

## Beethoven's Brass Players: New Discoveries in Composer-Performer Relations

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For over a century, music historians have acknowledged and celebrated Joseph Haydn's collegial relations with his orchestral players at Eisenstadt and Esterháza, where he included challenging and gratifying solo passages for them throughout his career in the princely employ. Haydn's sometime student, the titanic Ludwig van Beethoven, however, has largely been perceived as having had turbulent relations with the unfortunate musicians who performed his music for the first time: "Do you believe that I think of your wretched fiddle when the spirit speaks to me?" he reportedly growled at his friend Ignaz Schuppanzigh, who had found a passage too difficult.<sup>1</sup>

Only in the past decade have we been able to reassess Beethoven's emerging relations with Vienna's orchestral players, from his first appearance with orchestra in March 1795 to the premiere of the Ninth Symphony in May 1824, in a more positive light.<sup>2</sup> Some of the evidence, however, has been available for a century and a half, but its cumulative import has gone unrecognized.

In 1860, Anton Schindler, who had been Beethoven's unpaid secretary late in the composer's life, related in his *Biographie* that in his early years in Vienna, Beethoven had relied upon several musicians to teach him how to write for their instruments: violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh, violist Franz Weiss, the violoncellists Anton Kraft and his son Nikolaus, as well as clarinetist Joseph Friedlowsky, hornist Johann Wenzel Stich (Giovanni Punto), and flutist Carl Scholl.<sup>3</sup> He later commented, "Beethoven respected the following musicians highly: ... Scholl, Friedlowsky, and [violinist Franz] Clement, and finally the members of the Schuppanzigh Quartet.... They ... never ceased to revere the great master, while, for his part, he thought highly of them and took every opportunity to help them realize their ambitions."<sup>4</sup> Schindler also mentioned that Beethoven's former pupil, Carl Czerny, played the composer's Piano Concerto no. 5 in E♭ on an 1818 concert given by "the skillful hornist Hradetzky,"<sup>5</sup> but with no further information about brass players.

Certainly Beethoven's relationship with his orchestral colleagues was inconsistent. As early as 1838, Beethoven's former student Ferdinand Ries recounted that after some angry moments in conjunction with Beethoven's concert of 22 December 1808, the musicians of the Theater an der Wien "swore that they would never play again if Beethoven were with the orchestra. This lasted until he had composed something new again, when their curiosity overcame their anger."<sup>6</sup>

Written corroboration from practicing orchestral musicians is understandably rare, but in 1846, clarinetist Joseph Friedlowsky (1777-1859) penned this apostrophe to Beethoven for Gustav Schilling's commemorative *Beethoven-Album*: "Dear, unforgettable friend! With heartfelt emotion I recall that time when I was so fortunate to collaborate at performances

of your splendid works under your direction and was able to value them in full measure. Your honorable recognition of my successful renditions, and especially the many indications of your valued friendship are my pride!"<sup>7</sup>

Friedlowsky had come from Prague to join the Theater an der Wien's orchestra as principal clarinetist in 1802, and was therefore the first to play exposed passages in the Violin Concerto, Symphony no. 4, the "Pastorale" Symphony, and the Choral Fantasy, among others.<sup>8</sup> His fellow principals in the woodwind section were also all Bohemians: bassoonist Valentin Czejka (Prague, 1769–after 1834),<sup>9</sup> oboist Franz Stadler (Lewin near Litomerice, 1760–1825),<sup>10</sup> and especially flutist Anton Dreyssig (Oberleitensdorf, 1753/54–1820).<sup>11</sup> Czejka would have premiered bassoon solos in the same works in which Friedlowsky played clarinet. Stadler would have played the famous oboe cadenza in Symphony no. 5, as well as prominent passages in the "Pastorale" Symphony and Choral Fantasy; and Dreyssig, who had premiered Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* over a decade before, would play the first performances of the Symphony no. 3 ("Eroica"), *Leonore* Overture no. 3, "Pastorale" Symphony, and Choral Fantasy.

A skeptic might argue that Beethoven would have composed effectively for *any* talented principal flutist, oboist, clarinetist, or bassoonist, and ask why the presence of these particular musicians (Friedlowsky's apostrophe notwithstanding) would mean that Beethoven might compose specifically for them. The cases of the Theater an der Wien's timpanist Ignaz Manker and principal contrabassist Anton Grams—musicians whom musicologists have not traditionally considered in such a "talented" category—provide compelling evidence that if Beethoven knew particular musicians' strengths, he would write parts to show them to particular advantage, corroborating to a certain degree Schindler's assertion quoted above.

Ignaz Manker (Gols, Hungary, ca. 1765–1817), the son of Viennese-born Imperial Court timpanist Franz Paul Manker, doubtless learned the instrument from his father. In addition he also studied violoncello with Anton Kraft and joined Prince Nikolaus Esterházy's newly formed *Kapelle* as a chamber musician in 1795. Even so, he was surely the timpanist for whom Haydn wrote the virtuosic part in his *Missa in tempore belli* (also known as the *Paukenmesse*), premiered at Vienna's Piaristenkirche on 26 December 1796, certainly with Beethoven in attendance. Manker probably became timpanist at the Theater an der Wien in 1801, and when Beethoven scored the introduction to *Christus am Ölberge* early in 1803, he twice left a bar empty except for somber thumps on the timpani to simulate Christ's heartbeats. At the same time, scoring the Piano Concerto no. 3, Beethoven included a brief dialogue for himself and former chamber musician Manker in the first movement's coda. In the introduction to the dungeon scene in *Leonore/Fidelio* (1805), reminiscent of the introduction to *Christus*, Beethoven now took advantage of the fact that Manker could tune to notes other than tonic and dominant, and scored a tritone (or diminished fifth) for the two drums. Already in the *Paukenmesse*, Haydn had demonstrated that Manker could play dynamic extremes, and Beethoven did likewise, with soft rhythms for Manker in the transition between the third and fourth movements of the Fifth Symphony, as well as loud thunder in the "Storm" of the "Pastorale" Symphony, both premiered in 1808. When he

adapted the Violin Concerto into a Piano Concerto (for publication by Muzio Clementi in London), Beethoven now composed a cadenza for the first movement that included a march duet for piano and timpani—surely to amuse himself and Manker, as much as anything else—before he sent it off. Similarly, when he composed the Piano Concerto no. 5 in 1809, Beethoven wrote another duet for himself and Manker in the finale, at the point where the rondo theme seems to disappear in the distance, just before the final flourish. Beethoven never played the concerto in public, but (if he followed rehearsal-to-performance patterns established as early as the “Eroica” Symphony) probably played it at Prince Lobkowitz’s palace with members of the Theater an der Wien’s orchestra, before sending it to Leipzig for publication. In the F-major scherzo of Symphony no. 7 in A, premiered in 1813, Beethoven expanded the interval for Manker to play to the minor sixth, and in the finale of the companion Symphony no. 8 in F, expanded the range of the timpani to octave Fs.<sup>12</sup>

Anton Grams (Markersdorf, Bohemia, 1752-1823) studied contrabass under Natter in Prague and was principal when Mozart premiered his *Don Giovanni* there in 1787. The orchestra itself was small, but was noted for its well-developed sense of ensemble. Lauded for his purity of tone and clarity of execution, Grams probably came to the Theater an der Wien by the end of 1801, and here too became known as an excellent section leader. For the Theater’s Grams-led contrabassists, Beethoven was able to write challenging passages in his Symphonies no. 3 (the *Marcia funebre*) and 4 (scherzo), his *Leonore/Fidelio* (the grave-digging scene, also with contrabassoon), and, most obviously, the treacherously exposed passages in the third movement of Symphony no. 5. Beethoven had probably already envisioned the violoncello/contrabass section recitatives in the finale of the Ninth Symphony by the time Grams died on 18 May 1823. An entry by Schindler in one of Beethoven’s conversation books in the weeks before the Symphony’s premiere in May 1824 probably reflects the sense of loss that the composer himself felt: “If old Krams [Grams] were still alive, one could let them go without worry, because he led 12 *bassi*, who had to do what he wanted.”<sup>13</sup>

Thus, timpanist Ignaz Manker had training as a violoncellist and could tune to intervals beyond the timpani’s traditional tonic-dominant. As a result, Beethoven could write for him the highly experimental tritones in *Fidelio*, the minor sixths in the Seventh Symphony, and the octaves in the Eighth Symphony. Because Manker was an experienced chamber musician with a well-developed sense of ensemble, Beethoven, as the pianist in his own works, could write the brief timpani-piano dialogue in the Third Piano Concerto, the timpani-piano duet in the cadenza of the piano version of the Violin Concerto, and the timpani-piano duet near the end of the so-called “Emperor” Concerto. With principal contrabassist Anton Grams, the distinctions are more difficult to perceive, simply because there had always been contrabasses in an orchestra. But Beethoven began subtly, too: soft unison strings in thematic/motivic passages in the opening of the Third Piano Concerto, the Triple Concerto, and the orchestral entrance of the Choral Fantasy; more thematically complex passages in the Funeral March of the “Eroica” Symphony and the grave-digging scene in *Fidelio*; and especially in the third movement of the Fifth Symphony. Unlike his

writing for the solo woodwinds, who might be presumed to be accomplished players in any orchestra, Beethoven's writing for the highly unlikely timpanist (with whom he must have developed a very strong professional bond) and contrabass section, when combined with identifiable names and biographical data,<sup>14</sup> lead us to the conclusion that Beethoven must have been tailoring his orchestral writing to specific instrumentalists, sections, and circumstances, to a greater degree than musicologists have previously imagined.

Applying these new perceptions to the brass players present in Vienna and active in the venues for which Beethoven intended his works can provide us with many important new associations. Pitfalls in documentation and source evaluation abound. Full personnel lists are relatively rare, and often inaccurate or out-of-date. With the exception of the omnipresent pair of horns, documentation concerning a second pair of horns, trumpets (and timpani), and especially the occasionally employed trombone section can be lax at best, especially if such musicians were sub-contracted on documents that do not survive. In the case of the Court Theaters, the *Expectant* system meant that, as a musician grew older, his intended replacement would be appointed, and would be expected to substitute for the regular musician (for low or even no salary) until the older player died, at which time the Expectant would officially assume his position and salary line. The political and economic turmoil of the times especially affected the privately owned Theater an der Wien (for which pertinent documents are few), and continued even after it was absorbed into the Court's theatrical administration. Moreover, when the Court leased the Kärntnertor Theater to Domenico Barbaja, beginning on 1 December 1821, the Italian impresario's personnel changes amounted to a bloodbath that must often be traced, not just directly, but in other tangential source materials.

Over the years, my Viennese research has taken me to the obvious Austrian National Library and Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, but also to the Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, the Stadt- und Landesarchiv, the Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv, the Hofkammer Archiv, the Library of the Theater Museum, as well as the archives of perhaps twenty churches. The more one researches, the more one realizes how much more there is to be done. The *Conscriptions-Bögen* (census records, begun in 1805), *Totenbeschauprotokoll* (death records), and the *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlungen* (preliminary estate records) in the Stadt- und Landesarchiv are a treasury of information that must be evaluated carefully, all the while knowing that the records of the *Tonkünstler-Societät*, the beneficial society established by Florian Leopold Gassmann in 1771, to assist widows and orphans essentially of Court and Cathedral musicians, likewise reside within.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, at the Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv, a systematic survey of the surviving annual payroll records for the Court Theaters, 1776-1802,<sup>16</sup> and even a partial survey of the copious and confusing general administrative documents of the Court Theaters and Court Opera,<sup>17</sup> make one realize that the collection also contains vast numbers of documents pertaining to the *Hofkapelle* (Court Chapel),<sup>18</sup> the offices of the Master of the Stables and the Master of the Hunt, among others, through which one could pore for isolated documents related to musical activity as a whole and individual musicians in particular. Even so, with documents so scattered or incomplete, the researcher realizes that one of the best ways to trace the professional life of a musician (what positions

he held and when) is to locate his marriage record, as well as the birth and death records of his infant children, which indicate his current employment, in the city's parish church records.

Thus, with the frank admission—indeed a happy one, in some respects—that there is enough work in these libraries and archives alone to keep several generations of musical investigators busy, and that any article such as this one represents, at best, one person's progress report, we shall attempt here to identify the brass players who were employed by the various major Viennese theaters, as well as their approximate dates of employment, during Beethoven's activities there. These musicians, by accident or design, often became Beethoven's colleagues in the brass sections that premiered his works, and for whom he sometimes wrote as knowingly as he did for the timpanist Manker and contrabassist Grams.

### Vienna's Principal Theaters

Before discussing the brass players themselves, a brief introduction to the Viennese theaters that figured most prominently in Beethoven's life might be in order.<sup>19</sup> Within the city's walls and close to the *Hofburg* (the Imperial palace complex) were the Burgtheater, adjacent to the palace, and the Kärntnertor Theater, perhaps five blocks south. The Burgtheater had been open relatively continuously since the early 1740s, and had an audience capacity of ca. 1100. As the Court's "second" theater, the Kärntnertor could accommodate an audience of ca. 1200, but was constantly subject to threats of closure: during the Balkan Wars, it was closed from March 1788 to mid-November 1791. Senior orchestra members at the Burgtheater had the opportunity to earn an additional salary by playing in the Hofkapelle (Court Chapel) and also to become members of the Tonkünstler-Societät. Orchestral musicians at the Kärntnertor Theater earned considerably less salary and had fewer opportunities to play in the Hofkapelle or enjoy other benefits. Nonetheless, once a musician was in the Court "system," he could work his way up from the Kärntnertor Theater to the Burgtheater, to additional employment in the Kapelle. Trumpeters and timpanists also found employment (sometimes their primary employment) playing for Imperial ceremonies.

Outside the walls, the private Theater auf der Wieden opened in the large *Freyhaus* apartment complex in 1787, with a reported capacity of ca. 1000. Emanuel Schikaneder became its manager and commissioned Mozart to compose the music for *Die Zauberflöte* in 1791. Despite such successes, its orchestral musicians earned much less than those of the Court Theaters, and had very little chance of upward mobility within the system. In mid-June 1801, however, Schikaneder opened the new, state-of-the-art Theater an der Wien, which could hold perhaps 2000, across the Wien River, about 600 feet north of the old location. As vacancies occurred, Schikaneder hired some of the finest orchestral musicians available, until financial reverses made further artistic expansion more difficult.

In the western suburb of Josephstadt, a smallish theater for light theatrical fare was erected in the middle of an existing courtyard in 1788, and underwent several limited

remodeling jobs before the transformation of 1822 brought Beethoven and an audience of ca. 1000 there for its reopening.

Of all of Vienna's theaters in Beethoven's lifetime, only the Theater an der Wien and the Theater in der Josephstadt stand today. When personnel rosters survive, they are often incomplete or garbled with phonetic spellings. Similarly, there is seldom much continuity from one roster to the next (with several years in between them), with little information to indicate when one player died or retired, to be replaced by another. Supplementing existing personnel records with death and estate records, census sheets, marriage and baptismal records, the following discussion will give the reader at least some sense of who played where and when.

### The Brasses of the Burgtheater

In 1795, the two regularly employed hornists at the Burgtheater were Martin Rupp (Vienna, 1748-Vienna, 1819)<sup>20</sup> and Jacob Eisen (Vienna, ca. 1756-Vienna, 9 April 1796).<sup>21</sup> Both players had joined the orchestra on 1 March 1782, overlapping by a year the retiring hornists Scrivaneck and Joseph Leutgeb (of Mozart fame).<sup>22</sup> When Jacob Eisen died in 1796, he was replaced by Johann Hörmann (Vienna, 1748-Vienna, 1816),<sup>23</sup> who remained in the orchestra at least through 1808,<sup>24</sup> and possibly for some years beyond. In June 1802, Rupp evidently retired, to be replaced, through July, by Gabriel Lendvay, and then, on a seemingly permanent basis by Friedrich [Johann?] Wagner (Moldauthein, Bohemia, 27 January 1780-Vienna, 1859),<sup>25</sup> who also remained at least through 1808, before becoming a census commissioner for the city.<sup>26</sup> In 1814 the section consisted of Mathias Nickel (Vienna, 1754-Vienna, 21 February 1821) and Michael Sack (Vienna-Neustift, 1768-Vienna, 1847),<sup>27</sup> both of whom seemingly left for the Theater an der Wien by 1817. By March 1817, the Burgtheater's hornists were Joseph Bauchinger (Vienna, 1792-after 1851) and Philipp Schmidt (Vienna, 1791-Vienna, 1851), continuing at least through Fall 1822.<sup>28</sup>

The trumpet section in 1795 consisted of Karl Mayer (Vienna, 1735-Vienna, 10 January 1799) and Joseph Mayer (Vienna, 1736-Vienna, 1817), sometimes called "elder" and "younger," brothers who had been playing, at times in both Court Theaters, since at least 1 March 1784.<sup>29</sup> When Karl died in 1799, Joseph took his place as principal. Joseph Weidinger (Mödling, ca. 1755-Vienna, 1829), brother of the famous Anton, became second, succeeded, by August 1801 by brother Franz (Mödling, ca. 1770-Vienna, 25 June 1814).<sup>30</sup> On 1 September 1801, Franz Blöck (also Plock, Pflöck, active 1801-after 1825) had joined the section, presumably as principal, with Franz Weidinger remaining as second.<sup>31</sup> By 1814, Blöck had moved to the Kärntnertor Theater, and the Burgtheater's trumpet section consisted of Joseph Weidinger (again) and brother Franz, at least until his death on 25 June.<sup>32</sup> With Franz dead, Joseph Weidinger (who had entered Court Theater service on 1 July 1795) was pensioned on 1 July 1814.<sup>33</sup> By early 1822, however, the trumpet section consisted of Joseph Fischer (Fulda, ca. 1768-Vienna, 1837),<sup>34</sup> who had served since April 1815 and Wenzel Pöppel, who had served since August 1818.<sup>35</sup>

Because most scores did not call for them, the trombone section at the Burgtheater was hired on a per-service basis. Since this theater's senior personnel in the mid-1790s often served in the *Hofkapelle*, the Chapel's two trombonists, Anton Ulbrich (ca. 1754-1830) and Clemens Messerer (1724-1816), probably played in the pit, as needed, through 1807.<sup>36</sup> By August 1801 (and probably somewhat earlier), Joseph Glöggl (Baden, ca. 1739-Vienna, 28 May 1806), who had served in the viola section of the Theater auf der Wieden since at least 1795, was hired as the Burgtheater's single full-time trombonist.<sup>37</sup> This, of course, was the father of Franz Xaver Glöggl (1764-1839), for whom Beethoven would compose his *Equali* in Linz, probably just before All Souls' Day, 2 November 1812.<sup>38</sup> By 1822 the Burgtheater (whose repertoire was now essentially spoken plays) no longer employed any full-time trombonists.<sup>39</sup>

### The Brasses of the Theater an der Wien

In ca. 1794-95, while still at the Freyhaus, the horn section of the Theater auf der Wieden included Freudenreich and Rust.<sup>40</sup> By the time Schikaneder moved the company to the new Theater an der Wien on 13 June 1801, Benedict Fuchs (Vienna, probably 1765-Vienna, 1828) was the high hornist, with Franz Eisen (Vienna, 1771-Vienna, 1822), the younger brother of the Burgtheater's late Jacob, as low. As adventurous in repertoire as the two Court Theaters, the Theater an der Wien must have employed a second pair of horns frequently, and Michael Herbst (Vienna, 1778-Vienna, 1833) was probably the regular third hornist after 15 February 1804, when his patron, Baron Peter von Braun, took over the theater's management.<sup>41</sup> Even during these years, either Mathias Nickel (Vienna, 1754-Vienna, 21 February 1821) or Michael Sack (Vienna-Neustift, 1768-Vienna, 1847), both of whom had also played extra in the Court Theaters in the 1790s, probably filled out the Theater an der Wien's emerging quartet. By 1808 Eisen seemingly disappeared from the section, leaving Fuchs and Herbst as the only two regularly employed hornists, but by 1817, the horn section now included four players: Fuchs, Herbst, Nickel, and Sack.<sup>42</sup> By 1822 Johann Kowalowsky the Younger (born Vienna, 1802 or 1804), the son of hornist Johann the Elder (active at the Kärntner Theater), had filled the position left vacant by Nickel's death, the previous year.<sup>43</sup>

Establishing biographical details for the trumpet section is somewhat more difficult, especially as players moved in and out of military units during Austria's Balkan and Napoleonic wars. In ca. 1794-95 the section included Christoph Fetzmann (ca. 1744-13 January 1798)<sup>44</sup> and one "Herrwerther" (probably trombonist Franz Hörbeder). By the time of the move to the new theater in June 1801, the trumpeters were Johann Fibich (Gauwitsch, Lower Austria, ca. 1764-Vienna, 12 March 1816)<sup>45</sup> and Glaser (possibly Johann, born in Schwarzenau, 1765).<sup>46</sup> When they left is unknown, but by 1808, the section consisted of Anton Michael (Post, ca. 1749-Vienna, 1 December 1821), who remained at least through 1817,<sup>47</sup> and Clemens Trnka, who remained at least through 1822.<sup>48</sup> In 1817, they had been joined by Paul Rabe (born in Vienna, 1789), son of percussionist and personnel manager Joseph Rabe,<sup>49</sup> and Johann Wegscheider (Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, ca. 1768-Vienna, 13

November 1821).<sup>50</sup> With the deaths of Michael and Wegscheider, late in 1821, came new members Johann Tesary (Dessary) and Ignaz Werner.<sup>51</sup>

Although the Theater auf der Wieden had surely hired three trombonists on a per-service basis in September 1791, when Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* premiered there, none are listed as regular members in ca. 1794-95, although Franz Hörbeder (Steyer, Upper Austria, ca. 1760-Vienna, 1841)<sup>52</sup> may have served in both trumpet and trombone sections. By June 1801, Hörbeder was principal trombone with Rust (who may have been a hornist in 1795) and Johann Adelmann (Vienna, ca. 1743-Vienna, 29 July 1803)<sup>53</sup> filling out the rest of the section. With Adelmann's death, the section was probably unstable for a period. Hörbeder continued to lead the section at least through 1808, when he was joined in May by the young Philipp Schmidt (Vienna, 18 December 1791-Vienna, 1851) as a full-time second, but seemingly without a regularly employed third,<sup>54</sup> although Anton Seegner (Segner) claimed that he had served in such a position since 1 February 1807.<sup>55</sup> By 1817 only one trombonist, Seegner, is listed as full-time, but it is not specified whether the player is father Leopold (Schwechat, 1762-Vienna, 1834), his son Anton, or his younger son Franz Gregor (Vienna, 1797-Vienna, ca. 1876-77).<sup>56</sup> Because two Seegners had participated as paid professionals in Beethoven's concert of 27 February 1814,<sup>57</sup> when Franz was only sixteen, and since Franz was noted by name in the Theater an der Wien's trombone section in 1822, he is probably the trombonist meant in 1817. Although Franz Hörbeder is not listed in 1817, he is listed again in 1822, and so we may assume his presence in continuity. At the end of the 1817 list, under *Substitut* (with no instrumental designation), is one Werner, quite possibly Johann Werner, who was a member of the trombone section in 1822.<sup>58</sup>

### The Brasses of the Kärntnertor Theater

In the 1794-95 season, the Kärntnertor Theater's horn section consisted of Willibald Lothar (Nordgau, Bavaria, 1762-Vienna, 1844) and Johann Hörmann (1748-1816).<sup>59</sup> When Hörmann moved to the Burgtheater upon the death of Jacob Eisen (9 April 1796), he, in turn, was replaced by Friedrich Hradetzky (Swietlau, Bohemia, ca. 1766/1769-Vienna, 1846),<sup>60</sup> who would become Vienna's foremost low hornist for the next generation. Indeed, the duo of Lothar and Hradetzky remained stable through 1808, and probably through July 1810, or perhaps beyond.<sup>61</sup> In 1814, when Beethoven's revised *Fidelio* premiered there, the theater's horn section consisted of Johann Kowalowsky (the Elder), Hradetzky, Camillo Bellonci, and Friedrich Starke.<sup>62</sup> Kowalowsky (Jungbunzlau/Lissa, Bohemia, 1770 or 1773-Vienna, 1831) had evidently joined the orchestra in July 1810, and was dismissed in July 1822.<sup>63</sup> Bellonci (born in Italy, 1781) had joined the orchestra as a substitute on a fairly regular basis by 1808, and by 8 April 1813 he was a solo hornist, probably supplementing or replacing Lothar, who was now fifty. Bellonci remained in the section until he left Vienna, probably during 1823.<sup>64</sup> Starke (Elsterwerda, Saxony, 1774-Vienna-Döbling, 1835), chiefly known today as a piano teacher of Beethoven's nephew Karl,<sup>65</sup> had joined the orchestra on 11 August 1812, and was dismissed on 1 July 1822.<sup>66</sup> Another hornist, active professionally in this period, who might have been a substitute here, was instrument



maker Stephan Koch (Veszprém, Hungary, 1772-Vienna, 1828), who played in Beethoven's concert of 27 February 1814.<sup>67</sup> The full-time horn section, however, with Kowalowsky, Hradetzky, Bellonci, and Starke, seemingly remained stable through June 1822. By Fall 1822<sup>68</sup> the section consisted of Bellonci, Hradetzky, Johann Janatka (born 1797),<sup>69</sup> and Joseph Kail (Bozi Dar/Gottesgab, Bohemia, 1795-Prague, 1871).<sup>70</sup> As noted above, when Italian impresario Domenico Barbaja leased the theater, effective 1822, he streamlined personnel overall, dismissing some (hornists Kowalowsky and Starke above, trombonist Georg Käsmayer below), while simply not replacing others. During the course of 1823, Bellonci left Vienna to return to Italy, while low hornist Hradetzky was dismissed, effective 31 January 1824.<sup>71</sup> Probably in ca. December 1823, Elias (later called Eduard Constantin) Lewy (St. Avold, 1796-Vienna, 1846) arrived in Vienna to become first hornist. His brother Joseph Rudolph (Nancy, 1802-Dresden/Oberlössnitz, 1881) arrived from Stuttgart only in ca. April 1826.<sup>72</sup>

Through most of the August 1794-July 1795 fiscal year, the trumpet section consisted of Ruprecht and Glaser.<sup>73</sup> In July 1795, however, Anton Weidinger (Vienna-Landstrasse, 1766-Vienna, 1852), soon to be famous for his keyed trumpet, and his brother Joseph (ca. 1755-1829) were installed as the theater's relatively permanent trumpeters.<sup>74</sup> A certain amount of personnel juggling with the Burgtheater had brother Franz Weidinger (ca. 1770-1814) at the Kärntnertor in 1799-1800,<sup>75</sup> but by June 1806, the pairing of Anton and Joseph Weidinger had been restored, to remain through 1808<sup>76</sup> and possibly later. By 1814 the section consisted of Franz Blöck (transferred from the Burgtheater), and Anton Khayll (Hermanův Miestec, Bohemia, 1787-Vienna, 1834),<sup>77</sup> a member of a prominent musical family in Vienna. They remained in 1822, joined by Heinrich Beisel (Brno, Moravia, 1799-Vienna, 1849), appointed in August 1822.<sup>78</sup>

We know little about the Kärntnertor Theater's trombonists during many of the years of this survey. Probably, as speculated above concerning the Burgtheater, they largely shared personnel with the Hofkapelle or St. Stephan's Cathedral, on a per-service basis, at least through 1808. By 1814, however, the theater employed three relatively full-time trombonists: Leopold Seegner (1762-1834), probably his son Anton (ca. 1791-1830), but possibly younger son Franz (1797-ca. 1876/77), and Georg Käsmayer.<sup>79</sup> Käsmayer (Vienna, ca. 1772-Vienna, 1840)<sup>80</sup> had been employed by one of the Court Theater orchestras since ca. July 1809, and would be dismissed on 1 July 1822.<sup>81</sup> By Fall 1822, the section included Duschke, Hebel, and Seegner.<sup>82</sup> Duschke may be Philipp Tuschke (born Olmütz, Moravia, 1792),<sup>83</sup> but Hebel is, at the moment, otherwise unidentified.<sup>84</sup> If young Franz Seegner was at the Theater an der Wien, the Seegner here was probably his father, Leopold (Schwechat, 1762-Vienna, 1834).

### The Brasses of the Theater in der Josephstadt

Beethoven's association with the Theater in der Josephstadt was essentially limited to October 1822, when it reopened after extensive remodeling. Fortunately, Anton Ziegler's *Adressen-Buch* provides the personnel at just that time: hornists Franz Kankora and

Zelenka, and trumpeters Mathias Strnad and Franz Carl Jachimek, with no regularly employed trombonists.<sup>85</sup> Other than their addresses in 1822; and the possibility that hornist Zelenka might be identified as Joseph Zelenka, born in Temboraditz, Bohemia, 1795,<sup>86</sup> as well as the probability that Mathias Strnad had been born in St. Georgen, Hungary, and lived until at least 1850,<sup>87</sup> we presently know very little about these players. If they were similar to other Josephstadt musicians for whom we have biographical data, they were, on the whole, very young—between twenty-one and twenty-seven years old at the time. Although solid players, they would, with very few exceptions, probably not rise to positions in Vienna's most prestigious theaters, possibly due to politics and their pedigrees, rather than their own talents or musicianship.

### Beethoven at the Burgtheater, 1795-1801

When Beethoven performed a Piano Concerto (probably no. 2 in B $\flat$ ) in the Burgtheater on 29 March 1795, it was under the auspices of Antonio Salieri's pet project, the Tonkünstler-Societät (Widows' and Orphans' Beneficial Society), with the combined orchestras of the entire Court musical establishment playing and singing in Cartellieri's oratorio *Gioas*. From later developments, however, I suspect that Beethoven's accompaniment was entrusted serendipitously to the orchestra of the Kärntner Theater, placed under the direction of Paul Wranitzky only four weeks before.

His first concert for his own benefit was held at the Burgtheater, on 2 April 1800, featuring the Septet for winds and strings, op. 20; a Piano Concerto (probably no. 1 in C); and the first performance of Symphony no. 1 in C. His hornists would have been Rupp and Hörmann, his trumpeters Joseph Mayer and Joseph Weidinger. By the time he composed the ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus*, premiered on 28 March 1801, he knew the orchestra well enough to fashion solos for the Stadler brothers (clarinet and basset horn) and Josepha Müllner (harp), among others. While there is certainly effective brass ensemble writing in no. 8, which opens with fanfares, and in the *fortissimo* episodes of the finale, no. 16, these are still solid—and even (in the right hands) potentially exciting—passages modeled on Haydn's late symphonies and *Creation*.<sup>88</sup> Although not premiered until 1803 in the Theater an der Wien, Beethoven's Symphony no. 2 was originally envisioned for another concert of his own to be held at the Burgtheater in Spring 1802, and therefore (despite later revisions) still largely features the same style of brass writing as the earlier works: potential highlights within the overall ensemble. When that concert, and with it Beethoven's hopes for an extended association with the Court Theaters, fell through, the composer sought, or found himself attracted by, opportunities elsewhere.

### Beethoven at the Theater an der Wien and Associated Venues, 1803-09

In Fall 1802, Beethoven entered into an agreement with Emanuel Schikaneder to compose an opera (or possibly even several operas) for the new Theater an der Wien, with the understanding that he would have the orchestral and sometimes even vocal forces of the theater

at his disposal for concerts for his own benefit.<sup>89</sup> Beethoven's first such occasion took place on 5 April, the Tuesday before Easter, 1803, with premieres of the Piano Concerto no. 3 in C minor, Symphony no. 2 in D, and the oratorio *Christus am Ölberge* (*Christ on the Mount of Olives*).<sup>90</sup> Conceived much earlier, the Symphony and Concerto exhibit little evidence (except for a brief duet with timpanist Ignaz Manker in the coda of the Concerto's first movement)<sup>91</sup> that Beethoven was writing with specific musicians in mind. In the oratorio, probably conceived in Heiligenstadt in early Fall 1802, with sketching and orchestration through the first two months of 1803, Beethoven started to experiment more with colors that this orchestra could produce effectively: the dark opening E $\flat$  minor broken chord in the bassoons, horns (Fuchs and Franz Eisen), and the two lower trombones (Rust and Adelmann), as well as exposed solo "heartbeats" in the timpani (Manker). Shortly after the beginning of Jesus' recitative, the alto trombone (Hörbeder) enters to complete the trio, which is used as needed throughout the remainder of the oratorio.<sup>92</sup>

By Spring 1804, when Herbst joined the theater's horn section full time, Beethoven was scoring the Symphony no. 3 in E $\flat$  ("Eroica"), and held its first reading rehearsals (using personnel from the Theater an der Wien) at Prince Lobkowitz's palace in late May or early June. Thus the high first part was written for Fuchs, the low second horn part for Eisen, and the third horn in the middle (which, as Beethoven noted on the title page of the August 1804 copyist's score, could be played by a "first" or "second" hornist) for Herbst. At about the same time, he also composed the Triple Concerto, also performed privately (as was the Symphony no. 3) with members of the Theater an der Wien's orchestra at Prince Lobkowitz's palace and, with a slightly varied program, at the hall of the bankers Fellner & Co. in January 1805. True, the orchestra numbered "only" ca. 37-41, but when placed in an area the size of the *Saal* (hall) at the Lobkowitz Palace (ca. 50' x 25' with a ca. 30' ceiling), it would have produced an overwhelming effect. Thus, the theater's orchestra already knew the Symphony no. 3 well, when it had its first public performance there on a program to benefit concertmaster Franz Clement, on 7 April 1805.

Beethoven began work on his opera *Fidelio* (often called *Leonore* in its early versions) in ca. January 1804, sketching through much of that year before turning to its orchestration, possibly by November 1804, and extending into the Summer of 1805. Its first performance took place on 20 November 1805, a week after Napoleon's troops occupied Vienna. With trombonist Adelmann's death in June 1803, the theater (already facing financial difficulties) may not have hired a full-time replacement, possibly accounting for Beethoven's scoring for only two trombones (tenor and bass) in five of the opera's eighteen numbers, although he did use three, often doubling conservatively, in the Overture (*Leonore* no. 2) and the finales of acts II and III. Similarly, Beethoven's scoring for trumpets, while always very effective within ensembles with other brasses and timpani, was seldom demonstrative in itself. In the rescue scene of the opera, however, and reflected in the Overture,<sup>93</sup> he called for a third trumpet, offstage, to play the signal given from the tower. When Beethoven revised the opera in December 1805, and the first two months of 1806, he rewrote the Overture entirely, resulting in *Leonore* no. 3, still with its trombone trio and offstage trumpet fanfare.

While Beethoven used the customary pair of horns (presumably Fuchs and Eisen) in most of the conventionally orchestrated numbers of the opera, he scored for third and fourth horns alone (presumably Herbst and a lower player) in the March that opened act II (now act I, scene 2). In both versions of the Overture, as well as in the finale of act II and the opening number of act III (dungeon scene) he scored for four. In Leonore's recitative and aria "Ach, brich noch nicht ... Komm, Hoffnung," however, Beethoven returned to the trio of horns (now in E, rather than E $\flat$ ) that he had used so effectively in Symphony no. 3, along with the principal bassoonist (Valentin Czejka) to give the effect of an almost impossibly agile and chromatic horn quartet: high parts (including *piano* high Cs) and fluid hand-horn work for Fuchs, several profoundly low notes and even more impressive chromaticism for Eisen, with Herbst's third part generally lying in the middle without the overt virtuosity of the others, and with the bassoon's acrobatics mingling from below. Ultimately, of course, the aria ends in a *fortissimo* blaze of resolution for the soprano and glory for the hornists.

With *Leonore/Fidelio* produced and partially revised by March 1806, and with his official contract with the Theater an der Wien (if ever there was one) in question, Beethoven turned to other projects, including the Violin Concerto, composed for the theater's concertmaster, Franz Clement, and performed there, on the violinist's own benefit concert of 23 December 1806. During this period, Beethoven had also been working on the Symphony no. 4 in B $\flat$  and Piano Concerto no. 4 in G with the Theater an der Wien in mind, but when he seemingly could not get a concert date there, Prince Lobkowitz organized a short series of concerts, doubtless employing members of the theater's orchestra, in March 1807, with Beethoven's newest unperformed works on the program. High hornist Fuchs must still have been principal, as evidenced by the *pianissimo* high C for the horn in E $\flat$  in the second movement of the Symphony. After this time, however, and certainly by 1808, with Eisen evidently leaving the picture, Herbst was placed in the "solo" hornist's position, with Fuchs sitting second to him, and, reflecting this shift, Beethoven's writing for the primary pair of horns at the Theater an der Wien now concentrated on the middle register.

Between 12 November 1807, and 27 March 1808, the so-called Gesellschaft von Musikfreunden<sup>94</sup> presented a subscription series of twenty *Liebhaber Concerte* (amateur concerts) with an orchestra of approximately fifty-five men. Most of the string players (except the contrabasses and the principals of the other sections) were amateurs, but all of the winds and timpani (except flutes and one clarinet) were professionals, mostly from the Theater an der Wien. Accordingly, the horn section consisted of Fuchs and Herbst, the trumpet section, Michael and Trnka. Ten of the twenty concerts included works by Beethoven: Symphony no. 1 (twice), no. 2 (twice), no. 3 (twice, doubtless with an additional hornist), and no. 4; the Piano Concerto no. 1; and the overtures to *The Creatures of Prometheus* and *Coriolan* (twice).<sup>95</sup> Occasional reports to the contrary notwithstanding, there can be no question of Beethoven's popularity among amateurs, professionals, or the public at large.

After repeated attempts to schedule another concert for his own benefit (he had not had one since 5 April 1803), Beethoven finally secured the Theater an der Wien for 22

December 1808, with a long program that included the first performances of Symphonies no. 5 in C minor and no. 6 in F (“Pastorale”), as well as the Choral Fantasy to close the concert.<sup>96</sup> With Herbst as “solo” hornist and Fuchs below, the Fifth Symphony demonstrated new, forceful sectional writing for the horns in their middle register, far different from the “Eroica”. Even the solos for the first horn (Herbst) in the third and fifth movements of the “Pastorale” Symphony, as rewarding as they are, show no extremes of range. The “Pastorale” may have been scored before the Fifth, and if so, the use of only two trombones (alto and tenor, Hörbeder and young Schmidt) to add warmth to the “Shepherd’s hymn” might be explained by continuing uncertainties after Adelman’s death, but in any case, by the finale of the Fifth Symphony, the entire trombone trio (although voiced strangely at their initial entry) add the weight and majesty that make the movement so effective. In the case of the Choral Fantasy, which contains variations for virtually all of the Theater an der Wien’s regular woodwind players, Beethoven has the horns, squarely in the middle register, announce the upcoming arrival of the theme in the piano: “hört ihr wohl” (“Listen well”), he writes under their notes in the sketchbook.

Probably in the first months of 1809, Beethoven composed his Piano Concerto no. 5 in E♭. Although he never played it in public, he surely played it in private, probably at Prince Lobkowitz’s palace,<sup>97</sup> still with members of the Theater an der Wien’s orchestra, with whom he must have maintained informal collegial relations at least through much of the year. The horn writing is characteristic of the Herbst and Fuchs pairing, and the piano’s final duet with timpani, as noted earlier, is certainly Beethoven himself in partnership with the Theater an der Wien’s Ignaz Manker.

### Beethoven Back at the Burgtheater, 1807 and 1810

On 24 November 1802, the Burgtheater premiered *Coriolan*, a new tragedy by the popular Viennese poet Heinrich von Collin (1771-1811). The same production was repeated at the Kärntnertor Theater the next evening, and was performed another five times in 1802 (essentially alternating locations), six times in 1803, four times in 1805, and once in February 1806.<sup>98</sup> With Beethoven’s commitment to the Theater an der Wien coming to an end, Collin may have asked him for an overture, and Beethoven complied early in 1807. The *Coriolan* Overture was performed twice (presumably by members of the Theater an der Wien’s orchestra) in Prince Lobkowitz’s mini-series of Beethoven’s works at his palace in March 1807, and then at the Burgtheater, with its own orchestra, for the final performance of the play during Collin’s lifetime, on 24 April 1807. The hornists would have been Wagner and Hörmann, the trumpeters Blöck and Franz Weidinger, and the writing a later, dramatic manifestation of the style encountered in 1800.

In the Fall of 1809, Beethoven received a commission from the Burgtheater for an overture and set of incidental music to Goethe’s historical tragedy *Egmont*. The play’s Viennese premiere took place on 24 May, with repetitions on the 25th and 28th, all without Beethoven’s music, which was not ready until the fourth performance on 15 June, with further repetitions on 18 June and 20 July.<sup>99</sup> The Overture calls for four horns, but the

brass writing remains solid ensemble work, with the possibility of highlighting selected passages, especially the horns and trumpets in the coda. Elsewhere in the incidental music, the brass writing (despite some exposed horn octaves in “Clärchen’s Death”) remains relatively functional, if sometimes gratifyingly idiomatic, until the solo trumpet’s extended fanfares in the Melodrama, signifying, as Beethoven himself designates, “Freedom won for the [Dutch] Fatherland,” and a passage for Blöck to shine.

### Beethoven and Composite Orchestras, 1813-14

With Napoleon’s second occupation of Vienna in May 1809, the country’s economy plummeted, and with it the prospects of Vienna’s theaters. Anton Grams, principal contrabassist at the Theater an der Wien, for instance, sought more secure employment with Prince Esterházy in 1810, only to be dismissed in Spring 1813, when the prince himself felt the results of Austria’s bankruptcy, declared two years earlier. Grams was lucky: a death in the Kärntnertor Theater’s contrabass section at just about that time allowed him to continue employment with no significant break. Other orchestral musicians were not so fortunate, and it is difficult to trace their odysseys during this period with the documentation available.

Meanwhile, on 30 April 1809, the Kärntnertor Theater’s low hornist Friedrich Hradetzky had performed Beethoven’s Horn Sonata in F, op. 17, at the Kleiner Redoutensaal, the small ballroom in the Imperial palace complex, favored for chamber music, with Beethoven’s student Carl Czerny playing piano.<sup>100</sup> This may have been the first public performance of the sonata, at least for horn rather than the violoncello adaptation, since Beethoven’s famous collaborations with Punto in 1800 (and possibly again in 1801). If Beethoven had not been acquainted with Hradetzky before (and I suspect that he was), he certainly came to appreciate his talents now. In any case, Beethoven would eventually come into closer contact with the entire Kärntnertor Theater orchestra when, with Czerny as soloist, it performed the composer’s Piano Concerto no. 5 as part of a potpourri foundlings’ benefit concert on 12 February 1812.<sup>101</sup>

By Spring 1813, Beethoven’s next two Symphonies, nos. 7 and 8, were ready for reading-rehearsals. With Prince Lobkowitz in major financial difficulties, Archduke Rudolph, who had begun to help support Beethoven early in 1809, treated Beethoven to a reading of the works, probably on 21 April 1813, with the oft-cited string complement of four first violins, four second violins, four violas, two violoncellos, and two contrabasses, along with the necessary winds and timpani, including an extra pair of horns if he wanted two overtures (presumably *King Stephan* and *Ruins of Athens*) read, as well. Violinist Anton Wranitzky (1761-1820), formerly in Prince Lobkowitz’s service and now rotating concertmaster-conductor at the two Court Theaters, served as contractor. As Beethoven wrote to Rudolph: “I have already spoken to him and recommended him to choose only those musicians with whose help we may achieve something that is more of a performance than a rehearsal.”<sup>102</sup> We have no payroll for this event, but suspect that someone with a secure and bold high register played first horn (needed in the outer movements of Symphony

no. 7), and that Hradetzky played second (with the low notes needed for the trio of the scherzo of no. 7).

On 8 and 12 December 1813, with a huge composite orchestra drawn from the Theater an der Wien, the two Court Theaters, and sundry guests, Beethoven and Court Engineer Johann Nepomuk Mälzel gave two benefit concerts for the victims of the Napoleonic War, featuring *Wellington's Victory* and Symphony no. 7, both not yet heard in public. With its antiphonal percussion and bands, *Wellington's Victory* was performed by approximately 120 players. Even Symphony no. 7, with its wind sections doubled or even tripled, and augmented by two contrabassoons, probably saw between 96 and 106 players onstage. With minor modifications, the program was given again (now for Beethoven's benefit) on 2 January 1814, and for a fourth time (also for Beethoven's benefit and now including the premiere of Symphony no. 8 in addition to *Wellington's Victory* and Symphony no. 7) on 27 February 1814, with the same gigantic forces. The partial payroll for the fourth concert has survived, with the brass section slightly unclear, but the horn section included Johann Kowalowsky [the Elder], seemingly as high hornist; Friedrich Hradetzky, as low hornist; and Stephan Koch. The Theater an der Wien contributed their string section, and possibly their horns, as well. It is possible, too, that Friedrich Starke or Camillo Bellonci rounded out the section. The paid trumpeters included Franz Weidinger, Joseph Fischer, Johann Wegscheider, Clemens Trnka, and Anton Khayll. The trombone section consisted of Leopold Seegner, one of his sons (probably Anton rather than the younger Franz), and Georg Käsmayer,<sup>103</sup> all three principally employed at the Kärntnertor Theater.

This and similar composite orchestras probably played for Beethoven's concerts on 29 November 1814, and again later in the Congress of Vienna period, allowing him, when he had preferences, the luxury of choosing the orchestral musicians who best suited his music.

### ***Fidelio* at the Kärntnertor Theater, 1814-19 and 1822-23**

With Beethoven's popularity enhanced through his war benefit concerts, and with Napoleon's imminent defeat, the Kärntnertor Theater commissioned him for a revised version of *Fidelio*, premiered on 23 May 1814. The new *Fidelio* Overture, however, was not ready until the second performance on 26 May.

When revising the opera, Beethoven removed the trombone parts from Pizarro's aria "Ha! welch ein Augenblick"; added two horns to the duet "Jetzt, Alter"; removed a trombone from the finale of act II (now designated act I, scene 2); replaced two trombones with two additional horns in the opening of the dungeon scene; added two horns for the quartet "Er sterbe"; and reworked the final scene (opening with a joyously vigorous theme adapted from his much earlier Rondino, WoO 25) entirely, with four horns and no trombones. In Leonore's big recitative and aria, now "Abscheulicher ... Komm, Hoffnung," Beethoven retained the basic horn trio plus bassoon texture, but altered the voicing, so that the first horn in E never had to play the high C *piano*, as it did in 1805. If Kowalowsky or Bellonci was in that position, Beethoven must have known that he did not naturally have Fuchs's

capabilities in that register, or perhaps ten years simply taught him not to continue asking for an effect that might have been questionable in the first place.

When writing the new overture, Beethoven omitted the syncopated theme, most of the dungeon-scene allusions, and the offstage trumpet calls that had characterized the *Leonore* Overtures, and instead based most of the material on a theme that would be heard in full in the fast section—a theme for the second (low) hornist, doubtless Friedrich Hradetzky, who had played the Horn Sonata five years before. The opening three notes of the Overture's horn theme, with their descent, are almost a mirror image of the first three notes of the Sonata, with their rise. The end of the Overture's theme, after a little florid passage work, descends very similarly to that of the Sonata.

*Fidelio* became enormously popular at the Kärntnertor Theater, especially as peace was declared and delegates from all over Europe converged for the Congress of Vienna. It was performed a total of twenty-two times in 1814, ten times in 1815, ten in 1816, ten in 1817, five in 1818, and three times in 1819, with the final performance on 23 May, five years after its premiere. Late in 1822 the Italian-Rossinian impresario Domenico Barbaja needed a sure-fire German attraction that would deflect public attention away from his massive personnel firings during the past year. With a new soprano, Wilhelmina Schröder-Devrient, on hand, the theater revived *Fidelio* for seven performances between 3 November 1822 and 18 March 1823.<sup>104</sup> It is precisely this Kärntnertor Theater orchestra of Fall 1822, as reflected in Ziegler's *Adressen-Buch*,<sup>105</sup> that Beethoven probably had in mind as he was sketching and scoring his Symphony no. 9.

#### Beethoven at the Josephstadt Theater, 3-6 October 1822

With the exception of the new *Consecration of the House* Overture and a small-scale chorus with violin solo, Beethoven's music for the reopening of the Theater in der Josephstadt was drawn directly from his *Ruins of Athens*, composed for the opening of the new German Theater in Pesth (Budapest) in early 1812. For the overture alone, Beethoven would have needed two horns and three trombones not regularly on the orchestra's payroll. Moreover, if the Aria of the High Priest, with horn quartet (reminiscent of "Komm, Hoffnung" in *Leonore/Fidelio*), were included in the production, the theater would have needed to hire two first-rate hornists to complement its newly hired section. Unfortunately, beyond the names of the core players noted earlier in this article, we know nothing about the brass personnel of this orchestra for this important occasion.

#### Beethoven at the Kärntnertor Theater, 7 May 1824

While scoring Symphony no. 9 during much of 1823, Beethoven probably projected that its premiere would take place at the Kärntnertor Theater, where he had had his most recent successes with *Fidelio*. Knowing what we know now about his writing for musicians whom he admired, we can surmise that he probably tailored the so-called "fourth" horn solo in the slow movement for low hornist Friedrich Hradetzky, for whom he had written the second



horn solo in the *Fidelio* Overture. The orchestra, however, was suddenly in a state of flux. Not only had Barbaja dismissed over a dozen of its members in 1822, contrabassist Anton Grams, upon whom Beethoven had counted to lead the recitatives in the fourth movement, died in May 1823, and even Hradetzky was dismissed at the end of January 1824. “It can’t last much longer at the Kärntnertor,” commented Beethoven’s secretary Anton Schindler on ca. 21 November 1823.<sup>106</sup> Frustrated, Beethoven even considered taking the Ninth to Berlin for its first performance. When, late in February 1824, thirty Viennese music lovers petitioned him to keep the premiere there, Beethoven and his inner circle debated the advantages and disadvantages, both artistically and financially, of the Theater an der Wien and the Kärntnertor Theater, or even of a composite orchestra playing in the much smaller *Saal* of the Lower Austrian *Landstand* (Parliament). Ultimately, they selected the Kärntnertor Theater for a concert on 7 May that included the *Consecration of the House* Overture, three movements from the new *Missa solemnis*, and the Ninth Symphony.<sup>107</sup> Oral tradition later in the century related that Beethoven had written the symphony’s low horn solo for Eduard Constantin Lewy, who played it at the premiere, but we now know that Lewy was not yet in Vienna when the composer scored the third movement, and his conversation books document that the two did not even meet each other until after the first orchestral rehearsal on 2 May.<sup>108</sup> Whether Lewy, as the new “solo” hornist in the orchestra played the low horn part at the premiere remains open to question, but I suspect that Beethoven and his supporters made certain that Hradetzky was hired back to perform it. The concert was wildly successful, and Beethoven, almost uncharacteristically, penned a note of thanks<sup>109</sup> to the ensemble that—as few could have suspected—had just given the final orchestral premiere that he would enjoy in his lifetime.

### Conclusion

Although it is not perhaps as apparent in the brasses as it is in some orchestral sections, notably the timpani and contrabasses, Beethoven, as often as opportunity allowed it, took great care and probably delight in tailoring specific passages in his orchestral works to specific performers. While uncertainties in personnel compelled him to be comparatively conservative, although often forcefully effective, in his writing for trumpets and trombones, he often felt free, especially at the Theater an der Wien, in scoring challenging passages for the horn section. Benedict Fuchs, Franz Eisen, and Michael Herbst must have enjoyed their athletic workout in the “Eroica” Symphony (1804-05) and shown their appreciation to the composer, who then displayed their talents again in *Leonore/Fidelio* (1805-06). Fuchs continued to pick soft high notes out of nowhere in the Fourth Symphony (1806-07), but when the middle-ranged Herbst became “solo” player, Beethoven wrote grateful exposed passages for him in the “Pastorale” Symphony (1808). After the Kärntnertor Theater’s low hornist Friedrich Hradetzky played Beethoven’s Horn Sonata in 1809, the composer rewarded him with the solo in the *Fidelio* Overture (1814) and again in the third movement of the Ninth Symphony (1823-1824). Once we realize that Beethoven interacted, sometimes irascibly, but more often positively, with his orchestral colleagues throughout

most of his career, and wrote passages, either as solos or as ensembles, that were calculated to show them to audiences to their best advantage, we can approach his scores with both a new eye for study and a new ear for performance.<sup>110</sup>

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Kerst and Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Beethoven: The Man and the Artist, as Revealed in His Own Words* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1905; rpt., New York: Dover, 1964), 25. In the interest of space, I shall not document relatively well-known details of Beethoven's life, which, in general, can be verified in *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Elliot Forbes, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964/1967, and sundry re-printings).

<sup>2</sup> Several personnel documents are reproduced or quoted extensively in Theodore Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven, and Other Correspondence*, 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), nos. 81 (1804), 95 (1805), 128 (1807-08), 181 (1814), and 363 (1822). For more recent studies, see Albrecht, "Benjamin Gebauer (ca. 1758-1846): The Life and Death of Beethoven's 'Copyist C,'" *Bonner Beethoven-Studien* 3 (2003): 7-22; and "First Name Unknown: Anton Schreiber, the Schuppanzigh Quartet, and Early Performances of Beethoven's String Quartets, Op. 59," *Beethoven Journal* 19 (Summer 2004): 10-18; among others concerning specific instrumentalists and sections cited below.

<sup>3</sup> Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 3rd ed. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860), part 1, p. 35; English edition as *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966; rpt. New York: Norton, 1972, and Dover, 1996), 57-58.

<sup>4</sup> Schindler (1860), part 2, p. 169; Schindler-MacArdle, 370.

<sup>5</sup> Schindler (1860), part 1, p. 181; Schindler-MacArdle, 161. Schindler's much shorter first edition of 1840 hardly mentions orchestral musicians at all.

<sup>6</sup> Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Koblenz: Baedeker, 1838), 84; English edition as *Beethoven Remembered*, trans. Frederick Noonan (Arlington, Va.: Great Ocean Publishers, 1987), 73.

<sup>7</sup> *Beethoven-Album. Ein Gedenkbuch dankbarer Liebe und Verehrung*, ed. Gustav Schilling (Stuttgart: Hallberger, 1846), 20.

<sup>8</sup> A readily available biographical sketch of Friedlowsky, accurately based on several contemporary sources, may be found in Pamela Weston, *Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (London: Robert Hale, 1971), 167-72.

<sup>9</sup> Gustav Schilling, *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal Lexicon der Tonkunst*, 7 vols. (Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler, 1835-42), vol. 2 (1835), 346 (signed "18").

<sup>10</sup> Theodore Albrecht, "Franz Stadler, Stephan Fichtner and Other Oboists at the Theater an der Wien during Beethoven's 'Heroic' Period," *The Double Reed* 25, no. 2 (2002): 93-106; updated version,

trans. Josef Bednarik and Thomas Gröger, in *Journal der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wiener Oboe*, no. 18 (June 2003): 3-12. Oboist Franz Stadler was not related to the famous clarinetist brothers Anton and Johann Stadler.

<sup>11</sup>Theodore Albrecht, "Anton Dreyssig (ca. 1753/54-1820), Mozart's and Beethoven's *Zauberflötist*," in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 179-92.

<sup>12</sup>Theodore Albrecht, "Beethoven's Timpanist, Ignaz Manker," *Percussive Notes* 38 (August 2000): 54-66.

<sup>13</sup>Theodore Albrecht, "Anton Grams: Beethoven's Double Bassist," *Bass World* 26 (October 2002): 19-23.

<sup>14</sup>Sometimes this work seems to border on genealogy, and indeed many of the skills are the same. Similarly, many analytical studies by musicologists (including the way they customarily teach "music history" courses) are often more theory than history. Those working on manuscript studies must develop skills and expertise in handwriting and paper types. Many organologists likewise find themselves working within metallurgy, or wood and varnish studies, local business and economic history, or even physics. Indeed all of these activities seem to border on related disciplines, and yet they contribute to a different—a musical—end.

<sup>15</sup>Fortunately, most birth and death dates, dates of joining the society, places of employment, performing media, and names of widows (and their death dates) pertaining to the members, can be found in tabular form (with index) in Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1871), 103-36. On the whole, Pohl is quite reliable (especially given the nature of this material), but death dates and ages at death can generally be corroborated with ease by looking at the Totenbeschauprotokoll in the Stadt- und Landesarchiv, or the death notices in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

<sup>16</sup>Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 11 (1776-77) through 34 (1801-02), accounting books, irregularly preserved, probably due to inaccurately perceived dating (Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv).

<sup>17</sup>Hoftheater, G.I. [General Intendanz], Karton 1-12 (Akten, Theater, 1792-1822), 13-14 (Akten, Hofburg Theater, 1823-25), Karton 69-72 (Akten, Hofoper, 1823-33), each Karton with many documents and supplements, only some pertaining to music (Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv).

<sup>18</sup>Personnel lists pertaining to Beethoven's lifetime are available in Ludwig von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna: Beck'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869), 85-98. Like Pohl, Köchel is generally reliable, but (probably because he was attempting to reconcile conflicting documentary evidence in the Hofkammer Archiv and the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv) he occasionally printed an erroneous date, usually verifiable or correctable in other sources: Pohl's *Tonkünstler-Societät*, the Totenbeschauprotokoll, *Wiener Zeitung*, and so forth. Even so, there are documents in the Hofkapelle's archival material pertaining to instrument purchases, personnel matters within the Kapelle, personnel matters relating to other ensembles (including the Court Theaters, and especially during the period of Barbaja's cutbacks at the Kärntner Theater in 1821-24), and so forth, that I have not yet had opportunity to survey. The indefatigable Viennese tubist, pedagogue, and researcher Gerhard Zechmeister (author of *Concerttuba: Systematisches Ansatzaufbau-, Trainings- und Kontrollprogramm für die sechsentilige Basstuba in F Wiener Bauart [Wiener Konzerttuba]*, published by Doblinger in 1998) has often provided me with glimpses of what I shall find when I finally survey these and other repositories.

<sup>19</sup>For further details on these theaters and other concert venues, often with wildly varying estimates of audience capacities, see Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), 65-107; Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 479-500; and Stefan Weinzierl,

*Beethovens Konzerträume* (Frankfurt: Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, 2002), 61-80.

<sup>20</sup>Vienna, Magistrat, Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1819, R, fol. 18r (death on 18 June). Official municipal death records such as this customarily list name, occupation, marital status, birthplace, residence, and cause of death. His birthdate is given in Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 106 and 123.

<sup>21</sup>Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1796, E, fol. 7r (death on 9 April).

<sup>22</sup>Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 19 (1 March 1782-28 February 1783), 32 (Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv); also transcribed in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 407. In all cases, I have verified Link's generally accurate transcriptions with the original account books.

<sup>23</sup>Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1816, H, fol. 37r (death on 17 July). His birth year is given in Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 106, 120, 133.

<sup>24</sup>*Hof- und Staats-Schematismus* (Vienna: Hof- und Staats-Druckerey, 1808), 96.

<sup>25</sup>Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 34 (1801-02), 76; Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1859, W, 16 March [but entered ca. 19-20 March]. Here called Johann Wagner.

<sup>26</sup>*Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1808, 96. His birthdate is given in Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 109, 126, and 136, where he is also called Johann. The name Friedrich appears only in the *Schematismus*, 1808.

<sup>27</sup>Hoftheater, G.I., K. 6, 1814, no. 131, Beilage 6, fol. 149r (Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv), probably reflecting ca. 1 July 1814.

<sup>28</sup>Hoftheater, G.I., K. 8, 1817, no. 197, Beilage 1; G.I., K. 9, 1818, no. 285; G.I., K. 10, 1819, no. 318, Beilage 2 (25/28 March 1819); G.I., K. 10, 1820, no. 350, Beilage 28 (undated). Anton Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch der Tonkünstlern* (Vienna: Anton Strauss, 1823), 69; Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 110, 117, 124, 135. Also Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1851, S, fol. 10r (Schmidt, death on 5 February). The personnel list in Hoftheater, G.I., K. 12, 1822, no. 410, Beilage 2 (seemingly reflecting very early 1822) suggests that both Bauchinger and Schmidt had served since May 1808, but this service reflected time in the combined theaters (Burg, Kärntnertor, and an der Wien) as unified under one administration in 1814. Schmidt, for instance, played trombone at the Theater an der Wien in 1808.

<sup>29</sup>Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 29 (1794-95), 60-61; S.R. 22 (1785-86), 37 and 39 (Link, *National Court Theatre*, 418-19); S.R. 21 (1784-85), 53 (single accounting line for trumpets and timpani under Karl Mayer's name as contractor). Also Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1799, M, fol. 2r (Karl, death on 10 January); and 1817, M, fol. 52r (Joseph, death on 3 October). Birth dates for both Karl (Carl) and Joseph (entered as Court and Field Trumpeters in 1781) in Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 106 and 122.

<sup>30</sup>Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 32 (1798-99), 50-51; S.R. 34 (1801-02), 76. The original account book before S.R. 34 (reflecting fiscal 1800-01) is lost. Also Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1814, W, fol. 40r (Franz, death supposedly on 29 June, but much of the entry is garbled, a rare occurrence); death notice in *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 180 (29 June 1814): 718 (death on 25 June; age 44); confirmed in *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung*, Stift Schotten, 27529 (also noting death on 25 June 1814; age 44). Also Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1829, W, fol. 10r (Joseph, death on 24 February).

<sup>31</sup>Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 34 (1801-02), 76. This seating seems to be confirmed in Joseph Alois Gleich, *Wiener Theater Almanach auf das Jahr 1809* (Vienna: Joseph Riedl, [1809]), 101 (but with personnel listings reflecting a period from 3 June to 22 July 1806). Also *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1808, 96. The G.I. documents for 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, cited in n. 28, suggest that the trumpet section was in flux during these years, including an unspecified member of the Weidinger family in 1817 and Anton Khayll in 1818.

<sup>32</sup>Hoftheater, G.I., K. 6, 1814, no. 131, Beilage 6, fols. 148r and 149r.

<sup>33</sup>Hoftheater, G.I., K. 6, 1814, no. 137, Beilage 2, fol. 191. Joseph Weidinger was one of twelve musicians pensioned or dismissed in the reorganization of the Court Theaters in 1814. Blöck/Plock

served for nine years as a trumpeter in Prince Lichtenstein's Dragoons, then was employed in the Court Theaters on 1 November 1801 (G.I, K. 69, 1825, no. 107/Op.; memo of Count Moritz von Dietrichstein, 16 September 1825).

<sup>34</sup> Totenbeschauptokoll, 1837, F/V, fol. 4r (death on 11 February).

<sup>35</sup> Hoftheater, G.I., K. 12, 1822, no. 410, Beilage 2. Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 69-70, confusedly notes them as trombonists, but provides first names and addresses.

<sup>36</sup> Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1796), 75 (Hofkapelle) and 92-93 (Burgtheater). A comparison of Schönfeld's theater lists with the Court Theater, Generalintendanz, account books suggests strongly that he gathered this material, not in 1796, but during the period, July-September 1794. See Köchel, *Hof-Musikkapelle*, 95, 98. Messerer must have been approximately eighty-two years old when he retired from the Hofkapelle and, presumably, the theater. On the whole, trombonists seem to have lived (and played) longer than many of their orchestral colleagues. See also Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 106 and 122. For confirmation of Messerer's age at death, see Totenbeschauptokoll, 1816, M, fol. 50r (death on 26 December), which states "alt 92 J." Messerer's widow Anna survived him by 41 years—unusual, but hardly extreme among *Tonkünstler-Societät* widows of her generation (see Pohl, 132-34).

<sup>37</sup> Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 34 (1801-02), 77; Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 96. His death date is given as 28 May in the *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 46 (7 June 1806), 2802-03; as well as his estate record, Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung, Fasz. 2: 3773/1806 (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv). His death record (Totenbeschauptokoll, 1806, G/K/C, fol. 77v) seemingly reflects a death on 25 May, but was probably copied out of order. Calling him "Paul," Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 107, 119, and 133, lists his death date as 27 May. Joseph left a young second wife Katharina and a nine-month-old son Karl; the baby would succumb to smallpox shortly thereafter.

<sup>38</sup> For an informative history of these works in their various versions, see Howard Weiner, "Beethoven's Equali (WoO 30): A New Perspective," this *Journal* 14 (2002): 215-77. Beethoven's autograph, dated 2 November 1812, is depicted in Weiner, 229-32.

<sup>39</sup> Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 69, lists the trumpeters as trombonists, but Hoftheater, G.I., K. 12, 1822, no. 419, Beilage 5, states that the *Schauspiel* [Burgtheater] had no salaried trombonists.

<sup>40</sup> Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 96. Rust is a fairly common name among musicians, but Freudenreich (even searching under variant phonetic spellings) also eludes further identification for the moment.

<sup>41</sup> Full documentation and more extensive biographical details in Theodore Albrecht, "Benedict Fuchs, Franz Eisen, and Michael Herbst: The Hornists in Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony at its First Performances in Vienna, 1805-1809," *The Horn Call* 34 (October 2003): 39-49, which also carries the personnel thread through the mid-1820s.

<sup>42</sup> *Theater Journal ... Theater an der Wien* (Vienna, 1809), 7 (reflecting 1808); and *Theater-Journal ... Theater an der Wien ... 1817* (Vienna, 1818), 7-8.

<sup>43</sup> Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 88-89. See also two census records: Vienna, Conscriptions-Bogen, 1. Reihe, Strozsiggrund no. 12, Wohnpartei 4 (noting Johann the Younger's decree of employment on 29 March 1821); and Conscriptions-Bogen, 1. Reihe, Alsergrund no. 41, Wohnpartei 11 (new collation 41/19).

<sup>44</sup> Totenbeschauptokoll, 1798, F/V, fol. 3r (death on 13 January). See also Vienna, Magistrat, Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung (Sperrs-Relation), Fasz. 2: 635/1798 (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv). Unlike most such estate records, this one notes the presence of musical instruments: "2 old trumpets, 1 small horn, and old music," valued at only 45 Kreuzer.

<sup>45</sup> Totenbeschauptokoll, 1816, F, fol. 8v (death on 12 March). By this time (and phonetically spelled Füby), he was a trumpeter in the Royal Hungarian Bodyguards, housed in the Trautson Palace, possibly perceived as a more secure and prestigious position.

<sup>46</sup>Glaser and Gläser are relatively common names, and there was also a Glaser as one of the trumpeters at the Kärntner Theater until June 1795. See Gustav Gugitz, "Auszüge aus den Conscriptionsbögen," typescript, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, ca. 1952, 85.

<sup>47</sup>*Theater Journal ... Theater an der Wien* (Vienna, 1809), 7 (reflecting 1808); and *Theater-Journal ... Theater an der Wien ... 1817* (Vienna, 1818), 7-8. See Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1821, M, fol. 44v (death on 1 December). Most of the orchestral personnel lists spell his surname as "Michel."

<sup>48</sup>*Theater Journal ... Theater an der Wien* (Vienna, 1809), 7 (reflecting 1808); Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 88 and 101. He also played at St. Stephan's Cathedral.

<sup>49</sup>*Theater-Journal ... Theater an der Wien ... 1817* (Vienna, 1818), 7-8; Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 88-89.

<sup>50</sup>*Theater-Journal ... Theater an der Wien ... 1817* (Vienna, 1818), 7-8. See also Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1821, W, fol. 46r. Recently arrived from Salzburg, he served as a Court Trumpeter, August 1807-December 1808 (Hofzahlamtsbuch, 1802-13, 825 [Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv]).

<sup>51</sup>Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 66 and 88. As a Court Trumpeter, Tessary was still alive in 1850; Werner had died on 30 May 1826.

<sup>52</sup>Seyfried, *Journal*, 12-13 June 1801. See Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1841, H, fol. 34r (death on 6 July).

<sup>53</sup>Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1803, A, fol. 30v (death on 29 July).

<sup>54</sup>*Theater Journal ... Theater an der Wien* (Vienna, 1809), 7 (reflecting 1808). Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 69, places Philipp Schmidt in the horn section of the Burgtheater in 1822. He probably started out as a trombonist, but took up horn, studied with Michael Herbst, and became one of Vienna's leading hornists of the next generation. See Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 110, 124, and 135; and Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1851, S, fol. 10r (death on 5 February). Schmidt's initial date of employment may be determined from his years of service indicated in Hoftheater, G.I., K. 12, 1822, no. 410, Beilage 2. Since Nickel and Sack were playing horn at the Burgtheater in 1814, it seems that Schmidt remained at the Theater an der Wien until at least that date.

<sup>55</sup>Hoftheater, G.I., K. 71, 1828, no. 263. In 1807, the Theater an der Wien was privately owned, but when it was absorbed into the Court administration in 1814, its members were evidently given credit for time served toward pensions. In 1807 and 1808, the two original Court Theaters (Burg and Kärntner Theater) seem not to have employed any full-time trombonists, unless they were omitted from the *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1807, 92; and 1808, 96. Most *Schematismen* from this era did not list Court Theater orchestral musicians at all. For the other details currently known about Anton Seegner, see the discussion under the Kärntner Theater, below.

<sup>56</sup>*Theater-Journal ... Theater an der Wien ... 1817* (Vienna, 1818), 7-8. For Leopold: Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 107, 124; Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1834, S, fol. 56v (death on 10 October). For Franz: Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 112, 124; *Lehmann's Adressbuch* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1877), 769 (Franz is present); *Lehmann's Adressbuch*, 1878, 822 (Franz is gone), suggesting that he died between September 1876, and September 1877.

<sup>57</sup>Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, no. 181 (Anton Brunner's payroll).

<sup>58</sup>Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 89.

<sup>59</sup>Hoftheater, Generalintendant, S.R. 29 (1794-95), 64. See also Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 102, 122; and Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1844, L, fol. 12r (death on 12 May). His surname is also spelled Lotter in many sources.

<sup>60</sup>Few Viennese orchestral musicians of this generation have so many conflicting birth years in sundry sources: 1766, 1769, 1770, 1772, 1776. The best estimate may be to combine the birth date (25 January 1776) given in Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, vol. 9 (1863), 356, with the birth year deduced from Hradetzky's wedding record (Pfarre St. Joseph

in der Leopoldstadt, Trauungs-Register, 1789-1812, 37-38) on 9 January 1791, where he gives his age as 25 (therefore born in ca. 1765-66). Thus, Wurzbach's 1776 may be a misprint for 1766, yielding a birth date of 25 January 1766. The second-best estimate is 1769. See also Totenbeschauptokoll, 1846, H, fol. 18r (death on 13 April, at age 77).

<sup>61</sup> *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1808, 96.

<sup>62</sup> Hoftheater, G.I., K. 6, 1814, no. 131, Beilage 6, fol. 148r (surnames only, with variant spellings Kovalovsky, Radezki, Bellungi).

<sup>63</sup> Totenbeschauptokoll, 1831, K, fol. 33v (death on 3 August). Hoftheater, G.I., K. 12, 1822, no. 419, Beilage 5 and 7, reflecting Barbaja's cut-backs (and obviously rationalizing them), noted that Kowalowsky's "limited ability" was inferior to that of Schmidt and Bauchinger at the Burgtheater.

<sup>64</sup> For details, see Theodore Albrecht, "A Case of Mistaken Gender: The Hornist Camillo Bellonci (1781-?)," *The Horn Call* 34, no. 2 (February 2004). 107-08.

<sup>65</sup> Schilling, *Encyclopädie*, 6: 469-70 (signed "18," either Ignaz von Seyfried or Ignaz Castelli); Sieghard Brandenburg, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven, Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe*, 7 vols. (Munich: G. Henle, 1996-1998), no. 1373, fn. 4. Starke supposedly received his appointment at the *Hofoperntheater* through Beethoven's recommendation.

<sup>66</sup> Hoftheater, G.I., K. 12, 1822, no. 419, Beilage 7. Starke received his dismissal on ca. 1 July. He initially hoped to be paid through mid-August 1822, in order to give him a full ten years in the theater (evidently out of consideration for his previous military service), but his petition was denied. On ca. 21 or 22 February 1823, Starke met with Beethoven, and related his own frustrations and great concern for the reported total of sixteen musicians who had suddenly been dismissed by the theater's new Italian administration (Karl-Heinz Köhler et al., eds., *Beethovens Konversationshefte*, 11 vols. (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968-2001), 3: 74-75, with a portrait of Starke facing 64.

<sup>67</sup> Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, no. 181. See also Rudolf Hopfner, *Wiener Musikinstrumentenmacher, 1766-1900* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999), 265-66; Schilling, *Encyclopädie*, vol. 4, 169 (signed "18").

<sup>68</sup> Hoftheater, G.I., K. 8, 1817, no. 197, Beilage 1; G.I., K. 10, 1819, no. 318, Beilage 2; and G.I., K.10, no. 350, Beilage 33. For Fall 1822, see Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 81.

<sup>69</sup> Conscriptions-Bogen, Strozzigrund no. 19, Wohnpartei 2. (Ziegler incorrectly gives his address as Strozzigrund no. 16.) For further biographical details, see Theodore Albrecht, "Elias (Eduard Constantin) Lewy and the First Performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," *The Horn Call* 29, no. 3 (May 1999): 28-29.

<sup>70</sup> His surname is spelled "Khayl" in Ziegler, but "Khayll" in Conscriptions-Bogen, Wieden no. 315, Wohnpartei 24 (new collation 315/26). The hornist Kail is therefore probably distantly related to the large Khayll family of musicians in Vienna. He served at the *Hofoper* [Kärntner Theater] from 1822 to 1 December 1824, after which he returned to Prague. Albrecht, "Lewy," 28, 91, with thanks to Edward Tarr.

<sup>71</sup> Österreichisches Camerale, Rote Nr. 2864, 8 ex März 1824 (Hofkammerarchiv, Vienna). See Albrecht, "Bellonci," 108. I am grateful to Gerhard Zechmeister for pointing me to this information, and to archivist Kurt Mostböck for his further assistance.

<sup>72</sup> Albrecht, "Lewy," 30, 87, 94. The almost dovetailing of Elias Lewy's arrival with Hradetzky's dismissal suggests that he may have actually assumed Hradetzky's salary line at the theater.

<sup>73</sup> Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 94 (reflecting the period July-September 1794), specifies this pairing, otherwise grouped with other trumpeters (through June 1795) in Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 29 (1794-95), 61.

<sup>74</sup> Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 29 (1794-95), 64 (specifying July 1795 only).

<sup>75</sup> Hoftheater, Generalintendanz, S.R. 33 (1799-1800), 56-57.

<sup>76</sup> Gleich, *Wiener Theater Almanach ... 1809*, 102 (reflecting the period 3 June-22 July 1806); *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1808, 96.

<sup>77</sup> Hoftheater, G.I., K. 6, 1814, no. 131, Beilage 6, fol. 148r. See also Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 110, 120, 135; Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1834, K, fol. 15r (death on 28 April).

<sup>78</sup> Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 81. See also Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, 111, 117, 135; Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1849, B, fol. 52v (death on 16 November); Conscriptions-Bogen, Landstrasse no. 3, Wohnpartei 5 (new collation 3/6), initially reflecting ca. 1818, but with later additions, including his release from the band of the 2nd Artillery Regiment on 20 August 1822, to accept the theater's offer.

<sup>79</sup> Hoftheater, G.I., K. 6, 1814, no. 131, Beilage 6, fol. 148r. Their salaries were a little over half of the others in the brass section, indicating that they were hardly employed on a daily basis, and still supplemented their income elsewhere. Anton Seegner must have been born in 1791 or 1792, played bass trombone in one of the city's later Court Theaters from 1 February 1807, until dismissed upon Barbaja's lease of 1 December 1821, applied for a pension in 1828, became a city official, and died on 10 February 1830 at age thirty-eight (Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1830, S, fol. 11r; also Hoftheater, G.I., K. 71, 1828, no. 263; also Leopold Seegner, *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung*, Fasz. 2: 5988/1834). Leopold Seegner had also been a salaried member of the Hofkapelle since 11 August 1807 (Köchel, *Hof-Musikkapelle*, 95).

<sup>80</sup> Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1840, K, fol. 14r (death on 5 February). Other documents suggest that he was born in ca. 1762.

<sup>81</sup> Hoftheater, G.I., K. 12, 1822, no. 419, Beilage 5 and 7, where (again rationalizing Barbaja's personnel cuts), he was noted as "mediocre."

<sup>82</sup> Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 81.

<sup>83</sup> Conscriptions-Bogen, Erdberg no. 13, Fremden-Tabelle (1830), Wohnpartei 8 (new collation 13/26); also Wohnpartei 8 (new collation 13/17), first name spelled "Phillip" both times. Called "Tuschky," he was among the trombonists who played at Beethoven's funeral. See *Trauer-Gesang bey Beethoven's Leichenbegängnisse* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1827), depicted and quoted in Weiner, "Equali," 212-20, 262, and 264.

<sup>84</sup> This fact and descriptor alone might challenge some researcher to find him among the Court Trumpeters, church trombonists, or any number of other places that would then, in hindsight, seem obvious.

<sup>85</sup> Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 97.

<sup>86</sup> Gugitz, "Auszüge," 316, omitting his source.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 278, citing Conscriptions-Bogen, Strozsigrund no. 22 (from 1850).

<sup>88</sup> Reluctant to engage in ephemeral discussions of recordings in a scholarly article, I must nevertheless mention the exciting horn and brass playing in the finale of the *Prometheus* selections recorded by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Charles Münch (RCA, LM/LSC-2522 [1962]).

<sup>89</sup> See brother Carl van Beethoven's letters to the publishers Johann André (23 November 1802) and Breitkopf und Härtel (12 February 1803), in Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, Nos. 49 and 54. In doing so, Beethoven may have hoped to make himself independent of the two Court Theaters for both personnel and hall rental, probably factors in the cancellation of his concert plans in Spring 1802.

<sup>90</sup> The program also included Beethoven's Symphony no. 1, for a total of roughly two and one-half hours of music.

<sup>91</sup> Albrecht, "Manker," 56-58.

<sup>92</sup> Ferdinand Ries' oft-cited story of finding Beethoven in bed, writing out the trombone parts on the morning of the dress rehearsal, is generally taken as evidence that these parts were a last-minute addition to his conception of the work. In fact, with Christ singing and God invoked in the libretto, Beethoven probably envisioned trombones very early in his compositional process. Because the trom-



bone parts involved a tricky number of rests throughout the score, Beethoven may have felt it safer (especially if unreliable Benjamin Gebauer was one of the copyists) to write them out himself.

<sup>93</sup>The Overture was written only after the rest of the opera was essentially finished. See Theodore Albrecht, "Beethoven's *Leonore*: A New Compositional Chronology Based on May-August, 1804 Entries in Sketchbook Mendelssohn 15," *Journal of Musicology* 7, No. 2 (Spring 1989): 181-82, 189.

<sup>94</sup>Not the same organization as the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, formed several years later and thriving even today.

<sup>95</sup>Otto Biba, "Beethoven und die 'Liebhaber Concerte' in Wien im Winter 1807/08," in *Beiträge 76-78: Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977: Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis*, ed. Rudolf Klein (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 82-93.

<sup>96</sup>As with the "Eroica" Symphony, we can assume that Prince Lobkowitz treated Beethoven to one or two reading-rehearsals of these symphonies, using largely Theater an der Wien personnel, prior to their first public performance.

<sup>97</sup>Johann Friedrich Reichardt visited Vienna in late 1808 and early 1809, and left many reports on Viennese musical life. One concerns a "grand concert for Archduke Rudolph" given at Prince Lobkowitz's Palace on Thursday, 2 March 1809, at which there were "new gigantic pieces by Beethoven"—thus a connection between Prince Lobkowitz, the host to many reading-rehearsals of Beethoven's works since at least Spring 1804, and Rudolph, the ultimate dedicatee of Piano Concerto no. 5. For Reichardt's report, see Nancy B. Reich, "A Commentary on and a Translation of Selected Portions of *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809* by Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 1752-1814" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1972), 468-69. A detailed rationale for such a private performance was presented in Theodore Albrecht, "In Search of a Beethovenian Pluto: The Composer's Own Performance(s) of His Piano Concerto no. 5, Vienna, 1809-1810," Allegheny Chapter, American Musicological Society, Youngstown, Ohio, 11 October 2003. For further commentary on chronology and sources, see Ludwig van Beethoven, *Klavierkonzert Nr. 5, Es-Dur opus 73*, Faksimile ed. Hartmut Hein (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005), Kommentar, 3-18.

<sup>98</sup>Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater), 1776-1966, Verzeichnis der aufgeführten Stücke, Teil 1: 1776-1810*. (Vienna: Georg Prachner Verlag, 1966), 24 and annual tables.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, 33 and 1810 table.

<sup>100</sup>*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 11, no. 41 (12 July 1809): col. 652; 11, no. 42 (19 July 1809): cols. 668-69.

<sup>101</sup>*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 14, no. 13 (25 March 1812): cols. 210-11.

<sup>102</sup>Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Ludwig van Beethoven*, 3 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961), Nos. 330-32 (all misdated as October 1811); and Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, no. 172 (noting corrected dating).

<sup>103</sup>Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, no. 181 (Beethoven's contractor was Court percussionist Anton Brunner); and the copying bill for Symphony no. 8 (no. 182).

<sup>104</sup>Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater), 1776-1966, Teil 2: 1811-1974* (Vienna: Georg Prachner Verlag, 1975), passim. Another such attempt was the premiere of Weber's latest opera *Euryanthe* on 25 October 1823.

<sup>105</sup>Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch*, 73-81, although flawed, lists the conductors, solo singers, chorus members, and orchestra members during this period.

<sup>106</sup>Köhler et al., *Beethovens Konversationshefte*, 4: 249.

<sup>107</sup>A varied repeat of this program, with essentially the same forces, was held at the Grosser Redoutensaal (the Grand Ballroom of the Imperial palace, a favorite locale for large-scale concerts), on 23 May.

<sup>108</sup>Albrecht, "Lewy," 32-33. The article was written before I learned that Hradetzky had recently

been dismissed from the orchestra, but most other details remain valid.

<sup>109</sup> Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, no. 363.

<sup>110</sup> While most of the woodwind players for whom Beethoven wrote particularly gratifying parts hailed from Bohemia (and therefore possibly played with more lyrical phrasing than their native Viennese counterparts and even a hint of vibrato), most of his favored brass players (with the exception of Hradetzky) were from Vienna or its environs (and possibly sounded more like their modern counterparts than the woodwinds did). But this in itself is a future study of major scope.