REVALUING POLITICAL
CHORAL MUSIC FOR
MODERN PERFORMANCE

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uring the Napoleonic era nearly every significant composer who lived and worked in Vienna wrote at least some political music in service to the Austrian state and Francis [Franz] II (1768-1835), the last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This overtly political output represents some of their least enduring work, to wit Beethoven's lied, Keine Klage soll erschallen, 1 WoO 121 (1796), Haydn's solo cantata Die Schlacht Am Nil,² Hob XXVIb:4 (1800), Beethoven's Chor auf die verbündeten Fürsten,³ WoO 95 (1814), and his cantata Der glorreiche Augenblick,⁴ Op. 136, composed for the opening of the Congress of Vienna. The present obscurity of these works and others like them is inextricably tied up in the occasional nature of the text, but thoughtful reconsideration is warranted as the demand for secular concert repertoire increases. Political music of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centu-

Der Retter in Gefahr [The Rescuer in Danger], SmWV 302 [1796], by Franz Xaver Süßmayr (1766-1803) is just such a political piece. Scored for SSSTB soloists, SATB double chorus and orchestra,⁵ it enjoyed immense initial popularity followed by two centuries of complete obscurity, matching the career trajectory of both composer and librettist. Because its genesis can be traced so clearly through extant sources, it is also an illuminating example of a compilation cantata from the late eighteenth-century Viennese School and, perhaps most notably, sheds new light on the composer who completed Mozart's Requiem, K 626.⁶

ries offers a rich and interesting source of choral literature from an era otherwise dominated by

sacred oratorios, cantatas, and the mass.

















The Composer

Before his untimely death in 1803 at age thirty-seven, Franz Xaver Süßmayr earned a place in the eminent musical circles of Vienna. His operas and ballets were enthusiastically received by audiences in Europe's cultural centers. His sacred music would persist in Austrian churches for decades following his demise. In our own time Süßmayr is remembered, if he is remembered at all, as the much-maligned amanuensis who completed Mozart's Requiem. Ironically, both his ascent and his virtual disappearance from Western musical culture are inextricably tied to his sometime teacher and friend, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

Born in 1766, the son of an Austrian choirmaster, Süßmayr received his early musical training from his father. At age thirteen he entered the monastery school at Kremsmünster where he received general musical instruction. During this time he also sang and played violin and organ (to what extent we have no conclusive

information) at the abbey church. Within a few years he had composed "several operas that were performed in the monastery theatre." Later in that same decade he moved to Vienna, where he taught music and performed in the Hofburg Chapel choir [Hofkapelle] under Antonio Salieri (1750-1825), who directed that organization from 1788 until 1824.

Süßmayr's association with the Mozart family began around 1790 when he began "occasional studies in composition" with the master. He served Mozart as a copyist and almost certainly assisted him in composing the secco recitatives for *La clemenza di Tito*. Michael Freyhan postulates that Süßmayr may also have been involved in the completion of *Die Zauberflöte*, particularly the text underlay that made its way into Simrock's first edition (1814), considered superior to that found in Mozart's autograph score. While this remains speculative, it is plausible that the relationship between Süßmayr and the Mozarts was closer and friendlier than his detractors admit.



Benedictine Library (completed 1689) at Kremsmünster Abbey, Upper Austria.

Mozart died on December 5, 1791, and Süßmayr's completion of the Requiem was delivered to Count Wallsegg approximately three months later, in February 1792. When Süßmayr agreed to help Constanze Mozart collect the remainder of the commission, thereby providing desperately needed financial support for her two young children, he was also under pressure to finish an opera promised to Schickenader no later than May of 1792. Christoff Wolff notes that "in view of the haste in which he was forced to work, his achievement is astonishing." 14

Süßmayr enjoyed no financial benefit from his labors to complete the Requiem and, in fact, may have unwittingly destroyed his own reputation in the process. He has become, to quote Simon P. Keefe, "the doormat on which Mozartians wipe their feet as they enter the shrine to venerate the Requiem." In general," he writes, "they are content to put Süßmayr in a no-win position: when the quality of the final movements of the Requiem is deemed high, they suggest that material by Mozart must have been involved; when the quality is deemed low, they register their disapproval for Süßmayr."

In spite of indications that Süßmayr's role in completing the Requiem was known in Vienna as early as January 1793, ¹⁷ the controversy that tarnished his post-humous reputation erupted in 1825 when Gottfried Weber "began that famous, indeed notorious attack on the authenticity of Mozart's Requiem." ¹⁸ Weber "endeavored to prove that the work could not be Mozart's, as it abounded with faults which it was impossible such a writer could commit. Weber's article stirred up a violent controversy that lasted two or three years and in which many leading musicians took part." ¹⁹ In all of this, Süßmayr was portrayed as a scoundrel, even including his uncanny imitation of Mozart's notational script that smacked of scandalous forgery.

As Süßmayr's posthumous reputation suffered, performances of his music declined and finally came to a nearly complete halt by the middle of the nineteenth century. This state of neglect has continued down to our own time. Indeed, it could be argued that the wounds suffered at the hand of Weber and subsequent critics proved fatal to the victim's reputation.

Mozart's estimation of Süßmayr's skill as a composer

is a matter of debate, but there is evidence that Mozart and other esteemed musicians in Vienna considered him to be a composer of substance. Take, for instance, a quote from a letter Mozart wrote to Constanze while she was in Baden with Süßmayr seeking relief from circulation problems in her legs. Immediately after calling him a "full-blown ass," Mozart writes, "Do urge Süßmayr to write something for [Anton] Stadler,20 for he has begged me very earnestly to see to this."21 Though it survives only in draft fragments (SmWV501), apparently Süßmayr complied, as a clarinet concerto by "von Sießmayr [sit]... played by Herr Stadler" appears on a surviving concert program from March 1794 in Riga Latvia, one of the stops on Stadler's European tour.²² From a surviving part book we know that Stadler was featured as solo clarinetist in the premiere of Der Retter in Gefahr, a part clearly written to exploit his virtuosic abilities.

Other notable Viennese musicians honored Süßmayr by borrowing from him. Beethoven composed a set of eight variations on the trio, "Tändeln und Scherzen," from his opera, *Solimann der Zweite* (1799), and Paganini wrote three variations for violin and orchestra, *Le streghe*, Op. 8, based on an oboe passage from his ballet *Il noce di Benevento* (1802).

Just two years prior to the cantata under consideration, Süßmayr enjoyed stellar success with *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* [*The Mirror of Arcadia*], an opera in two acts on a libretto by Schikaneder, who also commissioned the work.

At the high point of *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* there were not a few music experts who even ventured a comparison with Mozart and very generally placed it side by side with *Don Giovanni*, as the successor to *The Magic Flute...*. Composed in Vienna in 1794 and premiered there at the Theater auf der Wieden on November 14, the work quickly witnessed further performances in Prague, Weimar, Munich, Salzburg, Paris, and other major music centers.²³

Der Spiegel von Arkadien received twenty-six performances at the Theater auf der Wieden (Schikaneder's theater) in its first month alone, of which seventeen were

completely sold out in advance. By 1804, one year after the composer's death, that same theater had logged 113 performances, making it "one of the greatest box-office successes of the era." The exceptional appeal of the opera kept it in Austrian and German theatres until the mid-nineteenth century. 25

Contemporary newspaper reports were effusive in their praise. The *Wiener Zeitung* wrote of the public response to the opera:

The boxes are always booked for 8 days and everyone drives and runs toward the Wiedener theater. This is proof that Vienna's audience surely appreciates true contributions. And one can justly say: that this opera is the only of its kind.²⁶

The report concludes with the highest praise that could be accorded any Viennese composer of the day: "The immortalized Mozart himself would not have written more fitting music had he been in Herr Süßmayr's place." Following the 1795 Prague premiere in an Italian translation, the *Allgemeines Europäisches Journal* "set the opera on a par with *Die Zauberflöte.*" Joseph Richter humorously wrote in his *Eipeldauer Briefen* that he didn't need a ticket, "for already one hears the songs from it in every street, and in a few days the tavern musicians will be playing the whole opera to their brethren for a single Kreutzer." ²⁸

This success, along with the influence of his friend and later teacher, Antonio Salieri, was likely responsible for his earning the coveted appointment as the music director at the newly established National-Singspiel Theater in Vienna, a post that he held from the theater's debut performance on May 11, 1795 until his death.²⁹

The esteem in which he was held by the opera-going public is clear in an ode to Süßmayr published in *The Wiener Zeitung*:

When Mozart died, the genius of the German Singspiel wrapped himself in a shroud of mourning. Then your strings rang out, and the Singspiel breathes, Filled with life again,

And with hope that you will be Mozart's replacement for him.³⁰

History has not fulfilled that hope. Süßmayr's obscurity has become almost complete with the exception of his controversial work on the Requiem. His only known portrait, made during his tenure as Kapellmeister of the National-Singspiel theater, appears to have been destroyed during World War II,³¹ so we don't even know what he looked like.

Details of his last days are sketchy and bear a striking resemblance to those of Mozart. The official Viennese Magistrat references his death with dry administrative tone: "On the 17th of September, Süßmayr Hr. Franz, Kapellmeister at the Imperial Royal Court Theater, single, born in Schwanenstadt in Upper Austria, residing in House No. 1269 on the Wasserkunstbastei, of Lungensucht [pulmonary consumption], 37 years."32 H. C. Robbins Landon noted his death in passing while describing the musical goings-on in Vienna during the fall of 1803: "On 17 September, Franz Xaver Süssmayer [sic] died of consumption, in Vienna."33 That this promising composer who moved in the enlightened musical circles of Vienna for years passed from the stage at the age of thirty-seven in such an unremarkable way is remarkable in itself. He died at his lodgings attended by his older sister, Mary Anna, who had moved in to help with the housekeeping.34 In a final ironic parallel, Süßmayr was buried in a pauper's grave in the same cemetery, St. Marx, as Mozart.

The Librettist

Johann Rautenstrauch (1746-1801) was a prominent Viennese poet and "controversialist" who championed the political and social reforms of Joseph II; thus, his poetic output tilted heavily toward the political. He authored plays, his most successful being a 1773 comedy, *Der Jurist und der Bauer [The Lawyer and the Farmer*], that was "popular not only in Vienna, but at almost all theatrical centres in Germany: Mannheim, Berlin, Hamburg, Weimar." ³⁶

Süßmayr and Rautenstrauch collaborated on another politically themed cantata in 1800, which was not nearly so successful as *Der Retter in Gefahr*. Landon quotes

from the diary of Beda Plank that at 7 p.m. on Christmas Day he attended a performance: "The music is particularly beautiful: too bad that it did not, in view of the present troubled times, make the expected effect." The nameless reviewer for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* was more harsh:

One can pay every respect to the really good music, but what can be said about a text like this one? And what can one feel but disgust, if one is not so fortunate as to be able to laugh at such things?³⁸

It seems that Rautenstrauch's political rhetoric may have worn thin with the Viennese public, at least those who attended concerts, perhaps due to the "present troubled times" referenced by Plank. The primary issue was the constant threat posed by Napoleon: but a burgeoning and incoherent Austrian governmental bureaucracy, a proliferation of regulations and lawyers to interpret them, and heavy taxes to fund the war effort³⁹ contributed to a populace on edge. While Joseph II's reforms in the preceding decades brought increased tolerance between Protestants and Catholics, most of his attempts to streamline the operations of government failed, ⁴⁰ and his successors, Leopold II (1790-1792) and Francis II (1792-1806), fared no better.

It is interesting to note that in the midst of visceral attacks on Rautenstrauch's libretto for this later work, the reviews give high marks to Süßmayr's music.

The Rescuer in Danger

H. C. Robbins Landon, in his monumental work on the life of Haydn, paints the political backdrop against which Süßmayr's cantata, *Der Retter in Gefahr*, entered the Viennese scene. Napoleon was on the march, having been appointed commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy on March 2, 1796. "Napoleon started his campaign on 12 April and won one smashing victory after another: Montenotte, Dego, Millesimo, and Mondovi. He defeated the Austrian army, separated it from its allies, the Sardinian army, and started to march on Turin." 41

Landon continues:

While Haydn was at Eisenstadt, war fever gripped Vienna.... The Viennese Volunteer Corps (Wiener Freywilligen-Korps) was now mobilized, and money for it raised by concerts which included a new patriotic Cantata by Rautenstrauch entitled *Der Retter in Gefahr*, music by Mozart's pupil Franz Xaver Süssmayer [sic], and Haydn's 'Surprise' Symphony ('Symphonie mit dem Paukenschlag'). *The Wiener Zeitung* of 24 September informs us:

On Wednesday the 21st inst., 42 was repeated, at the general request, the well-known Cantata, *Der Retter in Gefahr*, in the Imperial-Royal large Redoutensaal, for the benefit of the Viennese Volunteers, and once again received with the unanimous and most fervent satisfaction. The Symphony by Hr. Joseph Haiden [sic], with which this Academy was opened on the 19th inst., also served to begin this time.... 43

Süßmayr's cantata continued to be paired with Haydn's "Surprise" Symphony in subsequent performances, with the popular symphony serving as a prelude to the featured cantata, a programming structure common at the time.

Landon goes on to recount that *Der Retter in Gefahr* was repeated on October 4 and November 15 and that the performances spread by popular demand to Wiener Neustadt, south of Vienna. The concert first held there on October 15 was repeated on October 29 to celebrate the Empress's name-day.

Henry Hausner's description of the premiere provides additional information:

Süßmayr achieved a sensational success in 1796 with his patriotic cantata, "Der Retter in Gefahr," which he composed on a text by Johann Rautenstrauch. He really had success on success.... It was performed at the invitation of the Emperor Franz...by the German opera company [Deutschen Operngesellschaft] and orchestra of the Court Theater [Orchester des Hoftheater].⁴⁴

He continues, quoting from Joseph Richter's *Eipeldauer Briefen*, "If the composer [Süßmayr] were my mortal enemy, I would still have to admit that I've never in my life heard more beautiful music."

Richter next turns to a description of the cantata's overture:

When the overture finally began, the room came alive! The overture gave a representation of a terrible siege. One could hear canons booming, guns cracking, shells whistling through the air; all represented so naturally by the music that you'd think the French were standing before the city gates!⁴⁵

The impact on the Viennese audience is perhaps best summed up by another quote from the *Eipeldauer Breifen*. "In the final chorus, with which all sang along, the enthusiasm grew so powerful that some climbed on their seats, waving their hats, crying, 'Long live the Emperor!'"⁴⁶

Some Assembly Required

Der Retter in Gefahr was not composed in a rush of creativity. In fact, only six of the fifteen movements were newly composed for the 1796 premiere. The rest of the work was hastily adapted from previously composed material, all of which can be traced from earlier extant scores and performance materials.

To place the assembly of the cantata into chronological order, we must begin at the end, with the Schlus-

schor, composed in 1794 as a birthday song for Francis II.⁴⁷ Süßmayr reused this same music yet again as the Schlusschor for a one-act political opera, *Die Freiwilligen: Ein Gemälde der Zeit* ⁴⁸ [The Volunteers: A Portrait of the Time], that premiered in the Kuarntnertheater at Vienna on September 27, 1796, a mere eight days after *Der Retter in Gefahr.* Süßmayr used the catchy tune repeatedly in his compositional output during 1794 and 1796. After its rewarding advent as a birthday song he reissued it almost immediately that same year in form of a "National Song of Bohemia." In all, he utilized it five more times with both secular and sacred texts (Table 1).

Süßmayr's recycling was not limited to the Schlusschor. All three of the soprano recitatives and arias were interpolated from an earlier cantata, dating from December 1795. The "Carolina" Cantata, SmWV301, was written to celebrate the birth of the Archduchess Carolina and some recent Austrian military victories. ⁵⁰ It was performed again in 1796 at the monastery in Kremsmünster, with another new text to celebrate the Abbott's eightieth birthday. ⁵¹

SmWV301 calls for three soprano soloists,⁵² each of whom sings a recitative and aria, and the work concludes with the soloists combined in a recitative and trio. Table 2 on page 33 illustrates how the music of the "Carolina" Cantata was assimilated into the new whole.

The Recitative and Trio that are inserted as Nos. 8 and 9 in *Der Retter in Gefahr* served as the finale in the earlier "Carolina" Cantata. The trio recitative allows each of the sopranos to contribute a statement leading into the rousing finale involving all three sopranos. A rarity in the genre, it compares favorably to the trio for

Table 1.49 Iterations of SmWV 321, Schlusschor

1794	Prague	Feyer-Lied zum Geburtstag seiner Majestät	SmWV 321
1794	Prague	Nationallied der Böhmen	SmWV 322
1794	Prague	Tantum Ergo	SmWV 120
1794	Prague	Fronleichnams-Stationen	SmWV 126
1794	Prague	Schlusschor, Der Retter in Gefahr	SmWV 302
1794	Prague	Schlusschor, Die Freiwilligen	SmWV 310

female voices from Act 1, Scene 1, of Mozart's *Magic Flute* and demonstrates the craftsmanship and charm of which Süßmayr was clearly capable. The voices are often paired, supporting a third solo line within the ensemble, a feature that also bears likeness to the *Magic Flute* trio (Figure 1 on page 34).

The following Recitative and Aria (Nos. 10 & 11) sung by the tenor, are also worthy of mention. The tenor soloist plays the role of a young man preparing to leave behind his wife and two young children to go and defend the Fatherland because he "does not love his country less." The virtuosic solo clarinet part written for Anton Stadler figures large in both the recitative and aria. In fact, the recitative dedicates over 60% of its content to providing the famed clarinetist an opportunity to demonstrate his remarkable technique.

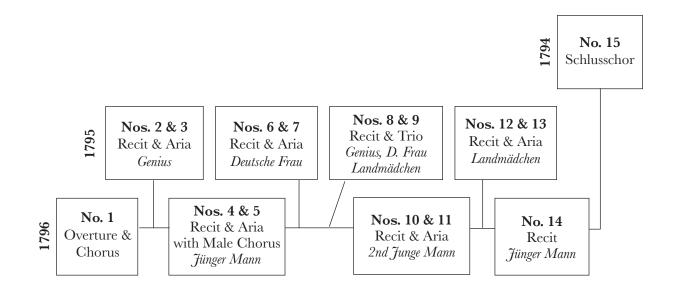
The aria text is a continuation of the emotive poetry begun in the recitative:

Vainly you stretch out your little hands after me; In vain is your crying; I should – I must – be on my way. Beloved of my soul! You my children, farewell! The text, Stadler's sensitive playing for which he was widely admired, and the tenor's warm middle range (the highest note is B¹, but the bulk of the piece rests a fourth lower) doubtlessly conspired to melt the hearts of the distraught Viennese in what is arguably the tenderest portion of the work. Landon reports that the following year, Christmas 1797, the *Tonkünstler-Gesellschaft* program included "The favorite aria from the Cantata 'Der Retter in Gefahr', by Süssmayer, sung by [Friedrich] Schulz and accompanied on the clarinet by Stadler."⁵³

The Chorus

Der Retter in Gefahr calls for a substantial chorus that appears in three different voicings: double choir (SATB/SATB), TB, and SATB. Predominantly homophonic in texture, the choral writing is well within reach of high school, collegiate, or community choirs. For the premiere the chorus was composed of forty-eight singers from the opera companies in the city. Each chorus is labeled in the libretto according to its dramatic function. In the opening movement, which flows directly from the contiguous overture, a mixed double choir is a "Chorus of Oppressed People," crying out for deliverance from their burdensome role as Europe's perpetual savior, rag-

Table 2. Assemblage of Der Retter in Gefahr



ing against the deleterious influences of France:

Woe! Woe! Woe!

The enemy is rushing in on us like a raging torrent!

Oh, difficult, tragic times!

Our enemies have held Europe hostage for almost two hundred years,

Battling us with trinkets, loose morals, and now with weapons;

These people are fighting us now, and are winning!

They will soon have us in chains! Heaven help us! It is hopeless! (Figure 2 on page 35)

In No. 5, the tenors and basses of the Chorus support the baritone soloist as "The People," in vigorous interjections, declaring their commitment to "fight courageously like no other people has ever fought." (Figure 3 on page 36)



Figure 1. Franz Xaver Süßmayr, *Der Retter in Gafahr*, No. 9, mm. 82–87. Trio



Figure 2. Franz Xaver Süßmayr, *Der Retter in Gafahr*; No. 1, mm. 106–126. Chorus



Figure 3. Franz Xaver Süßmayr, *Der Retter in Gafahr*; No. 5, mm. 1–28. Male Chorus

In the Schlusschor's seven-verse hymn-like structure the full chorus, alternating phrases with the soloists, again assumes the role of "The People" with the audience invited to join on each refrain. Proclaiming their allegiance to God and the Kaiser, their preference for death over servitude, and their eternal resistance to the unnamed aggressor (Napoleon), the final chorus concludes with a rousing verse:

God! Our helper in ages past,He is our father still;He consecrates the Fatherland's heroes in danger,

And the Kaiser will be the pattern For our grandchildren in years to come! (Figures 4a and 4b on page 38)



Figure 4a. Franz Xaver Süßmayr, *Der Retter in Gafahr*, No. 5, mm. 1–14. Schlusschor

Postscript

The fundraising efforts for the Viennese militia ultimately came to naught. The Wiener Freywilligen-Korps saw action as part of the cooperative effort to contain Napoleon in Italy, but with little success. Vienna was occupied by Napoleon without a shot being fired in November 1805, two years after Süßmayr's death, and

again before the end of the decade. Notwithstanding the eventual outcome, *Der Retter in Gefahr* provides a vivid snapshot of the political and societal angst that pervaded Vienna during the Napoleonic era, and the fierce loyalty the Austrian people felt toward their Kaiser as the focus of national identity. It also introduces another contemporaneous means of continued evaluation of Süßmayr's



Figure 4b. Franz Xaver Süßmayr, *Der Retter in Gafahr*; No. 5, mm. 15–23. Schlusschor

contribution to the Requiem completion.

Beyond its considerable historical and musicological value, the score pulses with life and drama worthy of modern performances. Energies expended in preparation of a thoughtful pre-concert lecture or engaging program notes will bear rich dividends, drawing contemporary listeners into the compelling circumstances surrounding its creation.

NOTES

- ¹ Translation: "Farewell Song to Vienna's Citizens."
- ² Translation: "Lines from the Battle of the Nile."
- ³ Translation: "Chorus of the Allied Princes."
- ⁴ Translation: "The Glorious Moment."
- ⁵ 2 Flutes, 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 1 English horn, 2 Bassoons, 2 Horns in C, 2 Horns in E-flat, 4 Trumpets in C, Timpani, extensive percussion (Ratchet, Military Drum, 2 Bass drums), Strings.
- ⁶A piano/vocal score is available at jwpepper.com. For information on obtaining the full orchestral score, contact the author: manabholz@gmail.com.
- ⁷ Linda Tyler and Caryl Clark. "Süßmayr, Franz Xaver," *Grove Music* Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27151 (accessed April 6, 2010).
- ⁸ Jane Schatkin Hettrick and John A. Rice, "Salieri, Antonio," *Grove Music* Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ subscriber/article/grove/music/24378 (accessed April 6, 2010).
- $^9\,\mathrm{Tyler},$ "Süssmayr, Franz Xaver," $\mathit{Grove\ Music}$ Online.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Michael Freyhan, "Toward the Original Text of Mozart's 'Die Zauberflöte," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 378-380.
- ¹² Simon P. Keefe, "Die Ochsen am Berge': Franz Xaver Süssmayr and the Orchestration of Mozart's Requiem, K. 626," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61, no. 1 (April 2008): 4.
- ¹³ The youngest son, Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart (1791-1844), was only five months old at the time of his father's death.
- ¹⁴Christoff Wolff, Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, and Score, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley:

- University of California Press, 1993), 28.
- ¹⁵ Keefe, "Die Ochsen am Berge," 6-7.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ "Mozart's and Süssmayr's different contributions were fairly well known at the performance of the *Requiem* in Jahn's Hall in Vienna on 2 January 1793, and the news traveled quickly to Munich and Prague, where at the first performance...no secret was made of the fact that the Sanctus was composed by Süssmayr" [Keefe, "Die Ochsen am Berge," 11].
- ¹⁸ Friedrich Blume and Nathan Broder, "Requiem but No Peace," *The Musical Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (April 1961): 147.
- ¹⁹ William Watson and C. B. Oldman, "An Astounding Forgery," *Music & Letters* 8, no. 1 (January 1927): 64.
- ²⁰(1753-1812). Clarinetist remembered today for his development of the bassett clarinet. Renowned during his career for his sweet tone, virtuosity, and extraordinary command of the extremes of the instrument's range.
- ²¹ Pamela L. Poulin, "Anton Stadler's Basset Clarinet: Recent Discoveries in Riga," Journal of the American Musical Instruments Society 22 (1996): 123-4.
- ²² Ibid. It is a reasonable assumption that the performance materials went missing at the same time as those of a Mozart concerto and other works Stadler carried with him on the tour.
- ²³Dieter Klöcker, Liner notes for Franz Xaver Süßmayr: Der Spiegel von Arkadien, trans. Susan Marie Praeder, performed by Consortium Classicum, MDG 301 1380-2, 2006. Compact disc.
- ²⁴ Thomas Bauman, ed. Franz Xaver Süßmayr, Der Spiegel Von Arkadien (New York: Garland, 1986), 1.
- ²⁵ Klöcker, "Der Spiegel von Arkadien."
- ²⁶ Henry H. Hausner, *Franz Xaver Süssmayr* (Wien: Bergland, 1964), 72.
- ²⁷ Bauman, 2.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 4.
- ²⁹ John A. Rice, Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 562. Rice's date of Süßmayr's appointment to the post is disputed in the biographical article in the Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, where the date "May 1794" is used. Erich Duda [Das Musikalische Werk Franz Xaver Süssmayrs: Thematisches Werkverzeichnis. Bärenreiter, 2000] dates it to July 9, 1794, but provides no source.
- ³⁰ Hausner, 78.

- ³¹Gary Smith, "Franz Xaver Süssmayr," Mozart Forum, http://www.mozartforum.com/ Contemporary Pages/ Süßmayr_Contemp.htm (accessed March 22, 2011).
- ³² Vienna, Magistrat, Totenbeschauprotokoll 1803, "S," folio 119 recto, 17th of September (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv); translated and quoted in Carol P. Albrecht, Music in Public Life: Viennese Reports from the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 1798-1804 (PhD Diss., Kent State University, 2008), 176.
- ³³ Howard C. Robbins Landon, Haydn: The Late Years, vol. 5 of Haydn: Chronicles and Works (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977): 268.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ A. R. Hohlfeld, "Johann Rautenstrauch and Goethe's Götz," Modern Language Notes 15, no. 3 (March 1900): 71.
- ³⁶ Ibid, 72.
- ³⁷ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 4. (Indiana University Press, 1977), 571.
- ³⁸ Carol Padgham Albrecht, Music in Public Life: Viennese Reports from the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 1798-1804, PhD diss., Kent State University, 2008, 67.
- ³⁹ P. G. M. Dickson, "Monarchy and Bureaucracy in Late Eighteenth-Century Austria." *The English Historical Review* Vol. 110, No. 436 (April 1995), 324.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., 355.

- ⁴¹ Howard C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation' 1796-1800*, vol. 4 of *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 110.
- ⁴² Abbreviation for Latin instante mente, "of the current month."
- ⁴³ Ibid., 111.
- 44 Hausner, 84.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 85.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Francis II ruled in this capacity from 1792 until the Empire was dissolved in 1806.
- ⁴⁸On a libretto by Johann Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger (1741-1800), who also was librettist for Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782).
- ⁴⁹ Compiled from Duda, Erich. Das Musikalische Werk Franz Xaver Süssmayrs: Thematisches Werkverzeichnis. Bärenreiter, 2000.
- ⁵⁰ From the manuscript cover page: "Per la nascita d'una Seconda Reale Arciduchessa // Nella fausta circostanza // di piu vittorie // riportate dale Armi Austriache."
- ⁵¹ Johann Winterberger, Franz Xaver Süssmayr: Leben, Umwelt Und Gestalt (Frankfurt Am Main: Opus, 1999), 143.
- ⁵² Mark Nabholz, "Notes Along the Way: pencil embellishments from a Viennese part book." Society for Eighteenth Century Music Newsletter No. 28 (Fall 2016), 1.
- ⁵³ Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 5, 267.

