

Internationale Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt

Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte

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History of the Esterházy Musical Establishment 1790 to 1809

In: Kathleen Lamkin, Esterházy Musicians 1790 to 1809. Considered from New Sources in the Castle Forchtenstein Archives. Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte. Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt, Band 6. Hrsg. von Georg Feder und Walter Reicher. Tutzing, Hans Schneider 2007, S. 13 – 81.

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History of the Esterházy Musical Establishment 1790 to 1809

During the nineteen-year period 1790 to 1809, beginning with the death of Prince Nicolaus I and proceeding through the reigns of Princes Anton and Nicolaus II until the year of Haydn's death and the promotion of Johann Nepomuk Fuchs to Music Director ("Kapellmeister"), the Esterházy musicians experienced tremendous changes in their employment and musical activity depending to a large extent upon the financial state and interests of the prince for whom they worked. There were lean years for the musicians and years of great musical activity. Haydn's involvement with the Esterházy musical establishment was greatly reduced after the death of Prince Nicolaus I and the succession of Prince Anton, who no longer employed the musicians working at Eszterháza and allowed Haydn to leave for Vienna. Following Haydn's move to the imperial city in the fall of 1790, he departed for the first of his two trips to England in mid-December. Later during the early years of the reign of Prince Nicolaus II, Haydn's connections with the Esterházy grew stronger as he was requested to write an annual mass for the nameday of Princess Marie Hermenegild Esterházy beginning in 1796 and continuing through 1802. After 1802 Haydn began to spend the majority of his time in Vienna, and the extensive administrative responsibilities of the musicians were assigned to Johann Nepomuk Fuchs as Vice Kapellmeister and later in 1804 also to Johann Nepomuk Hummel as concertmaster and composer. During these nineteen years the Esterházy Princes Anton and Nicolaus II employed approximately 150 musicians in their musical establishment ("Kapelle"), which consisted of the church music ("Chor Musik"), chamber music ("Kammer Musik"), theater music ("Theater Musik"), boys' choir ("Kapellknaben"), and military music ("Grenadier Garde").

With the death of Prince Nicolaus 'The Magnificent' on 28 September 1790 a new era began for the musicians at the Esterházy court. The "Convention" of 2 October 1790, dated only a few days after Prince Nicolaus' death, lists the individual musicians who were employed in his Kapelle along with their salaries. The music personnel in the chamber music, those musicians working at Eszterháza for

the chamber and theater music, included thirty-five musicians¹ plus the copyist Joseph Elssler, the prompter Johann Schellinger, and the props manager Nunciato Porta. In the church music, those musicians performing choral church music in Eisenstadt, were nine musicians for a total of forty-four musicians in the Kapelle, as seen in the Music List of 2 October 1790.²

Yearly List
of the Convention
of the Complete High Princely Esterhazy Chamber and Church Music
C h a m b e r M u s i c

Position	Names	Salary in cash	
		F	xr. ³
Kapellmeister	Joseph Hayden	782	30
Women singers	Mathilde Bologna	1000	
d°	Barbara Sassi	800	
d°	Polcelli together with her husband ⁴	465	40
d°	Barbara Benvenuti	832	
d°	Maria Zechielli	765	
d°	Melo	1000	
Men singers	Prospero Bracatti	873	20
d°	Ludvig Brizzi	700	

¹ Joseph Dietzl, whose name appeared on the "Convention" among the chamber musicians, had been recently sent back to Eisenstadt as a member of the church music.

² AV F 291a (2 October 1790). The Music List of 2 October 1790 names each of the individual musicians with their annual salaries and also their payment in goods in kind (not shown here). The spellings of the musicians' names are those written on the document.

³ The abbreviation F or fl is used for the monetary unit florin and xr for kreuzer. The terms florin and gulden are used interchangeably as they have the same monetary value. Whereas 1 florin equals 60 kreuzer, 1 ducat is equivalent to 4.5 florin. – For information concerning the value of the Austrian currency in the second half of the 18th century and its declining purchasing power as a result of sharp inflation in the early 19th century see CCLN, p. v; Landon I, p. 339 (1760s); II, p. 33–34 (1782); IV, p. 54.

⁴ Antonio Polzelli, Luigia Polzelli's husband, was a violinist in the chamber music, but shared a salary with his wife.

d°	Gaetano de Raoli	950	
d°	Martinelli	450	
d°	Majoroni	700	
d°	Amici	639	
d°	Vitus Ungricht	300	
d°	Christian Specht	300	
Violinists	Aloysius Tomasini	682	30
d°	Attilio Grisi	400	
d°	Joseph Burgsteiner	300	
d°	Leopold Hirsch	200	
d°	Johann Fusch ⁵	200	
d°	Oliva ⁶	150	
Cellists	Anton Kraft	523	20
d°	Clemens Tauber	400	
Double Basses	Johann Dietzl	305	
d°	Carolus Schiringer	450	25
Hornists	Joseph Oliva	462	30
d°	Franz Pauer	462	30
d°	Mathias Nickl	400	
d°	Joseph Dietzl is at this time in the Church Music in Eisenstadt	335	
Oboists	Joseph Czervenka	500	
d°	Anton Mayer	500	
Flutists	Zacharias Hirsch	400	
Bassoonists	Franz Cservenka	500	
d°	Caspar Petzival	400	
d°	Joseph Steiner	300	
Props manager	Nunciato Porta	150	
Prompter	Schellinger	144	
Copyist	Joseph Elsler	144	

⁵ Johann Fuchs.

⁶ The violinist Oliva was Wenzel Oliva, the young son of hornist Joseph Oliva, who was employed in the Kapelle on 4 March 1789. AM 27 (HYB, XIII, pp. 76–78).

C h u r c h M u s i c .

Tenor	Joh: Georg Fuchs	64 30
Soprano	Eleonora Jäger	140
d ^e	Barbara Pilhoferin	25
Alto	Josepha Grieslerin	25
Tenor	Johann Hayden	52 30
Bass	Melchior Griesler	200
Violinist	City Thurnermeister ⁷	30
d ^e	Michael Ernst	50

Palace and Bookkeeping: Eisenstadt the 2nd of October 1790.

The majority of these singers and instrumentalists were suddenly unemployed when Anton succeeded his father as the new prince, and all of the musicians' appointments were automatically canceled, as was the custom when a new prince began his reign. Those musicians whom the new prince wanted to retain had to be taken into service once again with new arrangements made. To each musician in the chamber music, with the exception of Haydn and Tomasini, Prince Anton extended a six-weeks' severance pay and did not rehire them. This action, necessary because of the urgent financial situation, resulted in the entire court being moved from Eszterháza back to Eisenstadt. On 9 October 1790 thirty-three musicians in the chamber music, plus the props manager and the prompter, received a six-weeks' severance pay, as noted in two document receipts, the first of which involved twelve singers in the opera.⁸

Receipt

In which we the following, having been in the opera service of His Serenity High Noble Prince Nicolaus v Esterhazy, from His Serenity the current reigning Prince Anton Esterhazy, who graciously granted a six-weeks' severance pay, have received it from the hand of the cashier Mr. Züsser, correctly and in cash and have confirmed here

⁷ As "Thurnermeister" ("Turnermeister") Anton Höld was head of the town's brass ensemble and was in charge of the dance music, but he also served additionally as a violinist in the church music ensemble.

⁸ GC 1790 F 11 R 15 N 7 (9 October 1790).

in writing. Herewith we explain that we may not be empowered or be able to make a claim on His Serenity the reigning Prince for further support. Esterhaz the 9th of October 1790.

		F	xr
Bologna	Bologna. In absentia received Jos: Haydn mpria ⁹	116	40
Sassy	Sassi mpria	93	20
Polceli	Polzelli	27	9½
Benvenutj	Teresa Benvenuti	97	4
Zechiellj	rosa zacchielli	89	15
Mello	Mello	116	40
Braghettj	Braghetti	101	52
Brizzj	Brizzi	81	40
Paoli	De Paoli	110	50
Martinelj	Filipo Martinelli	52	30
Majoroni	Majeroni	81	40
Amicy	Amici	74	33
	Sum	1043	13

Those written above are in my presence correctly paid.

Josephus Haydn mpria
Capell Meister

Two more male singers and the orchestra members, likewise, received their six-weeks' severance pay plus their entire yearly salary, as specified in Prince Nicolaus' will. These two payments were distributed in cash by the chief cashier Züsser, and all the musicians signed the receipt noting that they not only received their payments, but that they also would not make any further claims for financial support from the new prince. Those two sing-

⁹ "Mpria", a Latin abbreviation for "manu propria", indicates that it is written in one's own hand.

ers, nineteen players in the orchestra, and the support staff for the theater each wrote their signatures beside their names after receiving the payments in cash, all of which was witnessed by Kapellmeister Haydn.¹⁰

Receipt

In which we the following undersigned orchestra personnel confirm in writing: that from one of the high princely merciful acts, most graciously is granted a six-weeks' cash severance pay for the complete dismissal: together with the entire yearly amount from the deceased Serenity Prince Nicolaus Esterházy's last will, nevertheless, only to be received in cash from the hand of the chief cashier Züsser, we have correctly received. Herewith we explain that we may not be empowered or be able to make a claim on His Serenity the reigning Prince for further support. Esterhaz the 9th of October 1790.

		6-weeks' severance pay		authorized (legat)		Sum	
		F	x	F	x	F	x
Ungricht	Vitus Ungricht	35	--	300		335	--
Specht	Christian Specht	35	--	300		335	--
Grisi	Grisi Attilio	46	40	400		446	40
burgsstein	Joseph Purck Steiner	35	--	300		335	--
Polceli	Antonio Polzelli	27	9	232	50	259	59
Leop. Hirsch	Leopold Hirsch	23	20	200		223	20
Fuchs	Johann Fuchs	23	20	200		223	20
young Oliva	Venzl Oliva	17	30	150		167	30
Kraft	Anton Kraft	61	2	523	20	584	22
Tauber	Clement Tauber	46	40	400		446	40
Joh. Diezl	Johan Dietzl	35	35	305		340	35
Jos. Oliva	Josep Oliva	53	56	462	30	516	26
Paur	Franz Pauer	53	56	462	30	516	26

¹⁰ GC 1790 F 11 R 15 N 8 (9 October 1790).

Nickel	Mathias Nickel	46 40	400	446 40
Cservenka	Joseph Cservenka	58 20	500	558 20
Meyr	Anton Mayr	58 20	500	558 20
Zach. Hirsch	Zacharias Hirsch	46 40	400	446 40
Schiringer	Schiringer Carl	52 32	450 25	502 57
Pezival	Caspar Pezival	46 40	400	446 40
Cservenka	Franz Czerwenka	58 20	500	558 20
Steiner	Joseph Steiner	35 --	300	335 --
la Porta	in absentia received			
	Jos: Haydn	17 30	150	167 30
Schellinger	Johann Nepomuck Schellinger	16 48	144	160 48
Certified by Josephus Haydn mpria			Sum	8911 33

The opera singers left for positions elsewhere with some finding jobs in Vienna and others going back to Italy. The orchestra players likewise left for Vienna or other places to look for employment, while most of the wind players were re-employed in Eisenstadt shortly thereafter.¹¹ Only the church music was retained with the small number of nine church musicians, who were paid the lowest salaries, keeping their jobs. This was definitely a low point for the Esterházy musical life. A few weeks later, however, on 2 November 1790 Prince Anton ordered that his concertmaster Luigi Tomasini be paid 400 gulden and his Kapellmeister Haydn also receive 1,000 gulden as had been stipulated in Prince Nicolaus' will. Further, Tomasini was taken again into service under Prince Anton with a salary of 400 gulden, and Kapellmeister Haydn, likewise, was also re-employed with a salary of 400 gulden.¹² Haydn then kept his title as Kapellmeister under Prince Anton, although he was no longer needed on a regular basis in Eisenstadt, and it became possible for him to leave and move to Vienna in a role of semi-retirement. Soon after Haydn's arrival in Vienna, Johann Peter

¹¹ Landon II, p. 749.

¹² GC 1790 N 20 (2 November 1790).

Salomon approached him with an offer to travel to England and sometime after 16 December Haydn departed on his journey.¹³

With Kapellmeister Haydn out of the country the musical establishment under Prince Anton from late 1790 to the beginning of 1794 remained quite limited as the church music maintained its size of approximately thirteen musicians including Kapellmeister Haydn, concertmaster Tomasini, keyboard instructor (“Klaviermeister”) Johann Fuchs, organist and tenor Johann Georg Fuchs and five to six singers plus three to four string players. In 1790 the singers included sopranos Eleonora Jäger and Barbara Pilhofer, alto Josepha Griessler, tenors Johann Haydn and organist Georg Fuchs and bass Melchior Griessler. The string players consisted of violinists Joseph Dietzl, Anton Höld and Michael Ernst.¹⁴ A few minor changes took place in the church music personnel during the four years of Prince Anton’s reign.¹⁵ Among the singers bass Melchior Griessler died in January 1792 and was replaced by Christian Specht,¹⁶ but when soprano Eleonora Jäger died in May 1793,¹⁷ she was not replaced, decreasing the number of singers overall to five. In the strings there was stability in the violin positions of Joseph Dietzl and Michael Ernst, but the violinist Anton Höld was replaced by Joseph Purcksteiner and later Franz Pauer took over Purcksteiner’s position.¹⁸ Leopold Dichtler, double bass player, was added to the church music ensemble on 15 May 1792.¹⁹

¹³ Haydn was still in Vienna through 16 December, for on that date he signed his name in Vienna to a request to the chief cashier Züsser. GC 1790 F 13 R 24 N 147 (16 December 1790). See Josef Pratl’s article in volume 5 (section 7.3) and the discussion following.

¹⁴ ED N 1863 (19 November 1790).

¹⁵ ED N 1863 (19 November 1790), AV F 247 N 4 (25 March 1794) and GC 1794 F 17 N 98 (25 February 1794).

¹⁶ ED N 1881 (23 January 1792). Melchior Griessler’s death was on 13 January 1792, and by 23 January a notice was sent to the bookkeeping department that Specht would take over his position.

¹⁷ CD 1793 N 826 (25 May 1793). Upon Jäger’s death her salary and goods (“Deputat”) were portioned out to hornist/violinist Franz Pauer and her niece Barbara Pilhofer.

¹⁸ On 7 January 1791 the bookkeeping department received notice to replace the “Turnermeister” with Purcksteiner. ED N 1752 (7 January 1791). Later administrator Paulus Eötvös sent a letter to the bookkeeping department on 2 August 1792 that Purcksteiner had a new position and Pauer would fill the violinist position. ED N 1946 (2 August 1792). Also AM 1291 (2 August 1792).

¹⁹ On 29 May 1792 the bookkeeping department received information to pay Leopold Dichtler, who was in the new double bass position in the church music, the

Another group of musicians employed by the Esterházy princes were those serving in the military guard who provided music for military and non-military functions including parades and festive celebrations, such as the installation of a new prince or the arrival of special guests. The Grenadier Garde musicians were among the lowest paid and had the least prestige of all the musicians. Many of them held the same positions for their entire careers while others moved from the military music to the chamber music.²⁰ The Princely Grenadier Garde engaged a group of eight to nine bandsmen ("Spielleute") who consisted of fifers ("Pfeifer") and drummers ("Tambours"). In 1790 the four drummers were Mathias Pierbaur, Georg Gümpel, Mathias Torner and Mathias Suchendrunck, and the four fifers were Georg Ohlram, Andreas Ederer, Joseph Gross and Sebastian Binder. Besides this group of bandsmen in Eisenstadt, there were also small groups of military musicians at castle Forchtenstein and at the Esterházy palace.²¹ There could be as part of the Grenadier Garde the wind band ("Bandisten"), also referred to as the "Feldharmonie", which the records confirm existed in the year 1779 and later from 1784 to 1790.²² The six wind band players included two bassoonists, two hornists, and two clarinetists, and in 1790 these musicians employed by Prince Nicolaus I were Adam Dobner, Michael Brinkel, Johann Wolf, Leopold Tiberi, Anton Eigner and Albert Herlt.²³ After 1790 the wind band players were no longer listed in the Princely Grenadier Garde although the fifers and drummers continued, thus Prince Anton must have disbanded the Bandisten and retained only the Spielleute. The military wind band may have continued at least through the end of the year 1790, as found in the receipt of the Grenadier Garde captain Melchior von Pawlowski.²⁴

same salary as Christian Specht. ED N 1925 (29 May 1792). Also AM 1292 (21 May 1792).

²⁰ A career Grenadier musician Georg Gümpel served in the military guard for forty-five years from 1752 to 1797. MP 1-14 (1782-97), CB 1. Sebastian Binder, trumpeter, on the other hand, after fifteen years of service in the Grenadier Garde requested and was granted permission to become a member of the church music. ED N 3633 1/2 (29 July 1801).

²¹ Information from Josef Pratl.

²² MP 1779, 1-7 (1782-90).

²³ MP 7 (1790). The Mondierungs Prothocoll from the years 1773-1803 provide an annual list of the musicians, and in addition the three Compagnie-Bücher from the years 1749 to 1795 contain some biographical information about the military musicians.

²⁴ GC 1790 F 14 R 26 N 38 (27 December 1790).

That I, who signed below, have correctly and in cash received from Mr. Chief Cashier Joseph Züsser the fifty gulden, which His High Princely Serenity graciously ordered for the 6 members of the band for expenses,²⁵ herewith receive.

Eisenstadt 27th December 1790

Melchior von Pawlowski
Captain

After having dismissed both the large number of singers and instrumentalists in the chamber music in the fall of 1790 and soon thereafter the military wind band, Prince Anton re-engaged five of the former wind players in Prince Nicolaus' chamber music and brought in three new musicians to be members of his wind ensemble ("Harmonie"). The first monthly pay sheets available are those from 15 December 1790 to 15 January 1791, which list the musicians in Prince Anton's chamber wind ensemble ("Kammerharmonie").²⁶

Chamber Wind Ensemble from 15 December 1790 – 15 January 1791

Franz Czerwenka (bassoonist)
Joseph Czerwenka (oboist)
Anton Mayer (oboist)
Matthias Nickl (hornist)
Caspar Peczival (bassoonist)
Dionysius Zachmann (clarinetist)
Joseph Baumgartner (clarinetist)
Gabriel Lendvay (hornist)

These wind ensemble players received a monthly housing allowance as well as a monthly salary. A change in the ensemble personnel occurred when Franz Czerwenka requested to be released on 7 June 1793 to take a position as bassoonist with the court chamber music ("Hof Kammer Musik") in Vienna.²⁷ The request was granted on 26 June when Prince Anton sent a "Resolution" with

²⁵ These expenses would be incurred while they looked for another position.

²⁶ AM 152/1-XVII in HYB XV, pp. 177–78. The new musicians who played chamber and table music in the wind ensemble were the two clarinetists Zachmann and Baumgartner, while the hornist Lendvai had been employed earlier by Prince Nicolaus. (15 December 1790).

²⁷ AM 363 translated in Hellyer, p. 20.

the information that Vincent Matouschek would take Czerwenka's place as the new bassoonist.²⁸ Thus the wind ensemble continued with these same eight musicians into 1794.

The Grenadier Garde bandsmen changes in personnel between 1790 and 1794 included the addition of drummer Joseph Holtzhauer in 1791, increasing the number of players from eight to nine, but he remained only for that year, and the military music was back to eight members in 1792. In 1793 the drummer Mathias Suchendrunck deserted on 19 April and was replaced by Carl Gross on 1 May. Later in the fall on 8 October of that year when the drummer Mathias Pierbaur died, Joseph Gross left his position as fifer to take Pierbaur's place as drummer while Georg Frank was brought in as the new fifer. Johann Klaus was added in 1794 as a new fifer in the Grenadier Garde, expanding the total number of players once again to nine.²⁹

From late 1790 through the beginning of 1794 Prince Anton employed twenty-nine to thirty musicians, including twelve to thirteen in the church music, eight in the wind ensemble, and eight to nine bandsmen in the military music. The members of the church music, as found in the "Conventionale" of the "General Cassa" and of the "Hofstaat" of 1793, include the following musicians.³⁰

Church Music of 1793

Kapellmeister	Joseph Hayden
Keyboard Master	Johann Fux
Concertmaster	Aloisius Tomasini
Organist	Johann Georg Fuchs
Soprano	Eleonora Jäger (who died on 19 May)
Soprano	Barbara Pilhofer
Alto	Josepha Griessler
Tenor	Johann Hayden
Bass	Christian Specht

²⁸ ED N 2099 (29 June 1793).

²⁹ MP 8-11 (1791-94).

³⁰ PR 4739 and PR 4746. The list is from Josef Pral with the spellings of the musicians' names as they appear on the document.

Violinist	Franz Pauer
Violinist	Michael Ernst
Violinist	Joseph Dietzl
Double Bass player	Leopold Dichtler

The events at the beginning of the year 1794 were dramatic. On 22 January 1794 Prince Anton died suddenly and was succeeded by his son Prince Nicolaus II. This began a new era for the Esterházy musicians including Haydn who had just departed for England for the second time on 19 January. Beginning with a minimum of musical activity in 1794, which he inherited and which he decreased even further, Prince Nicolaus II began, nevertheless, after some years to slowly build a musical establishment in Eisenstadt that reached its peak in 1808 with eighty singers and instrumentalists involved in the church, chamber and theater music.³¹ This large number could be compared to the size of the Kapelle five years later in February 1813 when it had decreased to fifty-two musicians³² just before the Kapelle was reduced further in March 1813 to only twelve.³³ Part of Prince Nicolaus' efforts for building a strong Kapelle, reaching its maximum size in 1808, began to manifest itself as early as 1804 with his creation of a boys' choir institute ("Kapellknaben-Institut") modeled on that of the imperial court boys' choir institute ("Hofkapellknaben-Institut") in Vienna.

Early in the new prince's reign a request came from Klaviermeister Johann Nepomuk Fuchs who wrote:³⁴

Most Serene Nobly Born Prince of the Empire!
Most Gracious High-commanding Lord!

Whereas I flatter myself and may hope that both Her Serenity the widow, as well as Her Serenity the reigning Princess and the young noblemen are completely satisfied with my instruction in music, so I request in all humility, to be employed also in the future as keyboard instructor, and that such a salary be most mercifully resolved, that I should not be bound to live so meagerly, and for the obtain-

³¹ CD 1808 N 5290 (29 October 1808). CD 1808 N 5230 (14 November 1808).

³² AM 308 (14 February 1813).

³³ AM 4130 (14 March 1813).

³⁴ ED N 2230 (15 February 1794). Both the request from Fuchs and the prince's response are found as parts of the same document.

ing of my daily food, and also to take in outside students. In deepest respect, I lower myself

Your High Princely Serenity
most humble, most obedient
Johann Fuchs

The prince responded to Fuchs on 15 February 1794 confirming that he would be retained for the instruction of Princess Leopoldine. In addition he would receive 27 gulden monthly, be at the officers' table, and also receive a "Maas"³⁵ of wine each day. Fuchs would further be given an apartment and had permission to instruct students in keyboard instruments. His employment was made retroactive from the first of February.

Although Fuchs received this good news at the beginning of the reign of the new prince, the other musicians did not fare as well. As early as 17 February the wind ensemble bassoonist Matouschek received his severance pay,³⁶ while the following month on 5 March 1794 the prince dismissed all of the members of the wind ensemble.³⁷

The entire music personnel, namely Joseph Cservenka, Anton Mayer, Vincenz Matuschek, Caspar Petsoval, Dyonisius Zakmann, Joseph Baumgartner, Gabriel Lendvay, and Matthias Nikl must on account of unavoidable emergency cutbacks in our house be dismissed with a quarterly termination payment.

Nikolaus Prince Esterhazy mpria

All of these musicians, except for Matouschek, received their final monthly payment in April.³⁸ Peczival protested and was given 100 gulden as an annual salary for his future employment along with a raise of 50 gulden.

After dismissing the members of his father's wind ensemble, Prince Nicolaus II employed his own new group of wind players as a military wind band ("Feldharmonie"), that is, as part of the Grenadier Garde. By placing his wind band in the military music

³⁵ A "Maas" is a unit of liquid measurement which equals about 1.85 liters.

³⁶ HM 1794 Feb F 5 N 6 (17 February 1794). Matouschek received 137 F 30 xr, which the prince had ordered because of his dismissal.

³⁷ CD 1794 N 1170 (5 March 1794).

³⁸ HM 1794 Apr F 4 N 5 (April 1794).

the prince could pay the musicians lower salaries. The exact date of the hiring of these new musicians is not known, but on 6 June 1794 Fuchs billed for music for the Grenadier band (“Banda”), which included twelve Turkish and six wind band “Parthien” and music for two operas.³⁹ Therefore it is likely that the musicians were employed by 6 June. Since the members of the new group of wind players were a part of the Grenadier Garde, they were listed in the “Mondierungs Prothocoll” beginning in 1794, and in that year they included the following military wind band musicians.⁴⁰

Feldharmonie of 1794

Joseph Elssler (oboist)
Jakob Hyrtl (oboist)
Thomas Düppe (clarinetist)
Anton Pleimschauer (clarinetist)
Joseph Girusch (bassoonist)
Johann Michl (bassoonist)
Anton Prinster (hornist)
Johann Kinbäk (hornist)

The Feldharmonie would continue to be a part of the military music for four years through 15 March 1798⁴¹ with the only change in personnel being that of the replacement of bassoonist Joseph Girusch with Johann Rigl in 1796.

One of the most choreographed performances of the Grenadier military wind band (“Feldharmonie” or “Banda”) and the bandsmen took place on 23 July 1794 in Eisenstadt with the installation of Nicolaus II as the new prince. The elaborate installation processional was written out in detail in an “Ordnung” one month before the event took place.⁴² The prince and his installer, His Eminence Princely Cardinal and Primas Joseph von Batthyány, met in Breiten-

³⁹ GC 1794 F 17 R 29 N 95 (6 June 1794). It is interesting to speculate that some of the Turkish and wind band “Parthien” or opera arrangements could have been performed during the prince’s installation ceremony and celebrations later that month.

⁴⁰ MP 11-14 (1794-97).

⁴¹ Esterházy Archives (in the Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest) document P149, 2/105, 108 translated in Hellyer, pp. 28–29.

⁴² CD 1794 N 1656 (22 June 1794).

brunn, located approximately fifteen miles east of Eisenstadt, and rode west in their carriage to the town of Donnerskirchen and then on to St. Georgen just outside of Eisenstadt. Small cannons were fired to signal their advancement and finally their arrival at a tent where the two princes disembarked from their carriages and proceeded into the tent for salutations before beginning the parade to Eisenstadt. The stately procession consisted of numerous carriages transporting the two princes, the nobility, the Hussar bodyguards and others, all of which met up with half of the Grenadier Company, including among their ranks the military wind band. They marched onward to where the other half of the company, with the drummers and fifers, were waiting and together continued the procession. The parade proceeded with much pomp and circumstance to the city door of Eisenstadt and further to their final destination in front of the palace. Everything was choreographed including formal rows of the citizens of the town of Eisenstadt, who stood in line to join in the celebration. It must have been a splendid day for all to remember.

For their performances at the installation festivities of the prince, the eight members of the military wind band were each paid 2 ducats (equivalent to 9 gulden) for a total of 72 gulden for all eight players. In addition the entire Grenadier Company received a four-day payment, to be distributed to them after the installation.⁴³

There are few documents concerning the musicians for the second half of 1794 through 1795 as there was little musical activity taking place with the Esterházy musicians during these years. One new musician added to the church music, however, was the Viennese cellist Ignatz Manker, taken into service on 1 November 1794.⁴⁴ Of importance was Haydn's return to Austria in September 1795. He arrived to find that the prince had few paid musicians in Eisenstadt, only the church musicians, including several singers and a few string players, and the eight members of the military wind band. It must have been a great disappointment to him following his incredible musical successes in England.

The next year, in 1796, the two young sons of Luigi Tomasini were taken into service as violinists in the church music, Luigi Tomasini Jr. on 1 January and Anton Tomasini on 1 March. With the addition of these two fine violinists, the church music, according

⁴³ GC 1794 F 14 R 22 N 26 (3 July 1794).

⁴⁴ GC 1794 F 17 R 29 N 92 (30 November 1794). Also PR 4739.

to the “Conventionale” of the “General Cassa” in 1796, included fifteen musicians plus Klaviermeister Fuchs.⁴⁵ The musicians are given below.

Church Music 1796

Kapellmeister	Joseph Hayden
Klaviermeister	Johann Fuchs
Concertmaster	Aloisius Tomasini
Organist	Johann Georg Fuchs
Soprano	Barbara Pilhofer
Alto	Josepha Griessler
Tenor	Johann Hayden
Bass	Christian Specht
Violinist	Franz Pauer
Violinist	Luigi Tomasini
Violinist and violist	Anton Tomasini
Violinist	Michael Ernst
Cellist	Ignatz Manker
Double Bass player	Leopold Dichtler
Bassoonist	Caspar Peczival

Despite the small number of musicians employed in 1796, it was in the fall of that year that Haydn began to provide an annual mass for the celebration of Princess Marie Hermenegild Esterházy’s name-day.

No further changes were made to the church music until the last quarter of 1797 when the soprano Anna Rumfeld was taken into service on the first of October, receiving an annual salary of 400 gulden, a sum substantially larger than that of her colleagues in the church music. By comparison Johann Haydn, at the low end of the salary scale, was paid 49 F 20 xr. These salary differentials are apparent as well in the fourth quarterly payment sheet, which shows Rumfeld earning 100 gulden for the fourth quarter while Johann Haydn earned only 12 F 30 xr.⁴⁶ Anna Rumfeld arrived in

⁴⁵ PR 4753 and PR 4756. List from Josef Pratl. Fuchs, whose name did not appear on the general cashier’s list, was nevertheless a part of the church music.

⁴⁶ GC 1797 F 11 R 21 N 78-86 (1797).

Eisenstadt from Pressburg on 28 September, one day before the performance of Haydn's "Missa in Tempore Belli" on Friday, 29 September, and she may have sung some of the soprano solos for this mass.⁴⁷ The events for Princess Marie Hermenegild Esterházy's nameday on Sunday, 10 September were celebrated with a mass by Fuchs while many other festivities also occurred during the month.⁴⁸ The three trumpeters Sebastian Binder, Michael Altmann and Johann Pfann were actively engaged during these numerous celebrations and billed on the 27th of September for their services for entertainment and dining ("Tafelmusik"), for the balls, and also for the church services in the Bergkirche.⁴⁹

Other musicians in Eisenstadt who were not in service with the prince but who had performed for various musical events during the year were paid for their participation as Haydn at the end of 1797 billed for their services.⁵⁰

Notice

For His High Princely Serenity concerning the billing for the church services partly in the palace and partly in the Bergkirche for the current year.

as			
the bass singer from the city parish church ⁵¹ with	20 F	30 xr	
the tenor	12	--	
the soprano with	7	--	
<u>the three trumpeters together</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>45</u>	
Sum	103 F	15 xr	

The above services are correct and complete. confirmed herewith

Josephus Haydn mpria

Vienna, the 28th of December 797

Kapellmeister

⁴⁷ Landon IV, p. 261.

⁴⁸ GC 1798 F22 R29 N 40 (28 December 1797). See the following "Catalogue" of musical services submitted by Johann Bader, bass singer from the Stadtpfarrkirche. See also Elsa Radant (ed.), *The Diaries of Joseph Carl Rosenbaum 1770–1829*, in: HYB V, p. 25, and Landon IV, p. 259.

⁴⁹ HM 1797 September F 6 N 10 (27 September 1797).

⁵⁰ GC 1798 F 22 R 29 N 40 (28 December 1797).

⁵¹ Johann Bader is the bass singer who sang at the city parish church (Stadtpfarr or Stadtpfarrkirche) located in the middle of the town, which is today the Eisenstadt cathedral. The tenor is Carolus Krausz, while the soprano remains unknown. The three trumpeters are Sebastian Binder, Michael Altmann and Johann Pfann.

An interesting document providing much information as to the performances in 1797 is that submitted by Johann Bader, bass singer at the city parish church and also part-time musician for the prince, to whom Haydn referred in his "Notice". Upon Haydn's request Bader provided an account of his services during 1797, beginning 4 June and concluding 12 November.⁵²

Catalogue

Regarding the following services, I, the one who signed, have billed on the order of Mr. Haydn, as bass singer both in the Bergkirche and in the palace chapel⁵³: as

	F	xr
The 4 th , 5 th , and 6 th of June 1797 for the forty-hour prayers in the palace the 3 High Masses, and evenings of Litanies sung	3	--
The 11 th d ^o for Trinity Sunday the High Mass sung		
The 15 th d ^o for the Corpus Christi High Mass including procession sung	--	45.
The 29 th d ^o for the feast of Peter and Paul High Mass sung	--	45.
The 30 and 31 st of August two rehearsals for the new organ at the Berg	--	30.
The 8 th of September: the High Mass in the palace sung	--	45.
The 9 th d ^o the 10:00 rehearsal of the new Mass by Mussie [sic] Fux ⁵⁴	--	15.
The 9 th d ^o the 4:00 Vespers at the Berg	--	45.
The 10 th d ^o the High Mass at the Berg sung	--	45.
The 10 th d ^o the 4:00 Vespers at the Berg	--	45.
The 17 th d ^o at the Berg the High Mass sung	--	45.
The 22 nd d ^o at the 10:00 rehearsal of a Mass by Michael Haydn	--	15.
The 24 th d ^o the High Mass in the palace	--	45.
The 1 st of October: the High Mass at the Bergkirche	--	45.

⁵² GC 1798 F 22 R 29 N 40 (28 December 1797).

⁵³ The Bergkirche or Mountain Church, often referred to in the documents simply as the Berg or the Bergpfarr (Mountain Parish Church), was the Esterházy church in the upper part of the town known as the Oberberg. The palace chapel ("Schloss Kapelle") is the small, intimate chapel within the palace. Both the Bergkirche and the palace chapel were Esterházy churches with the celebration of the high mass alternating between these two churches.

⁵⁴ Fux is the Klaviermeister Johann Nepomuk Fuchs. The rehearsal of Fuchs' mass on Saturday the 9th of September was the mass performed at the Bergkirche on Sunday the 10th for the nameday celebration.

The 7 th d ^e rehearsal, the Mass and Litany of Michael Haydn	--	15.
The 8 th d ^e the High Mass in the palace	--	45.
The 13 th the High Mass at the Bergkirche	--	45.
The 22 nd d ^e the High Mass in the palace	--	45.
The 26 th d ^e the 10:00 rehearsal of the Symphony of Mr. Haydn	--	45.
The 27 th d ^e the 11:00 rehearsal of The Seven Last Words, and evening performance	2	--
The 29 th d ^e the High Mass at the Bergkirche sung	--	45.
The 1 st of November: the High Mass in the palace sung	--	45.
The 5 th d ^e the High Mass in the palace sung	--	45.
The 12 th d ^e the High Mass of Fuchs sung	--	45.
The 12 th d ^e the High Mass in the palace sung	--	45.
This 20 F: 30 xr: have I	Sum	20 30.
The undersigned for the high princely:		

Chief Cashier's Office correctly and in cash received.

Eisenstadt the 14th of July 1798.

Johann Bader mpria

Johann Bader mpria

City Parish Church = bass singer

From this catalogue it is of interest to note that in addition to the high masses there were two rehearsals specifically with the new organ at the Bergkirche on 30 and 31 August. In September a high mass was celebrated in the palace chapel on Friday the 8th, and on Saturday the 9th at ten o'clock in the morning there was a rehearsal of a new mass by Fuchs, whose church music was performed fairly regularly by the Esterházy church music. Also on 9 September at four o'clock in the afternoon were vespers in the Bergkirche, making for a heavy schedule of services for the musicians. It is curious that Bader performed a high mass, the mass by Fuchs, at the name-day service for the princess on 10 September, but he was not a part of the Friday, 29 September performance of Haydn's "Missa in Tempore Belli".⁵⁵ In addition the tenor Carolus Krausz, who billed for his performances, also did not sing on 29 September for Haydn's mass even though both singers were at the 27 October rehearsal and performance of Haydn's "The Seven Last Words".

The year 1798 was not a good one for the Grenadier Garde wind band, for in mid-March the eight wind players were dismissed because of severe financial constraints in the princely coffers. Despite their petitions to the prince to extend their employment con-

⁵⁵ See Landon IV, p. 261 for the date of 29 September for the performance of the "Missa in tempore belli".

tracts, along with a request for better salaries, those requests were denied, and the wind band was dissolved. Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, who was in Eisenstadt at this time, was also disturbed about the situation and spoke to Haydn about the “dissolution of the band” on 27 March.⁵⁶ The financial situation was critical for the unemployed musicians who had family in Eisenstadt and who could not easily find positions elsewhere. This was the case for oboist Joseph Elssler whose mother, the widow of Haydn’s longtime copyist Joseph Elssler Sr., appealed to the prince for financial assistance since her son had been dismissed from service and was no longer able to provide for her in her advancing age.⁵⁷ The bandsmen of the Grenadier Garde were also affected by cuts. From 1794 there had been stability among this group with the same nine musicians employed each year, but by the beginning of 1798 Georg Frank was no longer listed among the fifers and Georg Gümpel’s name did not appear with the drummers. At the end of June fifer Andreas Ederer retired and by the end of November Mathias Torner was dismissed, decreasing the number of musicians in the military music in 1798 from seven to five.⁵⁸

Grenadier Garde Spielleute 1797 and 1798

	1797	1798
Drummers	Georg Gümpel	Georg Ohlram
	Joseph Gross	Joseph Gross
	Mathias Torner	Karl Gross
	Karl Gross	Sebastian Binder
Fifers	Georg Ohlram	Johann Klaus
	Andreas Ederer	Andreas Ederer retired 30 June
	Sebastian Binder	Mathias Torner was dismissed 30 November
	Georg Frank	
	Johann Klaus	

⁵⁶ Else Radant, *The Diaries of Joseph Carl Rosenbaum*, in: *HYB V*, p. 39. See also Hellyer, pp. 28–29.

⁵⁷ CD 1798 N 431 (1798).

⁵⁸ MP 11-15 (1795-98).

In the church and chamber music the personnel remained fairly stable in 1798 with the number of musicians in the princely service totaling seventeen, including Kapellmeister Haydn, Klaviermeister Fuchs, one organist, eight string players, one bassoonist and five singers.⁵⁹ As seen earlier in Johann Bader's catalogue of services, it is clear that the musicians performed a high mass every Sunday in either the palace chapel or in the Bergkirche with the music of Fuchs, Michael Haydn and Joseph Haydn being frequently performed. Besides the extra singers, such as Bader, the tenor Krausz and the soprano, who billed for their work providing freelance services, there were other local musicians in Eisenstadt who also performed in the church music when needed. The three trumpeters Sebastian Binder, Michael Altmann and Johann Pfann continued to be frequently engaged for church services. In November 1798 they billed for the months from November of the previous year through April of the current year.⁶⁰

Account

From the provision of His High Princely Serenity: we bill for the church services with trumpets in the high-princely palace and the mountain parish church in Eisenstadt from the 1st of November 1797 to the last of April 1798.

	F	xr
the 1 st of November a Mass and Vespers	2	15
the 5 th of November a Mass	1	30
the 6 th of December d°	1	30
the 7 th of December a Vespers		45
the 8 th of December a Mass and Vespers	2	15
the 12 th of December a Mass	1	30
the 24 th of December a Mass and Vespers	2	15
the 24 th of December Midnight Mass ⁶¹	1	30
the 25 th of December a Mass and Vespers	2	15
the 26 th of December d° d°	2	15

⁵⁹ AV F 291, Teil 1 (20 February 1798).

⁶⁰ GC 1798 F 22 R 29 N 36 (14 November 1798).

⁶¹ "Bei der Möthen" (Mette). This was the Christmas Eve midnight mass.

the 1 st of January 798	d°	d°	2	15
the 6 th of January 798	d°	d°	2	15
the 2 nd of February	d°	d°	2	15
the 4 th of March	d°	d°	2	15
the 7 th of April a Vespers				45
the 8 th of April a Mass and Vespers			2	15
the 9 th of April	d°	d°	2	15
the 12 th of April a Mass			1	30
		Sum	33	45

Sebastian Binder
Michael Altmann
Johann Pfann

In the year 1799 the church music continued to use the services of additional musicians outside of the officially employed church musicians to assist in the performances of the Kapelle. Such was the case with the two clarinetists Johann Klaus and Johann Wolf, who performed with the church music and billed for their services from May through September.⁶² The military fifer Georg Frank also performed at church services for additional pay, with Haydn recommending to the prince that Frank be paid 45 xr for every service. Frank later billed for twelve services from 1 November through the end of December.⁶³ The trumpeters Binder, Altmann and Pfann also continued to perform extra services, and on 1 October 1799 they were granted an annual payment of 25 gulden and some grain for their work.⁶⁴ Haydn had written to Prince Nicolaus II at some point between mid July and September suggesting this annual payment since for several years the three trumpeters had been paid per performance, which totaled approximately 111 gulden for all three players each year. To further advocate for their annual salaries Haydn pointed out that the 25 gulden each would actually be a savings for the prince. Prince Nicolaus II accepted Haydn's recommendation and paid the three trumpeters their

⁶² CD 1800 N 2817/2 (7 September 1799). This document has their billing for the months of May through September of 1799 when they performed for the masses in the palace chapel and the Bergkirche, including the "Theresienmesse" on 8 September.

⁶³ CD 1800 N 2817/12 (7 November 1799).

⁶⁴ ED N 3017 (21 November 1799).

salaries along with an additional 2 “Metzen” of grain. With this annual payment the trumpeters were expected to attend all the performances required.⁶⁵

Within the church music there was one change in personnel when double bass player Leopold Dichtler died in May 1799 and was replaced in his position in June by Thomas Düppe.⁶⁶ In the Grenadier Garde the bandsmen were reduced in 1799 to six, which left the three drummers Georg Ohlram, Joseph Gross and Karl Gross and the three fifers Sebastian Binder, Johann Klaus and Georg Frank. This same group continued through 1800.⁶⁷ Because the wind band had been dismissed the year earlier in 1798 and with only six members in the military music, as well as with no additional musicians employed in new positions during the year except for the three trumpeters, 1799 proved to be a definite low point in terms of the number of musicians employed in the Kapelle.

While the year 1800 began with relatively few changes in the church music, there was a flourish of musical activity beginning in the spring, which continued through the fall of the year. With the musical events increasing even further in the early fall, there must have been a need for more musicians participating in the church music, for in August the prince requested that all of his staff officials who could help with the music, especially for the solemn masses, the vespers and the litanies, without neglecting their regular duties, should do so and bill for their services.⁶⁸ In preparation for the festivities that fall, in August the Bergkirche church music received twenty new red leather chairs and nineteen music stands made out of hard wood.⁶⁹ This would imply that the number of musicians performing was substantial enough to require this number of stands and chairs. A fourth trumpeter Karl Berger billed for his twenty-two services from 29 June through 12 October.⁷⁰ It is fortunate for historical documentation that bass singer Johann Bader was not yet engaged in the church music in 1800, for as a singer from the town, he had to bill for each of the music services he

⁶⁵ CCLN, p. 159.

⁶⁶ ED N 2938 (7 June 1799).

⁶⁷ MP 16-17 (1799-1800).

⁶⁸ CD 1800 N 1644 (12 August 1800).

⁶⁹ CD 1800 N 2720 (20 August 1800).

⁷⁰ CD 1800 N 2820/8 (17 October 1800).

performed, and his request for reimbursement from 4 May through 14 September is available, making it possible to know more precisely the rehearsals and performances during that period. Between these four months he had a total of seventy-eight services (rehearsals and performances) with thirteen services in May, nineteen services in June, eight in July, twenty-six in August and twelve through the middle of September, all of which can be seen in his lengthy list on several pages. Thus, although there were few regularly paid members of the church music, many additional musicians were involved in the extraordinary number of musical services that summer and fall.⁷¹

The undersigned as bass singer has billed in the presence of His Serenity from the order of Mr. Haydn the following church services.

	F: xr:
On the 4 th of May 1800 the High Mass in the palace by Michael Haydn	-- 45.
the 11 th d ^o - the High Mass at the Berg by Hofmann ⁷²	-- 45.
the 18 th d ^o - the High Mass in the palace by M. H. ⁷³	-- 45.
the 20 th d ^o - rehearsal of the new Mass by Fux ⁷⁴	-- 15.
the d ^o d ^o - rehearsal of the Mass by Bichl ⁷⁵	-- 15.
the 21 st d ^o - rehearsal of a new Vespers	-- 15.
the d ^o d ^o - rehearsal of the new Mass by Fux	-- 15.
the d ^o d ^o - rehearsal again of a new Vespers	-- 15.
the 21 st d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	-- 30.
the 22 nd d ^o - the Solemn High Mass in the palace	-- 45.

⁷¹ CD 1800 N 2819/8 (22 September 1800).

⁷² Leopold Hofmann (1738–1793), a highly regarded Viennese composer during his lifetime, composed sacred music as well as orchestral and chamber music. One of his masses was performed for Ascension Sunday on 11 May 1800, and either the same mass or another one was performed for the solemn high mass on 2 June.

⁷³ Michael Haydn, whose sacred music was often performed by the Esterházy musicians, had ten performances of his masses in Eisenstadt from May through mid-September 1800.

⁷⁴ Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, a composer of numerous sacred works for the Esterházy Kapelle, had his new mass performed for the nameday celebration of the princess on St. Mary's Sunday, 14 September 1800.

⁷⁵ Bichl (also Bichel) is the composer Wenzel Pichl. His music was highly regarded during his day, and his sacred works received performances in Eisenstadt.

the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 25 th	d ^o - the High Mass at the Berg by M. H.	--	45.
the 31 st	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 1 st of June	- the Solemn High Mass in the palace by Jo. H in d minor ⁷⁶	--	45.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Litany in the evening	--	30.
the 2 nd	d ^o - the Solemn High Mass by Hofmann	--	45.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Litany in the evening	--	30.
the 3 rd	d ^o - the Solemn High Mass of M. H.	--	45.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Litany in the evening	--	30.
the 7 th	d ^o - rehearsal of the Mass by Breindl ⁷⁷	--	15.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Mass by Bichel.	--	15.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 8 th	d ^o - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by J. H.	--	45.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers	--	30.
the 14 th	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 15 th	d ^o - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by J. H.	--	45.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Procession for Corpus Christi in the presence of His Serenity	1 --	
the 15 th	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers	--	30.
the 22 nd	d ^o - the High Mass in the palace by J. H.	--	45.
the 28 th	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 29 th	d ^o - the Solemn High Mass by M. H.	--	45.
the d ^o	d ^o - the Solemn Vespers	--	30.
the 6 th of July	- the high Mass at the Berg by M. H.	--	45.
the 9 th	d ^o - rehearsal at 10:00 of the Quintet together with Chorus by Fux	--	15.
the d ^o	d ^o - evening performance	--	45.
the 13 th	d ^o - the High Mass in the palace by Mozart	--	45.
	Total ⁷⁸		20 15

⁷⁶ Haydn's "Missa in Angustiis" (Nelson Mass).

⁷⁷ Breindl is Josef Preindl (1756–1823), Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's in Vienna whose sacred music was admired by the Estherházys.

⁷⁸ Fürtrag.

		F: xr:
	carried over	20 15
the 20 th	of July – High Mass at the Berg by M. H.	-- 45.
the 27 th	d° - High Mass in the palace by M. H.	-- 45.
the d°	d° - the Litany as Mr. Specht was at the baths ⁷⁹	-- 30.
the d°	d° - the Litany at the Berg	-- 30.
the 2 nd	of August – the Litany in the palace	-- 30.
the d°	d° - the Litany at the Berg	-- 30.
the d°	d° - after the Litany, rehearsal of the Bichl Mass	-- 15.
the d°	d° - after the Litany, rehearsal of a Motet including a Gradual	-- 15.
the 3 rd	d° - the High Mass at the Berg by Mozart	-- 45.
the d°	d° - the Litany at the palace	-- 30.
the d°	d° - the Litany at the Berg	-- 30.
the d°	d° - after the Litany, rehearsal of the Mass by Jos. H.	-- 15.
the 3 rd	d° - the Litany in the palace	-- 30.
the 4 th	d° - at 10:00 rehearsal of the Bichl Mass in the palace	-- 30.
the d°	d° - at 10:00 rehearsal of a Motet including a Gradual	-- 15.
the 5 th	d° - Rehearsal of the Fux Mass	-- 15.
the d°	d° - the Litany in the palace	-- 30.
the d°	d° - the Litany at the Berg	-- 30.
the 10 th	d° - the High Mass in the palace	-- 45.
the d°	d° - the Litany in the palace	-- 30.
the d°	d° - the Litany in the Berg	-- 45.
the 14 th	d° - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	-- 30.
the 15 th	d° - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by Jo. H.	-- 45.
the d°	d° - the Solemn Vespers	-- 30.
the 17 th	d° - the Solemn High Mass at the Berg by M. H.	-- 45.
the 19 th	d° - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	-- 30.
the 20 th	d° - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by J. H.	-- 45.
the d°	d° - the Solemn Vespers	-- 30.

⁷⁹ "wie H. Specht in Baad war". Bader must have been substituting for Christian Specht who was taking a medical leave at the spa.

the 24 th d° - the High Mass in the palace by M. H.	--	45.
the 31 st d° - the High mass in the palace by Jos. H.	--	45.
the 5 th of September – rehearsal of the new De Deum by Jos. H.	--	15.
the 6 th d° - rehearsal of the Bichl Mass	--	15.
the d° d° - a Motet together with a Gradual	--	15.
the 7 th d° - the High mass in the palace by Jos H.	--	45.
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg	--	30.
the 8 th d° - the Solemn High Mass by Bichl together with the De Deum by J. H. ⁸⁰	1	--
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg	--	<u>30.</u>
Total		39 30

		F	xr
	carried over	39	30
the 9 th of September – the Solemn High Mass by Jos. H.	--	45.	
the 12 th d° - rehearsal of a Litany by Hasse	--	15.	
the 13 th d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg	--	30.	
the 14 th d° - the Solemn High Mass by Fux	--	45.	
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg	--	<u>30.</u>	
Total		42	15.

The above 42 F 15 xr received from the hand of Secretary
Burkert to have confirmed
Eisenstadt on 22 September 1800
Johann Bader mpria
2nd Choir = Bass singer

From Bader's list it is apparent that the church music was extremely busy performing the music of their Kapellmeister and of his brother Michael Haydn, as well as the music of Johann Fuchs, Mozart, Leopold Hofmann, Josef Preindl, Wenzel Pichl and Hasse. Following this billing it was decided to pay Bader an annual salary of 50 gulden rather than make him bill separately for each service.⁸¹ While

⁸⁰ Haydn's "Te Deum in C" was first performed on Monday, 8 September on Princess Marie's actual nameday with St. Mary's Sunday celebrated on 14 September.

⁸¹ ED N 3285 (15 October 1800). Also AM 1882 (12 November 1800).

this was better for Bader and easier for the Esterházy administration, the detailed documentation of the musical activities of the church music came to an end. As 1800 was the year that Haydn did not provide a new mass for the princess' nameday, it is of interest to learn from Bader that Haydn's "Te Deum in C" was premiered on her actual nameday that year, Monday, 8 September 1800. Therefore, Haydn's new Te Deum rather than a mass was his nameday gift to the princess. Without Bader's list, the premier of the "Te Deum" would remain in question, but his billing list confirms the date of its first performance.

Also of interest from Bader is the performance of Haydn's d minor Mass, the "Missa in Angustiis", on 1 June. Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton traveled to Austria that autumn, and Rosenbaum noted that they were in Vienna at the Burgtheater on 19 August. The British Admiral and Lady Hamilton made their way to Eisenstadt, arriving on 6 September. During their four-day visit they attended four concerts, one conducted by Haydn.⁸² It is likely that either the Solemn High Mass by Joseph Haydn heard on Sunday the 7th in the palace, or possibly the Solemn High Mass on Tuesday the 9th, was a performance for the noted British visitors of the "Missa in Angustiis", thereafter known also as the "Nelson Mass". The famous British guests would have also heard the first performance of Haydn's "Te Deum" on 8 September 1800. According to Bader's list "The Creation" was not performed in Eisenstadt during Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton's visit as some sources have indicated.⁸³

A turn for the better for the wind players, and the Kapelle as a whole, occurred in November 1800 with the reinstatement of the wind ensemble. On 31 October 1800 the six wind players, oboist Jacob Hyrtl, oboist Joseph Elssler, bassoonist Johann Michl, clarinetist Georg Warlen, and hornists Anton and Michael Prinster requested regular employment. By 10 November the prince responded stating that they would be taken into service with an annual salary of 300 gulden.⁸⁴ This action increased the number of regularly paid musicians in the Kapelle by six. The reason for reinstating the wind ensemble could have been twofold. First, there was greater musical activity at the Esterházy court in 1800, and second, the prince's cousin, Count Franz Esterházy, living near Bratislava, had

⁸² Landon IV, pp. 560, 62. See also p. 605.

⁸³ Landon IV, p. 560 as per J. C. Jeaffreson in *Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson*.

⁸⁴ ED N 3342. Also AM 1884 (10 November 1800).

in April 1800 created his own wind ensemble and had hired both Jacob Hyrtl and Anton Prinster, former members of Prince Nicolaus II's military wind band.⁸⁵ Both of these reasons may have convinced the prince to act as he did. Shortly thereafter on 7 December the prince employed Gabriel Lendvay as a supernumerary in the church music, making his employment retroactive from 1 October.⁸⁶ The last new musician to be employed in the year was tenor Joseph Richter who was notified in a "Resolution" of 19 December of his engagement.⁸⁷ Thus the year 1800 ended with eight new musicians being added to the Kapelle in the last two months.

During the year 1801 several minor changes occurred in the personnel of the princely church music and the Grenadier Garde. First, beginning in early January the administrative official Mathias Dienelt offered his services as a tenor in the church music. Therefore, in addition to his regular duties, he was involved with the music performances, augmenting their numbers.⁸⁸ Martin Czech, trumpeter, became a part of the church music a few weeks later on 22 January and was eventually given the position of music announcer and choir attendant.⁸⁹ Franz Fuchs, an official in charge of the vineyards, also provided his services as a double bass player with the church and chamber music.⁹⁰ By late July the military trumpeter Sebastian Binder was taken into service in the church music,⁹¹ with Joseph Standfest replacing him in the military music on the first of August.⁹² Later that fall Prince Nicolaus II became displeased with the way some of the members of the Kapelle presented themselves, for on 26 September he sent a letter to Haydn stating that all of the musicians should be dressed appropriately with clean uniforms and powdered wigs.⁹³ The loss of a violinist in the Kapelle occurred in October when Joseph Dietzl became ill and was transferred to a hospital in Forchtenau.⁹⁴ Also in October

⁸⁵ Hellyer, p. 31.

⁸⁶ DD 1800 N 4027 (7 December 1800).

⁸⁷ ED N 3438 (28 December 1800). Also AM 1881 (19 December 1800).

⁸⁸ DD 1801 N 105 (8 January 1801).

⁸⁹ CD 1800 N 195 (22 January 1801). Also AM 1877 (7 December 1800).

⁹⁰ DD 1801 N 2267 (3 July 1801).

⁹¹ ED N 3633 1/2 (29 July 1801).

⁹² MP 18 (1801).

⁹³ CCLN, p. 191.

⁹⁴ ED N 3571, 3572 (25 October 1801). See also DD 1801 N 5031 (30 December 1801).

the retired Grenadier Anton Bauer replaced Georg Rastetter as the new bellows operator for the Bergkirche organ. The Grenadier Garde saw a change in late November when Georg Frank, a former military fifer, moved to Vienna to assume the position of porter for the prince's house in the imperial city.⁹⁵ Earlier on 25 October Franz Weber had already replaced Frank as fifer in the Garde.⁹⁶ Thus the year 1801 ended rather uneventfully for the Kapelle.

In the following year 1802 greater changes took place beginning with the military music increasing from six players, including Georg Ohlram, Joseph Gross, Karl Gross, Johann Klaus, Joseph Standfest and Franz Weber, to eight players when on 1 April Johann Schulz and Joseph Traibl were added to the bandmen.⁹⁷

In the church music during the late spring of 1802 twenty-nine musicians were listed in the "Personnel and Salary List".⁹⁸ The additions in personnel over the past several years had resulted in a larger Kapelle, which now included not only the string players and singers but also the wind players, added in 1800, and the three trumpeters. During the year the church music experienced several personnel changes as a result of deaths among the musicians followed by their subsequent replacements. When on 4 March the clarinetist Georg Warlen petitioned to be dismissed, the prince consulted Haydn about a possible replacement.⁹⁹ By 14 April not one but two new clarinetists, Franz Finger and Johann Hornik, were hired, completing the clarinet requirements for the wind octet.¹⁰⁰ Caspar Peczival, one of the bassoonists in the church music, died on 28 March,¹⁰¹ leaving an opening for another bassoonist. Since Johann Michl was the only bassoonist left, on 1 May Johann Sommer was taken into service to replace the deceased Peczival.¹⁰² Another death depleted the church music on 1 May when double bass player Thomas Düppe died.¹⁰³ Within a week the replacement for the deceased Düppe was made by hiring Johann Dietzl as the

⁹⁵ CD 1801 N 3277 (29 November 1801).

⁹⁶ MP 18 (1801).

⁹⁷ MP 19 (1802).

⁹⁸ AV F 291 Teil 1 (1802)

⁹⁹ CD 1802 N 592 (4 March 1802).

¹⁰⁰ ED N 3966 1/2 (14 April 1802). Also AM 1922 (14 April 1802).

¹⁰¹ RA 1802 N 112/7 (8 April 1802).

¹⁰² DD 1802 N 1765 (1 May 1802). Also AM 1314 (1 May 1802).

¹⁰³ RA 1802 N 112/4 (9 May 1802).

new double bass player.¹⁰⁴ Dietzl was returning to the Esterházy court after having served in the Kapelle under Prince Nicolaus I beginning in 1775 and then having left his service to work in Vienna in October 1790 when Prince Anton dissolved the chamber music.

In May 1802 Gabriel Lendvay, hornist, wrote a lengthy letter to the prince stating that his position for the past two years had been as a supernumerary in the church music, waiting for a regular position to open for which he was qualified, but no position had become available.¹⁰⁵ He further related how he had assisted in playing the trumpet, violin and flute in performances when needed and how he had even received a commission from Kapellmeister Haydn in the name of the prince to teach horn, but as much as he wanted to teach, a position had never materialized. Lendvay went on to explain that he had received a letter from Kapellmeister Weigl in Vienna saying that Baron Braun would like to engage him as the principal hornist for the National Theater next to the court if he could get a dismissal from Prince Esterházy. After further stating how difficult it would be to leave his current situation with the prince, he nevertheless reiterated that he had no real position at the moment in the Esterházy Kapelle and requested a dismissal by the end of June. The prince responded on 20 May that Lendvay could be dismissed.¹⁰⁶

A major appointment occurred in August 1802 when Johann Nepomuk Fuchs was promoted to the position of Vice Kapellmeister.¹⁰⁷ The year before in October 1801 Prince Esterházy had offered Michael Haydn the job of Vice Kapellmeister, and even in early 1802 the prince thought he might accept the position, but Michael Haydn decided rather to stay in Salzburg.¹⁰⁸ Joseph Haydn knew in late July 1802 that a new Vice Kapellmeister was to be appointed, but he did not know exactly who that would be until 14 August when he received a letter from the prince with news of Fuchs' appointment.¹⁰⁹ Fuchs had actually already begun carrying out the duties of Vice Kapellmeister long before his official appointment.

¹⁰⁴ DD 1802 N 2498 (24 June 1802). Also AM 1928 (7 May 1802).

¹⁰⁵ The two horn positions were occupied by the brothers Anton and Michael Prinster.

¹⁰⁶ CD 1802 N 1507 (29 May 1802). In his dismissal terms the prince made one stipulation that Lendvay turn in his uniform.

¹⁰⁷ AM 1937 (14 August 1802).

¹⁰⁸ Landon V, pp. 77, 228 f.

¹⁰⁹ Landon V, p. 229 from the prince's letter to Haydn, also in CCLN, p. 207.

As early as 1799 Fuchs, in the position as Klaviermeister, had confirmed the church services for the clarinetists Klaus and Wolf,¹¹⁰ then in June of 1800 he had billed for the musicians' services for Ascension Sunday,¹¹¹ and he had also billed in June for per diems for the music director Höllmayer.¹¹² In 1801 Fuchs had further billed for music copying¹¹³ and expenses incurred during the nameday festivities that fall.¹¹⁴ He had even petitioned for the title of Vice Kapellmeister in May of 1802.¹¹⁵ About the time of Fuchs' official appointment in August 1802, Haydn was completing the "Harmonie Mass", the last of his six annual masses for the princess' nameday. Prince Nicolaus II may have observed at this time that Haydn was no longer able to perform all of his duties as Kapellmeister, and with Fuchs' appointment as Vice Kapellmeister, he began to take over greater responsibilities with the musicians in Eisenstadt.

Later that fall in November other personnel issues arose. A new hire occurred when the court house painter Carl Mauerer was employed to replace the ill Friedrich Rhode. The church music gained a new musician with Mauerer, as his employment was on the condition that he also perform with the church music.¹¹⁶ At the end of 1802 Prince Nicolaus II was concerned about another personnel problem and issued a statement acknowledging his displeasure with the manner in which cellist Ignatz Manker was behaving. The prince noted that although Manker had often been warned to change his ways, he had not improved and should be dismissed. Further, Haydn was requested to search for Manker's replacement with the prince suggesting the possibility of either Anton Kraft, who had been an exceptional cellist under Prince Nicolaus I, or Kraft's son Nicolaus, also a fine cellist.¹¹⁷ Thus the year ended with the high probability of a dismissal early in the coming year.

¹¹⁰ CD 1800 N 2817/2 (1799).

¹¹¹ CDEP 1800 N 1179 (June 1800).

¹¹² CDEP 1800 N 1954 (22 June 1800).

¹¹³ CD 1801 N 3606/11 (1 August 1801).

¹¹⁴ CD 1801 N 3611/1-38 (12 December 1801).

¹¹⁵ CDEP 1802 N 1441 (22 May 1802).

¹¹⁶ CD 1802 N 3417 (27 November 1802). Mauerer was officially hired on 27 November 1802.

¹¹⁷ CD 1803 N 3966 (22 December 1802).

The saga of the dismissal procedures of cellist Manker continued in early 1803 when Chancery Director Johann von Kárner reported to the prince on the negotiations with the Krafts as possible replacements for Manker.¹¹⁸ First Kárner discovered that both father and son were employed by Prince Lobkowitz and that Anton Kraft was earning a substantial salary of 800 gulden. He was also receiving free housing in Vienna, which cost Lobkowitz 400 gulden, plus he received free firewood and candles. In addition, Kraft had a free apartment in the country and received 45 kreuzer a day for food allowance. His son's salary and benefits were similar with the exception of earning a lower salary of 300 gulden. Since the salaries and benefits were much greater than what the individual musicians in the Esterházy Kapelle earned, they could only offer the two Krafts a total salary of 1,000 gulden together plus free housing in Eisenstadt, but with no other benefits. In the negotiations Anton Kraft responded that they needed to have more than what had been offered to them in order to make it possible for the two to come. There was some consideration of the possibility of taking one of the Krafts, if not both. While negotiations with the Krafts continued, so did the dismissal proceedings of Manker. About a week later on 26 January Kárner sent a note to the business office stating that because of Prince Nicolaus II's earlier "Resolution" of 23 December 1802, Manker had to be dismissed,¹¹⁹ and on 1 February Regent Johann von Szent Gály notified the bookkeeping department of the dismissal of Manker.¹²⁰ Replacing Manker, instead of one of the Krafts, was the cellist Johann Clameth, who began his employment on 15 April. Shortly before Clameth was hired a new chaplain, Paulus Bevilacqua, was engaged, and since he was a tenor, he was also required to sing with the Kapelle.¹²¹

Two additional musicians, Müller and Brinner, were employed on 15 March 1803 in the Grenadier Garde, increasing the numbers in the "Spilleute" from eight to ten.¹²² In October the wind band musicians petitioned for either a new uniform or for a cash substi-

¹¹⁸ CD 1803 N 3987 (19 January 1803). The document dated 19 January 1803 was also signed by Prince Paul Esterházy, son of Nicolaus II.

¹¹⁹ DD 1803 N 503 (26 January 1803).

¹²⁰ ED N 4236 (1 February 1803).

¹²¹ GC 1803 F 13 R 6 N 2462 (30 April 1803). Also for Clameth's employment see AM 4315 (30 April 1803) and for Bevilacqua's engagement see AM 3373 (10 May 1803).

¹²² MP 20 (1803).

tute to bring their salaries up from 300 to 400 gulden, but their requests were denied.¹²³ The two sisters Magdalena and Josepha Schöringer joined the church music as altos in November and even later in the year violinist Anton Polzelli was taken into service.¹²⁴ By the end of 1803 the number of musicians in the chamber and church music had increased to thirty-five, as documented in the “Personnel and Salary List” of 1802/1803.¹²⁵

An important year in the growth of the Esterházy Kapelle was 1804 when two major changes took place. First, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, at the age of twenty-five, was engaged as concertmaster and composer, and second, the boys’ choir was established. Although Hummel’s official title was concertmaster and composer, he functioned in many ways as Kapellmeister and he and Fuchs shared the responsibilities associated with the musicians under them. The year saw the beginning of the boys’ choir institute (“Kapellknaben-Institut”) with the hiring of both a director and a teacher and with the selection of the first young boy singers, the majority of whom came from Vienna. Prince Esterházy wanted to have a boys’ choir much like that at the court in Vienna. The boys’ choir was established for two purposes, first, to provide more singers for the church music, and second, to be a preparatory school training the boys to become full members of the Kapelle. The Haydn brothers Joseph, Michael and Johann had all had similar training under Reutter at St. Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna, and likewise, several of the boy singers in Eisenstadt would later hold regular positions in the Esterházy Kapelle. Besides these significant additions to the Kapelle, there were additional individual musicians engaged or dismissed throughout 1804.

The year began with a request from Gabriel Lendvay, supported by Haydn, that he be taken back into service with the Esterházys. Lendvay’s humble petition to the prince was full of regret for the mistakes he had made by leaving the prince’s service, but he did note that Prince Grassalkovics supported him. Lendvay’s petition was well received, for he was re-engaged on 4 January 1804.¹²⁶ Also early in January Hummel was promised employment,¹²⁷ al-

¹²³ CCLN, p. 220.

¹²⁴ AM 1991 (2 December 1803).

¹²⁵ CD 1804 N 1244 (1803). This personnel salary list dates from 1802 to the end of 1803.

¹²⁶ CD 1804 N 1116 (1 April 1804). Also AM 1403 (1 April 1804).

¹²⁷ AM 2052 (12 October 1804).

though this was not made official until April.¹²⁸ By February Hummel had already begun assuming the duties of his position by purchasing a grand piano ("Flügel") with an expanded keyboard as ordered by the prince at a cost of 54 gulden. He also had the music from the last ball of the season copied with all of the parts for 4 F 30 xr. Hummel then sent the bill from Vienna on 18 February to the central directions chief cashier's office in Eisenstadt for payment.¹²⁹ Again on 30 March Hummel billed for the copying of his *Missa Solemnis*.¹³⁰ (See also Facsimile 1.)

Nota

Concerning the copying of my newly composed *Missa Solemnis* consisting of 308 pages in the complete score;

	F	xr
Each page at 10 xr	51	20.
Vienna the 30 th of March 804.		

Joh. Nep. Hummel
Concertmaster mpria

Vidit v Kárner mpria
Central Chancery Director.

In March 1804 the student alto in the church music, Catharina Krines, was dismissed because of bad behavior and for accumulating conspicuous debts for which the prince had no patience.¹³¹ Before her dismissal she had been singing in the choir since 1802. Later that spring beginning 1 April two hires were made, the first being Gabriel Lendvay who was officially taken back into service with a salary of 400 gulden. The second hire came at the same time when Elisabeth Dietzl, daughter of the double bass player Johann Dietzl, was engaged as a singer with a salary of 200 gulden.¹³²

¹²⁸ ED N 4984 (16 October 1804). Also AM 2040 (10 October 1804). Hummel's official employment letter was not written until 16 October 1804, but it was made retroactive from 1 April.

¹²⁹ CC 1804 Februar N 52 (18 February 1804).

¹³⁰ CC 1804 März N 114 (30 March 1804).

¹³¹ GC 1804 F 21 R 15 N 3569 (21 March 1804).

¹³² ED N 4708 (5 April 1804). Also AM 1403 (1 April 1804). Lendvay's employment. AM 1392 (2 April 1804). Elisabeth Dietzl's employment.

On 1 May 1804 the hiring of the personnel for the boys' choir began with Joseph Rotter employed as director and Professor Michael Rathmayer as teacher. Later by early June nine boy singers, two of whom were extras, were also in place. Rotter was engaged both as the singing master for the boys' choir and as a bass singer in the church and chamber music. His responsibilities with the boys were to teach singing through the instruction of the fundamentals of music. Those boys who were slow to learn were to be taught the basics, such as to sing in tune and to read music, while the better students were to be grounded in solfege. For his role as bass singer Rotter was to assist both as a choral singer and as a soloist,¹³³ while Rathmayer was hired to teach the boys their general studies. By June 1804 the boys' choir personnel consisted of Rotter, Rathmayer and nine boys with the addition of a tenth singer, Leopold Stotz, who was employed in July.

Esterházy Boys' Choir 1804

Director – Joseph Rotter

Teacher – Professor Michael Rathmayer

Boy Singers

Joseph Friderich

Joseph Langstetten (Langstöger)

Anton Steiner

Anton Stadler

Joseph Kastner

Johann Zimmermann

Jacob Leeb

Leopold Stotz¹³⁴

Supernumeraries

Joseph Dätl

Joseph Zimmermann

¹³³ CD 1804 N 2044 (22 June 1804). Rotter's employment contract also stipulated that he was required to submit to all of the princely regulations and orders.

¹³⁴ EK 1804 N 59 (13 December 1804). Stotz was not named with the other nine boy singers, but he was listed in the "Specification" of 1804 as a boy receiving goods in kind beginning 30 July 1804. He was also listed in the "Protokoll Conventionale" (PR N 4985 dating from 1805-09) as a boy singer ("Kapellknabe") earning 30 gulden.

The costs of the new boys' choir for Prince Esterházy included the annual salaries of Rotter (700 gulden), Rathmayer (600 gulden,) the eight boy singers (30 gulden each, totaling 240 gulden) and no salary for the two supernumeraries for a sum of 1,540 gulden for all of the salaries. In addition to their salaries Rotter received free housing and firewood, Rathmayer room and board, and the eight boy singers and two supernumeraries room, board with breakfast, and clothing. The uniforms for the boys were blue and black, similar to the other music personnel but without silver.¹³⁵ The local official Lucas Wutkowatz, whose wife was in charge of feeding breakfast to the boys, received wine and grain for nine of the boy singers and for Professor Rathmayer.¹³⁶

In May of 1804, Hummel, who lived much of the time in Vienna, came to Eisenstadt with two bass singers from Vienna and spent five days from the 18th through the 22nd residing in the Engl guest-house and taking meals there.¹³⁷ Additional musicians not officially employed in the church and chamber music were also involved in the music services in 1804, including Johann Wolf who requested payment in June for his flute playing for his performances during the past year and a half.¹³⁸ A new trainee in the business directions office, Georg Gaal, began his employment in July with the stipulation that he also be involved in the music services.¹³⁹ Then in August the young hornist from Neudörfl, Franz Lechner, was brought in as a music student/trainee and was offered a free room in the music building with the other musicians as well as 150 gulden to help with his board.¹⁴⁰ For the princess' nameday celebrations in September more musicians were brought in to supplement the Eisenstadt Kapelle including two young women with the last name of Laucher, Mr. Fenzl from Baden, a vocal coach, a prompter, a young boy named Jakerl, a baritone, and a clarinetist.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ CD 1804 N 2040 (1 May 1805). Also AM 1408 (30 May 1805).

¹³⁶ EK 1804 N 59 (31 December 1805).

¹³⁷ RA 1804 N 214 (May 1804).

¹³⁸ CD 1804 N 2240 (22 June 1804).

¹³⁹ ED N 4818 (7 July 1804).

¹⁴⁰ CD 1804 N 2777 (4 August 1804).

¹⁴¹ CC 1804 Oktober F 1 N 1 (1 October 1804). Hummel received money from the chief cashier's office to pay the individual musicians. The two Laucher women received 300 gulden, Mr. Fenzl 65 gulden, the prompter and vocal coach 30 gulden, the boy Jakerl 25 gulden, the baritone 20 gulden and the clarinetist 45 gulden.

The theater music provided music for stage events, such as opera performances and plays where music was also performed. Although some singers were hired specifically for the theater music, many singers and instrumentalists from the church and chamber music also performed in the theater. Prince Nicolaus II was fond of the theater and opera and supported his musicians. On 30 October 1804 the prince sent a “Resolution” in which he stated how pleased he was to pay his officials who worked in the various offices and the individual musicians in his service additional money for their work in the opera. The twelve persons receiving extra payments included the musicians Joseph Rotter (60 gulden), Anna Rumfeld-Siess (100 gulden), Anna Hornik (60 gulden), Elisabeth Dietzl (50 gulden), and official/musicians Carl Maurer (60 gulden), Mr. Gabrissovics (80 gulden), Mathias Dienelt (50 gulden), Mr. Lechner (50 gulden), Georg Gaal (40 gulden), Franz Fuchs (50 gulden), Adam List (20 gulden), and Mr. Hamburger (40 gulden), which altogether totaled 660 gulden. In the same group of documents was a catalogue of the ten individual musicians who were obligated to participate in the theater followed by a list of the musicians who were not to be used.¹⁴²

Catalogue of the individuals whose obligation is to perform in the theater

Mr. and Mrs. v	Schmidt
Ms.	Marx
---	Schill
---	Diezl
Mr.	Möglich
---	Treidler
---	Rotter
---	Thillo
---	Baader

The remaining choral singers are to be used for particulars.

¹⁴² CD 1804 N 3999 (30 October 1804). The catalogues are a part of the lengthy Princely “Resolution”.

Catalogue of those who are not authorized for that purpose.

Mrs. Hornigg, wife of the 2nd clarinetist has a severe fever many times during the day. She wishes for a yearly arrangement to completely give up the theater work.

Mr. Gaal

Mr. Lendway.

Mr. Stotz¹⁴³ – prompter, has had very many difficulties and loss of time.

Mr. Mauerer as theater manager.

NB. Mr. Polzelli – composed the operetta “Junker in der Mühle”.

Further into these documents are the names of the musicians performing in the three theater productions that fall of 1804. Those works performed were “Die 2 Füchse” with Joseph Rotter, Gabriel Lendvay and Georg Gaal, “Sonntagskind” with the largest cast of Rotter, Anna Rumpf-Siess, Anna Hornik, Georg Gaal, Elisabeth Dietzl, Mr. Hamburger, Carl Mauerer and Hummel, and “Die Kleinstädtler” with Rotter and Lendvay.

With all of the theater music performances in the fall of 1804, the end of October saw the engagement of tenor Joseph Treidler, listed above in the catalogue of those required to perform in the theater music. Treidler was also able to play violin, viola or cello if needed and was thus another example of the versatile Esterházy musician who could function in several capacities making him more employable. Flutist Georg Schuster was also taken into service that fall, and he too was proficient on the violin and viola.¹⁴⁴

The year 1805 began on a somber note for the Esterházy musicians with the death of the longtime devoted hornist and violinist Franz Pauer who died on 1 February at seven o'clock in the morning.¹⁴⁵ He must have been quite ill in late 1804 for on the “Specification” of 31 December his wife Maria, rather than Pauer himself, signed

¹⁴³ Johann Leopold Stotz, a printer and theater prompter in the princely service, should not be confused with Leopold Stotz, the boy singer and trainee.

¹⁴⁴ ED N 5003, 5004 (30 October 1804). Also AM 3377 (30 October 1804).

¹⁴⁵ CD 1805 N 521 (1 February 1805). Also AM 2083 (1805). EK 1805 N 49 (31 December 1805).

her name for the receipt of his goods in kind,¹⁴⁶ and she also received his goods for the month of January 1805, presumably because he was unable to do so.¹⁴⁷ Another change in the musicians occurred in late February when the new violinist and bass singer from Nuremberg Philipp Ludwig Möglich was engaged.¹⁴⁸ Möglich would prove to be not only a good singer, but also a fine violinist, functioning as one of the soloists.

The Esterházy musicians made trips to Vienna for various musical performances, and in March 1805 Luigi Tomasini and his two violinist sons, along with double bass player Johann Dietzl, spent five days in Vienna for a concert on the 12th. Upon their return Tomasini submitted all of their travel expenses and received a reimbursement on 14 March.¹⁴⁹

Specification

Concerning the travel expenses, per diems, and lodgings, when on the order of His High Princely Serenity, Mr. Concertmaster Tomasini with both of his sons and the double bass player Dietzl had to appear on the 12th for a music concert.

Travel gratuities for 4 horses roundtrip	12, —.
Tax money for 4 horses roundtrip	2, 8.
Per diems for 5 days, that is, from the 10 th through the 14 th for Mr. Concertmaster Tomasini at 1 F	5, —.
The remaining three calculated at 45 x daily for 5 days altogether	11, 15.
Then for the lodgings in Matschakerhof, from the lack of empty rooms both in the new building and also in the Herrschaftshaus as per the enclosed note for 5 days	15, 52.
Total	46F. 15x.

¹⁴⁶ EK 1804 N 59 (31 December 1804).

¹⁴⁷ EK 1805 N 49 (31 December 1805).

¹⁴⁸ ED N 5220 (28 February 1805). The date of Möglich's official employment in the Kapelle was 28 February 1805.

¹⁴⁹ CC 1805 März N 21 (14 March 1805).

These forty-six gulden 15 x from the High Princely
Esterhazy Central Directions Chief Cashier's
Office have been correctly received, acknowledged
herewith. Vienna on the 14th of March 805.

Luigi Tomasini
Maestro di
Concerto

New musicians continued to be taken into the Kapelle in the late spring, for on 1 May Catharina Marx from Ödenburg was engaged as a soprano¹⁵⁰ and would function as one of the soprano soloists. While this new singer was added, another significant death occurred within the Kapelle only a few days later when on 10 May Johann Haydn, tenor in the church music and younger brother of the Kapellmeister, died.¹⁵¹ Joseph Haydn's brother had sung in the choir for forty years, the first six years in an unofficial capacity. The news of Johann Haydn's death appears to have traveled fast, as the next day the composer Joseph Heidenreich, who was living in Vienna, wrote a letter to the prince asking to be considered for the currently available tenor position.¹⁵² Heidenreich, however, was not the prince's choice for the replacement.

Later in the summer on 4 July 1805 two new singers were employed in the Kapelle – the bass singer Heinrich Schmidt from Weimar and his wife Theresia.¹⁵³ They were offered a good salary between the two of them and were given a free apartment of at least three rooms, which had been painted in June before they arrived.¹⁵⁴ Then on 30 July three other new musicians were hired for the Kapelle. The bass singer Johann Bader, employed for some time on a part-time basis with the Esterházy's, officially resigned from his work with the city of Eisenstadt to be employed exclusively

¹⁵⁰ DD 1805 N 2634 (1 May 1805). Also AM 2084 (1 May 1805).

¹⁵¹ EK 1805 N 49 (13 December 1805). The death date of Johann Haydn was given as 10 May 1805 in the "Specification" of 1805 "Deputat" list for the church musicians.

¹⁵² CD 1805 N 5405 (11 May 1805).

¹⁵³ ED N 5477, 5478 (4 July 1805). CDEP 1805 N 2951. Also AM 1440 (4 July 1805).

¹⁵⁴ GC 1805 F 40 R 11 N 4064 (22 June 1805). The court house painter and musician Carl Mauerer sent a bill for the various paints used in the apartment including the colors black, green, yellow, indigo and red.

with the prince.¹⁵⁵ The two other musicians engaged on the same day were Carl August Thilo and Ignatz Goth. Thilo, a young singer from Vienna with the K. and K. Court Theater, was brought in to replace Johann Haydn as tenor in the Kapelle.¹⁵⁶ Goth was taken into service as the principal trumpeter.¹⁵⁷ The last musician to be employed during the year 1805 was Franz Lechner, who on 13 December was taken into the Kapelle as violinist.¹⁵⁸ While the year 1805 witnessed the deaths of Franz Pauer and Johann Haydn, it saw the overall growth of the Kapelle with the addition of the individual musicians Möglich, Marx, Heinrich and Theresia Schmidt, Bader, Goth, Thilo and Lechner, which meant a net gain that year of six new musicians.

The “Personnel and Salary List” of 1805 is a good source for documenting the individual musicians in the church and chamber music along with their salaries and benefits for that year.¹⁵⁹

Personnel and Salary List

the Princely Esterházy Church and Chamber Music in the year 1805

	Salary f.
Kapellmeister Joseph Haydn	700.
Vice Kapellmeister Johann Fuchs	1000.
Concertmaster and Composer Joh. Hummel	1200.
Concertmaster Alois Tomasini	750.
Violinist Alois Tomasini	660.
“ Anton Polcelli	465.
“ Philipp Ludwig Möglich	600.
“ Anton Tomasini	500.
“ Michael Ernst	250.
“ Franz Lechner	75.
“ Gabriel Lendvai	400.
Cellist Johann Klameth	600.

¹⁵⁵ ED N 5505 (30 July 1805). Also AM 2128 (27 July 1805).

¹⁵⁶ ED N 5508 (30 July 1805). Also AM 2098 (9 June 1805).

¹⁵⁷ ED N 5507 (30 July 1805). Also AM 1442 (30 July 1805).

¹⁵⁸ ED N 5747 (13 December 1805). Also AM 1495 (13 December 1805).

¹⁵⁹ AM 2166 (1806). The spelling of the musicians' names are as they appear on the document.

Double bass player	Johann Dietzl	600.
Oboist	Joseph Ellsler	415.
"	Jakob Hirtl	400.
Clarinetist	Franz Finger	600.
"	Johann Hornik	400.
Flutist	Frid. Schuster	600.
"	Johann Wolf	100.
Bassoonist	Johann Szomer	303.
"	Johann Michl	400.
Hornist	Anton Prinster	400.
"	Michael Prinster	415.
Trumpeter	Sebastian Binder	300.
"	Michael Altmann	50.
"	Johann Pfann	50.
"	Johann Goth	100.
Timpanist	Martin Csech	400.
Soprano	Anna Siess	450.
"	Barbara Pilhofer	261.
"	Elisabeth Dietzl	200.
"	Catharina Marx	350.
Alto	Josepha Hamer	440.
"	Josepha Wutkovátz	150.
"	Magdalena Schöringer	100.
"	Josepha Schöringer	100.
Tenor	Jakob Jos. Richter	515.
"	Joseph Treitler	700.
"	August Thillo	600.
Bass	Christian Specht	203.
"	Joseph Rotter	700.
"	Johann Baader	475.
Professor of the boy singers	Mich. Rathmayer	600.
Boy singer	Anton Stadler	30.
"	Anton Siemer	30.
"	Joseph Kastner	30.
"	Joseph Friderich	30.
"	Johann Zimmermann	30.
"	Leopold Stotz	30.
"	Jakob Leeb	30.
"	Michael Baader	30.

[Boy singer]	Joseph Dätl	
"	Joseph Zimmermann	
Singers:	Heinrich and Theresia Schmidt	1800.
Choir attendant	Anton Pauer	40.

The total number in the Kapelle in 1805 from this list was fifty-seven, including the three music directors, twenty-six instrumentalists in the orchestra, fourteen singers in the choir, ten boy singers in the boys' choir plus their teacher, two additional singers (Heinrich and Theresia Schmidt) in the theater music, and the choir attendant.

The year 1806 began with substantial raises for the musicians in the church and chamber music. Inflation was ever greater and the musicians needed additional money just to keep up with the same standard of living they had previously known. The prince was aware of the need to help them financially and responded by giving each of his musicians in the church and chamber music raises according to his directive of 20 January 1806. The prince's directive lists the musicians, their former salaries, and their new salaries beginning 1 January 1806.¹⁶⁰

<u>Name</u>	<u>Salary in 1805</u>	<u>Salary as of 1 January 1806</u>
Luigi Tomasini, Jr.	660 F	700 F
Anton Polzelli	465 F	600 F
Anton Tomasini	500 F	600 F
Michael Ernst	250 F	400 F
Gabriel Lendvay	400 F	500 F
Johann Clameth	600 F	700 F
Johann Dietzl	600 F	700 F
Johann Hyrtl	400 F	500 F
Joseph Ellsler	415 F	450 F

¹⁶⁰ ED N 5816 (20 January 1806). In addition to the salary raises Luigi Tomasini Jr. also received a raise in goods in kind of one more cord of firewood to the three cords he had previously received. Likewise, part of Johann Sommer's previous salary of 488 F 36 $\frac{7}{8}$ xr included some goods in kind. With the 1806 raise Sommer received a total of 500 gulden, as the additional cash amount replaced his former goods.

Johann Hornik (for his wife)		100 F
Johann Wolf	100 F	200 F
Johann Sommer	488 F 36 $\frac{7}{8}$ xr	500 F
Johann Michl	400 F	450 F
Anton Prinster	400 F	500 F
Michael Prinster	415 F	450 F
Michael Altmann	50 F	100 F
Johann Pfann	50 F	100 F
Johann Goth	100 F	200 F
Anna Siess	450 F	600 F
Barbara Pilhofer	261 F	300 F
Elisabeth Dietzl	200 F	300 F
Catharina Marx	350 F	450 F
Josepha Hammer	440 F	540 F
Josepha Wutkowatz	150 F	200 F
Magdalena Schöringer	100 F	200 F
Josepha Schöringer	100 F	200 F
Joseph Richter	515 F	600 F

For those musicians in the theater music, according to the prince's "Resolution" of 30 October 1804, there were opportunities for additional payments for their theater services. Therefore the theater musicians were not included in these new raises. The prince addressed other personnel issues in this directive. He gave the young violinist Carl Thomas 100 gulden annually for clothing since Thomas had made this request to the prince the year before. Also the prince bought a contrabassoon from Johann Michl upon Michl's request for 115 gulden for its use in the Kapelle. This purchase by the prince gave Michl some badly needed cash for his instrument.

In the boys' choir a few changes were made. The supernumerary boy singer Joseph Zimmermann was sent back home to his parents because of his frailty and illness, and the supernumerary boy singer Joseph Dätl entered as a regular singer in the choir. When the boy singer Anton Filler was dismissed on 10 June 1806, Hummel suggested that Novotny be the one to replace him. Therefore, Thomas

Novotny, the son of the Bergkirche attendant, was taken into the boys' choir as a singer with benefits.¹⁶¹

Other changes in the Kapelle took place throughout 1806 with the deaths of several of the members of the Kapelle and the hiring of new musicians. One of the early hires was bassoonist Joseph Kugler who had requested to be taken into the princely service in 1804 but had been refused at that time because of the lack of an opening; however, he was finally officially engaged on 3 February 1806.¹⁶² In late February Sebastian Brauneis, who had applied for and received a new position in the administrative office of the chancery with an additional assignment as tenor in the Kapelle, was engaged. His recommendation letter dated 27 February was signed by Regent Szent Gály along with other officials' signatures. It was noted in this letter that Brauneis had a naturally good tenor voice and with him in the choir the choral sound would be much stronger.¹⁶³ Two deaths occurred in the Kapelle before March. Johann Dietzl, double bass player, and Joseph Richter, tenor, both died early in the year and were replaced on 3 March by Joseph Lorenz as the new double bass player and Johann Michael Urban as the new tenor.¹⁶⁴ A happy occasion occurred on 8 March when the administrative official and tenor Mathias Dienelt and soprano Elisabeth Dietzl, whose father Johann had recently died, were granted permission from the prince to marry. Having gained permission to marry, Elisabeth was eligible for a widow's pension.¹⁶⁵ Later in March on the 27th a new bass singer, Anton Schuster, was added to the court Kapelle not as a replacement but rather as an additional singer.¹⁶⁶ Tragically Sebastian Brauneis, whose official contract was signed on 14 April by Chancery Director Johann von Kárner, died two weeks later on 27 April after having been employed for less than two months. His widow received 50 gulden upon his death.¹⁶⁷

Further tragedy was to strike the Kapelle on 6 June 1806 when violinist and hornist Gabriel Lendvay died. Lendvay's initial employment with the Esterházy's dated back nineteen years to 1787

¹⁶¹ AM 2168 (10 June 1806).

¹⁶² DD 1806 N 713 (3 February 1806). Also AM 2260 (3 February 1806).

¹⁶³ CD 1806 N 1604 (14 April 1806).

¹⁶⁴ CD 1806 N 885 (3 March 1806). Also AM 1512 (8 March 1806).

¹⁶⁵ CD 1806 N 996 (3 March 1806).

¹⁶⁶ DD 1806 N 1918 (27 March 1806). Also AM 1508 (1 April 1806).

¹⁶⁷ CD 1806 N 1975 (28 April 1806). Also AM 1515 (22 April 1806).

when Prince Nicolaus I had taken him into service. Regent Szent Gály officially reported his death on 8 June. In his same report Szent Gály noted that there were several musicians in the hospital, including the singer Theresia Schmidt for whom things were not looking positive. He did add that the baker had visited her that evening and reported that she seemed to be doing better.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately she did not recover from her illness but died instead four days later on 12 June. Frau Schmidt, a fine singer and mother of a young child, was buried in the Bergkirche crypt where other of the Esterházy musicians were also buried.¹⁶⁹ After her death a new employment contract was written for her husband Heinrich with changes made in his salary and benefits since they had been hired under the same contract with a combined salary and benefits package.¹⁷⁰

More musicians continued to be hired throughout the summer and into the fall of 1806 and raises and honoraria were awarded to those musicians who were already a part of the musical establishment. A new musician in the Kapelle, Johann Treidler, was hired on 24 June as a violist with abilities to perform also as tenor, violinist and timpanist. Treidler, like many of the other musicians, was quite versatile, as had often proved necessary in order to maintain employment.¹⁷¹ Later in the summer towards the end of July the young violinist Carl Thomas requested a salary for his work in the Kapelle during the past year¹⁷² which was eventually granted at a rate of 100 gulden. Along with Thomas the clarinetist Johann Hornik and oboist Joseph Elssler also received raises of 50 gulden each.¹⁷³ When the raises had been given out to the musicians in January of 1806, Hornik did not receive one for himself, but rather his wife Anna was awarded 100 gulden for her work. Elssler had only received a 35 gulden raise in January from 415 to 450 gulden while most of the other musicians had received proportionately greater raises. (Refer to the earlier salary list of 1806.) His raise in July brought his annual salary up to 500 gulden, making it more in line with the other wind players. It is likely that all three of

¹⁶⁸ CD 1806 N 2909 (8 June 1806). Also AM 2175 (6 June 1806).

¹⁶⁹ AM 2178 (4 June 1806). The gravestone in the Bergkirche crypt where she was buried gives Theresia Schmidt's death date as 12 June 1806.

¹⁷⁰ CD 1806 N 2801 (22 June 1806).

¹⁷¹ DD 1806 N 3986 (24 June 1806). Also AM 1503 (1 April 1806).

¹⁷² CDEP 1805 N 3394 (27 July 1806).

¹⁷³ ED N 7095 (29 July 1806).

these musicians had requested additional money after comparing their situations with those of their colleagues. The young official Georg von Gaal, also involved in the theater music, sang at Princess Leopoldine's wedding and the prince, who must have been quite pleased with his singing, rewarded him with a gift of 50 gulden.¹⁷⁴

The year 1806 ended as it had begun with raises for the musicians. Prince Nicolaus II, in a "Resolution" dated 31 October 1806, paid the musicians involved in the theater music for that year honoraria totaling 550 gulden.¹⁷⁵ On his payment list were several prominent Viennese musicians including Clement, Director of Music at the Theater an der Wien, who received 150 gulden, Mademoiselle Menzl who received 50 gulden and cellist K. and K. Court Musician Schuster who was paid 50 gulden. From among his own musicians Luigi Tomasini, Jr. received 100 gulden, Josepha and Elisabeth Tomasini and Theresia Stotz each received 50 gulden for honoraria and for various costume accessories, and Leopold Stotz, the engineering trainee and musician, received 50 gulden for the purchase of necessary clothing and for his work with the theater. Later in December the prince provided a second list of payments to his Eisenstadt musicians.¹⁷⁶

To my Court and Chief Cashier's Office!

In my last Resolution of 31 October of this year sub N°. Cent. 5218 and 5219 to those named for special music and theater employment is graciously consented the following remuneration, which will be paid through my Court and Chief Cashier's Office, namely:

The two sons of bass singer Bader each 25 F	50 F -- xr
The two small daughters of Hornik together	30
The Professor Rathmayer	50
The estates direction official Hansch	50
The bass singer Rotter	50
The assistant bookkeeper Gabrissovits	50
The bookkeeper Cancellist Dienelt	50
The buildings and grounds bookkeeper Lechner	50
The purveyor Fuchs	50

¹⁷⁴ GC 1806 F 20 R 5 N 3436 (30 September 1806).

¹⁷⁵ GC 1806 F 20 R 5 N 3450 (31 October 1806).

¹⁷⁶ GC 1806 F 20 R 5 N 3496 (22 December 1806).

The estates director official Gaal	40
The Eisenstadt office clerk List	<u>20</u>
Altogether	490 F --

it is four hundred ninety gulden. Eisenstadt
on the 22nd of December 806.

Nicolaus Prince Esterhazy mpria

From the names of the individual personnel receiving remuneration are those who were employed mainly in court staff positions, but who also assisted with the theater music. Among the names is the office clerk ("Amtschreiber") Adam List, father of Franz Liszt who, besides his regular clerk position, which he began in 1804, also worked in the theater music and played cello in the orchestra. At this time he was paid 20 gulden for his additional theater work. Michael and Johann Bader, the two sons of bass singer Johann Bader, and the daughters of Johann and Anna Hornik are also among those receiving money for their work in the theater.

In the year 1806 the Grenadier Garde musicians continued to be active. They consisted of nine bandsmen Georg Ohlram, Joseph Gross, Karl Gross, Joseph Standfest, Johann Klaus, Franz Weber, Joseph Traitl, Stephan Brinner and Müller, all of whom had been a part of the military music since 1803 or earlier.¹⁷⁷ The following year 1807 witnessed a change in the personnel with the dismissal of Klaus on 23 October and his replacement by Grafl four days later on 27 October; otherwise the ensemble remained the same.¹⁷⁸

Overall there was extensive growth in the Kapelle in the year 1807 with the hiring of many new musicians. Caroline Höld, daughter of the "Turnermeister" Anton Höld, was the first musician hired in the new year on 6 January. She was a soprano and was given instruction in voice from the bass singer Anton Schuster.¹⁷⁹ In the spring on 16 March several changes were announced in a princely "Resolution", one being that the former flutist Zacharias Hirsch who, because of his advancing age and earlier diligent service in the Kapelle, would begin receiving an annual pension. Also the violinist Andreas Massa, considered to be quite a competent violin-

¹⁷⁷ GCR 1806.

¹⁷⁸ GCR 1807.

¹⁷⁹ DD 1807 N 198 (6 January 1807). Also AM 1593 (10 January 1807).

ist, was hired,¹⁸⁰ but he eventually decided not to accept employment in Eisenstadt.¹⁸¹ An important new addition to the Kapelle was that of the singer Elisabeth Siebert who was employed as one of the alto soloists on 19 March.¹⁸² Then at the end of March the violinist Carl Thomas once again requested to be formally hired as a musician in the Kapelle.¹⁸³ In the spring of 1807 the documents show that Hummel was busy with administrative duties; he asked to have vocal parts from the operetta "Das Hausgesind" and some operatic vocal music for Josepha Schill printed, but he was told to postpone the printing.¹⁸⁴

In late spring the new soprano Sophie Croll was hired on a two-year contract at a substantial annual salary of 1,350 gulden starting on 1 May.¹⁸⁵ In June the court house painter Carl Mauerer, often involved in music services especially in the theater, was given an annual raise of 100 gulden for his music work. Regent Szent Gály, who may have considered his musical involvement extensive, cautioned Mauerer that his music service should not hinder his regular work as a painter.¹⁸⁶ The next musician hired on 2 July 1807 was another soprano, Elisabeth Schneider, whose contract read much the same as Sophie Croll's in that it was valid for two years, the annual salary was the same at 1,350 gulden, and the benefits were also comparable.¹⁸⁷ At the end of July violinist Wenzeslaus Czech, son of the longtime devoted musician Martin Czech, was also engaged but at a much lower salary than the women singers. He received 500 gulden plus benefits, putting his salary more in line with those of his instrumental colleagues in the orchestra.¹⁸⁸

Changes likewise took place with the boys' choir personnel during 1807. In July two new boy singers, Ignatz Ferstl and Martin Rupp, were added to the choir, requiring some of the other boys to relocate to new living quarters. Ferstl and Rupp arrived at the institute

¹⁸⁰ ED 1870 N 641 (16 March 1807). Also AM 1606 (16 March 1807).

¹⁸¹ AM 2325 (25 April 1807).

¹⁸² ED 1807 N 639 (19 March 1807). Also AM 1591 (19 March 1807).

¹⁸³ CDEP 1807 N 1535 (31 March 1807).

¹⁸⁴ CD 1807 N 2196 (28 May 1807).

¹⁸⁵ ED 1807 N 1455 (8 June 1807). Also AM 1588 (8 June 1807).

¹⁸⁶ GC 1807 F 26 R 6 N 3608 (11 June 1807).

¹⁸⁷ ED 1807 N 1639 (2 July 1807). Also AM 204 (2 July 1807).

¹⁸⁸ DD 1807 N 4448 (18 July 1807). Also AM 2347 (5 July 1807).

building where all of the boys lived on 24 July, but since their moving into the institute created overcrowding, the older boys Jacob Leeb and Joseph Langstöger were sent to the music building up on the "Berg" next to the Bergkirche to reside with the older musicians in the Kapelle. Vice Kapellmeister Fuchs had already arranged for the new quarters in the music building and had supplied the rooms with the necessary two mattresses, pillows, comforters, linens and chairs.¹⁸⁹ Another change in the boys' choir took place on 1 September 1807 when Anton Steiner, a member of the choir since 1804, was taken into the Esterházy forest service.¹⁹⁰ Vice Kapellmeister Fuchs noted that as a musician Steiner was capable of becoming a fine tenor.¹⁹¹ Another addition to the boys' choir during the year was that of Johann Bader Jr., son of the bass singer Johann Bader. The father received a raise in his goods in kind as compensation for his son's work.¹⁹²

The hiring of new musicians continued into the late summer of 1807 when Anna Cornega was employed as a soprano in the church, chamber and theater music on 14 August,¹⁹³ and as one of the soloists in the Kapelle, she was paid 800 gulden for a beginning salary. Later on 5 September Johann Posch from the town of Schärding was hired on a one-year contract to work in the chancery office for the prince and to provide his services as a tenor for the church, chamber and opera music.¹⁹⁴ Further personnel issues were addressed in October when the prince put forth a directive stating first, that hornist Michael Prinster had permission to marry and had pension rights as well, second, that violinist Carl Thomas would receive a raise of 200 gulden for his good work, and third, that the boy singer Paul Eder, son of Catharina Eder, who had been employed for two years with an annual salary of 100 gulden but who had only received up to that time 50 gulden, would be paid 150 gulden as back pay for his salary and from then on would receive the 100 gulden annually.¹⁹⁵ In late November Prince Nicolaus II gave raises to several of the musicians including Johann Fuchs, who received a yearly raise of 300 gulden plus a "Maas" of

¹⁸⁹ DD 1807 N 733 (27 July 1807).

¹⁹⁰ CDEP 1807 N 3823 (1 September 1807).

¹⁹¹ DD 1807 N 847 (1 September 1807).

¹⁹² EK 1807 N 48 (31 December 1807).

¹⁹³ DD 1807 N 5025 (14 August 1807). Also AM 1594 (18 August 1807).

¹⁹⁴ CD 1807 N 3909 (5 September 1807). AM 1578 (9 September 1807).

¹⁹⁵ DD 1807 N 6419 (12 October 1807).

wine each day. Other raises were in order for soprano Anna Rumfeld-Siess who received 200 gulden, the sisters Magdalena and Josepha Schöringer each received 100 gulden, Abbé Bevilaqua 200 gulden, the two Tomasini daughters 200 gulden each, and soprano Theresia Stotz also 200 gulden.¹⁹⁶ Thus the year 1807 saw substantial increases in the music personnel along with some raises for several of the musicians. Those ten new musicians added in 1807 included Carolina Höld, Elisabeth Siebert, Sophie Croll, Elisabeth Schneider, Wenzeslaus Czech, Ignatz Ferstl, Martin Rupp, Johann Bader, Jr., Anna Cornega, and Johann Posch.

The year 1808 would see the Kapelle reach its peak in terms of the number of musicians employed and the extensive musical activity taking place. New business at the beginning of the year included a directive from the prince requesting remunerations for his theater director and others who had assisted in the theater music for the past year. The prince indicated that the overall theater expenses for 1807 totaled 565 F 12 xr. In addition Heinrich Schmidt, as theater director, was given a payment of 300 gulden. The buildings and grounds bookkeeper Lechner and the purveyor Franz Fuchs each received remunerations of 50 gulden for their music services in the theater.¹⁹⁷ Later the office clerk Adam List wrote to the prince on 3 February that as Lechner and Fuchs had received remuneration for their theater service, he had also provided his services and requested payment for his work. The prince responded soon thereafter ordering that List be paid 40 gulden.¹⁹⁸ (See also Facsimile 2.)

To my Court and Chief Cashier's Office.

That the Eisenstadt office clerk Adam List in regard to his employment with the ticket receipts for the theater at Eisenstadt and because of his music services in the past year receives 40 F remuneration. Once more again forty gulden from my Court and Chief Cashier's Office from this resource herewith in mercy is instructed; the above supplicant is to be notified. Vienna on the 11th of February 808.

Nicolaus Prince Esterhazy mpria

¹⁹⁶ ED 1807 N 2950 (26 November 1807).

¹⁹⁷ GC 1807 F 49 R 14 N 4704 (2 January 1808).

¹⁹⁸ GC 1808 F 19 R 3 N 3456 (11 February 1808).

It is attested that the above graciously ordered forty gulden from the Court and Chief Cashier's Office has been received in cash. Eisenstadt on 18 February 808.

Adam List mpria
Office clerk

With the continual growth of the Kapelle resulting in a strong and active musical environment for the Esterházy court, Prince Esterházy in 1808 initiated three-year contracts for his musicians and hired additional highly qualified singers and instrumentalists. In the beginning of February the prince sent out the three-year contracts, but it took the entire month before all of the issues concerning the contracts were resolved, with the primary problem revolving around Luigi Tomasini Jr.'s unwillingness to accept and sign the contract. The original declaration ("Revers") from the prince was submitted to the musicians by Vice Kapellmeister Fuchs on 3 February.¹⁹⁹ It read:

Revers

By which the following undersigned music personnel, according to the high order, give herewith their affirmation that they wish to remain longer in the high services of His High Princely Serenity von Esterházy. They desire to remain, and do not want to be able to leave the high services after the established day and year, for three years from the aforesaid date. To show our trustworthiness, herewith, each one of us signs in our own hand.
Eisenstadt the 3rd of February 808.

¹⁹⁹ CD 1808 N 848 (20 February 1808). The extensive negotiations of the contractual process are contained in a long series of documents within the Central Directions' files of February 1808 detailing the process of the three-year contract from the issuing of the original "Revers" on 3 February, through the signing of the second "Revers" copy, to the final signing by Tomasini Jr. on 26 February. The spellings of the musicians' names are as they appear on the document. What began in the original Declaration as an orderly listing, beginning with the Vice Kapellmeister and the two concertmasters followed by the members of the choir, soon gave way to a general signature list, which was somewhat out of order. Therefore Johann Bader signed with the instrumentalists, and Lorenz and Clameth, string players, are included among the wind and brass players. Several musicians' signatures are missing.

Vice Kapellmeister
Johann Fuchs
Concertmaster.²⁰⁰

Concertmaster.
Luigi Tomasini
Sopranos.
Anna Siess
Barbara Pilhofer
Caroline Höld
Josepha Tomasini
Elisabeth Tomasini
Catharina Treidler mpria.
Josepha Wutkowatz
Elisabeth Dienelt mpria
Theresia Stotz
Joseph Rotter mpria
Joseph Treidler mpria
Carl August Thilo
Magdalena Schöringer mpria
Anton Schuster mpria
Christian Specht mpria

Luigi Tomasini Virtuoso signs himself! with the affirmation that I, concerning the above written order, [sign] for only one year! For reasons that I can only verbally disclose to His High Princely Serenity. In his own hand. Mpria

Anton Tomasini mpria
Violinist
Michael Ernst.
Wenzeslaus Czech.
Johann Treidler violist mpria
Franz Lechner mpria
Anton Polzelli mpria
Georg Friederich Schuster mpria first flutist
Johann Bader choir bass
Karl Thomas mpria

²⁰⁰ Although Johann Nepomuk Hummel held the title of concertmaster at this time, his signature does not appear on this document, and therefore this space remains empty. Hummel did, however, sign the second copy of the Declaration ("Revers"). (See Facsimile 3/1.)

Harmonia

Oboist Jakob Hyrtl.
Oboist Joseph Elssler.
Franz Finger clarinetist
Johann Somer bassoonist
Johann Michl bassoonist
Anton Prinster first horn
Michael Prinster horn
Sebastian Binder trumpeter
Martin Czech timpanist.
Johann Wolf mpria 2nd flutist
Joseph Lorentz mpria
Joh: Clameth cellist for a lifetime
Franz Goth trumpeter

Several musicians not on the list included Josepha Hammer who had not signed because of illness, Professor Rathmayer who had agreed to a ten-year contract earlier in 1804, Johann Posch who was on a one-year contract, and Concertmaster Hummel. Johann Clameth, cellist, enthusiastically signed for life. The theater musicians, such as theater director Heinrich Schmidt, were not required to commit to the three-year term. Perhaps for various reasons other musicians in the Kapelle failed to sign the original Declaration.

Fuchs, convinced that the prince would be most displeased if he should read what Tomasini had written about signing the contract for only one year, submitted a second copy of the contract to the musicians for new signatures, but Luigi Tomasini Jr. refused to sign this copy. (See Facsimile 3.)²⁰¹ Because of the omission of Tomasini Jr.'s signature, Fuchs suggested that the prince speak to Tomasini in person. The prince, notably upset, responded that if he continued to refuse the three-year contract, he would be dismissed. When Szent Gály notified Tomasini about his dismissal unless he signed, Tomasini finally on the 26th of February capitulated and sent in his agreement. He wrote: (See also Facsimile 4.)

²⁰¹ On the second "Revers" also dated 3 February 1808 Fuchs listed the titles or positions of the musicians and then had them sign in the appropriate place. There are a total of forty-eight signatures, including the Vice Kapellmeister and the two concertmasters, twenty-two singers, nine string players and fourteen wind, brass and timpani players.

I signed the declaration, as all of the music personnel, after the demand of His High Princely Serenity the reigning Prince Nicolaus Esterhazy of Galantha, for three years.

Luigi Tomasini mpria

Signed Eisenstadt on the 26th of February 1808

Two days later Chancery Director Kárner sent notice to Szent Gály that because of Luigi Tomasini's signing of the three-year contract, his termination and dismissal were spared.²⁰² The reason for Tomasini's concern about the contract was that he had requested from the prince permission to marry Sophie Croll, a singer in the Kapelle, back in 1807. A second request on 16 February 1808²⁰³ was refused by the prince partially because Tomasini also wanted the prince to pay off his debts at the same time. Further developments between Luigi Tomasini Jr. and the prince continued throughout the year.

It was also in the winter of 1808 that the tenor Johann Urban, who had been hired in 1806, left the services of the prince.²⁰⁴ New hires for the Kapelle, however, were on the horizon. The employment of the new bass singer Anton Forti, formally in service to Prince Carl Lichnowsky, became official in late February. For Forti to be engaged by Prince Esterházy a settlement fee had to be paid, and therefore the prince ordered 320 gulden as payment to Prince Lichnowsky to bring Forti to Eisenstadt.²⁰⁵ Forti had actually been engaged earlier on 15 December 1807 in the chamber, church and theater music and began receiving his annual salary and goods at that time, but it was not until 22 February 1808 that the prince completed the formal contract.²⁰⁶ Also on the same day that Forti's contract was finalized the trumpeter and violinist Joseph Kreiner was officially hired. Kreiner had been a member of the Grenadier Garde prior to his engagement with the Esterházy Kapelle.²⁰⁷ A new tenor from Berlin, Otto Grell, was brought in after Johann Urban left. Grell signed a two-year contract with the possibility of a two-

²⁰² CD 1808 N 975 (28 February 1808).

²⁰³ AM 212 in HYB XVIII, p. 138. For further details of the Tomasini Jr. contract situation see also AM 211, 213 and 214 in HYB XVIII, pp. 135–139.

²⁰⁴ AM 1661 (16 February 1808).

²⁰⁵ GC 1807 F 49 R 14 N 4695 (2 January 1808).

²⁰⁶ DD 1808 N 1444 (22 February 1808). Also AM 2415 (20 January 1808).

²⁰⁷ CD 1808 N 887 (22 February 1808). Also AM 1706 (25 February 1808).

year extension. He must have been an exceptional singer for he received a substantial annual salary of between 1,500 and 2,000 gulden, depending on whether he stayed in Eisenstadt or lived instead in Vienna. His benefits package was also quite generous and included a free apartment plus his moving expenses.²⁰⁸

The months of March and April were filled with mixed emotions of sorrow and happiness for the musicians. On 11 March 1808 the faithful trumpeter Michael Altmann died after eleven years of service with the prince,²⁰⁹ and upon his death his widow Theresia began receiving an annual pension of 80 gulden.²¹⁰ The soprano Josepha Schill enjoyed a happier spring for she and the court official Johann Vadász received permission to marry from the prince on 16 March.²¹¹ The following month she began receiving an annual salary of 800 gulden for her work in the Kapelle.²¹² A month later there was again great mourning among the musicians for on 25 April the longtime, much admired concertmaster Luigi Tomasini Sr. died.²¹³ He was buried in a place of honor in the Bergkirche crypt along with other important Esterházy musicians and officials. His tenure with the Esterházys, beginning in 1761, had spanned forty-seven years of impeccable service and artistry.

In May 1808 the entire Esterházy Kapelle traveled to Vienna for what was initially planned as a four-day trip, with their departure scheduled for the 19th and the return scheduled for the 22nd, according to the document. The prince arranged for their transportation, lodging and food. The individual musicians stayed either in guesthouses not far from one another, or if they wanted to stay with friends or relatives, it was required that they supply such necessary information as the street addresses. Because of difficulties in finding rooms in Vienna, the prince gave the musicians 5 gulden per day for their lodging expenses. For the return trip everyone had to be ready to depart at two o'clock in the afternoon. The sixty-

²⁰⁸ CD 1808 N 1269 (29 February 1808). Also AM 4320 (31 May 1808).

²⁰⁹ Altmann was listed in the "Specification" of 1808 with the choir musicians who received goods in kind as dying on 11 March. EK 1808 N 51 (31 December 1808).

²¹⁰ GC 1808 F 42 R 12 N 4931 (25 August 1808). In 1808 Altmann's widow's annual pension of 80 gulden was prorated beginning the day after her husband's death the 12th of March through the end of the year so that she received 64 F 29 xr for 1808.

²¹¹ DD 1808 N 2030 (16 March 1808).

²¹² CD 1808 N 1572 (11 April 1808). Also AM 1663 (19 April 1808).

²¹³ ED 1808 N 1493 (2 June 1808). AM 2465 (25 April 1808).

three musicians traveling to Vienna were listed by their positions in the Kapelle.²¹⁴

To Vienna.

Vice Capellmeister and Director Fuchs, and Concertmaster Hummel

Sopranos. Mrs. Siess.
Miss Schneider.
Miss Cornega.
Miss Stotz.
Four boy singers.

Altos. Miss Hamer.
Miss Siebert.
Mrs. Dienelt.
Miss Josepha Schöringer.
Four boy singers.

Tenors. Abbé Bevilaqua.
Mr. Treidler.
Mr. Rathmayer.
Mr. Posch.

Basses. Mr. Forti.
Mr. Rotter.
Mr. Schmidt.
Mr. Baader.

Organist. Mr. Lechner.

Violinists. Mr. Lorenz.
Mr. Fuchs.
Mr. Maurer.

Cellists. Mr. Klameth.
Mr. List.
Mr. Stadler.

Viola. Mr. Treidler.
Mr. Leeb.

Violin I. Mr. L. Tomasini.
Mr. Polzelli.
Mr. Möglich.
Mr. Thomas.
Mr. Kastner.

²¹⁴ CD 1808 N 2148 (16 May 1808). The spellings of the musicians' names are those found in the document.

Violin II. Mr. Ant. Tomasini.
Mr. Ernst.
Mr. Lechner.
Mr. Csech.
Mr. Langstöger.

Harmonie

Flutes

Trumpeters The existing ones.
and
Timpanist

Prince Esterhazy mpria

The sixty-three musicians in the Kapelle for the trip were assigned specifically to one of eleven carriages.²¹⁵ Vice Kapellmeister Fuchs and Anna Siess rode in a carriage for only two people but the other carriages held four to six persons and two of the carriages carried twelve musicians. Elisabeth Siebert's mother joined her daughter on the trip traveling in one of the four-person carriages along with the other young female singers Elisabeth Schneider and Anna Cornega. The two carriages with twelve musicians in each carriage were called the "Jagdwurst" (Hunting sausage) carriages because of their great lengths. In one of these carriages rode four of the boy singers, their teacher Professor Rathmayer and the other musicians Wenzeslaus Czech, Langstöger, Hyrtl, Elssler, Finger, Hornik and Sommer. The second twelve-person "Jagdwurst" carriage held the director of the boys' choir, Joseph Rotter, and four more boy singers, plus the wind and brass players Michl, Anton and Michael Prinster, Wolf, Binder, Goth and Kreiner.

The purpose of this trip to Vienna by the entire Kapelle was for a performance on 22 May of a Hummel mass and a vespers by Fuchs at canonization festivities held at the Ursulin cloister on the Johannesgasse. At the request of the mother superior of the cloister the prince granted a second performance, presented on 29 May, which extended the musicians' stay in the imperial city. While in Vienna the members of the Kapelle went in small groups to visit

²¹⁵ In the same set of documents (CD 1808 N 2148) the complete arrangements for the eleven carriages and those persons riding in each are given.

Haydn with Hummel taking the boys' choir along with their director Rotter on one of these visits.²¹⁶

When the Esterházy Kapelle was not traveling to Vienna, Viennese musicians came to Eisenstadt for performances. Musicians for the theater music were brought to Eisenstadt with their expenses paid by the prince. Theater Director Heinrich Schmidt often signed for the guest musicians' expenses, which generally included numerous meals at the Guesthouse Adler, located not far from the palace in the center of town.²¹⁷ Numerous bills were submitted from the guesthouse innkeeper Franz Huber from May through August 1808 for the Viennese musicians Kapellmeister Preindl, Mrs. von Baumann, Miss Haim and her mother, and Mr. Rösner. Some of the out-of-town guests lived in the palace.²¹⁸

A change occurred in the Grenadier Garde the first of May 1808 when Klebl was added to the personnel, increasing the number of bandsmen to ten, but by the end of June Müller was discharged from his military service and the military musicians were back to nine with Ohlram, Joseph Gross, Karl Gross, Standfest, Weber, Traitl, Brinner, Grafl and Klebl.²¹⁹

The employment of new musicians for the Kapelle continued when on 28 May Nikolaus Dietzl, son of Johann Dietzl and brother of Elisabeth Dietzl-Dienelt, was engaged as a violist in the Kapelle earning an annual salary of 600 gulden.²²⁰ Otto Grell, tenor, was in Eisenstadt in May when his final employment contract was written, providing him a salary of 1,500 gulden and free quarters.²²¹ Thus the hiring process, which had begun in late 1807, was at last official for Grell with his contract of 31 May 1808. Further raises for the court musicians and new hires continued during the summer months. In June Regent Szent Gály sent a notice to the book-keeping office informing them that violinist Michael Ernst in the church music was given a raise of 150 gulden to be added to his

²¹⁶ Pohl III, p. 17. The dates given for the travel of the Kapelle in the planning document of 16 May 1808 (CD 1808 N 2148) as 19 to 22 May were extended for the second performance on 29 May according to Pohl.

²¹⁷ The Gasthof (Guesthouse) Adler in Eisenstadt renamed Gasthof Eder in the 1990s, which had been owned and operated by the same family from before the time of Haydn, closed its doors in the fall of 2004.

²¹⁸ GC 1808 F47 R 20 N 5315/10 (11 May 1808).

²¹⁹ GCR 1808.

²²⁰ CD 1808 N 2282 (28 May 1808). Also AM 1705 (4 June 1808).

²²¹ CD 1808 N 2296 (31 May 1808). Also AM 4320 (31 May 1808).

former pay of 400 gulden. In addition the former city parish organist Joseph Auer, now the Esterházy Kapelle organist, was granted a salary of 400 gulden, and the court timpanist Martin Czech received a raise from 400 to 600 gulden.

While new musicians were being added to the Kapelle, in mid-July 1808 Prince Nicolaus II and Chancery Director Kárner informed the Domain Direction of the marriage and impending departure of Luigi Tomasini Jr. and Sophie Croll.²²²

Whereas both the church and chamber singer Miss Croll, as also the violinist Luigi Tomasini request concerning their services a dismissal, and have explained that they are marrying and then that they want to seek their fortunes elsewhere, so I take no stand, although the former is under contract for another year, and the latter according to the enclosed declaration of 26 February of this year still could be detained here for two and a half years of service, but both can leave after six weeks, whereof both the Vice Kapellmeister Fuchs, as all concerned departments will be notified. Eisenstadt the 14th of July 808.

Luigi Tomasini Jr. and Sophie Croll married on 17 July 1808 without permission from the prince but with his knowledge of their marriage. Since they had not received the prince's permission to marry, Sophie had no widow's pension rights. Tomasini Jr. was further dissatisfied with his status in the Esterházy Kapelle since after the death of his father in April he was not selected as the new concertmaster to replace his father. He and Sophie therefore asked to be dismissed. When the prince granted their dismissal six weeks after the wedding, they left for Mecklenburg-Strelitz where Sophie's family lived and where they were taken into the duke's Kapelle.

Also in July that summer there was a choral singer in Eisenstadt from the court theater in Vienna. He became ill and submitted bills for reimbursement of his expenses, which included a bill for 17 gulden 30 xr to cover medicine obtained at the pharmacy. In addition he submitted a bill for 25 gulden for Doctor Altmann's services and a bill for 80 gulden to cover his accommodations at the Guesthouse Adler.²²³ Later in July near the end of the month the four singers in the boys' choir Jacob Leeb, Joseph Langstöger,

²²² CD 1808 N 3 136 (14 July 1808). Also AM 1649 (19 July 1808).

²²³ GC 1808 F 21 R 3 N 3611 (19 July 1808).

Joseph Kastner and Anton Stadler requested to be taken into the Kapelle.²²⁴

In time for the festival events in the fall of 1808, the Esterházy administration prepared printed music service reports ("Rapports") that could be used by Fuchs or Hummel to take attendance at rehearsals, performances and church services by simply checking the names on the forms. The reports listed the individual musicians in the Kapelle, with an asterisk placed next to those who were soloists.²²⁵ At the top of the forms was a place for providing information as to the type of service (church, chamber or theater) as well as the date and time of the event. At the bottom of the report was room to list those who were sick or convalescing or who were simply absent, plus a space was provided for general remarks. In 1808 there were printed music service reports for theater rehearsals on 12 September and 8 October, a church service on 9 October, a theater rehearsal on 10 October,²²⁶ church services on 29 October and also on 31 October at three o'clock and four o'clock in the afternoon, and a theater rehearsal on 12 November.²²⁷ The musicians listed on the forms included twenty-nine adult singers, thirty-four instrumentalists, the boys' choir (with a minimum of twelve singers),²²⁸ the music announcer and theater attendant, plus Haydn, Fuchs and Hummel, who were not listed, for a total of eighty in the Kapelle. This was the largest number of musicians in the Kapelle, making the year 1808 a definite high point for the Esterházy musical establishment. (See the "Rapport" of the theater rehearsal on 12 November 1808, Facsimile 5.)

²²⁴ CDEP 1808 N 3317 (12 July 1808).

²²⁵ The soloists on the "Rapports" included sopranos Anna Siess, Catharina Treidler, Josepha Vadász, Elisabeth Schneider, Anna Cornega and Elisabeth Müller with altos Josepha Hammer, Elisabeth Dienelt and Elisabeth Siebert. Tenor soloists were Paul Bevilaqua, Joseph Treidler and Otto Grell and bass soloists included Joseph Rotter, Anton Schuster and Anton Forti. Only four violinists were listed as soloists, those being Michael Müller, Anton Polzelli, Philipp Möglich and Anton Tomasini.

²²⁶ AM 222 (September 1808).

²²⁷ CD 1808 N 5290 (29 October 1808).

²²⁸ EK 1808 N 51 (31 December 1808). Although the "Rapports" did not list the individual names of the boy singers, the "Specification" of 1808, which confirmed the goods distributed that year, noted that the official Lucas Wutkowatz received goods for twelve boy singers from 1–31 January, and later the official Dörner received goods for twelve boys from 1 June until 31 December. Therefore, there must have been at least twelve boy singers in the "Kapellknaben" in 1808 who boarded at the institute, and others may have lived at home.

In November more musicians were hired, but illnesses and the death of a young violinist also affected the workings of the Kapelle. Franz Novak was officially employed on 14 November 1808 both as organist and to assist with other instruments when needed,²²⁹ although his name had appeared earlier on the report of 31 October indicating his involvement with the Kapelle before his official engagement. The Kapelle lost one of its young musicians on 16 November when the violinist and former boys' choir singer Joseph Langstöger died rather suddenly in the Eisenstadt Barmherzigen Brüder (Brothers of Mercy) Hospital at the age of eighteen.²³⁰ The cause of his death is not known, but he was healthy enough to play the church service several weeks earlier on 31 October, although he was listed as being sick on the 12 November report. Musicians listed as ill on the report of 31 October included Johann and Joseph Treidler with Michael Prinster reported as recovering. Later on 12 November Michael Prinster, Joseph Treidler and Sebastian Binder were convalescing. It is not known what the illnesses were and if they were in any way related to that which caused Langstöger's death.

Another musician, Joseph Werlein, taken into musical service as the first clarinetist on 21 November, also had a position as an intern in one of the prince's business departments.²³¹ Werlein was a replacement, at least temporarily, for Franz Finger, who was no longer employed. The exact date of Finger's departure from the Kapelle is unknown, but the report confirms that he played for the church service on 9 October. By 29 October he had left the Kapelle, and by 12 November his name was stricken from the forms, signifying that he was no longer a part of the Kapelle. Another loss of a prominent musician occurred when the bass singer, Christian Specht, died on 29 December 1808²³² after having been employed by the Esterházy's for almost forty years. With his death the Kapelle lost a versatile and devoted colleague.

In the new year 1809 the workings of the court Kapelle continued much as in the past year with basically the same musicians employed. For the prince, however, 1809 was to prove a difficult year with Napoleon's occupation of Vienna, forcing Prince Esterházy to

²²⁹ CD 1808 N 5230 (14 November 1808). Also AM 1664 (19 November 1808).

²³⁰ CD 1809 N 185 (16 November 1808).

²³¹ CD 1808 N 5277 (21 November 1808). Also AM 1646 (26 November 1808).

²³² EK 1808 N 51 (31 December 1808). Specht's death was listed in the "Specification" for the year 1808 with the choir musicians who received goods in kind.

spend much of the year in Pest (Budapest). It was business as usual in late January for the musicians with Anna Hornik receiving remuneration of 100 gulden for her work in the Eisenstadt Theater.²³³ The printed "Rapport" forms, which had been so successful in keeping the attendance records of the musicians in 1808, continued to be used in 1809. On the report for the church services on 12 February²³⁴ were included in the infirmed category Johann Treidler, Michael Ernst and Johann Sommer.

A few changes did take place in the early part of the new year for the musicians in the Kapelle. Hummel, who had been dismissed on 25 December 1808, was reinstated on 3 February 1809 with the same salary and benefits as in the previous year.²³⁵ Also in February Johann Bader, because of his seniority, was chosen over Anton Schuster to replace the deceased Specht in the bass choral position.²³⁶ A new musician, Ignatz Skrabal, was hired on 19 February as clarinetist in the Kapelle for a salary of 600 gulden.²³⁷ Then the death of violist Johann Treidler occurred in February sometime between the 12th when he was listed as sick on the church service report and the 28th when Jakob Leeb, the former boy singer, was hired to replace Treidler with the same salary of 600 gulden.²³⁸ Later in the spring, on 21 March, tenor Joseph Treidler and his wife Catharina Marx-Treidler were re-engaged in the Kapelle. The couple had earlier asked to be dismissed, therefore breaking the three-year contract, with the hope of finding better positions.²³⁹ Their potential employment apparently did not work out, however, and they were pleased to be taken again into service with the Esterházy Kapelle.

In 1809 a large portion of the prince's assets were needed to fight the Napoleonic wars and there was high inflation, but the salaries of the musicians remained basically comparable to what they had earned the previous year with some slight increases in their salaries; nevertheless, their purchasing power had overall decreased.

²³³ GC 1809 F 28 R 3 N 3760 (24 January 1809).

²³⁴ CD 1809 N 836. (12 February 1809).

²³⁵ ED 1809 N 161 (7 February 1809). Also AM 2599 (3 February 1809).

²³⁶ DD 1809 N 877 (8 February 1809).

²³⁷ DD 1809 N 218 (23 February 1809). Also AM 3431 (19 February 1809).

²³⁸ ED 1809 N 265 (28 February 1809). Also AM 2617 (28 February 1809).

²³⁹ ED 1809 N297 (24 March 1809).

The church and chamber music pay list, as seen below quotes the musicians' salaries for the year 1809.²⁴⁰

Church and Chamber Music Salary Schedule 1809

	Florin	Kreutzer
Joseph Haydn, Kapellmeister	591	40
Johann Fuchs, Vice Kapellmeister	1628	32
Johann Hummel, Concertmaster	961	50
Aloysius Tomasini, Concertmaster		
Michael Müller, Concertmeister	1275	36
Anton Tomasini, Violinist	890	
Anton Polczelly, Violinist	1128	
Ludwig Möglich, Violinist	807	
Franz Lechner, Violinist	660	
Johann Traitler, Violinist	87	71
Jacob Leeb, Violinist	500	
Michael Ernst, Violinist	550	
Carl Thomas, Violinist	600	
Wenselaus Czech, Violinist	973	20
Johann Clameth, Cellist	840	
Joseph Lorenz, Bass Player	905	
Georg Schuster, Flutist	640	
Johann Wolf, Flutist	300	
Johann Sommer, Bassoonist	628	57
Joseph Kugler, Bassoonist	640	
Ignatz Skrabal, Clarinetist	500	
Sebastian Binder, Trumpeter	684	21
Ignatz Goth, Trumpeter	400	
Altmann		
Johann Pfann, Trumpeter	100	
Martin Czech, Timpanist	640	

²⁴⁰ GCHB 1809. The spellings of the names of the musicians are as they appear on the document. There are several discrepancies in the salaries in this pay schedule as compared to other documents; for example both Jacob Leeb and Ignatz Skrabal are listed as receiving 500 gulden, whereas when they were hired in February 1809, their salaries were quoted at 600 gulden.

Georg Fuchs, Organist	144	30
Jacob Hiertl, Oboist	750	
Joseph Elsler, Oboist	600	
Franz Finger, Clarinetist		
Johann Hornik, Clarinetist	600	
Johann Michl, Bassoonist	600	
Anton Prinster, Hornist	750	
Michael Prinster, Hornist	550	
Joseph Greiner, Trumpeter	440	
Nicolaus Dietzl, Violist	640	
Joseph Rotter, Singer	575	
Christian Specht, Singer		
Anton Schuster, Singer	640	
Johann Baader, Singer and son	899	57
Heinrich Schmidt, Singer and daughter	1062	34
Otto Grell, Singer	1500	
Joseph Treidler, Singer	1000	
August Thilo, Singer	574	
Johann Posch, Singer	836	18
Anna Siess, Singer	800	
Elisabeth Schneider, Singer	1525	42
Anna Kornega, Singer	800	
Barbara Pilhofer, Singer	808	12
Catharina Treidler, Singer	450	
Carolina Hold, Singer	200	
Theres Stotz, Singer	200	
Josepha Tomasini, Singer	200	
Elisabeth Tomasini, Singer	600	
Josepha Hammer, Singer	782	40
Elisabeth Sieber, Singer	600	
Elisabeth Dienelt, Singer	300	
Josepha Schöringer, Singer	300	
Magdalena Schöringer, Singer	300	
Anna Hornich, Singer	140	
Josepha Griessler, Singer	200	
Josepha Schill, Singer	800	
Franz Novak, Organist	727	40

Michael Rathmeyer, Professor	600
Johann Magyarossy, Professor	244
Anton Bauer, Music Announcer	110
Michael Vogl, Music Announcer	300
Michael Lorandt, Boys' choir supervisor	243 20
Anton Forti, Singer	640
Johann Zimmermann	
Joseph Auer, Organist	440
Joseph Zimmermann	50
Paul Eder, Boy Singer	100

Dramatic events occurred in May 1809. By 13 May Napoleon's troops had marched into Vienna occupying the city, and within two days the first of the French troops entered Eisenstadt. Prince Esterházy, aware of the developing events, had already left for Hungary.²⁴¹ The drama of the French takeover of Vienna was followed by further tragic news a few weeks later, when it was learned that on 31 May 1809 Kapellmeister Haydn had died at his home in Vienna. Mathias Dienelt, Esterházy official and tenor in the music services, was in Vienna at the time of Haydn's death and from the imperial city sent word the next day to Prince Esterházy in Pest reporting the news about his Kapellmeister. Dienelt wrote:²⁴²

His Serenity!

... Also the death of the Doctor of Music and high princely Kapellmeister Haydn, who yesterday stopped living from weakness, is herewith in all humility announced.

Vienna the 1st of June 809.

Most humble

Most faithful

Mathias Dienelt

Chief Controller mpria

A third death in 1809 within the Kapelle occurred in early September when tenor Carl August Thilo died of a nerve illness ("Nerven-

²⁴¹ Commentary to AM 250 (HYB XVIII, pp. 177–78). The prince had requested that Regent Szent Gály give Fuchs 300 gulden to take with him as the sounds of canons were already coming from the Leitha mountains.

²⁴² CD 1809 N 2598 (1 June 1809).

krankheit"). Thilo had lived in the same lodgings as an engineer by the name of Ruschitzka, and both died of the same illness. Upon his death Thilo left a widow and three young children. Hummel, who reported his death, encouraged the prince to help the young widow with at least a small pension, as she was otherwise completely helpless and poor.²⁴³ In the same report to the prince, who was in Pest, Hummel also informed him that he was at the time very busy completing his opera for the Vienna court theater.

On 2 September the official engagement of the concertmaster Michael Müller and his wife the soprano Elise Müller was made in a princely "Resolution" in which they were hired for two years and were paid a large salary of two thousand four hundred gulden for the two of them along with substantial benefits.²⁴⁴ The replacement of Thilo was made on 2 October when the prince wrote from Pest that the boy singer Johann Zimmermann would become the new tenor and would receive a salary of 600 gulden with benefits. Another upheaval among the musicians occurred with the dismissal on 1 October of the tenor and chaplain Abbé Bevilacqua. The reason for his dismissal stemmed from the fact that he had been in Vienna and had not returned to participate in the princess' name-day high mass celebration; furthermore the prince had not been informed of the reasons for Bevilacqua's absence. Later, however, on 9 November the prince reconsidered and reinstated Bevilacqua, noting that he did so because of his special mercy and in hope that there would be in the future more diligent service.²⁴⁵

It was not until the end of 1809 that a replacement for Haydn was finally made when Johann Nepomuk Fuchs was promoted to the position of Kapellmeister on 7 December about five and a half months after Haydn's death. Regent Szent Gály wrote "To the Honorable Court and Domain Bookkeeper" concerning Fuchs' appointment.²⁴⁶ (See Facsimile 6.)

Whereas His High Princely Serenity in accordance with his high final version on the 6th [of this month] in regard to the highest known good, and zealous service of Vice Kapellmeister Johann Fuchs, that in the hope that in the future he lives up to his service

²⁴³ CD 1809 N 3340 (14 September 1809). Also AM 2663 (3 September 1809).

²⁴⁴ ED 1809 N 576 (25 September 1809).

²⁴⁵ GC 1809 F 31 R 9 N 3905 (6 June 1809).

²⁴⁶ ED 1809 N 720 (7 December 1809). Also AM 2681 (6 December 1809).

obligation, and will continue to fulfill with his subordinate music personnel good orderly harmony and responsibility to His Highness's satisfaction, the High Princely Serenity is pleased to appoint herewith in graciousness to the High Princely Kapellmeister a yearly raise of four hundred gulden. So will the honorable court and domain bookkeeper with the knowledge and evidence of the salary and personnel lists herewith begin such payment.

Datum e Sessione Dom. Dir. Celmi Ppatus
Esterházy Kismarton the 7th of December 809.

Szent Gály

R.

It was Fuchs who was officially appointed Kapellmeister succeeding Haydn rather than Hummel, who was spending much of his time composing music for Vienna. Hummel continued his work as concertmaster and composer with the Esterházy Kapelle until May 1811 when his contract was terminated. With the death of Haydn and the promotion of Fuchs to the position of Kapellmeister, an era ended for the Esterházy court musicians and a new era began. Many of the musicians remained in service to the prince and the Esterházy Kapelle continued, but it was never to have the same prestige and prominence that it had once known during the time of Haydn.

