

Beethoven's Expanding Orchestral Horizons, 1795-1800

Theodore Albrecht

Once Beethoven had tasted his initial success before the Viennese Tonkünstler-Societät's public (as opposed to salon concerts of the nobility) on March 29-30, 1795, he began planning an Akademie of his own. For a typical potpourri program, he would need a new concerto, a symphony, plus works by other composers, and at least one or two vocal works. Even though he would need to get further use from his Piano Concerto in B-flat, he already had a Concerto in C Major in the works. He was also sketching a Symphony, likewise in C major. He worked on it, periodically, through 1795 and 1796, but it never progressed very far.¹

Haydn's Concert in the Kleiner Redoutensaal, December 18, 1795

Beethoven's next public appearance playing his Concerto in B-flat was at a concert given by Joseph Haydn, primarily to introduce three of the six Symphonies (recently composed in London) to Viennese audiences on December 18, 1795. The concert took place in the Kleiner Redoutensaal, the smaller of the Imperial Ballrooms, often used for chamber music performances. The identity of the orchestra was not specified,² but given the location---that is, *not* in the Burgtheater itself---and Griesinger's mention that the Kärntner Theater's orchestra under Wranitzky had performed Haydn symphonies,³ it is possible that this ensemble was in fact the orchestra employed. If so, Beethoven would probably again have had a positive experience in making music with Wranitzky.

¹Beethoven did not use bound sketchbooks before the so-called "Grasnick 1 Sketchbook," begun in the middle of 1798. Up to that time, he had used individual sheets or groups of sheets. Even though he kept them among his possessions, they were not in chronological order. When he died in 1827, the pile of loose sketch leaves was divided in two, one half (called "Kafka") now in London's British Library, the other (called "Fischhof") in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Kafka has been transcribed and edited by Joseph Kerman, and Fischhof independently by Douglas Johnson. There is a need for a composite edition of these two miscellanies, preferably by reconstructed chronological order. See Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 511-523; and Joseph Kerman, "," *The Creative World of Beethoven*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: Norton, 1971), pp. 13-36, specifically pp. 16-20 and 26-27; and Kurt Dorfmueller, Norbert Gertsch, and Julia Ronge, ed. *Ludwig van Beethoven. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 2 vol. (München: G. Henle, 2014), II, pp. 580-582. While the new Dorfmueller *Verzeichnis* is good for its expansions like incomplete works, the old Georg Kinsky and Hans Halm, *Das Werk Beethovens ... Verzeichnis* (München: G. Henle, 1955) remains valuable for its relative compactness, clarity of organization, and objectivity. Lewis Lockwood analyses the sketches for this incomplete Symphony in C in his *Beethoven's Symphonies: An Artistic Vision* (New York: Norton, 2015), pp. 25-28.

²*Wiener Zeitung*, No. 100 (December 16, 1795), p. 3623; quoted in Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), p. 289. Haydn's concert also included arias by soprano Irene Tomeoni and tenor Domenico Mombelli. Tickets were available at Haydn's apartment in the third floor [Amercan fourth floor] of the Hoföbstler Haus [Court Fruitseller's House].

³[Georg August Griesinger,] "Kurze Uebersicht des Bedeutendsten aus dem gesammten jetzigen Musikwesen in Wien," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 3 (October 15, 1800), col. 45.

Beethoven's Tour: First Stop, Prague, February-April, 1796

Probably at the very beginning of February, 1796, Beethoven set out with Prince Karl Lichnowsky on a journey to Prague. Before leaving Vienna, however, he had played his Concerto in B-flat on a concert of the singer Maria Bolla, held in the Kleiner Redoutensaal on January 8; Haydn also conducted one of his symphonies on the program.⁴ Beethoven remained in Prague for roughly two months and then continued alone⁵ to Dresden on ca. April 20, arriving there on the 23rd and remaining until the end of the month. He then went to Leipzig (a visit about which virtually nothing is known), and finally Berlin (ca. May-June), probably returning to Vienna in July.

Shortly after arriving in Prague, Beethoven seems to have given, or participated with Maria Bolla on a concert to benefit the *Prager Armeninstitut* at the *Konvikt-Saal* there on February 11, 1796.⁶ The program was probably similar to what they had performed only a month before in Vienna. Then, a month later, on Friday, March 11, Beethoven gave his own concert at the *Konvikt-Saal*, with a program that probably still featured the Concerto in B-flat, but with different works and guests to create interest and to complement it.

As before, the orchestra has not been identified.⁷ Prince Lichnowsky, however, was related to the music-loving Thun family and was friends with the Lobkowitz family, both with branches in Prague. A survey of the city's theater orchestras reveals several musicians connected to the Italian National Theater there, who (probably through Lobkowitz's influence) would move to Vienna within the next half dozen years and become important in that city's and Beethoven's musical life. Second violinist Anton Schreiber (geb. 1766/67; gest. nach 1830) moved to Prince Lobkowitz's Kapelle in Vienna as a violinist in 1797, and became violist in Ignaz Schuppanzigh's string quartet. Second oboist Franz Stadler (1760-1825) moved to Vienna's Theater an der Wien in 1802; Beethoven wrote the oboe solo in the Fifth Symphony, among others, for him. In 1796, the prominent contrabassist Anton Grams (1752-1823) was trying his hand at theatrical management and, by 1801 or 1802, would also move to the Theater an der Wien, where Beethoven would write for him and his section the demanding passage work in the third movement of the Fifth Symphony.⁸ Therefore, the groundwork for several of Beethoven's later instrumental developments might have been laid in Prague early in 1796 or during his return visit in 1798.

⁴This established a connection with Haydn's own concert three weeks before. See Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon, 1989), pp. 289-290, citing a program in the Archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and an entry in Count Zinzendorf's diary.

⁵Lichnowsky had departed Prague for Vienna by February 19, 1796. He may have stayed for the Bolla and/or Beethoven concert on ca. February 11, and then left. See Beethoven's letter to brother Johann in Vienna, February 19, 1796, in Brandenburg, No. 20, and Anderson, No. 16.

⁶Derived from a "Bilanz des Prager Armeninstituts für das Jahr 1796" in the *K.k. Oberpostamts-Zeitung* (30. Dezember 1797); quoted in Helmut Loos, "Beethoven in Prag 1796 und 1798," in *Beethoven und Böhmen*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1988), pp. 71-74.

⁷Gustav Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana. Nachgelassene Aufsätze* (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, 1887), p. 229; Douglas Johnson, "Music for Prague and Berlin: Beethoven's Concert Tour of 1796," in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics: International Beethoven Congress, Detroit, 1977*, ed. Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), pp. 24-40.

⁸Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Wien und Prag: Schönfelds Verlag, 1796), pp. 122, 149, and 151. A facsimile edition with Nachwort von Otto Biba appeared from Katzbichler, München/Salzburg, 1976. Additional biographical information from Albrecht, "Beethoven's Portrait of the Theater an der Wien's Orchestra in His Choral Fantasy, Op. 80," in *Beiträge zu Biographie und Schaffensprozess bei Beethoven*, ed. Jürgen May (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2011), pp. 1-26.

Berlin, May-June, 1796

Finally arriving in Berlin, Beethoven visited the Court musical establishment and was evidently welcomed by King Friedrich Wilhelm II, who both played the violoncello and encouraged performers and works for the instrument.⁹ Since 1773, the king's cello teacher had been the Paris-born Jean Pierre Duport (1741-1818), who, from 1787, supervised concerts at Court. At the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, his younger brother Jean Louis Duport (1749-1819) left Paris for Berlin and was appointed principal violoncellist with the orchestra there. While in the Prussian capital for nearly two months, Beethoven worked on what would become his Piano Concerto in C Major¹⁰ and wrote several works for Jean Louis Duport, including his two Violoncello Sonatas, Op. 5, and they must have played them together before Beethoven took his preliminary manuscripts back to Vienna with him. Before leaving Berlin, Beethoven also visited Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch's *Singakademie* on June 21 and 28, and probably returned to Vienna in July.

When Artaria published the Violoncello Sonatas, Op. 5, in February, 1797, they bore the almost expected dedication to Friedrich Wilhelm II. With the same sort of procrastination that became characteristic later, Beethoven may have put off sending a printed copy with a handwritten dedication to Jean Louis Duport until mid-1798, because on September 16 of that year, the cellist wrote to the composer, thanking him for the gift and the inscription.¹¹

While few, if any, Berlin orchestral musicians gravitated to Vienna, as Prague musicians often did, Prince Lobkowitz, in 1801, would send his "second" cellist Nikolaus Kraft (1778-1853) from Vienna to Berlin for at least a year of study with Jean Louis Duport, before returning to become co-principal violoncellist at the Theater an der Wien.¹²

Hauschka zu Hause in Wien

Once Beethoven returned to Vienna in ca. July, 1796, and while he was preparing his new Violoncello Sonatas for publication, he may have tried them out on two of his friends, Baron Nikolaus Zmeskall von Domanovecz (1759-1833), well known in the literature, and the formerly professional violoncellist Vincenz Hauschka (1766-1840), who was (or would become) one of his very few *Du-Freunde*.

⁹For a fine summary of Beethoven's visit to Berlin, see Barry Cooper, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 64-68.

¹⁰Loos, "Beethoven in Prag," p. 86. This makes stylistic and chronological sense because, while the Concerto in B-flat is still a mid-Classical period work, the final form and orchestration of Concerto in C could hardly be imagined before Beethoven had seen and even heard Haydn's mature London Symphonies, as he had at least as recently as December, 1796. Even so, the Rondo Finale theme had had its origins first as the development of a motive borrowed from Salieri's Overture to *Les Danaïdes*. See Albrecht, "Beethoven's Tribute to Antonio Salieri in the Rondo of His Piano Concerto in C Major, Op. 15," *Beethoven Journal* 22, No. 1 (Summer, 2007), pp. 6-16.

¹¹Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven. Briefwechsel, Gesamtausgabe*, 7 vols. (München: G. Henle, 1996-1997), No. 34a; Theodore Albrecht, ed., *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence*, 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), No. 28.

¹²After the dissolution of the Esterházy orchestra in 1790, Nikolaus and his famous father, violoncellist Anton Kraft (1749-1820), had worked for Prince Grassalkowitz until joining the revived Kapelle of Prince Franz Joseph Maximilian Lobkowitz in 1796. See Albrecht, "Beethoven's Portrait of the Theater an der Wien's Orchestra in His Choral Fantasy, Op. 80," in *Beiträge zu Biographie und Schaffensprozess bei Beethoven*, ed. Jürgen May (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2011), pp. 1-26.

Born in Mies, Bohemia, Hauschka became a choirboy at St. Vitus's Cathedral in Prague, studied the cello as well as the humanities, and obtained a position in the Kapelle of Graf Joseph Thun until the count's death in 1788. He then toured to Karlsbad, Dresden, and the significant cities in Germany, possibly including Berlin, where he might have met the Duports. He then went through Prague to Vienna where, in 1792, probably because of his broad education earlier, he obtained a secure position in the k.k. Familien-Güter-Buchhaltung, quickly rising to Rechnungsrat.¹³ In December, 1794, as a dilettante, Hauschka played his own variations on a theme from Mozart's *Zauberflöte* on a *Tonkünstler* Society concert, and surely met Beethoven then, if not before.

As their careers developed in different directions, Beethoven and Hauschka remained good friends on a *du* status, and on St. Stephan's Day, December 26, 1819, Beethoven ate dinner with friends at Hauschka's apartment.

Researchers still know very little about Beethoven's day-to-day life during his first decade in Vienna, but circumstantial evidence suggests that Vincenz Hauschka may have played a greater role in that decade than has heretofore been imagined.¹⁴

Herbst, 1796

The Fall and early Winter of 1796 must have been busy for Beethoven and, as noted above, details of chronology are often absent.

In this context, another cellist must be reckoned during this period, Bernhard Romberg (1767-1841), who had been on tour to Italy with his violinist cousin Andreas (1767-1821). They had been friends of Beethoven's in Bonn and, in Fall, 1796, arrived in Vienna and reportedly stayed with him. Beethoven cannot have been living in more than two rooms at the time, and so they may have been quite crowded.¹⁵ Under the auspices of Baron Peter von Braun (1764-1819), Vice Director of the Court Theaters, they gave a joint concert in the Kärntnertor Theater in December.¹⁶ With Beethoven playing the piano part, it may have included a performance of one of his yet-unpublished Violoncello Sonatas and possibly even a first draft of his Violin Sonata, Op. 12, No. 1.¹⁷

¹³Hauschka's basic biographical sketch taken from Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, 60 vols. (Vienna, 1856-1891), Vol. 8 (1862), pp. 78-79. Other details added from Beethoven's *Konversationshefte* and documents surrounding his death in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv.

¹⁴For instance, Hauschka is not indexed in any of the current biographies by Barry Cooper, Lewis Lockwood (himself a cellist), Maynard Solomon, or William Kinderman. Jan Swafford, *Beethoven: Anguish and Triumph* (Boston, 2014) indexes him twice in his 1,077 pages, but Hartmut Krones (Wien, 1999) provides no *Personenregister* whatsoever.

¹⁵In fact, in January, 1797, Lenz [Lorenz] von Breuning (1777-1798) reported to Franz Gerhard Wegeler back in Bonn that Beethoven and the Rombergs (who had known each other in Bonn) still got along well, but that there was one disagreement with the composer during their stay and he (Breuning) helped to smooth it over. See Thayer-Deiters-Riemann, II, pp. 20-21; and Thayer-Forbes, p. 190.

¹⁶K. k. Hoftheater Cassa—Rechnung, August 1, 1796-July 31, 1797; Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S. R. 30, p. 107 (Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna). Braun's documented support consisted of his contributing his own Loge, valued at 13 fl. 30 kr. See also Thayer-Forbes, pp. 190-191; Kinsky-Halm, *Das Werk Beethovens* (1955), pp. 27-29; and Peter Clive, *Beethoven and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 291-292.

¹⁷In January, 1797, Lenz von Breuning wrote from Vienna to Wegeler in Bonn, that Beethoven had played on the Rombergs' recent concert. See Thayer-Forbes, p. 190. Douglas Johnson already noted that Beethoven presumably applied final touches to the Violoncello Sonatas, Op. 5, as he was preparing them for publication (see Dorfmueller, *Werkverzeichnis* [2014], I, p. 29). Therefore it is possible that both Hauschka and Bernhard Romberg might have had some influence on those revisions.

At about the same time, possibly taking the Rombergs with him, Beethoven made a short visit to Pressburg (Bratislava), only about 40 miles downstream on the Donau from Vienna, possibly in conjunction with promoting Andreas Streicher's pianos. He was there by November 17, when, seemingly as planned, Streicher's instrument arrived, to be used at Beethoven's upcoming concert on Wednesday, November 23.¹⁸ And if the Rombergs were with him, they might have tried out, in a safer venue, the music that they would play together in Vienna in December.

The Paukenmesse in the Piaristenkirche, December 26, 1796

Probably in early Fall, 1796, Haydn received a commission from the wealthy Johann Franz von Hofmann, a major official in the Kriegs Ministerium, to compose a Mass to be used at his son's first Mass as a priest in the Piarist Order. The celebration was to take place in the Piaristenkirche in suburban Josephstadt on the Feast of St. Stephan, December 26, 1796. In response, Haydn composed his *Missa in tempore belli*, appropriate both for the father's position and the fact that French forces had already invaded the Rheinlands and were headed south to Italy and the Tirol.

Haydn provided a mature and motivically developed Mass that included a virtuoso violoncello solo to accompany the bass voice solo in "Qui tollis peccata mundi," a reference to Handel's "Behold the Lamb of God" from *Messiah* in "Et incarnatus est," and a timpani part in the *Agnus Dei* that had to depict the enemy in the distance and advancing dramatically closer, with the exuberant joy of battle and victory at the end.¹⁹

In the Fall of 1795, the new Prince Nikolaus II Esterházy had re-established the family's Kapelle on a limited basis: 6 violins including Alois Tomasini as concertmaster, no named violas (not uncommon), 1 violoncello and 1 contrabass. The *Harmonie* (wind players: 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, 2 bassoons) were drawn from the Prince's Grenadier Band.²⁰

The single violoncellist was Ignaz Manker (ca. 1765-1817), the son of Court Timpanist Franz Manker. He had learned the Pauken from his father and the violoncello from Haydn's former principal cellist Anton Kraft (1749-1820). He had already played timpani with his father at the festive re-opening of the Kärntnertor Theater in November, 1791, and now found regular employment as Prince Esterházy's chamber cello player. As for Anton Kraft and his cellist son Nikolaus (1778-1853), after the Esterházy Kapelle had been dismissed in 1790, they had found employment with Prince Grassalkowitz in Vienna and Pressburg, but, in Fall, 1795, had joined Prince Lobkowitz's Kapelle, based in Vienna.

Historians have noted that the Piaristenkirche had no orchestra to accompany Haydn's Mass and, at this time, had only a positif organ in the church's high choir loft. Haydn's score suggests the solution: in the "Qui tollis," it has a virtuoso solo cello part (for Anton Kraft) and a more normal "ripieno" cello part (for son Nikolaus). That, in turn, would free Ignaz Manker to follow his passion and play the equally virtuoso timpani part. Indeed, Manker would be the Pauker of the Paukenmesse! Likewise, most of the

As for the Violin Sonata in D Major, Op. 12, No. 1, nothing has heretofore been known about its origins (see Dorfmueller, *Werkverzeichnis* [2014], I, p. 61), but the possibility posited above may be worthy of consideration.

¹⁸See Beethoven's letter to Streicher, Pressburg, November 19, 1796 (Brandenburg, No. 23; Anderson, No. 17); Thayer-Forbes, pp. 188-189.

¹⁹Most choral conductors (and even church timpanists) are reluctant to perform these passages as dramatically and effectively as Haydn wrote them. For an example of an effective performance, hear Leonard Bernstein's concert for peace in the National Cathedral, Washington, D.C., in 1972, available in several issues over the years.

²⁰Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, IV, pp. 51-52, 107, 120-121, and 162-164; Roger Hellyer, "The Wind Ensembles of the Esterházy Princes, 1761-1813," *Haydn Yearbook* 15 (1984), pp. 22-27.

rest of the vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra (which the Piarists did not have in abundance) would have come from the Esterházy and even Lobkowitz musical establishments.

Returned from Pressburg, where he had visited in November, 1796, Beethoven would surely have attended the performance of Haydn's *Missa in tempore belli* at the Piaristenkirche on December 26, 1796, and even the rehearsals (probably two) leading up to it. Here, if he had not known them before, he would have met Ignaz Manker²¹ and the Krafts,²² for whom he would compose many prominent solo and orchestral parts in future years.

The Quintet, Op. 16, on April 6, 1797

While he was in Berlin, Beethoven also began sketching a Quintet in E-flat for piano with oboe, clarinet, horn, and bassoon that became Op. 16. He also made a version of it as a Quartet for piano, violin, viola, and violoncello.²³ It is possible that parts of it were played in Berlin in either version, but then revised and tried out in Vienna sometime before the documented first performance,²⁴ in the wind version, on a concert ("Eine grosse musikalische Akademie") given by violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh (1776-1830) at the Jahn Saal in the Himmelpfortgasse (at its intersection with Rauhensteingasse) at 7 p.m. on Thursday, April 6, 1797. Admission was 2 fl. The program²⁵ consisted of:

1. Eine grosse Sinphonie von Herrn weil. Mozart.

²¹For example, the Piano Concerto No. 3 (1803), *Christus am Ölberge* (1802-03), the *Eroica* Symphony (1802-05), the Violin Concerto (1806), and the cadenza with timpani for the piano version of the Violin Concerto (1807), among several other works, through the Symphony No. 8 (1812-14). See Albrecht, "Beethoven's Timpanist Ignaz Manker," *Percussive Notes* 38 (August, 2000), pp. 54-66.

²²For father Anton Kraft, he would write the difficult violoncello part in the Triple Concerto (1804), and for son Nikolaus the Violoncello Sonata, Op. 69 (1807).

²³Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Koblenz: Baedeker, 1838), pp. 93-94. This is understandable in the context of the late Classical era, when a violin sonata was still considered as a sonata for piano with violin "accompaniment," or a piano trio as a work for piano accompanied by violin and violoncello. Therefore Op. 16 was a work for piano with accompanying oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon (as reflected in Schuppanzigh's program), or accompanying violin, viola, and violoncello.

²⁴Dorfmüller, *Werkverzeichnis* (2014), I, p. 86, provides a summary of these developments.

²⁵Original in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. Photograph in Robert Bory, *Ludwig van Beethoven: His Life and His Work in Pictures* (Zürich/New York: Atlantis Books, 1960), p. 71; and H.C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* (London/New York: Macmillan, 1970), p. 117, Illustration 64; content extracted in Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*, p. 294. Because it appears in print so seldom, the original program appears here without spelling corrections.

Madame Willmann is Anna Maria ("Marianne") Willmann, *geb.* de Tribolet (1768-1813), married to the widowed Johann Ignaz Willmann (1739-1815) since 1793, when the large family of musicians still lived in Bonn. She became a prominent singer at the Theater an der Wien and sang the role of the Seraph in Beethoven's oratorio *Christus am Ölberge* there on April 5, 1803. Her *Arie* on this concert was almost certainly *Ah! Perfido*, Op. 65, which Beethoven had composed largely in Prague in February-March, 1796; this performance has gone unnoticed in the literature (it is not noted in Dorfmüller, *Werkverzeichnis* [2014], I, pp. 356-357). See Wilhelm Kosch and Ingrid Bigler-Marschall, eds., *Deutsches Theater-Lexikon*, 6 vols. (Zürich: Sauer, 2008), VI, pp. 3406-3407.

The other vocalist is Luigi Codecasa. The Mozart Symphony is probably one of the last three (see the comment concerning Lockwood's identification of the Mozart Symphony on Beethoven's concert of April 2, 1800, below). It is possible that the first three movements opened the concert, and that the "Schlußsinphonie" was simply the finale of that symphony.

2. Eine Arie, gesungen von der Madame Willmann, komponirt vom Herrn Ludwig van Bethowen.
3. Ein Konzert auf der Violine, gespielt vom Herrn Ignaz Schuppanzigh.
4. Eine Arie, gesungen vom Herrn Codecasa, komponiert vom Herrn Sarti.
5. Ein Quintet auf dem Fortepiano mit 4 blasenden Instrumenten akompaniert, gespielt und komponiert vom Herrn Ludwig van Bethowen.
6. Variationen auf der Violine, gespielt vom Herrn Ignaz Schuppanzigh.
7. Eine Schlußsinphonie.

Thus Schuppanzigh's program did not name the oboist, clarinetist, hornist, or bassoonist. The first performance of Op. 16 using strings is undocumented, but because of the work's association with Schuppanzigh here, it likely involved the colleagues in his "youthful" String Quartet, violist Franz Weiss (1778-1830) and violoncellist Nikolaus Kraft (1778-1853).²⁶ Fortunately, a gradually developing list of known, presumed, and possible performers (along with their positions and musical associations) will provide researchers with better grounds for speculation as they attempt to reconstruct Vienna's instrumental life and Beethoven's role within it. Thus, working backwards from April 2, 1798, or even April 2, 1800, we can speculate with some certainty that the four wind players on Schuppanzigh's Akademie of April 6, 1797, were oboist Georg Triebensee, clarinetist Joseph Bär, bassoonist Vinzenz Matuschek, and hornist Mathias Nickl.

The Quintet, Op. 16, Repeated, on April 2, 1798

On April 2, 1798, the Piano and Wind Quintet was heard once again, this time on one of the two Lenten Tonkünstler-Societät benefit concerts featuring the choral version of Haydn's *Seven Last Words*. Beethoven played the piano part in his Quintet, and the other parts were played by oboist Georg Triebensee (ca. 1753-1813) of the Burgtheater; clarinetist Joseph Bähr/Beer (1770-1819), recently added to Prince Johann Joseph Liechtenstein's Kapelle; bassoonist Vinzenz Matuschek (ca. 1760-1824) of the Kärntner Theater; and hornist Mathias Nickl (ca. 1754-1821), formerly of the Esterházy Kapelle.²⁷

Return to Prague, 1798

At some time in 1798, Beethoven returned to Prague and gave two concerts of his own at the *Konvikt-Saal*. The pianist Wenzel Johann Tomaschek (1774-1850), still a law student before turning to music as a profession, recalled that at the first concert, Beethoven played his Concerto in C Major, and at the second, his B-flat Concerto, with the latter now making less of an effect.²⁸ The make-up of the

²⁶The second violinist of the ensemble was Ludwig Sina (1778-1857). The violoncellist of the group is often given as Nikolaus's father, the acclaimed virtuoso Anton Kraft (1749-1820), but that makes no sense if the group was informally called the *Jugendquartett* by its contemporaries.

²⁷Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1871), S. 66. During this period, Nickl was playing extra services at the Court Theaters, in search of a full-time position after being released with the other members of the Esterházy Kapelle in 1790. For Bähr, see Clive, *Beethoven and His World*, p. 12.

²⁸Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, "Selbstbiographie," *Libussa. Jahrbuch* 4 (1845), 374-376; quoted in Loos, "Beethoven in Prag," pp. 88-90. More extensive excerpts in Thayer-Deiters-Riemann, II, pp. 73-75; then shorter in Oscar Sonneck, ed., *Beethoven: Impressions by His Contemporaries* (New York: Schirmer, 1926), pp. 21-23; and Thayer-Forbes, pp. 207-208. Beethoven was actually still working on both concerti. With the B-flat Concerto he was revising his earlier material and even experimenting with new movements. With the C-Major Concerto, he had

orchestra was probably similar to that noted for 1796, although the violinist/violist Anton Schreiber had already moved to Vienna in the Kapelle of Prince Lobkowitz. But the oboist Franz Stadler and contrabassist Anton Grams were still in Prague.

The Goal Achieved: Beethoven's Own Akademie, Burgtheater, April 2, 1800

In the last months of 1799, Beethoven probably organized support for his projected concert during Lent in 1800. He finished his Symphony in C, put the final revisions on to the Concerto, composed a Septet and got the Kaiserin to endorse it, lined up his financial backers, probably including Fürsten Lichnowsky and Lobkowitz, and arranged to lease the Burgtheater. As he had for the Rombergs in December, 1796, Baron Braun, Vice Director of the Court Theaters, provided Beethoven with a small subsidy of 27 fl.²⁹

The program in the Burgtheater on Wednesday, April 2, 1800, was a potpourri of instrumental and vocal works, very much like Schuppanzigh's concert of April 6, 1797, and typical of the period. In this case, the concert³⁰ began a half hour earlier, at 6:30 p.m.:

1. Eine grosse Symphonie von weiland Herrn Kapellmeister Mozart.
2. Eine Arie aus des fürstlichen Esterhazischen Herrn Kapellmeister Haydens *Schöpfung*, gesungen von Mlle. Saal.
3. Ein grosses Konzert auf dem Piano-Forte, gespielt und komponirt von Hrn. Ludwig van Beethoven.
4. Ein Sr. Majestät der Kaiserinn allerunterthänigst zugeeignetes und von Hrn. Ludwig van Beethoven komponirtes Septett auf 4 Saiten- und 3 Blas-Instrumenten, gespielt von denen Herren Schuppanzigh, Schreiber, Schindlecker, Bär, Nikel, Matauscheck, und Dietzel.
5. Ein Duett aus Haydens *Schöpfung*, gesungen von Herrn und Mlle. Saal.
6. Wird Herr Ludwig van Beethoven auf dem Piano-Forte fantasiren.
7. Eine neue grosse Symphonie mit vollständigen Orchester, komponirt von Herrn Ludwig van Beethoven.

As Schuppanzigh had done in 1797, Beethoven also opened his concert with a Grosse Symphonie, "a grand Symphony" (possibly in Es-Dur, K. 543) by Mozart.³¹ It continued with a soprano

finished an early version at some time in the past two years and was trying it out in a safe neutral venue, before producing it in Vienna. Loos provides a good summary of these developments.

²⁹K. k. Hoftheater Cassa—Rechnung, August 1, 1799-July 31, 1800; Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S. R. 33, p. 85 (Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna). Braun's subsidy was evidently in cash, not in kind, and represented twice as much as he had given the Romberg cousins.

³⁰The content of the program has been widely reprinted. Photograph of the original in Bory, *Beethoven* (1960), p. 93; and Landon, *Beethoven* (1970), p. 107.

³¹This symphony remains unidentified, but Lewis Lockwood noted that "in the first editions of the Mozart Symphonies No. 39-41, issued in the 1790s by André, only No. 39 was dubbed 'grosse Sinfonie' in the edition (1797), as in Beethoven's program, whereas No. 40 (published 1794) and 41 (1793) had been given no special title other than 'Sinfonie.'" See Lockwood, *Beethoven's Symphonies*, pp. 29 and 239.

If Lockwood's observation proves true, the Mozart's Symphony in Es-Dur, K. 543, with its slow introduction and ensuing Allegro, $\frac{3}{4}$, in Es-Dur, and with its heavy-footed Minuet, might be viewed as models for the first sketches of Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 in Es-Dur, with a slow $\frac{4}{4}$ introduction and ensuing fast section in $\frac{3}{4}$, as well as a *Menuetto serioso* appearing in the Wielhorsky Sketchbook of late Summer or early Fall, 1802. See Beethoven, *Kniga eskizov Beethovena za 1802-1803 gody*, ed. Nathan L. Fishman, 3 vols. (Moscow:

aria (possibly “Auf starkem Fittige schwinget sich”) from Haydn’s *Creation*; and, later, a duet for soprano and bass (possibly “Holde Gattin/Der tauende Morgen”) from the oratorio, sung by bass Ignaz Saal and his daughter Theresia, both stars of the Italian Opera at the Burgtheater. Collectively, these numbers paid tribute to Beethoven’s idol Mozart, whom he had met in 1787, and to Haydn, his primary teacher, once he came to Vienna permanently in November, 1792.

Then came a grand Piano Concerto by Beethoven, described elsewhere as “new,” surely Beethoven’s Concerto in C Major, No. 1, Op. 15. By now, Beethoven’s Piano Concerto in B-flat, even though it had been revised recently, was already considered “old.” The C-major Concerto was relatively newer, probably revised for the composer’s appearances in Prague in 1798, and possibly another time just before this concert. Calling it a “grosses Konzert” also differentiated it from the B-flat, which had used a more modest orchestra without trumpets and timpani. In fact the theme for the Rondo of Beethoven’s Concerto in C was adapted from a motive in *Les Danaïdes* by Antonio Salieri, another of Beethoven’s teachers during his first years in Vienna.³²

The fourth item was Beethoven’s Septet for strings and winds, Op. 20, probably dating from the previous year, and dedicated to the Kaiserin---Marie Therese, the music-loving wife of Kaiser Franz. Along with the song “Adelaide,” it would become one of the public’s favorite works by Beethoven. Four of the seven performers are already familiar from earlier chamber performances including Beethoven’s works: violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh, clarinetist Joseph Bär, hornist Mathias Nickel, and bassoonist Vinzenz Matauscheck. Beethoven may have known the three others for some time, but appear here in his circle for the first time: violist/violinist Anton Schreiber (geb.1766/67; gest. nach 1830), whom Beethoven may have met in Prague in 1796, but who had moved to Prince Lobkowitz’s Kapelle in Vienna as a violinist in 1797, and became violist in Ignaz Schuppanzigh’s string quartet;³³ violoncellist Philipp Schindlechter/Schindlöcker (1753-1827), previously in the Kärntner Theater’s orchestra, but now at the Burgtheater; and contrabassist Johann Dietzel (1754-1806), in the Esterházy Kapelle until 1790, then in the reopened Kärntner Theater’s orchestra from 1791, and (like Schindlechter), now transferred to the Burgtheater.

The sixth item was improvisation on the piano by Beethoven, precisely the kind of activity that had made him welcome in so many Viennese homes in his first years in the Habsburg capital.

The concluding item was Beethoven’s Symphony No. 1 in C Major, Op. 21---today considered tame and in the tradition of Haydn and Mozart---but which in 1800 would have been considered very progressive.

Report in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, October 15, 1800

The only report that we have of Beethoven’s Akademie of April 2, 1800, was included as part of a lengthy, multifaceted “Kurze Uebersicht des Bedeutendsten aus dem gesammten jetzigen Musikwesen in Wien” (Short Survey of the Most Significant Aspects of Current Musical Life in Vienna),³⁴ probably

Gosudarstvennoe Muzikal’noe Izdatel’stov, 1962), Transcriptions, S. 52 (of sketchbook, S. 44, lines III through XIV).

³²See Albrecht, “Beethoven’s Tribute to Antonio Salieri in the Rondo of His Piano Concerto in C Major, Op. 15,” *Beethoven Journal* 22, No. 1 (Summer, 2007), pp. 6-16.

³³See Albrecht, “First Name Unknown: Anton Schreiber, the Schuppanzigh Quartet, and Early Performances of Beethoven’s String Quartets, Op. 59,” *Beethoven Journal* 19, No. 1 (Summer, 2004), pp. 10-18.

³⁴*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 3 (October 15, 1800), cols. 41-51; and No. 4 (October 22, 1800), cols. 65-69); and (often overlooked) a supplemental reply by an anonymous author, “Neuer Versuch einer Darstellung des gesammten Musikwesens in Wien,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 37 (June 10, 1801), cols. 622-627; and No. 38 (June 17, 1801), cols. 638-643.

written by Georg August Griesinger, and published in Breitkopf und Härtel's *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* on October 15, six months after the event. Born in Protestant Stuttgart in 1769, Griesinger came to Vienna in 1799, as the tutor to the family of the Saxon Ambassador, Count von Schönfeld, and also as the Viennese correspondent to the year-old *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. In October, 1800, he published his "Kurze Uebersicht," in which he had something negative to say about all aspects of Viennese music making during this period, especially if it could be compared to the Protestant areas of Germany. Even so, it is a remarkably balanced account and extensive excerpts are worth reading for the perspectives they lend to the institutions and individuals with whom Beethoven now had to work to get his orchestral works performed.

Griesinger on the Italienische Oper³⁵

"Dem Orchester fehlt es gar nicht an braven Leuten, aber desto mehr an gutem Willen, an Einigkeit und Liebe zur Kunst. Diese unegoistische Liebe scheint ihnen ganz unbekannt zu sein, daher das Orchester auch oft sehr schlecht (dem gemeinen Ausdruck nach) zusammen geht. Bei den *Violons* [Kontrabässe] wäre zu wünschen, daß nicht alle 3,³⁶ fünfsaitig, und die Herren etwas weniger gemächlich wären. Bei großem Forte hört man mehr drein Reissen und Rumpeln, als deutlichen, durchdringenden Baßton, der das Ganze erheben könnte. Der Direktor [Konzertmeister], Hr. Conti, ist seinem Platz offenbar nicht gewachsen [seit 1795]; öfters geschieht es, daß das halbe Orchester mit Substituten besetzt ist, welche die Herren schicken, wenn sie einem andern Verdienst oder ihrem Vergnügen nachgehen: der davon erfolgende Effekt läßt sich denken."

Griesinger on the Italian Opera

"The orchestra does not lack for fine people, but lacks all the more in good will, in unity and love for the art. This unegotistic love appears to be unknown to them; therefore, the orchestra (according to widely expressed opinion) often suffers from poor precision. In the case of the contrabasses [*Violons*], it could be wished that not all 3 played five-stringed instruments, and that the gentlemen were somewhat less lackadaisical. At great *fortes*, one hears more scratching and scrubbing from them than a clear, penetrating bass tone that could improve the whole [orchestra].³⁷ The director [concertmaster], Herr Conti, has obviously not grown into his position [held since 1795]; it frequently happens that half of the orchestra is populated by substitutes, whom the gentlemen send if they are engaged in other employment or indulging their own pleasures: the consequent effect can [only] be imagined."

Griesinger on the Oeffentliche Akademien, including Beethoven's³⁸

³⁵*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 3 (October 15, 1800), col. 42.

³⁶The original published version says, "alle 5," but this was probably a misreading by a typesetter not familiar with the *three* contrabasses indicated in the orchestras of both Court Theaters, as can be seen below, compounded by the fact that the author also deals with five-stringed contrabasses.

³⁷This is contradicted by the supplementary "other" anonymous author in "Neuer Versuch einer Darstellung des gesammten Musikwesens in Wien," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 37 (June 10, 1801), cols. 625-626 (including footnote).

³⁸*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 3 (October 15, 1800), cols. 49-50.

“Endlich bekam doch auch Herr Beethoven das Theater einmal, und dies war wahrlich die interessanteste Akademie seit langer Zeit. Er spielte ein neues Konzert von seiner Komposition, das sehr viel Schönheiten hat—besonders die zwei ersten Sätze. Dann wurde ein Septett von ihm gegeben, das mit sehr viel Geschmack und Empfindung geschrieben ist. Er phantasierte dann meisterhaft, und am Ende wurde eine Symphonie von seiner Komposition aufgeführt, worin sehr viel Kunst, Neuheit und Reichtum an Ideen war; nur waren der Blasinstrumente gar zu viel angewendet, so daß sie mehr Harmonie, als ganze Orchestermusik war. Vielleicht können wir, etwas Gutes schaffen, wenn wir von dieser Akademie noch Folgendes anmerken. Es zeichnete sich dabei das Orchester der italienischen Oper sehr zu seinem Nachtheile aus, Erst—Direktorialstreitigkeiten! Beethoven glaubte mit Recht die Direktion, nicht Herrn Conti, und niemand besser, als Herrn Wranitzky anvertrauen zu können. Unter diesem wollten die Herren nicht spielen. Die oben gerügten Fehler dieses Orchesters wurden sodann hier desto auffallender, da B.s Komposition schwer zu exekutieren ist. Im Akkompagnieren nahmen sie sich nicht die Mühe auf den Solospieler acht zu haben; von Delikatesse im Akkompagnement, vom Nachgeben gegen den Gang der Empfindungen des Solospielers u. dgl. war also keine Spur. Im zweiten Teil der Symphonie wurden sie sogar so bequem, daß, alles Taktierens ungeachtet, kein Feuer mehr—besonders in das Spiel der Blasinstrumente, zu bringen war. Was hilft bei solchem Benehmen alle Geschicklichkeit—die man den meisten Mitgliedern dieser Gesellschaft im mindesten nicht absprechen will? Welchen bedeutenden Effekt kann da, selbst die vortrefflichste Komposition machen?”

Griesinger on the Public Concerts, including Beethoven’s

“On one occasion Herr Beethoven obtained the Theater, and this was truly the most interesting concert [*Akademie*] in a long time. He played a new Concerto of his own composition, which had very many beautiful passages—especially [in] the first two movements. Then a Septet of his was given, which was written with a great deal of taste and feeling. He then improvised in a masterly fashion, and, at the end, a Symphony of his own composition was performed, in which there was considerable art, novelty, and a wealth of ideas, except that the wind instruments [*Blasinstrumente*] were used entirely too much, so that it was more like a wind piece [*Harmonie*] rather than music for the entire orchestra.

“Perhaps we can do something beneficial if we note the following about this concert. The orchestra of the Italian Opera [Burgtheater] made a very poor showing in it. First--quarrels about who was to direct [as concertmaster]! Beethoven rightly thought that he could entrust the direction, not to Herr Conti, but to none better than Herr Wranitzky. The gentlemen would not play under him. The faults of this orchestra, already criticized above, then became all the more evident, since B’s compositions are difficult to execute. When they were accompanying, the players did not take care to pay attention to the soloist. As a result, there was no trace of delicacy in the accompaniments, nor any response to the [musical] emotions of the solo player, etc.

“In the second part [development section?] of the symphony they became so indolent [*bequem*] that, despite all efforts to give the beat, no more fire could be gotten out of them, particularly in the playing of the wind instruments. With such behavior, what good is all the proficiency---which most of the members of this organization undeniably possess? Under such circumstances, how is even the most excellent composition to be effective?”

Griesinger on the Aussichten für die Künstler³⁹

³⁹*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 4 (October 22, 1800), cols. 67-68. See Griesinger’s comments about the poor *Bezahlung*/pay at the Kärntnertor Theater, below, for some comparative figures

“Alle vornehme und reiche Häuser, die sonst eigene Orchester hatten, haben sie entlassen. In dem Theater-Orchester hat der Künstler 200 bis 300 Gulden zu erwarten . . . Die Geiger sind am schlimmsten dran; von ihnen verlangt man alles umsonst, indem gleich 10 Dilettanten da sind, die es mit Vergnügen—schlecht oder gut—tun. Bezahlte Privat-Akademien gibt es wenige . . . Lection zu geben ist bei weitem nicht mehr so vorteilhaft, wie ehemals . . . ; dasselbe ist es mit der sonst hier für den Musiker so einträglichen Quartettenmusik.”

Griesinger on the Prospects for Musicians

“All of the prominent and wealthy houses that formerly had their own orchestras have dismissed them. In the Theater orchestra, the musician can expect [an annual salary of] 200 to 300 Gulden . . . Violinists fare the worst; for them everything is in vain because for every engagement there are 10 dilettantes who, for better or worse, are happy to play. There are few private Akademien [concerts] . . . Giving lessons is by far not as profitable as previously . . . the same is true with quartet music, which was once so lucrative for the musician here.”

Against these odds, it is no wonder that the professionally trained cellist Vincenz Hauschka decided to enter the secure civil service!

Griesinger’s Comments in Perspective

On the whole, Griesinger obviously found Beethoven’s music itself to be interesting, beautiful, abounding in taste and feeling, with considerable art, novelty, and a wealth of ideas---he said so outright. Even his comment that Beethoven used the winds (the *Harmonie*) more than usual cannot be taken too negatively in this context. The problems that Griesinger perceived had more to do with the performance: the discontent over Beethoven’s initial choice for concertmaster (which was probably well-known gossip in Viennese musical circles, even before the concert); the insensitive accompaniment to Beethoven’s Concerto; and the inexplicably dis-spirited or distracted performance, especially in the Symphony.⁴⁰

Griesinger on the Playing Level and Salaries at the Kärntnertor Theater

By way of contrast, elsewhere in his survey, Griesinger described the situation at the Kärntnertor Theater:

“Das Orchester besitzt weit weniger gute Subjecte, als das von der italienischen Oper; die Bezahlung ist zu schlecht. Und doch hört man öfters Symphonien von Haydn, oder zuweilen auch eine Oper von Mozart weit besser exekutiren, als von jenem, welches man grösstenteils seinem würdigen Direktor, Hrn. Paul Wranitzky, zu verdanken hat.”⁴¹

“The Orchestra possesses far fewer good members than that of the Italian opera [at the Burgtheater]; the pay is too poor. And yet, one often hears Symphonies by Haydn or sometimes even an opera by Mozart far better executed than by the other. For the most part, this is thanks to its worthy director [concertmaster], Herr Paul Wranitzky.”

⁴⁰Unfortunately, Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, who often provides concert commentary during this period, was moving his residence on April 2, and therefore did not attend the performance. Rosenbaum, “Diaries,” ed. Else Radant, *Haydn Yearbook 5* (1968), 78-79.

⁴¹*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 3 (October 15, 1800), col. 45; with Griesinger’s evaluation of Wranitzky partially contradicted by the anonymous author, “Neuer Versuch,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, No. 37 (June 10, 1801), col. 624, “Ich will ihm . . . nicht absprechen” (I will not deny him) . . .

Griesinger was certainly correct when he described the salaries at the Kärntnertor Theater as low, especially in comparison with the annual salaries at the Burgtheater:⁴²

Theater Orchestra Pay (1800) Burg		Kärntnertor
Concertmaster Conti	900	
Concertmaster Wranitzky		1,200
Violin I, section player	350	200
Violin II, section player	350	200
Viola, section player	350	200
Violoncello, section player	350	200
Contrabass, section player	350	200
Flutes	400	250
Oboes	400	250
Clarinets	400	250
Bassoons	400	250
Horns	400	250
Trumpets	300	250
Timpani	300	150

Anton Wranitzky may have had “fewer good members” in his Kärntnertor orchestra than Conti did in his Burg, but he was still paid better for the results that he achieved.

Perhaps unbeknownst to Griesinger, the Kärntertor Theater’s orchestra in this time-period served as a musician’s entry point into the Hoftheater (Court Theater) hierarchy: a musician would enter as the last chair in his section in the Kärntnertor Theater’s orchestra and work his way up, as senior colleagues in both theaters left or died. When he reached the first chair in the Kärntnertor Theater, he would be eligible to fill the next last-chair vacancy at the Burgtheater, and with it a raise in his salary. Therefore, the Kärntnertor Theater’s orchestra was largely made up of younger musicians or musicians newer to the Court Theater system, rather than musicians any inherent lack of talent.

Principals and senior members in the string sections of both theaters would generally receive 50 fl. more than the normal section player. In general, the wind players were paid the same amount as a senior string section player. The lowest paid musician in the orchestras was Kärntnertor timpanist Anton Brunner, who, in 1814, would serve as orchestra contractor for Beethoven’s concert of February 27, which would include the premiere of his Symphony No. 8.

In addition, most of the members of the Burgtheater’s were also employed by the Hof-Musikkapelle (or Hofkapelle) with a separate salary line, generally ca. 150-250 fl. per year for string section players (among them Giacomo Conti, but not Paul Wranitzky) and 400 fl. for the wind players (probably because the *Harmonie* was often used to provide music for imperial dinners).⁴³

The personnel lists of the two Theaters and Hofkapelle are appended at the end of this article. From them, it becomes apparent (for example) that the Burgtheater’s oboists Triebensee and Went each received 400 fl. from the Theater and another 400 from the Hofkapelle, for a total of 800 fl. annually, while the Kärntnertor’s Czerwenka and Ruschitzka each received 250 fl. annually.

⁴²K. k. Hoftheater Cassa—Rechnung, August 1, 1799-July 31, 1800; Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S. R. 33, pp. 50-52 (Burgtheater) and pp. 54-57 (Kärntnertor Theater), with annual salaries (Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna).

⁴³Ludwig von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna: Beck’sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869), pp. 91-95.

Against this, in 1786, Johann Pezzl's *Skizze von Wien* indicated that a single man, without a family, could live respectably, if not lavishly, on 464 fl. per year.⁴⁴ Salaries for Court musicians had remained fairly stable in the years from 1786 to 1800, and so Pezzl's figure (if taken *cum grano salis*) would still be relatively valid here.

A Death in the Orchestral Family

Another comment by Griesinger remains to be explored, that in the Symphony the orchestra became so indolent that, despite all efforts, no more fire (or possibly passion or involvement) could be gotten out of them, especially the wind instruments. The reason may simply have been fatigue at the end of a long evening involving roughly 146 minutes of music. The Mozart symphony would have lasted 25 minutes, the two Haydn items 8 minutes each, the Concerto 37 minutes, the Septet (admittedly for small ensemble) 40 minutes, Beethoven's improvisation perhaps 10 minutes. Therefore, with necessary set-up time and probably an intermission after the Concerto, the Symphony cannot have begun before 9:10 p.m. The orchestra was probably tired!

One additional event, previously unknown in the collective life of this orchestra, might easily have thrown a damper on this entire performance, even *if* Beethoven and Conti were getting along. On the day of the concert, Justina Klemp, the wife of longtime section first violinist Leopold Klemp, died of consumption at age 45.⁴⁵ The Burgtheater's orchestra must have been a relatively tight community of musicians: most of them, along with their stagehand Joseph Federl, were also members of the Hofkapelle. Not only did they spend their rehearsal days and performance evenings together in the Theater, but also Sunday mornings and Church feast days playing for Mass in the Court Chapel. Klemp would probably not have played the concert, but would have sent a substitute. The sad news would surely have been passed from musician to musician, probably helped along by the stagehand Federl. Added to all the other potential factors, Justina Klemp's death may have caused sadness (or at least a distraction) throughout the orchestra that simply would not allow the spirited good humor in Beethoven's Symphony to sparkle to its fullest that evening.

Therefore, Beethoven was probably already looking forward to his next benefit concert, for which he was envisioning a Piano Concerto in C Minor, possibly with a prominent timpani part. In the meantime, however, the Court would commission him for a ballet, which would lead to a *de facto* Symphony No. 1½!

⁴⁴Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien* (1786-1790), excerpted and summarized in H.C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and Vienna* (New York: Schirmer, 1991), pp. 53-191, specifically pp. 74-75 (reflecting 1786).

⁴⁵Death on April 2, Justina Klemp, geb. Graf, born in Vienna, Goldenes Faßl, No. 13 zu St. Ulrich, from *Lungensucht*, age 45 years. Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1800, G/K, fol. 50v (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv).

Burgtheater (Italian Opera) Orchestra --- April, 1800
(Editorial * designates Hofkapelle members)

Violin I

- *Conti, Giacomo (1754-1805), concertmaster
- *Scheidel, Joseph, Sr. (ca. 1751-1819)
- *Reinhard, Leopold (ca. 1739-1806)
- *Hofmann, Johann (d. 1801)
- *Klemp, Leopold (ca. 1750-1816)
- *Maratschek, Karl (ca. 1753-1831)

Violin II

- *Millechner, Blasius (ca. 1748-1822)
- *Menzel, Zeno Franz (ca. 1756-1823)
- *Fux, Peter (ca. 1752-1831)
- *Bössinger/Pösinger, Franz (ca. 1767-1827)
- *Schram, Karl (ca. 1755-1816)
- Ungericht, Veit (ca. 1741-1804)

Viola

- Borghi, Anton (ca. 1723/4-1807)
- Nurscher, Jakob (ca. 1739-1814)
- *Ruschitzka, Wenzel (1757-1823); also Organist in Hofkapelle
- *Altmütter, Matthias (1760-1821)

Violoncello

- *Weigl, Joseph, "Father" (ca. 1741/43-1820)
- *Orsler, Joseph (ca. 1736-1806)
- *Schindlöcker, Philipp (1753-1827)

Contrabass

- *Sedler, Georg (ca. 1750-1829)
- *Holfeld, Friedrich (ca. 1737-1807)
- Dietzel, Johann (1754-1806)

Flute

- Gehring, Ludwig (ca. 1753-1819)
- Browos/Prowos, Joseph Prowos (ca. 1751-1832)

Oboe

- *Triebensee, Georg (ca. 1753-1813)
- *Went, Johann Nepomuk (1745-1801)

Clarinet

*Stadler, Anton (ca. 1753-1812)

*Stadler, Johann (ca. 1756-1804)

Bassoon

*Czerwenka, Franz (1745-1801)

*Drobney, Ignaz (ca. 1731-1804)

Horn

*Rupp, Martin (ca. 1748-1819)

*Hörmann, Johann (ca. 1748-1816)

Trumpet

Mayer, Joseph (ca. 1735-1817)

Weidinger, Joseph (ca. 1755-1829)

Timpani

*Eder, Anton (ca. 1753-1813)

Orchestra Servant

*Federl, Joseph (ca. 1766/67 - 1801)

Source: K. k. Hoftheater Cassa—Rechnung, August 1, 1799 - July 31, 1800; Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S. R. 33, pp. 50-52 (Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna). The Cassa-Bücher generally list only family names of the musicians; other details (from a variety of archival sources) supplied editorially here.

Kärntnertor (German Opera) Theater Orchestra --- April, 1800

Violin I

Wranitzky, Paul (ca. 1756-1808), concertmaster
Katter, Joseph (ca. 1770-1841)
Bonhaimer/Ponhaimer, Carl (ca. 1770-1806)
Hoffmann, Ferdinand (ca. 1755-1829)
Laaber/Laber/Leiper, Johann
Scheidel, Joseph, Jr. (active through 1808)

Violin II

Axmann, Joseph (ca. 1740-1812)
Schweigel, Lorenz (1773-1849)
Luy/Ludwig, Anton (1753-1802)
Umlauf, Michael (1781-1842)
Hörmann [?]
Bok/Bock/Böck, Ignaz or Joseph?

Viola

Wschiansky, Philipp (ca. 1751-1823)
Sukowaty, Wenzel (ca. 1746-1810), also copyist
Hirsch, Leopold (ca. 1766-1845)
Oliva, Joseph (ca. 1734-1806)
Neunherz [?]

Violoncello

Deabis, Franz (ca. 1747-1838)
Schanzer, Mathias (ca. 1773-1803)
Mayer, Cölestin (1776-after 1840)

Contrabass

Lorenz, Joseph (1758-after 1806 or 1814)
Melzer, Joseph (1763-1832)
Stadler, Felix (1754-1824)

Flute

Mayer [?]
Scholl, Carl (ca. 1778-1854)

Oboe

Czerwenka, Joseph (1759-1835)
Ruschitzka, Wenzel (1748-1831)

Clarinet

Haberl, Andreas (ca. 1766-1803)
Pichler/Büchler, Ludwig (ca. 1763-1826)

Bassoon

Sedlatschek, Wenzel (ca. 1758-1816)
Clement, Paul (1759-1828)

Horn

Lothar, Willibald (1762-1844), high horn
Hradetzky, Friedrich (ca. 1767-1846), low horn

Trumpet

Weidinger, Anton (1766-1852)
Weidinger, Franz (ca. 1770-1814)

Timpani

Brunner, Anton (active through 1814)

Source: K. k. Hoftheater Cassa—Rechnung, August 1, 1799 - July 31, 1800; Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S. R. 33, pp. 54-57 (Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna). The Cassa-Bücher generally list only family names of the musicians; other details (from a variety of archival sources) supplied editorially here.

Hofkapelle [Court Chapel] Orchestra --- 1800
(Editorial * designates Burgtheater members)

Violin

- Hofmann, Anton (concertmaster), Teinfaltstrasse 75.
*Scheidl, Joseph, Burgerspital [*sic*] 1166.
Hofmann, Joseph, Leopoldstadt 484.
*Maratschek, Karl, Leopoldstadt 17.
*Hofmann, Johann Baptist, Ledererhof 365.
*Menzel, Zeno Franz, Josephstadt 20.
*Fuchs, Peter, Stock im Eisen Platz, 663.
*Klemp, Leopold, Spitalberg 13.
*Millechner, Mülkerbastey 99.
*Reinhard, Leopold, Goldschmidgasse 632.
*Schramb, Joseph, Schultergassel 428.
*Conti, Jacob, Obere Bräunerstrasse 1205.
*Altmüller [*sic*], Matthias, Naglergasse 316. [Violist in Burgtheater]
*Pösinger, Franz, Spitalberg 124.

Violoncello

- *Orsler, Joseph, Elend 222.
*Weigl, Joseph, Himmelfortgasse 1007.
*Schindlecker, Philipp, Josephstadt 40.

Contrabass

- *Sedler, Spitalberg 90.
*Holfeld, Friedrich, Tiefer Graben 167.
Stadelmann, Michael, Rothenthurm Bastey 1248.

Oboe

- *Triebensee, Joseph Schenkenstrasse, 53.
*Went, Johann, Nikolaigassel 887.

Clarinet

- *Stadler, Johann, Windmühl 6.
Klein, Georg, Wieden 167.

Bassoon

- *Drobnai, Ignaz, Josephstadt 37.
*Czerwenka, Franz, Josephstadt 19.

Horn

- *Rupp, Martin, Josephstadt 40.
- *Hörmann, Johann, Rossau 104.

Trumpet

- Glaser, Johann, Josephstadt 58.
- Jahnel, Franz, Rennweg 406.
- Ruprecht, Joseph, Ofenloch 467.

Trombone

- Ulbrich, Anton, across from the Karlskirche 23.
- Meserer, Johann, am Platzl 6.

Timpani

- Kreit, Friedrich, Neuer Wien 232.

Organ

- Summer, Georg, Leopoldstadt 142.
- *Rusiczka, Joseph, Josephstadt 31. [Violist in Burgtheater]

Orchestra Servant

- *Federl, Joseph, am Platzl 22.

Source: *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus der röm. kaiserl. auch kaiserl. königl. und erzherzoglichen Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien* (Vienna: Joseph Gerold, 1800), pp. 344-345. The residential designations Am Platzl and St. Ulrich identify the same close-western suburb.