

Haydn's Musicians at the Esterházy Court, 1796 - 1802

KATHLEEN LAMKIN

When Haydn returned to Austria from his highly successful second English trip in September 1795, Prince Nicolaus II Esterházy, who had been installed as the new prince in July of the previous year, was eager for his Kapellmeister to compose a new mass for the annual name day celebrations for his wife, the lovely Princess Marie Hermenegild. Between the years 1796 and 1802 Haydn's last six masses were composed for the prince and performed in Eisenstadt each September by members of the Kapelle supplemented with other musicians. In addition,

Haydn's second *Te Deum* was first performed in Eisenstadt by the court Kapelle in September 1800 on the Feast of St. Mary. Members of the Kapelle worked closely with Haydn, performing his works and those of other contemporary composers. Through voluminous administrative documents in the vast Esterházy archives now housed primarily in Castle Forchtenstein, not far from Eisenstadt, and in Budapest, Hungary, we can learn much about the lives and careers of Haydn's musicians and the music performed during the years of his late masses. Most of the information concerning the musicians in this article is taken from the Castle Forchtenstein archives.¹ The archival documents originated in a variety of administrative offices and shed light on the musicians' employment, including dates and conditions of their hiring, dismissal or death, their salaries, and other compensation, including goods-in-kind and housing accommodations. These documents provide a wealth of personal information such as musicians' birthplaces, where they were previously employed, whom they married, languages they spoke, medicines they purchased, and when they were hospitalized. Scattered throughout the documents is valuable information about rehearsal and performance schedules.

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Categories of Employed Court Musicians in 1796

Between 1796 and 1802, the number of continuing (i.e., regularly employed) positions for musicians at the Esterházy court ranged from a low of 26 in 1799 to a high of 39 in 1802. When Haydn's *Missa Sancti Bernardi* was performed for the September 1796 name day celebrations, Nicolaus II employed a total of 33 musicians. Thus, the year 1796 provides a reasonable basis for considering the categories for which the musicians were hired. As the years passed, these categories would expand and change according to the interest of the prince and his ability to support a larger musical Kapelle.

Musicians were hired into three specific groups. The first category was the church music, with 16 musicians, the second was the military wind-band (*Feldharmonie*), with 8 musicians, and the third group was the military music (*Grenadier Garde*), with 9 musicians. Continuing musicians in the church music, responsible for the music at the two churches supported by the Esterházy (the Bergkirche and the palace chapel²), were few

in number, only 16, including Kapellmeister Haydn. These musicians consisted of four singers (one for each vocal part), eight string players, one bassoonist, an organist, and a "keyboard master" (essentially the assistant director) Table 1.³

Haydn had known all but one of these musicians for many years. Concertmaster Luigi Tomasini and Haydn were officially hired by Prince Paul Anton Esterházy in 1761 and had worked closely together since. Tomasini's two young sons, Anton and his younger brother Luigi Jr., whom Haydn had known since their births, had been hired earlier in 1796. Haydn's younger brother Johann had sung in the choir with the church musicians since 1765, and would remain a member of the Kapelle until his death in 1805. Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, composer, clavier teacher, and violinist in the Kapelle since 1788, was from Forchtenau (today Forchtenstein) and

Table 1 Church Music in 1796

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

would be appointed Kapellmeister in 1809 following Haydn's death. The other musicians, Johann Georg Fuchs, Pilhofer, Griessler, Specht, Pauer, Ernst, Dichtler, and Peczival, had also been with the Kapelle for many years, and Haydn had a long-established relationship with them. Only the cellist, the Viennese Ignatz Manker, was relatively new, having been hired two years earlier while Haydn was in England.

Besides the church musicians, the prince had 8 musicians employed in the military wind-band in 1796. Nicolaus II hired these musicians two years earlier as part of the military band after dismissing his father Prince Anton's wind band players. He placed his new musicians among the military musicians in order to pay them lower salaries



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Table 2 Military Wind-band (*Feldharmonie*) in 1796

Oboist	Joseph Elssler Jr.
Oboist	Jakob Hyrtl
Clarinetist	Thomas Duppe
Clarinetist	Anton Pleimschauer
Bassoonist	Johann Rigl
Bassoonist	Johann Michl
Hornist	Anton Prinster
Hornist	Johann Kinbäk

(military musicians were the lowest paid at the court). The wind band performed as needed to support the military musicians for military and entertainment purposes, and to perform with the church musicians for services in the two Esterházy churches. A list of the 8 wind band players is shown in Table 2.

Johann Rigl was newly hired in 1796, replacing the former bassoonist Joseph Girusch, who had been a part of the group since 1794. Haydn knew only one of these musicians well, his godson Joseph Elssler Jr., whose father had been Haydn's copyist. After his father's death, Joseph Jr. and his brother Johann began working as copyists and continued in that capacity until the death of Prince Nicolaus I in 1790. In 1794, Nicolaus II hired Joseph Jr. as oboist, a position he was to retain for many years. Haydn would become well acquainted with the other wind-band musicians, who were retained for two more years before the prince dismissed them in March 1798 because of financial difficulties.

In the third category of continuing musicians, the military music, musicians were part of the *Grenadier Garde*, performing for military and non-military events such as parades and festive celebrations; they had played for Prince Nicolaus II's installation ceremony two years earlier. Among the 9 military musicians, were fifers and drummers with some able to perform on either instrument. A complete list for 1796 is given in Table 3.

Sebastian Binder also played trumpet and Johannes Klaus a clarinet; they were brought in to perform on those instruments with the church musicians when needed. Because of his frequent performances with the church music, Binder later requested to be moved from the Grenadier Garde to the church music, a step up in position, which he was granted.

Table 3 Military Music
(*Grenadier Garde*) in 1796

<i>Fifers</i>	<i>Drummers</i>
Sebastian Binder	Joseph Gross
Andreas Eder	Karl Gross
Georg Frank	Johann Georg Gumpel
Johannes Klaus a	Matthias Torner
Georg Ohlram	

A Conversation with Kathleen Lamkin

Schenbeck What a wealth of information—both what's in your article and what's implied about these archival sources. Tell me a little bit more about your research. How long did you linger in the various Esterházy archives?

Lamkin I was in Eisenstadt for three months during the winter of 2005. In the mornings, I would drive with two local researchers, Josef Pratl and Heribert Scheck, about twelve to thirteen miles to the town of Forchtenstein, where the castle is located on top of a mountain. It is inside this formidable castle that the Esterházy's housed all of their administrative documents, military weapons, and art and natural-history collections; like many wealthy eighteenth-century families, they acquired all sorts of interesting objects and treasures from around the world—stuffed crocodiles, birds, exotic animals.

I was fortunate to be able to work with these two colleagues, who had already been researching in the archives for two years.

They were most helpful and generous and let me join them in the quest for information about Haydn and the musicians who worked under him.

My work began in January when it was cold and snowy. Because the castle was largely unheated, we were the only persons working there, except for the custodian and a few craftsmen making repairs for the summer. The Esterházy archives are housed in twenty-two rooms within the castle. Each room contains documents from a particular administrative department, such as the cashier's office or the district of Eisenstadt, stacked on wooden shelves in bound bundles, arranged according to years. So if you are looking for a document, you go to that room and begin your search. There is no librarian. Fortunately, my colleagues knew the archives well, could read the old German script easily and knew where to locate documents. We had all received permission to work in the archives from the archive directorate of the Esterházy establishment in Eisenstadt.

Each day Josef Pratl acquired the key at the front entrance and we proceeded to the archives. It was bitterly cold and dark. There was no electricity, so we would leave the heated workroom and put on coats and gloves to



(Continued on page 29)

Musicians' Nationality and Spoken Languages

The court musicians employed in 1796 were largely from Eisenstadt or nearby towns and villages, such as Mattersburg, Forchtenstein, or slightly further afield.⁴ This was especially true of the military musicians, who were the most local and who earned the lowest salaries, but many of the church musicians were also from reasonably local areas. Johann Nepomuk Fuchs and Johann Georg Fuchs were from Forchtenstein, Barbara Pilhofer from Schottwien a bit further away. Josepha Griessler, Michael Ernst, and the two young Tomasini brothers were from Eisenstadt, whereas Johann Haydn was born in Rohrau, and Joseph Dietzl was from Trautmannsdorf.⁵ The prince could easily employ

the local musicians because they were often eager to stay in or near the area where they had been born and their families lived, even if their salaries were not high. These musicians felt a commitment to the town and to the prince. The court musicians in 1796 who had come from large cities or more distant lands had been hired earlier under Prince Nicolaus I "The Magnificent" (r. 1762–90), when music flourished not only in Eisenstadt, but also at the summer palace, Esterháza. Prince Anton (r. 1790–94) had retained them, and Prince Nicolaus II continued their employment. These musicians who had long since established their own families in Eisenstadt, also felt committed to the prince. Among these, were Luigi Tomasini Sr. from Italy, Christian Specht from Vienna, Franz

Pauer from Budapest,⁶ and Casper Peczival from Bohemia. New musicians at the court, recently hired by Nicolaus II in 1794 for the military wind band, included two musicians from Bohemia (Düppe and Michl), one from Vienna (Prinster), and one from Krems (Hyrtl). Also, recently hired in the church music was Manker from Vienna. The presence of these musicians indicates that Nicolaus II was interested in hiring exceptional musicians from outside the immediate locale so that he might eventually be able to build an impressive musical establishment much like that of his grandfather Nicolaus I.

Although Eisenstadt was located in the Hungarian part of the empire, the official language of the court and town was German.⁷ All the musicians and the court of-

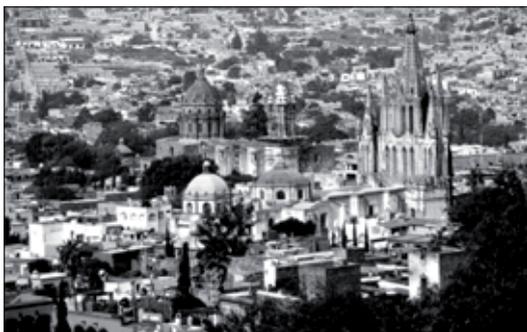
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ficials spoke and wrote German, but other languages could also be heard throughout the town. Tomasini Sr. spoke Italian and French, and German. Of his nine children, four were employed by the Esterházys, the two violinist sons Anton and Luigi Jr. (the latter a virtuoso according to Haydn), and later, his two soprano daughters, Josepha and Elisabeth. All his children were born either in Eisenstadt or at Esterháza. The Tomasini children learned Italian from their father, a language that had been of utmost importance during the 1770s and 80s at Esterháza with the many Italian musicians employed for opera performances. Pauer's native tongue was Hungarian and Peczival, Düppe, and Michl were native Czech speakers.

Employment, Salaries, and Additional Benefits

In order to remain employable, no matter the economic circumstances, musicians often developed skills on more than one instrument: some were vocalists and instrumentalists. If layoffs occurred and a well-respected musician had a fairly long tenure, a position might be found for him elsewhere in the Kapelle. Such was the situation for Christian Specht and Leopold Dichtler, both of whom had been hired as opera singers by Prince Nicolaus I, Specht as a bass and Dichtler as a tenor. When they began having vocal problems, each was moved to another position, Specht in his later years as a church bass soloist instead of an opera singer and Dichtler as a double bass player. What was of utmost importance to the musicians was to remain employed. Some musicians held other appointments, such as Johann Georg Fuchs, who worked as a schoolmaster, organist, and tenor. Johann Nepomuk Fuchs's many functions have already been cited. Another example of a versatile musician was Düppe, who was hired as a clarinetist with the *Feldharmonie* in 1794 but lost his job in 1798 when the wind band was dissolved. A year later, with the death of Leopold Dichtler, Düppe was hired to replace him in the church music as a double-bass player (Table 4). Pauer, a hornist and violinist, had been hired to play horn as early as 1769, but was dismissed after the death of Nicolaus I; he

enter the archives carrying a work lamp on a long extension cord. (Since then, electricity has been added and the archival rooms are now lighted!) Then, in the stacks of documents, we would find what we wanted, and climb a ladder to retrieve a bundle. We took these documents into the workroom and proceeded to see if there was pertinent information for our work. I didn't go every day to Forchtenstein, as Josef Pratl had scanned and transcribed the most important documents for my research. When I wasn't in Forchtenstein, I worked in one of the offices in the Esterházy palace in Eisenstadt, which had been arranged by Walter Reicher, *Intendant* of the Haydn Festival. Before my research in Forchtenstein, I had been in Eisenstadt for many summers with the Classical Music Festival and had known or worked with these generous and helpful people over the years. It was an incredible experience uncovering new information about Haydn's musicians by searching through these administrative documents, some written by Haydn himself.

Schenbeck You mentioned that these records include marriage data, medicines purchased, hospitalization records, and more. That must provide a real window into these peoples' lives.

Lamkin In finding new information about the musicians, I began to become more involved in their personal lives, following them through the years when they received raises or got married and had children and when they died. From the documents, I was able to compile short biographies of them. Musicians today have much in common with Haydn's musicians in the late 1700s. They, like us, had to negotiate hiring contracts and raises as well as pensions, fortunately with the support of Haydn.

Schenbeck Who paid for the medicines and hospitals? Was it the Esterházy family?

Lamkin That's an interesting question. Eisenstadt did have an important hospital, started by the order of the Brothers of Mercy. Since the 1760s the hospital had benefited by a contractual agreement with the Esterházy princes. Next to the hospital was the Brothers of Mercy church, where Haydn's "Little Organ Mass" was first performed. Today, the hospital is still well respected, although there is a new modern regional health-care and trauma center in place of the earlier building. The charming Baroque pharmacy still stands and offers prescription medication daily.

The medical documents that I looked at consisted mainly of the monthly hospital admissions lists. This information included the patient's nationality, age, date of admission and date of dismissal or death. There is a document later in 1808 from a guest singer who had been brought in from Vienna and became ill. Among his expenses, he submitted for reimbursement of his medication as well as the doctor's bill. Since this was reimbursed, it certainly suggests that the Esterházys paid for the medical expenses of all the musicians.

Schenbeck Neal Zaslaw once wrote an article he titled "Mozart As A Working Stiff." It looks to me like you've placed Haydn in a similar milieu. But by 1796, he wasn't working as hard as he had been earlier, was he? Was Eisenstadt his part-time gig at this point?

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Table 4 Salary Comparisons of Church Musicians in 1798

Name (Age) Position	Cash and Goods
Joseph Haydn (66) Kapellmeister	700 gulden
Luigi Tomasini (56) concertmaster	600 gulden
Johann Georg Fuchs (61) organist	114 gulden 30 kreutzer cash; 216 gulden 15 kreutzer total compensation including cash and goods of beef, lard, wheat, grain, wine, cabbage, salt and firewood
Barbara Pilhofer (31) soprano	150 gulden cash; 182 gulden 52 kreutzer total compensation including cash and goods of beef, lard, wheat, grain, grits, cabbage, salt and firewood
Anna Rumfeld (17) soprano	400 gulden
Josepha Griessler (32) alto	100 gulden
Johann Haydn (55) tenor	52 gulden 30 kreutzer cash; 154 gulden 15 kreutzer total compensation including cash and goods of beef, lard, wheat, grain, salt, candles, wine, cabbage and firewood
Christian Specht (56) bass	200 gulden cash; 317 gulden 15 kreutzer total compensation including cash and goods of beef, lard, wheat, grain, wine, cabbage, pork, salt and firewood
Franz Pauer (59) violinist	200 gulden cash; 317 gulden 15 kreutzer total compensation including cash and goods of beef, lard, candles, wheat, grain, wine, cabbage, pork, salt and firewood
Joseph Dietzl (52) violinist	395 gulden cash; 420 gulden total compensation including cash and goods of candles and firewood
Luigi Tomasini Jr. (19) violinist	450 gulden
Anton Tomasini (23) violinist/violist	300 gulden
Michael Ernst (38) violinist	124 gulden
Ignatz Manker (30) cellist	500 gulden
Thomas Duppe (30) double bass player	200 gulden cash; 317 gulden 15 kreutzer total compensation including cash and goods of beef, lard, candles, wheat, grain, wine, cabbage, pork, salt and firewood
Caspar Peczival (50) bassoonist	175 gulden

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was eventually re-hired as a violinist with the Kapelle under Prince Anton and continued in that position under Nicolaus II. Peczival, a bassoonist, violist, and timpanist, was another highly employable musician who worked thirty years for the Esterhazy until his death in 1802.

The continuing musicians' salaries in money and in goods-in-kind were comparable to that of the clergy. In 1798, when Haydn's salary was at 700 gulden, the Esterhazy paid the parish priest 820 gulden.⁸ Other church employees received salaries and goods-in-kind similar to those of the musicians. Among the continuing musicians, salary differentials generally depended upon length of employment and expertise. Table 4 provides a comparison of salaries among

Haydn's Musicians at the Esterházy Court continued

those musicians employed in 1798.⁹

Among the musicians working with Haydn, Luigi Tomasini was the most highly compensated after Haydn. His salary of 600 gulden had been established in 1794 and continued at the same amount until 1801 when he petitioned the prince for a raise and was supported in his request by Haydn. After Tomasini, the top salaries went to several of the youngest and most talented of the musicians. The Viennese Manker must have been a very accomplished cellist; at the age of thirty he was earning the best salary after Luigi Tomasini. The next highest salary went to Tomasini's younger son Luigi Jr., an excellent violinist, who received 450 gulden, more than his older brother Anton. Joseph Dietz's total compensation of cash and goods was one of the higher salaries at 420 gulden. The newest hire in 1797 was the soprano Anna Rumpf, from Pressburg (Bratislava), who at the young age of seventeen was employed at a salary of 400 gulden. She was already known in Eisenstadt, since she had sung a year earlier for the princess's name day celebrations as part of the Stadler theater group in the play *Alfred*. Her vocal range extended upward to a b^2 , which Haydn used in the "Arie des Schutzgeistes" written for her voice. In 1797, she was one of the soloists for the *Missa in tempore belli*.¹⁰ Those musicians with lower cash salaries were compensated additionally with goods (Table 4).¹¹

In addition to the regularly employed musicians, freelance musicians from Eisenstadt or Vienna were often brought in for performances and special occasions. They were required to submit billing sheets that included information about the services they provided along with the amount of reimbursement. Sebastian Binder, a military musician from nearby Mattersdorf (today Mattersburg), and two other trumpeters, Michael Altmann and Johann Pfann from Eisenstadt, were often hired to play with the church musicians for mass or vespers, having to bill separately for their rehearsals and performances. In December 1797, Haydn submitted a bill for their services, along with several other Eisenstadt musicians, for music in the palace chapel and the Bergkirche. The billing was for a bass singer from the parish

Lamkin Yes, Eisenstadt could be considered Haydn's part-time work by 1796. He was still very involved with the court musicians and continued to negotiate on their behalf with the prince. His late summers and early falls were filled with extensive activity in Eisenstadt—the performance of his new mass or *Te Deum* and other musical performances for the Esterházy's September celebrations. During the rest of the year, in Vienna, he was heavily involved with the composition and performances of his two oratorios and other late works, so overall he was still quite busy.

Schenbeck One thing that always takes me aback with these documents—these people don't seem to have rehearsed much, did they? I mean, look at Bader's billing statement. He lists exactly *one* rehearsal for a mass by Joseph Haydn, during a period in which at least seven performances of one or another of Joseph's masses were scheduled. Are there implicit or invisible rehearsals there, i.e., unpaid but understood by employer and employee? Or are we looking at a system in which people just didn't really see the need to rehearse something unless it was brand new or unusually difficult?

Lamkin It is hard to know if Bader's list includes all of the rehearsals for the various performances, but it is extensive, and these were all that he was paid for. As a freelance musician at the court, he would have been paid for all rehearsals he attended. Considering also the full schedule, it seems unlikely that there would have been additional rehearsals.

Schenbeck Without more rehearsal, how could they have performed these works, many of which have at least a few complex moments, and some of which are lengthy?

Lamkin It is important to remember that the musicians did perform regularly together as an ensemble. In addition they were performing works in a similar style—lots of Joseph and Michael Haydn as well as Mozart and other contemporary Viennese composers. Most of the works had probably been performed on a regular basis over the years, and they were familiar with the music as well as the venues—the Bergkirche and Schloss Kapelle. Likewise, many of the musicians were exceptional performers! Luigi Tomasini was the leader of the orchestra, and his two young sons had recently been added. Haydn considered Luigi Jr. a virtuoso, and his older brother Anton was also a strong player. The cellist Manker, brought in from Vienna, must have had exceptional musical skills. In the choir, the leaders—Pilhofer, Griessler, Johann Haydn, Specht—had sung together for years. So they provided the necessary "backbone" there. In short, although we cannot prove that these lists show all of the rehearsals for the church musicians, it seems likely. Consider the case with Beethoven and the first performance of his *Mass in C* in Eisenstadt, which similarly had very limited rehearsal time.

church (Johann Bader), a soprano (from the parish church), a tenor (Carl Kraus also from the parish church),¹² and three trumpeters (Binder, Altmann, and Pfann) (Illustration 1).

Haydn's bill is evidence of substantial use of the town musicians not officially employed in the Esterházy Kapelle. Two years later, the three trumpeters requested an annual salary rather than having to bill for each service, and they were granted this request, annually receiving 25 gulden in cash along with some grain. Two years after that, Binder petitioned to become a part of the church music and relinquish his duties with the military music. After the prince granted his request, Binder began receiving an annual salary of 300 gulden, marking a substantial improvement in his employment compensation.

Rehearsal and Performance Schedules, Works Performed: Johann Bader's Billing Statement

The year 1800 saw such an abundance of musical activity, particularly in the late summer and early fall, that the prince sent out a request to his staff asking that all who were able to assist with the musical performances were encouraged to do so and would be paid extra for their work.¹³ Several court administrators and clerks with musical abilities joined in the music making. This was the year that Haydn did not compose a new mass for the nameday of the princess—he and Baron Van Swieten were engaged in creating *Die Jahreszeiten*—but he instead provided his recently composed *Te Deum* commissioned by Empress Marie Therese. On the occasion of the Feast of St. Mary, September 8, it was performed in Eisenstadt during the visit of Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton.

One of the most important documents in the Forchtenstein Archives regarding rehearsal and performance schedules in 1800 was the billing statement of the freelance musician Johann Bader. As in previous years, Bader, a teacher and bass singer in the parish church, was needed for performances with

the church music, and for these he billed separately for payment of his work. Because of his detailed billing statement, many of the musical activities from May 4 through September 14 are documented and offer valuable information about the schedule of performances, along with the specific works performed. On September 15 Bader began receiving an annual salary of 50 gulden for his services and therefore his billing statements stopped.¹⁴ (While this was simpler for Bader and the Esterházy administration, it obviated a significant source of information for future generations of Haydn scholars!) Table 5 provides a transcription of the three-page list of services that Bader submitted¹⁵ (Illustration 2).

It is not certain whether Bader sang in all the rehearsals and performances held during these four-and-a-half months, but he did perform in 78 services—13 in May, 19 in June, 8 in July, 26 in August, and 12 during the first half of September. Works by a variety of composers were performed including

Joseph Haydn, Michael Haydn, Mozart, Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, Leopold Hofmann,¹⁶ Josef Preindl (Breindl),¹⁷ Wenzel Pichl (Bichl)¹⁸ and Johann Adolf Hasse.¹⁹ Michael Haydn received ten performances of his masses during these four and a half months. Joseph Haydn was a strong supporter of his brother and considered him an extremely accomplished composer of sacred music; the Esterházy court obviously agreed and even offered the position of Vice-Kapellmeister to Michael Haydn in October 1801 but he declined in order to remain in Salzburg.

Masses by Mozart were performed on the Sundays of July 13, in the palace chapel, and August 3 in the Bergkirche. Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, a composer of numerous sacred works, wrote a new mass for the September celebrations, which was rehearsed in May, July, and August for the first performance on September 14. The new mass by Fuchs, rather than one by Haydn, was performed for Princess Marie's nameday celebration on Sunday September

Illustration 1 Haydn's 1797 billing statement

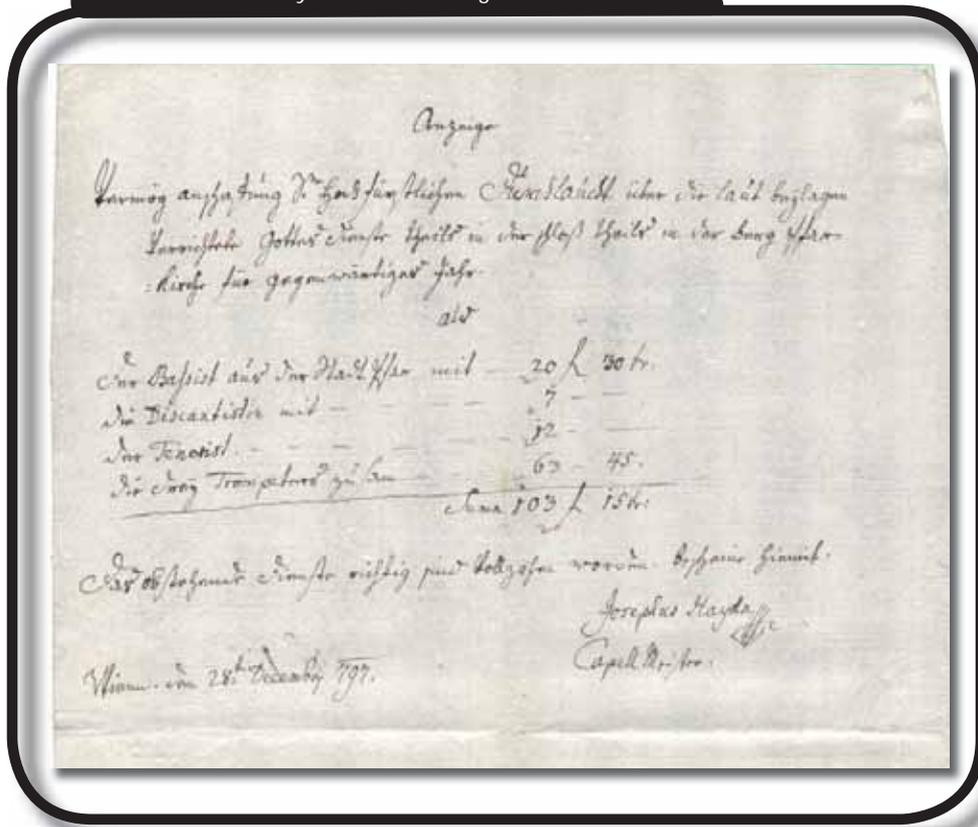


Table 5 Johann Bader's Billing Statement from May 4 through September 14, 1800¹⁶

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

	F:	xr:
On the 4th of May 1800 the High Mass in the palace by Michael Haydn	--	45.
the 11th d ^o - the High Mass at the Berg by Hofmann	--	45.
the 18th d ^o - the High Mass in the palace by M. H.	--	45.
the 20th d ^o - rehearsal of the new Mass by Fux	--	15.
the d ^o d ^o - rehearsal of the Mass by Bichl	--	15.
the 21st d ^o - rehearsal of a new Vespers	--	15.
the d ^o d ^o - rehearsal of the new Mass by Fux	--	15.
the d ^o d ^o - rehearsal again of a new Vespers	--	15.
the 21st d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 22nd d ^o - the Solemn High Mass in the palace	--	45.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 25th d ^o - the High Mass at the Berg by M. H.	--	45.
the 31st d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 1st of June - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by Jo. H in d minor	--	45.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Litany in the evening	--	30.
the 2nd d ^o - the Solemn High Mass by Hofmann	--	45.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Litany in the evening	--	30.
the 3rd d ^o - the Solemn High Mass of M. H.	--	45.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Litany in the evening	--	30.
the 7th d ^o - rehearsal of the Mass by Breindl	--	15.
the d ^o d ^o - the Mass by Bichel.	--	15.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 8th d ^o - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by J. H.	--	45.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Vespers	--	30.
the 14th d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 15th d ^o - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by J. H.	--	45.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Procession for Corpus Christi in the presence of His Serenity	1	--
the 15th d ^o - the Solemn Vespers	--	30.
the 22nd d ^o - the High Mass in the palace by J. H.	--	45.
the 28th d ^o - the Solemn Vespers in the palace	--	30.
the 29th d ^o - the Solemn High Mass by M. H.	--	45.
the d ^o d ^o - the Solemn Vespers	--	30.
the 6th of July - the high Mass at the Berg by M. H.	--	45.
the 9th d ^o - rehearsal at 10:00 of the Quintet together with Chorus by Fux	--	15.
the d ^o d ^o - evening performance	--	45.
the 13th d ^o - the High Mass in the palace by Mozart	--	45.
Total	20	15

Table 5 cont.

	carried over	F:	xr:
		20	15
the 20th of July – High Mass at the Berg by M. H.		--	45.
the 27th d° - High Mass in the palace by M. H.		--	45.
the d° d° - the Litany as Mr. Specht was in the baths		--	30.
the d° d° - the Litany at the Berg		--	30.
the 2nd of August – the Litany in the palace		--	30.
the d° d° - the Litany at the Berg		--	30.
the d° d° - after the Litany, rehearsal of the Bichl Mass		--	15.
the d° d° - after the Litany, rehearsal of a Motet including a Gradual		--	15.
the 3rd d° - the High Mass at the Berg by Mozart		--	45.
the d° d° - the Litany at the palace		--	30.
the d° d° - the Litany at the Berg		--	30.
the d° d° - after the Litany, rehearsal of the Mass by Jos. H.		--	15.
the 3rd d° - the Litany in the palace		--	30.
the 4th d° - at 10:00 rehearsal of the Bichl Mass in the palace		--	30.
the d° d° - at 10:00 rehearsal of a Motet including a Gradual		--	15.
the 5th d° - Rehearsal of the Fux Mass		--	15.
the d° d° - the Litany in the palace		--	30.
the d° d° - the Litany at the Berg		--	30.
the 10th d° - the High Mass in the palace		--	45.
the d° d° - the Litany in the palace		--	30.
the d° d° - the Litany in the Berg		--	45.
the 14th d° - the Solemn Vespers in the palace		--	30.
the 15th d° - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by Jo. H.		--	45.
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers		--	30.
the 17th d° - the Solemn High Mass at the Berg by M. H.		--	45.
the 19th d° - the Solemn Vespers in the palace		--	30.
the 20th d° - the Solemn High Mass in the palace by J. H.		--	45.
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers		--	30.
the 24th d° - the High Mass in the palace by M. H.		--	45.
the 31st d° - the High mass in the palace by Jos. H.		--	45.
the 5th of September – rehearsal of the new De Deum by Jos. H.		--	15.
the 6th d° - rehearsal of the Bichl Mass		--	15.
the d° d° - a Motet together with a Gradual		--	15.
the 7th d° - the High mass in the palace by Jos H. c		--	45.
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg		--	30.
the 8th d° - the Solemn High Mass by Bichl together with the De Deum by J. H.		1	--
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg		--	30.
	Total	39	30
		F	xr
	carried over	39	30
the 9th of September – the Solemn High Mass by Jos. H.		--	45.
the 12th d° - rehearsal of a Litany by Hasse		--	15.
the 13th d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg		--	30.
the 14th d° - the Solemn High Mass by Fux		--	45.
the d° d° - the Solemn Vespers at the Berg		--	30.
	Total	42	15.

Illustration 2 A facsimile of the first page of a Bader's September 1800 billing statement

Unterzeichnete hat in Gegenwart des Sr. Stadtmusikanten und in Gegenwart der Herren v. Geyers als Bader auf folgende Weise Dienst verrichtet:

Date	Description	Cost
Am 7 ^{ten} May 1800	Ein Geseand in Pfaff & Michel Meyen	4.50
Am 7 ^{ten} "	Ein Geseand bey dem König & Hofmann	4.50
Am 18 ^{ten} "	Ein Geseand in Pfaff & M.	4.50
Am 20 ^{ten} "	Fruch für einen Abend & G.	1.50
Am 20 ^{ten} "	Ein in Abend & G.	1.50
Am 21 ^{ten} "	Ein in einem Vesper	1.50
Am 21 ^{ten} "	Ein in einem Abend & G.	1.50
Am 21 ^{ten} "	Ein in einem in einem Vesper	1.50
Am 21 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Vesper in Pfaff	3.00
Am 22 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Geseand in Pfaff	4.50
Am 22 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Vesper	3.00
Am 23 ^{ten} "	Ein Geseand bey dem König & M.	4.50
Am 24 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Vesper in Pfaff	3.00
Am 1 ^{ten} Juny	Ein Solenne Geseand in der So. M. & d. d. d.	4.50
Am 1 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Litanej abend	3.00
Am 2 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Geseand & G.	4.50
Am 2 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Litanej abend	3.00
Am 3 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Geseand & M.	4.50
Am 3 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Litanej abend	3.00
Am 4 ^{ten} "	Fruch für Abend & G.	1.50
Am 4 ^{ten} "	Ein in Abend & G.	1.50
Am 4 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Vesper in Pfaff	3.00
Am 5 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Geseand & M.	4.50
Am 5 ^{ten} "	Ein Solenne Vesper	3.00
Am 5 ^{ten} "	Ein Sol. Vesper	3.00
Am 5 ^{ten} "	Ein Sol. Geseand & M.	4.50
Am 5 ^{ten} "	Ein Sol. Procession am Geseand in Gegenwart	4.50
Am 5 ^{ten} "	Ein Sol. Vesper	3.00
Am 22 ^{ten} "	Ein Geseand in Pfaff & M.	4.50
Am 28 ^{ten} "	Ein Sol. Vesper in Pfaff	3.00
Am 29 ^{ten} "	Ein Sol. Geseand & M.	4.50
Am 29 ^{ten} "	Ein Sol. Vesper	3.00
Am 30 ^{ten} July	Ein Geseand bey dem König & M.	4.50
Am 30 ^{ten} "	Fruch für ein Wille für ein Geseand bey dem König & G.	1.50
Am 30 ^{ten} "	abends Ein Reduction	4.50
Am 13 ^{ten} "	Ein Geseand in Pfaff & Mozart	4.50
	<i>Juny</i>	20.75

14 following the Feast of St. Mary. The composers Hofmann, Preindl, and Pichl are not well known today but their music was frequently performed in Eisenstadt for the Esterházy. A mass by Hofmann was chosen for Ascension Sunday on May 11 at the Bergkirche for which five musicians from Vienna were brought in to supplement the Eisenstadt musicians.²⁰ In June, another Hofmann mass was performed. Also in June, two masses, one by Josef Preindl and another by Wenzel Pichl, were rehearsed. Following the rehearsals, a decision must have been made in favor of performing the mass by Pichl, as further rehearsals of his mass took place in August and again on September 6 with the culmination being a performance of his mass on Monday, September 8 for the Feast of St. Mary. A rehearsal of a litany by Johann Hasse was scheduled for September 12, but as Bader's billing sheet concludes on September 14, there is no documentation for the date of this performance.

Of greater interest are the performances of the works of Joseph Haydn in the summer and early fall of 1800. Bader lists nine performances of Haydn's masses and his new *Te Deum* from June 1 through September 9. In June, Haydn masses were heard on four Sundays. Bader writes that on June 1 in the palace chapel, Joseph Haydn's "Solemn High Mass... D minor" (*Missa in angustiis*, *The Nelson Mass*) was heard, but he does not specify which masses were performed the next three Sundays. Although none of Haydn's music was performed in July, there was a rehearsal of one of his masses on August 3, and for the Assumption of Mary on August 15 a Haydn mass was

performed in the palace chapel. Two additional Haydn masses were heard on August 20 and 31.

September was an important month with performances of three religious works by Haydn. Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton were traveling in Austria that summer and arrived in Eisenstadt on September 6 for a four-day stay. Landon notes that four concerts were given during this time.²¹ On Sunday, September 7, a Haydn mass was performed in the palace chapel. On his billing statement, Bader indicates "the High mass in the palace by Jos H. c". Was Bader specifying that the mass was in C? If so, the mass would have been either the *Missa in tempore belli* or one of the earlier C-major masses.²² The following day on Monday, September 8, Princess Marie's nameday, both the Pichl mass and Haydn's *Te Deum* were performed, very likely the first performance of the latter. Then, on Tuesday, September 9, another mass by Haydn was performed, probably the *Missa in angustis*. It must have been an extremely memorable time for all who experienced these marvelous musical September days in Eisenstadt.

Growth of the Kapelle from 1800 through 1802

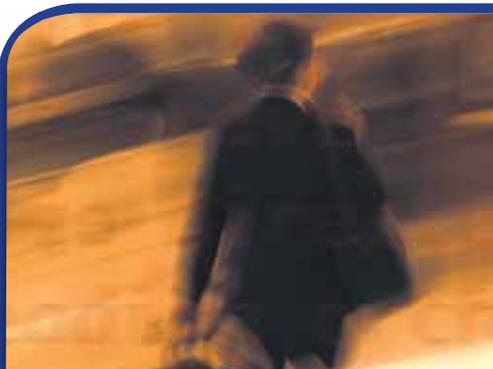
Following the remarkable festivities in September 1800, four of the former wind players, oboist Hyrtl, oboist Elssler, bassoonist Michl, and hornist Prinster, petitioned to be re-employed in the wind band along with two new musicians, Georg Warlen, a clarinetist from Schwabia, and Michael Prinster, younger brother of Anton and also a hornist from Vienna. The prince decided to hire the six wind players at 300 gulden each; before the end of the year, he had employed two more musicians, increasing the number in the Kapelle to 36. For the last two masses, the *Schöpfungsmesse* of 1801, and the *Harmoniemesse* of 1802, Haydn could again write for winds not having had them available for the *Missa in angustis* of 1798 or the *Theresienmesse* of 1799.

By 1802, the number of regularly employed musicians in the Kapelle had increased to 39 and would continue to grow in the years ahead, reaching a peak in 1808 with 96 musicians. In August 1802, Johann Nepomuk Fuchs was appointed to the position of Vice-Kapellmeister, shortly before the

performance of the *Harmoniemesse* in September. He had already taken over some of the administrative duties with the musicians in Eisenstadt and continued to have additional responsibilities. After the performance of the *Harmoniemesse* in 1802, Haydn spent more time in Vienna, but he retained the title Kapellmeister, remaining connected to the Esterházy musicians with whom he had worked during his lifetime and whom he respected so highly. Haydn continued to serve as an advocate and supporter of these musicians in employment relationships with Prince Nicolaus II, regularly interceding on their behalf regarding salaries and working conditions. In Eisenstadt, as the Kapelle grew with the addition of more musicians, the music of Haydn continued to be performed by long-tenured colleagues as well as newly appointed young talent, with enthusiasm, admiration, and respect for their famous and beloved Kapellmeister.

NOTES

¹ See Kathleen Lamkin, *Esterházy Musicians 1790–1809: Considered from New Sources*



U.S. Navy Band is Seeking Musicians

The United States Navy Band is looking for top-tier musicians to be a part of the tradition of musical excellence as a member of their band. The Navy "Sea Chanters"

chorus has an immediate opening for a tenor vocalist. Auditions will be held by appointment only. The minimum enlistment in the U.S. Navy is four years. Longer enlistments may be required to take advantage of special enlistment incentives (bonuses, if applicable, and college loan

repayment). Annual starting salary is \$51,000 – \$58,000, plus full benefits, including medical care. More information about this position can be found in the display ad on page 44.

in the *Castle Forchtenstein Archives*, Vol. 6 of *Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte* (Tutzing, Germany: Schneider, 2007). I am grateful to Josef Pratl of Eisenstadt for his invaluable original research of the Forchtenstein documents and for his generosity in selecting, transcribing, and scanning the documents used in this research. His catalogue of the administrative documents concerning Haydn and the musicians will be published in 2009. Don Moses has also been a valued Haydn colleague who introduced me to Eisenstadt in 1984 and whose book with Robert Demaree on Haydn's masses will be available this year.

² The Bergkirche (Mountain Church) was the Esterházy church located in the Oberberg at the upper end of the town, while the palace chapel (Schloss Kapelle) was the intimate chapel within the Eisenstadt Palace. Masses and other church services were held alternately in these two churches.

³ The list of musicians in Table 1 is taken from the Protocols 4753 and 4756 in the Esterházy Archives in Forchtenstein Castle. Josef Pratl notes that Fuchs was a part of the Kapelle, even though his name did not appear in the Protocols. See also Lamkin, *Esterházy Musicians 1790–1809*, 28, 102.

⁴ The town of Mattersburg, located about 10 miles from Eisenstadt, was called Mattersdorf at that time. Forchtenstein, known earlier as Forchtenau, is about 3 miles further from Mattersburg, and it is here that the Esterházy's Forchtenstein Castle is located at the top of the mountain.

⁵ Documents housed at Castle Forchtenstein include information about the musicians' personal lives. Other important documents are the two *Personnel and Salary Lists* of 1801 from the Esterházy Archives, one housed now in the Burgenland Landesmuseum in Eisenstadt and the other in the Hungarian State Archives in Budapest, which have important information about the musicians' personal lives and salaries. These documents are printed and discussed in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, vol. V *Haydn: The Late Years* (London: Thames and Hudson; Bloomington: University Press, 1977), 63–67.

⁶ Pauer was listed as being from Pest, not Budapest, since at that time Buda and Pest were two separate cities.

⁷ Today, Eisenstadt is in Austria rather than Hungary, largely because the majority of the population is of Germanic descent and German was the primary language of the area. The vote of the

people in Eisenstadt and the surrounding area in 1921 following the First World War was to join Austria rather than Hungary. The new province of Burgenland, the eastern most province of Austria, was created at that time with Eisenstadt as the capital.

⁸ The gulden, a term interchangeable with the florin, was the monetary unit in the Austrian Empire and was used for paying the musicians. There were 60 kreuzer to a gulden. A larger monetary unit than the gulden was the ducat, which was equivalent to 4.5 gulden, that is, 450 gulden would equal 100 ducats. For comparison, Mozart had received 100 ducats in 1790 for composing *Così fan Tutte* although he had originally hoped to receive 200 ducats; Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 62. Haydn's annual salary as Kapellmeister at the Esterházy Court in 1798 was 700 gulden, which may be compared with the 24,000 gulden he earned during his three years in England, according to Griesinger; Vernon Gotwals, *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 35. By 1798, of course, Haydn was semi-retired and spending most of the year in Vienna: the 700 gulden represents a pension of sorts from his longtime employers. During the most active years of Nicholas I's reign, Haydn had received, in addition to his salary, a significant amount of in-kind compensation, additional honoraria for church music, and "bonuses" in ducats when his prince was especially pleased; see Landon *HCW* II, 39–43 *Haydn at Esterháza, et passim*.

⁹ The salaries and goods of the church personnel and the music personnel are taken from the *Personnel and Salary List* of 1798 in the Forchtenstein Document Acta Varia 1798 F 291 Teil 1 (February 20, 1798).

¹⁰ Landon, *HCW* IV *Haydn: the Years of "The Creation,"* 106, 162, 184, 261.

¹¹ For a further comparison of the salaries and additional benefits in the year 1801, see the *Personnel and Salary List* for that year in Landon, *HCW* V, 62–65.

¹² The parish church or Stadtpfarrkirche is today the cathedral in Eisenstadt. Bass Johann Bader and tenor Carl Kraus, the *Regens chori* of the parish church, were often called upon to perform with the Esterházy church musicians.

¹³ Forchtenstein Document CD 1800 N 1644 (Central Direction 1800 Number 1644) dated August 12, 1800. See Lamkin, *Esterházy*

Musicians 1790–1809, 35.

¹⁴ Five years later in 1805 Bader gave up his work in the town and became fully employed in the Esterházy Kapelle, earning 400 gulden and receiving free lodging along with some goods including wine, wheat, and grain. Forchtenstein Document ED N 5501 (Eisenstadt District Number 5501) dated July 30, 1805. Also AM 2128 (Acta Musicalia document in Budapest) dated July 27, 1805. See Lamkin, *Esterházy Musicians 1790–1809*, 53–54, 86.

¹⁵ Forchtenstein Document CD 1800 N 2819/8 (Central Direction 1800 Number 2819/8) dated September 22, 1800. From Josef Pratl's transcription, the document is translated in Lamkin, *Esterházy Musicians 1790–1809*, 36–39.

¹⁶ Leopold Hofmann (1738–93), composer, organist, and violinist from Vienna, wrote in all genres including a substantial amount of church music and became the successor to Reutter as Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's cathedral. Haydn was not personally fond of Hofmann.

¹⁷ Josef Preindl (1756–1823) from Lower Austria was an organist, theorist, and composer who worked in many of the most important churches in Vienna and eventually became the Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's cathedral. He composed many sacred works.

¹⁸ Wenzel Pichl (1741–1805) was from Bohemia but went to Vienna as a violinist in the court theater until he was sent to Milan to work for Archduke Ferdinand. He eventually came back to Vienna with the Archduke. Pichl was widely respected for his music and in his later life especially his sacred works.

¹⁹ Primarily known as a composer of opera seria, the German composer Johann Adolf Hasse was in Vienna at various times in his career and supported the work of Joseph Haydn. Haydn in return greatly admired the older composer.

²⁰ The Viennese musicians for Ascension Sunday consisted of two hornists, a flutist, a bassoonist, and a double bass player, according to a bill submitted for their expenses. See Landon, *HCW* IV, 550 from C. F. Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1927), 166.

²¹ Landon, *HCW* IV, 560.

²² Since Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton were in residence, perhaps the *Missa in tempore belli* is the more likely candidate.

