentioned in 1802 was the first in a series of catalogues/inventories, each of which retained in large part the repertory of its predecessor, eliminated pieces that had been lost and included new music as it was acquired. We look next at the four surviving

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<sup>30</sup> See Fuchs' letter of complaint to Kárner dated 12 October 1804 concerning Hummel's rehearsal of Haydn's "Harmoniemesse" and the reprimand of Hummel by the Fürst. AM 2041 [formerly BF: CD 3727/804]. Original German given in Arisztid Valkó, *Haydn Magyarországi Működése A Levéltári Akták Tükrében: II Közlemény*, in: *Zenatudományi Tanulmányok*, vol. 8 (1960), p. 629. English translation of excerpts from this document in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, p. 293.

inventories from the nineteenth century. These inventories are central to the study of the present-day church music collection for together they document the acquisition of the majority of that collection.

- (e) “Inventarium. Uiber die Kirchen Musicalien in Eisenstadt, welche am 16<sup>ten</sup> October 1804 inventirt, und übergeben worden sind.”

The new church music catalogue to which Fuchs refers in his letter of December 1804 survives along with its companion catalogue containing the chamber music.<sup>31</sup> Together these catalogues provide a full inventory number 882 while entries made after the completion of the inventory on 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1804 account for an additional 514. For each work entered in the inventory the following information is given: (1) a number serving as a signature (the numbering begins with “1” for the first entry under each rubric), (2) the genre of piece, its composer and key, (3) number of parts comprising a set of parts and/or indication of the presence of a score. On occasion there are additional annotations giving reference to dated documents having to do with purchase and accession. The church music is listed under sixteen systematic headings (see Appendix 2). These same headings are retained in all the succeeding catalogues.

- (f) “Inventarium Uiber die hochfürstlich esterházyschen Kirchen Musicalien zu Eisenstadt” (1809)<sup>32</sup>

In 1809, two new catalogues of the music collection were made, one for church music, the other for chamber music.<sup>33</sup> When the

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<sup>31</sup> BF. Found by Dr. Josef Pratl in September 2005.

<sup>32</sup> Bears the old signatures “Inv: 186” [red ink] and “N° 26” on the front cover. On page 239 appears the following: “durch mich inventirt / Eisenstadt am 30<sup>ten</sup> April 809. / Barkenstein mp / C. D. Secret.” The front cover of the 1809 church music inventory also bears the note “NB. / Ist dd° 4: Jan: 824 . neu inventirt, das neue Inventar / am 8: Febr: 825. H. Kapellmeister Fuchs zur Verrechnung / hinaus geschlossen worden”. The church music inventories from 1809 and 1824 bear the number “26” while the companion inventories of secular and dramatic music from 1809 and 1825 bear the number “27”. Fürstlich Esterházy’sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt.

<sup>33</sup> The 1809 secular and dramatic music inventory bears the following title on the front cover: “Inventarium / Uiber die hochfürstlich Esterházyschen / Kammer Musicalien zu / Eisenstadt A° 1809” as well as the old signatures “N° 27” and “Inv N° 187” [red ink]. An additional pencil annotation appears on the front cover:

church music inventory was finished in April 1809—only a month before Haydn's death—it contained over 1500 entries. An additional 230 entries were made in the years following.

(g) "Inventarium Ueber die hochfürstlich Esterháyzschen Kirchen=  
Musicalien zu Eisenstadt" (1824)<sup>34</sup>

A complete new inventory of the music collection was made in 1824/25, and once again, two inventories were made: the church music inventory in 1824, the inventory of secular and dramatic music in 1825.<sup>35</sup> Nearly 1800 entries were made in this church music inventory when it was first compiled.

On 4 January 1840, following the death of Kapellmeister Fuchs the previous October, Carl Thomas was appointed Orchestra Director and Karl Zagitz was named Organist.<sup>36</sup> This change of personnel triggered a new review of the contents of the sacred music collection. Those pieces that had not yet been entered in the 1824 inventory were added, among them a large number of works by J. N. Fuchs purchased from his family in 1840.

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"zurückerkhalten von Secret. Haugg am 19. 7br 826". At the end of the inventory appears the following: "durch mich inventirt / Eisenstadt am 5<sup>ten</sup> May 1809 / Barkenstein / C. D. Secret." and additionally "Joh. Nep. Hummel / Konzert Meister mp / Revidirt, reinventirt, und beri=  
tigt den 11<sup>ten</sup> Juni 810 / In meiner Gegenwart / Joseph Divisch mp / Buchhalt: Kanzl.:. Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt.

<sup>34</sup> No identifying marks are written on the binding. Fol. 1<sup>r</sup> bears a white paper shield on which is written the title and the old signature "Inv N<sup>o</sup> 26". On fol. 117<sup>v</sup> appears the following: "durch mich reinventirt, / und richtig befunden wor=  
den zu seyn, bestätige / anmit. Eisenstadt am / 4<sup>ten</sup> Jänner 824. / Johann v. Vedesz / D. D. Rath. [and to the right] Johann Fuchs / Kapellmeister". Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt.

<sup>35</sup> The title on the front cover of the catalogue for the secular and dramatic music reads: "Inventarium / Uiber die hochfürstlich Esterháyzschen Kammer und Theater=  
Musicalien / zu Eisenstadt / vom Jahre / 1825". Additional annotations on the front cover read: "Invent. N<sup>o</sup> 27" ["alt" added later] "ps 9a Nov 825 / ps G 3 fol 92" and finally "Neues N<sup>o</sup> / 42". Page 192 bears the following: "Reinventirt, revidirt, und ist / durch mich berichtet werden den / 29<sup>ten</sup> August 825 / Karl Haugg mp / Dom. Dir. Secret:." Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt.

<sup>36</sup> AM 3790.

(h) "Inventarium Uiber die hochfürstlich' Esterházyschen Kirchen=  
Musicalien zu Eisenstadt Anno 1858"<sup>37</sup>

The final pair of inventories of the music collection was made following the death of Orchestra Director Carl Thomas on 26 August 1858.<sup>38</sup> Karl Zagitz, Carl Thomas' successor as Orchestra Director, took possession of the new church music catalogue on 31 December 1858. There are nearly 2300 entries in the 1858 church music catalogue if one includes those added after the catalogue was completed in 1858. The systematic headings and types of descriptive information about the pieces were retained from the 1809 and 1824 inventories. With some few exceptions, the signature numbers remained the same as well. It is this catalogue that has served to the present as the most reliable record of the contents of the sacred music collection.

Though no further catalogues of the collection were made in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were periodic reviews of its contents. The first of these was completed on 25 October 1879 by the princely archivist Dr. Lajos Merényi following the death of Orchestra Director and Organist Karl Zagitz earlier that year. Merényi drew up a list of missing music and made annotations of his findings in the 1858 inventory; he also added music that was not yet recorded in the inventory.<sup>39</sup> Another similar inventory was conducted in 1919; evidence for this can be found in dated annotations in Hungarian entered in the 1858 inventory.

## §2. Thematic Catalogues

In addition to the primary series of inventories made between 1802 and 1858, a number of supplemental thematic catalogues

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<sup>37</sup> Bears old signature "Inventar N<sup>o</sup> 41" on the front cover. Later addition: "Prot. 6275". The following is found on page 265: "Daß alle in dem vorstehenden Inventarium aufgeführten Gegenstände / mir zu gehörigen Obsorge und Verrechnung richtig übergeben wor= / den seyen, bezeuge ich hiermit. Eisenstadt den 31<sup>t</sup> December 1858 / In meiner Gegenwart / Jos: Paar mpria / Hptbuchh: Acc: [to the right] Karl Zagitz / Orch: Director / als Uibernehmer." BF: Prot. 6275.

<sup>38</sup> The inventory of secular and dramatic music is entitled: "Inventar Nr. 42. / Inventarium / Uiber die hochfürstlich' Esterházyschen Kammer- u. Theater / Musicalien. / zu Eisenstadt. / vom Jahre 1858." BF: Prot. 6276.

<sup>39</sup> See also AM 360 which contains Merényi's complete list of missing pieces. Many of these pieces were later found and remain today in the church music collection. The document is dated "Kismarton 879ik évi Oktober hó 25én" and is signed by Merényi.

were also created. The first of these was crafted in 1805 and contains a complete list of the solemn and ordinary Mass settings. The second belonged to a series of volumes created between 1811 and 1812/1813 that recorded the contents of the entire church music collection. This is the only extant volume of the series.

- (a) “Verzeichniß Aller Solennen und Ordin: Meßen welche sich bei der hochfürstlich Esterházsichen Kapelle zu Eisenstadt befinden.” (1805)<sup>40</sup>

This thematic catalogue was compiled sometime before 18 March 1805 and appears to be mostly, if not all, in the hand of Johann Nepomuk Fuchs.<sup>41</sup> It lists 111 solemn Mass settings and 40 ordinary Mass settings under the rubrics “Missa Solennis” and “Kleine Meßen” respectively. Each entry gives the name of the composer and an incipit—usually the first few measures of the first violin part. Thematic catalogues of this sort are often ordered alphabetically by composer’s name. Such is not the case here; rather, pride of place is given to the works of Joseph Haydn whose Mass settings appear first under each rubric. Of the fourteen Masses ascribed to Haydn, eleven appear in the thematic catalogue of 1805. Those that do not appear are the “Missa ‘Rorate coeli desuper’”, the “Missa

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<sup>40</sup> Fürstlich Esterházy’sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt [formerly BF: CD 2368/805]. For a facsimile reproduction of this catalogue see Appendix 3.

<sup>41</sup> Hummel submitted a “Nota” dated Vienna, 18 March 1805 [BF: CD 1225/805] in which he listed both sacred and secular music he had acquired by order of the Fürst. This document is accompanied by a draft copy of a letter from the Fürst to the Bookkeeping Office (“Buchhalterey”) requesting that the newly acquired pieces be entered in the inventory as usual. The following solemn Masses are given at the beginning of the list: one by Kozeluch in D, two by Krottendorfer in D and G, three by Reutter in A, D and E-flat and one by Ulbrich. These Masses appear consecutively in the principal catalogues of 1809, 1824, and 1858 in the same order as given in the “Nota” and are listed as entries 117–124 under the rubric “Solenne Messen”. Though none of these Masses is listed in the 1805 catalogue, the Masses just preceding these eight in the principal catalogues are listed in the 1805 catalogue (Mass by Jomelli in D and one by Abbé Vogler in d minor numbered 115 and 116 respectively). Further, with one unexplainable exception, all the solemn Mass settings listed in the 1805 catalogue appear in the principal catalogues under entries numbered 116 or earlier. (The problematic exception is J. Haydn’s “Missa Cellensis” of 1782, which is given under entry number 203.) These facts suggest that a line of demarcation might be drawn between entry 116 and 117 to distinguish those solemn Masses entered in the principal catalogues before 18 March 1805 from those entered afterward. If one assumes that the order of entry in the principal catalogues (as represented in the series of inventories 1802–1858) in general represents order of accession, then it is possible to propose a “terminus ante quem” of 18 March 1805 for the completion of the 1805 catalogue.

‘Sunt bona mixta malis’ of 1768 and the ‘Missa Cellensis in honorem B. V. M.’ of 1766. Of these three Masses, the first two do not appear in the principal catalogues of 1809, 1824 and 1858. Whether copies of these two works were ever a part of the church music archive is an open question. The parts for Haydn’s ‘Missa Cellensis in honorem B. V. M.’ (1766) do survive in the church music collection.<sup>42</sup>

The 1805 thematic catalogue distinguishes itself in one important respect. It presents Haydn’s Masses in what appears to be full chronological order and is the only source contemporary with Haydn to do so (see Appendixes 4 and 5). A chronological ordering seems to have been applied to the Masses of Johann Nepomuk Fuchs as well (see Appendix 6). As only three of Fuchs’ seven solemn Masses mentioned in the 1805 thematic catalogue can be firmly dated at present and one is simply identified as his “first Mass”, it is difficult to state categorically—as we can with Haydn’s works—that full chronological ordering applies. Nonetheless, we can say that all those works that are dateable display chronological ordering.

We turn now to a series of thematic catalogues dating from 1811 through 1812/1813.

- (b) “Catalogue raisonné des Vêpers, des Litanies, des Te Deum des Hymnes des Miserere qui se trouvent dans les archives de Musique d’église de Son altesse Serenissime Le Prince Regnant Nikolaus Esterházy” (1812/1813)<sup>43</sup>

In June of 1811, Anton Prinster, “Waldhornist Primär” of the Esterházy Kapelle, completed the first in a series of thematic catalogues recording the entire contents of the sacred music collection. Only

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<sup>42</sup> Fürstlich Esterházy’sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt (131/15, Nowak 642, KIR 668). Description in: JHW XXIII/1a, p. 230, Ei.

<sup>43</sup> Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, Eisenstadt (ex coll. Sándor Wolf): LM 56099. Currently on display in the Haydn Museum, Eisenstadt. This catalogue is given in an unintentionally incomplete facsimile in Else Radant, A Thematic Catalogue of the Esterházy Archives (c. 1801–5), in: Haydn Yearbook, vol. 13 (1982), pp. 180–212. (On page 203, items 9–24 under the heading “Te Deum” are missing, replaced incorrectly with a reprint of page 206.) Radant was of the impression, following Landon, that this catalogue was the one referred to in the letter of 14 August 1802 mentioned above in which Haydn was directed to have catalogues made of the church music collection. Prinster’s detailed description of his first catalogue mentions alphabetical ordering, red-ink signatures and especially annotations concerning gratifying solos. This allows us unequivocally to associate the surviving catalogue with his description. See AM 4097, “Conto” from Prinster dated 25 June 1811.

the volume containing Vespers, Litanies, etc. is extant.<sup>44</sup> These supplementary catalogues were made for the personal use of Fürst Nicolaus.

When Prinster chose the small "Hand-Catalog" format, it was doubtless for reasons of convenience and portability; however, the small size also precluded the possibility of entering the entire collection in one volume. Though we only have firm evidence for the existence of three volumes along with documentation of the genres contained therein, we may posit that a fourth volume was devoted to Marian Antiphons—the only genre in the collection not included in the other three volumes. The contents of the four volumes may be summarized as follows: (1) Mass, Requiem and Libera, (2) Gradual, Chorus, Offertory, Motet, Aria, Tantum Ergo, Veni Sancte Spiritus and Rorate, (3) Vespers, Litany, Te Deum, Hymn, Miserere, (4) Marian Antiphons.<sup>45</sup> (It is possible that the contents of the third and fourth volumes were reversed.) The first volume was completed by June of 1811, the second by November of that year, and the third by May of 1812. As the interval of time for completion of a catalogue was five to six months, we may estimate that the final catalogue could have been completed toward the end of 1812 or perhaps as late as the beginning of 1813.

Prinster used the following format for his thematic catalogues. The entries are ordered systematically by genre and are numbered beginning with "1" under each rubric. For each entry, Prinster

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<sup>44</sup> Volume 1 containing the Masses was still in existence during Pohl's time. Based on notes from Pohl, Botstiber states: "Das fürstlich Esterházyische Handbuch bemerkt zu dieser Messe [the Nelson Mass]: '... ist dankbar für den Sopran und Baß.'" Similar annotations concerning solos can be found in the surviving Prinster catalogue suggesting that Pohl had viewed the first volume of Prinster's thematic catalogue. Hugo Botstiber, *Joseph Haydn*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1927, p. 132.

<sup>45</sup> Documentation for volume 1: see AM 4097, "Conto" from Prinster dated 25 June 1811, specifies the genres contained in this volume and indicates that it took 67 days to complete, also AM 2966, dated 25 June 1811, calls for payment of 243 Gulden for this volume, does not specify genres; for volume 2: see AM 3020, dated 10 November 1811, specifies the genres contained in this volume, also AM 4082, dated 16 November 1811, orders payment for a completed "Hand-Catalog", contents unspecified; for volume 3: see AM 3055, "Conto" from Prinster dated 4 May 1812, does not specify genres; for volume 4 no documentation has as yet come to light. Given the lack of evidence, we can only infer that a fourth volume was planned or existed. We infer that the contents of the additional volume contained Marian Antiphons as this is the only portion of the sacred music collection not mentioned explicitly in the foregoing documentation or represented in the surviving thematic catalogue. It is conceivable that the volume of Vespers, Litanies, etc. was the fourth rather than the third volume.

provided the name of the author, the first few measures of the first violin part (in most cases), the instrumentation, and either a “solo” or “tutti” designation to show whether soloists are required or not. If a given piece contained a particularly gratifying vocal solo, Prinster made an annotation to that effect. As Prinster wished to order his thematic catalogues alphabetically by composer, he had to renumber the collection. He did so with red ink to distinguish his numbering system from that of the principal catalogues. It should be noted that Prinster only wrote his new red-ink numbers on the covers of music listed in the first two volumes of his catalogue. This means that none of the pieces originally listed in the surviving volume of *Vespers, Litanies, etc.* bears red-ink numbers.<sup>46</sup>

The surviving inventories and catalogues help us to understand what was contained in the church music archive and, in some cases, when it was acquired. It is also important to understand the people and circumstances that brought the archive to its present state. It was Nicolaus II who played the largest role in enriching and expanding the church music archive. He did so through internal and external commission as well as the purchase of musical “Nachlässe” and copies of works from other European aristocratic courts. What follows is a brief overview of church music acquisition at the court of Nicolaus II and a description of the church music ensemble he employed.

## SACRED MUSIC AT THE COURT OF NICOLAUS II

In 1794, following the death of his father Anton, Miklós Ferdinand became Fürst Nicolaus II Esterházy. With his accession began a golden era for the practice of sacred music at court. Nicolaus was a passionate collector in an impressive array of fields including fine art, mineralogy, conchology, and numismatics. He also enlarged his library by making systematic acquisition in the areas of literature, history, geography, law, philosophy, art, natural science, painting, architecture, sculpting and landscape gardening. Central

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<sup>46</sup> Litanies added to the catalogue after its completion in 1812/1813 do bear a red-ink signature as follows: “Cath. No. [assigned number]”. These Litanies appear at the end of the volume under the rubric “Nachtrag” and are numbered 177–181. Of these five litanies, the last four are by Johann Nepomuk Fuchs and can be dated respectively 1815, 1816, 1817 and 1818.

among Nicolaus' interests was the collection of sacred music.<sup>47</sup> He shared this particular interest with Empress Marie Therese who from 1792 until her untimely death in 1807 avidly collected and performed sacred music both old and new.<sup>48</sup>

In an era best known to musical scholarship for the development of purely instrumental genres and opera, it is important to consider the active cultivation of sacred music at the highest levels of the empire as a significant constituent part of early nineteenth-century European music culture. While interested in sacred music of the past, Nicolaus and Marie Therese also helped to shape and transform contemporary liturgical music by extending commissions to some of the most prominent composers of the time. Nicolaus' deep involvement with sacred music can be traced in the growth of his collection of Mass settings. In 1805 the sacred music archive contained 151 settings, some of these inherited from an earlier era. By 1809 the Mass collection had grown to over 350 settings, a number that would increase to more than 500 in later years. By comparison, Marie Therese's entire sacred library included over 210 compositions.<sup>49</sup>

That Joseph Haydn devoted his last significant compositional efforts to the Mass Ordinary is in part due to his patron's deep interest in sacred music. As might be expected, a number of other musicians in Nicolaus' employ made contributions to the sacred music collection as well. The most prolific of these was Johann Nepomuk Fuchs whose more than 280 surviving sacred compositions attest to his industry during a long tenure at court from 1788 until his death in 1839. Concertmeister Hummel's sacred output comprises five Masses, a Gradual, five Offertories (one in two versions), a *Tantum Ergo* (a transcription of music by Gluck), a Litany with appended *Salve Regina* and *Sub tuum* as well as a *Te Deum*.<sup>50</sup> With one exception, all of these works were composed at Nicolaus'

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<sup>47</sup> Based on Pohl's reliable evidence, Botstiber indicates that "the chroniclers" uniformly note Nicolaus' special preference for sacred music. Botstiber, *Joseph Haydn*, p. 108.

<sup>48</sup> See John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court 1792–1807*, Cambridge 2003.

<sup>49</sup> Rice, *Empress Marie Therese*, p. 39.

<sup>50</sup> While none of Hummel's Masses was composed for the Fürstin's nameday celebrations, his Offertory in E major for solo Soprano and Tenor with choir and orchestra "Plus non timet / Pro te respiro" seems to have been. See a bill for music copying from Hummel dated 19 October 1806 (AM 1565), "Duett=Offertorium von meiner Composition am hohen Nahmensfest Ihre Durchlaucht der Fürstin".

order between the years 1804 and 1811, the years of Hummel's tenure at court. Other Esterházy musicians who dedicated sacred works to Nicolaus include Antonio Polzelli, violinist, and Karl Zagitz, who entered the Kapelle in 1829 and served the court until his death in 1879.

Nicolaus also commissioned sacred works from a wide array of composers. Those with ties to Vienna included Georg Albrechtsberger, Ludwig van Beethoven, Antonio Cartellieri, Carl Friberth, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Conradin Kreutzer, Franz Krommer, Pavel Mašek, Wenzel Pichl, Philipp Jakob Riotte, Antonio Salieri, Theodor Schacht, Ignaz Seyfried and Johann Georg Spangler. Nicolaus turned also to France for commissioned works. In 1810 Luigi Cherubini composed a Litany for Nicolaus, who for a time courted Cherubini as a potential successor to Haydn.<sup>51</sup> Eight years later, Nicolaus engaged Auguste-Mathieu Panseron as honorary Kapellmeister, a post he held for only a few months. During that time he composed a Mass for Nicolaus. Italy, too, provided a source of new sacred music. Domenico Janucchi, Maestro di Capella in Lucca, composed a Mass for male voices and soli expressly for Nicolaus.

Beside commissioning works, Nicolaus also enriched the sacred music collection by purchasing copies of church music from the Hofkapelle in Vienna through the agency of Ignaz Spangler, "Tenorist" in the Hofkapelle.<sup>52</sup> These purchases were made during the first two years of Hummel's tenure. Nicolaus also acquired sacred music from aristocratic courts throughout Europe, among them Dresden, Regensburg and Munich. The works of J. G. Naumann, Vincenzo Righini, Joseph Schuster, C. H. Graun, F. X. Richter, Franz Danzi and Johann Joseph Ildefons Michl came into the collection in this way. Nicolaus also strengthened the quality and quantity of his collection by purchasing the musical estates of Michael Haydn and Georg Albrechtsberger. It is said that Nicolaus' favorite composers of sacred music were Michael Haydn, Josef Preindl, Giuseppe Bonno and Georg Reutter.<sup>53</sup> While this is reflected in the surviving music collection, it is also important to recognize that Hummel was charged with the responsibility of mak-

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<sup>51</sup> Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842), *Litanie della Vergine* (275/169, Nowak 137, KIR 143).

<sup>52</sup> BF: CD Haus Cassa 1804 Mai Nr. 15; CD Haus Cassa 1804 Mai Nr. 26; ED 6079/806; ED 7063/806; ED 7077/806; ED 9010.11.12/806.

<sup>53</sup> Botstiber, Joseph Haydn, p. 109.

ing all acquisitions for the music archive. The sacred music collection is therefore to a large extent a reflection of his taste as well.

Nicolaus' interest in sacred music also had an antiquarian side. On his instructions, Hummel arranged for copies to be made of "various classical works". In a copying bill dated Eisenstadt, 2 June 1804, he listed the following pieces that had been acquired:<sup>54</sup>

G. F. Handel	Messiah, Judas Maccabaeus, 100 <sup>th</sup> Psalm
C. P. E. Bach	"Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste" (F. G. Klopstock) "Heilig"
Ditters	"Ester"
J. A. Hasse	"Sant'Elena al Calvario" (Metastasio) "Il cantico de' tre fanciulli" (S. B. Pallavicino)
F. Gassmann	"La Betulia liberata" (Metastasio)
Ferdinando Bertoni	"David poenitens"

Many of these pieces were either composed or performed in Vienna in the 1770s, while others were composed in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Just as the sacred music collection grew, so did the Kapelle. In August of 1810, this ensemble numbered 61 salaried musicians—28 adult singers, 31 orchestra members plus Kapellmeister Fuchs and Concertmeister Hummel.<sup>55</sup> In addition, 8 boy choristers participated in the choir for church services. They attended an institute begun by Hummel in 1804 that was modeled after the well-known choirboy institute at the Viennese imperial court. Nicolaus funded the school at which the boys received both their education and musical training. Each boy took singing lessons as well as instruction in piano, violin and 'cello. The orchestra consisted of 9 violinists, 1 violist<sup>56</sup>, 2 'cellists, 2 bassists as well as two players each of transverse flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, 2 hornists, 4 trumpeters (2 clarini, 2 trombe), 2 organists and a tympanist. Not all the available musicians in the Kapelle participated regularly in the church

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<sup>54</sup> BF: CD Haus Cassa 1804 Juni Nr. 28 ½.

<sup>55</sup> Printed attendance form used to take attendance 14 and 15 August 1810. AM 2796.

<sup>56</sup> A second violist could be recruited from the ranks of the orchestra personnel.

music but the full ensemble could be called upon and augmented with local musicians for performance on a major feast day.<sup>57</sup>

## THE CHURCH MUSIC ARCHIVE: RECENT DISCOVERIES

### §1. The "Nachlaß-Verzeichnisse" of Joseph Haydn and Johann Georg Albrechtsberger

The original catalogues that accompanied the purchase of the musical estates of Johann Georg Albrechtsberger and Joseph Haydn in 1810 have recently come to light in Burg Forchtenstein. The first of these catalogues is a copy of the so-called "Haydn-Nachlaß-Verzeichnis" made by Ignaz Sauer, music publisher, and is entitled "Catalog / der hinterbliebenen / Joseph Heydnischen / Kunstsachen". This catalogue is already known to scholars in a copy held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.<sup>58</sup> The Esterházy copy differs in only small particulars from its counterpart. Chief among them is the elimination of the text "welche lizitando verkauft werden" following the title. In addition, in the introductory paragraph of the Esterházy copy the date of Haydn's death is left blank as is the anticipated date of auction.<sup>59</sup>

The "Verzeichniß / über die / Original Werke / des weil: H: / Joh: Georg Albrechtsberger" lists those works purchased from Albrechtsberger's widow. This catalogue includes not only Albrechtsberger's compositions—all of them without exception autograph scores—but also theoretical treatises ("Lehrbücher") and church music of other composers ("Kirchen Musikalien von verschiedenen Autoren"). Some of the music under the latter heading is in parts while the balance is in score. Among these items is a score of an unaccompanied Mass by Johann Joseph Fux in Albrechtsberger's hand bearing the latter's initials and date of copying, March 1799.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> On 14 August 1810, the church music ensemble participated in services at 4 and 5 PM, while on 15 August they performed at services held at 10 AM, 4 PM and 5 PM. At these services the following ensemble was expected to be present: 4 sopranos, 2 altos, 6 tenors and 5 basses plus 8 choirboys (4 sopranos and 4 altos) accompanied by full orchestra. AM 2796.

<sup>58</sup> Mus. Hs. 4843.

<sup>59</sup> For a transcription of the copy held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, see Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, vol. 5, pp. 391–403.

<sup>60</sup> J. J. Fux, Missa Alla Capella (205/51, Nowak 228, KIR 291).

In addition to the two “Nachlaß” catalogues, two union catalogues of these purchased works have also recently been discovered.<sup>61</sup> One catalogue contains those items assigned to the church music inventory while the other contains items belonging to the chamber music inventory. This pair of catalogues was drawn up by the Esterházy “Buchhalterey” as an addendum to the principal catalogues. The two “Nachlaß” catalogues and the two union catalogues are held in Burg Forchtenstein.<sup>62</sup> Finally, we return to the recently-discovered 1805 thematic catalogue to explore the contributions it makes to questions of chronology for Haydn Masses.

## §2. Chronology for Haydn’s Masses

### (a) “Great Organ Mass”

A number of Joseph Haydn’s earlier Masses still cannot be firmly dated. Among these is the “Missa in honorem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae” (Hob. XXII:4), the so-called Great Organ Mass, whose autograph score survives in fragmentary form from the Sanctus onward. The first and last pages of the MS that normally carry Haydn’s customary annotations concerning the date of composition are lost. A watermark appearing in the autograph has led scholars to suggest a date of composition around 1768–9. Supporting evidence from Haydn’s “Entwurf-Katalog” points in this direction as well. The earliest dateable sources beyond the autograph are sets of parts whose upper limit for completion is 1774. This provides us with a “terminus post quem non”. While the autograph score does not include parts for trumpets and timpani, James Dack and Marianne Helms have made clear that all the surviving authentic sources beyond the autograph stem from a hypothetical source containing parts for trumpets and timpani. There appears to be no surviving source, then, that stems directly from the autograph itself. Dack and Helms make this case on the strength of a stemma of surviving sources and argue further on this basis that the trumpet

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<sup>61</sup> (1) *Catalog. / der hinterbliebenen Joseph Haydnischen, und / Joh. Georg Albrechtsbergischen Musicalien Sammlung, zum Kirchen- / Musicalien- Inventario gehörig. / A° 1810.*; (2) *Catalog. / Denen hinterbliebenen Joseph Haydnischen, / und Joh: Georg Albrechtsbergischen / Kunst=Sachen, und Musicalischen Werken. / zum Kammer Musicalien Inventario / gehörig A° 1810.*

<sup>62</sup> BF: Buchhalterey 482/810.

and timpani parts are not authentic.<sup>63</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon and Georg Feder, on the other hand, have argued in favor of the authenticity of these parts.<sup>64</sup> Landon has suggested that Haydn created two versions of the Great Organ Mass: the first in 1768–9 without trumpets and timpani and the second in the 1770s that includes those additional parts. The newly-discovered thematic catalogue from 1805 containing a chronologically ordered list of nine of Haydn's solemn Masses—among them the Great Organ Mass—helps to support Landon's hypothetical second version. It is our intention here to explore this new evidence.

Of the nine solemn Masses listed in the 1805 thematic catalogue, only the Great Organ Mass lacks a firm date of composition (see Appendix 4). Those Masses with firm dates appear without exception in chronological order. As the autograph of the Great Organ Mass can be dated about 1768–9, it is surprising to find this work entered in the catalogue after the “Missa Sancti Nicolai” of 1772 rather than before it. If one presumes that all of Haydn's Masses entered in this catalogue appear in chronological order, then two possible explanations for this apparent discrepancy arise. Either the autograph was not completed until after 1772 or, more likely, Haydn created a second version including trumpets and timpani sometime between 1772 and 1774, the upper limit for completion of this work. Why would the second version have been recognized in this thematic catalogue rather than first? As the set of parts in the Esterházy church music archive contains a variation of the second, later version, it seems logical that the individual preparing the thematic catalogue would have reflected this fact in the catalogue's order.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> JHW XXIII/1b, Messen Nr. 3–4, ed. James Dack and Marianne Helms, Munich 1999, pp. VII, VIII.

<sup>64</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon, The Newly discovered autograph to Haydn's Missa Cellensis of 1766, in: Haydn Yearbook, vol. 9 (1975), p. 306; Joseph Haydn, Missa in Honorem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae Hob. XXII:4, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, Cardiff 1983, pp. iii-ix; Georg Feder, A Newly Found Authentic Source for Haydn's Missa in honorem B. V. M., in: Music in the Classic Period, ed. Allan W. Atlas, New York 1985, pp. 61–68.

<sup>65</sup> Both the characteristics of handwriting and the apparent chronological ordering of Johann Nepomuk Fuchs' solemn Masses in this catalogue point to Fuchs as the author/compiler. Further, as Fuchs had been responsible for keeping the principal catalogue of the church music collection at least since 1802, it seems likely that he would have been called on to make such a catalogue. Fuchs would also have had intimate knowledge of Haydn's sacred works and their chronology for he was one of Haydn's pupils.

In 1805 Haydn himself was engaged in making an accurate accounting of his compositions. The so-called “Haydn-Verzeichnis” was compiled or completed by Johann Elßler under Haydn’s supervision in that year. This thematic catalogue contains incipits for the fourteen Masses attributed to Haydn (see Appendix 7). Here we find the Great Organ Mass appearing before the *Missa Sancti Nicolai* rather than after it. If we accept the theory that there were, in fact, two versions of the Great Organ Mass, then the entry in the Haydn-Verzeichnis can be understood as referring to the work’s first version while the entry in the 1805 thematic catalogue can be understood as referring to the second version.

(b) “*Missa Brevis in F*” (1749?)

As the *Missa Brevis in F* (1749?) was rediscovered sometime in or slightly before 1805, it is striking that this Mass appears in both the 1805 thematic catalogue and the “Haydn-Verzeichnis”.<sup>66</sup> In the 1805 thematic catalogue it appears in first place under the heading “Kleine Messen” followed by the “*Missa Sancti Joannis de Deo*” (see Appendix 5). This placement recognizes the relatively early date of composition for the *Missa Brevis in F*. On the other hand, the appearance of the *Missa Brevis in F* in the “Haydn-Verzeichnis” after the “*Harmoniemesse*” of 1802, the last of Haydn’s Masses, suggests that the re-scored and modernized Mass of his youth was in reality the last effort of Haydn’s hand in the area of Mass composition. The earliest reference we have to the rediscovery of the *Missa Brevis in F* comes in a letter from August Griesinger dated 26 October 1805.<sup>67</sup> As the 1805 thematic catalogue was completed sometime before 18 March 1805, we can now use this date as the “*terminus ante quem*” for the rediscovery of the *Missa Brevis in F*.

(c) “*Missa in tempore belli*” and “*Missa Sancti Bernardi von Offida*”

Finally, the ordering of Haydn’s solemn Masses in the 1805 thematic catalogue may also shed light on another question of chronology. It has been difficult for scholars to establish an order of priority for the two Masses composed in 1796, the *Missa in tempore belli* and the *Missa Sancti Bernardi von Offida*. The “Haydn-Verzeichnis”, following the “*Entwurf-Katalog*”, places the *Missa in tempore belli* first while the 1805 thematic catalogue suggests by its ordering that

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<sup>66</sup> For Carl Bertuch’s account of the rediscovery of Haydn’s *Missa Brevis in F* and the subsequent re-scoring of it, see Botstiber, *Joseph Haydn*, pp. 242 f.

<sup>67</sup> Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5, pp. 338 f.

the *Missa Sancti Bernardi* von Offida should be assigned priority. If one accepts the 1805 thematic catalogue as the more reliable guide to chronology, then its ordering supports the current view that the *Missa Sancti Bernardi* is the older of the two works.

#### CONCLUSION

The Esterházy Church Music Archive is a rich resource for the study of sacred music in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As it is largely the creation of Nicolaus II, a passionate collector in many fields but particularly in the area of sacred music, it presents a unique face that is Janus-like. In one aspect it is traditional, a repository of music for worship; in its other aspect it becomes a "Schatzkammer", a museum of the collected musical effects of some of the most important composers of sacred music active during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These two aspects are central to a full understanding of the archive. It is hoped that the availability of a full array of catalogues and inventories in conjunction with an accurate and scholarly accounting of the contents of this archive will form a foundation for the serious study and evaluation this collection so richly deserves.

## APPENDIX 1

Letter to János von Kárner from Johann Nepomuk Fuchs

Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein: Central Direction 4631/804

“Euer Wohlgebohren!

Mit diesen Berichte folgt zugleich / der verlangte Katalog, der hiesigen / Kirchenmusikalien mit der Bitte, / denselben, um nicht bald die Ar= /beit wieder erneuern zu müssen, /nicht zu verlegen. In Rücksicht der von Ferdinand Huber / gearbeiteten, und Seiner Durch= /laucht dem Fürsten eingereichten / Messe,\* kann ich höchstens als gro= /ße Gnade, ein Geschenk von / 50 f bestimmen, mit der Ableh= /nung aller übrigen Arbeiten, und / der Erinnerung [sic], sein vortref= /liches Genie künftig für sein / Handwerk, nicht aber für die / Kunst anzustrengen. Ich bleibe / in aller Hochachtung

Euer Wohlgebohren

Gehorsamster  
Johann Fuchs mp  
V Kapellmeister”

[front cover, in pencil]

- 1° dem Humel zu Communi= /zieren
- 2° dem 50 f verabreich[en] / Cassa Centr.”

[front cover, in ink]

“Bericht des V. Kapellmeisters Fuchs

- 1° Über die Einsendung des anbe- /fohlenen Kirchen Musicalien- /Kathalogs.
- 2° Über die Remuneration des / Ferdinand Huber von Neü- / -stadt für die eingereichte / Messe und Seegen.”

[front cover, in ink]

- “1. der Catalogh ist den 13<sup>ten</sup> Xbr / 804. auf Befehl S<sup>t</sup> Durchl[auch]t / dem H<sup>n</sup> Concertm[eiste]r Hummel / eingehändiget worden. v[on] Kárner mp
2. Superat[um] sub N<sup>ro</sup> Cent 804. reg[istratum].”

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\* Messe in C (20/35, Nowak 999, KIR 1044).

## APPENDIX 2

### Systematic Headings and Distribution of Entries in the 1809 Church Music Inventory

	Original Entries	Additional Entries
Solenne Messen	166	70
Kleine Messen	75	70
Gradualien, Offertorien, Motetten, und verschiedenen anderen Arien	186	152
Te Deum	15	24
Requiem et Libera	10	18
Pastoral und Advent Arien	70	0
Kirchen Sonaten	20	0
Responsorien	9	2
Vesper und Lytaneyen	163	76
Salve Regina	69	35
Ave Regina	29	10
Alma Redemptoris	46	28
Regina Coeli	35	18
Sub tuum Praesidium	27	10
Hymnus	6	1
Übrigens ist noch vorfindig	[6]	0

## APPENDIX 3

Verzeichniß  
Aller Solennen und Ordin: Meßen  
welche sich bei der hochfürstlich  
Esterházsische Kapelle zu Eisen=  
stadt befinden.  
[1805]

Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein: Central Direction 2368/805,  
(27.5 x 41.5 cm), now kept in Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Ester-  
házy, Eisenstadt; published by kind permission of the Esterházy Privatstiftung



This page contains 24 handwritten musical staves, each representing a different piece. The pieces are arranged in two columns. Each staff includes the composer's name, the instrument (Sb.), and specific performance instructions such as tempo and dynamics.

Composer	Tempo/Performance Instructions
allegro	allegro
adagio	adagio
Allegro	Allegro
adagio molto	adagio molto
adagio	adagio
adagio	adagio
grave	grave
adagio	adagio
Vivace	Vivace
adagio	adagio
adagio	adagio
Litlers.	largo
adagio	adagio
M. Pichl.	andante
adagio	adagio
andante	andante
G. Reutern.	adagio
allegro	allegro
adagio	adagio
andante	andante
M. Mozart	andante moderato
andante moderato	andante moderato
allegro	allegro
L. Novotny	allegro
adagio	adagio
Wambal.	allegro moderato
andante molto	andante molto
andante molto	andante molto
Preindl.	andante
adagio non troppo	adagio non troppo
adagio	adagio
andante	andante
andante	andante
allegro	allegro
andante	andante
Lomleitner	andante
adagio	adagio
L. Pögl.	andante
adagio	adagio
Lau. Brück.	adagio
Neumann	moderato
Draxel.	adagio
Neumann	adagio
M. Ernst	vivace
G. Werner	allegro
largo	largo
allegro	allegro
vivace	vivace
allegro	allegro
vivace	vivace
adagio	adagio
largo	largo
allegro	allegro
vivace	vivace
allegro	allegro
Heida.	allegro
un poco zingaro	un poco zingaro
Licll	allegro

fol. 1<sup>v</sup>

fol. 2<sup>r</sup>



*adagio*  
 Str. *adagio*  
 Str. *allegro*  
 M. Haydn. *allegro*  
 Str. *affettuoso*  
 Str. *andante*  
 Str. *allegro*  
 Hoffmann. *adagio*  
 Str. *allegro*  
 Str. *allegro*  
 Str. *adagio*  
 Pfeiffer *allegro*  
 Str. *allegro*  
 Str. *andante*  
 Heida. *adagio*  
 Huber. *moderato*  
 Israel. *vivace*  
 Werner. *allegro*  
 Str. *allegretto*  
 Str. *adagio*  
 Str. *allegretto*  
 Str. *largo*  
 Str. *vivace*  
 Str. *allegretto*  
 Str. *allegro*  
 Str. *allegro*  
 Str. *allegro*

fol. 3<sup>v</sup>

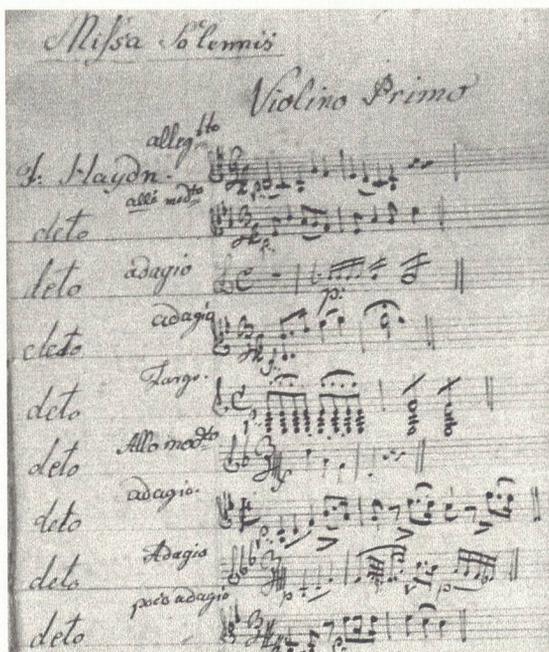
fol. 4<sup>r</sup>

## APPENDIX 4

Solemn Masses of Joseph Haydn listed in:

Verzeichniß / Aller Solennen und Ordin: Meßen / welche sich bei  
der hochfürstlich / Esterházsische Kapelle zu Eisen=  
stadt befinden. (1805)

Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein: Central Direction 2368/805,  
now kept in Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt



(detail, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>)

Hob.

XXII:

- 6 Missa Sancti Nicolai (1772)
- 4 Missa in honorem BVM (1<sup>st</sup> Version: ?c1768–9)\*
- 8 Missa Cellensis (1782)
- 10 Missa Sancti Bernardi von Offida (1796)
- 9 Missa in Tempore Belli (1796)
- 11 Missa (Nelsonmesse) (1798)
- 12 Missa (Theresienmesse) (1799)
- 13 Missa (Schöpfungsmesse) (1801)
- 14 Missa (Harmoniemesse) (1802)

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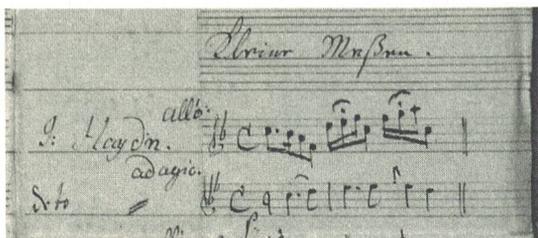
\* (? 2<sup>nd</sup> Version: ?1772–4)

## APPENDIX 5

Ordinary Masses of Joseph Haydn listed in:

Verzeichniß / Aller Solennen und Ordin: Meßen / welche sich bei  
der hochfürstlich / Esterházische Kapelle zu Eisen=  
stadt befinden. (1805)

Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein: Central Direction 2368/805,  
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Hob.  
XXII:

- 1 Missa Brevis  
(?1749)
- 7 Missa brevis Sancti  
Joannis de Deo  
(-1778 [?c1773-7])

(detail, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>)

APPENDIX 6

Solemn Masses of Johann Nepomuk Fuchs listed in:

Verzeichniß / Aller Solennen und Ordin: Meßen / welche sich bei  
der hochfürstlich / Esterházsische Kapelle zu Eisen=  
stadt befinden. (1805)

[Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein: Central Direction 2368/805,  
now kept in Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt]



Signature  
(1858 Inventory)

"First Mass"*	17/3
	83/9
	82/9
1801	16/3
	81/9
1803	15/1
1804	14/1

(detail, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>)

\* "zur 1sten Missa des Cap: Fuchs" appears on the First Bassoon part of this Mass.

APPENDIX 7

The ordering of Haydn's Masses as presented in "Haydn-Verzeichnis" (=HV, 1805) and "Verzeichnis aller solennen und ordinären Messen"

HV 23, HV24	Verzeichnis aller Solennen ... (fol. 1 <sup>r</sup> )
Hob. XXII:	Hob. XXII:
5 Missa Cellensis 1766	
2 Missa "Sunt bona mixta malis" 1768	
4 Missa in honorem BVM -1774 [?c1768-9] (1 <sup>st</sup> Version: ?c1768-9) (? 2 <sup>nd</sup> Version: ?1772-4)	6 Missa Sancti Nicolai 1772
7 Missa brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo -1778 [?c1773-7]	[Hob. XXII: 7 appears under "Kleine Messen" as second entry on fol. 3 <sup>r</sup> ]
3 Missa "Rorate coeli desuper" ?	
6 Missa Sancti Nicolai 1772	4 Missa in honorem BVM -1774 [?c1768-9] (1 <sup>st</sup> Version: ?c1768-9) (? 2 <sup>nd</sup> Version: ? 1772-4)
9 Missa in tempore belli 1796	8 Missa Cellensis 1782
10 Missa Sancti Bernardi von Offida 1796	10 Missa Sancti Bernardi von Offida 1796
8 Missa Cellensis 1782	9 Missa in tempore belli 1796
11 Missa (Nelsonmesse) 1798	11 Missa (Nelsonmesse) 1798
12 Missa (Theresienmesse) 1799	12 Missa (Theresienmesse) 1799
13 Missa (Schöpfungsmesse) 1801	13 Missa (Schöpfungsmesse) 1801
7 Missa brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo -1778 [?c1773-7]	[Hob. XXII: 7 appears under "Kleine Messen" as second entry on fol. 3 <sup>r</sup> ]
14 Missa (Harmoniemesse) 1802	14 Missa (Harmoniemesse) 1802
1 Missa Brevis ?1749	[Hob. XXII: 1 appears under "Kleine Messen" as first entry on fol. 3 <sup>r</sup> ]

