

**Viennese Chamber Music with Clarinet and Piano, 1783–1827:
Repertory and Performance Strategy**

MARTIN DAVID HARLOW

**Submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

Department of Music

June 2004

VOL. 1.

Summary

The thesis, in two parts, establishes a corpus of Viennese chamber music with clarinet and piano composed between 1783 and 1827 and develops strategies for the performance of this and other Classical music repertory. Extant evidence from both primary and secondary sources confirms that the clarinet was used in chamber music with piano in Vienna in advance of the rest of Europe. Much of that repertory has been located and inspected for the first time by the author. In Part I the corpus and its composers are examined, with emphasis given to hitherto unexamined contemporary reviews of the works and the role played by the clarinet within the varied duos, trios, quartets and larger configurations of instruments with piano. With works often being offered with instrumental options, the relationship between the clarinet parts and their string alternatives, most commonly the violin, is given special attention. By approaching works from differing analytical and historical perspectives a holistic overview is also presented. In that chamber music was largely pursued in the private sphere, few critical reports of performances of chamber music exist. No detailed review of a clarinetist's performance in a work of Viennese chamber music with piano has survived, so the reception of clarinet players in Vienna in other, more public genres is assessed in order to reveal the attributes of clarinetists most highly prized by Viennese commentators. In Part II the debates surrounding historically informed performance are surveyed, as are recent musicological developments in performer analysis. A multivalent strategy for the performance of this chamber music is proposed, derived from the topic theory of Ratner that is as contingent upon performer analysis as historical evidence of previous performance practice. This strategy is applied to three case studies from the repertory. A first appendix is a thematic catalogue of the corpus; a second appendix includes a performing edition of Eberl's Sonata in B flat major, Op.10 no.2 that is included in a recital of music from the corpus, submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iv
List of Figures	v
List of Tables	v
Abbreviations and referencing systems	vi
Introduction to Part I: Establishing the parameters of the study	1
Chapter 1: Eighteenth-century Viennese chamber music with clarinet and piano	12
Chapter 2: Nineteenth-century multi-movement sonata structures before the Congress of Vienna	
I Sonatas and Duos	29
II Trios	72
III Quartets, Quintets and Larger Ensembles	102
Chapter 3: Towards, during and after the Congress of Vienna: Variations, Fantasies and Unterhaltungsmusik	123
Chapter 4: Clarinets and clarinetists in Vienna to 1827: documentary accounts and aesthetic issues	161
Introduction to Part II	202
Chapter 5: Towards a strategy for the performance of the repertory	203
Chapter 6: Performing the repertory: three case studies	
Case Study 1: Beethoven Trio in B flat major, Op.11, first movement	221
Case Study 2: Eberl Sonata in B flat major, Op.10 no.2, first movement	233
Case Study 3: Mozart Trio in E flat major, K.498	239
Bibliography	253
Appendix 1: Thematic catalogue: Viennese chamber music with clarinet and piano, 1783–1827	
Appendix 2: Edition of Eberl Sonata in B flat major, Op.10 no.2	

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are due to the many institutions that have contributed to this thesis and whose staff have helped on research trips, preparing a wide range of source materials for my inspection and supplying facsimile copies of many of the works that form the focus of this study. In Vienna, from the early 1990s, I have enjoyed extended visits to the Austrian National Library (A:Wn), the Austrian State Library (A:Wst) and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (A:Wgm). In the winter of 1998 I visited the Benedictine monastery in Melk, Austria (A:M) funded by Birmingham Conservatoire, University of Central England. A Petrie Watson Exhibition from the University of Sheffield enabled a 1999 visit to the Czech Republic and inspection of materials at the Moravian Museum in Brno (CZ:Bm), and in the University (CZ:Pu) and the National Museum in Prague (CZ:Pnm). This trip, though valuable, served to reinforce that Classical chamber music with clarinet and piano was primarily a Viennese phenomenon and that no comparable Bohemian repertory exists. A visit to the castle in Kroměříž (CZ:Kra) in the early 1990s, although primarily concerned with another research project, enabled the inspection of the collection of clarinet works and sketches of the Archduke Rudolph.

Numerous facsimile materials have also been supplied from archives which I have been unable to visit: notable amongst these are the Civic Library in Belluno, Italy (I:BEc), the Institute 'Orazio Vecchi' in Modena, Italy (I:MOI), the Krumlov archive in the Czech Republic (CZ:K) and the Swedish Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm (S:Skma). In the UK the British Library in London (GB:Lbm) and the Bodleian Library (GB:Ob) at the University of Oxford have provided substantial materials and resources for my work.

To Richard Deveson for his assistance in providing translations of some of the idiosyncratic reviews of works and performances; to Fiona Richards for her unceasing help and encouragement; and particularly to Colin Lawson, who has supervised the project and whose knowledge and enthusiasm have inspired so many performers and scholars of the early clarinet, myself included, I extend my thanks.

List of Figures

Fig.2.1 Eberl Op.10 no.2: title page Gerstenberg and Dittmar edition *c.*1800 (A:M VI 521)

Fig.2.2 Eberl Op.10 no.2, facs. of subscription list p.1 (A:M VI 521)

Fig.2.3 Struck Grand Duo, Op.7, title page of ms copy (S:Skma FfP-R)

Fig.2.4 Hoffmeister Duo V, structural plan

Fig.3.1 Hummel Op.63, Artaria edition (*c.*1814) title page

Fig.3.2 Starke Op.70, Mechetti edition (*c.*1814–15) facs. Cl. part of end of Overture

Fig.5.1 Spectrum of meters (from Allanbrook 1983, 22)

Fig.5.2 Ratner's Sonata Form bridge (from Ratner 1983, 93)

Fig.6.1 Beethoven Op.11, first movement: Harmonic and Expressive Plans

Fig.6.2 Eberl Op.10 no.2, first movement: Harmonic and Expressive Plans

List of Tables

Table 1: Anton and Johann Stadler's concert performances in Vienna 1773–1806

Table 2: Joseph Friedlowsky's concert performances in Vienna 1810–27

Table 3: Ferdinand Troyer's concert performances in Vienna 1817–24

Table 4: Caroline Schleicher-Krähmer's concert performances in Vienna 1822–5

Table 5: Clarinettists in Böckh (1821) and Ziegler (1823)

Abbreviations and referencing systems

Abbreviations

Bar numbers:

III bars 29–40 denotes reference to bars 29 to 40 of the third movement of a work.

Contemporary Periodicals:

<i>AmZ</i>	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> (1798–1848)
<i>AmZöK</i>	<i>Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat</i> (1817–24)
<i>BAmZ</i>	<i>Berlin Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> (1824–)
<i>RZ</i>	<i>Realzeitung</i> (1771–86)
<i>S</i>	<i>Der Sammler</i> (1808–)
<i>WB</i>	<i>Das Wienerblättchen</i> (1783–91)
<i>WJTM</i>	<i>Wiener Journal für Theater, Musik und Mode</i> (1806)
<i>WZ</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitung</i> (1780–)
<i>WZKLT</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode</i> (1816–)
<i>ZeW</i>	<i>Zeitung für die elegante Welt</i> (1803–)
<i>ZwU</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Unterhaltung (Conversationsblatt)</i> (1819–21)

Fingerings:

L4, R3 etc.	Clarinet left-hand fourth finger, right-hand third finger etc.
RH	Piano right hand
LH	Piano left hand

Library sigla:

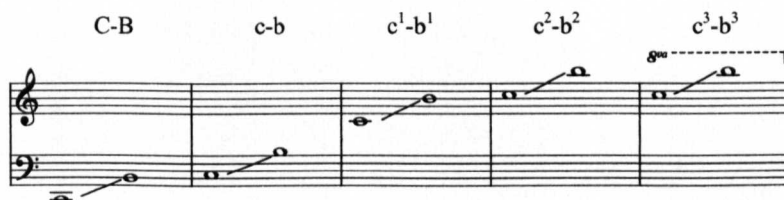
The system of library sigla deployed here is that used by Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Kassel as listed in its publication *RISM-Bibliothekssigel* (Kassel, 1999).

Musical examples:

In-text musical examples appear unedited usually from the first named source in Appendix 1.

Musical notation:

Pitch registers are indicated as follows:



Clarinet notated pitches (that is the transposed pitch) are denoted with the prefix ‘Cl.’, for example ‘Cl.g² sharp’.

Other sources:

- A:Wgm Konzert Zettel Concert notices in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
A:Wn Hoftheater Zettel Concert notices in the Austrian National Library, Theater Sammlung
A:Wst Theater Zettel Concert notices in the Austrian State Library, Theater Sammlung
HALV Hausarchiv des regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein in Vaduz
HALW Hausarchiv des regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein in Wien
Meysel Whistling, Carl Friedrich and Friedrich Hofmeister, *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur* (Leipzig: A.Meysel, 1817–45)
MGG *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 17 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86)
MGG2 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–)
NG *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980)
NG2 *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Reference, 2001)
NMA *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* 130 vols ed. International Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978–)

Viennese concert venues (Chapter 4):

Burg	Burgtheater
gr.R	grossen Redoutensaal
Jahn	Jahn's restaurant
Kä	Kärntnerthortheater
kl.R	kleinen Redoutensaal
L	Leopoldstadttheater
MS	Müllerschen Saale
MV	Saale des Musikvereins
RI	Roten Igel (Red Hedgehog)
RK	Saale zum römischen Kaiser
TW	Theater an der Wien
US	Universität Saal

Referencing systems

Piano is used as a generic term to describe ‘pianoforte’, ‘fortepiano’, ‘clavecin’ etc.

Performer and composer dates, where known, appear at the point in the text where there is the most substantial discussion of that particular individual.

Introduction to Part 1: Establishing the parameters of the study

Many previous studies of the clarinet in the Classical period have been dominated, perhaps understandably so, by the works of Mozart. This composer's extraordinary masterpieces for the instrument, the enigmatic loss of the autographs of the Clarinet Quintet, K.581 and the Clarinet Concerto, K.622 and of Anton Stadler's basset clarinet for which they were conceived, have fascinated scholars for more than fifty years (Dazeley 1948; Kratochvíl c.1958; Ness 1961; Hess 1967; Croll and Birsak 1969; Hacker 1969; Pizarowitz 1971; Poulin (various); Birsak 1985; Fink 1986; Jeltsch 1990; Lawson 1996; Sheveloff 1996; Weston 1996; Adelson 1997). Other Classical repertory studies have explored the clarinet concerto (for example, Boese 1940; Becker 1957; Kratochvíl 1968; Johnston 1972; Floyd 1988; Jacob 1991), but there are only isolated examples of other genre-based studies, such as those by Rau (1977), examining Classical chamber music with clarinet and strings, and Adams (1994), investigating mixed quartets and quintets with winds and strings to 1800. A few studies have been concerned with chamber music works with clarinet and piano (Titus 1962; Merriman 1967; Balássa 1976), with the journal *Clarinet* having produced a number of short, repertory-specific articles (including the author's own study of Ries's chamber music with clarinet: Harlow 2000). Innovative performers have looked beyond the core canon of Classical repertory, and from the 1950s this enquiry resulted in modern editions of works with clarinet by *Kleinmeistern* of the era. Voxman was important in this regard, promoting student research at the University of Iowa that led to the examination of much neglected Classical wind music. Balássa produced a number of editions and articles based on evidence of repertory in Eastern European archives, whilst Klöcker remains a particular champion, editing and recording many forgotten Classical pieces. Jost Michaels and Weston have also made substantial contributions to the body of published repertoire with clarinet from the period.

After the seminal works by Kroll (1965) and Rendall (3/1971), many excellent historical studies of the clarinet have appeared, notable contributors including Ross (1985), Birsak (1994), Lawson (1995) and Dullat (2001). Detailed registers of Classical clarinet makers and extant instruments appear in catalogues by Waterhouse (1993), Young (1993) and Hopfner (1999) and many notable performers of Classical instruments in the late twentieth century promoted less familiar Classical repertory, amongst them Alan Hacker, Eric Hoepflich, Colin Lawson, Antony Pay, Keith Puddy and Hans Rudolf Stadler. With the surge of interest in historical performance, many studies of Classical clarinet technique appeared in the 1980s, including some by the practitioners themselves: for example, Hoepflich (1984: on early clarinet reed position), Rice (1984: on early clarinet fingering charts), Charlton (1988: documentary evidence of early clarinet technique) and Lawson (2000: practical approaches to performing on early clarinets). A valuable contribution to the understanding

of clarinetists' activities worldwide came from Weston's three historical studies: the first of these deriving its structure from a focus on the biographies of important clarinetists (Weston 1971), the second and third being dictionaries, which also supplement biographical and repertory information concerning the clarinetists in previous volumes (Weston 1977 and 2002). Her works, a testament to a huge amount of personal research, are a valuable resource, even if they are for the most part unreferenced.

The most balanced holistic examination of the clarinet in the Classical period is Rice's recent work (2003), including chapters on organological developments, the history of the instrument, playing techniques, repertory, and the media in which the Classical clarinet was used. The substantial literature for the instrument encompassing all genres of Classical music meant that Rice was able to allot only limited space to chamber music (Rice 2003, 182–97), including repertory from across Europe in all chamber media. Although the inclusion of some little-known music is noteworthy, Rice here affords the greatest attention to the contributions of iconic figures: Mozart, Beethoven and Weber. This focus is epitomised in Shackleton's summary of the clarinet's usage in chamber music after Mozart, which articulates the popular historical narrative:

Relatively few composers followed Mozart's lead in writing chamber music for the clarinet, although it continued to be used in *Harmoniemusik*. Beethoven supplied a Trio op.11 for clarinet, cello and piano, and used the instrument effectively in his Quintet op.16 for piano and wind instruments as well as in other works. Brahms made two major contributions to the repertory in his Trio op.114 for clarinet, cello and piano and his Quintet op.115 for clarinet and strings.

(NG2, 5: 908)

In actuality, as the thematic index of works given as Appendix 1 of this study reveals, there exists a small but significant body of Viennese Classical chamber music with clarinet and piano, hidden in Shackleton's void between Beethoven's 1796 quintet and Brahms's 1891 trio. It is this repertory that will be explored in the first chapters of this thesis. The self-selecting starting point is the first record of Mozart's intention, revealed in sketches from 1783, to include winds in a substantial work of chamber music with piano where hitherto the strings had been pre-eminent. It is coincidental that works by Czerny, Kreutzer and Prandau from 1827 should have appeared in the year of Beethoven's death, for it is they rather than he who mark this study's conclusion. Were it not for the fact that these were the last Viennese chamber works to include clarinet and piano in that decade, 1830 might present itself as a tidy endpoint. The revolution in Paris in July 1830 had sent shockwaves throughout Europe and the deaths of Vienna's most eminent musicians in the 1820s (Beethoven, Salieri, Schubert, Schuppanzigh, Winter amongst others) and vigorous cultural developments in other European cities diminished the musical influence of the city. For Vienna,

1830 represented 'the end of a distinctive and colourful era' (Hanson 1985, 195). This date logically subdivides that period of history from the Congress of Vienna in 1814 to the revolution of 1848, described as *Biedermeier*. Although it is sensible to remain sceptical about the potentially coincidental relationships between music and politics, Beethoven's transition to his late period, Rossini's operatic successes around 1814 and the founding of grand opera in Meyerbeer's work in the early 1830s, arouse more than a suspicion that politics and social change significantly impacted upon the 'accumulation of musical events' (see Dahlhaus 1989, 54–7).

Within the period from 1783 to 1827 the chronological subdivision of the repertory is also self-selecting, in accordance with the demarcation of music history through periods of considerable social and political change. After Mozart's first contributions in the early 1780s the inclusion of the clarinet in chamber music with piano remained sporadic until the turn of the century, when from 1800 examples became more numerous and instrumental configurations more varied. In the years immediately before and then after the Congress few multi-movement sonata form works were composed in Vienna, the vogue shifting to lighter pieces, whose structures, styles and titles suggested a different artistic conception and social function, perhaps more in keeping with the prevailing *Zeitgeist* of the restoration.

The 1780s saw the production of the first five-key clarinets in Vienna, the instruments that would remain standard across Europe until at least 1810 (Rice 2003, 51 and 76), and the production of the first Viennese fortepiano. The participation of these 'new' instruments in chamber music is a crucial defining parameter for this study. The first known Viennese publication to include fortepiano appeared in 1777 and, from his study of advertisements for instruments in the *Wienerisches Diarium* (renamed the *Wiener Zeitung* (WZ) in 1780), Mauser has shown the rapid expansion in the number of keyboard instruments in Vienna. From 1785 fortepiano advertisements began to exceed those for any other keyboard, including the harpsichord, a fact directly related to the rising prosperity of the middle classes (Mauser 1998, 103 and 106). Although Joseph II, Emperor throughout the 1780s, was a competent singer, pianist and cellist, his most significant impact on Viennese musical life came as an indirect consequence of his enlightened social reforms. The opportunities that Joseph made available to the populace through compulsory schooling from 1774, and the requirement for certain government positions to have been preceded by a University education, all such developments helped the formation of a powerful new stratum in Viennese society. With increased status, power and wealth, the middle class began to dictate the musical life of the city (see Ringer 1969). In middle class circles the piano became the pre-eminent instrument, and musical education a social requirement, as it had been for the upper echelons of society for some time. The plethora of Viennese keyboard players was not lost on Mozart, himself an advocate

of the fortepiano, who wrote to his father on 2 June 1781 that ‘Vienna is certainly the land of the clavier’ (Anderson 1985, 739). The increasing market demand for instruments was reflected in a variety of subsequent business successes, notably the piano makers Streicher (1794) and Graf (1804). The fortepiano did not, however, eclipse the harpsichord and other keyboards immediately. Maunder notes that:

The overwhelming impression from reading the advertisements of the 1780s is of great variety. Many different keyboard instruments were in common use, including harpsichords, spinets, clavichords, and several kinds of combination instrument, besides pianos of various shapes, sizes, and actions. It would be quite wrong to think of a standardized Viennese fortepiano, or to regard the harpsichord and clavichord as already superseded.

(Maunder 1998, 106)

Contemporary usage of the term ‘clavicembalo’ and ‘clavecin’ described what we would today call the harpsichord (see Maunder 1998, 15–16 for discussion of these terms in contemporary texts). It was doubtless then to make the work available to what may still have been a majority of harpsichordists in Vienna that Mozart’s Trio, K.498 was offered in the Artaria edition of 1788 for performance on either clavicembalo or fortepiano. A sonata with clarinet by Eberl from 1800 suggested the clavecin or fortepiano; the latest works in this study with such keyboard options are two sonatas by Wanhal published in 1801 and 1803. Only a spurious arrangement of the first of these sonatas, in a manuscript source probably for domestic usage, and Vincenc Mašek’s Concerto for three clavicembali with winds provide no fortepiano alternative for the harpsichord. Aside from these extraordinary examples, it would seem that all other repertory was intended for performing media with fortepiano. It is probable that the modish sonority of this instrument was more suited to pairing with the clarinet, which, as Jeltsch has intimated, may have been regarded as a symbol of progress and new ideals (Jeltsch 1990, 13).

The increase in the number of keyboard performers in Vienna in the 1780s had a significant impact upon repertoire development. Braunbehrens has noted that, in the early 1780s:

[The] constant activity among amateurs had one important effect on musical life: it created an insatiable demand for new compositions. The nobility needed new works for their private orchestras; public concerts consisted almost exclusively of new music; and in domestic circles there was always a need for piano pieces and chamber works. The result was a booming market for sheet music, in which the latest operas circulated very quickly in the form of piano reductions or instrumental arrangements of the most popular excerpts. Only the newest pieces were wanted; no one bothered with ‘old’ works.

(Braunbehrens 1989, 147)

Towards the end of the decade, however, the expense of the Turkish wars (from 1788) may well have tightened the purse strings of the Viennese: as Komlos has shown, string genres with piano showed a steep rise in production in the middle of the decade until a decline after 1788, attributable to the prevailing economic conditions in Austria at this time (Komlos 1987, 227). But the financial and social repercussions were nothing compared with those effected by the wars with the French from 1792 to 1814. Joseph had never viewed the political unrest in France as a particular threat, more as an endorsement of his enlightenment policies. After his death in 1790 his brother Leopold II inherited the war with the Turks and a situation in France that was worsening and threatening their sister Queen Marie Antoinette. Leopold took action, issuing the Declaration of Pillnitz (27 August 1791), urging European royalty to protect King Louis XVI. Leopold's sudden death in March 1792 left the problems in the hands of his young son Francis. Viewing the Declaration as a threat, during the coronation of Francis II on 20 April 1792, the French Legislative Assembly declared war on Austria.

Francis was an arch conservative, whose 'only quality was a stubbornness in resisting foreign enemies and domestic change' (Taylor 1948, 43). During his reign he was to witness defeats at the hands of the French that had disastrous consequences for the Habsburg domains. Paranoid over fears of an Austrian insurrection Francis restored strict censorship laws in 1792 and in 1793 banned secret societies and French publications. Reading rooms were closed and literary journals curtailed, with only the government-run *WZ* lasting into the nineteenth century. In 1803 a re-censoring commission was introduced which reviewed publications that had appeared between 1780 and 1792. A climate of fear touched all: Beethoven wrote on 2 August 1794 to Nikolaus Simrock in Bonn that:

Here various important people have been locked up; it is said that a revolution was about to break out – But I believe so long as an Austrian can get his brown ale and little sausages, he is not likely to revolt. People say that the gates leading to the suburbs are to be closed at 10 p.m. The soldiers have loaded their muskets with ball. You dare not raise your voice here or the police will take you into custody.

(Anderson 1961, 18)

The musical establishments of the nobility, who bore much of the cost of the fighting, suffered consequentially: as Schönfeld reported in 1796, 'one orchestra after another has been dissolved until, except for the Prince Schwarzenberg, almost none exist any more' (Schönfeld 1796, 77).

The new century saw Napoleon as first consul, essentially ruler of France, leading a succession of French victories, resulting in substantial losses of Habsburg territories and of Austrian influence and

wealth. Napoleon's attempt in 1802 to reconstitute the Holy Roman Empire, of which Francis was head, by taking control of the college of electors that chose the Emperor, precipitated Napoleon's self-promotion to 'Emperor of the French', and Francis's self-declaration as 'Hereditary Emperor of Austria' (14 August 1804). In the early nineteenth century, in spite of rigorous state control, the ascendance of the middle class could neither be stopped nor reversed (Heindl 1997, 41). Francis attempted to create an infrastructure that concealed the obvious divisions in society (by ennobling many high-ranking bureaucrats and financiers), but this only further served to highlight the ostensible separation between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

The French occupations of Vienna in 1805 and 1809 compounded Austria's humiliation, and led to its position in Europe being further weakened. The staggering cost of war meant that expenditure during the period was double the average income of seventy-five million florins (Ingrao 1994, 233). Between 1805 and 1809 the cost of living rose threefold, and the *Hofkammer* even had to endure a six-month period of French direction in 1809. Austria declared its bankruptcy in 1811.

Napoleon's wild expansionist agenda and the fateful Russian campaign, begun in June 1812, which saw the destruction of the French army at the hands of the Russian winter, initiated the French Emperor's demise. Following Wellington's victory at Victoria on 21 July 1813 and the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813 Napoleon's forces were further weakened. Viennese composers celebrated military success in their music: the Battle of Leipzig inspired a cantata of that name with music by Pavel Mašek (1761–1826) performed in Vienna in December 1813, with a 'charakteristisches Tongemälde' by Riotte for piano of the same title presumably being for more private celebration. A fourth coalition of the European allies defeated Napoleon, and on 31 March 1814 Paris fell. Napoleon abdicated on 6 April 1814.

The Congress of Vienna that convened from September 1814 to June 1815 provided a watershed in the reign of Francis. Through the proceedings of the Congress some strategic sense of the division of Europe was attempted. Such an assembly of crowned heads had never before been witnessed in Europe and ten thousand visitors enlarged the population of Vienna. With the heads of state came the full entourage of their courts offering artists and musicians unimaginable opportunities. Beethoven took full advantage, accumulating savings for the first time, from the proceeds from notable successes including *Fidelio* (which played twenty times), the cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, Op.136 and *Wellingtons Sieg*, Op.91 (Moore 1992, 214). The huge accompanying carnival bankrupted many of the nobility (Prince Lobkowitz, for example), whose estates were sold on to the new breed of middle-class bankers and financiers.

There was an understandable sense of renewal in Vienna after the Napoleonic wars, but the frugalities and hardships that the fighting had caused left the Viennese compliant in attitude. The populace was also constrained by a government seeking to reinstate an *ancien régime* long gone: '[t]he new conviction that utopian hopes had no bearing on reality and that everyone was dependent on the political power of the state induced passive resignation'. It was in a climate 'in which innocuous amusement took on an exaggerated importance' that music for the home, the kernel of Viennese middle class society, flourished (Heindl 1997, 51).

Opportunities in Vienna had always drawn notable musicians to the city, Mozart and Beethoven included. Through the works of Haydn and Mozart, and then those of Beethoven, the Viennese Classical style became pre-eminent in the late eighteenth century, this being 'not just a modern judgement, but an historical fact, internationally acknowledged by 1790'. Beethoven's stature was also widely recognised: '...by 1815 even most musicians who did not like his music would have admitted that he was the greatest living composer' (Rosen 1971, 111). That this study should focus on Vienna might therefore seem to require little justification, given the central position that the city holds in the history of the mature Classical style. For these composers stylistic supremacy also brought concomitant influence in the deployment of instrumental media both in Vienna and across Europe. The influence of Mozart and Beethoven in particular pervades the description of the repertory and its composers discussed in Chapters 1 to 3.

Other reasons justify the Vienna-centric focus of this study. Even excluding Mozart's and Beethoven's eighteenth-century works examined in Chapter 1, there is compelling evidence to suggest that in Vienna the duo sonata, piano trio, quartet, quintet and larger configurations with clarinet appeared in advance of other European centres. The catalogues of Whistling and Hofmeister, the *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur*, published in Leipzig from 1817 by Meysel, with annual supplements to 1827 and a cumulative volume in 1828, remain the most valuable sources of information on published repertory of the early nineteenth century. The initial catalogue of 1817 (Meysel 1817) lists only two non-Viennese sonatas with clarinet, both by Germans. The earliest of these works may have been the Sonata, Op.13 by Samuel Friedrich Heine (1764–1821), with an alternative for violin, published by Boehme in Hamburg. The Sonata, Op.7 for piano and clarinet with alternatives for flute and cello by Carl Arnold (1794–1873) is from 1815 (see Herresthal 1993) and was published by André in Offenbach c.1816 (review in *AmZ* XVIII, 25 December 1816: 904). When Meysel 1818 listed the publication of Carl Maria von Weber's (1786–1826) *Grand duo concertant*, J.204 (review in *AmZ* XX, 17 June 1818: 442) there were already fifteen Viennese duos for clarinet and piano, many with the sonata designation. Meysel 1819 lists three sonatas with clarinet. That by François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775–1834), a collaboration

between the Frenchman and the Italian clarinet virtuoso Giovanni Gambaro (1785–1828), was published by Schlesinger in Berlin (review in *AmZ* XX, 24 June 1818: 460). The Sonata for piano and clarinet by Franz Danzi (1763–1826) was reviewed in the *AmZ* in 1819, which commented on the melodic writing in the three-movement work, with the clarinet deemed to be more suited than the violin alternative to this style (*AmZ* XXI, 24 March 1819: 204). Danzi's affinity for the clarinet appears to have derived from his friend Weber. He also wrote a Sonata, Op.62 for basset horn or cello and piano, a work that was published by Offenbach in 1823. The Sonata, Op.35 by Johann Michael Henkel (1780–1851) for piano and cello appeared with a clarinet alternative (review in *AmZ* XXI, 1 December 1819: 830).

Aside from these six works, Meysel to 1827 also includes fourteen works in its section 'duos with piano' variously entitled *Fantaisie*, *Duo*, *Potpourri* and *Divertissement* by composers such as Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789–1856) (3 *Fantasies* for piano and clarinet) and the clarinetist Christian Rummel (1787–1849) (*Fantaisie on the Cavatine from Tancredi*, Op.10 for piano and clarinet or violin, reviewed in *AmZ* XXII, 29 March 1820: 224). The sonatas of Jean Xavier Lefèvre (1763–1829) were listed in Meysel 1817 under 'solos for clarinet' rather than as 'duos with piano': although today these are performed with a realised piano part, they were printed only with clarinet and bass parts (see Rice 2003, 187–8 for discussion of the few sonatas with clarinet and unfigured bass).

As it had in the duo sonata, the clarinet established itself in the keyboard trio in Vienna in advance of the rest of Europe. Of the eight non-Viennese trios including clarinet and piano listed in Meysel to 1827, the earliest is by Georg Abraham Schneider (1770–1839), the *Trio*, Op.10 for piano, clarinet or violin, bassoon or cello published by Kühnel in Leipzig c.1808. Nine Viennese works predate Schneider's Op.10. Only this work and an arrangement of the first of three piano trios by Cipriani Potter (1792–1871), appearing as the *Grand Trio*, Op.12 no.1 (Meysel 1824) for piano, clarinet or violin, bassoon or cello, could be performed as the standard piano and string trio. The titles of other trios also suggest a different creative conception to the multi-movement Viennese piano trio with clarinet: for example, Louis Emmanuel Jadin's (1768–1853) *Nocturnes* (dated 1806 in *MGG2*; Meysel 1817) for piano, oboe or flute and violin or clarinet, Friedrich Müller's (1797–1873) *Grande Polonaise* for piano or harp, clarinet *obbligato* and bass (Meysel 1822), and Heinrich Agatius Gottlob Tuch's (1766–1821) *Serenata* for piano, clarinet or flute and cello (Meysel 1818).

No quartets with clarinet and piano are listed in Meysel to 1827. Thirteen quintets with clarinet and piano appear between Meysel 1817 and the 1823 supplement. Those by Danzi (Op.41, published by Breitkopf and Haertel in 1810), Friedrich Wilhelm Grund (1791–1874) (Op.8, an alternative to the

piano quartet of the same opus, discussed at length in *AmZ* XIX, 2 April 1817: 244) and Friedrich Witt (1770–1836) (Op.6, published by Breitkopf and Haertel c.1805, alternatively as a piano quintet) have the piano, oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon instrumentation of Mozart's Quintet, K.452. Of the rest, most are for four winds and piano, distinctive from the Viennese repertory through the inclusion of the flute. These works are by Danzi (Opp.53 and 54), August Ferdinand Häser (1779–1844) (*Ollapotrida*), Jadin (Three Quintets), Martin de Ron (1789–1817) (Op.1) and Louis Spohr (1784–1859) (Op.52, 1820). Two works have a combination of strings and winds with piano: the arrangement of Spohr's Octet, Op.32 for piano, clarinet, violin, viola and cello (with ad libitum double bass) (Meysel, 1827) and Frédéric Kalkbrenner's (1785–1848) Quintet, Op.81 for piano, violin or clarinet, viola or horn, cello and double bass. Breitkopf and Haertel published this work in 1826.

One sextet with clarinet and piano is listed in Meysel 1817, the Grand Sextet, Op.19 by Friedrich Heinrich Himmel (1765–1814). This was an alternative version of the composer's Gran Sestetto, Op.18 for two violas, two horns, cello and piano written in Riga in 1799 whilst the composer-pianist was on a concert tour. When Kühnel in Leipzig published the work in 1802 the horn parts were offered in alternatives for clarinet. Meysel 1817 lists subsequent editions by Boehme in Hamburg and Erard in Paris. The Grand Polonaise, Op.35 for piano, flute, clarinet, viola, cello and double bass (ad libitum) by August Alexander Klengel (1783–1852) is listed in Meysel 1824. The Sextet, Op.47 by the Viennese composer Eberl for piano and string trio with clarinet and horn, offering no alternative instrumentation (a work of 1796, published in 1808, see below p.105), is the earliest *bona fide* multi-movement sextet with clarinet and piano. No septets are listed in Meysel, the only octet being that by Prince Louis Ferdinand, Prince of Prussia (1772–1806), his Op.12 for piano, two violins, clarinet, two horns and two cellos published by Breitkopf and Haertel in 1808.

Thirteen variation sets are listed in Meysel to 1827. Weber's Variations on a theme from his opera *Sylvana*, Op.33, J.128 for clarinet and piano is the earliest non-Viennese work of this type and is predated only by Kreutzer's 1809 *Romance Favorite*. Composed in 1811, Weber's work was published in 1814 by Schlesinger in Berlin. It is unusual amongst contemporary variation sets with clarinet in that Weber used his own melody for variation. Like the Viennese variations with clarinet and piano, non-Viennese variations broadly divide into those that employ well-known folksongs, and those that employ melodies from popular operatic productions. The air 'Mon coeur soupire' formed the subject for Guillaume Baron de Gumpenberg's Variations, Op.3 for piano, clarinet and viola (Meysel 1819), whilst an archetypical melody was used in Klengel's *Air Suisse*, Op.30 for piano, violin and clarinet (although this melody was not familiar to the *AmZ* reviewer: *AmZ* XXVI, 28 October 1824: 720). Operatic tunes were the subject for variations in Baron de Boyneburgk's

Introduction and Variations on a theme of Joseph Weigl, Op.10 for clarinet and piano or clarinet and orchestra published by Simrock (Bonn and Cologne), (review in *AmZ* XXIV, 30 April 1823: 292), the same composer's Variations for clarinet or violin and piano (on a simple melody set to Goethe's words 'Mir ist auf der welt nichts lieber etc. '; review in *AmZ* XXIX, 18 July 1827: 508) and Rummel's Variations on a March from Berton's *Aline, reine de Golconde* for piano and clarinet (Meysel 1822).

Although a detailed examination of Viennese repertory including other winds and piano is beyond the scope of this study, it does not appear that the deployment of the clarinet in the early nineteenth century was matched by the usage of other winds in Viennese chamber music with piano. The flute, the most popular wind instrument of the amateur, was included in a large repertory of duo sonatas, mostly as an alternative to the violin. Eberl's Sonata, Op.29 of 1804 is a rare example of a work with a particular designation for that instrument. The oboe has very little Classical duo repertory and no significant Viennese sonata. Also rare are duo sonatas with bassoon: the Sonata, Op.3 for piano and bassoon or cello by Anton Heinrich Liste (1772–1832) is an important work of 1807 and Krufft composed two examples, the Grande Sonata, Op.34 with alternative for cello published by Breitkopf and Haertel in Leipzig and the Sonata in F major, also with a cello alternative, published by Mechetti. Beethoven's Sonata, Op.17 for piano and horn of 1800 is a seminal work; amongst isolated other works with horn are Krufft's Sonata in E major with an alternative for cello (c.1813) and Ries's Sonata, Op.34, also with a cello alternative (1811).

There exist many Viennese trios by, amongst others, Gyrowetz, Hoffmeister, Hummel, Friedrich Kanne (1778–1833), Leopold Kozeluch (1747–1818), Leidesdorf, Moritz, Ries, Starke, Wanhal and Joseph Woelfl (1773–1812), which have the combination of piano, flute and one string instrument, usually the cello. Most of these have the flute as alternative to a violin part and the majority are entitled Sonata, in the tradition of the 'accompanied' form of that genre. Trios including oboe, bassoon or horn (that do not include the clarinet) are rare, Beethoven's Trio, WoO37 for piano, flute and bassoon from 1786 being an important example. Larger instrumental configurations with other winds and piano are also few in number: a handful of quartets exist with flute, two strings and piano by Tobias Haslinger (1787–1842) and Wanhal, and Struck's Quartet, Op.5 for piano, flute and two horns or two violas is an unusual instrumental configuration. The first Viennese quintet with other winds was Mozart's *Adagio and Rondo*, K.617 for piano or glass harmonica, flute, oboe, viola and basso from 1791, with later quintets including Eberl's Quintet Brilliant, Op.48 for piano, oboe and strings from 1805, Johann Gallus Mederitsch's (1752–1835) two Quintets for piano, flute, violin, viola and basso and Kreutzer's Divertimento for piano, flute, horn, bassoon and double bass (*ad libitum*) of c.1819. Larger ensembles include Emmanuel Alois Foerster's (1748–1823) Sextet, Op.9

for piano, violin, viola, cello, flute and bassoon, Moscheles's *Grandes Sextet*, Op.35 for piano, violin, flute, two horns and cello and Hummel's *Grand Septet*, Op.74 for piano, flute, oboe, horn, viola, cello and double bass. Viennese variation sets with flute are commonplace; Krufft's *Variations on a Cavatine from Der Augenarzt* for piano and horn or cello, published in 1812, is amongst the few for other winds.

Meysel testifies to a distinctive Viennese chamber music with clarinet and piano that developed in advance of the rest of Europe. To date there has been no comprehensive study of that music, including as it does works by composers who themselves have received little scholarly attention, and whose oeuvres still remain largely untouched. If the first part of this thesis does not reveal any greater masterpieces than those by Mozart and Beethoven, whose works provide the starting point, it will serve better to illuminate the extraordinary qualities of these early examples and provide a truer history of the clarinet's deployment in chamber music with piano in Vienna during the Classical period.

Chapter 1: Eighteenth-century Viennese chamber music with clarinet and piano

A letter from Mozart to his father of 3 March 1784 (Anderson 1985, 869) outlined a period of intensive concert activity during Lent through a list of recent and forthcoming engagements in the period 26 February to 3 April. These numbered private performances at the homes of the Esterházy and Galitzin families, performances in a subscription series of the keyboard virtuoso Georg Friedrich Richter and three subscription concerts arranged by Mozart himself, to be given at the Trattnerhof rooms. Mozart also wrote of his aspiration to give two concerts in the 'theatre', that is the court-controlled Burgtheater, on 21 March and 1 April. The composer noted the necessity for these concerts to include new repertory, and the difficulties of finding time for composition given his busy teaching and performing commitments.

An impressive list of subscribers for the Trattnerhof concerts, which commenced on 17 March, was documented in Mozart's letter of 20 March 1784 to his father. He noted, however, problems concerning the first of the Burgtheater Akademien:

My first concert in the theatre was to have been tomorrow, but Prince Louis Lichtenstein is producing an opera in his own house, and has not only run off with the cream of the nobility, but has bribed and seduced the best players in the orchestra. So I have postponed my concert until April 1st and have had a notice printed to this effect.

(Anderson 1985, 872)

There was every reason for Mozart to want to give two concerts in the theatre at this time of year, and to feel frustrated at the conflicting opera production (the work performed was Vincenzo Righini's (1756–1812) *Piramo e Tisbe*: see Link 1997, 216). The Burgtheater was one of two court theatres, the other being the Kärntnertheater, closed during Lent to operatic and theatrical productions, on days known as 'spielfreie Tage', under an imperial edict of 1747 (see Biba 1980, 77; Morrow 1989, 39). This was a time when musicians could hire the theatres for self-promoted concerts, which, with their considerable audience capacity, are known to have returned sizeable box office receipts. Mozart's Akademie in the previous year, on 23 March 1783, had apparently been full (Anderson 1985, 843: letter of 29 March 1783), and was patronised by the Emperor himself. After a flurry of concert activity in the last throes of the Lenten season, the Vienna theatres, amongst the few venues suited to concert performance, reopened after Easter. Thence returned the difficult situation for concert promoters.

In a letter to his father of 10 April 1784 Mozart surveyed the activity of the previous few weeks, drawing particular attention to his new Quintet in E flat major, K.452, first performed at his Akademie of 1 April. His excitement with the work and its reception is apparent:

I have done myself great credit with my three subscription concerts, and the concert I gave in the theatre was most successful. I composed two grand concertos and then a quintet, which called forth the greatest applause: I myself consider it to be the best work I have ever composed. It is written for one oboe, one clarinet, one horn, one bassoon and the pianoforte. How I wish you could have heard it! And how beautifully it was performed! Well, to tell the truth I was really worn out in the end after playing so much – and it is greatly to my credit that my listeners never got tired.

(Anderson 1985, 873)

On many levels Mozart's Quintet provides an enigmatic starting point for this study. It seems somewhat ironic that the first extant Viennese work of chamber instrumentation with clarinet and piano was seemingly conceived for, and executed in the public domain. The extract from the letter of 20 March also poses a conundrum: Mozart notes the postponement of the concert in the theatre, and yet he still describes this as the first of the two concerts that existed in the schedule outlined in the letter of 3 March. By presuming the postponement of the concert of 21 March, authors have been drawn to the conclusion that the concert of 1 April was constituted of works intended for the earlier Akademie (for example, Hellyer 1990, 289). This has led to questions concerning the date of completion of the quintet, for the piece appears in the composer's catalogue of works, his *Verzeichnüss*, begun in February 1784, dated 30 March 1784, two days prior to the 'second' Akademie. The supposition that the quintet was completed in advance of the first Akademie has even contributed to Leeson's and Whitwell's theory that entries in the *Verzeichnüss* were compiled retrospectively in December 1784, and that Mozart's entry for K.452 was chosen arbitrarily. They surmise that the work was more probably finished by 19 March so that parts could be copied and rehearsals could have taken place for the 21 March concert (Leeson and Whitwell 1973, 781).

With no certainty regarding the repertory included in Mozart's intervening Trattnerhof concerts on 24 and 31 March, to say nothing of the other performances given at the homes of the nobility and in Richter's subscription series (also in the Trattnerhof), and with Mozart's professed urgency to bring new works before the Viennese audience, it would seem highly improbable that Mozart would have been willing to delay all of the repertory of the 21 March concert until 1 April. Mozart had probably never intended the Quintet to be performed in his first Akademie, which was effectively cancelled. What then may have instigated its completion on 30 March for inclusion in the concert of 1 April? From an advertisement in *Das Wienerblättchen* (WB) we know that on 23 March the clarinetist Anton Stadler held an Akademie in the Burgtheater at which 'a great wind piece of a very special

kind by Mozart' was performed (see Deutsch 1965, 223). This work was the Gran Partita, K.361 and Mozart's most ambitious piece of Harmoniemusik, which expanded the customary octet of pairs of oboes, clarinets, horns and bassoons into an enlarged instrumentation including additional horns, basset horns and string bass. Such was the popularity of Harmoniemusik at this time, partly inspired by the establishment of the Emperor's own *Kaiserlich-königlich* (KK) Harmonie in April 1782 (Hellyer 1973, 119), that there was good cause for Mozart to exploit this particular vogue. Extant documentary evidence suggests that Stadler's performance and Mozart's work were rapturously received (Schink 1785, 286) and it would seem little wonder that Mozart might attempt to capitalise on the success of this earlier event. An advertisement in *WB* on 1 April 1784, the day of the concert, suggests that K.452 was intended to play an important role in Mozart's Akademie. This notice lists K.452 amongst other new works to be presented: a 'Concerto on the fortepiano', a 'quite new grand Symphony' and an 'entirely new grand Quintet'. The symphony was probably the 'Linz', K.425 (completed in the autumn of 1783, but new to Vienna), the piano concerto may have been that in D major, K.451 (although its 22 March 1784 dating in the *Verzeichnüss* may suggest that it was for the 24 March 1784 Trattnerhof concert) (*WB* 1 April 1784: 56). Morrow has shown that late eighteenth-century concerts often followed a standard format, with opening and concluding symphonies framing alternating vocal and instrumental items, together usually totalling some seven to nine pieces (Morrow 1989, 142–4). Mozart was assisted on 1 April by Luigi Marchesi (1755–1829) and Caterina Cavalieri (1760–1801), fashionable singers who had both been performing in concerts in the Burgtheater at the end of the Lenten season (Marchesi on 22 March, Cavalieri on 28 March), and by Johann Valentin Adamberger (1743–1804) who had sung in Mozart's successful Lenten concert in the previous year. Within the stereotypical concert format, the penultimate item was often a showcase for the concert promoter himself, the instrumental item before this being the novelty of the evening. Mozart's Akademie closely followed this standard arrangement:

Concert programme 1 April 1784

1. Symphony 'with trumpets and drums'
2. An aria (sung by Adamberger)
3. Piano Concerto 'entirely new'
4. Symphony 'quite new ... grand'
5. An aria (sung by Mlle Cavalieri)
6. Quintet 'entirely new'
7. An aria (sung by Marchesi)
8. Mozart improvisation at keyboard
9. Symphony

(from Deutsch 1965, 223)

The position of K.452 may have signalled the novel aspect of this work, a novelty guaranteed by this being the first instance of chamber music with piano performed in a public concert in Vienna (see Morrow 1989, 161–2; Edge 1992, 129), and the first ensemble work for winds and piano. It is

little surprising then that Mozart should have drawn his father's attention to this particular work and its atypical instrumentation, the work being for one each of the winds in the standard Harmonie ensemble, Mozart's letter using the numeral '1' rather than the word *ein*, presumably for emphasis. This was, in effect, a quintet for 'half-Harmonie' and piano.

Mozart had certainly been exploring the notion of a quintet for piano with wind instruments for some time, probably from the autumn of 1783. Sketches for K.452 appear together with those for the opera *L'Oca del Cairo*, K.422, which can be dated from 1783 (see Konrad 1992, 157, summarised in Hüppe 1998, 10). Twenty bars of sketches of a melodic line with annotations for the keyboards and winds correspond to the development and recapitulation of I bars 71–90 (Konrad 1992, 162–3).

A thirty-five-bar fragment of an incomplete Quintet for piano, oboe, clarinet in B flat, basset horn and bassoon, K.452a also dates from the same period. This was mentioned by Nissen (Nissen 1828, 12) but was presumed lost until it reappeared for sale in London in 1990. It is now housed at the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg. Paper type suggests a dating also of 1783 (Konrad 1992, 163–4). The reason why Mozart did not complete this work is unclear, particularly given that the instrumentation with the clarinet and basset horn suggests the involvement of the Stadler brothers or Mozart's contact with the basset horn virtuosi Anton David and Vincent Springer. Hüppe's proposal that Mozart may have abandoned the work because the clarinet and basset horn do not offer sufficient contrast (Hüppe 1998, 23) is hardly convincing given the successful deployment of these instruments together in subsequent works.

An evaluation of the previous writings on K.452 serves to demonstrate the problems concerning the work's classification, description and contextualisation. Saint-Foix, in the immense critical biography of the composer started with Wyzewa in 1912, in which Mozart's life is divided into thirty-four periods, allows the work to fall into that described as 'The Great Period of Virtuosity', the work being 'a symphonie concertante of very fine effect' (Saint-Foix 1936, 36). Einstein also regards K.452 as being on the boundary of concertante style, and yet with the necessary blend and balance of Classical chamber music (Einstein 1946, 277). But Abert states unequivocally that the piano set against the winds ensures that 'the concertante style prevails...as a matter of course', describing the work as reminiscent of the piano concertos, it being 'etherealized society music, skilful, tasteful, gay, innocent of complicated spiritual problems, and superlatively joyous'. He notes stylistic similarities between the slow movements of K.452 and Mozart's concertos, and the 'French type' theme of the finale, which he regards as being common in Mozart's concertante works (Abert 1963, 167). Keys also recognises similarities with the concerto, viewing the piano part

as having ‘concerto-like elaboration’, with the final movement *cadenza in tempo* serving to enforce the ‘concerto ambience’ (Keys 1980, 163).

For others, the novel instrumentation stimulated analytical examination seeking to demonstrate how Mozart overcame the inherent difficulties of the medium. For Tovey the form and structure of K.452 resolve weaknesses of the piano and wind quintet through instinctive compositional genius (Tovey 1944, 108), King finding a ‘triumphant solution’ to the problem of balancing contrast without foregoing compositional unity (King 1970/R1976, 192). Ratner’s suggestion that the piano may serve more of a chameleon-like function, at times expanding the texture by acting as a proxy member of the wind ensemble, is an issue worthy of further examination here (Ratner 1980, 141). These disparate assessments show that K.452 has eluded tidy biographical, stylistic and generic classification. Only in Hüppe’s monograph (1998) has an attempt been made to bring together issues of reception, style, genre and context with a detailed structural analysis of the work.

The disparate nature of the corpus of chamber music after K.452 examined in this study would seem to renounce any attempt to regard Mozart’s work as instigating a new genre. A musical genre may be ‘class, type or category [of musical work], sanctioned by convention’ (Samson in *NG2*, 9: 657), but convention appeared to play little part in the development of this particular repertory. Although K.452 may have stimulated others to write for similar media (Beethoven, Triebensee and Lannoy, for example), external influences, performers or performance occasions, were commonly the more potent compositional stimuli. A generic taxonomy of works might be meretricious in certain instances, but the classification of Classical Viennese chamber music with clarinet and piano as some forgotten genre would be intellectually indefensible. Because no substantial tradition of works with clarinet and piano was established during the years from 1783 to 1827, an examination of the works in terms of generic traits and types is valuable for a fuller understanding of the repertory.

A genre-orientated music history would clearly have problems admitting those works examined in this study, which may present generic ambiguity, on the periphery of one or more genres, or which may be generically homeless, defying classification altogether. But as Dahlhaus has observed ‘the history of musical genres is not music history in its entirety’ (Dahlhaus 1974, 621). Through his many writings on the theory of genre, and through significant contributions by amongst others Kallberg (1988), genre studies in the latter part of the twentieth century moved from the categorisation of works into discrete generic types (sonata, string quartet and so forth) formalised through the codification of past attributes, to a more flexible understanding of genre whereby the relationship and tensions between title and musical content were used by composers as a persuasive

means of expression. For Dubrow a 'generic contract' is formed between author and reader, with a title or other indicators instigating an expectation on the part of that reader that can be confirmed, thwarted or manipulated (Dubrow 1982, 31). For musical works the listener's expectations may be related to matters of structure, instrumentation, style, form and duration, a composite of identifying characteristics, or 'genre markers'. Kallberg has noted that composers can seek to challenge the common attributes of a genre rather than subscribe to them.

Genres do not necessarily act in isolation from one another; relations among different genres also may affect the perceptions and conceptions of composers and listeners. Genres may interact in a number of ways. Hierarchical arrays are perhaps the most obvious of these interactions; much of the prescriptive writing about genre through the centuries has been concerned with the ranking of classes of art... Throughout history there have been groups of genres that overlapped perceptually, so that the meaning of one genre in part results from comparison with another.

(Kallberg 1988, 244)

Problems regarding the theory of generic contract appear when one considers works that would seem to initiate a new genre, such as K.452. Given that these works have no pre-established normative genre traits, Kallberg grants such works a special status: '[d]esigned by their authors to be interpreted under one set of circumstances, they are taken by later listeners to form part of an altered tradition' (*ibid.*).

It is hard to know what the audience would have expected on the occasion of the first performance of K.452. The advertisement in *WB* did not mention that the Quintet would include wind instruments, so the instrumentation may have come as a surprise at the concert itself. Mozart's credentials as a virtuoso pianist were well known in Vienna and his compositions for Harmoniemusik, including the octet Serenades K.375 and K.388 may have been better known than extant evidence suggests. Certainly the performance of the Gran Partita on 23 March 1784 may have affirmed the composer's commitment to this genre. Before the performance of K.452, in this concert, Mozart played a piano concerto (even two if we believe Mozart's report to his father in the letter of 10 April 1784, see above p.13). But would the audience expect concerto-like display from Mozart, in a work that appeared to have the instrumentation of a chamber music group? Or would the wind instruments impose something of the generic traits of Harmoniemusik? Would the intimate interplay and dialogue that would characterise works for the chamber be captured here, in spite of the public presentation? What would the form and structure be of a work that was publicised as a 'Grand Quintet' (the two symphonies in the concert also bore the 'grand' designation in the advertisement)? And if the wind players did include other Viennese virtuosi (it is generally assumed that Stadler was amongst the performers) how would these instrumentalists be expected to make an

impact? For this Viennese audience the work must have presented a challenging new listening experience.

Mozart's instrumentation offered abundant scope for a sophisticated and complex interplay of genre markers, and thus for listener manipulation through allusions to different generic types. Unlike earlier writers Hüppe discusses the work in terms of this genre discourse, finding the work between the serenade and symphonie concertante, subsuming features of the piano concerto (Hüppe 1998, 39–45). The starkest generic tension would have been between the Harmoniemusik serenade and the piano concerto. Later works with winds and piano saw a clear concatenation of these genres: the concertos and concertinos for keyboard and Harmonie by Vincenc Mašek (1755–1831) and Joseph Triebensee (1772–1846) are not true chamber works, but concertante pieces which, particularly in the case of Triebensee's Concertino, combine the multi-movement Harmoniemusik-serenade form with the virtuosic writing suggested by the title. But Mozart's K.452 was a much more complex synthesis, on the boundary of these other genres. It is this generic indeterminacy that has caused the precarious historical placement of the work and that has prevented a fuller understanding of its expressive import.

In K.452 texture alone played a significant role as a genre marker. The four principal textural permutations available to Mozart were as follows: piano and wind tutti; piano alone; winds alone (either together or in reduced scoring, that is *à3* or less); piano with winds in reduced scoring (*à4* or less). Of these textures the allusion to Harmoniemusik would be best effected in tutti writing (where the piano might be made to conform to attributes of winds) or in passages for the four winds alone. The piano may evince concerto-like characteristics either within tutti textures (where the winds are subservient) or in music for the piano alone. The texture of piano with winds in reduced scoring might facilitate a concertante treatment, particularly when the piano accompanies a wind soloist.

The work bears many structural, textural and stylistic similarities to Mozart's Harmoniemusik. The Largo opening is reminiscent of the stately introduction to K.361, the reduced versus full texture of the opening of the Allegro moderato (an important means of achieving contrast in the homogeneous wind texture) is akin to the scoring of K.361, I bar 15. The syncopated rhythm of the motif here is like K.361, I bars 19ff.). There is a close motivic resemblance, too, between the theme of the sonata-rondo Allegretto and the horn melody that appears in the recapitulation of the opening movement of the Serenade in E flat major, K.375 at I bar 151. So, too, does the brevity of the development section (sixteen bars) seem similar to that of the first movement of this serenade (at twenty of 238 bars, proportionally shorter still).

But it was probably not these subtle intertextual references to his *Harmoniemusik* that would have had the greatest impact on the 1784 audience: the prime tension is that the piano, try as it might, is never able to assert its supremacy over the winds. In a clash of genres, the wind instruments triumph, forcing the piano to submit to wind-dominated textures. Although thematic material may originate in the piano, its derivation is never in doubt when the winds take ownership of the same material. The first eight bars of the *Largo* introduction epitomise Mozart's clever development of these oppositions and tensions: the stately opening (so described by Tovey 1944, 109) is in the piano, the winds tantalisingly punctuating the harmony with *forte* chords, but, in the ensuing four bars the winds see the full timbral potential of that music enacted. The piano, almost as though a higher pitched wind instrument at I bar 7, is required to integrate into an essentially wind-dominated texture. Once the winds have been introduced, the piano provides an accompaniment to the concertante winds at I bars 9–12. At other points the concertante texture requires piano accompaniment, for example at II bars 18–26 (and at the reprise at II bars 91–9) and from II bar 51.

There are further instances of the piano's assimilation into the texture almost as an additional member of the *Harmonie* ensemble: the lean piano writing at I bars 37–40 has the piano LH as though a higher pitched clarinet (bar 37), a second bassoon (bar 38) and maybe a flute (bar 39–40). After two four-bar statements of the second subject theme (I bars 43–50) the piano appears to make a sustained attempt to sound a virtuosic voice, the roulades at I bars 50–53 in concerto-like display. But the winds mock this outburst, slowing the momentum in their simplified presentation at I bars 54–5. A chamber texture returns, with phrase and answer in the clarinet and oboe at I bar 56, enticing the piano to participate in the imitation and producing another passage of curious bare writing for that instrument at I bars 57–60.

The brief development offers a further instance of the winds' domination of the piano, where, through simple chordal interjections, they goad the piano into successive statements of the *Allegro moderato* theme. They dictate the harmonic shift towards A flat major at I bar 68, and with their almost banal interjections at I bars 71 and 73 force presentations of the first group theme in B flat minor at I bar 71 and C minor at I bar 74. Satisfied with the arrival at C major the winds take off with a statement of the theme over a stereotypical oscillating piano accompaniment. The winds' abrupt change of harmonic direction at I bar 81 frog-marches the piano back to the home key in the following bar. In this remarkable section of music the harmonic action and consequential brevity is entirely dictated by the actions of the wind instruments.

Only in the third movement is there any sense of opposition between the piano as soloist and the winds. That this movement ends with a *cadenza* clearly refers to the concerto, but this *cadenza*

privileges the winds over the piano. Once more Mozart plays with the listeners' expectations: after the customary preparation to a 6/4 chord at III bar 158, the cadenza is 'in tempo' (pragmatically the only way that all instruments could participate) proceeding in an imitative *stile antico*, the piano the last voice to enter after the winds in turn. Chains of ascending and descending chords, with piano triplet decoration of the harmony, bring the music to an abrupt rest at III bar 177. The imitative style then continues before a reiteration of the 6/4 chord at III bar 196. Thence follows the winds' threefold presentation of rising thirds. Beneath an oboe f^2 trill at III bar 200, which signals the conclusion of the cadenza, the piano supplies an additional inner voice, as though a second clarinet. The cadenza is the antithesis of the improvisatory, virtuosic display that might have been expected. The piano's contribution is limited: apart from the triplet figuration at III bars 169–76 the instrument does nothing more than supply the prevailing harmony or surrogate for bass or melodic lines as a member of the wind ensemble. By consciously deploying the *stile antico* Mozart challenges the audience till the last. The closing coda, from III bar 213, the simplest broken octave figuration in the piano against sustaining winds which Tovey described as an 'absurd figure' (Tovey 1944, 120), provides a *buffa* conclusion to the work and a stylistic turnabout and comic denouement.

After its inaugural performance in Vienna on 1 April, Mozart is known to have performed K.452 later in the same year, on 13 June, at the house of a pupil, Barbara Ployer (Anderson 1985, 880: letter of 9 June 1784, completed 12 June 1784). Mozart's widow recorded another performance of the work in an anecdote published in the *AmZ* in 1799 (*AmZ* I, 6 February 1799: 289–92 and *AmZ* I, 11 September 1799: 854–6). Although Eisen has called into the question the authenticity of the anecdote (Eisen 1991, 77 and 80), Constanze suggests in her reminiscences that a Polish count was given the manuscript of K.452 and that it subsequently appeared in an arrangement for piano, violin, viola and cello published by Artaria without Mozart's authorisation. Artaria did indeed publish a version for piano quartet, but not until 1794. The question of the authenticity of the *AmZ* article aside, that Mozart gave over the score of the work might explain the reason why the work was first published in its original version with winds only in 1800 (by Gombart of Augsburg). With so few Viennese performances recorded in the eighteenth century it is impossible to know the exposure that the work received during Mozart's lifetime or in the period before its publication.

Beethoven's Grand Quintet in E flat major, Op.16, in the same scoring as Mozart's K.452, has inevitably been compared with its precursor in spite of the fact that no substantive evidence exists that Beethoven modelled his work upon that of Mozart, or indeed that the composer ever heard Mozart's work performed. Johnson has assigned a tentative date for Op.16 as May or June 1796, firstly based upon evidence from sketches for the work (in the Kafka and Fischhof Miscellanies) on a

paper type employed on the composer's trip to Prague and Berlin in the first half of 1796, and secondly from the inclusion of sketches for Op.16 with others for the Cello Sonatas, Op.5, works written for, and performed in Berlin by the court cellist Jean-Louis Duport (1749–1819) in the summer of 1796 (Johnson 1980, 362–4). Kerman has suggested that, like Mozart before him, Beethoven may have embarked upon a work with different scoring for winds and piano prior to the completion of the Quintet. He proposes that Beethoven had planned a quartet in G major for flute, oboe and bassoon with piano for a patron in Prague (Kerman 1970, 287–8). The Kafka Miscellany includes lengthy sketches for two movements of such a work for piano and winds (a complete draft of a sonata exposition, and a set of variations on the popular tune 'Ah! vous dirai-je maman') whilst another folio in the Miscellany has the inscription 'quartett in g mit flauto oboe fagott' (see also Johnson 1980, 24–40). These sketches appear on Bohemian paper. A draft of a letter from Beethoven to an unknown recipient appears on a Fischhof Miscellany leaf that would appear to indicate the completion of a quintet: 'I have the honour of sending you the quintet, and you will be doing me a great offence if you regard it as an unimportant gift. The only restriction that I make is that you give it to no-one else' (*ibid.*, 37–8). Taken together, Johnson concludes that this quintet was probably Op.16, and that a group of wind players in Prague had given him the idea for such a work, perhaps after a performance of Mozart's K.452 (*ibid.*, 35).

The first recorded performance of Op.16 was that given on 6 April 1797 at a concert by the violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh (1776–1830) held at Jahn's restaurant. Beethoven himself played the piano, Triebensee the oboe, Franz Joseph Bähr the clarinet, Wenzel Matuschek the bassoon and Mathias Nickl the horn. The personnel remained the same for a performance in the following year at a Tonkünstler Societät concert on 2 April 1798. It is a measure of his regard for his Quintet that Beethoven elected to perform this work at this event, the concert being attended by the Emperor Franz and the imperial family (Thayer and Forbes 2/1967, 204; Pohl 1871, 66). It is probably this performance that Thayer refers to when noting, from minutes of the Tonkünstler Societät of 10 May 1798, that Beethoven distinguished himself in the work and in his improvisation therein (Thayer and Forbes 2/1967, 197). Clearly Beethoven felt the work to be an appropriate vehicle for the display of his pianistic talents. The work was eventually published by Mollo in Vienna in 1801 and dedicated to Prince Joseph Schwarzenberg.

Making comparison with Mozart's K.452 Tovey attempts to demonstrate Beethoven's less successful attempt to overcome the problems of the medium in Op.16 (Tovey 1944, 109ff.), a conclusion shared by Einstein (Einstein 1946, 277). Smallman's appraisal of Op.16 as being conceptually quite different to K.452, with a broader tonal scheme, greater employment of tutti textures versus solo voices and a lesser focus on motivic interplay implies that Beethoven's work is

more like the concerto than its precursor (Smallman 1990, 21). Cooper, on the other hand, finds in the structure of Op.16, particularly in the first movement, Beethoven's preparations for the symphony, inconclusive phrase endings and dovetailed phrases intending to create 'symphonic momentum and continuity' (Cooper 2000, 64). Certainly the hierarchical distribution of the four principal textural permutations attests to this composer's different play with genre. It is paradoxical that although the thematic material of Op.16 appears to be more overtly derived for the winds than that of Mozart's K.452, for example the 6/8 *quasi* 'chasse' rondo finale theme, it is the piano that provides the principal energy and impetus here. Beethoven's piano is more independent, the sixteen-bar first subject and the eight-bar second subject of the first movement, the eight-bar opening theme of the second movement and the eight-bar subject of the finale are all presented solo. It is also the piano that provides the textural continuity: the first bar of rest in the first movement is not until I bar 95, well into the second subject group and after more than seventy bars of continuous play. Even here the instrument remains silent for only two bars, adding decorative triplets and duplets from I bar 97 to the wind presentation of the second subject. On many occasions tutti writing in the winds serves an accompanimental function or as harmonic filler, for example at the reinforcement of the cadence points at the end of the first movement exposition. The second movement, in particular, evinces concertante wind writing with piano accompaniment, although unlike Mozart's slow movement this commences with the piano, which provides the principal interest in embellishments at the repetitions of the subject. Only rarely does the piano supplement the Harmonie, such a remarkable feature of K.452 (for example, the *quasi* bassoon writing at the wind presentation of the first subject theme at I bars 37–45). Rather, the winds actually provide a framework for bravura writing in the piano, for example, the bassoon bass line at III bars 52–9 and the fugato treatment of the rondo subject in B flat minor in the winds over piano semiquavers at III bars 108–15.

Beethoven's generic interplay is less subtle, less manipulative than Mozart's. Whereas the piano in Mozart's quintet is at every turn cajoled into engagement in wind-orientated textures, Beethoven's work has a much clearer distinction between virtuosic display reminiscent of the concerto, and concertante writing for the winds as soloists: the demarcation of genres here is more clear-cut. That Beethoven should wish the piano to be foregrounded might seem unsurprising: the composer had, after all, yet to compose his first piano concerto when he wrote Op.16, whilst Mozart had written sixteen before the composition of K.452. Aside from Thayer's record of Beethoven's improvisations in 1798, Ries recounts Beethoven's extensive extemporisation in the last movement in another performance, much to the chagrin of the oboist Friedrich Ramm. Whilst Mozart's 'cadenza in tempo' consciously suppresses virtuoso pianism, Beethoven found ample room for showy display:

Beethoven played his Quintet for piano and wind instruments; the famous oboist Ram from Munich played also and joined Beethoven in the quintet. – In the last Allegro a pause occurs several times before the theme begins again; in one of these pauses [III bar 75?] Beethoven suddenly started improvising, taking the Rondo as the theme, and entertained himself and his listeners for quite some time, although the other players were not so amused. They were annoyed and Mr. Ram was even angry. It did indeed look rather comic to see these gentlemen, expecting to begin any moment, constantly raising their instruments to their mouths, only to put them down quietly again. At last Beethoven was satisfied and returned to the Rondo. The whole company was enchanted.

(Wegeler and Ries 1987, 69–70)

Mozart's only other completed work for an ensemble including piano and a wind instrument was the Trio in E flat major, K.498 for piano, clarinet and viola for which the compositional stimulus was quite different. Caroline Pichler (1769–1843), the daughter of an imperial official at whose home Mozart was often a guest, left anecdotes and reminiscences of the composer in her memoirs. Here (Pichler 1844, 180) she records that the trio was written for, and first performed at the home of Franziska Jacquin (1769–1853), a daughter of the botanist and professor Nikolaus Joseph von Jacquin (1727–1817). The work is assumed to have been composed for performance by Mozart himself (viola), his friend Anton Stadler (clarinet) and Franziska, his pupil (see Plath and Rehm in *NMA*, XIX/3, 197). Evidence from other works known to have been associated with the Jacquins, from paper dating (Tyson 1987) and from other documentary evidence (see Kraus 1933), suggests that Mozart enjoyed a concentrated and intense liaison with the Jacquins, particularly from the summer of 1786. The work was entered into Mozart's *Verzeichnüss* on 5 August 1786 and may have been one of the earliest of the works intended for that household. (There is no documented performance of the work, either private or public, during Mozart's lifetime, or indeed of any Viennese performance in the period to 1830, although Stadler is known to have performed in the work in a concert in Hamburg on 29 November 1794 (Poulin 1992, 949).) Surviving correspondence between Mozart and Franziska's brother Gottfried von Jacquin (1767–92), who was also a pupil, the earliest of which dates from early 1787, demonstrates the strength of the relationship. One letter, of 15 January 1787 (Anderson 1985, 902) from Mozart to Gottfried, whilst the composer was in Prague, confirms the close bond: Mozart, accompanied by Anton Stadler on the visit, relays how the party coined nicknames for themselves and other friends on the outward journey. That Mozart ('Punkitititi') could write to Gottfried ('Hinkiti Honky'), mentioning both Stadler ('Natschibinitschibi') and his sister Franziska ('Signora Diniminimi') suggests a very close acquaintance between all parties.

No model existed for Mozart's K.452, allowing for a generic hybridisation and the situation of the work on the periphery of other conventional types. But by 1786 he had already written works for piano trio, a genre enjoying some popularity in Vienna, including that in G major, K.496 entered

into the *Verzeichnüss* on 8 July 1786. The admission of the foreign voice of the clarinet into this and other conventional instrumental media must itself have triggered a panoply of cross-generic references. The clarinet, probably better known through its use within the military sphere and in *Harmoniemusik*, was capable then of bringing the characteristic markers of these genres into direct conflict with the generic expectations associated with instrumental configurations with piano and strings. One can only imagine the multifarious associations effected upon the listeners to a concert in 1802, recorded in the diaries of Count Rosenbaum, which included the performance of a keyboard sonata accompanied on the clarinet by a uniformed Russian military officer (Radant 1968, 100).

Smallman finds in K.498 Mozart's 'capacity for grasping intuitively the essence of a demanding new chamber medium', the mutation of the piano trio in K.498 actually serving to release Mozart's imagination in writing for trio: here the clarinet 'positively demanded an idiomatic role', whilst the viola placed new emphasis on the tenor area, liberating the third voice of the trio from its supporting bass function (Smallman 1990, 23–4). For Lawson the work reflects the favourite techniques and idioms of the individual performers, '...in Stadler's case these included accompaniment figuration now firmly within the chalumeau range, as well as melodic figures including that part of the compass' (Lawson 1996, 23). The autograph of K.498 is extant at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, but when the work was published by Artaria in 1788 the clarinet part appeared in a version for violin, the title page noting that 'La parte del Violino si puo eseguire anche con un Clarinetto'. No transposed part was offered, performances on the clarinet necessarily omitting the occasions when Mozart exploited that instrument's lower compass. On only four occasions, however, was there a necessity to amend material to accommodate the violin's compass. These all occur in the final movement.

Triplet figuration in the chalumeau register, the first appearance of such writing, is transposed an octave higher for the violin (Ex.1.1);

Example 1.1 Mozart K.498, III bars 73–6

The violin commences its figuration at III bar 120 a third higher, with adjustments in the third beat (the same applies at III bar 150) (Ex.1.2);

Example 1.2 Mozart K.498, III bars 120–3

The violin has broken, in place of the clarinet's open arpeggios (Ex.1.3).

Example 1.3 Mozart K.498, III bars 128–31

The deployment of the clarinet here is remarkably restrained, Mozart making judicious usage of the characteristics of the instrument that he had been so actively developing in other genres, particularly in *Harmoniemusik*. The range of the clarinet is conservative throughout (Cl.e¹-c³ in I; Cl.g¹-d³ in II)

and only belatedly in the third movement does it assert its unique chalumeau persona. By comparison with K.361, which for Lawson ‘represents the single most important milestone in Mozart’s development as a composer for the clarinet and the basset horn’ (Lawson 1996, 23), the clarinet writing is decidedly lacking in adventure. The lyrical thematic material may suggest the serenade, and may well have been inspired by Stadler’s cantabile (see below p.168), and reference to Harmoniemusik may be implied through the inclusion of a second movement Minuet. There may be a hint of the piano concerto, too, in the brilliant keyboard writing in the finale. But in matters of style, form and structure K.498 is as much an enigma as K.452, with no author adequately accounting for the almost monothematic opening Andante in 6/8 and the absence of a slow movement *per se*. It appears that a rather benign, song-like clarinet is presented here (perhaps accounting for almost exclusive deployment of the clarinet register, Cl.b¹-c³). A recurrence of thematic material across different movements was noted by Keller (Keller 1974, 135–6): although the extent to which the thematic relationships were conscious or simply examples of ‘auto-theft’ is unclear (see Kaplan 1982, who notices a striking parallel between K.498, III bars 116–19 and the Piano Quartet, K.478, I bars 56–65), they contribute to a unanimity of expressive intention across all three movements, which Rice has noted are similar in terms of tempo (Rice 2003, 193). These issues have particular implications for the performance of the work (see Chapter 6).

According to Czerny, Beethoven’s Trio, Op.11 for pianoforte, clarinet or violin and cello was written for the clarinetist Bähr, who had performed in the Vienna performances of Op.16 in 1797 and 1798 (Thayer and Forbes 2/1967, 214; on Bähr see Weston 1970; 1971, 38–40; and 1977, 31). Sketches for the first two movements exist in the Kafka Miscellany (Kerman 1970, 23–4 and 277) although no such materials exist for the finale, a theme and variations on the popular trio ‘Pria ch’io l’impegno’ from Weigl’s *L’amor marinaro*, which was first performed in Vienna on 15 October 1797. Czerny records that it was Bähr who suggested this theme for last movement variations (Czerny 1970, 9). When the Trio was published by Mollo in Vienna in 1798 it became the first work whose title page included the clarinet as the first-named alternative to the violin, making a variant of the standard piano trio. No documented public performance of the work in Vienna is known during Beethoven’s lifetime, although Ries reported the notorious encounter between Beethoven and the keyboard virtuoso Daniel Steibelt (1765–1823), when Beethoven performed the work at the Vienna home of Count Fries in April or May 1800 (Wegeler and Ries 1987, 70–1: Ries inaccurately describes this as the first performance; see also Thayer and Forbes 2/1967, 257).

Like Mozart, Beethoven had previously composed piano trios by the time of the composition of his trio with clarinet (Piano Trio, WoO 38 of 1791; Piano Trios, Op.1 of 1794–5) and had recent experience of writing for cello in the Sonatas, Op.5 (1796). In spite of the evidence from sketch

materials that Op.11 was conceived for clarinet, Beethoven seemed unable or unwilling to develop a particularly idiomatic role for the clarinet. The potential surrogacy of the clarinet for violin in the trio may have been a restraining factor: Cooper makes the plausible suggestion that Beethoven had an overriding concern with the work's saleability, and that the clarinet or violin is 'not particularly idiomatic for either instrument but which suited both' (Cooper 2000, 74). On only two occasions do the clarinet and violin have notational differences (Ex 1.4; Ex.1.5).

In both instances the unique material in the clarinet serves to disrupt the logical sequence of the semiquaver scalic passagework passed between piano, violin and cello. On each occasion in the Mollo edition of 1798 the slurs in all of the other parts are omitted in that for the clarinet. Perhaps Beethoven provided an *ossia* for clarinet and these marks were overlooked in the printing process. What is more, the reprise of I bar 79 in the tonic at I bar 216 requires a revision of the arpeggiatic pattern to avoid the appearance Cl.f³. At face value these appear rather crude amendments to the only two passages of overt 'brilliant' figuration in the first movement. Other passages also seem as well or more suited to the violin, for example the double and triple stops in the third variation of the final movement at III bars 82–3, when the clarinet's single pitches seem somewhat exposed in this *fortissimo* writing. Only perhaps in the sustained slow movement does the writing appear particularly apposite for the clarinet.

Example 1.4 Beethoven Op.11, I bars 76–83

The image shows a musical score for Example 1.4, Beethoven Op.11, I bars 76–83. The score is in B-flat major and 3/4 time, marked 'Allegro con brio'. It features four staves: Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)), Violin (Vln), Cello (Cello), and Piano (Pf.). Bars 76-83 show a complex passage with semiquaver scalic passagework. The piano part has a forte (f) dynamic and a crescendo. The violin and cello parts also have forte dynamics and crescendos. The clarinet part has a forte dynamic and a crescendo. The piano part has a forte dynamic and a crescendo. The violin and cello parts have a forte dynamic and a crescendo. The piano part has a forte dynamic and a crescendo.

Example 1.5 Beethoven Op.11, I bars 213–20

213 [Allegro con brio]

Cl.(Bb)

Vln

Cello

Pf.

217

cresc.

cresc.

cresc.

sf

sf

sf

sf

Neither Mozart's nor Beethoven's Quintets were published in their original instrumentation until some years after their composition. Conceived for professional performers and the public stage the difficulty of summoning the full complement of wind players, of the requisite quality, clearly did not make these works an attractive commercial concern. Sonatas and piano trios were the province of the amateur however, and particularly through Beethoven's example the clarinet appeared able to surrogate effectively for the violin in the popular piano trio. It was left to others in the nineteenth century to develop this instrumental surrogacy in the sonata for solo instrument and piano and in the piano trio and quartet. But these iconic composers still exerted a powerful stylistic influence on others discussed henceforth in this study.

Chapter 2: Nineteenth-century multi-movement sonata structures before the Congress of Vienna

I Sonatas and Duos

In his own age the native Viennese composer Anton Eberl (1765–1807) was one of a few deemed worthy to challenge the pre-eminence of the triumvirate of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Eberl was a child prodigy who gave recitals in Vienna from the age of eight and he may have been a pupil of Mozart (White in *NG2*, 7: 847–8) and Kozeluch (Kim in *MGG2* ‘Personenteil’, 6: 18–21). Useful biographical information derives from the *AmZ* obituary for Eberl (*AmZ* IX, 1 April 1807: 423–30) with the only two substantial studies of his work being those by White (1971), examining the piano works, and Kim (2002), examining the composer’s contribution to the symphonic genre. Although stylistic similarities with Mozart led to several of his works being mistakenly published in Mozart’s name, Eberl soon developed a personal musical language, eschewing his formative influences, Brown finding that works from the last ten or twelve years of his life reveal striking Beethovenian traits (Brown 1988, 451). Contemporary judgement, using analogies with the writers Jean Paul Richter (1763–1825) and Friedrich Maximilian Klinger (1752–1831) (whose play ‘Sturm und Drang’ of 1776 gave its name to the literary epoch), found Eberl to be the match of Beethoven:

In piano compositions Beethoven and Anton Eberl may now be said to be the strongest. Both have originality, fire and power; both are overflowing with ideas, and the works of both are extremely hard to execute, though they certainly reward the effort. Beethoven, it seems to me - to give full rein once again to my addiction to comparison - has a close resemblance to Jean Paul. Both are distinguished by very great genius, and yet also by very many peculiarities and bizarreries, for which genius must be forgiven. Eberl’s power is seen more in the whole than in the parts. With fiery colours and large strokes he places powerful figures before our minds, like Klinger’s paintings – figures that grip us with marvellous force, even if too much wild and untamed strength is sometimes apparent.

(Fischer 1803, 217ff.)

The *AmZ* even found Eberl’s Symphony in E flat major, Op.33 preferential to Beethoven’s ‘Eroica’ Symphony, Op.55 when the works were performed at concerts at von Würth’s home in the winter of 1805 (*AmZ* VII, 13 February 1805: 321–2; see also Senner 1999, 1: 167–8 and Volek and Macek 1986, 75–80).

After concert tours of Germany in the winter of 1795–6 Eberl travelled to St Petersburg where he worked for the Russian royalty as Kapellmeister, pianist and teacher until 1799. He was in St Petersburg again between 1801 and 1802. His focus from 1800 was on instrumental composition,

including some imaginative chamber combinations with wind instruments and piano: the Flute Sonata, Op.29 (publ. 1804); the Trio, Op.36 for pianoforte, clarinet or violin and cello; the Quintet, Op.41 for pianoforte, clarinet or violin, two violas and cello; the Sextet, Op.47 for pianoforte, violin, viola, cello, clarinet and second horn and the Quintet, Op.48 for pianoforte, oboe, violin, viola and cello (publ. 1806).

Eberl wrote seven sonatas for violin and piano, the first of which were published in 1800 by Gerstenberg and Dittmar in St Petersburg as *Deux Grandes Sonates*, Op.10. The second of Op.10 offered alternative parts for clarinet or violin. This was not only the first Viennese sonata for clarinet and piano, but probably also the first ever sonata for the clarinet with an independent piano part. In this and other chamber works with clarinet, Eberl showed a particular affinity for the timbral potentialities of the clarinet. The sonata is in B flat major, with an E flat major second movement Romance. The first sonata of Op.10, in A minor-major, was not offered with a clarinet alternative (although it should be noted that the sonatas were not sold separately). Stylistically the work is a confluence of the 'accompanied' sonata (where the melody instrument is subservient to the piano), the 'duo' sonata (with equality between instruments) and, through the *ad libitum* bass part, the piano trio. Probably performed on a cello (it includes *pizzicato* indications) this part mostly reinforces the bass line in the keyboard LH. Only rarely does it have rhythmic or melodic independence, when it becomes a tenor voice, for example at II bars 11–12, and when it supplies an independent bass over an ornamented keyboard accompaniment at II bars 54–7.

The keyboard's independence resembles usage in the accompanied sonata: it performs with the reinforcing basso in the first movement development (Ex.2.1), and alone in the second episode of the rondo finale (Ex.2.2).

Example 2.1 Eberl Op.10 no.2, I bars 130–8

130 [Allegro spiritoso]

Cl.(Bb)

Basso

Clav./Fp.

135

Example 2.2 Eberl Op.10 no.2, III bars 149–57

149 [Allegretto]

Clav./Fp.

153

The keyboard presents most, but by no means all, of the important thematic material: the clarinet introduces a new theme toward the end of the first movement exposition (Ex.2.3).

Example 2.3 Eberl Op.10 no.2, I bars 87–91

87 [Allegro spiritoso]

Cl.(Bb)

Basso

Clav./Fp.

Tutti textures include the clarinet doubling the keyboard RH (Ex.2.4);

Example 2.4 Eberl Op.10 no.2, I bars 18–22

And the keyboard LH (Ex.2.5).

Example 2.5 Eberl Op.10 no.2, III 97–101

The clarinet also provides independent accompanimental figuration (Ex.2.6).

Example 2.6 Eberl Op.10 no.2, I bars 101–5

Duo dialogue between the instruments is rare, and repetition of complete phrases, the keyboard, then clarinet or vice versa, provides the principal means of textural contrast. But the phrase and repetition is well suited to the clarinet here, with many phrases having a song-like quality. The opening eight bars presented by the piano alone are repeated in the clarinet with supporting basso (Ex.2.7).

Example 2.7 Eberl Op.10 no.2, I bars 1–16

Allegro spiritoso

Clav./Fp.
Cl.(Bb)
Basso
Clav./Fp.
Cl.(Bb)
Basso
Clav./Fp.

A similar alternation of the thematic material between clarinet and keyboard occurs in the second subject group (Ex.2.8).

Example 2.8 Eberl Op.10 no.2, I bars 34–50

[Allegro spiritoso]

Cl.(Bb)
Clav./Fp.
Cl.(Bb)
Clav./Fp.
Cl.(Bb)
Basso
Clav./Fp.

The sectionalised phrasing is well exemplified in the tripartite second movement, where the clarinet presents the initial theme in its entirety (II bars 1–24), and again at its reprise (II bars 46–69), the long-breathed lines seemingly apt for the sustained tone of the clarinet. In the central C minor section the clarinet provides support for the keyboard in the manner of the accompanied sonata.

The absence of notes in the lower range of the clarinet in the first and second movements (the range deployed is respectively Cl.a-d³ and Cl.a-c³) suggests a transference from the violin. Only somewhat belatedly at the end of the third movement does Eberl deploy notes below Cl.a, the introduction of these lower pitches perhaps recompense for the violin double stops at III bars 246 and 253 (Ex.2.9).

Example 2.9 Eberl Op.10 no.2, III bars 246–56

246 [Allegretto]

Cl.(Bb)

Vln

Basso

Clav./Fp.

249

arco

253

7

Obvious opportunities to exploit the additional lower pitches of clarinet are overlooked (Ex.2.10).

Example 2.10 Eberl Op.10 no.2, III bars 51–2

The work would appear to lack many of those features - the use of the chalumeau register, arpeggiatic writing across the range, registral contrasts - which are considered to be distinctive to that instrument. The work's flat key tonality, thematic characteristics and their structural disposition mean that the sonata lends itself well to performance on the clarinet, but there is no evidence to suggest this was a clarinet sonata first and foremost. It would appear that the first sonata with clarinet and piano was born primarily through that instrument's successful surrogacy for the violin. A surviving subscription list for the Gerstenberg and Dittmar first edition of the work, which contains no evidence of clarinettist subscribers, might also support this conclusion.

Like the subscription concert series, a subscriber to printed musical editions was required to make a commitment, and almost certainly provide pre-payment, through which a minimum income from the publishing venture could be guaranteed. Detailed lists of concert subscribers are rare (Mozart's record of the 1784 Trattnerhof subscribers in the letter to his father of 20 March 1784 is a valuable example), and lists of subscribers to printed music rarer still. Such a list accompanied Eberl's Op.10 and is extant with the copy of the Gerstenberg and Dittmar edition in the library of the Benedictine monastery in Melk, Austria. Doubtless circulated to all subscribers, it is a separate printed insert, detachable from the music and fortuitously preserved. The copy is almost certainly that of 'Mr. Riba, Professeur à Mōlk', listed amongst the Viennese subscribers. The four pages give the subscribers' names and the number of copies that each procured, offering valuable evidence of the work's initial dissemination. Eberl's signature appears on the title page of the Melk copy, possibly a subscriber's privilege, as does the three florins purchase price, also in Eberl's hand.

Petersburg subscribers acquired multiple copies (up to five), Moscow and Vienna subscribers mostly purchased only one copy. A healthy total number of 231 copies (excluding *gratis* copies, this would have resulted in a 693 florins taking) appears on the final page, thirty to the monarchy, 105 to St Petersburg, thirty-three to Moscow and sixty-three to Vienna.

One of the most striking features is the sheer number of individual subscribers, 135 excluding royalty. Organising the subscription must have presented considerable logistical problems and it would seem unlikely that the publisher, Gerstenberg and Dittmar, would have been able to establish such a list without a complex network of associations doubtless instigated by the composer and agents in Moscow and Vienna. Eberl's reputation in St Petersburg and his association with the Russian royal family would have left him well positioned to excite interest in that city. It is not known whether the work was written in St Petersburg or Vienna, for although it was published in Russia it bore a dedication to an Austrian statesman, Count Franz Dietrichstein (1767–1854). The Op.10 sonatas were advertised in the *AmZ* in November 1800 along with other Gerstenberg and Dittmar publications, his Two Sonatas, Op.7 for piano, four hands, Three Piano Trios, Op.8 and Piano Variations on the air 'Ascouta Jeannette', Op.9. It is significant that unlike Op.10, Op.8 and Op.9 bear dedications to Russians, respectively the Grand Duke Alexander Pawlowitsch and Mademoiselle Hélène de Gourieff, possibly a pupil, who appears amongst the St Petersburg subscribers to Op.10.

Eberl had secured the support of some of the most influential figures in Vienna in the subscribers from that city, including one of its most important composers, Antonio Salieri (1750–1825), Kapellmeister to the Court. About two-fifths of the Vienna subscribers were from the nobility, mostly music lovers, amateur performers and patrons of the arts. Amongst them was the Count Anton von Apponyi (1751–1817), who was a very able violinist (Schönfeld 1796, 5; see also Wurzbach 1856–91, 1: 57) and who gave large and small Akademien in his home (Schönfeld 1796, 69). He later became the president of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Baron Peter von Braun (1758–1819) was a fine pianist (*ibid.*, 9) and composer, the influential director of the court theatres between 1794 and 1806 (who commissioned Eberl's *Die Königen der schwarzen Inseln*, first performed on 23 May 1801). The Count Joseph Dietrichstein (1764–1825) ultimately controlled the concerts in the Landständischen halls. The Count Leopold Strassaldo was part of the Emperor's retinue, who had two talented musician daughters, one of them a pianist (*ibid.*, 59) and who also gave concerts within his home (*ibid.*, 73). The Countess Maria Wilhelmine von Thun (1744–1800) and the Count Ferdinand Ernst von Waldstein (1762–1823) are known as important patrons of Beethoven.

Pianists also appear in the list, amongst them Madeleine de Jacobi, dedicatee of Eberl's Piano Sonata, Op.1, Madeleine Kurzböck, daughter of the bookseller and writer Joseph Kurzböck (1736–92) to whom Eberl was to dedicate his Sonata, Op.26 for violin and piano (see Wurzbach 1856–91, 13: 247 and Schönfeld 1796, 38, who reports on her outstanding powers of musical memory) and Caroline Pichler, an important writer, pupil of Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809) and influential for her literary and musical salons (Schönfeld 1796, 19; see above p.23).

Writers, poets and intellectuals also feature prominently, possibly through associations forged through Eberl's dramatist brother Ferdinand. These include the writer, journalist and librettist Carl Bernhard (1780–1850), only recently arrived in Vienna from Bohemia, to whose text *Der Sieg des Kreuzes* Beethoven was later to compose an oratorio for the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), Madame Hermann, wife of Franz Rudolph Hermann who wrote the poetry of Beethoven's *Der Bardengeist*, WoO 142 (1813), Franz Xaver Huber (1760–1810), librettist of Beethoven's *Christus am Oelberge*, Op.85 (1803) and Antonie Wutka (1763–1824), a teacher and writer. A large number of businessmen and civil servants also appear, including Nikolaus Zmeskall (1759–1833), an official in the Hungarian chancellery, an able cellist and a long-standing friend of Beethoven. In microcosm the subscription list gives a useful indication of the dissemination of chamber repertory at the turn of the century across an increasingly diverse cross-section of Viennese society, from the Emperor himself, through to Wutka, whose major literary contribution was to be an 1812 encyclopaedia for young wives.

From the Gerstenberg and Dittmar plates, still bearing the original plate number, the Viennese publisher Tranquillo Mollo sold the work from around 1802 (see Deutsch 1961, 17–18). The transference of the plates may well have been connected with Eberl's return to Vienna from St Petersburg in this year. After being rebranded by Mollo, the same plates were used again, from around 1805, by the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie, with the plate number now changed to 466. It is safe to assume then that a significant number of copies must have been disseminated between 1800 and Eberl's death in 1807. The Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie was later taken over by Josef Riedl, who then undertook a further rebranding in his name. Riedl in turn sold his business on to the firm of Steiner in 1823. From the Riedl plates Steiner produced editions with the mark 'S.u.C.H.'. A 'new' edition from the Steiner firm is listed in Meysel 1823. When Steiner relinquished his interests in the firm to his partner Haslinger in 1826, previous Steiner publications then appeared in Haslinger's name. Meysel 1828 therefore lists the Op.10 sonatas as Haslinger publications. In addition to the original Russian edition, the first clarinet sonata was therefore offered for sale by five different Viennese publishers, in six versions, and was available for purchase throughout the period from 1800 to 1827.

If later publishers had a vested interest in capitalising on the initial production costs of the first edition (it took little after all to restamp plate numbers and amend the title page), by offering alternative instrumentations a publisher was able to ensure a work's broadest market appeal. The keyboard part, the longest and most costly to prepare, could be retained as a constant whilst alternative instrumental parts could be supplied relatively cheaply. The keyboard part in works with alternatives often bore more than one plate number to indicate its usage with different instrumental configurations. As has been observed in the case of the second sonata of Eberl's Op.10, it can be difficult to assign a definitive original instrumentation to works with alternatives: whilst those conceived for the B flat clarinet (the most commonly used instrument) would have resulted in a preponderance of flat keys, other flat key works may have lent themselves well, *post facto*, to adoption by the clarinet. Mindful of the necessity for the widest dissemination, composers might also have conceived works exploiting common ground (as Cooper suggests in the case of Beethoven's Op.11: see above p.27), the work suited to both, or all, instrumental alternatives. But the expressive impact of these alternatives, the surrogacy of the clarinet for the violin in the sonata, for example, may have been very keenly felt by contemporary performers and listeners. Evidence would suggest that there may have been a symbiotic relationship between the character of keys in which the clarinet participated and the characteristics of the clarinet which it imparted to these keys. Some contemporary writers argued that key character was effected through instrumentation (for example, Lesueur 1787 in Steblin 1996, 138–9). Gottfried Weber noted that: '[c]ertain tones of many instruments have a different kind of sound, a peculiar colour or complexion of sound, and individual timbre, which imparts a particular character to those keys featuring these tones. This is the case for string instruments as well as for wind instruments...'. He also recognised that 'the character which this or that key assumes, perhaps from the peculiar nature of wind instruments, may be exactly the reverse of that which the nature of stringed instruments imparts to it' (Gottfried Weber 1817 in Steblin 1996, 139). This view was echoed by Böhrlen writing in the *AmZ* in 1825, who noted that the wind instruments might impart 'just the opposite from the assumed character of the keys' (in *ibid.*, 141).

The characteristics of B flat major were described by Schubart in 1784 as '[c]heerful love, clear conscience, hope and aspiration for a better world' (see Steblin 1996, 296-300), E flat major being '[t]he key of love, of devotion, of intimate conversation with God; through its three flats it expresses the holy trinity' (see Steblin 1996, 245–9). Perhaps because of the curious acoustic mix of the strings with winds in E flat major, Hand in 1837 (see Steblin 1996, 248) regarded it as the most ambiguous key. He noted that, by comparison with E major, described as 'womanly', this was a 'manly' key. It is possible then to see the descriptions of the qualities of the clarinet (discussed in

Chapter 4) perhaps reinforcing, even defining the latent attributes of the E flat and B flat major tonalities.

Although the second sonata of Eberl's Op.10 is the earliest clarinet sonata with a *terminus ante quam*, the three sonatas with clarinet and piano by the Bohemian composer Johann Baptist Wanhal (1739–1813) have been claimed by other authors to be the first works for this instrumentation. Wanhal's clarinet music was the subject of Samuel Russell Floyd III's 1988 study, in which that author claims Wanhal's clarinet sonatas to have been composed by the late 1770s (a similar claim is made by Merriman 1967, 28ff.). Floyd's work offers no evidence, however, to confirm these datings, nor does it give any reason why the sonatas were not published until the turn of the century, the Sonata in B flat major by Sauer in 1801, the Sonata in C major by Sauer in 1803. Both works were dedicated to Teresa de Würsing, and subsequently appeared in a new edition by Simrock in Bonn, 1803–4. A third sonata, in E flat major, was published by Steiner around 1810.

Wanhal moved to Vienna in 1760 or 1761, living there until 1769. During his early Vienna period he appears to have studied with Dittersdorf (Dittersdorf 1896/R1970, 225). He earned his living primarily through teaching music to the young nobility at this time (Dlabacž 1815, 324ff.). After a period in Italy he returned to Vienna sometime between 1769 and 1771 and remained there for the rest of his life. Although important in the development of the Viennese symphony, Wanhal exploited the increasing market for consumable domestic music abetted by the meteoric growth of publishing in Vienna in the 1780s. After his first Viennese publication by Artaria in 1780, the six violin duets Op.28, he had more than 270 compositions published in Vienna alone. Bryan notes that: '[h]is lasting reputation was, unfortunately, derived from the musical trivia he turned out in his maturity for the entertainment and/or instruction of a not-too-demanding clientele' (Bryan 1997, xxiii). Those trivia might include the thirty-six sets of variations for keyboard and ad libitum violin published between 1786 and 1814, the many programmatic works for keyboard and the seventy-one sonatas for melody instrument and piano (see Weinmann 1988). Wanhal's shift to more popular genres saw a stylistic change to a musical language aesthetically and technically undemanding: the clarinet sonatas, although also clearly designed for an amateur market, are amongst the most valuable works of his later period.

As with Eberl's sonata, the question of instrumental substitution, and of the original compositional intention, is pertinent to the first two sonatas by Wanhal. They are described on the title page, common to both works, as being with 'Clarinetto o Violino obligato'. From the opening bars of both sonatas the importance of the duo interchange with the keyboard is apparent (Ex.2.11; Ex.2.12).

Example 2.11 Wanhäl Sonata in B flat major, I bars 1–8

Example 2.12 Wanhäl Sonata in C major, I bars 1–8

Although the title page of the Sauer editions has the clarinet as the first named instrument, the instrumental part of the Sonata in C major is designated ‘Violino o Clarinetto in C’. The first movement has some twenty-eight instances where the violinist is required to double stop, almost always as reinforcements at cadence points, with the clarinet presumably required to take the upper of the notes. In the second and third movement there is not a single instance of a double stop. This inconsistency alone may suggest that the work was a composite, perhaps of movements conceived for violin (I) and clarinet (II and III).

The Sauer edition of the Sonata in C major is in all essentials identical to the later edition by Simrock. No extant copy of the clarinet or violin parts of the Sauer edition of the B flat major Sonata is known to the author. But given the unanimity between the Sauer and Simrock editions of the C major work, it is safe to assume that the Simrock edition was made either from the Sauer edition itself or a common manuscript source. The many discrepancies in articulation between the

separate clarinet and violin parts of the Sonata in B flat major in the Simrock edition would seem to be occasioned more by infelicities in the production process than in an attempt to create contrasting articulatory patterns in the instrumental parts. Unlike the Sonata in C major, on only one occasion in the first movement, at the final cadence, and on seven occasions in the closing bars of the third movement, does the violin have double stops. Aside from these few double stops, the discrepancies in articulation and one occasion where the clarinet has a sustained pitch over two and a half bars' duration (it recurs in the recapitulation), the clarinet and violin notations are identical.

The piano, clarinet and violin parts make very few technical demands on the performers, suggesting a dilettante market. Nothing particularly characterises the thematic material as being idiomatic either for the violin or clarinet. The lower reaches of the clarinet are never exploited and a conservative range is deployed: less than two and a half octaves in the Sonata in B flat major (Cl.b-e³) and two octaves in the Sonata in C major (Cl.d¹-d³). In spite of the motivic simplicity - arpeggiatic and scalic figures with little chromatic inflection abound - Wanhäl does also include passages that are awkward to execute on a Classical clarinet. For example, the b¹ flat-c² trill at I bar 72 is difficult to execute without a trill key (Ex.2.13).

Example 2.13 Wanhäl Sonata in B flat major, I bars 70–3

The movement from b¹ to c² sharp (and vice versa) at I bar 71 requires a slide from the long keys for L4, or the use of a half-hole R4 (Ex.2.14).

Example 2.14 Wanhäl Sonata in B flat major, III bars 69–72

Wanhäl's later Sonata in E flat major displays more substantial proportions than his earlier sonatas. The first movement has more distinctively characterised first and second subject groups (arpeggiatic

versus legato). Like the two earlier sonatas there are many passages when the clarinet participates in a *quasi* instrumental trio texture with passages in the upper voices in thirds and sixths (but note that the clarinet has the lower of the two soprano voices) (Ex.2.15).

Example 2.15 Wanhals Sonata in E flat major, I bars 65–79

[Allegro vivace]
65

65

70

75

In the second movement Poco Adagio the clarinet is subservient to the piano: save for a very few instances the clarinet is really optional. In the last movement the gavotte is suggested, a stylistic feature of the final movement of the B flat major Sonata (see below p.217).

In addition to the three clarinet sonatas, a manuscript copy of the Sonata in B flat major exists as an arrangement for clavicembalo, clarinet and cello at A:Wst. The cover sleeve of this trio states that it is from the music collection of Karl von Henikstein, with the title page bearing a dedication to this man. Adam Adalbert Hönig von Henikstein was a wholesale merchant and adviser to the government (see Deutsch 1965, 575). His son [?] Karl is mentioned by Schönfeld as a performer on the violin, viola and mandolin (Schönfeld 1796, 28), another son [?] Joseph as a singer, mandolin player and cellist (*ibid.*, 26). Both Karl and Joseph were later members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Karl being mentioned by both Böckh (1821) and Ziegler (1823) as a clarinetist. On the title page of the trio there appears, as a later addition, Wanhals's dates of birth and death along with an attribution of the manuscript copy to Beethoven. The manuscript certainly does not appear to be in Beethoven's hand and the new dedication is doubtful, not least because of the earlier dedication to Teresa de Würsing. Aside from the additional cello part, the arrangement bears interesting changes to the published editions, with many minor melodic amendments and structural

reductions. Given that Joseph von Henikstein is known to have played the cello and Karl the clarinet, the arrangement was probably for the Heniksteins' domestic use. There is no logical explanation for the textual changes.

Unlike the sonatas of Eberl and Wanhal, the Grand Duo, Op.7 for pianoforte and clarinet or violin by Paul Struck (1776–1820) can be linked to a particular performer, the Finnish clarinettist Bernhard Crusell (1775–1838). A Pommeranian-Swede, Struck studied in Berlin from the age of sixteen before departing for Vienna where from 1795 he studied with Albrechtsberger, and from 1796 to 1799 with Haydn. Seeking a permanent position Struck travelled to Stockholm where he directed the Swedish première of his former teacher's *Creation* in 1801. In that year he was elected a member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music as was Crusell. A manuscript copy of his Op.7 exists in the archive of the Academy in Stockholm, with a dedication to Crusell (Fig.2.3). Although the manuscript is undated it would seem likely that the work dates from this period (around 1801), and Struck's association with the clarinettist (information supplied by S:Skma). Unable to secure an appointment Struck returned to Vienna in 1802, remaining there until 1817 when he moved to Pressburg.



FfP-R

[Op. 7]

Grand Duo [B]

Flauto

Piano Forte

Clarinetto in F

Composizione di

di

M. S. Crusell

Membro della Accademia di San Pietroburgo

di Pietroburgo

per

Paul Struck

Versione 7.

* 1919
341

Fig.2.3 Struck Grand Duo, Op.7, title page of ms copy (S:Skma FfP-R)

Struck's first compositions, published by André in 1797 and 1798, were chamber music works for conventional media. The Quartet, Op.5 for piano, flute and two horns (or violas) that followed presented a more innovative instrumental configuration. This Quartet was arranged subsequently as a piano quartet, Op.12 (although there exists at A:Wn M.S.31161 a clarinet quartet – for clarinet, violin, viola and cello - published by Louis Maisch in Vienna with the same opus).

The Grand Duo, Op.7, advertised in the *WZ* on 12 April 1806, was the first duo for clarinet and piano to be published by the Artaria firm, although inexplicably this no longer bore the dedication to Crusell. The work appeared in another edition, by Simrock in Bonn, later in the same year and it was this edition that was reviewed in 1807 in the *AmZ*:

The reviewer has before him, not the 'Grand' Duo announced on the title page, but a Duo that is certainly written with no little spirit, insight and taste. The first Allegro is handled very honestly, thoroughly and extremely seriously; the Adagio is not equally distinguished, but is pleasant to listen to; it is followed by some pretty Variations; and an Alla Polacca, merry and in places piquant, forms the conclusion. Though the work shows some small signs of haste, in general it has been written with commendable care, and the alternation among the instruments is good; each of them, moreover, is displayed to advantage. That the composer is able to handle the clarinet especially well is soon evident when the work is played through. This little work also cuts a far better figure with the clarinet than with violin accompaniment – which latter part has, of course, been specially adapted. In general, the work is not difficult to perform; a few passages alone are somewhat tricky and not as easy as they seem.

(*AmZ* IX, 28 January 1807: 288)

The gulf between the reviewer's expectations deduced from the work's title, and the actuality of its content, was probably more associated with stylistic issues, expressive ambition and aesthetic worth than with considerations of genre, structure and instrumentation. Aside from the first movement, 236 bars in duration, the other movements are slight. The Grand title may have been intended to describe the four-movement structure, and the equality of the piano and clarinet duo. This equality is evident in the introductory Adagio to the first movement, where the clarinet stakes a claim to be the principal melodic voice against a piano accompaniment. Perhaps inspired by Crusell, the opening bars exploit the clarinet's ability to sustain a melodious song, marked *piano e cantabile*, here within a limited tessitura in the clarinet register (Ex.2.16).

Example 2.16 Struck Op.7, I bars 1–12

The idiomatic treatment of the clarinet noted by the *AmZ* might include Struck’s adept integration of the clarinet’s different registers, effecting fluid registral transfer, demonstrated in the clarinet’s accompaniment to the piano statement of the Allegro first subject theme (Ex.2.17);

Example 2.17 Struck Op.7, I bars 39–50

And likewise in the reprise of that movement’s second subject (Ex.2.18).

Example 2.18 Struck Op.7, I bars 184–9

Although the ‘alternation among the instruments’ was considered effective, the work still betrays many of the facets of the eighteenth-century accompanied sonata, whose recurrent ‘accompanying’ instrument figurations were identified by Newman (Newman 1947, 342–6). Typically then the clarinet doubles voices in the pianoforte, but here often as a reinforcement of the bass rather than the melody. Through the brilliant ascending arpeggios in the following example the clarinet is propelled into the clarinet register to become the principal protagonist in the drive to the cadence point (Ex.2.19).

Example 2.19 Struck Op.7, I bars 195–203

Accompaniments, as identified by Newman, involved parallel movement with the keyboard’s upper voice in thirds and sixths, but the clarinet’s chalumeau register often pairs tenor and bass voices (Ex.2.20), sometimes deploying this register to shadow the piano figuration at the interval of a tenth (Ex.2.21).

Example 2.20 Struck Op.7, II bars 23–5

23 [Adagio non tanto]

Cl.(Bb)

Pf.

Solo

f

Example 2.21 Struck Op.7, III bars 31–2

31 [Allegretto]

Cl.(Bb)

Pf.

p

Accompaniment instruments could fill out the harmony with sustained tones or figural patterns, although such instances are few (Ex.2.22), and it is perhaps surprising that Struck does not employ the arpeggiatic chalumeau figuration that was becoming widely used.

Example 2.22 Struck Op.7, IV bars 72–80

72 [Moderato]

Cl.(Bb)

Pf.

f

76

The insightful *AmZ* reviewer found the clarinet part especially idiomatic, and preferable to the published violin alternative with its many necessary amendments. With hands-on experience of the music he recognised the good duo interchange between instruments. Without taxing the amateur players, for whom it was doubtless intended, perhaps through the frequent melodies in the chalumeau register, the juxtaposition of chalumeau and clarinet registers, the sustained, lyrical writing in the clarinet register and arpeggiatic passages traversing the full compass, the reviewer recognised the composer's particularly adept handling of the clarinet's idiomatic resources. A short

passage from the second movement epitomises something of these multifarious characteristics: the contrasting melodies in the chalumeau and clarinet registers, sustained tones during the dominant pedal and melodic interchange between the clarinet and piano (Ex.2.23).

Example 2.23 Struck Op.7, II bars 35–49

Regrettably in many ways this work affirms contemporary criticisms (*AmZ* XI, 12 July 1809: 654ff.; *AmZ* XIII, 30 October 1811: 741) and Lönn's modern judgement on the banality of much of Struck's music (*NG2*, 24: 611). Struck is not a good melodist, and as a consequence routine passagework tends to substitute for strong thematic and harmonic development. This lack of invention accounts for the brevity of the final three movements of Op.7. Nonetheless Struck's contribution is significant: this was the first sonata clearly inspired by the particular idioms of the clarinet.

In spite of the association with Crusell, Struck's Op.7 presented few of the technical challenges posed by Mozart's *Grande Sonate* for pianoforte and clarinet or violin published by Artaria c.1808–9, an arrangement of the Clarinet Quintet, K.581. It has been convincingly argued that the Quintet, of 1789, was written for Anton Stadler's basset clarinet (an extended instrument, descending chromatically to Cl.c), although like Mozart's Clarinet Concerto, K.622 the autograph of the work is now lost (Dazeley 1948; Ness 1961; Croll and Birsak 1969). There is no evidence to support the claim made by Höly that the *Grande Sonate* was arranged by the composer himself (Höly 1996).

Indeed the shoddy nature of the Artaria publication, with many incorrect pitches, and the widespread inconsistency in the notation of articulation marks, would make Mozart's involvement seem highly improbable. Artaria had published the work in its original quintet instrumentation in 1802. The arrangement could have been made using these parts although details suggest that a different source may have been used. On three occasions the clarinet descends into the basset clarinet register: at the conclusion of the opening movement, playing a final crotchet Cl.c; in the second trio of the third movement commencing an arpeggio on Cl.d, where a bar has also been omitted (*cf. NMA VIII/19, 30: III Trio 2 bar 10*) (Ex.2.24);

Example 2.24 Mozart Grande Sonate, III bars 78–84

And in the second variation of the Allegretto con Variazioni finale, the part descending to Cl.c (Ex.2.25).

Example 2.25 Mozart Grande Sonate, IV bars 37–40

One can only surmise that these isolated pitches below the standard clarinet range were indiscretions on the part of the arranger, their presence suggesting that the original source for the arrangement included the basset clarinet. In an otherwise faithful attempt to transfer the string parts to the piano, I bar 76 has been unaccountably changed (Ex.2.26). That the arranger would amend the harmony here would seem unlikely (*cf. NMA VIII/19, 18: I bar 76*), and also suggests the deployment of an unknown source.

Example 2.26 Mozart Grande Sonate, I bars 75–9

75 [Allegretto]

Cl.(A)

Pf.

p

f

f

Although the arrangement of K.581 may attest to the continuing popularity of Mozart's work, it seems remarkable that there could have been a substantial market amongst clarinettists with the requisite ability to perform a taxing clarinet part conceived for the most noted Viennese virtuoso of the late eighteenth century. The alternative for the violin would have once again broadened market appeal, this instrument now surrogating for the clarinet in its own repertory.

Like Mozart and Struck, the German Philipp Jakob Riotte (1776–1856) appears to have had close associations with eminent clarinettists. Riotte had been a pupil of Anton André in Offenbach and appeared at his first public concert in Frankfurt on 14 March 1804 (*AmZ* VI, 9 May 1804: 535–6). This concert, given by Johann Georg Gottfried Hoffmann (1781–1814), the clarinettist at the National Theatre in Frankfurt, included a Riotte clarinet concerto and a piano concerto performed by the composer. The clarinet concerto was probably that published by Simrock in 1809 (pn 660) and dedicated to Hoffmann. In 1805 or 1806 Riotte became a music director in Gotha (his *Sonatinen* for piano, Opp.2 and 3 published by André in 1806 and 1807, describe him as such). This was a period when Spohr also took a position in Gotha, as *Konzertmeister* to the Duke of Brunswick. From there Riotte worked at Danzig and Magdeburg, and after the Erfurt Congress in 1808 it appears that he moved to Vienna, arriving in the city at some time between 1808 and early 1809. Beethoven's correspondence from 1811 reveals an association between the men: letters from Beethoven to Breitkopf and Haertel record that the Leipzig publisher was canvassing Riotte's opinion on Beethoven's latest work with a view to publication (Anderson 1961, 310 and 314: letters of 16 January 1811 and 19 February 1811), much to Beethoven's annoyance. Riotte regarded Beethoven highly, dedicating his Piano Concerto, Op.15 to the composer. Although Riotte was best known in his own time for his works for the stage, throughout his life the clarinet continued to play a prominent part in his compositional output. His association with the visiting Russian virtuoso Iwan Müller and the Viennese instrument maker Johann Merklein from 1809 led to a number of important works and developments to the instrument (see below p.178) and Heinrich Baermann appeared to champion Riotte's concert clarinet works too, with records of performances across Europe from 1813 to 1821. A letter offering works to Nikolaus Simrock in 1816 details Riotte's

somewhat unsatisfactory relationship with some of these virtuosi and his considerable output for clarinet:

May I take the liberty to offer for sale two clarinet concertos of my own composition. Herr Bärmann has performed these concertos with the greatest success in Munich. I hope that we can agree a price, because you already have two concertos of mine in your publication neither of which were purchased from me. The Concerto in D minor by Müller is entirely my own, and he provided only the idea for the passages in the 1st part of the first Allegro. However, because this Concerto was not very important to me, and because I knew that he was greatly indebted to you, inasmuch as you took him up and brought him on at that time, I said nothing about it. But I cannot imagine how Herr Hoffmann would have the impudence to sell the concerto, the manuscript of which I was kind enough to give him, and for which he never gave me a kreuzer ... I also have a theme and variations for clarinet which, with handwritten parts, costs 5 gold ducats.

(Letter of 1 October 1816 in A:Wn. Trans. in Spengler 1977, 102)

Meysel 1817 lists a sonata 'av[ec] Clarin[ette]' Op.33 published by Kuhn in Berlin. No copy of this edition is known to the author, but the existence of a clarinet sonata by Riotte is affirmed by an entry in the register of the Archduke Rudolph's music library (his *Musikalien Register*, at A:Wgm 1268/33) which records a 'Sonata Pour Pf. Avec acc d'une Clarinette ou Violon' in manuscript. Regrettably this particular documented source is also lost, although it is tempting to associate this manuscript with another clarinetist, Rudolph's employee Ferdinand Troyer (see below p.62ff.). A Viennese edition of Op.33 from Thadé Weigl, a sonata for violin and piano (with no clarinet alternative) is, however, extant. This Grande Sonata, Op.33 for pianoforte and violin was advertised in the *WZ* on 25 July 1810. The work is the only one of Riotte's violin sonatas to have a four-movement form (Spengler 1977, 130ff.), including a slow introduction to the first movement Allegro moderato, and a third movement Scherzo and Trio. Riotte's chamber music to 1810 included a set of three String Quartets, Op.21, Piano Trios, Opp.9 and 26, and Sonatas for piano and violin, Opp.5 and 13, but no works with clarinet.

Inspection of the Weigl edition of Op.33 offers abundant evidence as to why Riotte felt the work lent itself to performance on the clarinet. The tonality (E flat and B flat major movements, with a C minor Trio in the third movement), and the lyrical nature of much of the essential thematic material are ideally suited to the clarinet (Ex.2.27; Ex.2.28).

Example 2.27 Riotte Op.33, I bars 13–21

Example 2.28 Riotte Op.33, II bars 9–16

Although the range of violin extends to f^3 , there are few instances when the compass exceeds d^3 ($Cl.e^3$), and only rarely does the violin have passagework in this register (Ex.2.29).

Example 2.29 Riotte Op.33, I bars 243–5

Both the above example and occasional pitches above $Cl.e^3$ could have been simply amended to fall within the clarinet's normal tessitura. Such amendment may not have been problematic, for Riotte himself amends the passage initially extending to e^3 flat in the violin at I bar 75 (Ex.2.30) in order to

avoid the notes a³ flat and g³ in the piano (outside of the compass of the standard five-octave instrument) at its reprise at I bar 216 (cf. Ex.2.31).

Example 2.30 Riotte Op.33, I bars 74–6



Example 2.31 Riotte Op.33, I bars 215–17



Other passages would appear rather unidiomatic for the standard five-key clarinet, particularly during the brief foray into E major in the first movement (Ex.2.32);

Example 2.32 Riotte Op.33, I bars 138–42



In the writing over the registral break (Cl.g¹-b¹flat) in the second movement in the key Cl.E flat major (Ex.2.33);

Example 2.33 Riotte Op.33, II bars 77–81

And in the cross-string repetitions in the third movement (Ex.2.34).

Example 2.34 Riotte Op.33, III bars 46–54

Conversely there are passages in the violin which appear to crave the clarinet's extended lower compass, for example the fs (Cl.g) at I bar 95³ (Ex.2.35) and I bar 217² (Ex.2.36).

Example 2.35 Riotte Op.33, I bars 94–6

Example 2.36 Riotte Op.33, I bars 217–19

Through only minor modifications to the violin part (transposition, simplification or even omission) it would have been possible for the work to be made effective for the clarinet. More tantalising, of course, is the connection between Riotte, Müller and Merklein: Müller had performed Riotte's works in October 1809 and April 1810 on the clarinet with more keys newly-developed by Merklein. The *Grande Sonata*, Op.33 was published in the summer of 1810 when Riotte had already written for a clarinet capable of performance in a greater range of tonalities.

The 1809 clarinet sonata by Ferdinand Ries (1784–1838) also made stringent demands on the standard Classical clarinet. Ries is remembered primarily for his associations with Beethoven, as his student, his champion when the composer was in London between 1813 and 1824, and as co-author of one of the most important early Beethoven biographies (Wegeler and Ries, 1838). The quantity of extant correspondence between the men, from 1802 to 1825, reveals the significance of their relationship. Ries grew up in Bonn and was taught piano and music theory by his father, Franz Ries (1755–1846), and cello by the virtuoso Bernard Romberg (1767–1841). Franz, a one-time violin student of Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815), had taught the young Beethoven and, in October 1801, he sent Ferdinand to Vienna to study with his former pupil. Although Ries took composition lessons with Albrechtsberger, Beethoven taught Ferdinand piano for the next four years, employed him as secretary and copyist, and even secured him appointments with members of the Viennese nobility. Forced by war to leave Vienna in 1805 he travelled to Paris where he lived between 1806 and 1808. He returned to Vienna in August 1808, staying there for nearly a year. The period from 1809 saw extensive concert tours to Europe, which took him to St Petersburg where he renewed acquaintance with Romberg. Ries then went to London, via Stockholm, where he married an English woman. Ries's work was modish and popular (the extensive publication of his works across Europe testifies to this fact) although his substantial oeuvre is now almost completely ignored, his position little helped by Beethoven's comment that 'he imitates me too much' (MacArdle 1965, 33). Leaving London in 1824 the *Harmonicon* included a 'Memoir of Ferdinand Ries' that, whilst conceding that the composer was a disciple of the Beethoven school, noted of the composer that 'he is too rich in invention, too independent in spirit to be an imitator; and many of his productions show an originality of composition, and vigour of execution, that rank him with the great masters of the age' (*Harmonicon* xv, March 1824: 33–5). After leaving London he retired to his native Rhineland.

Three early chamber works with clarinet and piano were published by Simrock in Bonn in 1811 and 1812. Before this Ries's compositions had been almost all chamber works with piano, though around 1810 more adventurous combinations appear: a symphony, a violin concerto, a cantata and the chamber works with clarinet, the *Grand Septet*, Op.25, the *Trio*, Op.28 and the *Sonata*, Op.29.

Singling out Ries's 1808 Piano Sonata in F sharp minor, Op.26 for special attention, Newman found traits of early romanticism, namely 'the bold projection of the lyrical ideas, the use of bass/chord or other wide-spaced accompaniments in place of the Alberti bass that still shows up in Beethoven and Schubert, the salon brilliance of passages in broken chords and octaves, and of wide stretches and leaps...and the vivid contrasts of dynamics, moods, tempos, and tessituras, accompanied by copious expressive markings and inscriptions, as well as articulation and accent signs' (Newman 1969, 177). Newman's description of Ries's Op.26 could apply equally well to the Sonata, Op.29 for pianoforte and clarinet or violin composed, according to the composer's 1826–7 catalogue, in Bonn in the following year.

Ries's Op.29 is a remarkable early example of a virtuosic sonata for clarinet and piano. Many of the dramatic, cantabile and brilliant qualities of Weber's *Grand duo concertant* (1815–16) are foreshadowed in this work. This is the first sonata with clarinet in a minor key (G minor), its torrid first movement prefaced by an extraordinary modulating Adagio with forays to the keys of A flat, A and F majors. The ensuing Allegro demonstrates true concertante qualities: Newman's statement that Ries's 'whole sonata output is oriented toward his own favorite instrument' and that accompaniments 'run but poor seconds to the piano parts, whether in the allocation of thematic responsibilities or the relative virtuosity of the many connecting passages' is hardly justified in this instance (Newman 1969, 173). Although the piano part does display a virtuosic brilliance with passages when the clarinet falls silent, there is little of the ad libitum accompanied sonata writing of the previous generation. The equality is epitomised by the second subject of the first movement: the lyrical melody is shared, there is motivic dialogue, a dramatic, complementary use of extreme tessituras and bravura writing in both instruments (Ex.2.37).

Example 2.37 Ries Op.29, I bars 58–77

58 [Allegro]

Cl.(Bb)

Pf.

dolce

p dolce

pp

63

Reo

66

f

69

p

72

dim.

f

p

The five-key clarinet would not appear to have been adequate for the performance of this work. The reprise of the second subject of the first movement in the tonic major (Cl.A major) presents extreme difficulties for a Classical instrument unless equipped with keys for the performance of Cl.g¹sharp and Cl.c¹sharp. Particular problems arise in passages including Cl.c²sharp-b¹ (although melodic variance in I bar 208, *cf.* I bar 70 might suggest Ries's awareness of these difficulties) (Ex.2.38).

Example 2.38 Ries Op.29, I bars 200–15

After appearances in the piano and clarinet of the *dolce* theme in the Adagio con moto, the middle section of this tripartite movement develops into a fluently evolving dialogue between the instruments, the clarinet part, through the expressive *Gesang*, rippling chalumeau arpeggios and registral contrasts, is rich in idiomatic figuration (Ex.2.39).

Example 2.39 Ries Op.29, II bars 28–39

The third movement clearly appeals to the public taste for the operatic: a theatrical opening Adagio, with hesitant clarinet writing set against piano tremolandi leads to a nervous G minor Allegro non troppo. A second, contrasting thematic idea in the clarinet has a frivolous Italianate quality, unfolding into virtuosic display across the entire register Cl.e-a³ (Ex.2.40).

Example 2.40 Ries Op.29, III bars 64–89

The musical score for Example 2.40, Ries Op.29, III bars 64–89, is presented in two systems. The first system covers bars 64 to 74, and the second system covers bars 75 to 89. The score is for Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Piano (Pf.). The tempo is marked 'Allegro non troppo'. The piano part features tremolandi accompaniment, while the clarinet part has melodic lines with various ornaments and technical markings such as 'p', 'pp', 'f', 'dim.', and 'pp'.

From a comparison of the clarinet and violin parts the burden of evidence would suggest that the clarinet, in spite of the difficulties posed by some of the sharp key tonalities, was the melody instrument for which the work was originally written. For example, at the reprise of the second subject of the first movement (Ex.2.37 above) the piano and clarinet parts are transposed down the interval of a minor third (from B flat to G major). The violin, presumably to avoid alterations to the

tessitura around I bar 207, sounds in the higher octave, the effect being to create a curious texture (particularly at I bars 200–04) with low keyboard semiquavers against the distant, high-pitched violin. Similarly the opening phrases in the clarinet in the second movement are an octave higher in the violin part, the violin sounding the melody an octave higher than the first statement in the piano. Passages from the conclusion of the second movement seem artificially amended in the violin part (Ex.2.41).

Example 2.41 Ries Op.29, II bars 57–68

The musical score for Example 2.41 shows the second movement of Ries's Op. 29, bars 57 to 68. It is written for Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Violin (Vln). The tempo is marked [Adagio con moto]. The music features intricate sixteenth-note passages with slurs and accents. Dynamics include cresc., fp, pp, and ppp. The piece concludes with a final sixteenth-note flourish.

The Ries Sonata is the most adventurous concertante duo with clarinet before Weber's *Grand duo concertant*. Although the piano part might have been for Ries himself, there can be little doubt that the demanding clarinet part must have been written for a particular and highly accomplished clarinetist.

It was the clarinetist Ferdinand Troyer (1780–1851) who inspired the clarinet works of the Archduke Rudolph (1788–1831), who like Ries was a pupil of Beethoven. Rudolph, the youngest son of Leopold, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was born in Florence, but the family moved to Vienna in 1790 when his father succeeded his brother Joseph II as Emperor. When Rudolph was only four years of age Leopold died, and the boy was raised by his brother Franz. Of poor health, Rudolph was unable to undertake a military career, focusing his attentions on music, art and the Church. From 1805 Rudolph was co-adjutor of the Archbishop of Olmütz, becoming Cardinal Archbishop in 1818. Rudolph's connections with Beethoven are well documented, and their association has provided the framework for Kagan's 1988 study of his life and work. Beethoven may have taught Rudolph from 1803–4, succeeding Anton Tayber (1756–1822), although documentary evidence of Beethoven's tutelage does not appear until 1809 (Kagan 1988, 13). Tyson makes the first clear link between the men in 1807, the year of the dedication to Rudolph of the Piano Concerto in G major, Op.58 (see Tyson 1982, 107–40). Kagan highlights musical evidence drawn from two sets of variations for czakan and piano, their autographs dated 1810, which suggest compositional skills of

more than a novice: she therefore proposes that Rudolph may have had composition lessons with Beethoven before 1809 (Kagan 1988, 182).

Of Rudolph's small corpus of surviving works, mostly in autograph or manuscript copies in CZ:Kra and A:Wgm, many include clarinet (Kagan 1988 lists twenty-seven completed works, thirty-five incomplete works and twenty-eight transcriptions and copies). Four completed works with clarinet are extant: a set of Variations on the Romance 'Vous me quittez pour aller à la gloire' for clarinet, viola, bassoon and guitar (c.1811–12), a Serenade for clarinet, viola, bassoon and guitar, (c.1812) and works with pianoforte and clarinet, the Sonata, Op.2 (c.1812) and the Variations on a theme from Rossini's *Zelmira* (c.1822–3). There are a number of incomplete works with clarinet: five works for quartet of clarinet, viola, bassoon and guitar, four of which are variation sets (1811–12); variations with clarinet and piano (two sets c.1812, and c.1822–3), clarinet and orchestra on a theme from Rossini's *Tancredi* (c.1817) and basset horn and piano on the folksong 'To jsou koně' (c.1823); two sonatas for clarinet and piano (c.1822–3); a trio for clarinet, cello and piano (c.1813 with three of four movements complete) and a fragment of a composition for clarinet and piano (c.1822–3).

Ferdinand Troyer and his brother Franz were in the service of Rudolph. Weston records that Franz was a cor anglais player (Weston 1971, 172), Böckh (1821) that, like his brother, he also played the clarinet. Kagan suggests that the Archduke may have employed the Troyers by 1809 (Kagan 1988, 151), although Wurzbach notes that the brothers only sold the family estate at Ober-Moschtenitz in late 1812 (Wurzbach 1856–91, 47: 251). Weston deduces that not until 1814 were the brothers appointed chamberlains to Rudolph (Weston 1971, 172). Anderson merely records that by 1814 the two brothers were among Rudolph's entourage (Anderson 1961, 291 n.3).

Three works are dedicated to the brothers: the Sonata, Op.2 (see Kagan 1988, 183, who judges the work to be of 1812–13 from the entry in Rudolph's *Musikalien Register*); the Variations in A flat for czakan and piano dedicated to Ferdinand, dated 28 March 1810; and the Divertissement in A flat for czakan and piano dedicated to 'Ferdinand and François Troyer', dated 31 May 1810. From these works it seems clear that Ferdinand also played the czakan. The 1810 dating on the manuscripts would also suggest that the brothers were in the employ of the Archduke at this time.

The Sonata, Op.2 is discussed in some detail by Kagan, who finds a stylistic debt to both Beethoven and Mozart, even with specific reference to their works, including Beethoven's Sonata in A, Op.69 for cello and piano (III and IV) and Mozart's Clarinet Quintet, K.581 (IV, Theme and Variations) (Kagan 1988, 183–204). The clarinet's ability to effect an expressive legato line is of the essence

here: the preponderance of such material may suggest qualities in Troyer’s playing, but the thematic material is often bland, overly reliant upon the lyrical beauty of the clarinet. The initial clarinet entry, with its meandering quaver movement based merely upon scalic and arpeggiatic decoration of an unremarkable prevailing harmony, epitomises the problem (Ex.2.42). Kagan’s observation that the first movement is the weakest of the four, ‘lacking the melodic and harmonic interest to sustain its length’ is probably justified (*ibid.*, 186).

Example 2.42 Rudolph Op.2, I bars 10–22

10 [Allegro moderato ♩=144]
 Cl.(A) *fp* *sfz*
 Pf *fp* *sfz*
 15 *f* *fp* *p*
 20

Kagan also notes that, although in most of Rudolph’s duo works the piano dominates, here ‘the Archduke’s careful writing of both instrumental parts prevents the clarinet part from being overshadowed. The clarinet writing, while not virtuosic, is particularly idiomatic, taking advantage of the agility and expressive qualities of the instrument’ (*ibid.*, 204). Rudolph does employ all registers in the clarinet part, although registral contrast is rarely exploited for dramatic effect. Mostly the clarinet is confined to the register of Cl.c¹-c³. Indeed no pitch exceeds Cl.e³, until an ad libitum passage in the final movement, this extreme register then rather out of keeping with the conservative tessitura in the rest of the sonata (Ex.2.43).

Example 2.43 Rudolph Op.2, IV bars 223–30

Within more contained forms Rudolph has greater success: most effective is the third movement Minuet and Trio, the lyrical aspect making this for Kagan ‘one of the Archduke’s loveliest settings of melody and accompaniment’ (Kagan 1988, 192) (Ex.2.44).

Example 2.44 Rudolph Op.2, III bars 1–16

Amongst the last classical Viennese duos with clarinet and piano were six works by Franz Anton Hoffmeister (1754–1812). Hoffmeister had gone to Vienna to study law in 1768 and remained a resident of the city for the rest of his life. He is known primarily through his activities as one of the

first Viennese publishers (from 1783), responsible for early editions of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven (see Haberkamp 1986 and Hausner 1990). As a composer Hoffmeister was extraordinarily prolific: his oeuvre includes more than sixty symphonies, dozens of concertos and chamber works, stage works and many lighter works for the salon. Hoffmeister's obituary notice in the *AmZ* reported that as a composer of the old school and through his numerous compositions (the notice lists nearly 350 works for flute) he had given great pleasure, particularly to dilettantes (*AmZ* XIV, 25 March 1812: 211–12). Hoffmeister wrote a considerable amount of music with clarinet, including eight concertos (two of these, previously undocumented, have been discovered by the author at CZ:Pu 59 R 3401 and CZ:Bm A.17.741). In addition Hoffmeister wrote much original Harmoniemusik (see Gillaspie, Stoneham and Clark 1998, 108–9), Six Quartets for clarinet and strings (published by Pleyel in Paris) a Journal for the clarinet (at SF:A) and clarinet duets published by Steiner, three sets of '24 Petites Duos' and eight sets of 'Amusements progressif'. A lost symphony in E flat major, dated by Brook as 1785–7, included two clarinets (Brook 1984, xxi).

Hoffmeister's *Six Duos* published by Steiner and advertised in the *WZ* in August 1812 were arrangements of six 'Duetti concertanti' originating from his own firm in 1786 and 1787. These works, originally for fortepiano or clavicembalo and violin, appear in the later edition with alternative solo instruments (violin, flute or clarinet) with pianoforte, clearly an attempt to reach the broadest market. The pianoforte parts in the Steiner editions bear plate numbers indicating their common deployment with the three solo instruments and are notationally identical to the earlier Hoffmeister editions. Although the author knows of no extant copies of the violin parts of the Steiner edition, it might also be safe to assume that these were also identical to the earlier editions. The works are particularly noteworthy however for the many amendments made to the clarinet parts, introducing what were deemed to be characteristic and idiomatic features for that instrument. Whether Hoffmeister himself had any dealings with these new editions is doubtful. Steiner had taken over publications from Hoffmeister in 1807 but the composer died in February 1812, some months before the works were advertised in the *WZ*. It may well have been that the modifications to the solo parts were undertaken by a lackey within the Steiner firm.

The first four *Duos* require the C clarinet, the fifth the B flat instrument, and the final *Duo* that in A. With the piano part a constant, irrespective of the solo instrument, the use of the C clarinet in the F major second, G minor third and C major fourth *Duos* seems to be a pragmatic decision. Although the D major tonality of the first *Duo* was well suited to the violin and flute, the use of a C clarinet here (Cl.D major) is awkward as particular difficulties are encountered with the movement from Cl.b-c¹sharp and Cl.b¹-c²sharp. A modern edition of this *Duo* transposes the original C clarinet part for A clarinet (Cl.F major), although consequently requiring the repeated use of notes to Cl.f³: the

use of the C clarinet avoids notes above Cl.d³ and the D minor slow movement of the *Duo* also lends itself well to the C clarinet.

The two-movement fifth *Duo*, in E flat major, typifies the nature of the 1812 reworkings in the clarinet parts in all six *Duos*. From the opening bars the clarinet material is considerably altered from the 1787 violin version. The simple quaver figuration in the violin is transformed into bravura clarinet flourishes that exploit the lowest chalumeau register and arpeggiatic writing across the registers (Ex.2.45). The clarinet writing eclipses the humble thematic material of the keyboard RH.

Example 2.45 Hoffmeister Duo V, I bars 1–5

The musical score for Example 2.45 consists of three staves: Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb) 1812), Violin (Vln 1787), and Piano (Pf). The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The Clarinet part features rapid arpeggiated patterns in the chalumeau register, marked with forte (f) and piano (p) dynamics. The Violin part plays a simple quaver accompaniment, also marked with f and p. The Piano part provides harmonic support with chords and arpeggios, marked with f and p.

The boldness of this introductory material sets up an equality between instruments lacking in the 1787 work. The clarinet arpeggios become a salient feature henceforth: flowing open or broken arpeggios (Ex.2.46) often replace scalic violin passagework. The remarkable resemblance between I bar 40 and the opening semiquaver clarinet flourish in Mozart's Clarinet Quintet, K.581 (I bar 8) might be more than coincidental.

Example 2.46 Hoffmeister Duo V, I bars 37–45

37 [Allegro]

Cl.(Bb) 1812

Vln 1787

Pf.

40

43

The lyrical writing in the violin part from 1787 is transferred literally, with any differences probably due to infelicities in the editorial process: the clarinet's repetition of the second subject theme (Ex.2.47) furnishes a good example, but here, however, the transcriber has taken pains to avoid the use of Cl.e³ at I bars 71 and 73. The careful avoidance of pitches above Cl.d³ continues throughout the work.

Example 2.47 Hoffmeister Duo V, I bars 65–75

The arranger had a clearly formulated idea of the clarinet’s weaknesses: awkward chromatic writing around the registral break, and the notes Cl.c¹sharp and Cl.e¹flat, are avoided through octave transposition, and there is a desire here to keep melodies in the ‘clarinet’ register (as shown in Ex.2.48).

Example 2.48 Hoffmeister Duo V, I bar 95–106

A wish to exploit the lower range of the clarinet is evinced in the final bars of the first movement: although the clarinet departs from the octave writing with the piano at I bar 223³ this facilitates a final burbling chalumeau flourish (Ex.2.49).

Example 2.49 Hoffmeister Duo V, I bar 212–24

The second movement, a Rondo, has the following structure:

A	B	A	C	A	D	A	Coda
1–20	21–53	54–60	61–88	89–95	96–129	130–49	149–58
Eb	Cmin.	C	Ab	Eb	B (to Eb at 112)	Eb	Eb

Fig.2.4 Hoffmeister Duo V, structural plan

The B section of the movement, in the relative minor, commences with a ten-bar piano statement with the clarinet merely holding sustained pitches. The clarinet answers in bars 30–40, employing arpeggiatic figuration combined with more continuous scalic passagework amended to encompass a range from the Cl.f-c³. More downward octave transpositions follow, passagework from II bars 44–8 both exploiting the lower reaches of the chalumeau and avoiding awkward writing around the ‘break’. Double stops in the violin from II bars 63–77 are realised through broken arpeggios. The D section of the work commences with an abrupt tertiary-relation excursion to the key of B major. Between bars 96–111 the 1787 violin part shadows the keyboard RH at the lower octave (bars 100–03; bars 109–12). In the clarinet version all of this is omitted, as the transposition for B flat clarinet

would have demanded figuration in extreme sharp-key tonalities. The closing bars of the *Duo* give the clarinet a more virtuosic closing gesture, the original violin part being a repetitive accompaniment to the keyboard's closing tonic chords (Ex.2.50).

Example 2.50 Hoffmeister Duo V, II bars 149–58

This modernisation of Hoffmeister's 1787 duet reveals many of the perceived paradigmatic qualities of the clarinet in 1812. Although in the 1787 work the violin part is never dispensable, greater equality of interest between the keyboard and the clarinet was an overriding concern twenty-five years later: embellishments in the clarinet part are provided where the violin originally had a subservient, accompanimental function. The bravura treatment of the clarinet overthrows the dominance of the keyboard creating a more equal duo partnership. The clarinet's lower compass, and the distinctive timbral contrasts of its registers (chalumeau versus clarinet particularly) is explored. The transfer between these registers is clearly best deployed through arpeggiatic motion: scalar passagework is often replaced by rolling arpeggios across the full compass of the instrument.

But the comparison also evinces facets of the clarinet's technique still deemed to be limitations. The transcription avoids chromatic passagework and difficult cross-fingered pitches, particularly around the break in registers, and the inclusion of the clarinet in tonalities when transposition would result in the deployment of extreme sharp keys. Although there is even treatment of the compass deployed, notes above Cl.c³ are rare: in the first five *Duos* Cl.e³ is consciously, often artificially avoided. Only in the final *Duo*, for clarinet in A, do the pitches Cl.e³flat and Cl.f³ appear.

Although by 1812 significant developments in clarinet design were afoot, the amendments to the work suggest intended performance on a five-key instrument. The Steiner arrangements are the work of a capable craftsman, aware of the benchmark attributes of the competent amateur musician and of his instrument: through these sometimes naïve arrangements we can deduce the conventional idiomatic traits of the instrument and the qualities of the performers for whom they were intended.

The clarinet found its way into the sonata for clarinet and piano in the period 1800 to 1812 initially through surrogacy for the violin. In most cases this resulted in a dumbing down of the more idiomatic features of writing for both instruments, with pragmatic concessions being made. Wanhal's sonatas demonstrate these compromises most clearly, whilst Eberl's sonata reveals a sympathetic understanding of the type of melodic material that could be taken up by the clarinet with some success. Struck's duo demonstrates a more sophisticated usage of the clarinet's idiomatic traits as a compositional stimulus, doubtless through his association with Crusell. The mismatch between aesthetic worth and the idiomatic handling of the clarinet is problematic, as works with the greatest compositional invention, such as Eberl's example, have rather conservative clarinet writing, whilst those with less sophisticated musical arguments, such as Rudolph's work, exploit the salient characteristics of the clarinet more fully. Perhaps in Ries's sonata do compositional and instrumental invention seem best synthesised.

II Trios

Beethoven's other contribution to the clarinet, cello and piano trio medium was a transcription of his Septet, Op.20 of 1800, as the seven-movement Grand Trio, Op.38 prepared in 1802–3. Like Mozart's K.498 and his own Op.11, this trio was initially intended for private consumption, dedicated to Professor Johann Schmidt, the physician who treated the composer's worsening deafness from around 1801–2. Schmidt is mentioned in the Heiligenstadt Testament, and the extensive dedication that appeared in the 1805 Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie edition attests to the debt of gratitude owed to this man. Generally Beethoven was not an advocate of arrangements, and sought to condemn the prevailing trend: in a letter to Breitkopf and Haertel of 13 July 1802 he wrote: '[t]he *unnatural mania*, now so prevalent, for transferring even *pianoforte compositions* to string instruments, instruments which in all respects are so utterly different from one another, should really be checked.' He noted that for successful arrangement of his own piano sonatas material would need to be altered, omitted or even added (Anderson 1961, 75). Unauthorised arrangements of his works caused the composer to include a notice in the *AmZ* in 1802 stating that '[t]he transcription is in general a subject, which in this day and age (a prolific time for transcriptions) an author can only struggle against in vain' (*AmZ* V, 3 November 1802, Int. Blatt 4:

15). Nevertheless sufficient evidence supports the assertion that Op.38 was the composer's own transcription (see details in Beethoven's conversation books later in his life, Köhler 1968–93, 9: 101 and also Wegeler and Ries 1987, 82).

The dedication made it clear that the work was intended to be within the executant capabilities of Schmidt and his family members.

Monsieur!

Je sens parfaitement bien, que la Célébrité de Votre nom, ainsi que l'amitié dont / Vous m'honorez exigeroient de moi la dédicace d'un bien plus important ouvrage. / La seule chose, qui a pu me déterminer à Vous offrir celui-ci de préférence, c'est / qu'il me paroît d'une exécution plus facile, et par là même plus propre à / contribuer à la Satisfaction dont Vous jouissez dans l'aimable Cercle de Votre / famille. – C'est surtout, lorsque les leureux talents d'une fille chérie se seront / développés davantage, que je me flatte de voir ce but atteint. Heureux si j'y / ai réussi, et si dans cette foible marque de ma haute estime et de ma gratitude / Vous reconnoissez toute la vivacité et la cordialité de mes sentiments./

Louis van Beethoven.

This point was raised by the *AmZ* reviewer:

First of all, this has a French dedication, which is noteworthy because of the odd phrase in which the composer states that he is giving precisely this work to his patron because it is easy to perform. As is well known, the composition itself is known to be one of the most beautiful, or at least one of the most agreeable and amiable by this master, and dates from the time when he had not yet set that particular goal for himself. As it goes without saying with this composer, the arrangement is very good. The violin part, as can likewise be taken for granted, is a different one from that for clarinet. If one alternates the two instruments, one can enjoy the trio with satisfaction all the more often, for through the small alterations in both, this interesting painting is illuminated in several more interesting colors. Nevertheless, the reviewer feels that the clarinet is the superior choice, presuming it is played very well. The whole work emerges like an original and almost as well as it does on the seven instruments. The performance of the keyboard part is, for Beethoven's music, really very easy.

(*AmZ* VII, 28 August 1805:77. Trans. in Senner 1999, 1: 225)

It is little wonder that the clarinet part was favoured over that of the violin (the caveat suggesting that a satisfactory performance on the clarinet was not to be taken for granted) for it rarely deviates from that of Op.20, there being occasional amendments to accommodate the horn part of the original. The cello subsumes the bassoon and horn parts of Op.20 for the most part, whilst the piano primarily takes the music of the strings, covering for any deficient material from the winds of Op.20 as required. 'Small alterations' in the violin part are, quantitatively at least, very numerous, mostly additional double and triple stops (over fifty of the first movement's 288 bars have these), an attempt it would seem to reproduce something of the fuller texture of the original. On all but one occasion, at VI bars 9–10, the clarinet takes the highest pitched note.

On only three occasions are there significant notational differences between the clarinet and the violin parts, the first two amendments to pitches below the violin's compass (Ex.2.51; Ex.2.52);

Example 2.51 Beethoven Op.38, I bars 17–20

17 [Adagio] attacca subito L'Allegro Allegro con brio

Cl.(Bb) *cresc.* *sf*

Vln *cresc.* *sf*

Cello *cresc.* *sf*

Pf. *cresc.* *sf* *p*

Example 2.52 Beethoven Op.38, III bars 43–8

43 [Tempo di Menuetto]

Cl.(Bb) *p* *cresc.* *p*

Vln *p* *cresc.* *p*

Cello *cresc.* *p*

Pf. *cresc.* *cresc.* *sf* *p*

In the third instance the double stopped octave triplets in the violin in the final movement are intended to replicate the texture of Op.20 (Ex.2.53).

Example 2.53 Beethoven Op.38, VII bars 79–82

These amendments and the timbral differences between the violin and clarinet seemed to serve more than a functional purpose: for the *AmZ* two distinctive manifestations of Beethoven's Op.20 could be heard.

Beethoven's frustration with pirate arrangers doubtless led to his sanctioning arrangements of his works by others, including younger composers within his circle. Moscheles and Ries were two such composers, the latter making piano trio and piano quartet versions of his second and third symphonies respectively. Ries noted that '[m]any of Beethoven's compositions appeared with the notation *Arrangé par l'Auteur même*, but only four of these are genuine...Many other things were arranged by me, checked through by Beethoven, and sold by his brother Caspar [Carl] under Beethoven's name' (Wegeler and Ries 1987, 82). Franz Xaver Kleinheinz (1765–1832), although several years Beethoven's senior, also worked with the composer: Carl van Beethoven wrote in a letter to Breitkopf and Haertel of 21 May 1803 that Kleinheinz had, under the composer's direction, 'arranged several of his clavier pieces for Quartet and some instrumental music for clavier with accompaniment' (Beethoven 1996, 1: 163–4).

Kleinheinz is a composer who is known principally through the Beethoven literature. His life has been chronicled effectively by Miller (1980), but, save for brief references to Kleinheinz's sonatas by Newman (1963, 564–5) drawing upon the work of Sandberger (1924, 1: 226–47), no detailed study of the composer's music has been undertaken. Born in Mindelheim in Bavaria, Kleinheinz studied in Memmingen and Neuberg before travelling to Munich where he taught the piano and worked as a secretary to the Elector Karl Theodor. At the death of the Elector in 1799 he went to Vienna where he studied composition with Albrechtsberger. He soon established himself in the city and began teaching the piano, his pupils including Therese and Josephine Brunsvik and Giuletta Guicciardi. Beethoven's associations with the Brunsvik family (see La Mara 1920) and Guicciardi

(see Beethoven's conversation with Schindler about their relationship in Köhler 1968–93, 2: 365–6) have been well documented. In December 1801 Josephine wrote to Therese:

Yesterday we had delightful music at the Guicciardis. Julie [Giulietta] played Beethoven's Piano Trio very prettily. Then the Septet and a new Quintet of his were performed. Everyone asks me why Therese never comes – Beethoven and Zmeskall send you their greetings, also Odelaschi. The most ardent of your admirers, however, is Kleinheinz. He speaks of you with enthusiasm. He is happy as soon as he merely hears your name. He visits me from time to time, but because of his many lessons does not have time to come often. [Julie] Guicciardi now also has him as her teacher.

(Miller 1980, 167. My translation)

It may well have been through Beethoven that Kleinheinz made acquaintance with the Archduke Rudolph. During the occupation of Vienna by the French in 1805 Kleinheinz went to Hungary where he taught Rudolph figured bass and Rudolph's elder brother, the Archduke Ludwig, the piano. From 1809 Kleinheinz lived as a composer and pianist in Pest (see Gerber 1813), who reported him to be 'a young and fiery head...rich in thought and ideas'. He returned to Vienna at the request of Count Pálffy to write a comic opera, *Der Feenkrieg*. Between 1814 and 1815, and 1817 and 1824 he was Kapellmeister at the German theatre in Ofen in Hungary. He died in Pest in 1832.

Schilling (1837) lists an oeuvre that includes oratorios, two masses, three operas, sixteen piano sonatas, two trios, overtures, marches, choruses and entractes to various Schauspielen, tragedies, parodies, songs, romances, ballades, Harmonie works, piano concertos, fantasies and variations. Some early piano sonatas and variations (on themes of Mozart and Gluck) were published in Offenbach and Leipzig in 1796 and 1797. Clearly Kleinheinz quickly established a reputation for himself in Vienna, with chamber works published by Eder and the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie in the years 1801–3. The Trio, Op.13 for pianoforte, violin or clarinet and cello, also published by the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie, was dedicated to the Princess of Baden. This work is the only known example of a chamber work by Kleinheinz with piano and a wind instrument. Original and arranged Harmoniemusik, an octet for strings and wind and a wind quintet (lost) are the only other works with clarinet listed by Jancik in *MGG*.

The Trio, published in 1803, dates from the period when Kleinheinz was working on arrangements of Beethoven's Opp. 8 and 25 (as Opp.42 and 41). Its title page states that the work is for 'Violon ou Clarinette' and the significant number of additional marks of expression in the violin part may betray this as the original source from which the clarinet part was subsequently made. Some crude amendments and additions in the clarinet would also suggest that the work originated as a standard

piano and string trio. The substitution of triplet arpeggios for the violin's quaver accompaniment, with the resulting awkward voice-lead into I bar 15, is clearly an attempt to produce more idiomatic writing for the clarinet (Ex.2.54).

Example 2.54 Kleinheinz Op.13, I bars 13–20

The musical score for Example 2.54, Kleinheinz Op.13, I bars 13–20, is presented in a four-staff format. The top staff is for Clarinet in Bb (Cl.(Bb)), the second for Violin (Vln), the third for Cello (Cello), and the bottom for Piano (Pf.). The tempo is marked [Allegro]. The key signature has two flats. The score shows bars 13 through 20. The Cello part is marked 'Coll' arco'. The Piano part features a triplet arpeggio in bar 15. The Violin part has a quaver accompaniment. The Clarinet part has a triplet arpeggio in bar 15. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The addition of alberti figuration before the completion of the six-bar recapitulation of the opening phrase, which continues to I bar 171, when the violin entry has greater structural logic, is another interesting but maladroit amendment (Ex.2.55).

Example 2.55 Kleinheinz Op.13, I bars 159–74

If Kleinheinz does not appear to have a particular empathy for the clarinet he was clearly able to recognize that the tonality and much of the thematic material suited that instrument: the legato first subject of the opening movement (Ex.2.56) and the chorale-like second subject (Ex.2.57) are admirably effected by the sustaining voice of the clarinet.

Example 2.56 Kleinheinz Op.13, I bars 1–8

Example 2.57 Kleinheinz Op.13, I bars 48–56

Kleinheinz's work reveals some compositional imagination: the opening of the second movement, marked *cantabile molto*, commences with sustained chords, where the crescendo markings in the clarinet and cello contrast the natural decay of the pianoforte chords, making for a novel effect. In this movement a familiarity with the Adagio of Beethoven's Op.11 seems apparent through the tenor register cello melody at the commencement, the multifarious rhythmic figurations in the piano and, in particular, the descending semiquaver accompaniment from II bar 21, akin to Op.11 II bars 38–40.

The work of Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763–1850) was influenced more by Haydn than Beethoven (see Doernberg 1963). Gyrowetz was a Bohemian who travelled to Vienna in 1784 or 1785, and who subsequently had associations with both Mozart (who included a symphony in his *Mehlgrube* subscription series in 1785) and Beethoven (he was a pall-bearer at the composer's funeral). After spending some years in Italy, Paris and London (his stay coincided with Haydn's first visit), Gyrowetz returned to Vienna around 1793 where he remained for the rest of his life. His vast compositional output (listed by Landon in *MGG*) includes forty symphonies, forty-five string quartets, forty-five piano trios and many works of *Harmoniemusik*. The piano trios mostly predate his appointment as *Kapellmeister* to the court theatres in 1804, for which he was expected to produce an opera and ballet annually.

The *Grand Trio*, Op.43 for pianoforte, clarinet or violin and cello was written for, and dedicated to the pianist Josepha Auernhammer (1758–1820), a pupil of Mozart, whose playing that composer found 'enchanted' (see Anderson 1985, 748: letter of 27 June 1781). The work was written for an Akademie given by Auernhammer on 2 March 1804, the concert notice (in the *A:Wn Theater Sammlung*, *Hoftheater Zettel*) listing 'a wholly new and specially composed sonata for fortepiano, clarinet and violoncello played by Madame Auernhammer, Herr Stadler the elder and Herr Gänsbacher'. Auernhammer clearly had close working associations with Gyrowetz, for in her earlier documented Akademien at the Burgtheater, on 25 March 1795 and 25 March 1801 (see Morrow 1989, 286 and 308), works by the composer had been performed. In the latter of these concerts Auernhammer played Mozart's K.452 with unnamed wind instrumentalists. Anton Stadler and Gänsbacher were but two of the important musicians connected with the 1804 concert: pupils of Joseph Leutgeb (c.1745–1811), for whom Mozart wrote his four horn concertos, performed, and Auernhammer played Eberl's Piano Concerto in E flat major, Op.40.

The review of this concert in the *AmZ* gave an unfavourable opinion of the trio, although Leutgeb's pupils appear to have saved the day: 'A new trio by Gyrowetz left the listener completely cold. This was compensated for however by an accompanied horn concerto, skilfully played by two young men' (*AmZ* VI, 11 April 1804: 471). The work, published by the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie, was advertised in the *WZ* on 13 February 1805 and reviewed in the *AmZ* in August 1806.

It is now becoming the prevailing custom for piano pieces with an instrumental accompaniment which is even partially obbligato, to be entitled *Trio*, *Quartet* etc.; and indeed, if they are of sizeable extent, for the word 'Grand' also to be added. It is well known that the former is done in order to indicate that the work is not the usual kind of sonata with accompaniment: rather, the other parts are, to a certain degree, accorded equal rights with the piano and given a closer connection among themselves. And yet how many pieces bear this title, even

when the pianoforte alone contains the principal part and the others serve more as an accompaniment! It would surely, therefore, be better in such instances to retain the name 'Sonata', which is widely popular, better describes the type of work and, indeed, encompasses the Trio, Quartet etc. within itself. This by the bye!

The present Trio by G. is likewise only a large – or more precisely a long – sonata, with obbligato accompaniment by the instruments indicated. It is a pleasant entertainment piece: particularly so, however, for those who wish to play something brilliant yet are not willing to surmount difficulties. It will not be found to be without interest; it is a pity only that the interest is not equal in all three movements. The first Allegro is a lively, thoroughly cheerful movement, with some modulations that are by no means common yet succeed one another very naturally, and several passages for the pianoforte that lie well in the fingers – a movement, in short, which certainly gives as much pleasure to the player as to the hearer. The Andante, by contrast, though it is good in parts, as a whole ought to have greater bearing, more coherence: that is to say, it ought to flow more smoothly from one point to another; one period, one idea, ought to give rise to the next; the phrases ought not to seem so fortuitously, so arbitrarily, conjoined. The final Allegretto contains many rolling passages and has a pleasing theme, which is marred, however, by the *Einschnitt* that intrudes in the eighth bar and is then excessively prolonged. Moreover, the movement is too long, owing to a number of indifferent passages – among which, for example, we may include page 20, bars 13 to 27, page 22, bars 20 to 46 [actually 26] and page 25, bars 16 and 17 – and thus loses both internal proportion and effectiveness.

(*AmZ* VIII, 20 August 1806: 751–2)

A mismatch between title and content observed in the *AmZ* may well have led to the poor review of the work's performance: perhaps there was too much of the salon here for the public arena. This is a work dominated by the piano, unsurprising perhaps in that this was for Auernhammer in her own Akademie, but with *Begleitung* instruments often in the manner of the accompanied sonata. Although a concerto-like treatment is evident, for example in the *quasi* cadenza at the end of the first movement, the piano part is technically undemanding. A single untransposed part, for 'Clarinetto Õ Violino' displays a conservative range Cl.a-c³ and there is no evidence to suggest that this part included amendments to accommodate the violin's more limited lower compass.

The piano is practically self-sufficient in the first subject group of the opening movement. The open texture of the theme here, with pulsating drone fifths is an interesting effect, the melody merely doubled at the octave by the clarinet (Ex.2.58).

Example 2.58 Gyrowetz Op.43, I bars 15–24

A ‘false’ second subject (which does not reappear in the recapitulation), with a new rhythmic figure has some side-slipping chromaticism, doubtless some of the ‘by no means common modulation’ described by the *AmZ*, but even here clarinet and cello are peripheral to the action (Ex.2.59).

Example 2.59 Gyrowetz Op.43, I bars 35–42

The clarinet takes the second subject theme proper with a lyrical thirteen-bar phrase, the piano now providing a true accompaniment, the cello merely supporting the piano LH (Ex.2.60).

Example 2.60 Gyrowetz Op.43, I bars 55–68

[Allegro moderato]
56
Cl.(Bb) *f*
Cello *p*
Pf. *p*
60
fp
64
f

Gyrowetz focuses on the keyboard part in the development section too, which commences with the dark colours of B flat minor. Once more the contributions of clarinet and cello seem ad libitum (Ex.2.61).

Example 2.61 Gyrowetz Op.43, I bars 115–27

The musical score is for the first movement of the Gyrowetz Op. 43, I, bars 115-27. It is in 3/4 time and marked *[Allegro moderato]*. The score is arranged for Clarinet in Bb (Cl.(Bb)), Cello, and Piano (Pf.).

Bar 115: The Clarinet part has a whole rest. The Cello part has a whole note chord (F2, C3, G2). The Piano part has a piano introduction with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the bass and chords in the treble.

Bar 119: The Clarinet part has a half note chord (F2, C3, G2). The Cello part has a half note chord (F2, C3, G2). The Piano part continues with the rhythmic pattern.

Bar 123: The Clarinet part has a half note chord (F2, C3, G2). The Cello part has a half note chord (F2, C3, G2). The Piano part continues with the rhythmic pattern.

Only rarely do the clarinet and cello contribute bravura passagework (Ex.2.62).

Example 2.62 Gyrowetz Op.43, I bars 231–44

231 [Allegro moderato]

Cl.(Bb)

mf

Cello

Pf.

234

237

240

p

tr

The tripartite second movement also has the piano largely self-sufficient, although the clarinet has some telling reinforcement of the piano melodies at the octave in the first subject and some interesting phrase and answer (Ex.2.63).

Example 2.63 Gyrowetz Op.43, II bars 1–9

Andante

The brief central development section deploys the clarinet and cello at a two-octave interval, performing a statement of the first subject in the relative minor against weighty piano triplet semiquavers. The development is also noteworthy for more bold harmonic progressions. The *AmZ* criticism of the arbitrary construction of the slow movement is rather unjustified, as there is concision here (the movement is only eighty-two bars in total) and yet a diversity of textures, harmony and instrumental interplay that is absent in the outer movements.

The third movement is an almost monothematic *quasi* rondo: the second theme is taken by the clarinet in the dominant, its accompaniment of the piano repetition seeing the only occurrence in the work of what might be regarded as characteristic chalumeau alberti figuration, but here only reinforcing the piano LH (Ex.2.64).

Example 2.64 Gyrowetz Op.43, II bars 53–66

[Allegretto]
54

Cl.(Bb)
mf

Cello
pizz.

Pf.

59
coll' arco

63

This final movement came in for the harshest criticism from the *AmZ* reviewer. A third theme is replaced by a development of the first subject in the subdominant A flat major, and thenceforth in D flat major. At this point, Gyrowetz appears to run out of impetus, the phrase and answer between the piano RH and LH, one of the indifferent passages (p.20, bars 13–27) conducted whilst the clarinet and cello remain silent (Ex.2.65).

Example 2.65 Gyrowetz Op.43, III bars 136–50

[Allegretto]
137

Pf.

espressivo

143

The virtuosi Stadler and Gänsbacher did not leave their imprint on the work, and the clarinet writing is unremarkable, albeit that the instrument is used in *cantabile* themes to some effect. One of the challenges which faced composers of piano trios (irrespective of the instrumentation) was the need

to resolve the difficulty of working within the structural constraints of the sonata style, whilst simultaneously facilitating an equal democratic play between the instruments, and at the same time maintaining a blend and balance in ensembles of instruments with fundamentally different sonorities (Smallman 1990, 3). Gyrowetz probably had an eye on the marketplace when he composed this work, and may also have tempered the difficulty of the parts for the clarinet and cello with a view to them being accessible to dilettante players. Auernhammer had clearly performed in 1804 on an instrument with a compass to c^4 , as passages with these higher pitches are presented as an *ossia* above the piano stave in the 1805 edition. But the more commonly available instrument with a five-octave compass to f^3 was accommodated here.

Like Gyrowetz, the work of the Polish-born composer Franciszek Lessel (1780–1830) exhibits significant stylistic influences of Haydn. After initial tutelage from his father Wincenty Ferdinand, Franciszek went to Vienna to study with Haydn in 1799. He took extended visits to Poland during his time in Vienna, eventually settling in Warsaw in 1809 after Haydn's death, and thence became the foremost exponent of the mature Classical style in his home country. Chechlińska divides the composer's output into two halves, his work to 1815 focussing on instrumental genres (*NG2*, 14: 590–91). The Grande Trio, Op.4 for pianoforte, clarinet and horn published by Eder and advertised in the *WZ* on 25 April 1804, was composed before 1801, when Lessel was first under Haydn's instruction. A performance of the work took place at Herr Schmierer's private concert on 30 April 1801, reported in Count Rosenbaum's diary, where he wrote that 'the entertainment was pleasant and unconstrained. Young Lessel (a Pole, and a pupil of Haydn's) had a piece performed, a trio for pianoforte, horn and clarinet. It contained a few nice ideas, but is rather a bore...and gives away the beginner' (Radant 1968, 94). Clearly Lessel had a liking for the horn, for two concertos and a set of variations for the instrument are amongst his oeuvre (see Ernemann 1840). Amongst Lessel's works of his Vienna period, which include piano sonatas and fantasies and a piano trio (piano, violin and cello), only his pieces for Harmonie, the three Partitas at CZ:Pnm and A:Wgm, contain clarinet. His Op.4, dedicated to his father, was reviewed in the *AmZ* in 1805:

This fourth, and not insignificant, effort of Herr Lessel's contains many reminiscent features, and yet the composer has shown that he can combine ideas well, and small instances of carelessness may be readily overlooked in the light of what he offers. The style is fresh and above the common run, and hence the composer should be encouraged to cultivate his genius and advance in the correct style along the path of nature. – The Adagio is in places somewhat tricky to play, which form of composition is permissible only if the player obtains real intellectual profit from his practising. For the rest, if the instruments required for the accompaniment are available, and the whole is performed with delicacy, this Trio will provide pleasant entertainment.

(*AmZ* VII, 13 February 1805: 324)

Much of the thematic material of the work facilitates the full participation of the horn (for example, the arpeggiatic and scalic melody that pervades the final movement, Ex.2.66).

Ex.2.66 Lessel Op.4, III bars 1–4



Ex.2.68 Lessel Op.4, II bars 55–66

55 [Adagio Espressivo]

Cl.(Bb)

Hn.(Eb)

Pf.

59

63

If there is some mundanity in the outer movements the second movement presents Lessel as an imaginative composer, adept in his handling of this difficult new instrumental combination.

The first four-movement Viennese trio with clarinet was Eberl's Grand Trio, Op.36, published by Kühnel in Leipzig in 1806 and dedicated to Madame de Tschoffen. This work is in the 'grand' style, after those trios commencing with Beethoven's Op.1. Its sonata form first movement is preceded by an Andante maestoso introduction, and, by comparison with the slow movements of the trios by Beethoven, Kleinheinz and Gyrowetz, it has a substantially proportioned Adagio second movement. The Scherzo with Trio has obvious influences of Beethoven, whilst the last movement is an Allegretto Theme and Variations.

The clarinet presents a lyrical melody at the commencement of the Allegro con spirito (Ex.2.69). The second subject, taken initially by the piano at I bars 47–54, presents a new texture: the variation of texture and timbre at the clarinet entry in I bar 55 avoids a straight repetition of the phrase, and requires of the clarinetist some deft trills (Ex.2.70).

Example 2.69 Eberl Op.36, I bars 9–17

Allegro con spirito

Cl.(Bb)
Cello
Pf.

Example 2.70 Eberl Op.36, I bars 55–63

[*Allegro con spirito*]

Cl.(Bb)
Cello
Pf.

Textural variation occurs too at the reprise of the first subject (I bar 151), the clarinet now taking the middle voice over a cello tonic pedal (Ex.2.71).

Example 2.71 Eberl Op.36, I bars 145–58

145 [Allegro con spirito]

Cl.(Bb)

Cello

Pf.

149

153

156

The lower compass of the clarinet is used freely throughout (for example, Ex.2.71 I bars 148–9), such passages clearly amended to make the clarinet part performable on the violin. There are very rare instances of double stops in this movement in the violin alternative.

The development section of the movement includes excursions to more distant tonalities (B major and B minor), the clarinet's participation facilitated by it having slow-moving melodies over brilliant piano semiquaver figuration.

The second movement *Andante maestoso* demands of the clarinetist strong projection around the break between registers, a feature of the clarinet sonority that Eberl is keen to deploy (Ex.2.72).

Example 2.72 Eberl Op.36, II bars 8–16

[Adagio non troppo ma con espressione]

9

Cl.(Bb)

Cello

Pf.

13

At the recapitulation of the opening theme in this movement Eberl wishes to exploit the varied textures possible in the trio configuration (Ex.2.73).

Example 2.73 Eberl Op.36, II bars 96–9

[Adagio non troppo ma con espressione]
a tempo

96

Cl.(Bb)

Cello

Pf.

The final movement is an ingeniously constructed theme and variations linked by modulating passages (the first variation is in B flat major; the second in F major; the third in A flat major). The clarinet takes up the vocal melody after the piano (Ex.2.74).

Example 2.74 Eberl Op.36, IV bars 8–16

[Allegretto]

9

Cl.(Bb)

Cello

Pf.

13

The fourth variation, returned to the tonic E flat major, affords each instrument its own individuality within the ensemble texture: martial piano rhythms are set against the fluid triplet semiquaver scales and arpeggios in the clarinet and the cello (Ex.2.75).

Example 2.75 Eberl Op.36, IV bars 195–202

[Allegretto]

a tempo

195

Cl.(Bb)

Cello

Pf.

199

The work represents a significant development in the clarinet, cello and piano trio both in terms of scale and in Eberl's inventive use of the various permutations of the trio configuration. Rarely does the piano dominate, textural variation effecting a constantly developing sonority.

Eberl's other trio, the Potpourri en Trio, Op.44 was published posthumously in 1808 by the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie. It is a medley of popular melodies for pianoforte, clarinet and cello including those from Berton's *Aline, reine de Golconde*, an opera first performed in Vienna on 6 March 1804. Unlike Op.36, a work plainly of more serious expressive intent, no alternative for the clarinet part is given, although this part reveals nothing that would suggest that the work could not have been performed on violin. Only once, in the opening Allegretto at bars 76 and 77, does the clarinet descend below the violin's compass. It may have been due to the fact that this work was conceived with the clarinet but not published until after the composer's death that the work was offered without alternative, although there was obviously a sufficient demand to make publication without alternatives financially worthwhile. Although marked 'en Trio', the piano dominates, albeit that the clarinet and cello play an integral part in textural and thematic characteristics of the work. The flowing melody of the Pastorale section, with its call and response between piano and the clarinet and cello, is charming and well suited to the clarinet (Ex.2.76).

Example 2.76 Eberl Op.44, Pastorale bars 1–16

The musical score for Example 2.76, Eberl's Op.44, Pastorale, bars 1-16, is presented in five systems. The first system (bars 1-6) features the Piano (Pf.) with a flowing melody in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The second system (bars 7-12) introduces the Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Cello, which play a call-and-response melody. The Piano continues to provide harmonic support. Dynamics include piano (p) and forte (f). The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major.

The incomplete and unpublished Trio for piano, clarinet and cello by the Archduke Rudolph (c.1813) was intended to be a work of four movements, like Eberl's Op.36. Although only the first three of these were completed, a fourth (a Rondo finale) exists as fragmentary sketches at CZ: Kra. The ambitious scale of the first movement, of some 264 bars, results in the same weaknesses highlighted by Kagan in relation to the Sonata, Op.2, namely that rather bland melodic ideas seem to afford few opportunities for extensive development that would support the large scale. Harmonic excursions to more distant tonalities seem to substitute for an integrated motivic development.

From the outset lyrical clarinet writing so prominent in Op.2 is a feature, the clarinet then with typical arpeggiatic chalumeau accompaniment at the piano repetition of the opening theme (Ex.2.77).

Example 2.77 Rudolph Trio in E flat major, I bars 1–12

Allegro moderato

This movement displays some imaginative touches including the second subject clarinet melody over pizzicato cello whilst the piano remains silent (Ex.2.78).

Example 2.78 Rudolph Trio in E flat major, I bars 38–43

[Allegro moderato]

Rudolph was most at home in theme and variation form (the majority of his completed works are, or include, variations): the second movement, whose theme is the Romance from the Octet, Op.12 by Prince Louis Ferdinand (see above p.9), has five variations. Whilst the first variation requires considerable pianistic ability, the second variation shows Rudolph's fluent writing for the clarinet (Ex.2.79).

Example 2.79 Rudolph Trio in E flat major, II Var.2 bars 1–11

Var.2

The third movement Scherzo, clearly influenced by his teacher Beethoven, has more timbral variety: the four-bar opening G minor phrase, with its alternation of *forte* and *piano* and its octave movement, is a powerful subject (Ex.2.80), contrasting with the lyrical E flat major Trio presented by the clarinet (Ex.2.81).

Example 2.80 Rudolph Trio in E flat major, III Scherzo bars 1–4

Scherzo: Allegretto

Example 2.81 Rudolph Trio in E flat major, III Trio bars 1–4

Trio

The Trio, presumably also intended for Troyer, has nothing of the extremes of tessitura of the Sonata, Op.2, the clarinet's upper range extending only to Cl.d³.

As in their contemporaneous sonatas, so too in Ries's trio with clarinet, does this composer demonstrate greater ingenuity than Rudolph. Like Op.29, the Trio, Op.28 for pianoforte, clarinet or violin and cello is dated 'Bonn 1809' in the composer's catalogue. The Simrock edition was advertised in the *AmZ* in 1812. The work was dedicated to Mademoiselle Clairette Ludwigs. The opening movement wavers between its opening G minor tonality and that of its first principal theme in B flat major at I bar 10, this major-minor dichotomy prevailing throughout the movement. There is considerable expressive ambition here, in terms of the contrasting tonal areas presented, the range of keys employed and in some of the forceful and virtuosic writing. The movement demonstrates all the qualities of democratic chamber music: within the first subject group the piano is heard in various guises, in accompanimental chordal writing in the hushed piano introduction, presenting motivic material (I bar 10) and as a foil for the clarinet, both in the melodic opening and in brilliant scale passages (I bar 12) (Ex.2.82).

Example 2.82 Ries Op.28, I bars 1–32

Allegro

Cl.(B \flat)

Cello

Pf.

8

12

16

20

p

cresc.

f

cresc.

cresc.

cresc.

p

cresc.

tr.

The image displays a musical score for piano and cello, organized into three systems. The first system (measures 24-27) features a cello line with a 'cresc.' marking and a piano line with a 'p' marking. The second system (measures 28-29) shows both instruments with 'cresc.' markings. The third system (measures 30-31) includes 'f' and 'fp' markings. The piano part consists of a complex, ornamented accompaniment, while the cello part has a more melodic and rhythmic character.

The piano is liberated from its bass function by the independence of the cello (for example, the ornamented answering phrase at I bars 22–7). Ries’s one-time teacher Romberg, to whom he dedicated his Cello Sonatas, Opp.21 and 22 of 1808 may have been an inspiration. The clarinet also assumes multifarious roles, as melodist, offering figurative accompaniment and in writing of concertante brilliance. The development section, exploiting the first subject group B flat major theme imitatively, has all instruments prominent. The opening of the Scherzo and Trio, with its insistent crotchet B flat repetitions, has clear Beethovenian qualities, not dissimilar to the Scherzo of that composer’s Op.1 no.1 (Ex.2.83).

Example 2.83 Ries Op.28, II bars 1–14

Scherzo: Allegro vivace

Musical score for Example 2.83, Scherzo: Allegro vivace, bars 1–14. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features Cello, Piano (Pf.), and Clarinet (Cl.). The Cello part has a melodic line starting on G2, moving up stepwise. The Piano part provides harmonic support with chords and arpeggiated figures. The Clarinet part enters at bar 8 with a melodic line. Dynamics include piano (p) and piano dolce (p dolce).

The length of the movement (212 bars plus the Scherzo repeat) is seemingly compensated for by the brevity of the musing Adagio third movement of only forty-five bars' duration, where the cello has a prominent melodic voice, almost an introduction to the sonata-rondo finale in the style of a gavotte, in which the clarinet's vocal qualities are once more exploited (Ex.2.84).

Example 2.84 Ries Op.28, IV bars 1–8

Musical score for Example 2.84, Rondo: Allegro ma non troppo, bars 1–8. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)), Cello, and Piano (Pf.). The Clarinet part has a melodic line starting on G4, moving up stepwise. The Cello part has a rhythmic accompaniment. The Piano part provides harmonic support with chords and arpeggiated figures. Dynamics include piano (p) and piano dolce (p dolce).

Only in this last movement does the piano begin to usurp the other instruments in a crescendo of virtuosic passagework (for example, IV bar 95 to the reprise at bar 140).

Apart from Kleinheinz's Op.13 all other trios discussed here originated in instrumentation with the clarinet. The artificiality of appended figures in Kleinheinz's work does not lessen the effective

surrogacy of the clarinet for the violin in material that is often lyrical and song-like. Beethoven's approach in his Op.38 was to leave the clarinet as the stable party, satisfied with the part that has such a strong voice in his Op.20. Gyrowetz's Op.43 is clearly driven by the demands of the marketplace: Stadler's impact is negligible, there being nothing to suggest that the part was for Vienna's first and finest clarinet virtuoso. If Rudolph's trio has an almost overbearing reliance on the clarinet's lyrical potential, it is impossible to deny the ease and efficiency of his clarinet writing. But as in the sonata, so too in the trio do the most rewarding insights come from Eberl and Ries. Although all composers could clearly recognise the idioms of the clarinet these composers more boldly explored the timbral and dramatic possibilities of the instrument in the trio medium. Although Eberl shows greater kinship with the mature Viennese Classical style, whilst Ries has a more progressive early Romantic language, these composers made the most significant developments to the writing for piano trio with clarinet after Mozart and Beethoven.

III Quartets, Quintets and Larger Ensembles

The piano trio presented the challenge of marrying distinctive but equal-voiced instrumental parts with the rigorous structural parameters of sonata forms, a challenge that some declined to accept. But larger instrumental configurations presented still greater challenges. The Quintets of Mozart and Beethoven of the late eighteenth century demonstrate different approaches to the generic indeterminacy defined by the works' instrumentation. In the early nineteenth century, perhaps due to difficulties of this generic placement, and the technical problems associated with larger ensembles, to say nothing of the difficulty of marketing works for larger and more diverse media, quartets and larger configurations were infrequently used. Some works, after Mozart's and Beethoven's examples, were generic hybrids, whilst others sacrificed the democracy of equal part-writing for a more concertante style in which the piano was dominant.

Eberl was foremost among those Viennese composers who wished to exploit the colouristic effects of mixed winds and strings with piano. This is exemplified in the Grand Quintet, Op.41 for pianoforte, clarinet or violin, two violas and cello where the sonorous possibilities of the medium were uppermost in the composer's mind. A brief description in the *AmZ* from December 1807 noted that the work had been amongst the composer's *Nachlass*, describing '...a glorious work, full of spirit and depth of feeling, beautiful in its melodies and harmonic workmanship. It calls for a skilful pianist, who is also able to take possession of the composer's spirit within his own mind: such a player, however, will be well rewarded for his work' (*AmZ* X, 16 December 1807: 185). A letter from Anna Maria Eberl to Ambrosius Kühnel from 26 June 1807, concerning posthumous

publication of her husband's works, appears to date Op.41 as from 1801 (see Kim 2002, 37). The work was published by the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie and advertised in the *WZ* in January 1808.

Example 2.85 Eberl Op.41, I bars 1–4

Allegro con fuoco

Pf.

Example 2.86 Eberl Op.41, I bars 10–18

10 [Allegro con fuoco]

Cl.(Bb)

Vla 1

Vla 2

Cello

Pf.

14

17

The three-movement piece in G minor commences with an Allegro con fuoco movement, the tortured chromatic opening phrase (Ex.2.85 above) answered by the ensemble with semiquaver decoration in the piano (Ex.2.86 above). As the highest voice of the instrumental quartet the clarinet is given much prominent thematic material. In the second subject group the clarinet answers the lyrical melody first presented by the piano (Ex.2.87).

Example 2.87 Eberl Op.41, I bars 66–75

The potential for dark sonorities is exploited by Eberl, particularly in the Adagio ma non troppo second movement. The grandeur of the simple ascending melody in the piano is rather reminiscent of Beethoven, with densely scored violas and cello and the flighty answering phrase in the clarinet all the more telling against this backdrop (Ex.2.88).

Example 2.88 Eberl Op.41, II bars 1–9

The almost monothematic finale exploits the contrasts effected by presenting the opening theme (Ex.2.89) in a variety of different tonalities and is more virtuosic and concerto-like. (The theme is similar to Mozart's Piano Concerto in C minor K.491, III.)

Example 2.89 Eberl Op.41, III bars 1–8



Although the title page of the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie edition makes no mention of a violin alternative to the clarinet part, such a part was available to the purchaser.

Also appearing in a posthumous Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie edition of 1808 was Eberl's four-movement Grand Sextet, Op.47 for pianoforte, violin, viola, cello, clarinet and second horn, a work dedicated to the Viennese socialite Fanny Arnstein (1758–1818), who dominated Viennese salon life between the 1780s and her death in 1818 (Hanson 1985, 114; also Spiel 1991). Anna Maria Eberl's letter to Kühnel proposes 1796 as the date for this piece: if this is correct then this is an even more remarkable work and Eberl's first use of the clarinet in chamber music. In the 1808 edition no alternative was offered for the clarinet part. As the clarinet and violin are often used by Eberl as a pair of imitating voices, it would have been inappropriate for the clarinet to be replaced by another violin. There is little that particularly distinguishes the writing for these instruments: the exchange of the clarinet and violin parts in the second subject of the first movement is typical (Ex.2.90).

Example 2.90 Eberl Op.47, I bars 93–106

93 [Allegro vivace] (Piano tacet 93/2-111)

Cl.(Bb)
2nd Hn(Eb)
Vln
Vla
Cello

100

In the opening of the second movement, the clarinet's phrase (Ex.2.91) is repeated by the string trio, the violin melody then over semiquavers in the cello.

Example 2.91 Eberl Op.47, II bars 1–8

Andante molto

Cl.(Bb)

The piano and horn remain silent for the first forty bars of this C minor section, with further alternation of a quartet texture (clarinet and string trio) with that of strings alone. In the second section in A flat major (II bars 41–80) the piano commences solo, later accompanied by the strings. The E flat major third section (II bars 81–111) has the clarinet, horn and cello prominent, the piano now silent (Ex.2.92).

Example 2.92 Eberl Op.47, II bars 81–7

[Andante molto]

81

CL.(Bb)

2nd Hn.(Eb)

Vln

Vla

Cello

85

fz fz

fp

fz

Only at the reprise of the C minor section do these varied instrumental permutations become a tutti texture, the clarinet and cello melody in octaves against the triplet semiquaver figuration in the piano and viola. Here the horn supplies harmonic filler, the violin an almost obbligato upper voice (Ex.2.93).

Example 2.93 Eberl Op.47, II bars 130–4

[Andante molto]

131

CL.(Bb)

2nd Hn.(Eb)

Vln

Vla

Cello

Pf.

fp

arco

arco

fp

This sectionalised textural treatment continues in the Menuetto and Trio. The Menuetto has an eight-bar phrase performed by the strings with occasional horn notes; this is repeated by the piano solo; the strings repeat this phrase in the dominant and then in the tonic, whilst the piano remains silent, this material is then repeated by the piano solo. The clarinet is tacet in the Menuetto, but in the Trio roles are reversed and the piano is silent whilst the clarinet is a solo voice throughout (Ex.2.94).

Example 2.94 Eberl Op.47, III bars 48–52

At the reprise of the Menuetto the piano contributes decorative trills to the original scoring although the clarinet then plays no further part in the movement.

In a bid to retain the chamber music ideal in this enlarged ensemble, the employment of a patchwork of textural permutations provides a ready solution. Only in the final movement does the alternation of the piano with the instrumental ensemble bear structural and stylistic similarities to the concerto.

One of the first to follow the example of Mozart and Beethoven in writing for piano and wind quintet was Joseph Triebensee (1772–1846), although like the unique instrumental ensembles of Eberl's Op.41 and Op.47, the instrumentation of the Grand Quintuor in F major for pianoforte, clarinet, cor anglais, basset horn and bassoon would suggest that particular performers may have inspired its composition. By 1792, when Beethoven arrived in Vienna, Triebensee had already established a reputation in the city. In the spring of that year, at only nineteen years of age, he had performed a concerto in the Lenten Tonkünstler Societät concerts of 15 and 16 April (Pohl 1871, 63). Joseph was the son of George Triebensee, who had been a musician in the Schwarzenberg court and the imperial court theatres and who was a founder member of the KK Harmonie. Joseph was taught the oboe by his father and studied theory with Albrechtsberger. He worked as oboist at the Theater an der Wien before becoming second oboe at the Kärntnerthortheater. On 1 May 1794

Joseph became Kammer- und Theater Kapellmeister to the Prince Alois I Lichtenstein, a position that also entailed the direction of the Lichtenstein Harmonie. For this ensemble Triebensee supplied a vast array of original and transcribed Harmoniemusik, much of which was published in his two subscription series, the *Harmonie Sammlung* (from 1804) and the *Miscellanées de Musique* (from 1808 to 1812). At the latest by 1797 Beethoven had made Triebensee's acquaintance, the oboist participating in the first Viennese performance of the Quintet, Op.16. Triebensee's quintet was dedicated to the Prince Joseph Lobkowitz, a great supporter of the arts, who along with Prince Kinsky and the Archduke Rudolph provided Beethoven's annuity from 1809. Lobkowitz maintained a Harmonie within his Musikkapelle and was one of several members of the greater nobility who is known to have subscribed to Triebensee's *Miscellanées de Musique* (Gillaspie 1998, 278). The work was published by the Chemische Druckerei firm in 1807, who also offered an alternative instrumentation for pianoforte, violin, two violas and cello.

This unusually scored work demonstrates Triebensee's intimate knowledge of the wind instruments: few composers could have had a clearer understanding of their timbral attributes than this composer. Although the instrumentation might seem unusual today, the cor anglais had been a member of certain Harmonie ensembles (for example, the Schwarzenberg Harmonie: see Mysliik 1978, 111–14) and evidence would suggest that basset horns were still being produced in numbers. Nonetheless there may have been few who would have had easy access to all of the wind instruments required here. Probably for this reason the work was offered in an alternative for strings. Triebensee took ample opportunity of exploiting the interesting colouristic effects possible in the wind version: the instrumental tessituras meant that all instruments were capable of assuming soprano to bass functions, permitting a flexibility of scoring even greater than in Mozart's K.452 and Beethoven's Op.16. He was clearly enticed by the colours of the cor anglais and the basset horn: of all the wind parts the clarinet is arguably the least prominent. From the outset Triebensee allows the timbral qualities of the winds alone to be heard, the piano offering a response in the manner of the 'echo partita' (Hellyer 1973, 161) (Ex.2.95).

Example 2.95 Triebensee Grande Quintuor, I bars 1–8

Triebensee uses the available instrumental colours in repetitions of thematic material to great effect. The second subject of the first movement *Allegro* is for clarinet accompanied by the piano (Ex.2.96). This material develops into a minor key presentation of this theme for the bassoon, with clarinet interjections.

Example 2.96 Triebensee Grande Quintuor, I bars 57–69

In the recapitulation this subject is taken by the bass horn, the cor anglais supplying the minor key material with bass horn interjections, the tonic key of F major here facilitating the presentation of the material in a more comfortable tessitura for these instruments. Similarly, in the sonata form final movement, the second subject group melody, taken by piano and clarinet, is rescored at the reprise: the cor anglais and bass horn once again providing timbral variety at a repetition.

The piano versus wind interplay is a texture employed throughout the work, but unlike Beethoven's Op.16 the piano does not dominate, nor do the piano and winds appear to be combative. The opening of the second movement *Andante sostenuto* epitomises the solo and tutti textural contrasts that Triebensee uses: an eight-bar phrase for the winds alone is answered in an ornamented version

by the piano, the cor anglais then taking a phrase with piano accompaniment. From the fourth eight-bar phrase, over a rippling piano accompaniment the wind instruments are slowly integrated to produce a tutti texture. Here Triebensee's treatment of the winds, almost in a mosaic effect, is more akin to Mozart's than to Beethoven's example (Ex.2.97).

Example 2.97 Triebensee Grande Quintuor, II bars 25–33

25 [Andante sostenuto]

Cl.(Bb)

Cor A.

Bsn

Pf.

dol.

dol.

28

cresc.

cresc.

cresc.

31

f

p

f

p

The opening of the Menuetto deploys this principle of accumulating texture, with gradual addition of instruments to a tutti at the close of the first period at III bar 24. After an initial basset horn call, almost mimicking the character of its brass namesake, the other winds join to complete the phrase; then follows the piano alone for eight bars mimicking the basset horn, but with more idiomatic scalic figuration; in the final eight bars the entire ensemble joins, the clarinet merely reinforcing the piano melody at the lower octave. In the Trio of this movement, the emphasis is placed upon pure

harmonic development, the winds providing sustained chordal support for an incessant piano triplet figuration.

Triebensee's work should not be regarded as a mutation of the quintet medium employed by Mozart and Beethoven: indeed the instrumentation affirms that these earlier works were on the periphery of other generic types. The work bears clear generic traits of Harmoniemusik, in the allusion to the 'echo partita' and the serenade-style of the Menuetto. The piece does display stylistic influence of Mozart, specifically in the ensemble treatment of the winds in the slow movement in the manner of K.361, whilst Beethoven's influence is present too, particularly in developmental material (the harmonic development in the first movement is akin to Beethoven's Op.16, I). The compact and concise treatment of thematic material, and the ingenious variation of timbre mark this as more than an imitation of the earlier models.

An ardent admirer of Beethoven was the Styrian-born nobleman Heinrich Eduard Josef von Lannoy (1787–1853). Lannoy studied in Graz until 1801 and then in Brussels and Paris. By 1806 he had returned to his family home in Wildhaus, Upper Styria. In 1818 Lannoy spent the whole concert season in Vienna. He became a member of the board of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (founded in 1814, with the Archduke Rudolph as president), director of their concerts and, between 1830 and 1835, their chairman. At the death of Franz Xaver Gebauer in 1822, Lannoy took over the joint directorship of the Concert Spirituel, which Gebauer had founded in 1819, until their termination in 1848. This organisation, which rehearsed choral works and symphonies, was intentionally high-brow, giving programmes of judiciously chosen works, in the first two seasons including all Beethoven symphonies bar the ninth. From 1823 Lannoy conducted the Gesellschaft concerts, normally directing one of their four annual concerts until 1835 (see Mandyczewski 1912, 286ff.). In these concerts Lannoy conducted all of Beethoven's symphonies, save his last, along with works by Viennese composers such as Haydn, Mozart and Eberl.

Suppan (1960) lists an oeuvre of some 174 works (thirty-two of which are incomplete), sixty-six of which are instrumental compositions. These include Variations for clarinet and orchestra (or quartet) dedicated to Ferdinand Troyer, dated 25 January 1819 and performed by Troyer in a Gesellschaft concert on 12 March 1820, the Grand Quintet, Op.2, 6 *Morceau*, Op.7 for sextet Harmonie (two clarinets, two horns and two bassoons) and the Grosses Trio in B flat major, Op.15 for pianoforte, clarinet and cello.

Lannoy's Grand Quintet in E flat major, Op.2 for pianoforte, oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon is modelled on Beethoven's Op.16, in terms of structure, motif and harmony. Suppan notes that

Lannoy was seemingly unable to cast off the over-burdening influence of Beethoven (*ibid.*, 60). He assigns a date of 1812 to the autograph at A:G1, although the work was not published until *c.*1822 by André in Offenbach. Like Op.16, Lannoy commences his quintet with a Grave introduction whose syncopated minor key piano writing accompanying the winds, employing a martial dotted rhythmic figure, mimics Beethoven's model (*cf.* Op.16, I bars 11–14) if never realising that composer's more imaginative interplay between the parts (Ex.2.98).

Example 2.98 Lannoy Op.2, I bars 15–19

The musical score for Example 2.98 shows the first movement of Lannoy's Op.2, starting at bar 15. The tempo is marked 'Grave' at 80. The score is in 3/4 time and features five staves: Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)), Horn in E-flat (Hn(Eb)), Bassoon (Bsn), and Piano (Pf.). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The piano part consists of a syncopated dotted rhythmic figure in the right hand and a similar figure in the left hand. The woodwinds play a melodic line with dotted rhythms. Dynamics include mezzo-forte (mf) and fortissimo (f), with a crescendo (cresc.) leading to the final fortissimo section.

In the second and third movements similarities are more pronounced. Lannoy's Andante Poco Adagio second movement is in triple meter rather than the duple meter of the Andante cantabile of Op.16, but the derivation of the motivic material from the opening of Beethoven's slow movement is clear (Ex.2.99).

Example 2.99 Lannoy Op.2, II bars 1–8

This movement also employs the same rondo structure as Beethoven's Quintet, and the second episode in the relative minor is strikingly similar to the first episode in Beethoven's Op.16 (II bars 17–20) (Ex.2.100).

Example 2.100 Lannoy Op.2, II bars 69–72

Like Beethoven's Quintet the third movement is in 6/8 time, and has a sonata rondo structure. The opening theme in the piano with its subsequent statement in the winds, and the second subject (Ex.2.101) are also unequivocally derived from Beethoven's work.

Example 2.101 Lannoy Op.2, III bars 34–41

Only occasionally does Lannoy attempt to expand upon the model that he had plainly studied so assiduously. The addition of a third statement of the slow movement rondo theme, with its ensuing episode gives the final movement a more expansive scale than Op.16 (163 bars compared to 112 bars), and the introduction of E major tonality into the E flat major finale at III bar 214 supplies a novel harmonic twist.

As in Beethoven's quintet Lannoy tends to use the clarinet as the upper voice of the wind quartet, for example in the second subject of the first movement (Ex.2.102), in the subject in the second movement (II bar 8ff.) and in the first and second themes of the final movement.

Example 2.102 Lannoy Op.2, I bars 79–83

[Allegro risoluto $\text{♩} = 84$]

80

Joseph Xaver Brauchle is a mysterious figure known only through the Beethoven literature. In 1803 Brauchle became tutor to the Erdödy family, around the same time that Beethoven commenced his associations with that family. It may have been at this point that the two composers became acquainted. Correspondence between Beethoven and Brauchle exists from the spring and summer of 1815, largely concerned with Beethoven's arrangements for visiting the Countess Anna Maria (for Beethoven's relations with the Countess and some detail on Brauchle, see Münster 1992, 217–24 and Seifert 1978, 151–63). The Erdödy family owned a large estate at Jedlersee near Vienna, but in 1815 left Vienna for Croatia, where they resided at the Paukowitz castle (Anderson 1961, 527: letter of 19 October 1815) before moving to Padua where, in May 1816, her son August died suddenly (Anderson 1961, 577–9: letters of 13 and 15 May 1816). Brauchle was suspected of having caused the child's death by beating (Thayer and Forbers 2/1967, 764). The Countess returned to Vienna in 1819–20 and then settled in Munich from 1824. Fétis's entry in his *Biographie* (1860–5) describes Brauchle as being of Bavarian birth, although his statement that he was born in the last years of the eighteenth century is clearly inaccurate. He describes the composer as living in Vienna around 1820 before moving to Munich where he married a harpist (Elisa). He lists the first eight opus numbers of the composer's works, all of which are chamber works published by Steiner between 1806 and 1809 (he describes them as Haslinger publications, who took over the firm in 1826). Fétis also notes Brauchle's contribution to a collection of songs to the poetry of King Louis of Bavaria sung by the *Liederkrantz* of Munich in 1829 and published by the firm of Falter in that city.

The Grand Quartet, Op.8, 'very humbly dedicated' to the Countess Erdödy, appeared around 1809 as a pianoforte quartet with optional parts for violin, clarinet or flute. Clearly the flute part contained substantial differences from the violin and clarinet: the only extant copy of the work known to the author, in its version with flute, shows piano, viola and cello parts bearing the plate

numbers 1264–5 with the flute part number 1265. That the principal tonality of the work is C major would suggest that the violin and clarinet parts shared the same plate 1264 and that the clarinet required would have been an instrument in C. In this regard the work would be unusual: before 1809 the only other work in the corpus for this instrument was a sonata by Wanhal. The work, with the ‘grand’ designation, is in four substantial movements although lacking a true slow movement, the second and third movements being a Scherzo and Trio and an Andante theme with six variations.

Unlike Brauchle’s Op.8, which with the clarinet or flute alternatives was a mutation of the standard piano quartet, Struck’s Quartet, Op.17 for pianoforte, clarinet and two horns offered a unique instrumental medium. This was probably from the latter period of the composer’s time in Vienna (Lönn in *NG2*, 24: 611 dates this at c.1815). The work was published by Breitkopf and Haertel in Leipzig c.1818–19. The pairs of horns that Struck had used in his Quartet, Op.5 (see above p.10) may have set a precedent for the work. Although like Lessel’s Op.4 Trio and Triebensee’s Quintet the instrumentation might seem unusual today, this elicited no particular comment when the work was reviewed by the *AmZ*, the less satisfactory string trio alternative receiving attention:

In general, the work is roughly midway between difficult and easy for the players; it requires, however, not inconsiderable dexterity on the part of the pianist, and security and grace of tone from the wind players. It loses some of its charm if played by stringed instruments, but nevertheless will be practised and heard with pleasure. The composer displays a good knowledge of the instruments and of what is especially advantageous to them; moreover, in several places, especially in the second part of the first and last movements, it is apparent that he is not unacquainted with a more artistic way of writing and is not without the talent and skill for it. Proficient dilettanti, for whom first and foremost his work is intended, will certainly be grateful to him.

(*AmZ* XXI,15 September 1819: 625–6)

Predictably the horn parts dictate the character of work timbrally and thematically, and archetypical horn calls are abundant. After a slow introduction the opening eight-bar theme of the Allegro moderato played by the piano alone is answered by the first horn unadorned (Ex.2.103).

Example 2.103 Struck Op.17, I bars 20–37

Allegro moderato

The musical score consists of five systems of staves. The first system (bars 20-23) features the piano (Pf.) with a 'Solo' marking at bar 21. The second system (bars 24-26) continues the piano part with a 'mf' dynamic. The third system (bars 27-30) introduces the first horn (Hn 1 in E-flat) with a 'Solo' marking at bar 27 and a 'p' dynamic. The piano part continues with 'p' dynamics. The fourth system (bars 31-33) features both horns (Hn 1 and 2 in E-flat) with 'Solo' markings at bar 31 and dynamics of 'p' and 'pp'. The piano part includes a 'cresc.' marking at bar 31 and 'mf' dynamics. The fifth system (bars 34-37) features the clarinet (Cl. in B-flat) and both horns. The piano part continues with 'pp' and 'f' dynamics.

On occasion the horns are treated as true soloists, with the piano and clarinet falling silent (Ex.2.104), the clarinet later adorning the material as though a third brass voice (Ex.2.105).

Example 2.104 Struck Op.17, III bars 16–32

[Allegretto]
Solo
17
Hn1 (Eb)
Solo
p cantabile
Hn2 (Eb)
Solo
p cantabile
25

Example 2.105 Struck Op.17, III bars 155–71

[Allegretto]
Solo
156
Cl.(Bb)
Solo
p cantabile
Hn1 (Eb)
Solo
p cantabile
Hn2 (Eb)
Solo
p cantabile
163

At other times the horns provide supporting harmonies, akin to their reinforcing function in larger ensemble music, whilst the clarinet writing, as in the Sonata, Op.7, employs the full range of the instrument, with much use of the lower reaches of the chalumeau register (Ex.2.106).

Example 2.106 Struck Op.17, III bars 215–26

215 [Allegretto]
Solo
Cl.(Bb)
220

The clarinet part acts as an alternative melodic voice to the piano RH, but also has rapid scalic passages in thirds and sixths, for example at its appearance in the finale (Ex.2.107).

Example 2.107 Struck Op.17, III bars 32–41

The interrelationship between the instruments is well demonstrated in the coda to this sonata-rondo last movement: the clarinet and piano LH vie for attention with their semiquaver material, before eventually succumbing to the horns' material (Ex.2.108 below).

In spite of the fact that the work is dominated thematically by the constraints of the harmonic series, Struck finds scope for some harmonic adventure: the closing bars of the exposition of the first movement, with excursions to C sharp minor and A major (in a second subject group beginning and ending in the dominant B flat major) demonstrate some compositional ambition, perhaps the 'more artistic way of writing' described by the *AmZ*, although predictably in these passages of harmonic development the clarinet and horns do no more than sustain long tones.

Example 2.108 Struck Op.17, III bars 243–61

The *AmZ* reviewer mentioned that the work loses appeal when performed in an alternative version for piano trio. The accommodation of the additional instrumental voice through double stopping in the violin is cumbersome, particularly in this unfavourable flat key tonality, and the melodic material that so clearly derives from the idiomatic use of the horns betrays the part as an arrangement (Ex.2.109).

Example 2.109 Struck Op.17, I bars 1–6

The largest ensembles with clarinet and piano composed before the Congress of Vienna were the septets of Ries and Riotte. Ries's Grand Septet, Op.25 for piano, clarinet, two horns, violin, cello and double bass appeared, along with a version for piano and string quartet, in a Simrock edition in

1812. Ries's 1826–7 catalogue dates this work as 'Paris 1808'. The four-movement piece is dedicated to the Count Razumovsky, to whom Beethoven dedicated the Op.59 string quartets of the same year. Beethovenian tendencies are evident: the third movement Scherzo is full of characteristic cross-rhythms, and the similarity between the theme of the second movement *Marcia funèbre* and the slow movement of Beethoven's *Symphony No.3*, Op.55 is striking (Ex.2.110).

Example 2.110 Ries Op.25, II bars 1–4



For these derivative qualities the *AmZ* review judged the work as being 'of second class, lacking originality' (*AmZ* XV, 1 December 1813: 790). It seems curious that the same journal had observed in 1811 that 'Herr Ries is for the present time – the present state of music, the present way of playing – what Leopold Anton Kozeluch was for his time' (*AmZ* XIII, 30 January 1811: 89).

Listed in the Archduke Rudolph's *Musikalien Register*, and still surviving, is a manuscript copy of Riotte's four-movement Septet in E flat major, Op.39 dedicated to the Archduke. Spengler dated the work as from around 1810 (Spengler 1977, 115) although it may have been included in a charity concert on 5 April 1818 in the Saale zum römischen Kaiser. The extant concert programme (A:Wgm Arch. 2697/32) notes that two movements of a 'new' septet by Riotte were performed.

Between 1800 and the Congress of Vienna in 1814, the clarinet had begun to find a place within conventional chamber music, in particular the sonata with piano and the piano trio. In larger instrumental configurations, the sonorous potential of diverse and sometimes unique instrumental media provided the most potent stimulus for the derivation of structure and style: instrumental colour played a significant expressive role in works such as Eberl's Op.41, Triebensee's Quintet and Struck's Op.17. In Eberl's Op.47 myriad instrumental permutations produced a patchwork structure in an attempt to retain the ideal of democratic chamber music. Either unable or unwilling to develop the sonorities of the piano and wind quintet Lannoy, in his Op.2, was content to mimic many of the textural, structural and even thematic traits of Beethoven's quintet in a strange act of homage. But even the conventional media of the sonata and trio, developed in the eighteenth century, when structural logic and democratic instrumental writing had been a key aesthetic goal, began to struggle to accommodate the developing musical language in the second decade of the nineteenth century. And towards 1830, as Smallman notes, '...to embrace instrumental writing of ever greater richness and complexity, the inflexible media were compelled to accept radical stylistic

changes in which purity of line was frequently sacrificed for colour and textural homogeneity for an increased element of individual display' (Smallman 1990, 82–3). If the clarinet had made a tardy arrival into chamber music with piano, this nonetheless occurred firstly in Vienna. But the new style that was beginning to formulate towards the end of the Napoleonic wars hastened the decline of those standard media into which the clarinet had begun to infiltrate.

Chapter 3: Towards, during and after the Congress of Vienna: Variations, Fantasies and Unterhaltungsmusik

The Napoleonic wars, and the Congress of Vienna itself, diminished the wealth and concomitant cultural influence of the Viennese nobility and resulted in the demise of their lavish eighteenth-century musical establishments and the curtailment of much of the salon activity in their courts. The demands of the public and of an increasingly powerful middle class began to exert the greatest influence on the musical life of the city. Vincent Novello reported in his diaries that '[i]n Vienna since the time of Mozart, piano works were an important staple of commercial concerts. Prominent in the concert repertory between the years 1815 and 1830 were popular 'potpourris', variations and polonaises. The darlings of Viennese audiences were the pianists Johann Hummel, Ignaz Moscheles, and Carl Czerny' (Novello 1955, 183). Mimicking these virtuoso stars, after the Congress potpourris of melodies, variation sets and fantasies all but replaced previous sonata arguments in *Unterhaltungsmusik* for performance within the Viennese home. These broad stylistic and functional changes can be witnessed in the works examined in this chapter. But the shift to popular idioms and forms came with some resistance. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, whose direction was dominated by the wealthy middle classes, included in its statute 'the elevation of all branches of music' (Hanson 1985, 92). The establishment of the society in 1814 may be viewed as an important landmark in the rift between those who wished to preserve high art (through the performance of 'old' music in 'serious' genres) and those who desired modish and dispensable music.

Music from the theatre pervaded life in Vienna throughout the period of this study. But after 1815 the impact of theatrical music upon other types of music became stronger still, the Viennese authorities encouraging the maintenance of the Kärntnertheater 'on the one hand, to restrain those activities endangering morality...on the other hand, to bring variety to daily conversation and supply for the latter material that is as abundant as it is harmless' (police report of 1824 in *ibid.*, 75). Showy instrumental display founded on well-known theatrical melodies is well exemplified by the *Potpourri Concertante* by the Czech clarinetist, F. Paur, published by Mechetti in 1825. Little is known of Paur, who was a student of the Prague Conservatoire, performing in student Akademien there in 1820, 1821 and 1822: Weston registers Paur as a student of Franz Thaddäus Blatt (1793–1856), himself a student of Wenzel Farnik (1765–1838), the Conservatoire's first clarinet professor, to whom the work is dedicated (Weston 1977, 191–2). The work is a selection of operatic melodies in one continuous movement. After a minor key introduction reminiscent of Weber (the introduction to the Concertino, J.109, for clarinet and orchestra of 1811, for example), the piano provides a linking passage to melodies from Rossini's *Barber of Seville* (first performed in Vienna

in 1819) and *Donna del Lago* (Vienna, 1822), Weber's *Euryanthe* (premiered in Vienna on 25 October 1823), Rossini's *Otello* (Vienna, 1819) concluding with a theme and three variations on Mozart's 'Là ci darem la mano' from *Don Giovanni*.

Salon recitals and *Hauskonzerte* requiring participation by all served to support the Viennese publishing and instrument manufacturing industries, the resulting repertoire leaving 'some hints about the character and quantity of musical performance among the various social classes' (Hanson 1985, 109). If published repertory was for music-loving amateurs in the home, then their executant capabilities would have been uppermost in a publisher's mind. Although the level of difficulty of salon music certainly increased in the nineteenth century, publishers still requested that composers' music, Beethoven and Schubert included, reflected the intellectual and technical capacity of purchasers. It is surprising therefore that, with the significant technical challenges in Paur's *Potpourri Concertante*, the work could have found a ready market amongst dilettantes (Ex.3.1).

Ex.3.1 Paur *Potpourri Concertante*, bars 337–54

Although Paur's *Potpourri* is uncompromising in its demands, others wrote pieces resilient to the indiscretions and inadequacies of amateur performers. The simplest solution was to make works technically straightforward and emotionally undemanding. Resilience could also be effected by providing a full texture and making the piano and instrumental parts complete in themselves, thus allowing performers to practise a part which was coherent and fulfilling when performed alone, whilst doublings and reinforcements served to ensure the robustness of the work when performed ensemble. Of course making individual parts independent negated the very principles that underpinned democratic and conversational chamber music. Simplicity, doubling and independence accordingly diminished the sensitivity of issues concerned with genre: it presumably neither mattered whether the dances of Starke's *Häusliche Faschingsunterhaltung* of 1821 were performed on violin, flute or clarinet, nor could one imagine a tension between title and content.

This lowest-common-denominator approach to the technical and musical challenges of repertory was a manifestation of that feature of musical Biedermeier described by Dahlhaus as ‘the realm of the immediately intelligible’ (Dahlhaus 1989, 175). For Dahlhaus Biedermeier music was intended to please and be easily understood, whose aesthetic value was linked to its functionality and reception (Dahlhaus 1974, 33–8). It was Bücken who was the first to attempt to distinguish between those composers who pursued not a visionary Romantic aesthetic but one more conservative, grounded in social reality (Bücken 1937). Dahlhaus notes the deficiency in terminological description of an alternative to romanticism, and argues that musical Biedermeier was more a culture than a style, ‘the quintessence of a successful mediation between the history of composition and the history of institutions’ (Dahlhaus 1989, 171; see also Dahlhaus 1972).

DeLong (1992) takes up Dahlhaus’s challenge to prove that musical Biedermeier is a ‘tangible musicohistorical phenomenon’ (Dahlhaus 1989, 170). Although conceding that the term ‘musical Biedermeier’ will be fraught with ambiguities, he uncovers conventions of that style, noting that a definition affords ‘a means whereby the conflicting and overlapping stylistic strands of nineteenth-century music can be unravelled and considered without the implicit value judgements that still accompany most discussions of early nineteenth-century music’ (*ibid.*, 223: note the use of the term as a lesser romanticism in Engel 1963, for example). DeLong finds in Biedermeier style referential content, and the reliance on conventional styles and types (after Ratner 1980; see below p.208); an even greater post-Classical degree of periodic regularity; and an intelligibility facilitated by short-breathed, easily assimilated ideas with unassimilated chromaticism included within an essentially diatonic framework. The ‘cloying sweetness’ of Biedermeier music, mistaken as being intentionally Romantic, is for DeLong merely ‘the addition of Romantic rouge and powder to a fundamentally Classic face’ (DeLong 1992, 204). With specific reference to Friedrich Kuhlau’s (1786–1832) Sonata, Op.85 for piano and flute DeLong notes that: ‘[t]he focus...in the work as a whole, is upon attractive melodic surface contained in a clearly perceivable, tradition-based form that beguiles the listener without unduly stressing his intellectual capacities’ (*ibid.*, 210). Biedermeier music is thus neo-Classical by default, its composers wishing to extend and emulate the past. Amongst those composers who shared this aesthetic and whose work exhibits these Biedermeier characteristics, DeLong includes Hummel, Moscheles and Kreutzer.

It might seem curious that the *Romance Favorite* for pianoforte and clarinet, K WV 5115 by the German Conradin Kreutzer (1780–1849), a variation set based upon a French republican melody popular during the 1809 war, should have appeared from the Vienna firm of Chemische Druckerei in 1810. ‘Partant pour la Syrie’ (also known as ‘Le beau Dunois’) was a romance composed by Napoleon Bonaparte’s stepdaughter and sister-in-law Hortense (1783–1837) that became a rallying

call to the French cause. During the reign of her son, Napoleon III, it even replaced 'La Marseillaise' for a time as the French national anthem. But after the second French occupation of Vienna and the signing of the Treaty of Schönbrunn in October 1809 an uneasy peace prevailed in the city. In November, Beethoven wrote to Breitkopf and Haertel that '[w]e are enjoying a little peace after violent destruction, after suffering every hardship that one could conceivably endure – I worked for a few weeks in succession, but it seemed to be more *for death* than for *immortality*' (Anderson 1961, 245–7: letter of 2 November 1809). Kreutzer had been in Vienna for five years at the time of the 1809 bombardment, having come to Vienna in 1804 where he probably studied with Albrechtsberger. When he performed in Vienna in early 1805, as a clarinetist and pianist (see below p.174), he styled himself as a 'Konzertmeister' from Zurich. The *Romance Favorite* dates from around the time when Kreutzer left Vienna to tour Germany. In 1812 Kreutzer took the position of Hofkapellmeister in Stuttgart, succeeding Franz Danzi. He relinquished this position in 1816, and in 1818 became Kapellmeister to the Prince Fürstenberg at Donaueschingen. He returned to Vienna in 1822, when he was appointed music director at the Kärntnertheater. Thenceforth Kreutzer maintained close association with the Viennese theatres until he left the city in 1840.

Of the virtuosi to write chamber music with clarinet and piano after 1815 Conradin Kreutzer was amongst the most prolific. Although no record of Kreutzer performing on the clarinet appears after 1806 (see below p.175) the composer clearly retained a close affinity for the instrument. Chamber works with clarinet include the duets KWV 5205 (ms at A:Wgm), duets with viola KWV 5206 (also at A:Wgm), clarinet quartets with strings (incl. KWV 5204), Waltzes and Trios for Harmoniemusik, KWV 5207 and the Septet, Op.62, KWV 5201 (1825), with the instrumentation of Beethoven's Op.20. Besides the clarinet concerto played by Kreutzer in Vienna in 1805 (lost), he composed Variations for Clarinet and Orchestra, Op.36, KWV 4201.

The *Romance Favorite* is the earliest of six extant chamber works with clarinet and piano. Although both the clarinet and piano parts require considerable technical fluency, the work could be performed by the piano alone. The clarinet is as though some latter day *ad libitum* part: after an introductory *Maestoso*, with extravagant fanfares and arpeggios, Hortense's theme is presented, with the clarinet used in the reinforcing manner of the accompanied sonata (Ex.3.2). At other times the clarinet, playing continually, seems a contrived and unnecessary addition to the already full piano texture (Ex.3.3).

Example 3.2 Kreutzer *Romance Favorite*, bars 9–17

Example 3.3 Kreutzer *Romance Favorite*, Var.4 bars 1–8

The five other works with piano date from *c.*1819–27, the earliest of these being the Trio, Op.43, KVV 5105 for pianoforte, clarinet and bassoon or cello. Another gestural Maestoso introduction precedes a movement in the style of a march. That the movement is entitled Romance seems

contradictory, the term more commonly being applied to slow movements of a lyrical nature (such as the Lento of the *Romance Favorite*). This E flat major movement is in a ternary structure with a subdominant central section, with an ornamented reprise followed by a stretto coda. Functionality dictates the texture, contrasts being sacrificed for the security of doubled lines, the clarinet and bassoon often merely ghosting the piano (Ex.3.4).

Ex.3.4 Kreutzer Op.43 Romance, I bars 17–25

Romance: Allegro moderato ♩=120
18

Cl.(B♭)
Pf.
Cl.(B♭)
Bsn.
Pf.

The second movement *Andantino grazioso* has a pastoral air, but is heavily reliant on the restatement of the opening bassoon melody as a substitute for true development: an eight-bar melody, itself a four+four-bar period, appears six times in this eighty-two-bar movement (Ex.3.5).

Ex.3.5 Kreutzer Op.43, II bars 1–8

Andantino grazioso ♩=112

Cl.(B♭)
Bsn.
Pf.
Cl.
Bsn.
Pf.

A sixteen-bar central section briefly introduces the tonic minor but the opening melody soon returns. The last movement is a Rondo in E flat major with episodes in the relative minor and subdominant, with a return to the motivic material of the second episodic section by way of a coda. This coda, commencing with a sidestep to the key of C flat major after a general pause, offers a belated harmonic surprise.

This work, with its sectionalised and repetitive structures and its reliance on doubled textures, is conservative both in expressive ambition and in the technical demands that it places on the wind instrumentalists. Lacking a sonata form movement, the work is intentionally devoid of a sense of development *per se*: its episodic nature facilitates superficial contrast without conflict, and there is only a surface dialogue between the members of the ensemble. Minor harmony never disturbs the equilibrium either: the sixteen-bar middle section of the second movement provides more a diversion than an expressive kernel, whilst the minor episode in the Rondo is based on the jaunty opening theme. Whilst clearly never seeking the emotional import of earlier trios by Beethoven, Eberl and Ries, Kreutzer was capable of writing more complex chamber music, as his Septet, Op.62 clearly demonstrates. But this is Biedermeier *Hausmusik* par excellence, a musical diversion, exploiting familiar Classical generic types (march, pastorale) in a benign but skilful work.

Two other sets of variations by Kreutzer, on themes from his one-time home Switzerland, were composed in 1825 and 1826. A domestic setting was doubtless intended for Kreutzer's *Fantasie sur un thème suisse*, Op.55, published by Pennauer in 1825. Like the *Romance Favorite*, this was originally conceived as a piano work. Through the addition of parts for clarinet, viola and cello (perhaps all or some), it could be performed by an enlarged ensemble. The version for piano alone was reviewed in the *AmZ* in 1826 where the limited expectations of this work were clearly evinced. A pleasant folk theme was observed but:

We find little that is truly new here, and not a little that repeats itself, if not note for note; however, if performed in a lively and tidy manner by a fast player, it sounds pretty enough – rather like the better of the series of variations by Gelinek.

The salon function was highlighted:

We might call this, like so many of the pianoforte compositions of the same kind written today, music for women; since women especially love them, perform them especially well, and especially please in and by means of them: and all justly so.

(*AmZ* XXVIII, 12 July 1826: 463–4)

Predictably there is no democratic treatment here, the instruments merely doubling the piano at the unison and octave. Their only independent material is in the embellishment of prevailing piano harmonies (for example, bars 205–12). In the Presto Finale even this rather feeble relationship breaks down, the accompanying instruments being given seventy-one bars rest (bars 378–448) before rejoining the piano in the final nine-bar cadential flourish. Kreutzer's quartet has a simple structure, the multiple repetitions of the Swiss melody, on each occasion presented in a slightly different guise, replacing any thematic or harmonic development. This gradual evolution of the theme doubtless prompted the fantasy title, although the compositional technique here is more akin to melodic variation over a recurring harmony than 'fantasia' style.

Kreutzer's *Fantasy and Variations*, Op.66 for pianoforte and violin or clarinet, based on a different Swiss air, was published by Friedrich Hofmeister in Leipzig in 1826. A brief opening Fantaisie introduces a straightforward sixteen-bar statement of the theme. The first two variations, of equal duration, are elaborations on the basic harmonic structure, whilst the ensuing three variations are more lengthy and varied (the fifth variation extends to 109 bars). The work concludes with an Allegro maestoso coda. Unusually the work deploys both A and B flat clarinets, to cater for the use of the D major and B flat major tonalities. Also published in Leipzig, by Peters in 1827, was Kreutzer's *Masurka varié*, Op.76 no.5, a set of six variations on a thirty-two-bar minor mode theme.

Kreutzer's undated Quintet in A major, K WV 5113 for fortepiano, flute or violin, clarinet, viola and cello exists in a manuscript version in A:Wgm. This is a substantial four-movement work: a sonata form Allegro maestoso is followed by a minor key Adagio, a Scherzo and Trio and a Polonaise finale. It is likely that the work is that unpublished quintet which appears in the Archduke Rudolph's *Musikalien Register*. Although the work bears no dedication, the title page (the cover of the fortepiano part) bizarrely leaves a space for the insertion of a dedicatee ('composée et dediée [then space] par Conradin Kreutzer'). It is tempting to associate the work with Rudolph's entourage, perhaps with the Archduke himself as pianist and Troyer as clarinetist.

Like Kreutzer, Hummel was amongst those composers who also took up Hortense's romance as a subject for variations: the second of his three Piano Variations, Op.34 (publ. Artaria in 1810) is based on this melody, the first of the set on another popular French melody, 'La Sentinelle'. This chanson, composed in 1810, was one amongst a number of songs by Alexandre-Etienne Choron (1771–1834) a prominent scholar, teacher and composer in Paris during Napoleon's reign. Like Hortense's romance, Choron's chanson proved to be a popular subject for other composers (Hummel composed his own setting for voice and instruments Op.71 of 1815; Johann Wozzischek's (1791–1825) Variations brilliantes on 'La Sentinelle', Op.6 for piano and orchestra of 1818; Ries's

Piano Variations, Op.105 no.1 of 1822). The native Viennese Nikolaus Freiherr von Krufft (1779–1818) produced variation sets on both the theme of ‘Partant pour la Syrie’ (for piano, publ. Bureau des Arts et d’Industrie, 1812) and that of ‘La Sentinelle’. Krufft was an amateur composer who, following in his father’s footsteps, pursued a career in government, from 1801 working in the *Hof- und Staatskanzlei* after having studied philosophy and law at the University of Vienna. He studied piano with his mother and composition with Albrechtsberger. Given his short life and demanding professional position his musical output was considerable. Chamber works include three string quartets, various works for piano including the Sonata, Op.3 (1803) dedicated to Beethoven (in spite of his adverse criticism of Beethoven’s work; see Anderson 1961, 358: letter of 19 February 1812), dances and exercises for piano and a substantial body of Lieder (see Luper 1976). Krufft’s interest in wind instruments is evinced by his Andante for piano and three flutes, two Sonatas for piano and bassoon or cello, Sonata for horn and Variations, on a theme from Gyrowetz’s *Der Augenarzt* (1811), for piano and horn or cello.

The Variations on ‘La Sentinelle’ for pianoforte and clarinet or violin were published by Artaria in 1812. The work commences with a minor key Andante sostenuto introduction, and is followed by the theme and five variations. A foreshortening of the final 6/8 Rondo, with a notated alternative, allows the work to be concluded with a sixth variation. Here, and unlike Kreutzer’s variations, the clarinet (or violin) part is obligatory, dominating the Andante introduction, all but the fourth of the variations, and the finale. The replacement of the discourse of sonata arguments with the simplicity of the fixed-harmony variation set afforded composers the opportunity of producing more distinctive and individual clarinet and violin parts as alternatives. In Krufft’s variations only in the Marcia theme (Ex.3.6) are the clarinet and violin identical in their notation, although even here there are some differences in phrase markings.

Ex.3.6 Krufft Variations Sur l’Air de la Sentinelle, Theme bars 1–8

Thema Marcia: Molto moderato

The conclusion of the fifth variation, a cadenza following a piano 6/4, displays Krufft's adept virtuosic treatment of the violin. The clarinet has less florid writing over the same implied harmonic structure, although with diatonic and chromatic scalar and arpeggiatic writing from Cl.f³ (Ex.3.7).

Ex.3.7 Krufft Variations Sur l'Air de la Sentinelle, Var.5 bars 34–51

The musical score for Variation 5 consists of two staves: Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Violin (Vln). The piece is in 6/4 time and is marked [Var.5] and [Pf. 6/4]. The violin part begins at bar 34 with a trill and a series of rapid sixteenth-note passages. The clarinet part follows with a similar rhythmic pattern. The score includes performance markings such as 'rit.' (ritardando) at bar 37, 'p' (piano) at bar 39, 'cresc.' (crescendo) at bars 40 and 46, and 'tr.' (trill) at bar 48. The piece concludes with a cadenza-like section for the violin and a final chord for the clarinet.

The variations for clarinet by Krufft listed in the Archduke Rudolph's *Musikalien Register* is almost certainly the manuscript copy at A:Wgm. It is not the case, as stated by Luper and Othmar Wessely in *MGG*, that this is a different variation set by Krufft: it is entirely consistent with the Artaria edition. Entitled merely 'Variations and Rondo', it is however presented here with no violin alternative. This copy may well have been intended for Troyer, the dedicatee of the Variations on the Abschiedslied from Seyfried's *Niklas am Scheidewege*, Op.19 for pianoforte and clarinet or violin by Johann Peter Pixis (1788–1874). Ignaz Seyfried (1776–1841) composed this Singspiel in 1815.

Pixis was born in Mannheim into a musical family and became a well-known pianist from an early age, accompanying his violinist brother, Friedrich Wilhelm, on concert tours. In 1808 Johann Peter was in Vienna where both he and his brother studied with Albrechtsberger. He remained in Vienna until 1823, composing, performing and teaching before moving to Paris. Pixis's large oeuvre is primarily of works for piano employing a brilliant pianistic style. Pixis's Op.19 was advertised in the *WZ* in 1816, and subsequently published in an edition by Richault in Paris, after the composer settled in that city. The violin and clarinet parts are identical in variations in which the piano dominates, but, like Krufft's set, bear distinctive differences in virtuosic instrumental variations (particularly Variations 3 and 6). A Poco Adagio introduction in F major, with unremarkable thematic material modulates to the mediant key of A major, and is linked to the Seyfried theme by an ascending chromatic preparation (a convenient, if rather artificial way of resolving the difficulty of re-establishing the tonic). This theme, of twenty-eight bars duration, is a Ländler constructed from two repeated phrases, the first of six and the second of eight bars duration (A1, A2, B1, B2). It is harmonised with nothing but tonic and dominant chords (Ex.3.8).

Ex.3.8 Pixis Op.19, Theme

Thema: Andante

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (bars 1-9) features a Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Piano (Pf.). The Cl.(Bb) part begins with a *dol.* marking and a melodic line in A major. The piano accompaniment consists of block chords in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. The second system (bars 9-28) continues the piece, with the piano part becoming more active, featuring sixteenth-note patterns in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand. The score concludes with a final cadence in A major.

The clarinet takes the theme in A1, A2 and B2, the piano in B1 with the clarinet silent. This pattern is reversed in Variation 1 (piano is solo in A1, A2 and B2, the clarinet prominent in B1 and silent in B2), with decorative semiquaver arpeggios developing the basic thematic pattern. Variation 2 is dominated by the piano, with the clarinet inessential. Variation 3 is for clarinet, with writing across the range although never exceeding Cl.e³. The clarinet has less insistent semiquavers than the violin, respite for breath, and more slurred patterns, the clarinet's lower compass also necessitating amendments in the alternative part (Ex.3.9).

Ex.3.9 Pixis Op.19, Var.3

Var.3

The musical score for Ex.3.9 Pixis Op.19, Var.3, is presented in two systems of staves. The top system consists of two staves: Clarinet (Bb) and Violin. The bottom system consists of four staves, with the top two staves continuing the Clarinet and Violin parts, and the bottom two staves providing an alternative part for the Clarinet. The score is in 3/4 time and F major. It begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including semiquaver arpeggios and slurred passages. The score includes bar numbers 5, 9, 14, 19, and 24. Dynamics range from *f* to *mf*. The piece concludes with a final flourish in the clarinet part.

Only in Variation 4 is there any harmonic variety: A2 is a repetition of A1 in the relative minor, B1 is also in this key before returning via B flat to the tonic F major. Variation 5 steps up the virtuosic treatment, with the piano deploying semiquaver triplet decoration of the theme. The B2 section is extended (by a harmonic shift at the inclusion of a diminished chord at bar 27 of this variation), the additional material introducing the rhythm of the Polacca, the stylistic feature of the final variation. This follows without pause (chromatic ascending crotchets in the clarinet link the rising figure

which joins the theme and first variation). This extended variation, really a variation and coda, employs both clarinet and piano in equally virtuosic writing.

This variation set displays sure craftsmanship and an understanding of the different idioms of the clarinet and violin. The bland (but doubtless familiar) original theme, with its ponderous tonic-dominant harmony progressions, is self-consciously varied in Variation 4, with Pixis seemingly better equipped to provide virtuoso filigree than expressive substance: a minor key variation, so often the expressive heart of the variation set, is notably absent here.

Another work to adopt the introduction - theme and variations - rondo finale structure was the *Fantaisie* for pianoforte and clarinet by Sigismund Ritter von Neukomm (1778–1858). Neukomm was born in Salzburg where he received his early musical training, later becoming a pupil of Michael Haydn (1737–1806). In 1797 he moved to Vienna and studied for seven years with Michael's brother Joseph. Neukomm made several arrangements of Joseph Haydn's works with the composer's blessing and remained a champion of his eminent teacher's music. In May 1804 he became Kapellmeister at the German theatre in St Petersburg, returning to Vienna in 1808. In 1809 he travelled to Paris, which remained his chief base for the rest of his life in spite of extensive travelling which took him all over Europe. Between 1816 and 1821 he accompanied the Duke of Luxembourg to Rio de Janeiro. In 1829 he visited England and was thenceforth a constant visitor, his music being performed at all the significant English music festivals. Neukomm's huge musical output, of some 1265 works, is recorded in his own thematic catalogue, begun in January 1804 and continuing to the year of his death (facs. in Angermüller 1977, 57–243). His oeuvre is primarily of stage, sacred and secular vocal works. Orchestral and instrumental works form a minor part of his output: six marches for winds, two Fantasies for winds (Rio de Janeiro, 1819), three Septets, an Octet and a Nonet for winds and strings (1832–6) all include the clarinet. An early work, with clarinet, was the Quintet, Op.8 for clarinet and string quartet composed in St Petersburg in 1808 (publ. Leipzig 1809).

The *Fantaisie*, dated 'Paris, 25 January 1813' in the composer's catalogue, was published by Mollo in Vienna in 1815. Unlike Kreutzer's and Krufft's variations, based upon pro-revolutionary melodies, the Andante theme is the romance 'Un fièvre brûlante' from André Modeste Grétry's (1741–1813) *Richard Coeur de Lion* (1784), a royalist *opéra comique*, which disappeared after the declaration of the Republic in 1792. The romance was used by Beethoven in his Piano Variations, WoO 72 (1795). The reason for Neukomm's use of the fantasy title, in spite of the work's content, here may have been due to the musical language deployed: Neukomm's familiarity with the stage is heard from the outset in the Adagio sostenuto introduction. The opening fanfare in the piano heralds

the clarinet entry, a dramatic *mezza di voce*. The clarinet is then employed across its compass often with swift juxtaposition of registers, rapid diatonic and chromatic scalar passages and arpeggiatic writing (Ex.3.10). The fluent exploitation of these dramatic aspects is reminiscent of Weber whose own Variations, Op.33 were composed in 1811.

Ex.3.10 Neukomm *Fantaisie* bars 1–13

The musical score for Ex.3.10 is titled "Adagio sostenuto". It is written for Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Piano (Pf). The time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into three systems. The first system covers bars 1-5, the second system covers bars 6-9, and the third system covers bars 10-13. The piano part features a complex, arpeggiated accompaniment with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The clarinet part has a melodic line with trills and rapid passages. The score is marked with dynamics such as *p* (piano) and *f* (forte).

By contrast with the overt expression of the introduction a simple (if lengthy) theme of forty-one bars is presented by the clarinet, doubled by the upper voice of the piano RH (Ex.3.11).

Ex.3.11 Neukomm *Fantaisie*, Andante bars 1–8

The musical score for Ex.3.11 is titled "Andante". It is written for Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Piano (Pf). The time signature is 3/4. The score covers bars 1-8. The piano part has a simple, blocky accompaniment with chords and single notes. The clarinet part has a simple, melodic theme. The score is marked with dynamics such as *p* (piano).

This is then the subject for two variations, the first in which the clarinet adds an obbligato decoration over the theme repeated in the piano, the second, *poco più mosso*, culminating in a dramatic clarinet scale from Cl.e and a chromatic ascent to Cl.a³ (Ex.3.12). After a restatement of the theme by way of a short coda the work proceeds without break to the Rondo finale.

Ex.3.12 Neukomm *Fantaisie*, Var.2 bars 58–66

This movement, commencing like a galop (Ex.3.13), is only loosely based on the traditional rondo structure (there is no repetition of the subject between second and third episodes).

Ex.3.13 Neukomm *Fantaisie*, Rondo bars 1–12

The harmony of the second episode has a Romantic flavour, with the repeated employment of the diminished triad as a substitute for the dominant. The third episode is a clarinet *cantabile* in the subdominant, which dissolves into virtuosic scalic writing, the piano at bars 91–2 offering a thick supporting texture, once again with diminished harmony (Ex.3.14).

Ex.3.14 Neukomm *Fantaisie*, Rondo bars 81–95

The musical score for Ex.3.14 shows two systems of music. The first system, starting at bar 81, is marked 'cantabile' and features a melodic line for the Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and a piano accompaniment (Pf.). The second system, starting at bar 89, is marked 'calando' and includes a trill in the clarinet part and triplets in the piano accompaniment. The tempo is indicated as '[Rondo: Allegro molto]'.

The reprise of the rondo subject is approached by way of a notated clarinet cadenza, which ushers in the melody, now in the chalumeau register (Ex.3.15).

Ex.3.15 Neukomm *Fantaisie*, Rondo bars 113–30

The musical score for Ex.3.15 shows two systems of music. The first system, starting at bar 113, is marked '[Rondo: Allegro molto]' and features a melodic line for the Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and a piano accompaniment (Pf.). The piano part includes dynamic markings *p*, *pp*, and *f*. The second system, starting at bar 121, is marked '*f marcato assai*' and features a melodic line for the Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and a piano accompaniment (Pf.).

Neukomm's work is a blend of Classical convention, with its diminished harmony, major-minor harmonic substitutions and detailed and distinctive marks of nuance and expression giving it a flavour of early romanticism. The work is so clearly conceived for the clarinet that it is little wonder that, when published, no alternative for violin was offered.

Neukomm visited the Congress of Vienna as pianist to Prince Talleyrand, the official French observer. The Congress afforded many Viennese and visiting musicians fantastic opportunities, and marked the highpoint of the career of Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837), the composer 'playing for noblemen and bureaucrats, many of whom functioned peripherally as the equivalent of an international booking agents for entertainers' (Sachs in *NG2*, 11: 829). Hummel had moved to Vienna in 1786 where his father became music director at the Theater auf der Wieden. As a child prodigy he studied with Mozart, supposedly free of charge because of his prodigious talent. In 1788

he embarked upon a four-year concert tour with his father. The French revolutionary wars forced their return to Vienna in 1793. Then Hummel studied with Albrechtsberger, Salieri and Haydn. In 1804 he became Konzertmeister to Prince Nikolaus Esterházy, a post he held until 1811. In spite of taking similar posts in Stuttgart and Weimar, he retained close Viennese connections (where his father was by now director of the Apollo dance hall).

Hummel produced a vast oeuvre including works in all the fashionable genres of his day. The two Serenades for pianoforte, violin, guitar, clarinet or flute and bassoon or cello, Op.63 and Op.66, were advertised in the *WZ* on 20 September 1815, which announced the takeover of Hummel's self-published works by Artaria. Zimmerschied dates these works from 1814 (Zimmerschied 1971, 97–8, 100–02). They were composed for performance by Hummel, the guitarist Mauro Giuliani (1781–1829) who had established himself in Vienna from 1806, and Joseph Mayseder (1789–1863), a Viennese violinist and composer who was leader of the Burgtheater orchestra from 1810 and later the music director of the Hofkapelle. The Grande Serenade, Op.63 includes solo variations on a theme from Michael Umlauff's (1781–1842) *Les Abencerrages et les Zegrís* (1806) for piano, guitar and violin composed by Hummel, Giuliani and Mayseder respectively. The title page of Op.63 depicts a musical *soirée* at the botanic gardens of the Schönbrunn palace, perhaps that of the host and dedicatee Count François de Pálffy, with the three instrumentalists (here with flute and cello) in a circle around the keyboard (Fig.3.1).

Quintette

en Potpourri.
pour le Piano Forte, Violon,
Guitare, Clarinette et Basson,
par *Alte et Violoncello*
composée et dédiée

À MONSIEUR LE COMTE FRANÇOIS DE PALFFY,

à l'occasion de ses noces nuptiales, qu'il a fait
procéder dans le jardin botanique de Schiedrum.

par



Hummel.

Jean Lep.

23215
1874

Prix fl.

Oeuvre. 60.
N° 1.



M.S. 23215

Vienne chez Artaria et Comp.

Fig.3.1 Hummel Op.63, Artaria edition (c.1814) title page

The work contains instructions for some novel accompanying choreography: during a march from Cherubini's *Les deux journées* (the 1800 melody that Hummel used in his 1803 Trumpet Concerto, see J.A.Rice 1996) the instrumentalists are instructed to take up position at the sides of the garden. Later, in a march by the harpist François-Joseph Nadermann (1781–1835), the players return from a distance, to rejoin the keyboard player. Both Op.63 and Op.66 include other popular operatic melodies: Op.63 from Joseph Weigl's (1766–1846) *Kaiser Hadrian* (1807), Gaspare Spontini's (1744–1851) *Die Vestalin* (first Viennese performance 1810) and Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, *Don Giovanni* and *Die Hochzeit des Figaro*; Op.66 from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and *La Clemenza di Tito*. With their admixture of well-known theatrical tunes, folksongs, marches and dances (the finale of Op.66 is a waltz), and their sensational effects they epitomise the frivolous entertainments of the Congress.

The Congress also afforded composers the opportunity to profit from music that more graphically depicted French defeat and Napoleon's demise. It is little wonder that Friedrich Starke (1774–1835), a one-time military musician who had been a regimental Kapellmeister to the 33rd Austrian Infantry and also to the 2nd Infantry of Archduke Ferdinand (a set of Military Marches for Harmonie at PL:LA RM66 has Starke so styled) should produce such celebratory music. According to Fétis, during the Napoleonic wars Starke was engaged in military campaigns in Switzerland, the Rhineland and Austria. Then he went to Vienna, entering the Hoftheater as a horn player where he began studying with Albrechtsberger. He was later obliged to return to his regiment though shortly received a permanent dismissal. By 1810 he had left the regiment for good: when he joined the Tonkünstler Societät on 16 November 1810 he was described as 'composer and former regimental capellmeister' (Pohl 1871, 101). In 1823 he was director of both of the Redoutensaale in Vienna (see *WZ*, 10 February 1823: 132). (Details of Starke in Fétis 1860–5; Eitner 1898–1904; *MGG*.)

Starke enjoyed a close acquaintance with Beethoven who even entrusted his nephew Karl to him for musical instruction in 1815. Beethoven contributed to Starke's *Wiener Pianoforte-Schule* (1819–20) (see Meredith 1985, 713) and Starke appears in his conversation books regularly from 1819. This *Pianoforte-Schule* included a full list of Starke's compositions, the formidable oeuvre almost entirely constituted of variations on popular operatic melodies, marches and dances and of works celebrating Austrian military successes. Monthly from September 1814 until May 1826 Starke produced the vast *Journal für militärischer Musik*, a collection of Harmoniemusik and music for Turkish band (Harlow 1996, 41). The functional aspect of Starke's works is transparent: there is no doubt that pieces such as the piano quartet 'Die fröhliche Laune, ein Quartett für jovialen Genuss' (*The Happy Mood*, a quartet for jovial pleasure), Op.32, published by Traeg, or the self-published 'Häusliche Faschingsunterhaltung...enthaltend die beliebtesten Wiener-Tänze' (Household

Carnival Entertainment ... containing the best-loved Viennese dances) for pianoforte with optional violin, flute or clarinet were for domestic entertainment. Napoleon's downfall prompted a rash of celebratory works from Starke: *Die Einzug in Paris*, Op.69 was a solo piano *Gemählde*, dedicated to the Archduke Rudolph, and the 'occasional-sonata' entitled *Weihe des Friedens*, Op.71 for piano and violin including related accompanying verse, was dedicated to 'all lovers of peace'. Both works were published by Eder in 1815. A 'characteristic tone painting' was Starke's *Die grosse Wach-Parade der hohen allirten Truppen in Paris*, Op.70 for pianoforte and clarinet or violin (The great Guard Parade...). The work was published by Mechetti c.1814–15.

Clearly Starke had established a reputation as brand leader in this genre:

In its design, disposition and execution [Op. 70] will commend itself to lovers of military music. It begins with an Overture, consisting of an introductory Adagio and a brilliant two-part Allegro (E flat major), which is succeeded by the various military exercise signals, such as Assembly, Rest, Prayers etc., each with its own distinctive characteristics, and these in turn are followed by the Finale, in which the different national marches of the noble Allies are heard in alternation and, in particular, the theme of the large coda is used as a fugato to most surprising effect. Since the composer, who is especially adept in this genre, has produced such a lively and knowledgeable work, it will surely not fail - despite the tone-painting that is to some extent obligatory here - in its proclaimed purpose as a merry and agreeable entertainment.

(*AmZöK* II, 28 November 1818: 448)

The specificity of the title of Starke's Op.70 would have left the purchaser in no doubt of the content. The work enabled amateur musicians to participate in the euphoria of military victory, and thrill in the performance of nationalistic melodies of the allies from the comfort of the drawing room. The first page of the piano part includes the following explanatory programme:

The sections of the military guard parade are as follows. An overture commences, played by the military choirs (or so-called bandsmen) during the guard duty for the entertainment of the officer's corps, then follow the Assembly, Rest, Prayers and the march of troops returning to their particular posts.

The sectionalised nature of the piece is further emphasised by interposed fanfares and calls: as a one-time regimental Kapellmeister Starke would have been ideally placed to realise the full detail of military music protocol.

The expressive heart of the work is the short prayer ('Gebeth'), an interlude marked 'slowly with gravitas', introduced by its own 'trumpet' call (Ex.3.16).

Ex.3.16 Starke Op.70, 'Ruf zum Gebeth'

Adagio: Ruf zum Gebeth

This brief movement in A flat major would seem to epitomise Biedermeier style traits (after DeLong 1992), with its sentimental melody and unassuming chromatic inflection in an essentially diatonic harmony (Ex.3.17). For Starke, who reproduced Schubart's 1784 description of key characteristics as prefatory notes to scale exercises in the *Pianoforte-Schule*, this was: 'The key of the grave. Death, grave, putrefaction, judgement, eternity lie in its radius'. For the benefit of teacher and student Starke also noted: 'One sees from these superscriptions, which are quite definite in meaning, that the correct choice of key – so that it fits the piece's expression – must be one of the chief concerns of a good composer' (see Steblin 1996, 167–8).

Ex.3.17 Starke Op.70, 'Gebeth'

Adagio con Gravita (Gebeth)

24

29

34

39

42

f

ff

p

f

ff

p

pp

dimin.

dimi.

Forte et Piano Pedal

The clarinet is well equipped to sustain this penitential song, although elsewhere Starke demonstrates a familiarity with other idiomatic attributes acquired through his extensive compositions and arrangements for Harmonie and Turkish music. In the wildly modulating overture a bravura quality is displayed, with scalic passages and arpeggios across the range of the instrument, including f^3 , so assiduously avoided by many other composers (Fig.3.2).



333.



Fig.3.2 Starke Op.70, Mechetti edition (c.1814–15) facs. Cl. part of end of Overture

It is impossible to say whether Starke’s work, another dedicated to Troyer, may have been composed for a specific performance occasion or for an anonymous bourgeoisie. But the Fantasy, Variations and Finale on the Bohemian folksong ‘To gsau koně’, Op.46 for pianoforte, violin, clarinet or viola and cello by the Bohemian Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870), appears to have been written especially for a private concert of the violinist Joseph Böhm given on 13 April 1819. On this occasion Moscheles himself played the piano, Böhm the violin, Joseph Friedlowsky the clarinet and Joseph Linke the cello (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). The work was advertised for sale by Steiner in the following month, the third of their ‘Odeon’ series of publications of mixed-instrument concert pieces.

In 1808, at the age of fourteen, Moscheles moved to Vienna from Prague where he began studying counterpoint with Albrechtsberger and composition with Salieri (see Smidak 1989; Silver 1992). By 1814 Moscheles had formed relations with Beethoven, who entrusted to him the making of the piano reduction of *Fidelio*, initially a task to have been undertaken by Hummel, which was published by Artaria in August of that year. Although Beethoven supervised this reduction (see Anderson 1961, 618: letter of 14 December 1816), given Moscheles's youth, we can presume that Beethoven held the young pianist in high regard. In this formative period Moscheles's works were in the Beethovenian mould (for example, the Sonatine, Op.4 and the Sonata, Op.22), but from 1815, when the composer began travelling extensively in Europe, virtuosic display became a predominant feature in his piano writing. Moscheles started to experiment with mixed instrumentations with piano from around this time. In 1815 he composed the Sextet, Op.35 for pianoforte, violin, flute, two horns and cello, a substantial four-movement work which, although casting the piano as principal protagonist, includes a considerable disposition of thematic interest amongst the other instruments.

Moscheles's Op.46 was dedicated to Marie von Eskeles, daughter of the family that Moscheles had lodged with when he first arrived in Vienna in 1808. The Eskeles family was closely connected to the Arnstein family, both wealthy Jewish financiers: Cecilia Eskeles (1760–1836) and Fanny Arnstein were sisters and Bernhard Eskeles and Nathan Arnstein were business partners. Although no description of the Eskeles home survives (Hanson 1985, 116) it is likely that Cecilia Eskeles, like Fanny Arnstein, also held influential salons and that, after its first performance, Moscheles' work may have been played here.

The work, perhaps unsurprisingly, received a laudatory review in the *AmZöK*, another Steiner publication:

Herr Moscheles's compositions are rightly counted among the most outstanding that have been offered to us, with almost excessively generous liberality, by the composers of our decade. An exuberant yet well-ordered imagination, the most interesting turns of phrase, amiable ideas, an original treatment of the same, the most appropriate use of the instruments, especially of those which he himself ennobles with his masterly playing, a clarity that speaks to all, cleansed of scholastic bombast and insipid mannerisms – these are the characteristics of all of his music, and even the present short work provides the most gratifying proof of this.

(*AmZöK* III, 15 September 1819: 595–6)

The *Fantasia* introduction is entirely gestural, with fragments in the cello, clarinet and violin showing no trace of any distinguishable theme. Then follows a rhapsodic piano 'Cadenza a Capriccio' (literally a 'cadenza following one's fancy') in which diminished triad flourishes usher

in the first clear melodic idea, Largo in the key of F minor (bar 53). The arrival of the theme proper is then thwarted by a fugato treatment, distorted chromatically, presented by the cello, clarinet and violin in turn. This allows a brief respite from the piano before its solo presentation of the theme ‘To gsau koně’ (Ex.3.18).

Example 3.18 Moscheles Op.46, Andantino quasi Allegretto and Thema bars 1–4

The musical score for Example 3.18 is presented in two systems. The first system, titled 'Andantino quasi Allegretto', features four staves: Violin (Vln), Clarinet/Bassoon (Cl.(Bb)), Cello, and Piano (Pf.). The Cello part is marked 'solo' and 'p'. The second system, titled 'Thema', also features four staves: Violin (Vln), Clarinet/Bassoon (Cl.(Bb)), Cello, and Piano (Pf.). The Cello part is marked 'dim.' and the Piano part is marked 'p'. The score shows a fugato treatment of the theme in the first system, followed by the theme's arrival in the second system.

After such a protracted and virtuosic introduction, and the various allusions to the folksong theme, the arrival of the popular tune, used as the basis of many variation sets (a theme that Rudolph would employ in incomplete variations for piano and basset horn of c.1823), seems inevitable, almost overdue. Thenceforth the piano part features prominently, dominating the first, third and fifth of the six variations and throughout the finale. Alternate variations highlight the other instruments: Böhm’s violin is prominent in the second; Friedlowsky’s clarinet in the fourth; Linke’s cello in the sixth. It appears that in the fourth, minor variation, ‘in which the clarinet sings with particular charm’ (*ibid.*) and in passages such as the Più Lento section of the Finale (from bar 33), the vocal qualities of the instrument and perhaps Friedlowsky’s playing are highlighted (Ex.3.19).

Example 3.19 Moscheles Op.46, Var.4 bars 1–8

Var.4 Più moderato
Minore

The musical score consists of five staves. The top staff is for Piano (Pf.) with dynamics *ff* and *sf*. The second staff is for Violin (Vln) with dynamics *p* and *pp*, and a *ritard.* marking. The third staff is for Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) with a *dol.* marking and a *ritard.* marking. The fourth staff is for Cello with a *pp* dynamic and a *ritard.* marking. The bottom staff is for Piano (Pf.) with a *pp* dynamic and a *cresc.* marking.

Friedlowsky and Linke also performed in the *Grand Serenade Concertante*, Op.126 for piano, clarinet or violin, horn and cello by Carl Czerny (1791–1857), premièred on 11 February 1827 in a private concert given at the ‘Roten Igl’ (Red Hedgehog) by Antonie Oster (1811–28), one of Czerny’s piano pupils. The horn player on this occasion was Herbst. Czerny himself was present and performed with Oster and another pupil, Fräulein Magoy, in a new work, a potpourri for two pianos (six hands). The *AmZ*, reviewing the concert, described ‘a new and enchanting serenade’ (*AmZ* XXIX, 4 April 1827: 232). The work was published shortly afterwards, by Peters in Leipzig, and reviewed in the *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (*BAmZ* IV, 1 August 1827: 250–1).

Czerny was amongst the younger generation of virtuoso pianists in Vienna and is known today primarily through his pedagogic work and instructive methods. The ease with which he composed was astounding: after the financial success of his Op.2 four-hand rondo (published by Cappi and Diabelli in 1819) he produced an abundance of works. He noted that ‘[s]ince I composed extremely rapidly and put out serious works and trifles with equal ease, I was always able to fulfil the numerous commissions which streamed from everywhere (including foreign countries), and many a work by me had the good fortune to become the public’s and hence the publishers’ favorite’. The prolific output was facilitated through ‘the habit of writing down every theme that occurred to me, and thus accumulating a very large number of original motifs – all this now turned out to be extremely useful; and it explains how my opus numbers soon rose to 100, 200, 300, etc., without counting my equally numerous arrangements, which always remained unnumbered’ (Czerny 1956, 314). This productivity led to criticisms that compared the composer’s fluency of production of

keyboard works with Rossini's operatic output (*AmZ* XXIX, 4 April 1827: 234; XXX, 9 April 1828: 233–8).

According to Czerny, Beethoven taught him the piano from around 1801 (Czerny 1956, 306). Though he became renowned as a performer of, and commentator on Beethoven's music, stylistically his music has much greater allegiance to the brilliant school of playing epitomised by Hummel. Indeed his pianistic style was censured by Beethoven, the composer stating that '[h]e uses too much piccolo for me' (Thayer and Forbes 2/1967, 174) also criticising his ornamentation in his Op.16 (Anderson 1961, 560: letter to Czerny of 12 February 1816). In spite of this he is still regarded as a significant transmitter of Beethovenian aesthetics (Newman 1969, 178ff.) through eminent pupils that included Franz Liszt, although it is noteworthy that Czerny first taught Liszt on a diet of Clementi, Hummel, Moscheles and Ries, and only thence Beethoven and J.S.Bach (Czerny 1956, 315).

Czerny's Op.126 intended to spotlight the virtuosic abilities of the eminent quartet of performers in the 1827 concert, and the concertante manner pervades. The piano, except in the last moments of the finale, is never regarded as the dominant party by right, and is often self-consciously subordinate to the other soloists. The work is continuous (and substantial, lasting some twenty-five minutes) although sectionalised into definable 'movements' connected by instrumental cadenzas in the clarinet and cello. It is essentially monothematic, the melody presented in the theme and variations section, with its simple diatonic accompaniment, permeating the whole work. In the demonstrative introduction, likened by Klöcker to the opening of Beethoven's Piano Concerto no.5, Op.73 (Klöcker 1994), the clarinet hints at the principal theme (bars 2 and 4), the other instruments presenting themselves as soloists in turn (horn, cello and piano) before a tutti climax. After a clarinet cadenza the clarinet states a simple, possibly well-known melody (Ex.3.20).

Example 3.20 Czerny Op.126, Theme bars 1–8

Tema con Variazioni: Allegretto grazioso

Cl.(Bb) *p dolce*

Pf.

The horn, mostly silent in the theme, takes the melody barely altered in the first variation over extraordinary virtuosic pizzicato figuration in the cello and ornamental trills in the piano. The second variation is for piano with interjections from the other instrumentalists, the first occasion when Czerny's instrument takes centre stage. The *poco sostenuto* third variation has the most basic

piano accompaniment, the *dolce espressivo* legato writing in the clarinet also suggesting qualities in Friedlowsky's playing (Ex.3.21).

Example 3.21 Czerny Op.126, Var. 3 bars 1–24

Var.3 Poco sostenuto

The musical score is arranged in five systems. The first system (bars 1-6) shows the Clarinet (Cl.(Bb)) and Piano (Pf.) parts. The Clarinet part is marked *p dol. espress.* and the Piano part is marked *pp Clar. solo*. The second system (bars 7-12) continues the Clarinet and Piano parts. The third system (bars 13-17) includes the Clarinet and Piano parts, with a *cresc.* marking in the Clarinet part. The fourth system (bars 18-20) continues the Clarinet and Piano parts. The fifth system (bars 21-24) includes the Clarinet (Cl.(Bb)), Horn (Hn.(Eb)), Cello, and Piano (Pf.) parts. The Clarinet part is marked *cresc.*, the Horn part is marked *p cresc.*, the Cello part is marked *p cresc.*, and the Piano part is marked *cresc.* and *pp*.

The fourth variation uses a fugato texture to unite the ensemble, whilst the fifth is a cello variation in the tenor register in which the clarinet and horn are tacet. The second section of this variation employs virtuosic double stopping. In the sixth, tonic minor variation, each of the instruments contributes to the melody in turn. The last variation is a brilliant finale, with decorative pianistic scalic and arpeggiatic writing over the theme, which is shared between the other instruments. The

abrupt inclusion of a C flat major chord, which shifts enharmonically to B major, prepares the Adagio in the key of E major, reached by way of a cello cadenza. This movement presents a lyrical cello line, still based on the opening theme, developing into a free fantasy (passing through G major, C minor, A flat minor and E flat minor before settling in B flat major in preparation for the E flat major Finale) with the opening theme always alluded to in a texture abundant with pianistic figuration. The Finale commences with the theme stripped to its essentials, evolving (rather than undergoing any substantive thematic or motivic development) into a bravura *più mosso* coda.

The unlikely marriage of terms in Czerny's title suggests the curious generic amalgam contained within the work. It is perhaps due to the inclusion of clarinet and horn and the multi-movement, yet continuous structure that Czerny introduces the term 'serenade', although the principle of continuous thematic variation is the essential compositional device here. The 'grande' title is a signal perhaps of the duration of the work, whilst the term *concertante* defines a different aspect of the generic contract: the soloistic treatment of the four instruments. Conversational interplay occurs only in small measure: contrasts are effected through the alternation of wind soloists in predominantly piano-orientated textures.

Czerny composed two other chamber works including clarinet and piano. Unlike Op.126, which demands soloistic contributions from all performers, Czerny's *Grande Nocturne brilliant*, Op.95 for pianoforte, flute, clarinet, horn, bassoon, violin, viola, cello and double bass deploys the piano as the pre-eminent soloist. Another curious generic amalgam is proposed by the title: the work includes a brief Adagio introduction and a lengthy rondo, a concerto-like single movement for piano with wind and string accompaniment. Indeed Meysel 1826 lists the work, published by Probst in Leipzig around 1825–6, in the section 'concertos for pianoforte'. The piano part has additional music in the form of cues (its own material marked 'solo') enabling the piece to be performed without the accompaniment. A manuscript Nonet for piano, cor anglais, clarinet, bassoon, two violins, viola, cello and double bass is dated 1850 in the manuscript at A:Wst. It is a substantial four-movement work in which the piano plays almost ceaselessly.

Amongst Moscheles' Viennese pupils was the child prodigy Leopoldine Blahetka (1809–85) for whom the Vienna-born Maximilian Josef Leidesdorf (1787–1840) wrote his *Rondeau Brilliant*, Op.128 for pianoforte, flute, clarinet, viola, cello and horn (alternatively for pianoforte, violin, two violas and cello), a work published by Sprenger in Vienna in 1821. At the time of publication Blahetka was only eleven years of age. The title page of Op.128 denotes that the instrumental parts are optional, merely doubling and supporting the virtuosic material in the keyboard, which plays throughout. A son of a Jewish merchant, Leidesdorf had instruction from Albrechtsberger, Salieri

and E.A.Förster (1748–1823) and also studied the piano and the guitar. He is known today only for his publishing activities. In 1822 he went into partnership with Ignaz Sauer and, as Weinmann reports, from that point onwards the quality of the music published by this house increased, including works by Beethoven and Schubert (who both knew Leidesdorf) (NG2, 22: 328 –9). He composed a significant body of chamber music including twelve duo sonatas (eight with violin, three with cello, one with horn), three piano trios, two piano quartets and five piano quintets including the Grand Quintet, Op.66 for pianoforte, violin, clarinet, bassoon and cello published by Breitkopf and Haertel around 1818. This substantial four-movement work, with no alternative instrumentation, received a review in the *AmZ* which acknowledged the problems of the formal title:

In truth, however, this Quintet belongs with those kinds of music that are usually described as large entertainment pieces, since that is what they are; moreover, it is an entertainment piece for friends of music who are considerably skilled and who, though they do not draw merely from the surface, are also not in search of fare from the depths. All is directed towards the kind of playing that is generally called brilliant and advantageous to each of the instruments, and hence to the good playing of them. All of the 5 instruments are amply employed, and all to advantage: the pianoforte is borne principally in mind, and after it the clarinet, which has a particularly agreeable *cantabile*, just as the former has many passages, most of them runs. – After a somewhat serious introduction the composition proceeds with both skilful and agreeable effect to an *Allegro non troppo*, which contains passages and pleasing *cantabile* in alternation, and is also written in a natural and easily flowing manner. Some passages, in particular from the beginning of the second part, demonstrate that the composer also possesses a talent and skill for what is called, in the narrower sense, ‘self-display’. – In the following Adagio, which, unlike many similar pieces, is not briefly despatched, while there are some *cantabile* passages for the more expressive instruments, the conclusion, especially, makes an unusual impression, from the point at which the *tremolo* of the pianoforte enters; in general, however, the composer’s strength does not appear to lie in Adagio. – A very fast and impassioned *Scherzando*, modelled on the pattern of Beethoven in the quartets and similar works, produces a very lively and sparkling effect, both in itself and, more especially, in this place, and in its well-judged relation to the piece as a whole. – The Finale, in the form of a rondo, presents a pleasant theme and, in the episodes, many rapid and conspicuous, if not altogether unusual passages, and concludes the whole in good order. - ...

(*AmZ* XX, 29 July 1818: 539)

The review describes all aspects of successful Biedermeier chamber music: amateurs prized the fine balance between that which was too easy and too difficult both technically and emotionally, although ‘self-display’ was an important aspect of convivial domestic music making. In spite of the fact that the piano is the centre of attention all instruments receive an acceptable disposition of material, bringing out the instruments’ idiomatic traits, in the case of the clarinet, once again the instrument’s *cantabile*.

If Leidesdorf's title concealed a work of *Unterhaltungsmusik*, function was transparent through the title of the three-movement *Divertissement*, Op.10 by Baron Charles de Prandau (1792–1865) for pianoforte and basset horn or cello. According to Wurzbach Prandau was a respected personality in Viennese artistic circles, an excellent pianist and harmonium player who made improvements to the *physharmonika*, a keyboard instrument built by A.Haeckl in Vienna in 1818 (Würzbach 1856–91, 23: 191). In spite of the suggestion in Wurzbach that Prandau composed only for the entertainment of close friends, he had works published in Vienna: amongst them were a Serenade for piano and *physharmonika* (Diabelli, c.1835), Allemandes and Polonaises for piano four hands (Steiner, c.1824 and Pennauer, c.1827) and the *Divertissement*, Op.10 advertised in the *WZ* in 1827. The work was dedicated to Henri Klein, probably Henrik Klein (1756–1832), the Moravian composer and teacher active in Hungary.

This is another fascinating repository of modish style traits of the late 1820s. The work has been described by Newhill as 'three movements in the style of Beethoven' (Newhill 1986, 75) although the Germanic influence is more obviously from Schubert. There is neither any significant musical argument nor sustained discourse here, and no sonata form structure is presented. The Adagio introduction ably exploits the dramatic tonal and textural possibilities of the basset horn, from the opening bars employing the lowest basset notes set in contrast with the 'clarinet' register (B.Hn c, d and e flat are used throughout) (Ex.3.22).

Ex.3.22 Prandau Op.10, Adagio bars 1–12

Adagio

The musical score consists of four systems of staves. The first system shows the B.Hn(F) and Pf parts from bar 1 to 5. The second system continues from bar 6 to 8. The third system continues from bar 9 to 10. The fourth system continues from bar 11 to 12. The piano part is characterized by intricate rhythmic patterns, including sextuplets and sliding progressions. Dynamics include *f*, *fp*, *p*, and *pp*. The tempo is marked *Adagio*.

The piano employs an array of accompaniment figuration in this introduction, melodic ideas deployed in both hands, with sliding progressions often employing diminished harmony and many duple versus triple cross-rhythms. At bar 37 the basset horn presents a more sustained and theatrical vocal melody over piano sextuplets (Ex.3.23).

Ex.3.23 Prandau Op.10, I bars 36–44

36 [Adagio]
a tempo

B. Hn(F)

PF

38 *fz*

40

42 *fp*

43 *fp* *cresc.* *calando*

The short second movement Scherzo portrays Beethovenian influence, with a Trio that is a rumbustuous and rustic minin and crotchet dance. In the last movement theme and variations the similarities with Schubert are particularly striking. The movement is a theme of sixteen bars (Ex.3.24), with six variations and coda.

Aside from the more obvious Schubertian characteristics (the frequent tertiary harmonic relationships, for example) the fifth variation, in the tonic minor, has the same oscillating chromatic triplet accompaniment set against the duplets in the basset horn that Schubert later employed in the third variation of his Impromptu, Op.142 no.3 also of 1827 (and a theme and variations in B flat) (Ex.3.25).

Ex.3.24 Prandau Op.10, III bars 1–8

Andante con Variazioni

B.Hn(F) *p*

Pf. *dol.*

5 *Solo dolce* *fp*

Ex.3.25 Prandau Op.10 III Var 5. bars 1–8

Adagio

B.Hn(F) *fp*

Pf. *fp* *cresc.*

4 *cresc.*

6 *fp* *fp* *dolce*

The title of the Sonatine for pianoforte and clarinet or violin by Caroline Krähler (née Schleicher) (1794–1850) signals the unpretentious nature of this work, and indicates its expressive intention. This was the first Viennese work with the sonata title (or its diminutive) composed by a clarinetist, explicable perhaps by virtuoso clarinetists' desires to produce showy works, concertos and variation sets. Caroline Schleicher was Swiss and came from a large musical family. From an early age she performed on the clarinet and, with an elder sister, toured with her bassoonist father. After his death she went to Karlsruhe where she studied piano with Friedrich Fesca (1789–1826) and harmony with Danzi. She first performed in Vienna in February 1822 (see below p.192). Later in that year she married Ernst Krähler (1795–1837), principal oboist at the court. Together the couple

toured Europe giving many successful concerts until Ernst's death. Thenceforth Caroline Krähler seems to have continued giving concerts with her sons. (See Schilling 1837; Weston 1971; Cohen 1987; Hoffmann 1991; Weston 2003.)

Krähler's compositional output appears to have been small: Cohen lists six songs for voice and piano published in Karlsruhe, and Ecossaises and Waltzes for piano published by K.F.Müller in Vienna in 1825 (see also Deutsch 1946, 481–3). In concerts she performed clarinet variations with orchestra or her own composition. The Sonatine is dedicated to Krähler's pupils (she taught both clarinet and violin: see Ziegler 1823), and doubtless had a partly didactic purpose. It is in three short movements and was published in 1825 by Sauer and Leidesdorf.

A brief E flat major Larghetto movement has a rigid tripartite structure. The opening section according to Weston demonstrates Beethovenian seriousness (Weston 1971, 181), although the highly decorated melodic line, to say nothing of the bland harmony, is unlike any slow movement in a Beethoven duo sonata (Ex.3.26).

Ex.3.26 Krähler Sonatine, I bars 1–8

The musical score for Ex.3.26, Krähler Sonatine, I bars 1–8, is presented in two systems. The first system (bars 1–4) shows the Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) and Piano (Pno) parts. The Clarinet part begins with a melodic line marked 'dolce' and includes a fermata over the final note of the first staff. The Piano part provides accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The second system (bars 5–8) continues the piece, with the Clarinet part featuring a sixteenth-note arpeggio and the Piano part providing harmonic support. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The sixteen-bar middle section, commencing abruptly in the relative minor, has clarinet arpeggios across the compass set against chromatic ascending scales in the piano, and is static both harmonically and melodically (Ex.3.27). This benign music toys with idiomatic figurations for both instruments. The reprise of the first eight-bar melody is followed by a sixteen-bar coda, again with scalic and arpeggiatic figuration in the clarinet set against a predominantly tonic and dominant piano accompaniment.

Ex.3.27 Krähler Sonatine, I bars 29–36

29 [Larghetto]
Cl.(Bb) *f*
Pno

31
33
35

Ex.3.28 Krähler Sonatine, III bars 1–8

Polacca
Cl.(Bb)
Pno

5

The second movement is also short, a Waltz with Trio appealing to the Viennese fascination for this modish dance. The movement is straightforward in construction, with a simple twenty-four bar

Waltz theme, and a Trio in the dominant key also with uniform proportions. The third movement Polacca has the stereotypical first and third bar rhythmic patterns and the emphasis at cadence points on a dominant-tonic resolution from the second to the third beat of the bar (Ex.3.28 above). But this is a Polacca with an Austrian flavour, a rustic Tyrolian Ländler with associated horn calls in the piano with an arpeggiac clarinet accompaniment (Ex.3.29).

Ex.3.29 Krähler Sonatine, III bars 17–24

The musical score for Ex.3.29, Krähler Sonatine, III bars 17–24, is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 17-19) shows the Clarinet in B-flat (Cl.(Bb)) playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, while the Piano (Pno) provides an arpeggiated accompaniment. The second system (measures 20-22) continues this pattern, with the piano part featuring a sixteenth-note arpeggio in the right hand. The third system (measures 23-24) concludes the piece with a final cadence. The score is marked [Polacca] and begins at measure 17.

Today it is easy to regard Krähler's Sonatine as a trifle: it appears to suffer from rigid phrase structures, a lack of emotional depth with its simple harmonies and melodies adorned by roulades in the clarinet and the piano and a reliance on popular, stereotypical genres and styles (the waltz and the polacca). In accordance with DeLong's taxonomy of Biedermeier characteristics, this work represents the quintessence of that style. Devoid of musical argument *per se*, and almost geometric in construction, the simplicity of its musical language makes for an unwavering naïvety. In the light of all of these pejorative attributes, it is hard to be reconciled to the stark truth that these were precisely those qualities that would have appealed to the purchasers and performers of that music in the 1820s.

Viennese musical society at the end of the period of this study was characterised by the unquenchable thirst for music for the amateur to perform. As reported by *Cäcilia* in 1827, in the innocent musical pleasures of Biedermeier society, centred around the piano in the Viennese home, the clarinet played its part:

The Imperial city, which loves music, and pursues it almost to excess, has remained true to its nature during the 365 days that have just elapsed: once again, in accordance with the dictates of inclination and fashion, a dreadful amount of music-making has taken place; for among the thousands of houses that make up this stone colossus, there are perhaps only an exceptional few in which a pianoforte, at least, is not to be found – even if only as an elegant piece of domestic furniture – on which instrument, in furtherance of the digestive processes of her worthy kith and kin, the daughter of the family will hammer out, perhaps, some modest waltzes, *écoissaises* or *cotillons*; and this is to say nothing of the army of singers, male and female, of violinists, cellists, flautists, clarinettists, guitarists, *csákány*-players and harp-strummers, and the legion of street organs which assail all the inhabitants throughout the Lord's day in a most un-Christian manner: all of which can drive our own caste, in particular – we who make a scant enough living by professing the writer's craft, and are not infrequently caused to forfeit the finest and rarest thoughts by this eternal accursed humming, droning and grinding – to the brink of sinful desperation, if not to despair itself.

(*Cäcilia* 6/23, 1827: 159)

The demands of the amateur in the salon began to dictate fare in the concert hall. The Vienna correspondent of the *Harmonicon*, reviewing a concert by the Krähmers, noted that '[the] mode of accompaniment with the tinkling of a piano, and a little horn, violoncello, or bassoon 'sauce', which is gaining daily more ground in all Musical Academies – these pretty sort of instrumental duos and trios, however pleasant in a room, begin to be vastly tiresome and sickening in concerts' (*Harmonicon* XI, September 1833: 202–3). The symbiotic relationship between the repertory of salon and concert hall was, in actuality, long established. The attributes of instrumentalists and singers performing on the Viennese stage provided inspiration for composers, whose works were subsequently taken up by amateur performers. The qualities of clarinettists and of the clarinet, as revealed in contemporary concert reviews, become the subject matter of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Clarinets and clarinetists in Vienna to 1827: documentary accounts and aesthetic issues

Few reports of clarinetists performing in Viennese chamber music during the period to 1830 exist, and no source includes a critical commentary on a clarinetist's role in the performance of a work of chamber music with clarinet and piano. Of the more than sixty chamber works in this study, only seven have confirmed performances in Vienna in the period to 1827 (Mozart's K.452, Beethoven's Op. 11 and 16, Lessel's Op.4, Gyrowetz's Op.43, Moscheles's Op.46 and Czerny's Op.126), of which five were written initially for public, rather than private events. The reference to Lessel's Op.4 in the diaries of Count Rosenbaum (see above p.88) and the meeting of Beethoven and Steibelt, when Beethoven's Op.11 was performed (see above p.26), are the only records of private performances of works in the corpus.

Until the two studies by Morrow (1989) and Hanson (1985), which deal respectively with the periods to 1810 and after the Congress of Vienna to 1830, the most important cumulative source of information on Viennese musical life to the mid nineteenth century was Hanslick's *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* of 1869. This work, scantily referenced in those sections which detail concert activity, was succeeded only in the 1970s by a series of articles by Biba which laid the foundations for Morrow's and Hanson's more extensive investigations (Biba 1978; 1978–9; 1980). Both Morrow and Hanson acknowledge that lack of documentary information has significantly hindered understanding of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Viennese musical society. Morrow notes that information on musical performances is 'scattered throughout diaries, memoirs, reviews, and various archives, making it virtually inaccessible' (Morrow 1989, xix), with scarce concert programmes (she counts no more than 150 up to 1810), arbitrarily preserved concert notices and only patchy reports in the Viennese press. For private performances evidence is scarcer still: the only significant sources prior to Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch* of 1796 are the diaries of the nobleman Count Zinzendorf (1761–1813), examined by Link in order to ascertain the role of private patronage in the 1780s and 1790s (Link 1997). They offer valuable evidence of musical and theatrical performance events, even if they are records of a non-musician, more reliant upon opinions of his contemporaries than his own judgements (*ibid.*, 206). Hanson observes that, even in the Biedermeier era, the ephemeral nature of music-making and the novelty of the public concert seemed to defy detailed description (Hanson 1985, 82). Whilst music within the home was taking on new significance only the travel notes of visitors, not themselves part of closely-knit Viennese social circles, provide evidence of early nineteenth-century salon activity. Such sporadic evidence may falsify the actuality of Viennese musical life: as Edge noted in his critique of Morrow's study, that author 'does not comment on the discrepancy between what is known to have been performed,

what is known from catalogues and advertisements to have been composed and marketed, and what survives in modern collections', exemplifying this by highlighting the lack of evidence of performances of the substantial published repertory of concertos, doubtless stimulated by specific performers and performance occasions now unknown (Edge 1992, 128). For want of more systematic records, repertory itself can elicit the best evidence of developments in Viennese musical life. In that sense, the works examined in the preceding chapters tell their own tale.

Hanslick presents summaries of clarinetists in concert performance in Vienna in the periods 1750 to 1800, and 1800 to 1830 (Hanslick 1869, 118ff. and 247ff. respectively). Hanslick's principal sources to 1800 were notices in the court-controlled *WZ* and extant concert notices in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (see Edge 1992, 110). But a much fuller list of German language periodicals with Viennese concert notices and reviews is supplied by Morrow (Morrow 1989, 191ff.) supplemented by Edge (1992). Of seminal importance in the nineteenth century was the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (AmZ)*, published in Leipzig by Breitkopf and Haertel, including Viennese reports from October 1801. The scope and continuity of its publication make this a 'virtual one-stop shopping centre for anyone interested in German musical thought of the period' (Morrow 1997, 2). The first Viennese journal to devote systematic attention to concerts was the 1806 *Wiener Journal für Theater, Musik und Mode (WJTMM)* although this bi-monthly magazine lasted only one year. For the period after the Congress of Vienna two journals in particular provide useful evidence of clarinet performers, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat (AmZöK)* (1817–24) and the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode (WZKLTM)* (1816–), with more detailed coverage of concerts and a more developed critical language.

The *AmZ* and the *AmZöK* were the principal sources used in Hanslick's account of the period 1800 to 1830. For Hanslick Iwan Müller's improvements saw the clarinet 'elevated to the level of a true concert instrument'. Prior to Müller's appearance he mentions only the Stadler brothers, Anton and Johann, and Joseph Beer as concert clarinetists, being unable to mention another virtuoso of note in the eighteenth century. After 1800 Hanslick recorded an increase in the number of wind virtuosi, noting the annual appearances of the solo players of the principal Viennese theatre orchestras. But for Hanslick the appearance by Müller in 1810 at the kleinen Redoutensaal was clearly a momentous event, the bass [*sic*] clarinet that he introduced to the Viennese public 'remaining his most significant contribution'. Hanslick cites Heinrich Baermann's two visits to the city in 1813 and 1821, bemoaning the poor attendance in 1821 due to the ticket price of 5 florins. A third virtuoso mentioned by Hanslick is Simon Hermstedt, who visited between 1814 and 1815. By mentioning two other 'capable local players', Joseph Friedlowsky and Wenzel Sedlak, who were

permanently employed in Vienna, the 'less satisfactory' performances of Karl Joseph Krause in 1811, and the brothers Bender and Ferdinando Sebastiani, who gave concerts in 1820 [*sic*], Hanslick stated that he had listed all of the well-known clarinetists of the period.

Reviews of Viennese concerts before 1800 are virtually non-existent, and only in the nineteenth century did journals begin to do more than simply report events. After 1800 most critical coverage is afforded to soloists, albeit in meagre column space. Hanslick sought to establish a historical narrative, using contemporary documents as empirical evidence of performance events, but he did not examine the substance of reviews. In establishing that narrative he accepts, rather uncritically, the evidence provided in his sources. The narrative presents an international focus simply because the performances of foreign virtuosi attracted more press attention. Aside from the Stadlers only two Viennese players gain passing mention. The impact of these and other influential Viennese performers is not addressed, surprising perhaps as the reviewers' evaluative criteria were probably forged on the standards set by local clarinetists' public and private performances.

A more detailed narrative referenced to a broader range of sources is needed here, examining the language of contemporary criticism, and attempting to ascertain some of those aesthetic values that were upheld in Vienna, those which pertain to the attributes of the clarinet and of clarinetists specifically. With no critique of a clarinetist's performance in a chamber music work with piano, the decision to broaden the investigation to include clarinet performances in other, more public genres, is primarily a pragmatic one, although many of the clarinetists associated with the chamber repertory explored in this study appear in reports in this chapter. Virtuoso players, whether local or foreign, performing in prestigious Viennese venues to a fee-paying public, would doubtless be the subject of more exacting criticism, but there is no evidence to suggest that the fundamental evaluative criteria would have been different in Vienna's private musical world. Reviews that appeared in newspapers and musical and literary journals, written as they were for public consumption, give an immediate and instinctive assessment of the music performed and of the qualities of the performing musicians. Anonymously penned reviews were the norm in contemporary journals, requiring the question of authorship to be debated upon issues of literary style, a virtual impossibility when the reviews are few in number. Each critic carried his own set of values and preferences and these values may well have changed over time. But such issues are not the concern here: whether or not a reviewer represented the opinion of the majority, the description of what they heard is as close as we can come today to the performances themselves. For scholars of performance practice, these records merit the closest scrutiny, for '...complex aesthetic perspectives and expectations can be found lurking under the briefest comments' (Morrow 1997,

69). This chapter will not attempt a comprehensive codification of these values, but will highlight attributes of clarinet playing that the reviewers did, or did not consider worthy of note.

One of the earliest documented performances by a clarinetist in Vienna was that given on 17 December 1772 by Theodor Lotz (1748–92) who performed a concerto (unknown) at one of the first Tonkünstler Societät concerts (Pohl 1871, 57), the society founded in 1771 to raise a retirement and pension fund for deceased members' orphans and widows, from 1772 giving four concerts a year to this end. Lotz's importance as an instrument maker and his associations with Anton Stadler and Mozart have been extensively documented in other literature (for example, Weston 1971; Pifarowicz 1971; Poulin 1982, 1992, 1995, 1996; Lawson 1996; Rice 2003). It is likely that his innovations to clarinet design were borne of his experience as an accomplished player, for Lotz produced the most important extant early Viennese classical clarinet, a five-key instrument in B flat in Geneva. Ross describes the excellent intonation, evenness of scale and thick sound produced by this instrument (Ross 1985, 251–2) and Hoeprich notes of three Lotz basset horns, recently discovered in Slovakia, that '[i]n handling these instruments and playing them one senses they were made by a skilled maker and player' (Hoeprich 1997, 231).

Given the importance of Vienna in early clarinet repertory it is frustrating that few Viennese clarinets from the eighteenth century survive (see Ross 1985, 243). The earliest instruments are the two-key instrument by M. Deper now in Linz (which has been assigned Viennese provenance by Stradner 1984), and those three-key instruments by Mathias Rockobauer (c.1708–75), a clarinet in Nürnberg and two clarinets d'amore in Vienna. A seven-key sickle-shaped basset horn by Jakob Bauer (c.1743–97) also exists in Nürnberg: Bauer was a wealthy and successful maker judging by the auction of the dead man's effects in November 1797 (Maunder 1998, 181). Three anonymous five-key clarinets in Graz have been suggested as having Austrian provenance (Rice 2003, 51). Eighteenth-century clarinets are more numerous from Prague, an important Habsburg satellite, where the emergence of the clarinet mirrored developments in Vienna (*ibid.*, 55). The five-key B flat instrument by Franz Bauer dated 1789, and the five-key instrument by Doleisch of 1793 are both in the collection of Nicholas Shackleton in Cambridge. Another instrument by Doleisch exists in Prague. The dearth of surviving instruments does not indicate a lack of activity in Vienna, however: an advertisement for the instruments of Friedrich Lempp (c.1723–96) in the *WZ* in 1789 details the sale of clarinets in A, B flat, C, D and 'low' F and G and basset horns in E flat, F and G (Maunder 1998, 183–5). Although Lempp recorded that he had worked for thirty years as a maker of wind instruments, none of his clarinets have survived. Extant Viennese basset horns exist in greater numbers, Lawson suggesting that the reason is a consequence of their relatively lighter usage (Lawson 1996, 44). Hoeprich's assessment of the three Lotz instruments seems to support

this assumption (Hoeprich 1997, 229). There still remains some doubt over the repertory for which these instruments were produced: Mozart's interest in the instrument, and the spate of compositions in the period from late in 1783 (Lawson 1996, 19) may have initiated a particular local interest in the basset horn, but the small number of extant works in proportion to the relatively large number of extant instruments and of contemporary advertisements requires further investigation.

Pohl (1871) records that Lotz was in the employ of the Prince Rohan in 1772; Weston notes that from around 1774 he worked for the Count Johann Esterházy's orchestra in Vienna (Weston 1977, 165). Waterhouse suggests his involvement in this ensemble as a viola player (Waterhouse 1993, 243–4), Rendall that he worked for the Esterházy's playing contrabassoon, clarinet and basset horn, and other instruments (Rendall 1971, 128). Deutsch describes Lotz as a viola player and first clarinettist in Prince Joseph Batthyány's orchestra in Pressburg (Deutsch 1965, 257). A document in the Esterházy archives from Eisenstadt and Forchtenstein details the purchase by that court of sixty-seven pieces of Harmoniemusik from Lotz in December of 1775 (Hárich 1994, 128–9). It is unclear whether this was music copied by Lotz or works of his own. By 1783 Lotz had established himself in Pressburg as an instrument maker, Cramer reporting his improvements to the basset horn (Cramer 1783, 654). Lotz had returned to Vienna by 1784 (Hopfner 1999 citing an address in the Wieden district), where he swiftly secured custom for his instruments. He supplied clarinets for usage in the Burgtheater between April 1784 and March 1786 (Hellyer 1975, 51 and 53), instruments doubtless intended for the Stadler brothers, the clarinettists of the theatre at this time. The nature of Lotz's court appointment has been the cause of some confusion, with Waterhouse believing him to have been appointed 'kk Kammer Waldhorn- und Trompetenmacher' in 1788 (Waterhouse 1993, 243), Maunder citing a concert notice of 1788 (Maunder 1998, 186: see below p.168 for details of this concert) showing that he achieved the 'Hof' title at this point. Hopfner (1999) cites evidence that he held the title of 'Hof- und Kammerinstrumentenmacher' by 1786. But a notice placed by Lotz in the *WZ* in September 1785, styling himself 'very well known musician and instrument maker', confirms his appointment as 'k.k. Hof- und Kammerinstrumentenmacher', giving a new address in the Wieden suburb (...nächst dem grünen Baum Nr.67) from where 'Kenner und Liebhaber' could purchase his instruments (*WZ*, 7 September 1785: 2109). This notice advertised clarinets, oboes, basset horns, flutes and bassoons (in that order) as well as his newly-invented contrabassoon. It was on this instrument that Lotz had performed with the KK Harmonie on 12 March 1785 at the Burgtheater. Lotz recalled this performance in his advertisement, by way of endorsement of his product, recommending the instrument for use in both wind and orchestral music.

Although it is not known with whom Lotz served his apprenticeship, it is likely to have been with one of the three known Viennese clarinet and basset horn makers Bauer, Rockobauer or, more likely, Friedrich Lempp. Franz Scholl (dates unknown) took over Lotz's workshop at his death in 1792 and may therefore have been an employee of Lotz. Scholl was a 'Bürger' (a guild member) by 1799, and a Hof (court) maker in 1802 after applying for this position unsuccessfully after Lotz's death (Haupt 1960, 172). Maunder cites *WZ* advertisements in 1799 and 1800, the former announcing improvements to the clarinet, the latter promoting the sale of his 'Inventions-clarinet' subject to a sufficient number of subscribers (Maunder 1998, 187–8). It was probably this instrument which Scholl advertised again in the *WZ* on 2 April 1803 (discussed in Ross 1985, 269–72; Lawson 1996, 49), like Lotz's basset clarinet extended to Cl. c, offered in the keys of B flat or C. His recommendation of these instruments highlighted the 'new way the keys are mounted', perhaps a development of the saddles that Ross has attributed to Lotz (Ross 1985, 246). Kaspar Tauber (1758–1831), from whom there are extant five- and six-key clarinets worked for Lotz. An advertisement for Tauber's instruments in the *WZ* on 4 June 1794 stated that '[h]e leaves it to experts to judge whether he flatters himself too much in asserting that his instruments are the same quality and purity [of intonation], and are even easier to play, than those of the late Mr Lotz, the famous maker who employed him for many years' (Maunder 1998, 188–9). Tauber's surviving instruments, including the two clarinets in the Shackleton collection, bear marked similarities to the Lotz instrument in Geneva. A tentative connection between Lotz and Tauber had been suggested by Ross, based on organological evidence, describing these instrument makers' common large bore facilitating a wide dynamic and timbral range (Ross 1985, 251–2), the larger tone holes at the bottom of the instrument favouring the chalumeau register.

Lotz had probably known the Stadler brothers, Anton (1753–1812) and Johann (1755–1804) in Vienna in the early 1770s: their first documented Vienna performance was also at a Tonkünstler Societät concert on 21 March 1773 (Pohl 1871, 57). There are no details of the concerto for two clarinets that they played in this, and subsequent concerts of the society in 1775. In March 1780, the brothers performed in Tonkünstler Societät concerts, in a concerto by Joseph Starzer (1726 or 1727–87) for the instruments of a five-part Harmonie (two clarinets, two horns and bassoon). All soloists in this Harmonie ensemble were in the service of the Count Carl von Palm (Pohl 1871, 59).

Table 1: Anton (A) and Johann (J) Stadler's concert performances in Vienna 1773–1806
(Source stated where no reference in text)

Date	Venue	Concert/Repertory	Source
21 Mar 1773	Kä	Tonkünstler Societät/Concerto for 2 Cls (A+J)	
4 Apr 1775	Kä	Tonkünstler Societät/Concerto for 2 Cls (A+J)	Pohl 1871
19 Dec 1775	Kä	Tonkünstler Societät/Concerto for 2 Cls (A+J)	Pohl 1871
12 and 14 Mar 1780	Kä	Tonkünstler Societät/Starzer Concerto for 5 winds (A+J)	
23 Mar 1784	Burg	A.Stadler/Mozart K.361(A+?J)	
1 Apr 1784	Burg	Mozart/Mozart K.452 (?A)	
13 Jun 1784	Ployer	Ployer (private)/Mozart K.452 (?A)	
12 Mar 1785	Burg	Emperor/Harmoniemusik (?A+J) with Lotz (contrabassoon)	
17 Mar 1785	Burg	A.Stadler/ ? (A)	Krauss 1786; <i>WB</i> 17 Mar 1785:166
20 Oct 1785	Masonic lodge	'Three Eagles' & 'Palmtree' lodges/? (A)	
17 Nov 1785	Masonic lodge	'Sorrows' lodge/Mozart K.477 (?A)	
15 Dec 1785	Masonic lodge	'Crowned Hope' lodge/Stadler Partitas (A?)	
20 Feb 1788	Burg	A.Stadler/ Stadler 'Bass Cl.' Concerto & Variations (A)	
22 Dec 1789	Burg	Tonkünstler Societät/Mozart K.581 (A)	
23 Dec 1789	Burg	Tonkünstler Societät/Devienne Concertino for Fl.,Cl.,Bsn (A)	Pohl 1871
9 April 1790	Hadik	Count Hadik/Mozart K.581 (A)	ML
Anton Stadler tours Oct 1791–6			
19 Sept, 21 Sept, 4 Oct, 15 Nov, 22 Dec, 25 Dec 1796, 25 Mar 1797	Various	'Korps der Wiener Freywilligen', Tonkünstler Societät, 'Theaterarmen'/ Süssmayr <i>Der Retter in Gefahr</i> Cl. obbligato (?A)	Various (see Morrow 1989: 292–3)
21 Sept 1796	gr.R	'Korps der Wiener Freywilligen'/Concerto for Cl. (A)	
27 Sept 1796	Kä	'Korps der Wiener Freywilligen'/Wölfel Concerto for Cl. (A)	
10 Apr 1797	Burg	Tonkünstler Societät/Cartellieri Concerto for 2 Cls (A+J)	Pohl 1871
22 and 23 Dec 1797	Burg	Tonkünstler Societät/ Süssmayr 'beloved aria' from <i>Der Retter in Gefahr</i> Cl. obbligato (A)	Pohl 1871; Rosenbaum (Radant 1968, 31); A:Wn Hoftheater Zettel
29 Mar 1798	Jahn	Mme Dusek/Mozart 'Non più di fiori' from <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> with basset horn (A)	
13 Apr 1798	Jahn	Mme Caldarini/ A.Stadler Concerto for Cl. (A)	A:Wgm Konzert Zettel
28 Aug 1800	Salieri	Salieri (private)/Mozart K.581 (A)	
25 Mar 1801	Burg	Mme Auernhammer/Mozart K.452 (?A)	A:Wn Hoftheater Zettel
5 Apr 1801	gr.R.	?/Concerto for Cl. (A)	Rosenbaum (in Radant 1968, 100; Morrow 1989, 309)
Late Summer 1801	Augarten	Amateur concert/? (A on extended Cl.)	<i>Journal des Luxus und der Moden</i> 16, Oct. 1801: 543–4
13 April 1802	Burg	'Theaterarmen'/Eybler Concerto for Cl. ('Joseph', ?J)	
2 Mar 1804	Burg	Mme Auernhammer/Gyrowetz Op.43 (A)	
5 Jul 1804	Augarten	Schuppanzigh/Mozart K.622 (A)	Rosenbaum (in Morrow 1989, 325); AmZ VI, 5 Sept 1804: 823–4
22 and 23 Dec 1805	Burg	Tonkünstler Societät/Paer aria from <i>Sargino</i> (A on extended Cl.)	
31 Mar 1806	Burg	Tonkünstler Societät/Paer aria from <i>Sargino</i> (A on extended Cl.)	

The Stadlers soon became re-acquainted with Lotz when he returned to Vienna in 1784: the three performed together in the KK Harmonie concert of 12 March 1785 (Krauss 1786), and probably again on 20 October 1785 in a masonic benefit for the basset horn players Anton David (1730–96) and Vincent Springer (*b.1760*), at which Mozart also played (Deutsch 1965, 254–5). On 17 November 1785, at a funeral celebration for two deceased masonic brothers, Mozart's *Maurerische Trauermusik*, K.477 was performed, with Lotz playing his new contrabassoon (*ibid.*, 255). Anton Stadler, Mozart and Lotz were performing together again on 15 December 1785 in a masonic benefit for David and Springer, in which Lotz played contrabassoon in some six-part partitas by Stadler, now lost (*ibid.*, 256–7). By 1788 Lotz had collaborated with Stadler on an extended 'basset' clarinet, a term possibly coined by Schönfeld in 1796: on 20 February 1788 Stadler performed on this 'newly invented' instrument in his Akademie at the Burgtheater (A:Wn Hoftheater Zettel; Lawson (1996, 25) surmises that this would have been an instrument in B flat). From the date of this concert, the first documented account of the basset clarinet, Poulin has extrapolated an invention date of 1787 for the instrument (Poulin in *NG2*, 24: 248–9), for which Mozart's Quintet, K.581 of 1789, performed by Stadler on 22 December 1789 in a Tonkünstler Societät concert given at the Burgtheater (Pohl 1871, 63) and the Clarinet Concerto, K.622 of 1791 were composed.

If it is frustrating that so few Viennese instruments are extant, it is also regrettable that no substantial reviews of clarinet performances in eighteenth-century Vienna survive: there are no detailed reports of Stadler's playing, the most thorough assessment coming from Johann Friedrich Schink (*b.1755*). Of Stadler's Akademie in March 1784, when Mozart's Gran Partita, K.361 was performed he wrote:

I have never heard the like of what thou contrivest with thy instrument. Never should I have thought that a clarinet could be capable of imitating the human voice so deceptively as it was imitated by thee. Verily, thy instrument has so soft and so lovely a tone that nobody can resist it who has a heart, and I have one dear Virtuoso; let me thank thee!

(Schink 1785, 286. Trans. in Deutsch 1965, 232)

Schink had lived in Vienna from 1780 before moving to Graz in 1782 and was visiting in Vienna in the spring of 1784 (Deutsch 1965, 211 and 233). He confessed that 'I am no musician, not even a Dilettante. I judge this music solely according to the general purpose of the fine arts: to imitate nature, and through that imitation to touch our hearts and sentiments. *Mozart's* works affect these infallibly, provided one does possess a heart and sentiments' (Schink 1790–91, in Deutsch 1965, 355). He was also no lover of pointless virtuosity: he remarked that '[n]ightingales' runs and larks' trills...rope-dancer's leaps with the voice, wonderful odd conglomerations of sound, *con naso obbligato*, and musical somersaults are not singing; the truthful and emphatic expression of feeling

is' (*ibid.*, 356). We can assume that the clarity and directness of Stadler's execution appealed to Schink, the mimetic paradigm conveniently sidestepping the requirement for more explicit evaluative criteria.

Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch* of 1796 gives a detailed entry to the Stadlers in the section 'Virtuosen und Dilettanten' of Vienna. He notes their positions as clarinetists at the Burgtheater and also of other theatre clarinetists: Kirchnopf and Anton Griesbacher (Theater auf der Wieden); Thiere and Zagmann (Kärntnertheater); and Ignaz Bräuer and Friedrich Scholl (Leopoldstadttheater). No recorded performances by these other clarinetists is known, although Thiere may be associated with the Hungarian Anton Tirry (b.1757) reportedly a pupil of the Vienna-trained clarinet player Johann Michael Quallenberg (c.1726–86) who, according to Weston, was first clarinet to Prince Grassalkovics from 1781 (Weston 1977, 257). Perhaps Tirry's successor was the clarinet and basset horn player Raymund Griesbacher (c.1752–1818), the only other clarinetist in the 'Virtuosen und Dilettanten' section of Schönfeld's handbook. He is described as the Grassalkovics Harmonie director and 'a truly splendid concert artist, who blows the clarinet with every possible delicacy and purity' (Schönfeld 1796, 19). Both Raymund and Anton had been employed as clarinetists by Prince Esterházy between December 1775 and the end of February 1778 (Landon and Wyn Jones 1988, 97). Morrow also notes a letter of recommendation for Anton, from the Count Starhemberg in Vienna, recommending him as a baryton player (Morrow 1989, 120), so it is possible that both brothers played this instrument. Raymund Griesbacher appears to have known the Stadlers by 1781: Saam reports a speculative letter of application of 6 November 1781 from Anton Stadler to Ignaz von Beecke (1733–1803), music director at Wallerstein (Saam 1971, 63). Stadler noted that he and his brother would be able to perform basset horn trios with a Griesbacher. This was probably Raymund, Waterhouse and Weston recording that at this time Raymund Griesbacher was basset horn player to Count Pálffy (Waterhouse 1993, 147; Weston 1977, 117). Although Schönfeld clearly regarded Griesbacher as an extraordinary exponent of the clarinet, no report of a Viennese performance by this artist exists.

Griesbacher was also an instrument maker and may have had associations with the Lotz instrument workshop: Hoeprich found the eight-key Griesbacher basset horns, one of which is in his possession, almost identical to the recently-discovered Lotz instruments (Hoeprich 1997, 229). Griesbacher's surviving clarinets in Leipzig and Bergamo also bear striking similarities with the Lotz and Tauber instruments (a five-key clarinet is pictured in Birsak 1994, 51). An association between Griesbacher and Martin Lempp (1766–1836), son of Friedrich, has also been previously suggested, Waterhouse noting that Griesbacher and Lempp at one point lived at the same address. (Hopfner 1999 refutes this connection.) The two did, however, successfully apply to becoming Hof

makers in 1800. Griesbacher supplied clarinets to the imperial court in 1807 and 1808 (Hellyer 1975, 54) and also basset horns to the Lichtenstein court in 1799 (*HALV* Karton 52, *Mappe Musik*). His instruments were described by Rohrer in 1804 as ‘not needing to fear comparison with any other instruments, and that they could be heard throughout Europe’ (in Waterhouse 1993, 147; see, for example, Griesbacher’s bill for the sale of wind instruments, including clarinets and basset horn, to the theatre in Ludwigslust, in Nagy 1992, 271). In 1823 it might have been Griesbacher’s son, also Raymund (listed as a Hof maker in Ziegler 1823), who may have moved into Lempp’s accommodation in the Herrngasse (they had the same address in 1823). A comparison of the seven-key basset horn by Martin Lempp in Linz with those of instruments of Griesbacher and Lotz may provide evidence of their association. Maunder also proposes that Engelbert Johann Ehrlich (1765–1839) may have been an employee of Franz Scholl, as Scholl was the only Bürger living in the Wieden district at that time. No instruments by Ehrlich survive (Maunder 1998, 181).

Lotz’s influence over clarinet manufacture extended well beyond his death in 1792: Scholl was still advertising basset clarinets in 1803, and the instruments of Griesbacher, perhaps an apprentice, were being purchased for the use of the court players in 1807 and 1808 (perhaps for the newly appointed Joseph Purebl, see below p.181). Lotz’s employee Tauber continued to make clarinets until his retirement in 1829 (Waterhouse 1993, 395). Ross has suggested that a particular style of clarinet playing may have evolved in Vienna, which later spread across Europe, influenced by the quality of Viennese clarinet makers (Ross 1985, 239–40) a conclusion certainly borne out by the early development of the clarinet in the repertory of this study and in the more adventurous treatment of the clarinet in other genres (Haydn’s use of the clarinet in *Creation* in 1798, for example: *ibid.*, 239). In the twenty years from Lotz’s appearance as a concert artist in 1772 until his death in 1792, this man was central to this school.

The first report of a visiting virtuoso clarinetist was of Joseph Beer (1744–1812) who, on 4 March 1791, gave a concert in Jahn’s restaurant at which Mozart performed the Piano Concerto in B flat major, K.595, his final public appearance. The *WZ* noted the ‘extraordinary skill’ of Beer, ‘Chamber Musician in service of His Russian Imperial Majesty’, who had a long-established reputation across Europe as a solo player (*WZ* 12 March 1791: 627; on Beer see Weston 1971, 29–37). Ironically this same clarinetist had been the player to whom Mozart’s father had urged his son to make advances in Paris in 1778: Mozart had spurned the suggestion, describing Beer as ‘an excellent clarinet player, but in other respects a dissolute sort of fellow’ (Anderson 1985, 566). Later in the same year Anton Stadler left Vienna for Prague on a concert tour that was to last for five years. Poulin (*NG2*, 24: 248–9) notes that in Anton’s absence Johann took his position as first clarinet in the imperial court (see Poulin 1992, 1995, 1996 for reports of Stadler’s tour). The death

of concert reports of clarinetists in Vienna from 1791 to 1796 may suggest that Stadler's absence was keenly felt, although the decline in the number of music and scholarly review journals in the period (Morrow 1997, 151 reports the 'near total absence of music magazines' in Germany between 1795 and 1798) may conceal the reality. The single record in this five-year period is of Christoph Weisgärber, clarinetist to the Princess Lubomirska, performing a concerto of his own composition on a newly invented *basset d'amore* in a concert promoted by the twelve-year old violinist Franz Joseph Clement (1780–1842) in the Mehlgrube in late December 1792. The *WZ* announced that:

Herr Weisgärber, clarinetist to Her Highness Princess von Lubomirska, will accompany this young and talented musician, who is deserving of all support, with a new concerto of his own composition, played on the *basset d'Amor*, an instrument newly invented and never before heard here, which bears the closest similarity to the human voice.

(*WZ* 26 December 1792: 3495)

One amongst many clarinetists working in noble Musikkapellen, Weisgärber's only other recorded performance was on 3 October 1804, in the intermission of a dramatic production at the Kärntnerthortheater (Morrow 1989, 458).

More significant perhaps is the first recorded solo performance of Franz Joseph Bähr (1770–1819), in July 1796. Confusion regarding the identities of Bähr and his namesake Joseph Beer has been ably untangled by Weston (Weston 1970; 1971, 38ff.). Bähr was in the employment of the Prince of Öttingen-Wallerstein from 1787 to 1794 (see Schiedermaier 1907–8). It may well have been in 1794 that Bähr went into the service of the Prince Lichtenstein, as a replacement for Georg Klein (1753–1832) who had left the Lichtenstein court to become a member of the Hofmusikkapelle. Klein had been second clarinet in the Lichtenstein Harmonie from 1787 (Stekl 1974, 166). Bähr performed a concerto by Friedrich Witt (1770–1836) at a Saturday Augarten concert in July 1796. In a letter from Witt to a colleague at Wallerstein he reported the attendance at this early morning concert of Wranitzky, Gyrowetz and 'our Papa Haydn' (Landon 1976–80, 4: 34).

Beethoven had arrived in Vienna in November 1792 and Weston has suggested that, as Beethoven's 'solo clarinet parts' all date from the period 1796 to 1802, the composer may have been inspired to write for the clarinet given Bähr's example (Weston 1971, 40). The earliest confirmed association between Beethoven and Bähr was the first recorded performance, on 6 April 1797, of Beethoven's Quintet, Op.16 (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel; see above p.21). As the other wind instrumentalists, Triebensee, Matuschek (*HALW*, H-2/26, 15 Dec 1807) and Bähr are known to have been members of the Lichtenstein Harmonie (Nickl was hornist in the Esterházy court only until 1792, working freelance in the court theatres; see Hellyer 1984, 19) there would seem to be a close connection

between this work and the Lichtenstein house. Surprising therefore is the fact that the work, when published in 1801, was dedicated to the Prince Schwarzenberg. The same players performed the quintet on 2 April 1798 at a Tonkünstler Societät concert (Pohl 1871, 66). Some confusion still exists over the clarinettist who performed in the society's concert on the previous night, 1 April 1798. Whilst Weston presumes the performer of an unnamed concerto to be the Viennese Bähr (Weston 1971, 40), unless Rosenbaum's memory failed him, his diary entry suggests that this may have been the Beer who had performed with Mozart in 1791. He wrote:

Concert at Burg in presence of Franz II. Clarinet Concerto by Josef Bähr. At Bähr's benefit concert in April 1791, Mozart performed publicly for the last time, playing the Bb concerto K595.

(Radant 1968, 40)

Hanslick also proposes that the soloist was Joseph Beer (Hanslick 1869, 118), although the source of his evidence, there being no extant contemporary review, is unknown.

Whilst the connection between Beethoven and Bähr is clear, that composer's dealings with Anton Stadler remain mysterious. Stadler's return to Vienna in 1796 could hardly have gone unnoticed by Beethoven, given the spate of performances given by the clarinettist in September of that year (see Table 1). The first recorded association between Stadler and Beethoven occurs on 29 March 1798, when the two performed in the same concert, Stadler accompanying Madame Josepha Duschek (1753–1824) on basset horn in 'Non più di fiori' from Mozart's *La Clemenza di Tito*, Beethoven performing, as the following item, a sonata with Ignaz Schuppanzigh, possibly one of Op.12 from 1797–8 (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). It was around this time (late 1797–early 1798) that Beethoven's Trio, Op.11 was composed. The theme from Weigl's *L'Amor marinaro* (1797) used as the subject for the final variation movement was never, according to Czerny, to Beethoven's satisfaction:

For some time, Beethoven intended to write another Finale to the Clarinet Trio (Op.11). He had only chosen the theme for the Variations (Pria che l'impegno) at the request of the clarinettist for whom he wrote the Trio (around 1801).

(Czerny 1970, 9)

Although the balance of probability would suggest that this clarinettist was Bähr, the inclusion of the same Weigl melody in the first of Stadler's *Trois Caprices* for solo clarinet (published by Steiner in 1808), at least raises some doubt as to whether it may have been Stadler who inspired Beethoven to write his Op.11. Ries's report of the encounter with the visiting piano virtuoso Steibelt in 1800, when the Trio was played, makes no mention of the players who participated (Wegeler and Ries 1987, 70).

A 'Joseph' Stadler played a clarinet concerto by Joseph Eybler (1765–1846) for a benefit concert ('Theaterarmen') in the Burgtheater on 13 April 1802 (A:Wn Hoftheater Zettel). If this was in fact Johann Stadler, then this is the only recorded solo appearance without his elder brother. Towards the latter part of Anton Stadler's career, Bähr seemed to be usurping the older player's position as the pre-eminent Viennese clarinetist: Bähr was participant in Beethoven's first Akademie, given in the Burgtheater on 2 April 1800, which included keyboard improvisations and a performance of his first symphony. With Matuschek and Nickl, Bähr performed in the première of Beethoven's Septet, Op.20. Although an important historical event, the concert received only a brief review, the Septet described as having been written 'with a great deal of taste and feeling' (*AmZ* III, 15 Oct 1800: 49). From this period the Rosenbaum diaries record private chamber performances of both Stadler and Bähr. At Salieri's house, on the eve of the composer's fiftieth birthday on 28 August 1800, Mozart's Clarinet Quintet, K.581 was played by Anton Stadler with a quartet led by Schuppanzigh (Radant 1968, 84). In April 1801 a concert at Herr Schmierer's included Lessel's Op.4, although the performers were not specified. On 10 March 1802 at Hofrath Schupp's, Rosenbaum recorded that 'At about 7 o'clock...we drove to the musical evening at Hofrath Schulb's – Keller played a new quintet on the violin, Fr[an]z Gilberg played a piano sonata accompanied by a Russian officer on the clarinet. Th[erese]. sang the aria 'Ah torna la bell'aurora' by Cimarosa' (*ibid.*, 100). At Schupp's a week later, on 17 March 1802, Bähr performed with Therese Rosenbaum: '...after 7, with Th- to Hofrath Schupp's. – She sang the aria 'Parto' from *Clemenza di Tito* accompanied by Grasl, with Pär playing the obbligato clarinet part' (*ibid.*). This brief report reveals that the Mozart aria was clearly performed by a trio of voice, keyboard and clarinet and raises the question as to whether Bähr was equipped with an extended instrument capable of playing Mozart's original obbligato. Like as not it would have been Bähr who performed with Therese Rosenbaum in the same Mozart aria at a concert on 1 April 1803: 'At about 7 o'clock I drove...to Jahn's for Mayseder's (or Schuppanzigh's) concert...Th. sang the clarinet aria from *Clemenza di Tito*' (*ibid.*, 106). Three days later, on 4 April 1803, Bähr performed again for the Tonkünstler Societät in the Burgtheater, performing a clarinet concerto by Witt, probably that heard in the Augarten in the summer of 1796 (Pohl 1871, 67).

As Bähr appeared to establish himself as Vienna's favoured clarinetist the *AmZ* reviewer could find nothing to say of the contribution of Anton Stadler and the cellist Gänsbacher to the first performance of Gyrowetz's Grand Trio, Op.43 in Josepha Auernhammer's concert of 2 March 1804 (see above p.80; also *ZeW* 24 March 1804: 284). Johann Stadler was pensioned from the Hofkapelle in 1804 (Köchel 1869), and died in the same year. Anton Stadler was pensioned from the Hofkapelle in 1799 (*ibid.*), but continued to give solo and ensemble performances in Vienna until what may have been his last appearances: at Tonkünstler Societät concerts on 22 and 23 December

1805 and 31 March 1806 where on each occasion he accompanied Madame Campi in Soffia's aria 'Una voce al cor mi parla' from the second act of Paer's *Sargino*, on 'a clarinet with modifications', presumably his basset instrument (Pohl 1871, 67; see also Rice 2003, 146).

Bähr's playing, in the first performance of Beethoven's Sextet, Op.71 in April 1805, excited the most detailed critique of a Viennese clarinetist, an opportunity for the reviewer to air his opinion of this player, formed it would seem through many hearings:

The clarinet was performed with the utmost perfection by Herr Pär, who is in the service of the household of Prince Lichtenstein. This artist possesses, as well as extraordinary lightness and security, an extremely delightful and pleasant tone, and makes it melt into such a soft and enchanting delicacy, especially in *piano*, that he will surely have few equals on this instrument.

(*AmZ* VII, 15 May 1805: 535)

At the height of his powers it would seem that Bähr's career was cut short by poor health: a record of a document in the Lichtenstein *Hausarchiv* in Vienna from 1807 notes that Bähr, although only in his late thirties, was sick and no longer able to work (*HALW*, H-2/26, 454: 9 and 12 December 1807). As such he was to receive a 'Gnadengehalt' of 200 florins from 1 January 1808 on the proviso that if he became well again, and could be employed elsewhere in the court (presumably in another capacity), the pension would be lowered to 100 florins. No further concert reports of Bähr are extant and it may be that Bähr never resumed his playing career.

As the careers of Bähr and Stadler came to an end, reports of clarinetists new to Vienna appeared. On 19 April 1805 Conradin Kreutzer, described as a concertmaster from Zurich, promoted a concert in Jahn's restaurant where the overture to his opera *Das Friedensfest* was performed. He then played his Piano Concerto in E major (a work previously performed in Schuppanzigh's 1804 Augarten summer series: *AmZ* VI, 5 Sept 1804: 823–4) and his Clarinet Concerto. The *AmZ* review, directly following that of Bähr's performance in Beethoven's Op.71, recognised his potential as a clarinet player, if not his pianistic skills:

Kr. certainly has facility, but he does not possess purity and security and is completely lacking in expression. A clarinet concerto of his composition is a much better piece of work and has many pretty passages, and was performed by him very agreeably and with skill. Herr Kreutzer would surely do much better if he were to devote himself to this instrument, on which he would then perhaps be able to achieve a remarkable degree of perfection.

(*AmZ* VII, 15 May 1805: 535–6)

Kreutzer performed again on 25 March 1806 in a concert promoted by Leopold Pfeiffer, the court bass singer, in the Leopoldstadttheater, where he played the basset horn in an aria of his own composition accompanying Mme Hackel (*WJTMM* 15 April 1806: 248–9).

In a Schuppanzigh subscription concert in the Augarten on 23 May 1805 Wenzel Farnik (1765–1838), a Prague clarinetist in the employ of Count Johann Pachta (Mysliik 1978, 114), performed a clarinet concerto (unknown). The reviewer felt the work ‘rather pleasantly performed’, although ‘with regard to precision and skill not all requirements were satisfactory’ (*AmZ* VII, 19 June 1805: 613). Also in a summer concert in the Augarten the clarinetist Zenker performed. Described as a dilettante, in a clarinet concerto by Joseph Triebensee considered to be ‘really pretty’, he produced a ‘pure, full, pleasant tone; although he should try to achieve a still greater accuracy in runs, and a softer *piano*’ (*AmZ* VII, 26 June 1805: 360). Zenker performed again in a benefit concert in the Burgtheater on 28 March 1809 (*AmZ* XI, 12 July 1809: 651; concert reported in *S* 1 April 1809: 156), was in Vienna in the 1820s (he performed in a Gesellschaft Abendunterhaltung on 28 December 1820; A:Wgm Konzert Zettel) and appears then to have worked in the Sondershausen Harmonie ensemble (see *AmZ* XXV, 25 June 1823: 415). At the beginning of 1806 Stadler must have been re-acquainted with Vincent Springer, one of the basset horn players for whom Stadler’s masonic lodge had endeavoured to raise funds in 1785. Springer performed a clarinet concerto by Johannes Wilhelm Wilms (1769–1808) on 23 February 1806 in a concert promoted by Marianne Kirchgessner (1769–1808), the blind glass harmonica player for whom Mozart had composed two works. It is possible that this was a concerto for basset clarinet: the *Hamburgische Correspondenten* of March 1806 announced that Peuckert of Breslau had made a B flat basset clarinet with extension to Cl.c for Springer (Weston 2002, 160; Rice 2003, 75). The review in the *WJTMM* made comparisons not with the playing of Stadler but with Bähr:

... a clarinet concerto composed by Herr Wilms and given quite mechanically by a Herr Springer, when we possess, in Herr Pär, a virtuoso of the instrument who combines the highest mechanical dexterity with the most delightfully beautiful tone and the most elegant and tasteful presentation.

(*WJTMM* 1 Mar 1806: 141–4)

Though few in number, these reviews reveal those characteristics of clarinet playing that were of particular interest to Viennese writers. For the *AmZ* and the *WJTMM* Bähr’s technical facility, demonstrating ease, security and dexterity, combined with his beautiful tonal quality to produce the necessary condition for pleasing execution. The reviews are often tripartite in form: technical competence is evoked through a range of recurring descriptors (*Fertigkeit, Sicherheit, Leichtigkeit*); tonal quality with appropriate adjectives seemingly in a hierarchical sequence (*angenehm, rein, voll*); concluding judgements included extraordinary features, for example the superlative

descriptions of Bähr's sound (*lieblichsten, schönsten*) combined with a special *piano* playing to reveal an unusual delicacy. Comparative criticism is both explicit and implicit: Springer's playing was judged to be mechanical by the *WJTM* through direct comparison with Bähr, but the *AmZ* doubtless judged Zenker's 'insufficiently precise' technique and tonal quality, 'pleasing but lacking a special piano', in the light of the superlative qualities of Bähr's playing, reported the previous month. Kreutzer was also left to aspire to Bähr's example. Even Joseph Beer's return to Vienna on 26 December 1807 prompted the partisan *AmZ* reviewer to make direct comparison with his namesake, when '[h]e performed a pretty concerto of his own composition, not without applause, though our Bär surpassed him in his delicate handling of the instrument' (*AmZ* X, 6 Jan 1808: 238).

That the delicacy of Bähr's playing was so often cited and highly praised may suggest these to have been unique characteristics. It is telling that, from the appearance of the earliest clarinet tutors, composers had been urged to write for the instrument with caution. In the 1760s Roeser observed that '[t]he safest and the best rule in composing for the clarinet is to aim at a pleasant and natural singing tone, avoiding big leaps and over-chromatic passages' (1764/R1972, 12); Schubart in 1784 noted that '[t]he range of the instrument is not exactly extensive; but what lies within its compass it expresses with indescribable charm' (Schubart 1806/R1969. Trans. in Birsak 1994, 13). Albrechtsberger in 1790 recognised similarities with the oboe (as did Schubart in the 1780s) but noted that 'in tone it is most like the human voice' (Albrechtsberger 1790. Trans. in *ibid.*). The *AmZ* in 1799 made clear the aesthetic goal for all of the winds: 'Wind instrument tones approach most closely that most divine of all instruments, the human voice...They touch the feelings much more quickly and surely than do those of the strings' (*AmZ* II, 1799: 193–4). Schönfeld's account of the clarinet was presumably formulated through his experience of clarinetists in Vienna: it is worth noting however that, written as it was in the second half of 1795 (see Schönfeld 1796/R1976, 'Nachwort' by Biba), references to Anton Stadler would have been formulated with the benefit of hindsight, this player having been away from Vienna for four years. The description is preceded by a discussion of the oboe ('the favourite of the sensitive heart, and has many extraordinary similarities with the human voice', *ibid.*, 191–2). In this context he appraised the clarinet:

This instrument, too, has many similarities to the human voice, and goes well with the tenor. In funeral music it can have an outstanding effect. The clarinet has a robust, masculine quality, which renders it almost indispensable in military music. With its harsh-textured sounds and rolling runs it is well able to convey garrulity, discord and quarrelsomeness. On the whole, however, it belongs among the instruments that are termed thankless, because the production of the sound upon it is so difficult and uncertain that tonal purity cannot often be assured, unless one is a great virtuoso. Composers should be careful not to write large leaps for the instrument, for they are at odds with its quality and charm.

(*ibid.*, 192–3)

Schönfeld is fairly conservative (he brandishes the basset clarinet, cor anglais, mandolin, carillon, lyre, harp and the wooden rattle as unusual concert instruments which had appeared in recent Akademien: *ibid.*, 190), but his description reveals the eclectic character and expressive potential of the instrument. Schönfeld must have heard unreliable players who displayed poor tonal quality and if the clarinet was indeed deemed to be a difficult and unreliable instrument it is little wonder that reviewers should have reported the extraordinary timbral control in Stadler's and Bähr's playing, or that Weisgärber should wish to develop an instrument in 1796 which even more closely resembled the human voice.

This professed desire to imitate the human voice is a leitmotif in documentary accounts of clarinet playing throughout the period of this study (for example, Lefèvre 1802; Backofen 1803; Fröhlich 1810–11 and 1817). Iwan Müller (1786–1854) the Russian clarinetist who was in Vienna in 1809, stated his aesthetic succinctly in 1825:

If the clarinet is to give true pleasure to the listener and the performer, the player should try above all to imitate the singing voice; he should, then, listen carefully to an accomplished singer and follow his example. This principle can be extended even to the tone of the instrument, for both this and the singing voice are pleasing only when they show perfect charm and suppleness throughout their range, whether performing vigorous or soft passages, even in the fastest tempo, or in solemn, tuneful or passionate melodies. A singer with this talent can be taken as an example by any performer, whatever instrument he plays.

(Müller 1825. Trans. in Birsak 1994, 16)

Müller's visit to the city was part of a tour that had brought him from Russia to Dresden, Berlin and Leipzig (Weston 1971, 151ff.). He had intended to make only a brief stop, but the outbreak of war required him to remain in the city. On 11 April 1809 Müller made his first appearance in the kleinen Redoutensaal, playing a basset horn 'perfected by himself' in a concerto of his own composition. This was actually the sixteen-key 'Müllersche Bassethorn', an alto clarinet in F (see Rice 2003, 66) made for him by Heinrich Grenser in Dresden, which he had played in Leipzig in the latter part of 1808 (*AmZ* XI, 9 November 1808: 89–91).

Herr M. truly showed that he has thought hard about this difficult and almost neglected, yet beautiful and rich-toned instrument. His playing revealed schooling and taste. He received universal applause, and indeed merited it.

(*AmZ* XI 12 July 1809: 652–3)

The *AmZ* is cautious in the extreme: whilst the emphasis in this section of the concert review is on the novelty of his instrumental developments, as much discussion is afforded to the performance of the ten-year old (actually eleven-year old) local piano prodigy Franz Schoberlechner (1797–1843).

During Müller's stay in Vienna he collaborated with the local instrument maker Johann Baptist Merklein (1761–1847) on a new clarinet. Merklein became a Bürger in 1799 (Haupt 1960, 158) and was thenceforth an influential Viennese maker, at the latest by 1812 becoming chairman of the eight-member committee of the guild of wind instrument makers (Hopfner 1999). His deputy at this time was Tauber. He was clearly a maker of some ingenuity: he is known to have invented a small clarinet called the orphinette by 1803 (Rendall 1954, 89, who cites the source as Kees 1803, 2: 166). A surviving eight-key clarinet by Merklein, dated by Shackleton at c.1810, has large tone holes characteristic of the Viennese instrument, in order to produce a fuller sound in the chalumeau register (Shackleton 1995, 22). An instrument of particular interest survives in Vienna with B flat and A *corps de rechange*, whose B flat *corps* includes additional keys to make a ten-key instrument (see Rice 2003, 53). An assessment of the new Merklein clarinet appeared as footnote to an *AmZ* review (*AmZ* XII, 7 February 1810: 298–9: see below p.179) recording the judgement of Gyrowetz, who found that the instrument allowed the performance of works in all tonalities, dispensing with the need for *corps de rechange*. Thence followed the editor Rochlitz's reinforcement of Gyrowetz's wish that 'Kenner und Liebhaber' alike should take up Müller's invention. This was the prototype of Müller's thirteen-key instrument, so crucial in the organological history of the clarinet. For this instrument Riotte produced his Clarinet Concerto in C minor, Op.36 dedicated to Müller. The work was published by Simrock in Bonn c.1818 (at A:B♭ (Cl. only); I:Mol). The work clearly requires an instrument fitted with additional keywork: for example, at the Cl.D major second subject reprise in the first movement (Ex.4.1).

Ex.4.1 Riotte Op.36, I bars 254–72

[Allegro moderato]
Maggiore

Cl.(B♭)

254
dol

259
rf

264

268

In the Saale zum römischen Kaiser, on 22 October 1809, Müller performed this concerto, along with some Variations by the fifteen-year old Ignaz Moscheles. Reporting only modest applause the *AmZ* noted:

If his tone was not as entirely pleasing on this instrument as on the basset horn, the reason may perhaps lie in the newness of the instrument or of the mouthpiece reed; for on occasion we were obliged to hear some rather strong buzzing (as it is called) – which, indeed, occurs only too easily on the clarinet if sufficient care is not taken. What was apparent here, in the small room, though it had not been so in the Redoutensaal, was the excessively strong blowing and the hissing of the passage of breath – as the reviewer from Leipzig also correctly noted in no. 6 of the 11th volume of the *Musikalische Zeitung*.

(*AmZ* XII, 7 February 1810: 298–9)

In spite of the fact that the Leipzig reviewer had found in Müller's playing an 'extraordinary skill', he had also noted that '[Müller] blows too strongly; through which the tone often loses its natural beauty, and one can also hear, even at a considerable distance, the passage of the breath' (*AmZ* XI, 9 November 1808: 91). In Vienna the *AmZ* reviewer could find little to commend, and we might regard this as a poor review, the worst given to a clarinetist in this city by the *AmZ* to date. Müller's more strident performance style, to say nothing of the virtuosity of Riotte's concerto, was seemingly quite new to the Viennese reviewer, particularly by comparison with the refined performing of Bähr.

Müller remained in Vienna and made acquaintance with Joseph Friedlowsky (1777–1859) who performed, on 1 April 1810, in Müller's concert in the kleinen Redoutensaal. The *AmZ* remarked that this was the third time in a year that the Viennese public had heard Müller, seemingly unusual, and perhaps an implied criticism. Müller played the Riotte concerto once more on his Merklein clarinet, along with the same composer's newly-composed Potpourri for clarinet with orchestra (lost). Although considered a 'thoughtful artist', further reports of problems with Müller's reeds meant that, on this occasion, Müller performed with 'not so much joy and pleasure'. Friedlowsky performed the basset horn obbligato to the aria 'Non più di fiori' from Mozart's *Clemenza di Tito* sung by Beatrix Fischer: the review simply recorded that the part was 'beautifully blown' by Friedlowsky (*AmZ* XII, 30 May 1810: 556).

The diffident reception of the visiting German clarinetist Karl Joseph Krause (1775–1838), a one-time pupil of David and Springer (Weston 1977, 147), in the spring of the following year, probably accounts for Hanslick's record of his performances as being 'less satisfactory'. Krause produced for a concert on 25 March 1811 his own 'Inventions-Clarinetten' on which he played a clarinet concerto by Joseph Beer and Variations by Joseph Ignaz Schnabel (1767–1831). The *AmZ* correspondent, not having attended the concert, could make no observations on his playing (*AmZ* XIII, 24 April 1811: 293). In his second, and final concert in the kleinen Redoutensaal on 26 May 1811, Krause shared the limelight with the young Schoberlechner. His performance of an unnamed concerto elicited no

comment, the playing of the now thirteen-year old pianist in an unnamed Variations for piano and clarinet exciting much greater interest (*AmZ* XIII, 19 June 1811: 428).

Heinrich Baermann (1784–1847), for whom Weber wrote many of his concert works for clarinet, made his first visit to Vienna in 1813. His concert on 7 February 1813 in the kleinen Redoutensaal was with the singer Helene Harlas (1785–1818), who had been engaged for operatic performances in the city (Weston 1971, 126). He played a clarinet concerto and an Adagio and Rondo, both by Weber. The *AmZ* reviewer by highlighting the beauty of tone in quiet playing reveals sympathy with the reviewer of Bähr's earlier performances:

Herr B. received general applause, for his virtuosity and his extremely fine playing on this instrument. His tone in the Adagio and his echo will be unforgettable. It is all the more to be regretted that the hall was so poorly filled.
(*AmZ* XV, 10 March 1813: 194)

Baermann and Harlas gave a second concert in the kleinen Redoutensaal on 18 March 1813. Baermann played the Clarinet Concerto in E flat major by Cramer [Krommer?] and arias sung by Harlas, by Sebastiano Nasolini (c.1768–?1806 or ?1816) and Riotte, the latter with obbligato clarinet. But now the reviewer cautioned against excessive contrasts:

Herr B. gave a fine performance on the clarinet of a concerto in E flat major (not F minor as the notice stated) by Cramer, but through the too frequent and rapid alternation of *forte* and *piano*, which caused his playing to seem somewhat monotonous, he gradually forfeited the universally favourable impression which he had at first so quickly gained. Every artist should be extremely careful to avoid 'too much' and 'too little'. Mme H. sang an aria by Nasolini, and one by Herr Riotte with obbligato clarinet.

(*AmZ* XV, 2 June 1813: 371)

Weber had joined Harlas and Baermann in Vienna in the spring of 1813. In a letter to Gänsbacher, Weber reported that 'on the 18th there was a concert here for the benefit of the poor, where Bärmann fired off the concerto in E flat' (Weston 1971, 127). His concert, at midday in the kleinen Redoutensaal on 25 May 1813, received a brief notice in the *AmZ*:

Mad. Harlas sang an aria by Baron Poisl, and Hr. Bärmann accompanied her singing on the clarinet. The composition, singing and accompaniment achieved the appropriate distinction. Hr. Bärmann's performance of an Adagio and Rondo by Hr. C.M.v. Weber was also beautiful.

(*AmZ* XV, 16 June 1813: 401).

After Harlas's last appearance on 17 June 1813, the pair left Vienna (Weston 1971:128).

In 1813 Louis Spohr had taken up the post of leader of the orchestra at the Theater an der Wien (1813–15). In 1814 he wrote the Octet, Op.32, a work whose first performance included Spohr's colleague at the theatre, Joseph Friedlowsky (see Spohr 1865). Spohr's association with Hermstedt had resulted in the first two of his four clarinet concertos (c.1808 and 1810). Hermstedt arrived in Vienna during the Congress and gave his first concert, at midday on 20 November 1814, in the Saale zum römischen Kaiser, playing the First Clarinet Concerto in C minor, Op.26 and a Potpourri by Spohr (perhaps the work on themes from Peter von Winter's *Opferfest*, Op.80). The 1812 publication of Op.26 detailed the necessity for eight keys additional to those of the standard five-key instrument for the satisfactory performance of the work (Rice 2003, 40). The *AmZ* gave an unusually long and detailed review to this clarinetist:

He played a concerto (C minor, A flat, C minor) and a pot-pourri, composed by Herr Spohr, with the greatest possible purity and delicacy. His presentation is true and good; his *crescendo* and *diminuendo* are unique and delightful; the passages are executed without effort, easily and clearly, [and] satisfy completely, and the same is true, albeit his high notes are infrequent, of the pleasing alternation of his *forte* with the most melting *piano*. All of this betokens the true artist.

(*AmZ* XVI, 21 December 1814: 867)

The programme was repeated on 27 November 1814 at the same venue. He performed again in the Saale zum römischen Kaiser on 15 January 1815 in a concert of the flute player Raphael Dressler, in Spohr's *Fantasie with Variations on a theme by Danzi*, Op.81 and in the clarinet obligato to Mozart's 'Parto, parto'. After two further concerts (Weston 1971, 88) he left for Prague. The *AmZ* surveyed his contribution retrospectively in April 1815:

Herr Musikdirektor Hermstedt, this famous clarinetist, demonstrated to us that since we last heard him he has risen yet higher as far as both skill, and expression and taste, are concerned, and that in each of these respects he can achieve things which only a few years ago were thought to be utterly impossible on this instrument.

(*AmZ* XVII, 5 April 1815: 242)

In the five years between the departure of Hermstedt and the arrival of the Bender brothers, Conrad and Ludwig in December 1820, local clarinetists predominate in extant concert reports. Joseph Purebl (1768–1838), clarinetist in the Hofmusikkapelle from 1807 (he had replaced Johann Stadler), had performed his own concerto in a benefit concert in 15 November 1807 (announced in *WZ* 11 Nov 1807: 5251; perhaps the ms concerto at CZ:Bm A.19.718) and a clarinet concerto by Pössinger on 25 March 1809 (*AmZ* XI, 12 July 1809: 651; *S* 28 March 1809: 148). There is no reason to suppose that between these performances and his appearance in a Tonkünstler Societät concert on 22 December 1815 in the Burgtheater (Pohl 1871; A:Wst Hoftheater Zettel), in which he performed, during the interval, a new Romanze and Rondo, that he did not maintain a significant

profile in Vienna. He also composed and arranged music for Harmonie and Turkish music, several works being published by the Steiner firm between 1808 and 1812 (Weinmann *Beiträge*, Series 2/19, 1979–83). Purebl performed a movement of a clarinet concerto in a Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde concert on 16 November 1821 (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel) and retained his court appointment until his death in 1838.

The most significant Viennese player in the early nineteenth century was Friedlowsky who came to Vienna by 1802 where he played in the orchestra of the Theater an der Wien (according to Hanslick 1869, 248), was a member of the Hofmusikkapelle at latest by 1823 (Ziegler 1823) and performed as a soloist until at least 1827.

Given that Friedlowsky was purportedly in Vienna from 1802, and that he became a member of the Tonkünstler Societät in August 1808 (Pohl 1871) it is surprising that his first recorded concert appearance, with Müller, was not until 1810, the next being that concert given at the home of the singer Franz Wild (1792–1860) on 25 April 1816. Here Friedlowsky played the first movement of Mozart's Quintet, K.581 according to the *AmZ* with 'indescribable sensitivity' (*AmZ* XVIII, 26 June 1816: 444). In his first self-promoted concert, at the Saale zum römischen Kaiser on 3 November 1816, he performed a clarinet concerto (unknown) and a Potpourri by Weber, now lost. (This could not have been Georg's Potpourri on themes from *Der Freischütz*, as Weston 1977, 104 suggests: the opera was not premièred until 1821.) The *AmZ* review reveals that, in spite of this being the first significant record of Friedlowsky's playing, his abilities, hardly likely to have been displayed to the full as a member of the orchestra at the Theater an der Wien, were already well known to the reviewer. Once more beauty of tone and expression are the attributes that excited comment:

The virtuosity of this musician has long been generally recognised here; his magical tone is entrancing, and the charm of his expressive presentation touches the heart. He gained support, and generous applause.

(*AmZ* XIX, 1 January 1817:17)

Table 2: Joseph Friedlowsky's concert performances in Vienna 1810–27
(Source stated where no reference in text)

Date	Venue	Concert promotion/Repertory	Source
1 Apr 1810	kl.R	Müller/ Mozart 'Non più di fiori' from <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> with basset horn	
24 Apr 1813	?	?/unspecified solo	(Weston 1977, 104)
1814	?	?/Spohr Octet Op.32	(Weston 1977, 104)
25 Apr 1816	?	Wild/Mozart K.581 1 st mvt	
3 Nov 1816	RK	Friedlowsky/Concerto for Cl., Weber Potpourri	
25 Mar 1817	TW	Benefit/Eberl Op.47?	
14 Dec 1817	RK	Friedlowsky/Riotte Op.36, Weber Potpourri	
5 Feb 1818	RK	Halm/Halm Variations for Pf. and Cl.	<i>AmZ</i> XX, 25 March 1818: 226
17 May 1818	MS	Schmid/ Paer aria from <i>Sargino</i> with obbl.	<i>AmZ</i> XX, 24 June 1818: 455
25 Jun 1818	TW	Catalani/Gugliemi <i>Gratias agimus tibi</i> with obbl.	
2 July 1818	TW	Catalani/Weber Potpourri	
22 July 1818	gr.R	'Zum Besten dreier Armeninstitut' / Gugliemi <i>Gratias agimus tibi</i> (Catalani) with obbl.	
22 Nov 1818	MS	Friedlowsky/Crusell Rondo, Riotte Variations, Gugliemi <i>Gratias agimus tibi</i> (his daughter) with obbl.	
17 Jan 1819	US	?/Friedlowsky Rondeau with orch.	A:Wgm Konzert Zettel
6 Apr 1819	TW	von Seyfried/unknown recit. and aria sung by Vio with obbl, unknown concertante (Ob.,Fl.,Cl.,Bsn,Hn + orch.)	
13 Apr 1819	Böhm	Böhm (private)/Moscheles Op.46	A:Wgm Konzert Zettel
3 Apr 1820	L	Blahetka/Rossini Scene and Cavatine from <i>Tornaldo e Dorlinska</i> (Jäger) with obbl.	
29 Jan 1821	?	Catalani/Gugliemi <i>Gratias agimus tibi</i> with obbl.	
16 Feb 1821	?	Catalani/Gugliemi <i>Gratias agimus tibi</i> with obbl.	
25 Mar 1821	TW	von Seyfried/Friedlowsky <i>Allegro di bravura</i>	<i>AmZ</i> XXIII, 2 May 1821: 314; <i>WZKLTM</i> 1821/35,40
2 Dec 1821	RK	Friedlowsky/Krommer Concerto for 2 Cls, Potpourri for 2 Cls (with his son Anton)	
2 Feb 1822	RK	Grutsch/Mozart Aria (Lemare) with obbl. (?'Parto, parto' from <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>)	A:Wgm Konzert Zettel
11 Feb 1822	?	Kaiser's Birthday Concert given by students of Conservatory/ Friedlowsky Potpourri	A:Wgm Konzert Zettel
No record of performances Feb 1822 – Feb 1825			
6 Feb 1825	?	Schuppanzigh/Mozart K.452	
3 Mar 1825	?	GderM Abendunterhaltung/ Spohr Nonet	
10 Mar 1825	?	GderM Abendunterhaltung/ Beethoven Op.20	
Dec 1825	?	?/ Mozart Aria from <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> (Cl. or B.Hn)	
24 Dec 1825	?	?/Beethoven Op.20	(Weston 1971:174)
2 Mar 1826	?	GderM Abendunterhaltung/ Spohr Nonet (poss. Anton)	
30 Mar 1826	?	GderM Abendunterhaltung/ Reicha Quintet	
28 Jan 1827	RI	Schuppanzigh/Mozart K.581	
11 Feb 1827	RI	Oster/Czerny Op.126	
15 Feb 1827	?	GderM Abendunterhaltung/ Weiss Nonet Concertant	
15 Mar 1827	?	GderM Abendunterhaltung/ Bärmann Variations	

In 1817 the Conservatoire of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde was established and Friedlowsky was appointed as the first professor of clarinet. On 14 December 1817 Friedlowsky once again promoted a concert in the Saale zum römischen Kaiser. Here he performed Riotte's Clarinet Concerto in C minor, Op.36 premièred by Müller in the 1810 concert in which Friedlowsky also

played, and Weber's Potpourri in E flat (probably the work that he had performed in 1816). By now Friedlowsky must have been equipped with an instrument at least similar to Müller's thirteen-key clarinet. Whilst the *AmZ* acknowledged 'the excellence of his talents on all levels' (*AmZ* XX, 28 January 1818: 71), the *AmZöK*, established at the beginning of 1817, and edited by Ignaz Seyfried, the director of the Theater an der Wien, gave a more detailed assessment of Friedlowsky's merits:

Of the qualities requisite in a performer of concertos for the clarinet, Herr *Friedlowsky* possesses, above all, the ability to execute the notes in the middle range with great charm and delicacy; this was apparent today in every modulation; even the harshness that is frequently necessitated by the character of the piece and the key was made less noticeable; the last movement of the concerto might be more rewarding with a somewhat faster tempo.

(*AmZöK* I, 27 December 1817: 449–50)

The Italian soprano Angelica Catalani (1780–1849) made her first visit to Vienna in 1818 on an extensive European tour that had begun in late 1817. She commenced her third concert, on 25 June 1818, with a Gugliemi aria with a clarinet obbligato performed by Friedlowsky. The *WZKLTM*, which had lavished a great deal of attention on the singer during her visit, gave a laudatory review:

Mme Catalani sang, first, an aria by Gugliemi, *Gratias agimus tibi*, written for the church – though not in the church style – with obbligato clarinet (played by Herr Friedlowsky), in which she aroused general enthusiasm. Here, in particular, the strength and metallic timbre of her voice was apparent, by comparison with the clarinet, since she quite dominated that most rich-toned of instruments, whereas with other singers the opposite is generally the case.

(*WZKLTM* no.77, 27 June 1818: 626)

Friedlowsky performed in a Catalani concert at the Theater an der Wien on 2 July 1818 in the Weber Potpourri (A:Wst Theater Zettel; *WZKLTM* no.80, 4 July 1818: 651) and once more accompanied her on 22 July 1818, in a charity concert in the grossen Redoutensaal, in the Gugliemi aria given in the 25 June concert (*WZKLTM* no.90, 28 July 1818: 733). Given the high profile of the Catalani concerts it is little wonder that, in promoting his own concert on 22 November 1818 in the Müllerschen Saale, he should have included the Gugliemi aria, this time sung by his daughter. The performance of this work, two movements of a Crusell clarinet concerto and the Variations by Riotte, served to reinforce his status, the *AmZ* describing him as 'our valiant clarinetist' (*AmZ* XXI, 6 January 1819: 13), the *AmZöK* recognising a new level of achievement:

Of this most renowned and frequently honoured artist of the clarinet, it is surely sufficient to say that in an Adagio and Rondeau by *Crusell*, in the aria *Gratias agimus tibi* and in variations by *Riotte* he earned new praise.

(*AmZöK* II, 28 November 1818: 444)

In a concert on 6 April 1819 promoted and directed by Seyfried and given at the Theater an der Wien, Friedlowsky performed twice as a soloist. He played in a Concertante for flute, oboe,

clarinet, bassoon and horn with orchestra, and his obbligato, to a recitative and aria sung by Mme Lisette Vio, prompted the *AmZ* to remark that, ‘Hrn. Friedlowsky, we believe, has never been heard to sing more beautifully on his instrument’ (*AmZ* XXI, 26 May 1819: 362).

In spite of the rigorous technical demands of much of the music performed, Viennese reviewers focus on Friedlowsky’s vocal qualities, most potent in the ‘middle range’, that is in the ‘clarinet’ register (C1.b¹-c²). In order to perform Riotte’s Op.36 in 1817 Friedlowsky must have been equipped with an instrument with many more keys than the standard classical instrument, perhaps from the next generation of outstanding Viennese makers such as Stephan Koch and Ziegler (see Rice 2003, 54). Catalani’s domination of Friedlowsky was probably as much to do with his own mellow timbral quality as her more strident vocal colour.

Ferdinand Troyer (1780–1851) was, according to Wurzbach, a pupil of Friedlowsky and a founder member of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Wurzbach 1856–91, 47: 251), established in 1814 to promote concerts avoiding the virtuosic showpieces that were becoming staple fare in public concerts. To this end the society gave four large-scale concerts a year and, from 12 March 1818, offered a subscription series of evening entertainments (*Abendunterhaltungen*), weekly or fortnightly on a Thursday. Through the predominance of *Lieder* and chamber repertory they were probably an institutionalised form of the more serious type of music-making that was enjoyed in private homes. The format of the concerts was typically thus:

1. String Quartet or Quintet (often by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven)
2. Vocal solo or ensemble
3. Instrumental variations, polonaises etc.
4. Vocal solo or ensemble
5. Larger mixed ensemble
6. Choral number often with soloists

Troyer was a participant both in the large-scale concerts and the *Abendunterhaltungen*. In the large concerts, on 2 March 1817, he performed the obbligato part in ‘Parto, parto’ from Mozart’s *La Clemenza di Tito*, on 1 March 1818 playing two movements from a Crusell clarinet concerto and the obbligato to Soffia’s aria from Paer’s *Sargino* (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel) and on 12 March 1820 premièred Lannoy’s Variations for clarinet and orchestra (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel; at A:Gl 40.485, dated 25 January 1819). The appearance of works written for basset clarinet raises the question as to whether Troyer was equipped with this instrument. From the first of these concerts we have the only extant review of Troyer’s playing, which confirms the Viennese predilection for refined performance:

In the aria from *Clemenza di Tito: Part, ma tu* – Hr. Graf von Troyer distinguished himself, to great advantage, in his sensitive and extremely delicate handling of the clarinet obbligato.

(*AmZ* XIX, 23 April 1817:294)

Table 3: Ferdinand Troyer's concert performances in Vienna 1817–24
(Records of Abendunterhaltungen: A:Wgm Konzert Zettel)

Date	Venue	Concert promotion/Repertory
2 Mar 1817	gr.R	GderM/Mozart 'Parto, parto' from <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> with Cl. obbl.
1 Mar 1818	?	GderM/Crusell Concerto for Cl., 2 mvts, Paer aria from <i>Sargino</i> with Cl. obbl.
17 Dec 1818	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Waleck Variations for Cl., Beethoven, Op.20
14 Jan 1819	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Louis Ferdinand Octet, Op.10
21 Jan 1819	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Spohr Nonet, Op.31? ('neunstimmige concertantes Stück')
28 Jan 1819	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Mozart, K.452
12 Mar 1820	?	GderM/Lannoy Variations for Cl. and orch
21 Dec 1820	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Bochsa Variations for Cl.
8 Mar 1821	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Spohr Nonet, Op.31
22 Mar 1821	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Beethoven, Op.20
26 Dec 1822	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Spohr Octet, Op.32
30 Jan 1823	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Beethoven, Op.16
20 Mar 1823	?	GderM Abend Unterhaltung/Beethoven, Op.20
c.1 Mar 1824	Spielmann	Troyer/Schubert Octet, D.803

Troyer is remembered primarily for commissioning Schubert's Octet, D.803, completed on 1 March 1824, and first performed in his rooms in Baron Anton von Spielmann's house on the Graben (Deutsch 1946, 331–2 and 341). From performances in the Abendunterhaltungen it is clear to see that this work fits into the tradition of the large mixed ensemble established in these Gesellschaft concerts. Although Beethoven's Septet, Op.20 has been the acknowledged model (for example, Newbould 1997, 363), Schubert's Octet was one amongst a number of works for mixed ensembles by Louis Ferdinand (Octet, Op.12, 1808) and Spohr (Nonet, Op.31, 1813; Octet, Op.32, 1814).

On 25 March 1817, described as 'one of the richest musical days in the history of Vienna' (all refs *AmZ* XIX, 30 April 1817: 304–9), five concerts occurred in the city. In the Theater an der Wien at a concert in aid of the Hospital of the Merciful Brothers a sextet by Eberl, perhaps his Op.47, was given, the pianoforte played by the thirteen-year old Ferdinand Stegmayr (1803–63), the other instrumentalists being members of the theatre orchestra, which would probably have included Friedlowsky. Christoph Rüttinger (1776–1830), second clarinet to Friedlowsky at the theatre, gave a concert which included Mozart's K.452 and an Adagio and Variations for basset horn at the Saale zum römischen Kaiser. In both of these works the pianist was Christoph's son Johann (1803–48) (described as being twelve, actually fourteen). In another concert given by Martin Scholl, 'Kapellmeister des Regiments Deutschmeister' at the Saale zum Sperl in the Leopoldstadt district, a clarinetist called Nowak performed with Pamer a Phantasie for clarinet and violin. Three days later, on 28 March 1817, the clarinetist Johann Hornik, between 1802 and 1810 a chamber musician to

the Prince Esterházy (see Hellyer 1984, 70–71), gave a concert in which he performed a clarinet concerto by Cartellieri and accompanied his daughter Caroline with a clarinet obbligato to an aria by Hummel. Not averse to damning criticism the *AmZ* reported this player's demise: 'Herr Hornik must nowadays forego the title of outstanding virtuoso, although some noteworthy remnants of former glory were to be perceived here and there' (*AmZ* XIX, 30 April 1817: 308–9). Hornik performed again on 19 April 1818 in the Saale zum romischen Kaiser in a concert that included performances by his two singer daughters, but fared little better: 'The clarinettist Hornik performed on the 19th [April], and aroused only astonishment at his boldness in appearing with such limited powers before the public tribunal of judgement' (*AmZ* XX, 27 May 1818: 389).

Wenzel Sedlak (1776–1851) was Auersperg Kapellmeister in 1805, before becoming a member of the Lichtenstein Harmonie in 1807. From 1812 he was Lichtenstein Kapellmeister. As director of music at this important noble house he was active as a performer and a prolific transcriber of music for Harmonie (see Harlow 1996). In 1805 he became a member of the Tonkünstler Societät (Pohl 1871). In spite of his earlier activity his first documented Viennese performance is from 30 April 1818, when he performed in Spohr's Nonet, Op.31 at a Gesellschaft Abendunterhaltung. He may also have been the clarinettist who performed in the two previous concerts on 16 and 23 April 1818, when Mozart's Quintet, K.581 was performed (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). On 1 May 1818 he gave a morning concert in the Lichtenstein summer palace garden in the Rossau, promoting his daughter Anna, a student of Moscheles. In a programme in which Anna performed a piano concerto by Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812) and Hummel's *Rondo brillant*, Sedlak played an obbligato to an aria by Simon Mayr (1763–1845), sung by the court bass Josef Barth (b.1781). Sedlak's accompaniments were given with 'taste and delicacy' (*AmZ* XX, 24 June 1818: 454), the *AmZöK*, although also regarding Sedlak's playing as being 'agreeable and tasteful', feeling unable to evaluate adequately Sedlak as a performer given that the clarinet part displayed too little virtuosity (*AmZöK* II, 16 May 1818: 175–6). On 1 May 1819, a year later and once more in the Rossau gardens, Anna Sedlak performed a piano concerto by her teacher Moscheles and her father performed the first movement of a clarinet concerto by Franz Krommer (1759–1831), merely regarded by the *AmZ* as being 'worthy of approval' (*AmZ* XXI, 23 June 1819: 428–9). In spite of having more to go on this time, the *AmZöK* was still unable to offer a fuller judgement of Sedlak's playing, merely recording that he performed with 'skill and delicacy' (*AmZöK* III, 12 May 1819: 305–6). Sedlak was both well schooled (he had performed under Triebensee's direction in the Lichtenstein Harmonie and had works published by several Viennese publishing houses) and well connected (for example, Hellyer believes that Beethoven supervised his 1814 Harmonie transcription of *Fidelio* for Artaria; see Hellyer 1972). Notable in this regard were the series of three subscription concerts for Harmonie Quintet given at the Landständischen Saale with Sedlaczek

(flute), Ernst Krähmer (oboe, latterly husband of Caroline Schleicher, see below p.193), August Mittag (bassoon) and Friedrich Hradetzky (horn) in 1821 and early 1822 (Hanslick 1869, 254; *ZwU* III, 1821: 348). Modelled on Antoine Reicha's (1770–1836) Parisian quintet, these concerts were very well received, the *AmZöK* noting:

The Harmonie Quintets organised by Messrs *Sedlazeck, Krähmer, Sedlak, Mittag* and *Hradetzky*, which gave much pleasure to the lovers of music last year, have begun again this year, and have found great favour. Through diligent rehearsal the excellent virtuosi aforementioned have truly attained a degree of precision and expression in their performance which bears no comparison with what is usually found.

(*AmZöK* VI, 19 Jan 1822: 47)

Particularly interesting too is a description of Mozart's K.452, the winds described not as individuals but as a wind ensemble (see above p.17ff.):

Mozart's beautiful Fortepiano-Quintett was played on this occasion by Herrn *Joseph Czerny* accompanied by the Harmonie. The performance was completely successful.

(*ibid.*)

The Harmonie Quintet performed again (with Khayll replacing Sedlaczek on flute) on 19 Feb 1824, in an Akademie of the twelve-year old Antonie Oster. The Harmonie performed two movements of a Reicha Quintet (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). Sedlak remained Kapellmeister to the Lichtensteins until 1835, when the Harmonie ensemble was disbanded. Like so many other Viennese clarinet players, Sedlak remains elusive, the few concert reviews affording a glimpse of a career that lasted more than thirty years.

A notice in the *AmZöK* in November 1820 advertised a concert to be given by Madame and the brothers Bender in the kleinen Redoutensaal at midday on 3 December 1820 (*AmZöK* IV, 29 November 1820: 768). The concert was the first appearance by eminent visiting virtuosi since the departure of Hermstedt in 1815. The brothers Conrad (c.1787–1859) and Ludwig, 'kaiserl. russische erste Hofclarinettisten', and Ludwig's wife Charlotte, had been on a concert tour from 1816 which had taken them to Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Aachen, Paris, Frankfurt, Berne, Strasbourg, Berne (once more), Munich and Zurich (Weston 1977, 31–3). These concerts had excited considerable interest, with favourable comparisons being made with Baermann and Müller (who taught both brothers: *ibid.*). In spite of this, Charlotte Bender was considered the principal attraction, her singing earning her the title of a 'northern Catalani' (*AmZ* XIII, 26 January 1821: 56), praise indeed given the almost reverential status accorded to Catalani at this time. The *AmZ* recorded:

The brothers Bender, clarinetists at the Imperial Court of Russia, played two Concertinos by Danzi [actually a concertino for two clarinets], which are of greater substance than any dozen of our voluminous fashionable operas; in addition, a Rondo by Mees [sic], Alpine songs with echo, and a pot-pourri of Russian national melodies. It would be difficult to find another pair of virtuosi comparable to them, brothers by nature and twins in their art. Greater agreement in tone, shading, delicacy and impressive strength, in *cantabile*, in brilliant figures, in *crescendo* to the highest *forte* and *diminuendo* to the quietest *piano*, is hardly to be imagined; such glorious qualities transported the listeners into the most exalted admiration, and this true double star – Castor and Pollux – was accordingly a veritable phenomenon on our musical horizon.

(*AmZ* XXIII, 26 January 1821: 56–7)

Remarkably similar conclusions were formed in the *AmZöK*:

As they are brothers in life, so they are in art, and with fraternal unity they executed the passages and delighted with their tone, presentation, *forte*, *piano* and expression. The advantage that the *primarius* has by way of delicacy, the *secundarius* makes up for in power, especially in the middle register.

(*AmZöK* IV, 9 December 1820: 791–2)

And in the *WZKLTM*:

The brothers Bender, like the arrows of that Oriental, are especially great in their unity; such precise similarity in tuning, expression and passages would be desirable in every pair of wind players in our orchestras; moreover, their tone is pure, well-formed and soft, their style noble and free, their expression most praiseworthy; he who took the first part, in particular, has a delightful delicacy of execution and complete command of *pianissimo*. The Concertino by Danzi which the two artists performed first has been happily modernised and is quite sparkling and melodic. Their second piece was much weaker: an Adagio and Rondo by Mess. The brothers Bender received much greatly merited applause after each piece and were called back both times.

(*WZKLTM* no.147, 7 Dec 1820: 1211)

In the second of their concerts, a week later on 10 December 1820, again given in the kleinen Redoutensaal at midday, the brothers played another concertino by Danzi. Bizarrely this second concertino was deemed to be less successful on account of its tonality: ‘The brothers Bender performed a second Concertino for two clarinets by Danzi, which, however, was less engaging as a concert piece than the first, in which connection the minor key, not popular with the general public, also played its part’ (*WZKLTM* no.151, 16 Dec 1820: 1245). In spite of this:

... the two artists aroused admiration for their execution of the difficult passages, moving through all keys, for the delicacy with which they played the *cantabile*, for their power and their expression, all of which have most recently met with our praise. They are masters of the first rank.

(*AmZöK* IV, 20 December 1820: 810–11)

The brothers then performed an unaccompanied 'Alpenlied with Echo' and a potpourri of Russian national songs, performed with Charlotte. The Alpenlied inspired an extraordinary, fanciful and rapturous criticism in the *AmZöK*:

This piece is attractive and touching in the highest degree; the listener feels himself transplanted to Tell's fatherland, sees the shepherds scaling steep heights; they blow their horns and the sound, breaking out on near and distant crags, gradually dies away, like the whispering of the west wind, the gentle murmur of the trickling spring; in the distance the image of the gleaming snow-covered Jungfrau appears before the mind's eye. Hail to the noble art that leaves us with such impressions!

(*ibid.*:811)

The soft-toned playing, particularly of the first player (probably Conrad), the complementary power and delicacy, the unanimity and precision of the playing so clearly lacking in the wind sections of Viennese orchestras were features that appeared extraordinary to the reviewer. Contrasts here are deemed worthy and in balance. The works were clearly chosen to show off the multi-faceted virtuosity of the performers and not tax the Biedermeier Vienna audience.

In 1821 Catalani returned to the city, giving four concerts in January and February. She repeated the Gugliemi aria that she had performed in her concerts in 1818, on 29 January 1821 and 16 February 1821, with Friedlowsky once more playing the clarinet obbligato. For the concert on 29 January the *WZKLTM* recorded:

The mistress [of her art] opened [the concert] with the glorious *Gratias agimus tibi* of Gugliemi, in which she supported our good Friedlowsky on the clarinet, and behold! at the magical sounds, the great power, the enthusiastic presentation, all the mists dispersed and the brilliant, golden sun of contentment emerged, while thunderous storms of applause poured down from every side.

(*WZKLTM* no.15, 3 Feb 1821: 122)

According to Weston, Heinrich Baermann returned to Vienna at the same time to give concerts with Catalani (Weston 1971, 139). But in contrast to the ecstatic reception given to the Bender brothers, Baermann's concert in the kleinen Redoutensaal on 2 February 1821 attracted a rather small audience. Although Hanslick stated that the reason for the poor attendance was the ticket price of 5 florins, (information he gleaned from the *AmZ* review), the Bender brothers had charged the same price in the previous year. The clash between this concert and the Akademie of the court double bassist Dall'Occa, which included the popular Viennese players Joseph Böhm (violin) and Johann Worzischek (piano), was the more likely reason for the poor attendance. The *AmZ* merely commented on the attendance: 'His virtuosity has long been generally recognised; it is a pity that on this occasion it was honoured only by a small circle' (*AmZ* XXIII, 28 March 1821:13). But the *WZKLTM* focused on the variety in the execution, contrasts criticised in 1813:

Herr Baermann was heard twice; first in a concerto (or rather, despite the grand style, a concertino, because the three movements followed one another without interruption) of his own composition: an energetic, original, very fine piece of work, which caused astonishment through its power, delight through its delicacy, and pleasure through its good humour. The artist performed it most commendably; his playing is large, at once powerful and soft; expressive, impressive in its strength, delightful in the quiet notes, which die away like the sounds of an Aeolian harp, and his security equally admirable in the high and low registers; he sustained with purity the high B flat on the fifth leger line, his speed in the passages is almost too great to follow, his trill bespeaks the most arduous practice, and thunderous, repeated applause crowned his efforts. All honour to such art!

(*WZKLTM* no.17, 8 Feb 1821: 138)

The *AmZöK* also recognised extraordinary technical control, the negotiation of the complex keywork of his clarinet, perhaps an indication that instruments so outfitted were still regarded as something of a novelty in Vienna. The criticism of the extremes in the playing, particularly the attack in the higher register, echoed those comments made by the *AmZ* on Baermann's first visit to Vienna in 1813:

A quite extraordinary skill, together with an animated, soulful presentation, are fine qualities, of which none will dispute this artist's possession. The power with which he *flies between* the high and low registers is impressive, and the great confidence with which he handles the complicated keys of the instrument proves him the true master. The excessively sharp contrasts that are found in his playing, when high notes standing in isolation are attacked, produce an unfavourable impression.

Today not all notes seemed to speak equally in *pianissimo*. The brothers *Bender* remain unsurpassed in this respect.

The composition of the concerto shows good order and taste, but it appears here and there as if the composer had set all the elements in motion: in a word, as if too much effort had been expended.

(*AmZöK* V, 10 Feb 1821: 92–3)

On 29 March 1821 Baermann promoted another concert in the kleinen Redoutensaal. In this programme Baermann performed a Riotte clarinet concerto, probably Op.36, and an Adagio and Rondo by Weber. The *AmZ* and *AmZöK* reaffirmed the views taken of the first concert, the *AmZ* again bemoaning the poor audience:

[Baermann's] glorious talent [was], as always, appreciated in fullest measure, but on this occasion, as on his first exhibition of his art, what it gained *in honorifico* it lost *in utili*. The old complaint!

(*AmZ* XXIII, 2 May 1821: 315)

The *AmZöK* endorsed its earlier assessment, the greatest accolade being Baermann's ability to match the voice, although the reviewer still criticises excessive contrasts:

His extraordinary skill, his fiery presentation, his fine *piano* in the cadenzas, his extremely pure intonation, are great qualities, which, it is true, are somewhat diminished by the excessive freedom in the beat, the unbounded search for contrasts in high and low notes, though they are far from nullified in their significance. Herr *Bärmann* is among the leading virtuosi of the clarinet, for his performance is akin to singing, and he would be even more effective if he did not exaggerate the tempo. His exhibition was honoured with loud applause ... The last piece, Adagio and Rondo for the clarinet by *C.M. von Weber*, was played fiercely and well by the artist.

(*AmZöK* V, 18 April 1821: 247–8)

In spite of Baermann's virtuosity, the *AmZöK* in its review of a concert of 2 December 1821 given by Friedlowsky to promote his family of musicians in the Saale zum römischen Kaiser, where he performed the first movement of the Krommer's Concerto for Two Clarinets, Op.35 with his son Anton, found a more pleasing balance between technical brilliance and tonal beauty. For this writer Friedlowsky was still the pre-eminent clarinetist in Vienna: 'Herr *Friedlowsky* Snr distinguished himself, as always, by his especially delightful tone, his true and penetrating presentation and his ability to conquer the most severe difficulties' (*AmZöK* VI, 2 Jan 1822: 3–4).

The appearance in Vienna of the first female clarinet virtuoso, Caroline Schleicher (later Krähmer), on 13 February 1822, performing in the intermission of the ballet *Kiaking* at the Theater an der Wien, was received enthusiastically by both the reviewers of the *AmZ* and the *AmZöK*:

An intermezzo was given on the same occasion by Mlle Caroline Schleicher of Karlsruhe, playing on the clarinet, who handled the instrument with such delicacy and charm that she was accorded tumultuous applause.

(*AmZ* XXIV, 3 April 1822: 226)

Her performance on the clarinet seemed to us feminine in every respect. Gently, meltingly, and indulging in the softest *piano*, this virtuoso refrains from availing herself of the full strength of the instrument, but she displays much roundedness in her playing. Who can compare her with *Bärmann*, or the brothers *Bender*, since these artists have at their disposal not only the softest *piano* but also the instrument's fullest power? Mlle Schleicher plays very delicately and neatly, and through her carefulness avoids all breaking of the tone. Her trill is extremely well formed.

(*AmZöK* VI, 9 March 1822: 158)

Several aspects of Schleicher's Viennese appearances merit attention. It seems a remarkable coincidence that her performances, from 1822 to 1825, coincide with the three years when Friedlowsky has no recorded concert appearances. Perhaps the novelty of this lady performer eclipsed Friedlowsky for a while. The critical language of reviews is, from the outset, overtly gendered. The 'delicacy and charm' found in the review in the *AmZ* was more fully described in the *AmZöK*, which recognised in her execution femininity, presumably as a result of the softness of her piano. Her neatness and caution seem commendable traits of womanhood itself (see Hoffmann

1991, 220ff.). The Viennese reviewers seemed more forward-thinking than the Munich correspondent of the *AmZ* who, referring to Schleicher, had noted patronisingly that ‘our modern beauties do not wish to be excluded from any part of performing art’, recognising that only on the bassoon and the trombone had women not been heard (*AmZ* XXIV, 27 February 1822: 151).

Table 4: Caroline Schleicher-Krähmer’s concert performances in Vienna 1822–5

Date	Venue	Concert promotion/Repertory
13 Feb 1822	TW	TW/unknown repertory in an intermezzo to the ballet <i>Kiaking</i> (Titus), music by Gyrowetz
27 Feb 1822	MV	Schleicher/Weber Concertino, Schleicher Variations, Danzi Potpourri (Schleicher played Vln)
4 Mar 1822	Kä	Kä/Goepfert Concerto for Cl., 1 st mvt, Schleicher Variations, Mozart ‘Parto, parto’ (Unger) from <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>
25 March 1822	?	?? (Concert in the presence of the Emperor)
27 Oct 1822	L	E. and C.Krähmer/Krommer Concerto for Ob. and Cl. (arr. of Concerto for 2 Cls Op.35), Rode Concerto for Vln (C.Krähmer played Vln), Tausch Adagio and Polonaise
7 Mar 1824	L	E. and C.Krähmer/Danzi Potpourri for Cl., Viotti Concerto for Vln, 1 st mvt (C.Krähmer played Vln), Krähmer Variations for Cl. and Ob.
18 Feb 1825	L	E. and C.Krähmer/Pechatschek Adagio and Polonaise, Krähmer Variations
10 Apr 1825	L	Weiß/Krommer Concerto fo Ob. and Cl. (arr. of Concerto for 2 Cls Op.35), Jansa Variations of a theme of Cherubini (C.Krähmer played Vln)
13 Nov 1825	kl.R	E. and C.Krähmer/Krähmer Variations for Cl., Danzi Potpourri (C.Krähmer played Vln)

Two weeks after the Theater an der Wien appearance Schleicher gave a private concert in the Saale des Musikvereins, where she performed on both the clarinet, in Weber’s Concertino, J.109 and her own Variations, and the violin in Danzi’s Potpourri. The *AmZöK* drew attention to her dexterity (*AmZöK* VI, 9 March 1822: 158), whilst the *AmZ*, in a report that initially included the comments on her Theater an der Wien appearance, now noted that ‘...as a violinist, too, she achieved much, account being taken of her sex, and pleased entirely; she will soon have the honour of being heard in a concert at Court’ (*AmZ* XXIV, 3 April 1822: 228). On 4 March 1822 Schleicher performed before the ballet *Johanna d’Arc* (Taglioni with music by Gallenberg) at the Kärntnertheater, in the first movement of a clarinet concerto by Goepfert, her own variations and accompanying Caroline Unger (1803–77) in ‘Parto, parto’ from Mozart’s *La Clemenza di Tito* when: ‘[t]he charming playing of the modest artist again aroused the liveliest interest’ (*AmZ* XXIV, 8 May 1822: 305). Schleicher did perform before the Emperor, in a court concert on 25 March 1822 (Weston 1977, 226). Then, after a concert tour that took Caroline away from Vienna for six months, Schleicher married the court oboist Ernst Krähmer on 19 September 1822. Thenceforth, until Ernst’s death and in spite of numerous concert tours away from the city, Vienna remained their home. Caroline stayed in Vienna until her death around 1850. On 27 October 1822 in the Landständischen Saale the couple promoted their first concert as husband and wife. The novelty value must have been high, not least because both artists played on two instruments (Ernst also

played the csakan, the cane flute invented by Anton Heberle around 1807). The concert included a concerto for clarinet and oboe by Krommer, a violin concerto by Rode and an Adagio and Polonaise for clarinet by Franz Tausch (1762–1817). The *AmZ* was particularly surprised at Caroline's ability to master two instruments, with delicacy and strength now in evidence:

This talented lady, who astonished us a year ago as a virtuoso of two difficult instruments, again provided much pleasure on this occasion, and if, on the one hand, feminine delicacy was to be observed, so, on the other, was masculine strength of the highest artistic order.

(*AmZ* XXIV, 4 December 1822: 49)

[Mme K.] plays the clarinet with very great charm and a delicate, pleasing tone. Her *crescendo* and *diminuendo* and her *pianissimo* are most effective, and as a clarinetist she merited, through her bravura and delightfulness, the applause which she received. But Mme *Krähmer* is a virtuoso, not merely of the clarinet, but also of the violin, and it will be a long time before another woman has the heroism to take up two such difficult instruments as the clarinet and the violin. If Mme *Krähmer* does not present such a brilliant impression as a violin player, this is perhaps understandable, and yet even a sterner critic must admit that she proved, in her performance of the first movement of a concerto by *Rode*, that she would have achieved much if she had remained only a violin player.

(*AmZöK* VI, 6 November 1822: 705–6)

Shortly after this concert the Krähmers left Vienna for a tour that took them to Kiev. The liking of the Viennese reviewers for the special quiet playing of Caroline Krähmer, both in keeping with and as a consequence of her femininity, accorded with many of the aesthetic values long upheld. But her playing excited a different judgement from the Kiev correspondent of the *AmZ*, who cited and endorsed a review of her concert in Munich in 1815, which damningly criticised her constant *pianissimo*, at times making her inaudible (*AmZ* XXV, 16 April 1823: 253).

The couple returned to Vienna by early 1824, performing in the Landständischen Saale on 7 March 1824. Caroline played a Potpourri for clarinet by Danzi and the first movement of a violin concerto by Giovanni Viotti (1755–1824). A set of double variations for clarinet and oboe was 'skilfully and tastefully performed by the married couple, whose performances are always received with well-earned applause' (*AmZ* XXVI, 29 April 1824: 281–2). The feminine qualities in Caroline's playing were once more stated by the reviewer of the *AmZöK*. In the Viotti concerto: 'This woman has a nice bowing – though not always true intonation – *taceamus* – the production was *generis feminini* - ...' (*AmZöK* VIII, 27 Mar 1824: 46–7).

For the Krähmers' concert in the Landständischen Saale on 18 February 1825, Caroline performed an Adagio and Polonaise for clarinet by Franz Xaver Pecháček (1793–1840), a Viennese violinist who, from 1809 to 1822, had been in the orchestra of Theater an der Wien, and Variations of her

own for clarinet (lost). She also sang in a vocal quartet. The *WZKLTM* review, the first of Caroline's playing in this journal, displayed a remarkable unanimity of judgement with the *AmZ* and the *AmZöK*:

After the Overture by Ludwig van Beethoven, Mme Krähmer opened the academy with an Adagio and Polonaise for the clarinet, composed by Herr Pechatschek. The fine, round, melting tone which the artist is able to entice, with the greatest ease and unaffectedness, from her instrument, once more produced a pleasing impression, and the audience admired her equal skill in the very engaging Variations of her own composition which she performed at the close of the evening's entertainment.

(*WZKLTM* no.25, 26 Feb 1825: page unknown)

The Krähmers performed in a concert given by the singer Marie Mathilde Weiß on 10 April 1825, Caroline playing both the clarinet in Krommer's Concerto for oboe and clarinet, and violin in Leopold Jansa's (1795–1875) Variations on a theme of Cherubini (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). The unique qualities of her quiet playing were once again cited in the *WZKLTM*, reporting on the Krähmers' concert, given on 13 November 1825 in the Landständischen Saale:

Mme Krähmer performed new Variations, of her own composition, on a theme of her own for the clarinet, and in the Adagio aroused general interest through her entirely distinctive, gentle, delightful tone. The *piano*, dying away into the quietest breath of a distant echo, once again made a great impression on the audience, which listened with close attention.

(*WZKLTM* no.142, 26 November 1825: 1180)

The positive descriptions of the feminine attributes of Krähmer's playing, its undemonstrative nature, soft tonal quality with special hushed *pianissimo*, merely reaffirmed many of the tastes articulated in the Viennese press from the beginning of the century. Many of these qualities had been recognised in the 1805 *AmZ* review of Bähr, the language of which bears striking similarity to reviews of Krähmer some twenty years later. In spite of the obvious merits of the great visiting virtuosi, Müller, Bärman and Hermstedt, in its refinement, civility and modesty Krähmer's performing seemed to accord with the tastes and ideals of Viennese Beidermeier society. From extant reviews of her playing from other cities these clearly were not qualities that were universally admired.

After the 1825 concerts no more Viennese reviews of the Krähmers are known until 1833. It may well have been the case that Caroline was at this point preoccupied with her young family (Weston 1971: 181–2; 1977, 228 lists two sons, Carl (b.1824) and Ernst (b.1826)). After Ernst Krähmer's death in 1837, on 10 April 1842 Schleicher gave her last recorded Vienna performance on the clarinet in the Saale des Musikvereins. But this now occasioned a damning revue in the *Allgemeine*

Wiener Musikzeitung which denounced all but singing and the playing of piano, harp and guitar as being ‘un-feminine’ activities:

[*Krähmer’s*] handling of the instrument is too feminine. That is to say, she has concentrated almost exclusively on softness and delicacy, and has thereby acquired a fine and very well-trained, secure tone in *piano* and *mezzo*, but she has paid too little attention to strength and power, and thus is entirely lacking in a full *forte* ... She lacks a sense of the masculine side of musical expression ...

(*AWM* II, 16 April 1842: 190)

Two lexicons from the 1820s offer a rather different picture from that presented by contemporary critical reports. Böckh (1821) and Ziegler (1823) include mention of forty clarinet players.

Table 5: Clarinetists in Böckh (1821) and Ziegler (1823)

KK Burg = Burgtheater

KK Hof and Kammer = Hof- und Kammermusiker

KK Kä = Kärntnertheater

KK TJ = Josephstadttheater

KK TL = Leopoldstadttheater

KK TW = Theater an der Wien

T&D = Tonkünstler und Dilettanten

GderM: Repräsentanten = Gesellschaft Honoured Member

GderM: Ausübende Mitglieder = Gesellschaft Performing Member

Name	Instruments	Category	Böckh	Ziegler
Bauer, ?	Cl.	KK Kä		•
Bauer, Anton	Vln, Cl.	T&D		•
Brentano, Anton Freyherr	Cl.	GderM: Repräsentanten	•	
Diedrich, Sebastian	Cl.	KK TJ		•
Dobihal, Joseph	Cl.	KK Kä		•
Dürnbauer, Joseph	Cl.	T&D		•
Farnik, Wenzel	Cl.	Verein zur Berforderung der Tonkunst in Prag		•
Fechter, Leopold	Cl.	T&D		•
Freyberger, Joseph	Cl.	T&D; Lichtenstein Capelle		•
Friedlowsky, Anton	Cl.	KK TW		•
Friedlowsky, Joseph	Cl.	KK Hof and Kammer; KK TW; Professor Cons.	•	•
Henikstein, Carl Ritter von	Cl.	GderM: Mitglieder des Repräsentantenkörpers; Ausübende Mitglieder	•	•
Hirsch, (Herr)	Cl.	T&D; Student of Cons.		•
Hofbauer, Johann Georg	Cl., Ob., Fl., Organo, Trompete	T&D; Private teacher		•
Karlhofer, Joseph	Cl.	KK TJ		•
Klein, Georg	Cl.	KK Hof and Kammer	•	•
Klöpfer, Joseph	Cl.	T&D		•
Kolb, Conradin jun.	Cl.	T&D		•
Kowy, Georg	Bsn, Cl.	T&D		•
Krähmer, Caroline	Cl., Vln	T&D [Virtuosinn]		•
Kröbsch, (Herr)	Cl.	T&D; Student of Cons.		•
Langer, Adalbert	Cl.	T&D; Private teacher		•
Limmer, (Herr)	Cl.	T&D; Student of Cons.		•

Mösch, Conrad	Cl.	KK Burg		•
Ploct [Plock], Franz	Cl.	St. Stephens		•
Ponsel, Theodor	Vln, Cl., Guitar instruction	T&D; teacher in the Trattnerhof girls school	•	•
Purebl, Joseph	Cl.	KK Hof and Kammer	•	•
Richter, Carl	Vln, Cl.	T&D		•
Rüttinger, Johann	Cl.	KK Burg		•
Sedlak, Wenzel	Cl.	T&D; Capellmeister Lichtenstein Capelle	•	•
Stirzenhofer, Thomas	Vln, Cl., Pno, Guitar instruction	T&D	•	•
Stohl, Georg	Cl.	KK TL		•
Trnka, Clemens	Cl.	St. Stephens		•
Troyer, Ferdinand Graf von	Cl.	GderM: Ausübende Mitglieder	•	•
Troyer, Franz Graf von	Cl.	GderM: Ausübende Mitglieder	•	
Uhlmann, Tobias	Cl.	T&D		•
Wablinger, Leopold	Cl.	KK TL		•
Weghuber, Johann	Cl.	T&D		•
Winter, Ignaz	Vln, Fl., Cl. instruction	T&D	•	•
Zenker, Franz	Clar.	GderM; Ausübende Mitglieder		•

Of the clarinet players listed in Table 5, court and theatre players, members of the Gesellschaft, teachers, students etc., twenty-six have no recorded performances known to the author.

In 1823 the Conservatoire of the Gesellschaft had four student places for each of the woodwinds and horn (Ziegler 1823, 120). Three of the four student clarinetists, Hirsch, Kröbsch and Franz Limmer are listed by Ziegler. The other may have been August Herzog (Weston 1977, 129), who performed Weber's Concertino in a Conservatoire concert in 1825 (*AmZ* XXVII, 26 October 1825: 724). These players would have been under the tutelage of Joseph Friedlowsky, who we may assume also taught his son Anton. It was for his four Conservatoire students that Friedlowsky composed his Adagio for Four Clarinets, for a Conservatoire examination on 30 August 1821 (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). For their performance in an examination concert in 1824, probably in a movement of the Krommer's Concerto for Two Clarinets, Op.35, Limmer and Kröbsch (Kröbsch) were amongst several 'young virtuosi' from the Conservatoire singled out for special praise in the *AmZ* (*AmZ* XXVI, 28 October 1824: 714). Limmer, who performed in the orchestra of the Gesellschaft private orchestral concerts (Ziegler 1823, 194) was still a student at the Conservatoire in 1827 when, on 21 August in another examination concert, he was particularly praised for a performance of a Rondo of his own composition (*AmZ* XXIX, 26 September 1827: 667). On 7 November 1828 Limmer performed in another Conservatoire concert at the Kärntnerthortheater in his own Polonaise and accompanied Mlle Jeckl in Mozart's 'Parto, parto' (*AmZ* XXXI, 14 January 1829: 30). It may have been Limmer who was the 'Vereinszögling' who performed a Polonaise (perhaps the same work) in a monthly Conservatoire concert on 27 May 1827 (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). It is interesting to note that a Kröbsch, perhaps the same student of the clarinet in 1824 who

had performed with Limmer, in this concert played the oboe with Petschacker in a Polonaise for two oboes by the court oboist Joseph Sellner. According to Weston, Limmer left the Conservatoire in 1828 and became Kapellmeister in Temesvár in Hungary (Weston 1977, 164).

Ziegler records that Anton Friedlowsky was, at nineteen years of age, a clarinetist with his father at the Theater an der Wien. Although he had performed in 1821 in his father's benefit concert (see above p.183), his appearance with the singer Marianna Kainz and Clement, the leader of the Theater an der Wien orchestra, in a concert in that theatre on 30 November 1825 seemed to initiate his solo career in Vienna. In a Potpourri by Baermann it was observed that: '[h]is tone is exquisitely beautiful, full of soul and song in Adagio, although he showed valuable skill in the execution of occasionally very taxing variations which present themselves from the outset...' (*WZKLTM* no.150, 15 December 1825: page unknown); see also *AmZ* XXVII, 21 December 1825: 848). Thenceforth Anton made more regular public appearances as soloist: on 5 January 1826 he performed in a Gesellschaft Abendunterhaltung playing Variations by Riotte (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel), perhaps the same work given by his father in 1818 (see above p.184); on 27 March 1826 he performed a Potpourri for clarinet, 'excellently' according to the *AmZ*, in a concert of the singer Gentile Borgondio in the kleinen Redoutensaal (*AmZ* XXVIII, 10 May 1826: 312; see also *WZKLTM* no.44, 13 April 1826: 352); on 6 May 1827 he performed in a Divertimento for clarinet in a concert of the violinist Joseph Panny in the Landständischen Saale (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel; *AmZ* XXIX, 27 June 1827: 453). This Divertimento was poorly received by the *WZKLTM* not on account of Anton Friedlowsky's playing, but the unidiomatic writing: the work 'made no impact, because the instrument is so ungratefully treated. The composition for the clarinet demands more knowledge of the construction [*Organismus*] of the instrument' (*WZKLTM* no.61, 22 May 1827: 500).

Weston reports a clarinetist called Dietrich (Weston 1977, 83), who appeared as a soloist when a 'young man' in 1821 in Pressburg where he worked in the theatre orchestra. This might be the same Sebastian Diedrich who by 1823 was living in the Josephstadt suburb of Vienna and working in the local theatre orchestra. In the 'Musikverein Wiener Neustadt' he gave performances in 1826 and 1827 in Gesellschaft Abendunterhaltungen: on 12 December 1826 he performed a clarinet concerto by Baermann and on 11 January 1827 he performed his own Potpourri, for clarinet and orchestra (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel).

Like Anton Friedlowsky, Johann Rüttinger had probably been taught the clarinet by his clarinetist father Christoph. Christoph had introduced Johann, seemingly as adept on the piano as on the clarinet, in his 1817 Akademie (see above p.186), and the two had performed in the spring of 1823, Christoph on the clarinet, Johann as pianist (*AmZöK* VII, 26 April 1823: 271). By 1823 Johann was

clarinetist at the Burgtheater (Ziegler 1823, 69) and on 9 April 1826 he gave a concert in the Saal des Musikvereins where he performed the first movement of a clarinet concerto by Baermann, a Polonaise for clarinet, and a Fantaisie and Variations on the piano by Frédéric Kalkbrenner (1785–1849) (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). The *AmZ* questioned whether Rüttinger was more mediocre as clarinetist or pianist and noted that the concert was given to ‘empty seats’ (*AmZ* XXVIII, 31 May 1826: 360). With no other extant review of this clarinetist’s performances it is impossible to judge whether this negative opinion was widely held. Johann performed a Polonaise by Kowalowsky on 11 January 1827 (A:Wgm Konzert). Weston reports a concert of his own 10 April 1825 and that he performed on both clarinet and piano for the Tonkünstler Societät in April 1826 (Weston 1977, 213). On 1 April 1827 he played in a concert of Friedrich Ritschmann performing a Fantaisie by Baermann (A:Wgm Konzert Zettel).

A one-time student of the Prague Conservatoire, Paur (see above p.123) may have been performing in the Kärntnerthortheater (Ziegler 1823, 80 lists a clarinetist named Bauer performing alongside Joseph Dobihal). He played a theme and variations of his own composition in a concert promoted by the guitarist Franz Stoll given in the Landständischen Saale on 6 February 1825 (*AmZ* XXVII, 23 March 1825: 191).

In the years from 1825 to 1827, Joseph Friedlowsky continued to perform with regularity. His performances in the Gesellschaft Abendunterhaltungen from 1825 might suggest that he had taken over from Troyer (whose last recorded performance was in 1823). Works in which he performed included Spohr’s Nonet, Op.31, Beethoven’s Septet, Op.20, a Reicha wind quintet and Weiss’s Nonet Concertant (all A:Wgm Konzert Zettel). On 28 January 1827, Friedlowsky performed in a Schuppanzigh subscription concert at the Gesellschaft hall in the Tuchlauben, performing Mozart’s Quintet, K.581. The *AmZ* reaffirmed his status, noting that very few performers could match ‘our Friedlowsky’s’ artistry (*AmZ* XXIX, 21 February 1827: 139). On 15 March 1827 Friedlowsky performed in an Abendunterhaltung in Variations by Baermann. This is his last documented performance in Vienna.

Beethoven died on 26 March 1827. Müller, returning to Vienna in the winter of that year, included in two concerts on 10 and 14 December, in memory of the composer, a clarinet version of Beethoven’s song *Adelaide*, Op.46. Announced as ‘the inventor of the newly-improved clarinet and alto-clarinet’ and in a programme that was clearly intended to display his multi-faceted virtuosity, Müller performed his own third and sixth clarinet concertos, his own Theme and Variations, Rossini’s ‘Una voce poco fà’ from *Barber of Seville* and Michele Carafa’s (1787–1872) ‘O cara memoria’. For the *AmZ* Müller’s reputation seemingly prohibited detailed discussion: ‘It would be

superfluous to seek to add anything by way of praise of a virtuoso who is recognised as such in almost every country of Europe...' (*AmZ* XXX, 13 February 1828: 107).

The *WZKLTM* found in Müller's playing many of the features described in Baermann's playing in 1821, although the contrasts in tessitura still appeared somewhat unusual, yet here within the bounds of good taste. The reviewer's decision to mention Müller's technical mastery of the keywork may well have been an endorsement of his achievements in instrument design (noted earlier in this review as well), or, as likely, it might suggest that the mechanism and the resulting easy modulation was deemed somewhat unusual. Müller, '...[in the] famous skill and boldness in the use of the high and low registers, in the handling of the keys, and once again pleased, especially, with his purity of tone and dexterity in modulations that are alien to the clarinet', and in *Adelaide* the required vocal quality was also demonstrated: 'Here Herr Müller showed that he can also carry this beautiful *cantabile* well' (*WZKLTM* no.4, 8 January 1828: 32). Müller appears to have remained in Vienna for only a short period, continuing on to Switzerland in the early part of 1828 (Weston 1971: 164).

Ferdinando Sebastiani (1800–60), the chamber clarinetist to the King of Naples, made his first European tour in 1828. In spite of the fact that he had been regarded in Paris as 'the first performer on this instrument in Europe' (Weston 2002, 152) his concert in Vienna on 11 December 1828 seemed to excite little interest: although the concert was under the direction of Schuppanzigh, the *AmZ* reported that the Kärntnertheater was 'virtually empty'. Sebastiani appears to have played a thirteen-key instrument, adopting the reed-above method of production (*ibid.*). The *AmZ* made no reference to this when it observed of his concert:

A brave artist, whose fullness, beauty and purity of tone is matched by great technical skill. His compositions, a Concerto and Variations on various themes of Rossini, without making a claim to be in the highest artistic worth, were melodious, effective and appropriate to the individuality of the instrument.

(*AmZ* XXXI, 4 February 1829: 74).

No other report of Sebastiani performing in Vienna is known.

Whilst the essence of Hanslick's 1869 account of Viennese clarinet performances is broadly accurate, in detail much is imprecise: he gives the first dates of Stadler's performance at a Tonkünstler Societät concert as 1789 (actually 1773), he describes the performance of the Berlin clarinetist Joseph Beer in 1798 (probably the Viennese player Bähr), he calls the instrument used by Müller in his 1810 concert a bass clarinet (actually the prototype of his thirteen-key instrument) and he mentions an appearance by Sebastiani in 1820 (actually 1828). His focus on visiting artists is

not surprising, given that outsiders were routinely allotted most review space in the sources from which he drew his information. Müller, central to Hanslick's account, resided in Vienna only for one year between 1809 and 1810 and returned briefly in late 1827. Baermann's six-month residence in 1813 produced only three public concerts, and he returned for two poorly attended concerts in February and March 1821, travelling to Munich in the interim (Weston 1971, 139). Hermstedt performed in Vienna during the Congress of Vienna, giving five concerts, whilst the Bender brothers' fleeting visit to the city in 1820 saw two concerts within a week. The impact of these visitors upon Viennese clarinet playing is easily overplayed, although their qualities described in the Viennese press served to illuminate the strengths and weaknesses of Viennese performers.

From the review of Bähr in 1805, delicacy and timbral beauty were clearly the attributes that most appealed to the critics, facets endorsed by the characteristics of extant early Viennese clarinets. Bähr exemplified these qualities, the technique in the service of the refined expressive aspect. After Bähr Friedlowsky began to set the standard, with reviews citing his local fame, and matchless tonal beauty. Although the visits of foreign virtuosi may well have brought out partisan tendencies in the local reviewers, overt virtuosity did not appear to strike a chord with the Viennese: given the technical complexity of many of the works whose performances were reviewed little attention is devoted to technical display. Müller and Baermann therefore came in for quite explicit negative criticism, with only Hermstedt escaping censure. Whilst Schleicher's playing had proved problematic for other European correspondents, the gentility of the performer's style, scorned elsewhere, seemed to be entirely in keeping with those values that the Viennese most prized: beauty of tone, a special *pianissimo* and lyrical *Gesang*. Contemporary theoretical and pedagogical texts across Europe lauded the ability of the clarinet to imitate the human voice, and for its song-like qualities the clarinet appeared to offer an effective equal: of the documentary accounts of clarinet performances in Vienna in the period to 1827, a significant proportion of these are of clarinet obbligati to vocal arias. Those characteristics of the clarinet writing discernible through the study of the repertory in the first chapters, the often lyrical thematic material, the refined if sometimes rather cautious treatment of the clarinet, are affirmed by critical reports of the era as the most highly valued qualities.

Introduction to Part II

The purpose of this Part is to develop a multivalent and non-prescriptive strategy for the performance of the Classical chamber repertory under examination in this study, a strategy that has the expressive aspect of that repertory at its heart. It is not the intention to provide a detailed examination of the meaning of notation and of how to execute the detail of the text, for there is a good deal of that elsewhere, not least in Brown's impressive recent performance practice study (1999) for music written between 1750 and 1900. The intention in the following chapters is to explore the expressive potential which may reside in and beyond the text, what has been called 'the spirit of the music' (after Rink 1999), and how the performer may educe performance decisions that will bring this expressive spirit to fruition in a convincing and articulate performance. In that the intention is to develop a *modus operandi* that neither privileges analytical or theoretical thought over the fantasy of the performer (after Johnson 1997), nor replaces instinct with reason, but recognizes the potential symbiosis between the two, the relationship between historically informed performance and current and recent musicology provides a starting point. Throughout there is a tacit acceptance that certain aspects of historical musical languages are lost with the passage of time, and that the goal of modern performers is to establish the most effective means by which they can converse freely in the language of that time in our own age (after Lawson and Stowell 1999).

Chapter 5: Towards a Strategy for the Performance of the Repertory

In 1999, in a seemingly thorough survey of current musicology, no space could be found for a discussion of historically informed performance (HIP) in that 'it proved impossible to find an author who could feel that there was something useful that could be said beyond a summary of conclusions of arguments current in the 1980s' (Cook and Everist 1999, 12 n5). Butt's 2002 study subsequently made a useful contribution to these often torrid debates, revisiting and developing many of the issues associated with the performance of early music, from Hindemith's and Adorno's divergent attitudes to the restoration of past performance practices expressed in the 1950s to more recent writings in the sphere of critical musicology (for example, Dreyfus 1983; Morgan 1988; Taruskin 1995) and analytical philosophy (for example, Kivy 1995; Scruton 1997). Butt's most potent contribution is his argument that the current interest in HIP embodies what is part of the living culture of restoration and heritage, described as a manifestation of the post-modern condition (Butt 2002, 164). Butt's work professedly concerns itself with the philosophies and ideologies of HIP and not how to 'do' historical performance (*ibid.*, xi), although elsewhere he has written that his primary interest as a practitioner is 'not so much what the first performers 'did', nor what should be 'done to' the work, but to try to recover and experience something of the creative process behind the music' (Butt 1997, 175). The intention that every performer of the repertory wishes to converse freely in the musical language of the Classical period in the current age by understanding the creative aspect of that music underpins the strategy that will be developed in this chapter.

Notwithstanding the recurrent aesthetic issues raised by contemporary writers on the clarinet and clarinet performance discussed in the previous chapter, the equipment of historical performance is not central to this performance strategy. Although old instruments may usefully alert the performer to historical difference, their strengths and limitations influencing the composer to write in a certain way (Butt 1997, 177 and 2002, 65), even for significant figures of the Early Music movement they are not a prerequisite for articulate performance. For Norrington, '[w]hen a modern orchestra is playing superbly, with control over vibrato, with an awareness of phrasing, and beautifully together, I must admit that I do sometimes wonder why I bother with old instruments, because the effect is so good. But in the end I don't think that early music is about instruments; it's about the music' (in Sherman 1997, 358). Taruskin, the force of whose arguments for many effectively closed the debates surrounding HIP, found in the 1980s that positivist performance practice scholarship was more concerned with how music was performed than how music is to be performed. As performers of early music are liberated from the overbearing responsibility to empirical evidence and a mythical *Werktreue*, they become more historical, and truer to the expressive conditions of the past (Taruskin 1988, 201). The Early Music movement, in Taruskin's view, was transparently

modernist, 'more concerned with taste than truth' (Taruskin 1995, 4). Butt therefore states that today '... in the light of the very proper criticism of literalism and objectivist performance, many performers may well be developing a more critical attitude towards historical evidence, even deciding to use historical evidence selectively' (Butt 2002, 41).

What then is HIP if it is neither necessarily concerned with 'period' instruments nor even the application of historical evidence? If there was a tidy polarisation between the opposing forces of Early Music and the mainstream in the 1980s, the cross-fertilisation of practice and the extension of the domain of Early Music through different historical epochs left a crisis of identity in the 1990s: Dulak noted in 1995 that, paradoxically, '[n]ever has historical performance been stronger than today, and never has it been harder to say exactly what it is' (Dulak 1995, 25). The loss of identity was not unique to HIP, however, for it has been written that '[t]he history of musicology and music theory in our generation is one of loss of confidence; we no longer know what we know' (Cook and Everist 1999, v). Positivist attitudes were challenged by musicological enquiry that was *multivalent* (that is having many values, meanings or appeals; a term raised by Powers in 1984, see *ibid.*, ix), and analysis and theory that rejected interpretative closure. A score of a musical work was deemed to answer to more than one interpretation of it (see Krausz 1993), with works massively underdetermining their performances (Godlovitch 1998, 3). If the score itself is multivalent, then logically so too will be any musicological interpretation of it (Whittall 1999, 99). With the increase in the subdisciplines of musicology in the late twentieth century, intramusicological enquiry became possible, necessary even, to offer a balanced perspective. But the desire to be inclusive runs the risk of incoherence, particularly when 'it is confused with that lingering coercive desire to say the last, definitive word on what matters about a composition: a desire every interpretative musicologist must acknowledge – and resist' (*ibid.*, 100). Notwithstanding the increasing notational detail in Classical music (Rosenblum 1988, 16ff.), contemporary theoretical and pedagogical texts show the score to include both patent and latent stimuli for innumerable performance actions. Score details may then be profitably regarded 'not just as textual features, as attributes of the musical object, but as prompts to the enaction of social relationships in the real time of performance' (Cook 2001, para. 30). So Lester could observe that '[w]hatever difficulties obtain in defining a 'piece of music'...musical scores are not so much the piece itself as a map of the piece or a recipe for producing it' (Lester 1995, 199). The multivalence of the score necessitates a performance strategy that is non-prescriptive, recognising the symbolical and static nature of that 'map', for '[t]he analyses most likely to help performers may be those that project a quality of transparency to the work by acting not as ends in themselves but as means to an end, and in which attention to the musical surface precludes neither deeper levels of structure nor those associative meanings that transcend a merely formalistic aesthetic' (Kindermann 1991, 598).

Although preceded by writings of authors including Meyer (1956), Cone (1968), Schmalfeldt (1985), Narmour (1988) and Dunsby (1989), Berry's *Musical Structure and Performance* (1989) marked the emergence of what is now regarded as modern performance, or performers' analysis (Cook 1999, 239). For Berry a successful performance might be heard as an explication of a good analysis, whilst a poor performance might be recognised for its inability to accord with essential attributes revealed through score study (for example, see Narmour 1988, 334–5, who uses an analysis to judge the success of recorded performances of a section of Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier*). Thus, 'although the interpreter's impulsive response to the score can fortuitously hit on convincing approaches through a developed (if often unreasoned) sense of appropriateness, the purely intuitive is unlikely to afford a necessary grasp of – or place in – the comprehended whole' (Berry 1989, 217–18). Rink, in his influential 1990 review of Berry's work, deduced that the rationale for this analysis-for-, and analysis-into-performance mode was driven more by considerations of the intellect than by musicianship, and that seemingly reasoned analytical strategies derived for performers might lead to crude and incoherent performances: 'Attempting to recast the findings of analysis into a performance mould seems to me not unlike translating a book into another language word-for-word, without regard to the second language's particular idioms, inflections, grammar and syntax...Capturing the meaning or 'spirit' of the original – surely the most important goal of any translation – would be virtually impossible in such an undertaking' (Rink 1990, 320). More recently Rink has observed the 'invidious effect' when the results of rigorous analysis, which ignores the temporality of music, are 'directly harnessed' to performance (Rink 2002, 36). Berry attempted to incorporate performance within the existing framework of theory: whilst recognising the importance of analysis as a potent stimulus for the performer he could seem to find no reciprocity between analysis and performance (Cook 1999, 239), a problem stemming from the text-based orientation of musicology that finds it difficult to accept that performance mediates between art as process and product (see Cook 2001).

In the 1990s a performer-orientated analysis developed, elevating the practitioner at least to the level of the music analyst. A true symbiosis was the goal, grounded in the belief that if the criteria for the musicality of a given performance were applied to analysis, then this might elicit more musical analytical observations (Rink 1990, 322). This presented an immense challenge to musicology, and in particular structuralist music theory, a theory less committed to understanding performers than to understanding composers. As Howells suggested, a synergy between performance and analysis was best achieved by developing more open-ended analytical methods: '[t]he role of analysis' he wrote, 'is one of raising possibilities rather than providing solutions' (Howells 1992, 709). Like a performance, an analysis might best be regarded as a single rather than the definitive reading of the score. If works are read as composites of innumerable valid

interpretations, analysis shifts from finding a work's structures to defining multiple strategies for the work's interpretation. Performers may then engage in analytical discourse as artistic and intellectual equals (Lester 1995, 214). Analyses deemed by the performer to be pertinent and stimulating, denying the hegemony of score-based analysis over performance are those most likely to revivify the awkward relationship between this branch of scholarship and art. And revealing the creative impulse of the repertory of previous epochs through performer analysis becomes a powerful intellectual driving force for those practitioners who seek reconnection with the expressive language of a previous age. As Rink notes:

The performer's use of analysis to reveal the 'spirit' of music not only re-validates the close study of music scores in this post-structuralist era; it also broadens our understanding of what 'historical performance' might properly involve, at the same time providing a salutary reminder that not all critical interpretations elucidate music as sound. Only the performer has control over the sounding aspect of music, and critical, historical, or analytical judgements may bear little or no relation to music's process. That does not deny their value; but it serves to highlight the special powers that performance has to communicate musical meaning, to embody the narrative that recounts an emotional destiny almost beyond human comprehension.

(Rink 1999, 238)

Performance of Classical music in its own time concerned the revelation of this 'spirit' in what was an essentially listener-orientated art. Drawing attention to the audible audience reaction to the surprise features at the première of Mozart's 'Paris' Symphony, K.297 Harmoncourt noted that 'earlier composers could expect an attentive and informed audience, which noticed each new idea, each effect in instrumentation, each unusual harmonic or melodic feature' (Harmoncourt 1988, 197–8; see also Lawson 2002, 3). The potency of these surprises, described by Mozart in his letter to his father of 3 July 1778 (Anderson 1985, 558), involved a complex amalgam of the expected and unexpected and a skilful manipulation of a particular audience in a particular location at a particular time. That Mozart's report made no mention of how the surprise effect was demonstrated through performance does not suggest that the autonomous production of the notated score was sufficient to convey the extraordinary (that is non-conventional) traits of that music. If, as Weber suggests, late eighteenth-century audiences may not have been absorbed at all moments in the music, their mode of listening conditioned by the social practice of concert-going, then there may have been greater reason for the clearest explication of textual features in performance (Weber 1997, 681 and 690). What we would today consider to be unacceptable distractions resulted from the audience's more direct involvement, perhaps also suggesting a closer association with the ephemeral surface of the music than its longer-range processes (*ibid.*, 680). Mozart's description to his father of the closing of the first act of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, K.384 suggests that this music was written with a

particular audience reaction in mind, but that the full effect was conditional upon a performance sympathetic to the potential (that is unrealised) effect latent in his score. He wrote that:

...the major key begins at once pianissimo – it must go very quickly – and wind up with a great deal of noise, which is always appropriate at the end of an act. The more noise the better, and the shorter the better, so that the audience may not have time to cool down with their applause.

(Anderson 1985, 770: Mozart to his father, 26 September 1781)

Mozart's imagined audience response, the excited applause drowning out the closing of the first act, was reliant upon the performance of that music, simply described as quick, short and noisy.

How the effect of Mozart's finale is appreciated today is dependent both on performance and the nature of the hearing experience. Whilst Westrup advocated historical listening (Westrup 1955, 152), Dart felt 'it is impossible for anyone living today to hear music with the ears of those who first heard it...' (Dart 1954, 167–8). The idea of 'authentic' reception has been thought to fall outside of the domain of the performer, it being assumed that 'authentic' listening will come as a consequence of 'authentic' performance (Sharpe 1991, 164). But the debate as to whether we necessarily hear music historically, or are able to hear ahistorically, divorcing ourselves from the burden of contextual historical knowledge is more complex than this, yet vital to the *raison d'être* of HIP. Kivy has explored two aspects of hearing relevant to HIP: 'sonic' authenticity, the theoretically replicable physical sound of old music, and 'sensible' authenticity, that which was consciously heard by past audiences (Kivy 1995, 50). For Kivy, in order to perceive a musical property of a work the listener must be situated in a particular place in the history of style and genre (*ibid.*, 54): 'historical' listening, that is listening in the light of complex historical and social contexts revealed through historical musicology, allows the recognition of the effects of music (*ibid.*, 71), although paradoxically '... most of the music that historical musicology has given us to hear, and taught us to hear with sonic authenticity, is just that music that was heard by its first audiences ahistorically...the same revolution that has given us sonic authenticity has given us also sensible or intentional inauthenticity in the form of historical listening' (*ibid.*, 72). Notwithstanding the fact that as modern listeners we necessarily encounter music of the past from our own historically derived aesthetic experience, for Burstyn the construction of 'hypothetical musical-mental models' facilitates a better comprehension of the auditory experience of previous listeners (Burstyn 1997, 697). Here historically situated analytical processing by the listener clearly played a part. Although recapturing the sensibilities of a member of Mozart's Paris audience in 1778 is clearly unattainable, '[i]f we accept that the intelligibility of music to a listener hinges on the culturally dependent mental habits and interpretive skills with which he/she processes and decodes – that is, makes sense, that is *analyses* – the musical stimuli, then this important factor cannot be

eliminated from any analyses seeking to elucidate the act of listening' (*ibid.*). Thus '... analysing musical works in their historical context, specifically with the conceptual and perceptual tools available to its contemporaries and to the conscious exclusion of later, anachronistic ones, can yield important information' (*ibid.*). To that end it would seem that *a priori* analysis by the performer might best be grounded in the aesthetic and expressive attributes of the time in which the music was conceived, performed and heard.

The pioneering aspect of Ratner's *Classic Music: Expression, Form and Style* (1980) was the way that it approached music of the Classical period not through techniques of musical construction but through the musical ideas which contributed to its expressive import. Grounded in writings of the period, Ratner proposed a late eighteenth-century deployment of generic *topoi* based upon a 'thesaurus of characteristic figures' derived from long-held associations of music with 'worship, poetry, drama, entertainment, dance, ceremony, the military, the hunt, and the life of the lower classes'. Ratner defines the *topos* by *type*, that is complete recurring 'worked-out pieces' with salient characteristics, or *style*, that is musical figures and progressions (Ratner 1980, 9). That music of the Classical period used recurring figures for the purpose of expression now goes unchallenged, for '[n]o one doubts any more the fact that composers frequently deploy conventionally recognizable patterns, styles, or musical types in an effort to reach their audiences' (Agawu 1999, 156). By accepting *expressivity*, founded upon rhetorical principles, as a primary motivator of Classical musical praxis, and acknowledging the essential relationship between the Classical composer and his audience, Ratner's approach to this music would seem to have offered a challenging stimulus to performers, not least to those in the 1980s who were pursuing their 'authentic' agendas. The expressive aspect was historically situated, for '[w]hen we hear dance and march rhythms today, independently or in a larger work, we respond to their general manner, their pace, their rhythm, their sense of movement. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, people read these motions also as indications of dignity and social status' (Ratner 1983, 62). Even if authentic sound objects could be faithfully replicated, modern listener competence remains problematic: we might hear the signifier of topic, but have to relearn the connection with the signified. The establishment of a taxonomy of conventional Classical topical signifiers is an essential starting point both for the modern performer and listener. Ratner implies a topical hierarchy of sorts, proceeding as he does from the more elusive 'codes of feeling' (emotive aspects of expression defined by tempo, intervals and figures to symbolize *affect*), to stylized attitudes to expression (church, chamber, theatre music and high, middle, low styles), to immediately recognizable topics (*types* and *styles*) and the most immediate, the 'frankly pictorial' (the imitation of birdsong, as in Beethoven's 'Pastoral' Symphony, for example) (Ratner 1980, 3–27).

In his chapter on performance issues (*ibid.*, 181–202) Ratner notes that Classical notation gives ‘clear indications of expressive stances through specific signs for key, meter, melodic shape, and texture’ (presumably through score study) although ‘the finishing touches which put the polish on expression by means of nuances are largely lacking in the notation of classic music’ (*ibid.*, 181). Here Ratner describes a role for the performance of Classical music that appears only to provide a veneer to that expression already embodied in the musical text, a fact particularly surprising given that many of the historical sources for his study were directed towards practitioners. Unwittingly perhaps Ratner underplayed the challenge that topical theory presented modern performers of Classical repertory. But by 1991, and in a series of articles in *Early Music* celebrating the Mozart anniversary, Ratner appeared to be finding a far more substantial (or at least a more substantially described) role for the performer. Examining topics in the Mozart keyboard sonatas he noted:

The relevance of the topical component in Classic musical rhetoric has several aspects. For the composer, it is part of the stock-in-trade, material to be identified and selected. For the listener and scholar, topical content presents a kind of informal iconography – figures that have a direct or symbolic meaning. For the performer, the recognition and projection of topical content is of the greatest importance. An awareness of referential implications can have a profound influence upon decisions for performance. Figures and motives would be sharply profiled and subtly nuanced. They would be set against each other in relief by the performer’s control of dynamics, tempo, articulation and emphasis to mark critical notes and figures for special attention. The result is an articulate performance.

(Ratner 1991, 616)

Topics are connotative references within an ongoing rhetorical discourse, adding coherence and design to the conventional patterns of Classical harmony. Ratner acknowledges Mozart as the greatest exponent of this synthesis of style and type, but suggests that ‘[t]his aspect of his style calls for fuller treatment than it has hitherto received in performance practice studies and in performance itself’ (*ibid.*, 619).

Topic theory was taken up by Allanbrook in *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (1983). The premise behind Allanbrook’s thesis was that Mozart utilised the vocabulary of topics which ‘when captured and categorized, provides a tool for analysis which can mediate between the operas and our individual responses to them, supplying independent information about the expressive content of the arias and ensembles’ (Allanbrook 1983, 2). By referring to the exposition of the first movement of Mozart’s Piano Sonata in F major, K.332 Allanbrook proposed that the interplay of the musical motivic material, whilst presenting no narrative plot as such, would have appealed directly to the experience of the listener (*ibid.*, 8). Of vital importance was the clarity of the relationships between contrasting materials, effecting a

chain-of-event listening experience. For this to be effective ‘the nature of the topical materials in question [need to] be clearly defined, and their relations to one another sharply and dramatically demarcated: for the listener to embrace the fact of the contrast, identification of the members involved in it must be swift and near-automatic’ (*ibid.*, 18).

For the delineation of topics Allanbrook promotes the primacy of rhythm, finding the rhythmic gesture at the base of the Mozartian vocabulary, particular with regards to his operas. The conventional rhythms and meters of social dancing facilitated powerful dramatic characterisation, when ‘...accentuation, style of execution, and tempo taken together prescribe types of movement ranging from the most stately to the most spirited’ (*ibid.*, 68). The proposition of metrical hierarchies is supported by contemporary theoretical writings. Ratner, for example, cites Kirnberger (*Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 1771–9), who noted the importance of measure and meter for different expressive values, from the most serious and pathetic 4/2 (appropriate for church music) to the liveliness of 3/8 (Ratner 1980, 68). Allanbrook depicts a conventional matrix of meter and associational/expressive values as follows:

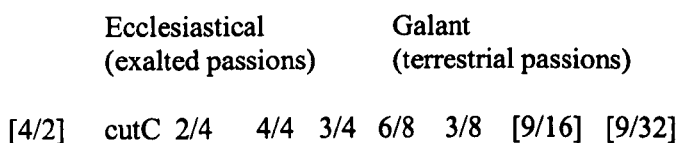


Fig.5.1 Spectrum of meters (from Allanbrook 1983, 22)

For Allanbrook, the rare deployment of the meters 3/2, 4/16 and 4/8, which would otherwise confuse the duple-versus-triple, ecclesiastical/large note value-versus-galant/small note value dialectic, supports the hypothesis that meter helped to define an expressive domain. She notes that ‘[t]owards the middle of the spectrum [in Fig 5.1] usage grows more ambiguous, and one term may partake of the gestures of both extremes upon occasion’ (Allanbrook 1983, 22). In order for composers to be able to choose a time signature that would give ample scope for inclusion of extreme gestures, a more neutral one would typically be chosen. Ratner calls these ‘common denominator’ time signatures (Ratner 1980, 69). Such time signatures (typically 3/4 or 4/4) did not deny the possibility of incorporating other time signatures either hyper- or micro-metrically. Although Allanbrook does not dwell in her study on the role of the performer, clearly a performance should play a major part in the explication of the topical interplay and oppositions, ‘the proper articulations of the rhythmic gestures in Mozart’s music’ making the difference between ‘lifelessness and liveliness in performance’ (Allanbrook 1983, 29–30).

Allanbrook was prompted to make a more detailed examination of K.332 and the Piano Sonata in B flat major, K.333 in 1992, in a compendium of essays in honour of Ratner. Here Allanbrook used the opportunity to celebrate Ratner's achievement:

Until recently no very useful analytic categories have been developed for [Classical] music beyond the purely formal – key and motivic relationships, harmonic rhythms, and the other hard data of 'tonal architecture'. A sense of the interaction of form with expression has been almost entirely absent.

(Allanbrook 1992, 129).

Given the importance of the surface level interplay of conventional musical styles and figures it is little wonder that Allanbrook gave Schenkerian analytical procedures short shrift, 'where the details of the surface are peeled away to reveal a subterranean universal that has no reference to specific musical character or gesture' (*ibid.*). In the first movement of K.332 she notes that '[i]n this pellmell succession of topical representations the gestures are clear and distinct; one needs only a fragment of each to recognize it' (*ibid.*, 131). Allanbrook also notes the importance of the performer, even if she gives little detail as to how an articulate approach can be effected:

The performer too must be aware of the progress of these gestures, as few performers are today, and must articulate each one with its proper qualities – lyric legato for the singing style, for example, or strict rhythmic authority, *allegro pomposo*, for the contrapuntal – taking care not to smooth them over into an indistinguishable wash of "melody". If one does not attend to the discreteness of the gestures, the movement [K.332, I] becomes tonal and thematic chaos; its unity lies in variety, in the mutations into various kinds.

(*ibid.*, 136)

The goal of Agawu's *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (1991) was to establish a semiotic theory which drew attention to the music's 'structural' and 'expressive' attributes. The basic premise of Ratnerian topic theory is endorsed, with Agawu reaffirming the listener-orientated nature of Classical music, and that effective communication between composer and audience was based upon shared expectations. Agawu's thesaurus locates all topics within a 'Universe of Topic', a potentially limitless resource (Agawu 1991, 30). Although a succession of surface topics can provide their own sense of movement, described as a 'structural rhythm' (*ibid.*, 130), for Agawu ultimately topics are dependent signs, with no syntactical foundation whether presented alone or in succession: whilst they may give indications as to what is being discussed they are contingent upon their placement within what Agawu describes as the supreme source of hierarchy, that is the tonal-harmonic structure (*ibid.*, 19–20 and 50). Topical analysis is therefore intuitively, but not descriptively adequate (*ibid.*, 19 and 23, after Jakobsen 1971). Agawu's theory revolves around a region of play between introversive semiosis (intramusical reference) and extroversive semiosis (extramusical referential connection), where surface and structure interact

(*ibid.*, 25). The music's expressive import is due to the interaction of two interdependent planes, the plane of succession (melody) and the plane of simultaneity (harmony) (Agawu 1999, 143). Conventionally topics are used to reinforce the structures of Classical movements and their beginnings, middles and endings. Topics have the potential to reinforce the profile of the harmonic argument, but, as Agawu has suggested, at times, perhaps when the harmonic impetus is stalled, topics alone may be the focus of attention and carry the dynamic sense of the music, serving as 'a gentle reminder that surface and subsurface elements are locked in a genuine dialectic' (*ibid.*, 99). The intersection of the two planes provides grammar to the expressive process. Although acknowledging the usefulness of describing elements of the musical discourse in topical terms alone, Agawu finds that these may be at 'a very primitive level of reference – reference without consequence' (Agawu 1991, 38).

It is little surprise that Allanbrook should feel that '... one finishes the book still left with the sense that formal process and expressive content run on separate though parallel tracks' (Allanbrook 1992, 130), a view shared by Powers who found that '...to my way of thinking, the specificity of the topics and the generality of the reductions are too far apart – they are chalk and cheese, they don't 'play' nicely' (Powers 1995, 31). More concerning perhaps is the absence of the performer in Agawu's theory: although based on a composer-listener dialectic it would seem that the performer's role, the whole interpretative process even, has been emasculated, with the performance deemed to be transparent. If, as Agawu suggests, '[i]n order to hear Classic music in a rewarding way, then, one needs to apprehend the continuing dialectic between a referential surface loaded with signification and the inevitable contrapuntal background without which that surface cannot exist.' (Agawu 1991, 79), surely in order to *perform* Classic music one needs to *articulate* the continuing dialectic between a referential surface loaded with signification and the inevitable contrapuntal background without which that surface cannot exist.

Like Agawu's study Hatten's *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (1994) was concerned with 'how music has meaning and not merely what the meaning is' (Hatten 1994, 1). The study, which drew together semiotics, music theory and music history, constructs an interpretative mode for the late works of Beethoven. The model of meaning is based upon the semiotic studies of Peirce and Shapiro with the principal music-historical contribution being taken from Ratner. Hatten draws upon the linguistic theory of marking which proposes that when oppositional distinctions are made (for example, right/left), one side of that opposition is more thoroughly assessed, the other perceived more in the abstract. One is marked, the other unmarked (*ibid.*, 63–4). Hatten then examines the impact of the referential aspects of topics, of expressive genres (he focuses particularly on the 'pastoral' in Beethoven's Piano Sonata in A

major, Op.101), and explores the expressive potential of oppositions of styles and topics (*ibid.*, 67ff.). He notes that '[m]apping the structural oppositions that articulate a fundamental topical universe in Beethoven's music offers a theoretical refinement of Leonard Ratner's accounts of topics and styles as documented by historical sources' (*ibid.*, 67). At the basis of his theory is the idea of 'troping': a trope occurring where one expressive sign may modify or transform the perception of a second. (Hatten describes the trope as a metaphor, derived from established correlations that are brought together in a single functional location or process, where their contradiction provokes an emergent interpretation (*ibid.*, 172).) Troping provides a trajectory for a movement and the interaction and movement of ideas.

Hatten observes that the terminology in contemporary Classical writings was neither systematic nor critical and that '...one justification for a structural analysis of important oppositions [is that] they reveal patterns that may not have been observed or commented on by theorists or practitioners of the time, but that influenced musical practice nonetheless' (*ibid.*, 75). Hatten also notes that the most starkly opposed musical materials (marked versus unmarked) might have been those which dealt with the broader stylistic divisions (high versus low style; ancient versus modern; comic versus tragic). But more subtle strategic or structural oppositions can offer a more inflected expressive meaning. Whilst a hierarchical 'high versus low' style opposition is likely to attract a clear expressive interpretation, other lower level oppositions are possible: 'when a [topical] label or term seems unsatisfactory...it may be that the entity is unmarked and thus systematically less articulated in its expressive correlation. Other oppositions articulate the unmarked entity, but only by further dividing its field of meaning into asymmetrical parts' (*ibid.*, 90). Although Hatten's study is primarily score-based, the central tenet of markedness theory, meaning through opposition, and the modification of meaning through troping offer tantalising potentialities for the performer in the reading and articulation of the topical content latent in a score.

The role of the performer was central to Martin's critique of the 'topics idea', which he argued was not helpful in explaining what he describes as 'the orthodox philosophical problem of expression', and 'what it means for a piece of music to express, or be expressive of, some human emotion such as joy or sorrow' (Martin 1995, 418). For Martin, although topics may have been in the armoury of Classical composers' compositional resources, they are '...neither sufficient nor necessary for the expression of the emotions, and their possible association with the emotional coloring of certain social settings does not imply anything like the "painting of the passions"' (*ibid.*, 420). He suggests that the importance of topics is that they gave a feeling of connection with the world and of abstract music's connection with the practical experiences of life. By addressing not the orthodox question, but what is meant by expressive playing, he notes that an expressive performer is responsive to all

of the raw materials in the score, including referential topics, which are latent with expressive potential. Composers then manipulate pre-compositional material, relying on the sensitivities of performers and listeners. A composer's work is, of course, more than the sum of these expressive building blocks, and the performer 'responds to those materials in the context of the work' (*ibid.*, 422). Based then upon an assumed knowledge of the building blocks themselves and contexts for their deployment, '[t]he performer seeks a kind of collaborative relationship with the composer in grasping and projecting to the audience the intentions of the composer, including the composer's use of pre-existing materials' (*ibid.*, 423). That collaboration is historically situated but topics offer immediate entry into the expressive domain of Classical music. Here Martin accords with Agawu, who notes that 'the primary epistemological appeal of a topical analysis is to a contemporary eighteenth-century view. Both that view and a twentieth-century one are ultimately united in a listener-orientated dialectic, and it is the strength of this analytical model that it provides a framework for integrating into a twentieth-century listener's response to classic music aspects of that music that originate from the eighteenth century' (Agawu 1991, 49). This mode of analysis does not facilitate the performer or listener escaping a modern context, but allows a heightened awareness of Classical expressivity through the comparison of 'then' and 'now'. As Powers has noted: '...the common-language approach of the topical-analysis critics permits a separation between the present sensibility and the general sensibilities of the late eighteenth century, allowing for an ever-evolving dialogue between the vanished past and the evanescent present' (Powers 1995, 43).

The development of eighteenth-century Classical instrumental music, as a musical discourse which had expressive meaning in which the listener played an important part in the conveyance of this 'wordless rhetoric', towards a nineteenth-century model, where rhetoric gave way to the principle of the work as an organic entity, was the subject of Evan Bonds' 1991 study. For Evan Bonds (after Koch 1802) rhetoric was related to movement-form length, the instrumental work being a wordless oration 'viewed not so much as a harmonic plan or thematic plan but as an ordered succession of thoughts', arranged in the interests of intelligibility into a limited number of conventional patterns. Rhetoric was then a place between musical grammar and aesthetic experience, where the 'effective expression of ideas and the concomitant arousal of sentiments both rest upon the ability of the orator or composer to articulate the constituent elements of their respective arguments' (Evan Bonds 1991, 72). He argues the paradox of Classical form, in that 'a satisfactory theory of structural conventions like sonata form must be able to account for both intrinsic (unique) and extrinsic (conventional) procedures using a consistent set of parameters' (*ibid.*, 29). The metaphor of rhetoric mediated between the intrinsic and extrinsic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. He notes that for Ratner Classical musical form was 'generative' (that is expanding small ideas into a

unique whole) rather than ‘conformational’ (that is defined by an stereotype, measuring the difference amongst the products of growth) (see Ratner 1956). Ratner acknowledged, however, the possibility of ‘countless options within a few working schemes, the schemes themselves arising from the idiomatic rhetoric of classic music’ (Ratner 1980, 208). The chief structural plan was the extended two-part reprise form, known today as sonata form, whose underlying action was explained by contemporary theorists as being harmonic rather than melodic (*ibid.*, 217). Although melodic contrast was a crucial aspect of Classical rhetoric, this occurred at short range (mostly through rapid changes of topic), and at long range with the contrasting themes of, say, tonic and dominant key areas of the exposition (*ibid.*, 218–19). Evan Bonds implies that surface elements, melody for example, being a more elusive phenomenon than harmony, received less contemporary discussion as it was harder to describe in words. That treatises concerned themselves with the harmonic plan did not necessarily mean that form was perceived harmonically, or that we should view form primarily in those terms today (Evan Bonds 1991, 46–9). But the evidence of an overarching harmonic plan, what Ratner describes as a genetic code, is compelling. Ratner’s I – V (III), X – I framework describes the essentially dynamic aspect of the form, whereas the three-part division of form based upon thematic content (exposition, development, recapitulation) is static (Ratner 1980, 220) (see Fig.5.2).

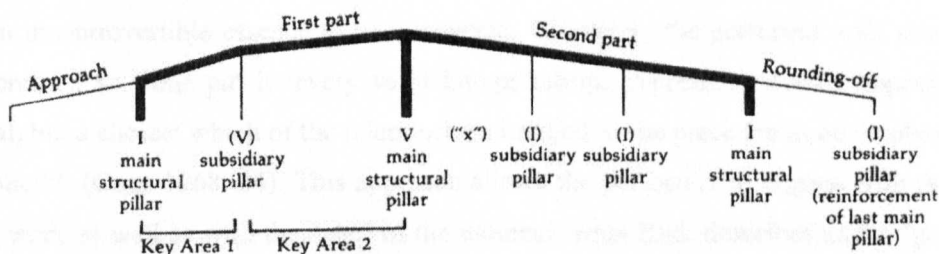


Fig.5.2 Ratner’s Sonata Form bridge (from Ratner 1983, 93)

Whether the conventions are topical or structural a piece of Classical music was heard and judged as a variant of the archetypical. In spite of the appeal of reading scores in terms of a *quasi* rhetorical discourse, for most modern performers this approach might appear speculative (see, for example, Beghin 1997), for rhetorical terminology has proved to be elusive, particularly with regard to topics. Sisman has asked: ‘Is a topic, or *topos*, part of rhetorical invention (*inventio*), which seeks commonplaces as subject matter, or part of arrangement (*dispositio*), which orders the arguments into a coherent whole? Or is it part of style (*elocutio*), which chooses appropriate figurative language to clothe the subject, or part of the performance or delivery (*pronuntiatio*) in which the gesture and tone convey meaning and carry persuasive power? In fact the array of topics of the later eighteenth century participates in all of these areas’ (Sisman 1993, 69). Sisman points out that a

topical analysis needs to move from the recognition of topics as subjects through their stylistic and developmental dispositions, to the articulation of topics as part of the execution and performance of the work.

By examining a piece of Classical music, for the synchronicity and asynchronicity, the contiguity or non-contiguity of salient structural and topical features, two essentially intuitive analytical processes are brought together. What they reveal is another, albeit higher level, but still intuitive reading. From the perspective of the analytical theoretician neither surface-level nor descriptive structural analysis may be satisfactory alone, the limitations of each being that they both entail 'a crossing of conceptual categories, the justification for which [rests] on an intuitively felt factor of significance', requiring 'corroboration through more systematic analyses of individual dimensional processes' (Agawu 1991, 86). A norm-referenced structural analysis and referential topical analysis may well have a more immediate performer appeal, although for the theoretician the intuitive level is the stumbling block, in that the analytic position needs to be substantiated, other theoretical positions refuted and the primacy of the theory excluding other possible theories. In a process that combines and compares structural and topical analyses, any part of the findings may provide a useful stimulus for the performer. Any stage in that process may be a stopping-off point for the performer, and there is no sense that the analysis is closed off by a higher level of activity or that there is an incontrovertible essence to be uncovered. Ultimately the performer can, at every level, exert discretion: as Cone put it 'every valid interpretation...represents, not an approximation of some ideal, but a choice: which of the relationships implicit in the piece are to be emphasized, to be made explicit?' (Cone 1968, 34). This approach allows the performer to engage with the temporal span of a work as well as with the detail of the moment: what Rink describes as the 'goal-directed impulse at the uppermost hierarchical level' down to 'subsidiary motions' which include activity at the level of the beat (or sub-beat) (Rink 1999, 218). The tensions between the reductive surface and the generative subsurface contrapuntalism may highlight particular areas which might be read as prompts for interpretative action, congruities and fault lines between topic and structure generating a sequence of higher level focal points.

At the lowest level prompts for performance appear locally, patently demonstrated by notation; prompts may be latent requiring of the performer a familiarity with the expressive language of the music. A sudden harmonic shift, the sudden introduction of a new motif, a swift change in texture, and so forth, are patently observed; the recognition of topics proposes performance actions beyond the letter of the notation. An aria topic might encourage an emphasis on *cantabile* and tonal beauty; a march topic a taut rhythmic approach with robust metrical emphasis, promoting rhythm over other musical elements (perhaps suppressing timbral beauty to artificially highlight rhythm); a Ländler a

detached manner, whose naïvety is effected by suppressing any sophisticated inflection. Topical recognition does not suppose a transparent contribution from the performer, as the smallest performance decision impacts upon the expression of Classical music and the generation of its character. The following examples (Ex.5.1; Ex.5.2; Ex.5.3; Ex.5.4), all final movement rondo Allegrettos in cut-common time, can be read as manifestations of the gavotte style, the ‘rather lively dance in duple time, distinguished by a cesura after the second quarter-note of the measure’, the repetitive U U – emphasis ‘accommodating a melody of elegance, poise, and self-containment’ (Ratner 1980, 14). But although we may recognise the gavotte in a score reading, only the performer can decide upon the degree of gavotte-ness, the degree of elegance, poise and so forth, which will be imparted in performance.

Ex.5.1 Wanhäl Sonata in B flat major, III bars 1–8



Ex.5.2 Wanhäl Sonata in E flat major, III bars 1–8



Ex.5.3 Eberl Sonata in B flat major, Op.10 no.2, III bars 1–8



Ex.5.4 Mozart Piano Quintet in E flat major, K.452, III bars 1–8



In the following example (Ex.5.5) the lyricism of the singing style might be recognised. But a performer might find a different latent topical attribute to project, perhaps a suppressed fanfare, with the hints of martial dotted rhythms.

Ex.5.5 Struck Sonata in B flat major, Op.7, I bars 23–30



We might read in the opening of Mozart’s Grande Sonate a swift topical transformation, from the learned style chorale, to the brilliant. If this reading of the script is considered to be valid, only through myriad performance decisions can this transformation be fully revealed in performance.

Ex.5.6 Mozart Grande Sonate, I bars 1–9

In succession topics may appear to create a dynamism of their own and be autonomous and self-sustaining: Ratner notes of the first movement of the ‘Prague’ Symphony, K.504 that the ‘quicksilver changes [of topic] take place throughout the movement, creating a large-scale rhythm of varied moods, exhilarating and effervescent’ (Ratner 1980, 27). In an interconnecting chain of topics a performer may wish to articulate the discrete characteristics of topics in this interchange or attempt to imbue sequential gestures with continuity. But to make connection in performance between disparate topics may negate their expressive function: for Allanbrook diversity of topic is the ordering principle in Mozart’s K.332, and ‘one’s conservative tendency may be to make a continuous line out of this flashy collage of gestures and ignore the street theater, but that is our loss; the gestures are there to be apprehended’ (Allanbrook 1992, 131). Performers of course run the risk of incoherence, the performance becoming merely a patchwork of gestures lacking what has been described as the performer’s sense of the ‘whole piece of music in a nutshell’ (Stein 1962, 71), and a ‘unified interpretative vision’ (Wintle 1982, 75). What is called for is more than that which can be artificially extracted from surface emphasis and mechanistic parody (see Hatten 1994, 278). As Eagleton has suggested, individual signs (events) may have meaning only within the diachronic unfolding of a piece of writing. He notes:

I do not grasp the sense of the sentence just by mechanically piling one word on the other: for the words to compose some relatively coherent meaning at all, each one of them must, so to speak, contain the traces of the ones which have gone before, and hold itself open to the trace of those which are coming after. Each sign in the chain of meaning is somehow scored over or traced through with all the others, to form a complex tissue which is never exhaustible; and to this extent no sign is ever ‘pure’ or ‘fully meaningful’.

(Eagleton 1983, 128)

Eagleton’s chain is not unlike what was described by Ratner as ‘felicity of motive connection’ (Ratner 1980, 104), or by Allanbrook as ‘topical transformation’ (in K.332), effective due to the fact that ‘there is always present at the junction something “same” and something “other”’ (Allanbrook 1992, 135). She describes gestural modulations that take place instantly: ‘in order to

compose something that is capable of being A and yet becoming not-A, one must be able to lay hold firmly both of A and of all that distinguishes it from what it is not' (*ibid.*, 136), a point also raised by Agawu, for '[i]t should not be inferred from the rich and varied musical surface [K.515, I] that topical discourse is characterized by disjunction' (Agawu 1991, 91), for 'it is often the case that there is a transfer of identity between contiguous topics, which places their points of origin and termination in strategic fluidity' (*ibid.*, 129).

To what extent should a performer have a holistic sense of these interactions and oppositions, of the traces of previous and future signs? And to what extent should the interconnectedness of the various events of Classic music be articulated to enhance the coherence of the music's process? Clearly the issue concerns the unity of the work versus the diversity of its salient aspects, and similarity and difference. Unity is something that has been taken as a given in most analytical methods, and, as Agawu has observed, analysts tend then to proceed through their analyses in what he describes as a curiously circular logic to demonstrate that unity already presumed at the outset (*ibid.*, 126). In fact the disunity between aspects of the work may give a work its unique character. (See Agawu 1991, 125ff., particularly here in relation to Beethoven's String Quartet in A minor, Op.132, I). Such disunity may be emphasised, created even, by the performance, and a performance that attempts to demonstrate unity may well disable the expressive potential of the score. The very oppositions that eighteenth-century writers felt to be such a critical part of the expressive vocabulary may be lost. Far from smoothing over the joins, the performer may well need to emphasise disjunction, albeit that this does not fulfil a modern aesthetic premise for the unified (see Morrow 1990).

The fundamental issue is of degree of opposition: opposition between intrinsic elements of a topic, opposition between topics, opposition between topic and structure. This hierarchy of oppositions offers progressively deeper levels of latent expression. The higher level of latent expression comes through the interaction between deeper structure and the evanescent surface. Surface and structure may be expressively synchronic or asynchronous. A performance may affirm and enhance the contiguity and the momentum of the music. (For example, the brilliant topic, if used for 'travelling material' in the transition between first and second key areas, may perhaps be made more timbrally brilliant and more rhythmically urgent, giving the 'journey' more momentum.) It might, on the other hand, serve to enhance non-contiguity between topic and structure, perhaps serving to stall the momentum of the music. (A contemplative and static aria topic, articulated in the same transition, might emphasis the surface over the harmonic thrust towards the dominant key area.) For Ratner instrumental chamber music provided a unique domain for the complex interaction of topical signs.

Chamber music ranked below church and theater music in the 18th century both in importance and dignity. Yet it served as a clearinghouse for texture and topic. It provided something for everybody – simple duets and trios for beginners, brilliant works for virtuosi. More important, in drawing upon material from church, theater, and concert hall, it could treat this material flexibly and speculatively, enjoying a freedom of rhetoric and structure not present in the protocol of church and theater.

(Ratner 1980, 142)

It is difficult to gauge the extent to which the attributes of different instruments encouraged the use of certain topical subjects in the repertory examined here, and alternative instrumentations certainly would have played a part in diffusing specific instrumental-topical associations. As Chapter 4 clearly demonstrates, contemporary reports promoted the winds as the closest imitators of the human voice, instruments that would therefore render the singing style with some affect. The clarinet, as an accomplished mover between spheres and functions, the salon, concert hall, in military and funeral music, would have been able to present many different facets of topical discourse. Chameleon-like it would, as well as any other wind instrument, have been able to demonstrate divergent topics.

A post-modernist HIP is as much concerned with an understanding of the creative processes of early music as it is with its equipment and tokens of historical evidence. A multivalent performer strategy necessarily involves analytical processing, if only to acknowledge the non-contiguity between modern practice and that of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Given the listener-orientated nature of Classical music the proper historical informedness of HIP compels a mode of performer analysis that foregrounds the stuff of Classical expression without denying the holistic import of the rhetorical oration. Topical analysis offers a reconnection with the expression of Classical music, whether immediate or by acknowledging the historical situation of these expressive effects. The focus on topics may also restore a neglected aspect of Classical expression: the importance of the surface and the role of melody. The Classical score is replete with patent and latent stimuli to the performer: the engagement of topics within the structures of Classical music reveals for the performer not what to do but potentially where to act, defining potential centres of gravity. Contexts and degrees of opposition between salient aspects of a work provoke performer action. The tensions between topics and structures, and the focal points that they reveal are examined in the three case studies in the following chapter (works to be performed in the recital that is submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree). In the Classical period, as today, it was only the performer who was able to bring the expressive potential of a work to fruition, with the goal of exciting an emotional response in the listener: but then, as now, differing interpretations were doubtless considered to be both inevitable and desirable.

Chapter 6: Performing the repertory: three case studies

The following case studies pursue in practice the methods and principles described in the previous chapter. The principal rationale is to read the scores of these works for their expressive potential (after Martin 1995), deducible through their topical content (after Ratner 1980) and the tensions between their formal structures and these associational references (after Agawu 1991). These tensions suggest a necessity to project in performance some of the implicit oppositions (after Hatten 1994) between surface expression and sub-surface harmonic process. The first case study reveals the relationship between Beethoven's long-range harmonic trajectory in a sonata form movement, the taut motivic relationships within that music, and the composer's use of topics to reinforce the complexities of the harmonic structure and both its static and dynamic aspect. The second, whilst presenting its own atypical treatment of the sonata form stereotype, displays Eberl's less fluid, indeed perhaps less imaginative harmonic plan, within which the characters of topics themselves take a central role in the movement's structure and discourse. Here the articulation of the structural and topical tensions is even more important in order to effect a successful performance. The third presents the most complex treatment of topical reference. Like the first case study Mozart's three-movement Trio displays taut thematic intramusical relationships (almost monothematicism) across all of its movements, although the expressive intention here is the establishment of the meta-topic of freemasonry. Mozart refers both without, to associational topics such as the aria, but also makes complex intertextual reference to his own masonic music.

Case Study 1: Beethoven Trio in B flat major, Op.11, first movement

The opening four-bar *forte* unison gesture provides the germ for the motivic and harmonic action of the entire movement. This unison may be consonant with the music's beginning-ness, an 'episode 'outside' the realm of the real events of the piece' (Levy 1982, 528), and one of the unharmonised openings that propose 'a seemingly impersonal, detached ethos' (Kinderman 1991, 595). But this is an equivocal commencement, emphasised by the metrical ambiguity (the *sf* marking in bar 2 means that bar 1 may be heard as an upbeat); the tonal ambiguity (the unison chromatic ascent from the dominant gives no clue to key, until the outline of dominant seventh harmony in bar 3 achieves the tonic resolution, but on the weak beat of bar 4²); the functional ambiguity (is this a true commencement, or a 'tentative opening', as though the movement was already underway?, as described by Ratner (1995, 8)); and the topical neutrality (the signification is functional rather than expressive). The gesture is a question mark, a concentrated rhetorical *exordium* perhaps, whose ambiguity is heightened by the dramatic silences which enclose it (the next true silence does not occur until the end of the transition to the second key area at bar 38). Immediately the gesture is

given context: between bars 5 and 12¹ the unison is harmonised, textural contrasts are instigated (here piano versus clarinet and cello), this patchwork brought to fruition in a simple decorated harmonic progression in the piano to the cadence at bar 12¹. After an ascending scalar clarinet lead-in, the sliding chromatic ascent from bar 5 develops into a three-voice contrapuntal texture at bar 13 (the piano RH is notably silent), the piano LH revealing a bass-line function for the opening gesture at bars 16–17. This eighteen-bar period challenges the listener, teasing out solutions to the question posed: the unison becomes a bipartite opposition that becomes equal-voiced counterpoint. The period itself can be heard as a kind of meta-gesture, a huge upbeat establishing the three-voicedness of the work.

Many features of bar 19 emphasise an arrival, although the *subito piano* of bar 18 serves to undermine its solidity, providing further lingering ambiguity. But here there is unequivocal B flat major tonality reinforced by the slower harmonic rhythm of the eight-bar phrase between bars 19–26, and a clear trio texture. The clarinet and cello are heard for the first time as solo colours, uniting at bar 23³. The mechanical, almost *buffa* quaver movement in the piano LH provides rhythmic urgency, but with the slow harmonic change here timbral contrast dominates. A redistribution of the material of bar 19 occurs at bar 27, although the arpeggiatic interjections of the clarinet at bar 29 and bar 31 lose something of the bravura of the equivalent piano scales at bar 21. The brilliant piano writing that concludes the transition seems to derive from these earlier semiquaver flourishes, themselves rhythmic diminutions of the clarinet lead-in at bar 12, with the contrary motion of the piano at bar 33 providing a synchronous presentation of the rising and falling characteristics of the opening gesture. This non-modulating transition concludes with affirmatory *fortissimo* chords at bars 37 and 38, the first appearance of this dynamic and a moment of clear structural importance.

Silence precedes the harmonic digression to D major at bar 39, the surprise reinforced by the polarised *pianissimo* dynamic. Although a trace of this tonality was perhaps felt in the F sharp of the opening gesture the disjunction between the secure arrival on F (heard as V) and the distant tonality returns some of the unease of what has gone before. There is no reason for the listener to hear this as anything but a wrong second key area and the disruption is a blatant expressive effect. Topical opposition serves to reinforce the tension. After the frenetic textural development in the first key area and its brilliant, bravura close, the vocal, almost ecclesiastical intoned topic, with its naïve tonic and dominant harmony, serves as a parenthesis, an aside (Ratner 1995, 331). The move to the G minor repetition at bar 43 may also appear to flesh out the F sharp to G movement of the opening gesture, but there is no sense of cadential action here, the V-I cadence in D major at bars 41–2 closing off a four-bar unit. The cello merely punctuates the D major to G minor movement, its hairpin dynamics seeming to deny any thrust to the new tonality. The harmony is on the move from

bar 45³ (*cf.* bar 42³), and bar 46 is an important pivotal moment: the clarinet initially appears to be mimicking the cello (bar 42), although the dominant seventh harmony now clearly craves a resolution.

The thematic material of the second key area ‘proper’ (F major) at bar 47 is derived from the opening gesture (Ex.6.1), but here transformed into an eight-bar aria topic (bars 47–55¹) (Ex.6.2). The texture is essentially two-part, the cello providing a repeated quaver accompaniment, a more sophisticated presentation of the mechanistic quavers derived from bar 19, the piano punctuating the duet with clarifications of the harmony. Within F major the V-VI-ii progression of bar 50 recalls the VI-ii (then III-vi) progression of the ‘false’ second subject. Redistribution occurs at bar 55, the piano taking both voices of the duo.

Ex.6.1 Beethoven Op.11, I bars 1–4 *cf.* I bars 47–50

The four-bar phrase at bar 63 appears to be a compression of the melodic outline of the two four-bar sequential repetitions that made up the eight-bar clarinet aria, and is derived from the rhythm of the melody at the cadence point at bar 62 (and bar 54). But here the aria topic is transformed to the learned style, the texture being three-part invertible counterpoint, with a fugato effect between the clarinet and piano RH. The invertible counterpoint is effected at bar 67, with the quickfire circle of fifths (C-G-D minor-A minor-E) further emphasised by the 7-8 melodic movement in the piano RH. At bar 70, in A minor, the movement around the circle sticks. But the cadential resolution at bar 70 is thwarted: using the note A as a pivot, an alternation between A minor and F major is effected. The inability of the phrases to reach their tonic at bars 70–73, with a repetitive 5-4-3-2 pattern, recalls the interruption and digression to the false second key area. Other reminiscences appear here too, the quaver decoration at bars 72 and 73 stemming from the second subject at bar 49. This phrase and answer between piano and clarinet/cello gives way to a two-bar statement at bar 74–5, the piano providing a brilliant semiquaver flourish, an ornamentation of the final resolution, 5-4-3-2-to-1.

The thematic material at bar 76 is related to the learned style reduction of the second key area (bar 63), itself derived from the second key area (bar 47), derived in turn from the opening gesture. But

here the imitation is worked out in an interchange between the three instruments, over a tonic F pedal and an oscillating piano LH. Through topical modulation, learned has become brilliant style. The topical trajectory of the second key area is heard as aria-to-learned-to-brilliant. With F major seemingly secured, the ensemble comes together in the first unison since the opening in a more emphatic 5-4-3-2 movement. The interposition of the *fortissimo* D major chord at bar 84 recaptures the tonal opposition of the false second key area (and the VI-ii motion), and after a banal cadential formula, as if to heighten the significance of this tension, the progression is repeated tutti at bar 86. The progression itself is then worked out sequentially in the ensuing bars, over chains of learned suspensions in the clarinet and cello. After further a recall of melodic material of the transition in the clarinet and cello (*cf.* bar 20), the descending piano scale this time is not to be thwarted, the arrival reinforced by the typical closing gesture of trills in the clarinet and cello.

The brief codetta, with its distinctive minim repetition across beats 2 and 3, is at once a parody of the learned style from bar 63 and refers intramusically to similar patterns of melody at points of cadential closure (for example at bars 18, 54 and 62). Over simple tonic and dominant harmony, the cello quavers make connection with the accompaniment to the aria of the second key area. As if to emphasise the trio texture, the four-bar phrase is repeated at bar 101 with material redistributed, the cello filling in the harmony with disjunct motion. The exposition closes with the *fortissimo* chords that appeared at the end of the first key area (although here as I rather than V).

The commencement of the development at bar 106 recalls the intoned theme of the false second key area, now in D flat major. The movement away from F major (as tonic) to the flat side of the circle of fifths (F-B flat-E flat-A flat-D flat), mirrors the degree of shift from F major (as V) to the sharp side in the exposition (B flat-F-C-G-D), D and D flat being diametrically opposed. The symmetry is significant: the transitory excursion within the exposition was a harmonic 'point of furthest remove' (V of vi) typically encountered in the development section (Ratner 1980, 225–7). A more extreme harmonic digression becomes necessary for further development. In essence the D flat major presentation is a straight transposition of the earlier material, but this tonality is more stable, confirmed by the minim-movement cadence at bars 114–16 ($V^7d-Ib-iib-V^7-I$). At bar 116 the opening gesture of the movement reappears in the cello, more benign and for the first time heard as a melody harmonised ($iib-V^7-I$). The two most ambiguous aspects of the exposition are here reconciled. The repetition through redistribution at bar 120 reinforces the D flat major tonality. This eighteen-bar section, of identical duration to the opening period of the first part, has a static quality, its harmonic stability making it more an 'area' than a 'point of furthest remove' (*ibid.*).

The broken arpeggios in the piano at bar 123 activate momentum. The topic is clearly *Sturm und Drang*, the descending arpeggio, from the second bar of the opening gesture, now passed between the three instruments against the mobile semiquavers, that gesture now in service of the unfolding harmonic action. By sleight of hand, using chromatic part movement that exploits the ambivalence of the diminished triad, the music slides from D flat major through presentations in E flat minor and F minor before the clarinet and cello *fortissimo* legato call a halt to the sequential harmonic movement at bar 135. Here the harmony stabilises over a pedal D (Ex.6.2).

Ex.6.2 Beethoven Op.11, I bars 123–37: harmonic reduction



The semiquaver movement that commenced in D flat major comes to an abrupt halt on a chord of D major, the agitated topic connecting the polarised harmonic domains in which the false second key theme had been presented in the exposition and at the beginning of the development. In spite of the harmonic action of the development thus far, the D major tonality is still distant from the necessary tonic preparation for the reprise. The chromatic rising figure (which permeates so much of the opening eighteen bars of the movement) is called into action and presented canonically between the instruments, the centripetal action towards the tonic artificially effected by the circle of fifths presentations on D (Cl. at bar 137), G (piano LH at bar 138) and C (cello at bar 139). The final entry on F (piano RH at bar 140) becomes a pedal in spite of the chromatic movement overhead. The piano resumption of the semiquavers at bar 143 sees the *Sturm und Drang* angst somewhat deflated (not least through its *piano* presentation), and here F (as V) in preparation for the reprise has been effected. The introduction of the tonic minor (B flat minor) from bar 145 serves to stall the inevitable major key reprise.

The ascending scalic and brilliant broken-octave figuration in the piano drives the reprise of the unison gesture an octave higher (though the clarinet and cello retain their original pitches). Both the presentation and function of the opening gesture at bar 157 are different here; the gesture is now *fortissimo*, the *sf* on F sharp removing some of the metrical ambiguity heard at the commencement of the movement. Harmonic extension is short-circuited by the perfect cadence at bar 164, the cello now taking the lead-in to the equivalent chromatic passage at bar 13, but condensed into a clear cadence in E flat major. Where this material was merely redistributed in the exposition, at bar 176 it reappears in C minor: the shift has a harmonic function (to prepare for V of B flat major as a chord of ii) but its minor tonality prompts a brief reprise of the *Sturm und Drang* topic of the development. This serves as an intramusical reference to the topic that occasioned the working out

of the opening gesture in a harmonic context, and the connection between the D flat major and D major tonalities.

The omission of the false second subject seems inevitable, its initial expressive functions (to create further ambiguity at the point at which some harmonic stability appeared to have been achieved; then confirmation of the harmonic area of furthest remove) have been fulfilled, the tensions that it had served to effect have been resolved. The powerful gestures of the closing chords which ended the transition now give way to the continuity of the cello lead-in to the tonic reprise of the second key area, the ascending quaver scale by now a clearly demarcated starting signal. If there is a surprise here it is the fluency of the transition to the second key area at bar 184.

Although the reprise now runs its course (with some minor amendments such as the changes to the clarinet melody at bars 189 and 190 (*cf.* bars 52 and 53) to avoid the use of notes exceeding Cl.d³; the redistribution of voices in the invertible counterpoint at bar 200), the interruption to the descent towards the tonic at bar 221 (*cf.* bar 84) is here rendered with less expressive power by dint of the omission of an equivalent G major presentation of the false second subject in the reprise.

That the three chords in bars 241 and 242 are *forte* and not *fortissimo* as they were at the end of the exposition somewhat undermines the conclusiveness of this section: a densely packed twelve-bar résumé of the motivic, harmonic and topical action of the movement ensues. The gesture that ended the transition of the exposition and the first part has a second and third presentation, now *fortissimo*, as if to highlight the digressive and unstable action that occurred after previous appearances. The secondary dominant harmony at bar 243 pulls away from the tonic, the semiquaver connections in the piano RH being reductions of three of the most important melodic actions (diatonic scalar ascent; diatonic circling; chromatic ascent). The ambiguity of the opening gesture is also reviewed: at bar 247 the understated presentation in the piano LH is synchronous with the parody of the learned style in the piano RH (derived from a conjunction of the contrapuntal action from bar 12; also compare bar 248 with bars 15 and 16 and the syncopated learned treatment at bar 63) but here the voices appear homophonically. The material is redistributed in bar 251 after the appearance of the now ubiquitous lead-in, but here the forceful opening gesture serves as both bass and motif, its ambiguity revisited. After all the digression following previous closures, and with the gesture's question now satisfactorily answered, the work finishes abruptly with a prominent rising semiquaver flourish in the piano.

The expressive potential of the score resides in the complex relationship between the sophisticated harmonic direction and the surface-level manipulation of motif and topic. All action may be shown

to derive from the opening question, but a performance that would seek to explicate this unity might be sterile: this organic, intramusical logic is not that which necessarily needs to be explained in performance. As Rink has observed:

...analytical demonstrations of motivic unity can be fascinating on paper but are usually better seen than heard; doggedly bringing out each instance of a seminal motif in performance could lead to ludicrous results, even if an awareness of the motivic workings within a given piece might prove useful to the performer (for instance, in shaping the music timbrally or dynamically).

(Rink 2002, 37–8)

Diversity is also a prerequisite, and it is a performance which makes explicit the different manifestations of motif that will best convey the tensions between structure and surface.

One of the most difficult performance decisions concerns the choice of tempo for this movement. Czerny, a piano student of Beethoven remarked that the movement is ‘equally as spirited as brilliant, and requires an animated, energetic performance’ (Czerny 1970, 85), appending a breathtaking *minim=88* to the *Allegro con brio* marking. Brown has noted that Beethoven prescribed the fastest movement of all for an *Allegro con brio* movement in common time, for example, the first movements of his first and second symphonies, (respectively *minim=112* and *minim=100*), and the first movement of his String Quartet, Op.95 (*minim=92*) (Brown 1999, 370). Within this context Czerny’s tempo may well be quite plausible and the argument for this very swift tempo may also be supported by the limited semiquaver usage. But if selection of an inappropriately slow tempo is a danger, rigid adherence to Czerny’s tempo might obliterate much of the complex motivic and topical detail and the expressive substance of the work.

Whilst tempo modification taken to extremes was seen by contemporary commentators as merely unrhythmical performance, occasioning many polemical articles, throughout the period under examination in this study it was generally recognised that some slowing and quickening of a fundamentally steady tempo was crucial to sensitive performance (see Rosenblum 1988, 362; Brown 1999, 375–6). Few eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sources give explicit instructions as to where tempo modification should occur (Türk 1789 is exceptional in this regard), leaving this aspect of interpretation to the sensitivity and artistry of the performer. In 1804 it was observed that a sensitive musician, ‘will...if he only to some extent understands his feelings and knows how to control them, rightly perceive, in the majority of cases, the places where he may deviate from the prescribed tempo – how much and for how long’. Deviation should not undermine the sense of constancy, although ‘[w]here a theme is presented from different angles, one can later

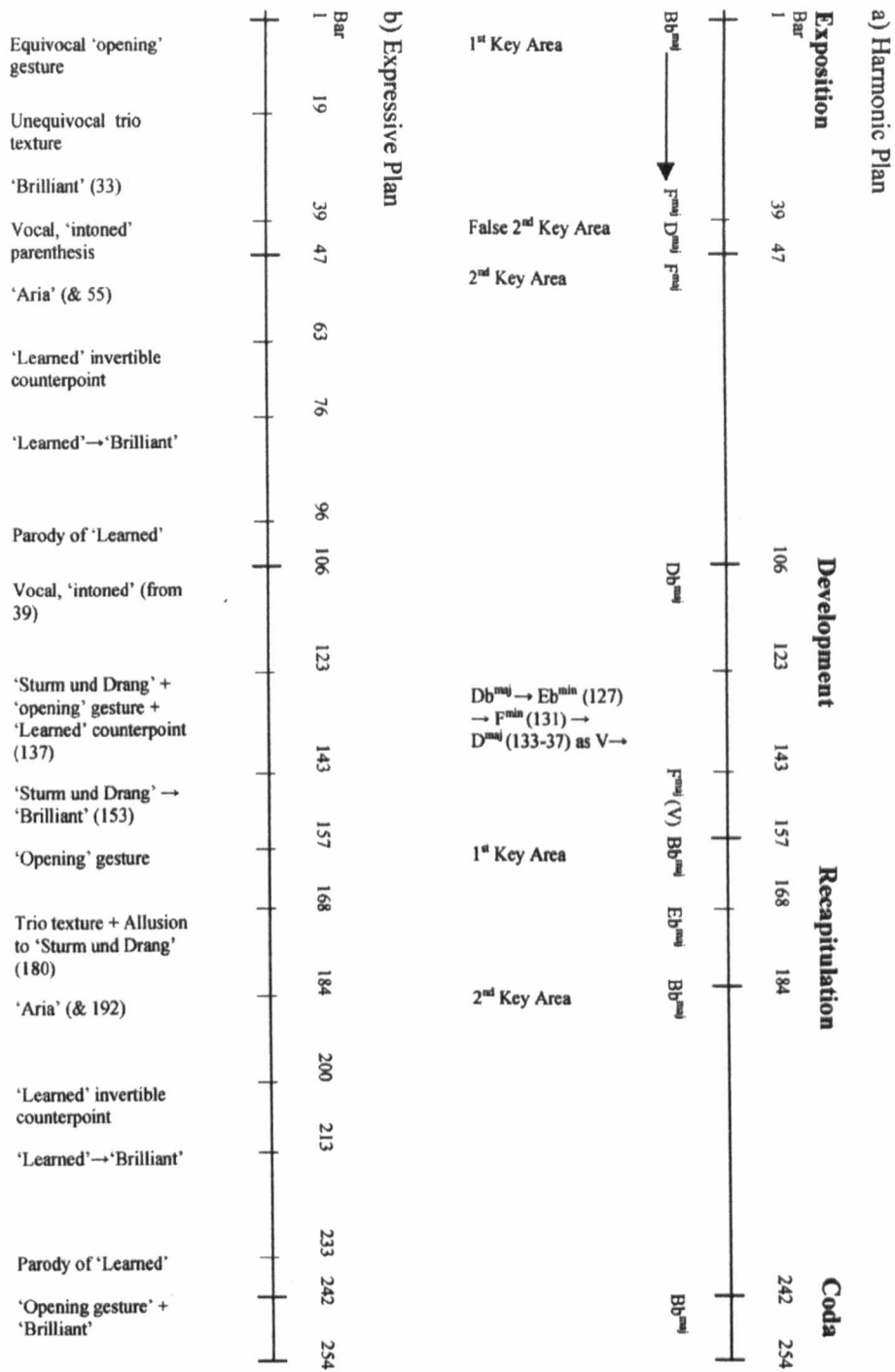


Fig.6.1. Beethoven Op.11, first movement: Harmonic and Expressive Plans

on also easily modify the tempo a little according to circumstances without it being specifically suggested' (Friedrich Guthmann in *AmZ* VII, 1804: 347–9. Trans. in Brown 1999, 382). Some evidence suggests that tempo fluctuation was associated with contrasting topical presentation, Hummel noting in 1828 that singing passages in an Allegro 'may be played with some little relaxation as to time, in order to give them the necessary effect', although he cautions that '...we must not deviate, too strikingly, from the predominating movement, because, by doing so, the unity of the whole will suffer, and the piece degenerate into a mere rhapsody' (in Rosenblum 1988, 363). Schulz had noted in the 1770s that hastening or slowing down is appropriate where it strengthens the expression (in Brown 1999, 396), a point clearly articulated by Türk:

A tenderly moving passage between two lively, fiery ideas...can be played somewhat hesitatingly; only in this case one does not take the tempo gradually slower, but immediately a little slower (however, only a little) slower. In particular, an appropriate opportunity for such slackening of the tempo occurs in compositions in which two characters of contrasting types are represented.

(Türk 1789, 372)

Beethoven appears to have employed unmarked tempo flexibility in his own playing (see Ries and Seyfried in Rosenblum 1988, 386). Rosenblum's supposition that the composer's more explicit notation of tempo flexibility from 1802 (the composition of the Piano Sonatas, Op.31) somehow evinced a change in practice, can equally be read as the composer's desire to make explicit in notation that which was already occurring in performance. Beethoven's inscription to his song 'Nord oder Süd', WoO 148 of 1817, where he remarks that the metronome marking of 100 must be held only for the first bars, as 'feeling also has its tempo and this cannot be expressed in this figure' (see *ibid.*, 387), seems unlikely to have been an expressive attitude fashioned, as Rosenblum suggests, only in his late period. Czerny's reports are the most detailed records of contemporary performance of Beethoven's piano music. Contradictory accounts by Schindler are easily dismissed in that their author's credibility has been rightly undermined by the revelations concerning his fabrication of evidence in Beethoven primary sources. Schindler described the expressive aspects of Beethoven's work as being based on rhetorical principles and oppositions (see, for example, Schindler on the first movement of the Piano Sonata, Op.10 no.1, where strength and gentleness, passion and tenderness are the oppositional attributes: Schindler/MacArdle 1966, 417–19), and that Beethoven presented these oppositions through tempo variation. Schindler's memories of Beethoven's playing contradict those of Czerny, who described only the most judicious unnotated tempo fluctuation. For Czerny, Beethoven performed with great fidelity to his text; for Schindler Beethoven's genius led to conspicuous departures from the letter of the notation. The actual truth was probably somewhere between the two: for as Drake has observed in his study of the piano

sonatas, '[t]o overlook the arrival of a different idea, because of playing like a robot or like a libertine, is as inexcusable as carelessness with respect to correct notes, dynamics and articulation' (Drake 1994, 35).

The three distinctive characteristics within the opening eighteen-bar upbeat gesture may merit subtle delineation in performance. If the opening gesture is a question, then its extrinsic quality, perhaps its objectivity, may need to be projected. Adherence to strict pulse and an execution of the descending crotchets that emphasises their similarity rather than their difference, consciously counteracting the intrinsic hierarchy of beats within the bar, might project the otherness of the gesture. The 'rhetorical rest' in bar 4 is what Marpurg (1763) called a 'grammatical' rather than a 'usual' mark of punctuation (an exclamation mark, or more aptly here a question mark, rather than a full stop, comma or colon) (see Rosenblum 1988, 366). An agogic emphasis of the silence, akin to the metrical stress afforded to sounding pitches, may serve to encapsulate the question.

Striking contrasts can then be effected between these opening bars and the textural dialogue of bars 5–9. Here a less urgent pulse may occur intuitively, serving to heighten the contrast; the hairpins in the clarinet and cello at bars 6 and 8, which suggest emphasis on beat 4, counteract the thrust towards the beginning of the subsequent bars. Read literally the crescendo from bar 13 may obviate the hearing of the third texture, the contrapuntal interplay between voices. The execution in the clarinet and cello may well mimic the natural decay of the fortepiano, the *crescendo* being revealed in a terraced manner (see Pay 1996). The commencement of the opening gesture in the piano LH at bar 16 appears *sf*, clearly marked for particular emphasis.

Implicit in the mechanistic piano writing in the piano LH at bar 19 is an almost artificial adherence to strict pulse, above which the solo voices can shape their material with the utmost individuality. The end of the mechanical quavers at bar 33¹ clears the way for the brilliant writing in the piano, perhaps the ideal occasion for the hastening described by Türk (Türk 1789, 371), and, with the aid of the structural *crescendos*, helping to reinforce this closing gesture.

The contrasting false second key area displays what Türk described as 'concentrated emotion' (*ibid.*, 360), and dutiful adherence to the prevailing tempo would fail to bring out this vital tonal and topical shift. Surely here a modification of the 'con brio' description is called for. A relaxation in tempo will appear more pronounced if the transition's end has been achieved with some hastening. Here the *quasi* portato intoned a¹s may benefit from some shaping not notated in the prevailing *pianissimo*. (For a detailed discussion of the various contradictory meanings of the articulated slur, see Brown 1999, 240ff.: he notes that '...the possible range of subtle degrees of accentuation,

pressure, and separation in the execution of portato, demanded in particular musical contexts, is undoubtedly greater than is conveyed by the instructions given by any one theorist' (*ibid.*: 248–9), but that Beethoven seems to have meant portato by dots under slurs in his instrumental music; but even in Beethoven '...the precise degree of articulation will certainly vary according to the musical context' (*ibid.*, 252).) The linking figure in the cello at bar 42 may be performed in such a way as to give impetus towards bar 43, but might capitalise on the arrival on the perfect cadence in D major. Only when the cello falls to the seventh is the harmonic movement to G inevitable. The equivalent link in the clarinet at bar 46 serves an entirely different purpose: to effect the topical modulation, the clarinet may feign an imitation of the cello, but then with greater rhythmic energy and a more present tonal quality, implied by the *dolce* marking, project the move to the aria of the second key theme. The quaver movement alone gives this music a self-sufficient momentum, although in order to effect the singing style this may well not revert to the urgent initial tempo (after Hummel 1828; perhaps adopting a tempo between that of the opening gesture and bar 39). It was probably the singing style that was alluded to by Czerny, who, when referring to bars 55–8, observed that 'the right hand must play with emphasis, but the left, on the contrary, extremely piano and lightly staccato.' (Czerny even adds accents to the E and F octaves in the piano RH in bars 55–6: see Czerny 1970, 85.)

The second key area theme offers a more personal expression and is simply the best tune heard thus far. It is clear from the many contemporary reports detailed in Chapter 4 that such music affords special opportunity for the vocal characteristics of the clarinet to be displayed. By contrast, the learned counterpoint that emerges from the closing bar of the aria (bar 62) seems to demand a more literal presentation. Here the detailed metrical emphases on all except the normally strong first and third beats of the bar explicitly mark the contrapuntal play: although within a prevailing *piano* dynamic, a more forceful manner is implied (also at bar 200, the equivalent passage in the recapitulation). Only in the cadential preparation in bar 66 does there appear a lightening in tone, the preparation for this F major resolution (ultimately thwarted by the bass action in bar 67) softens the contrapuntalism with its more legato aspect. The repeated 5-4-3-2 cadential preparations at bar 70–73 with their structural diminuendo also appear to require this legato approach, until this descent is broken by quaver repetitions. The crescendo from bar 74 and the semiquaver decoration of the 5-4-3-2-1 descent in the piano RH need to effect the topical modulation to the brilliant at bar 76. Here each instrument must show its virtuosity in turn, the clarinet's contrasting arpeggiatic figuration (see above p.27) further enhancing the bravura quality.

After these flourishes the 5-4-3-2 descent in bar 83 seems to mirror the (then successful) descent to the tonic at bar 75. The reminiscence of the false second key area may be achieved through the

abrupt *fortissimo* arrival at bar 84, although then the resolution to G minor on the third beat may be stalled by an agogic emphasis on this chord, establishing connection with the D major tonality, and perhaps the differentiated tempo of bar 39. By contrast bars 85 and 87 can be performed with alacrity, heightening the tensions between this trivial cadential figure and the VI-ii progression loaded with intramusical significance.

Thenceforth, to the end of the first part, parody takes centre stage: the faltering crescendos (effected by *subito pianos* at bars 90 and 92), and the *subito piano* at the commencement of the codetta at bar 96 seem to mock the real tonal tensions of bars 84–7. The prevailing *piano* dynamic is significant here: only in the final crescendo from bar 101 is there a push towards closure. In the codetta the mechanistic quality of the accompaniment and the 5-sharp4 inflection is a clear reference to the transition at bars 19–20, the accented appoggiaturas here craving the emphasis afforded their equivalents through the *crescendos* and *diminuendos* of bars 19–22.

There is clear evidence to suggest that Beethoven did not consider his repeat signs to be optional (see Newman 1988, 263ff.). If the question is not whether to repeat, it is what to do in the performance of the repeat. It is apparent that the surprise effects will be lost in the reiteration of the action. Embellishment at the repetition is an obvious consideration, although Beethoven was fairly antagonistic towards ornamentation of his work (for example, his criticism of Czerny's extempore embellishment in Op.16, Anderson 1961, 560; and see Brown 1999, 425, who recalls Ries's observation that he added ornaments rarely). Here perhaps topics themselves give some indication as to the most appropriate places to consider embellishment. By its nature the aria (sung by an individual), gives more scope for ornamentation than other topics, the learned for example. But in the aria topic of the second key area theme at bar 47 there appear many notated appoggiaturas and detailed ornaments: judicious ornamentation may be possible only if it does not undermine the taut thematic interrelationships.

The repeat of the first part serves to reinforce the B flat-D-F trichotomy and affects the impact of the hearing of the second part: mindful of the fact that the repetition will necessarily be heard differently, the smallest interpretative change will make a striking impact. In the shift to D flat major the piano, playing alone, can reinforce the stasis. The appearance of the opening gesture in the cello at bar 116 may somewhat revivify energy levels, the *crescendo* also heralding a topical transformation, which may induce a more urgent pulse. But the gesture subsides, the initial objective presentation giving way to a more lyrical quality, suggested by the *sfp* (cf. the original *sf*) markings. The clarinet quavers at bar 119 may also instil new impetus, a foretaste of the rapid movement that will ensue.

In many respects the overt passion of the *Sturm und Drang* is easy to understand. Czerny noted, with reference to bars 122ff. that ‘during the arpeggiated chords in the right hand, the bass must be significantly marked’ (Czerny 1970, 85), perhaps suggesting that the dots imply emphasis and separation, rather than shortening of notes (see Brown 1999, 208–19). Clearly all presentations of the second half of the opening gesture need forceful projection: the objectivity of the opening gesture is needed, for the play of harmony is of the essence here, the performers relinquishing their individuality for a mechanistic working out.

By contrast, the dawning of the D major tonality at bar 137 seems to allow players to reassert their individuality, and in bars 146 and 150 the clarinet and cello *rinforzandos* signal an increased intensity (see Brown 1999, 90ff.), almost a pleading reassertion of their own voices. As in the exposition repeat the smallest differences in the recapitulation need special attention: the simple closure in E flat major at bar 168; the abrupt digression to the *Sturm und Drang* topic at bar 180; the greater radiance of the transposed second subject at bar 184.

The coda may be performed as a résumé of the action and a denouement; the piano semiquaver scale in bar 242 suddenly propels the music towards another, final harmonic digression. The effect of these outbursts depends upon the management of silence: an agogic emphasis on the rests at bar 242², bar 244² and bar 246² gives space to the complementary semiquaver gestures. The ethereal writing in the piano at bar 247, the only such registral use of the piano in the movement, calls for special attention, perhaps a rather wistful and freely-executed backward glance at the action of the movement and a parody of the three-part texture. When the trio texture proper returns, the ebb and flow has disappeared, and the repetition must find renewed energy in the finality of the closing flourish.

Case Study 2: Eberl Sonata in B flat major, Op.10 no.2, first movement

The topical reference at the commencement is to the lyrical song, with a hint of the personal expression of *Empfindsamkeit* in the sighing appoggiaturas that pervade the melody. The eight-bar phrase in the piano solo with its inconclusive cadence is heard as an introduction, for at the entry of the clarinet and basso at bar 9 the ensemble defines itself. The chromatic movement in the bass at bar 15 frustrates the symmetry of the opening eight+eight-bar phrasing; there follow two additional bars in the piano, delaying the closure of the period until bar 18. The repeated quavers on f³ at bar 16, the dotted rhythms in the piano RH and dense chords in the piano LH at bar 17 signal change and provide a modulation to the topic of the transitional material from bar 18. Here the insistent quaver drumbeat effect and the mechanical two-bar repeated phrases suggest a military march. The

segmented phrase structure dispels memory of the freely flowing phrases of the opening, the taut dotted rhythms at bar 26–7 reinforcing the military aspect. This transition serves the customary function of undermining the tonic, which is swiftly accomplished, and by bar 28 a secondary dominant has been established. Here the clarinet has solo that march motif previously performed with tutti effect at bars 20, 22 and 24. In spite of its *forte* dynamic marking, the authority of this statement is diminished: this is another signal for change, and the introduction of the brilliant ascending scalar passages in the piano and clarinet in bars 30–32.

The thematic material of the second key area (F major) is derived from the anacrusis to the first key area song, the repeated chromatic inflections in the clarinet developing the sensibility of that topic. The original quaver appoggiatura inflection is now in crotchets at bar 35, although dissonance is merely implied: there is no harmonic context, the piano playing only on beat 2, at the appoggiatura's resolution. This topical variant lacks the fluency and momentum of the original song with its flowing accompaniment, the chordal interjections of the piano perhaps suggesting more the *recitativo accompagnato*. But the second key area has also subsumed a flavour of the march, with the segmented phrase structure and the descending, pedantic crotchet movement in the piano at bars 39²–40³.

By contrast with the first key area, the distribution of melodic material is reversed here, and the piano provides the complementary eight-bar phrase. The march topic reappears at the cadence at bar 50, but, in the plodding tonic-dominant progressions at bar 51, the limping *fz* emphasis on beats 2 and 4 and the fanfare triplets in the clarinet from bar 52, this is a caricature and parody of the military march. Brilliant semiquavers at bar 54 echo the march-to-brilliant shift at bar 30, although now this is extended into virtuoso, concerto-like display to bar 65¹: for twelve bars (bar 54–65) the piano takes centre stage. Whilst in the first subject group brilliant writing was used as a signal for change, in the second group the extended brilliant topic becomes a sign of closure.

The unison *forte* martial fanfare call at bar 65² effects a topical wrench from the galanterie of the concerto idiom. The fanfare call places the ensuing F minor material in a martial context, albeit that what is now heard is a mélange of previous topics. The material is song-like, with an implied metrical phrase structure (the initial four-bar phrase with its half-close at bar 69³ suggests a four-bar answer with tonic resolution), but the rippling piano triplet figuration is drawn from the parody of the march at bar 50, still imbued with the *fz* emphases. The effect is of a tragic *marcia funèbre*. Bar 68 is derived from bar 7 (as was bar 53), but what was in that context part of a mere cadential progression, now has more potent thematic significance. New light is shed on this figure in the first key area, perhaps an early intimation of the dialectical tension between aria and march which is

being played out. From bar 75 the intramusical connection is to the second key area theme, but this is now devoid of the expressive appoggiaturas and the winsome sensibility of that style. Here the chordal accompaniment in the piano, lacking the *piano* and *fz* markings of bars 35ff., serves to reinforce the march topic.

The cadential closure at bar 81 precipitates another overt topical opposition. Here the tragic aspect of the march instantly dissolves: the major mode substitutes, the fanfare call being hammered out by the clarinet with dense piano LH chords, with the brilliant scalic writing from bar 30. At bar 87 the shift from tragic to comic is reinforced by the introduction of a *buffa* song with its trivial piano accompaniment. Whilst all previous thematic material has been interrelated, this topic seems a conscious external imposition, an artificial reinforcement of the high-to-low registral shift.

The transitional material from bar 91 leading to the codetta at bar 101 is pervaded with reminiscences of previous material: the clarinet's appoggiaturas at bar 92 are from the first key area theme (although, in succession, devoid of the sensibility); the quaver drum rhythm is from bar 93; the rhythmic figure at bar 97 is derived from bar 15; and the dotted rhythms at bar 98 recall the march. After the explicit topics, here there is a quickfire succession of subtle references, the concatenation neutralising any particular topical emphasis.

The codetta itself (bars 101–17) manipulates the opening three-quaver anacrusis figure within various accompaniment textures. In the piano, from bar 101, a more wistful identity is revealed: the melody has smaller intervallic movement and a predominantly descending line. From bar 105 the accompanying texture is of brilliant semiquavers in the piano, the forceful rhythmical figure in the piano LH and bass alluding to the stolidity of the march. The single-bar motif is extended from bar 109 into a two-bar shape, set against the clarinet's triplet accompaniment, the phrase being repeated by the clarinet at bar 112 now against piano semiquavers. As if to reassert the significance of the three-quaver anacrusis figure, in bars 113–15 the clarinet and piano present the motif together, three dovetailed statements leading to the close of the exposition.

The interplay of topics in the exposition may be summarised as the descent of the singing topic, from a private and personal, to a gaudy and public *buffa* style, matched by the registral ascent from the martial to the tragic march. Brilliant figuration serves to connect and unite the two topics. Eberl's first key area is short, the second proportionally long. The move to the dominant key area is rapid, with tonic harmony having terminal condition by bar 28, in an exposition of 117 bars. The principal expressive impulse is not from the quite orthodox harmonic scheme, but the interaction of

topic. It is through the topical modulations, oppositions and interactions that the music has its expressive potential.

If the exposition concerns the undermining of the hierarchical status of the song by the march, then the development concerns the re-establishment of aria as the dominant topic. The chromatic nature of the three-quaver anacrusis is the derivation for the lead-in to bar 118, when a *piano* statement of the fanfare call rhythm, initially a signal for the tonic minor march of the exposition, is followed by a *subito forte* tutti repeat on the A flat⁷ chord. But dramatic aria ensues at bar 121, the clarinet introducing a D flat major melody whose slow harmonic rhythm gives this the greatest harmonic stability so far in the movement, at the point of furthest remove. A curious ambiguity occurs, for here there is a sense of arrival and surety, and yet in a distant and therefore unstable tonality.

The fanfare call, by now a clear signal for change, returns at bar 128–9. The piano presents the aria in B flat minor at bar 130, which, with the addition of its sighing grace notes, has something of sensibility topic and is almost an *aria pathétique*. After the relative stasis of the major and minor presentations of the aria, bar 138 introduces bravura, brilliant piano figuration and harmonic development proper begins. Bars 138–46 encompass an archetypical journey around the circle of fifths, although the domain is the tragic minor key (B flat minor; F minor; C minor; G minor; D minor). The working out of material has the effect of nullifying the importance of topic here: harmonic change and the perpetual semiquaver movement generate momentum. The lack of topical interplay in this section of the development actually serves as a breathing space: topic is sidelined in favour of a clearly evolving harmonic process. The pattern is broken at bar 147 and from bar 150 brilliant scalic figures commence in the clarinet, over an extended dominant preparation for the return of the first key area. This preparation is enhanced by the consistency of the topic: the brilliant scalic figuration is taken up by the piano (bar 154) in broken arpeggios, the clarinet and basso now in simple contrary motion. The recapitulation, bars 160–242, corresponds exactly to the exposition bars 35–117, although the entire first key area is omitted. That the second key area theme was a thematic variant of the first subject theme facilitates the omission, but a different light is now shed on this material.

The vocal and military aspects of the clarinet's persona make the dialectical opposition of the aria and march topics ideal expressive territory for the instrument. In Eberl's work these topics do more than articulate the harmonic structure, rather seem to define it. A successful performance therefore relies upon convincing topical dialogue. Each of the three principal topics, and the different manifestations of the aria and march, need their own character and energy. The brilliant topic has a more consistent concern with virtuoso display. Eberl's tempo indicates a prevailing 'spirited' mood

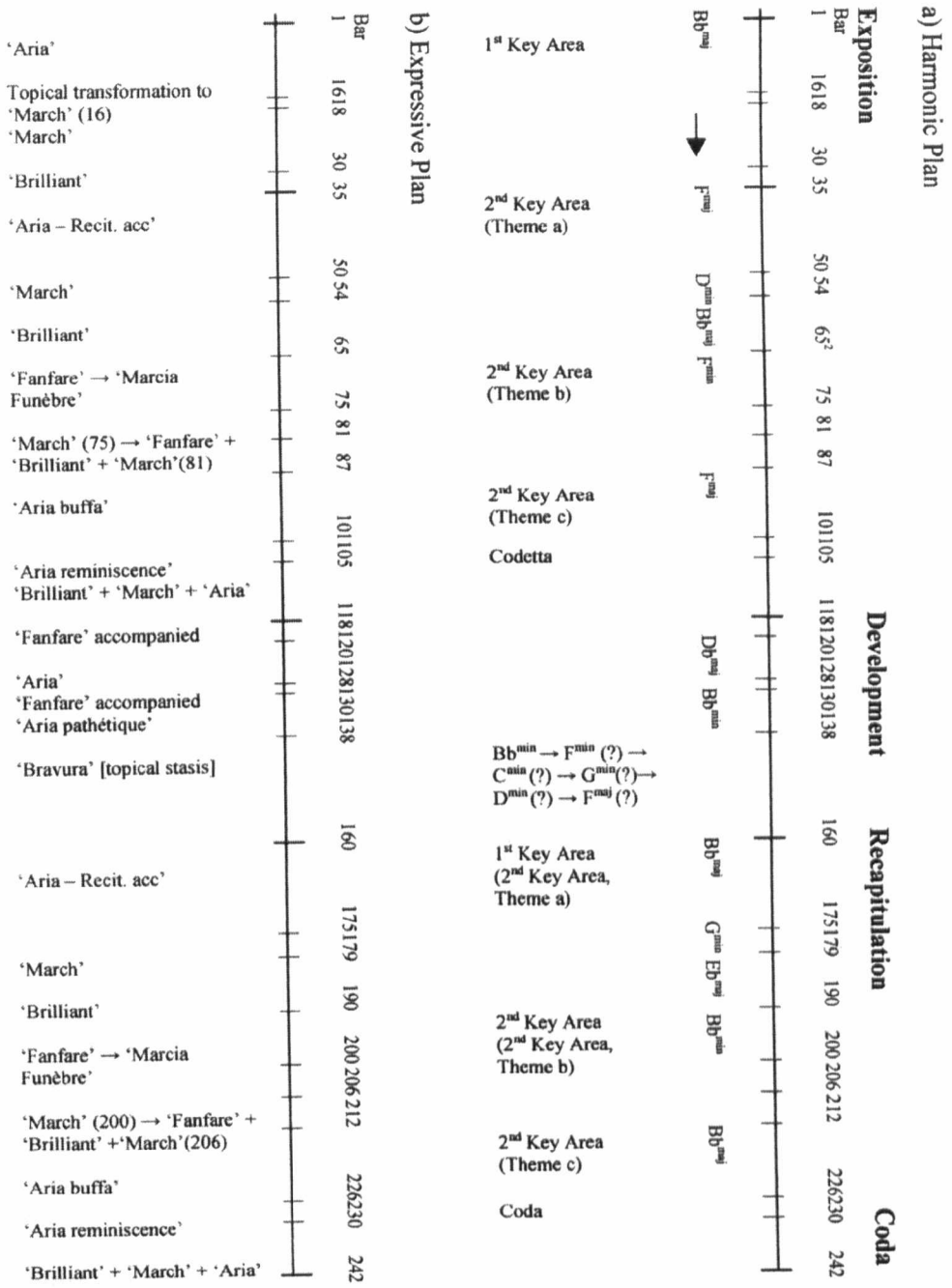


Fig.6.2 Eberl Op.10 no.2, first movement: Harmonic and Expressive Plans

but few additional clues are given for the manner of performing: only three markings of nuance are employed, *piano* and *forte* dynamics and *fz*. Read literally these dynamics could lead to a bland and rather desultory performance, but much is patently left to the performer: an understanding of the phrase structure and of the character of the discourse would doubtless have elicited local emphases and dynamic profile. The few expressive marks merit careful attention. The *fz* marking appears to be used as a mark of emphasis rather than accentuation (see Brown 1999, 75ff.): the *piano* marking which often accompanies its appearance seems to suggest a tempered, relatively light, perhaps agogic emphasis. (See bars 34ff. and bars 65ff., whereas the *pianos* and *fzs* of bar 68 suggest an articulated surface within a prevailing *forte* dynamic; see also the *fzs* of the second movement pastoral *siciliano* topic, which are clearly marks of emphasis rather than harsh accent.)

Topical modulations such as bars 16–17 may require special attention, for by assuming some of the characteristics of the upcoming march (perhaps the stronger pulse and tight dotted rhythms) this may effect the seamless transformation from one topic to the next. Some graduated dynamic change, albeit unnotated, might be appropriate here. But unexpected topical shifts need to be reinforced: at bar 65 the *marcia funèbre* might be performed with a *subito* ponderous emphasis, at bar 87 the aria *buffa* with a flighty beat and nervous hastening. If the exposition charts the registral descent of the aria and the registral ascent of the march the long-range opposition of the opening aria and the *marcia funèbre* needs to be considered. The effect of these more distant topical dialogues may have as much expressive impact as localised transformations and oppositions. Whilst the performer may at times wish to emphasise connection, a performance that aims to smooth over the palpable seams in this music emasculates the expressive potential of direct topical oppositions. Thematic variants might be usefully regarded as mutations of a previous topic, and encourage a different emphasis of an aspect of that topic (the amount and type of song, the amount and type of march etc.). The strength of the thematic connection between the themes of the first and second key areas could elicit a performance that portrays connection, although the strength of the intramusical links affords the opportunity to project considerable difference without foregoing organic unity. Emphasising the segmented utterance of the second key area theme, perhaps rendering this with a less sure pulse and with more inflection of the local chromaticism, will starkly contrast with an opening performed with the utmost *cantabile* quality.

The presentation of the aria in the development is the expressive heart of the work. Here the harmonic and textural context suggests there may be time to linger over the aria, even more so in the ensuing minor presentation with its ornamented line. More effective then will be the whirlwind harmonic development from bar 138, suggesting an impulsive urgency where mechanistic, objective performance is a prerequisite.

The reprise presents the performer with particular interpretative challenges. Should now the second key area theme, heard in the exposition as a variant of its parent *cantabile* aria, appear in a different guise? Should this be more assertive, more aria-like, more directly related? Should the performer thus seek to reconcile and suppress the segmentation of phrases that he introduced to highlight its initial difference? Or might a more exaggerated emphasis on its variant qualities be projected as if to acknowledge the omission of the first key area song? Whatever decisions are taken here (and all of the above might be deemed equally valid) they impact upon subsequent performance choices in the rest of the reprise.

Case Study 3: Mozart Trio in E flat major, K.498

Although the language of Mozart's masonic music has been the subject of much scholarship (for example, Autexier 1985; Landon 1991; Schuler 1992), little attention has been given to potential masonic allusions in Mozart's Trio, K.498, a work of August 1786. Although the date of Mozart's earliest masonic music is debated, the song 'O heiliges Band', K.148 may have been composed as early as 1772 (see Plath 1978). Mozart certainly composed two choruses for *Thamos, König in Ägypten*, K.345/336a a play by the freemason Tobias Philipp Gebler, part of which was first performed in Vienna in April 1774. But masonry became a recurring source of compositional inspiration after the composer was initiated, as an Entered Apprentice, into the 'Zur Wohlthätigkeit' (Benificence) Lodge on 14 December 1784. On 7 January 1785 he passed to the second degree at the 'Zur wahren Eintracht' (True Concord) Lodge, where in the middle of January 1785 he was made Master Mason (Schuler 1992, 130). The 'Lied zur Gesellenreise', K.468, from March 1785, may well have been composed for Leopold Mozart's promotion to the second degree at the 'Benificence' Lodge on 16 April 1785. The incomplete cantata for tenor and male chorus, *Dir, Seele des Weltalls*, K.429 may have been composed in the 1785, but was more likely for the celebration of the feast of St John on 24 June 1786. It has been assigned various other dates to 1791 (see Zeileis 1985).

It is unclear why Mozart did not become associated with the movement upon his arrival in Vienna in 1781, but he entered into the activities of the brotherhood with great vigour, manifest in his masonic music particularly from 1785. For Mozart masonry was more than a diversion to the course of his daily routine. As Solomon has noted:

[Masonry] engaged deeper levels of Mozart's personality, even going beyond simple beliefs in humanitarian ideals. Freemasonry gratified his play impulse through its initiatory practices, texts, and ordeals; it touched his religious yearnings through its fusion of contemporary enlightened teachings with ancient

traditions, and through its polytheistic eclecticism, which combined Christian, classical, and exotic religions into a heady blend.

(Solomon 1995, 331)

The most important masonic works of 1785 were the cantata *Die Maurerfreude*, K.471 for tenor, male chorus and orchestra (20 April 1785) and the instrumental *Maurerische Trauermusik*, K.477 (November 1785). *Die Maurerfreude* was performed for the first time on 24 April 1785 at the 'Zur gekrönten Hoffnung' (Crowned Hope) Lodge, in honour of Ignaz von Born, secretary of the Austrian Lodges and the Grand Master of the True Concord Lodge, celebrating his discovery of a new method for smelting metals. Fellow mason Johann Adamberger sang the tenor solo. It is made up of two orchestral arias with a brief adjoining Andante interlude, the second aria concluding with participatory chorus. The work was enthusiastically taken up: it is known that it received performances at other Lodges on 1 and 7 May 1785. It was also performed at the benefit concert for the basset horn players David and Springer on 15 December 1785 (see above p.168) whose presence in Vienna occasioned Mozart to write a substantial number of works with this instrument, some of which may have had ritual mason function (see Lawson 1996, 19ff. and Schuler 1992, 62, who proposes that the music of the Adagio in B flat major, K.411 may have been used for the solemn entry of brothers in the temple). In August 1785 K.471 was published by Artaria (himself a mason), for charitable purposes. Autexier has proposed that the *Maurerische Trauermusik* was composed in three versions: the first entitled *Meistermusik* with men's voices (who intone the twenty-four-bar cantus firmus at its heart) for the elevation of Karl von König to the third degree at the True Concord Lodge on 12 August 1785; the second an arrangement of the *Meistermusik* as the *Maurerische Trauermusik*, for performance at a memorial service at the Crowned Hope Lodge on the 17 November 1785 for two recently deceased masons; the third performed at the 'Zu den drey Adlern' (Three Eagles) Lodge with other wind instruments (see Autexier 1985). In December 1785, the Emperor, threatened by masonic power and influence, ordered a reduction in the number of Lodges from eight to two or three. On 19 December 1785 Mozart's Benificence Lodge was dissolved. For the opening and closure of the 'Zur neugekrönten Hoffnung' (New Crowned Hope) Mozart composed two responsory songs for tenor and male chorus, 'Zerfließet heut', geliebte Brüder', K.483 and 'Ihr unsre neuen Leiter', K.484. These were performed on 14 January 1786.

It is widely accepted that music was used to symbolise aspects of the masonic craft. The number three had particular importance, signifying the threefold initiation rite and the three pillars of the 'temple of humanity'; parallel thirds (and their inversions as sixths) may symbolise the bonds of the fraternity; the number of flats in the key signature also seem to suggest association with degrees of the craft; the threefold knocking on the door of the lodge by a prospective candidate for initiation (see Thomson 1977, 42 and Autexier 1990, 134) is easily replicated in music. Other masonic

symbols have been suggested: dotted rhythmic figures (Nettl 1957, 52); suspensions and slurred notes in pairs symbolise the ties of brotherhood (Thomson 1977, 42); chords on the third and sixth degrees of the scale may evoke mystical or religious atmosphere, and the interrupted cadence may have significant connotations (*ibid.*, 44); a ‘humanitarian style’ might be present (Nettl 1957, 56); and ‘[l]ofty arches of melody; large intervals; serious, song-like melodies reminiscent of the old choral music; quiet, simple rhythms’ (*ibid.*, 59). A particular feature of the songs and cantatas written for Lodges was the concluding chorus, repeating the last phrase of a section, a communal endorsement of the sentiment of the work (the closing of K.471, and the 1791 cantata *Laut verkünde unsre Freude*, K.623 furnish good examples).

One would expect to find a rich repository of masonic symbols in K.471 and K.477, symbols most readily recognised by the brothers who were conversant with the rituals of the movement, its ceremonies and its music. Unlike texted works, in instrumental music the masonic connection could be made only through musical means, and Autexier suggests a widespread intertextual usage of symbols in Mozart’s instrumental music in concertos, symphonies and chamber music, where they ‘...play an even more important part in the so-called profane repertory than in compositions for masonic occasions’ (Autexier 1990, 134). The complex self-ish reuse of material in Mozart’s music has been recently theorised in what Jan calls meme analysis (Jan 2003). Intertextual relationships between K.471 and other instrumental works have been noted (Schuler 1992, 60 records the striking similarity between the openings of K.471 and Mozart’s Horn Concerto in E flat major, K.495 of July 1786).

Massin suggested that Mozart’s Trio, K.498 may have some masonic significance, deducible through the key of E flat major, the use of the clarinet, and the *gruppetto* in the opening theme of the first movement (see Massin 1959); Thomson noted the pairs of slurred notes, suspensions and descending parallel thirds and sixths of the last movement as common symbols of masonry (Thomson 1977, 108). But no study has proposed detailed intertextual masonic references in the work, or the idea that a masonic topic might prevail. The piece is presumed to have been written for the private usage of Mozart, Anton Stadler and Mozart’s piano pupil Franziska Jacquin (see above p.23). Stadler had been admitted to the ‘Zum Palmbaum’ (Palm Tree) Lodge on 27 September 1785, an initiation attended by Mozart (Autexier 1990, 133). Mozart and Stadler performed together in the benefit for the brothers David and Springer in October and December 1785. It is of course tempting to associate the single clarinet part in K.471 with Stadler, although there is no evidence that before September 1785 Stadler was a mason and that he would have been permitted to participate in a Lodge ceremony.

Thomson notes that K.471 contains a number of established masonic symbols (Thomson 1977, 81–2). The repeated use of a *gruppetto* may have represented masonic joy, the wide melodic leaps suggesting a connection with nature. All the masonic features that Thomson describes appear in the opening sixteen-bar orchestral introduction: the dotted rhythms, rising and falling in the cello and bass in bars 1–6; the prominent *gruppetto* in the violins; the slurs in the winds in bar 2 and their chain of suspensions in bars 7 and 8. The orchestral introduction and the tenor entry, ‘See how Nature reveals to the unflinching and searching eye’, with its heroic-triadic gesture is a call to attention. Moving towards the dominant key from bar 26 the music takes a suddenly different course: to the text ‘how she [nature]...with great wisdom [bar 26]...fills the mind [bars 27–8]...and fills the heart [bars 29–30]’, a more regular quaver accompaniment appears in the strings over a plodding arpeggiatic bass. In the foreground however is an insistent, circling idea in Ob.1 (bars 26–7), Cl. (bars 28–9) and these instruments together (bars 30–31). This innocent figure, a decoration of an upper pedal, seems to be associated with the triangulation between Nature, Wisdom and Virtue. Its threefold repetition may be significant. The first section of the aria concludes with an ascending line in the tenor, ‘the heart filled with virtue’. The oboe and clarinet decorate the static harmony.

Bars 37–46, in the dominant key of B flat major, now herald the culmination of the opening section of text. The interaction of Nature, Wisdom and Virtue is now revealed: ‘that is a feast for Masons’ eyes’ (bars 37–9 and repeated bars 40–42). The three-bar phrase structure is noteworthy, in contrast to the two-bar phrases of the opening. The winds for the first time fall silent. The phrase at bars 43–7 is a climactic point at ‘true, fervent, masonic joy’. Ob.1 and Cl. enter at bar 47, Ob.1 playing a lightly ornamented version of the tenor melody of bars 37–42. The clarinet chalumeau triplets, the predominant accompanimental figure, appear as an unmistakable bubbling manifestation of masonic joy (Ex.6.3).

Ex.6.3 Mozart K.471, bars 37–52

37 [Allegro]

Vln 1

Vln 2

Va

Tenor Solo

Cello & Basso

Das ist Mau - rer - au - gen - wei - de, das ist Mau - rer - au - gen -

42

Vln 1

Vln 2

Va

Tenor Solo

Cello & Basso

wei - de, wah - re, hei - sse Mau - rer - freu -

fp

f p

f p

Cello

Cello & Basso

47

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Cl. (Bb)

Vln 1

Vln 2

Va

Tenor Solo

Cello & Basso

- de,

p

p

simile

tr

tr

50

Ob.1

Ob.2

Cl.(B)

Vln 1

Vln 2

Va

Tenor Solo

Cello & Bass

das ist Mau - rer - au - gen - wei - de,

Ex.6.4 Mozart K.471, bars 92–108

92 [Allegro]

Vln 1

Vln 2

Va

Tenor Solo

Cello & Bass

Das ist Mau - rer - au - gen - wei - de, das ist Mau - rer - au - gen -

97

Vln 1

Vln 2

Va

Tenor Solo

Cello & Bass

wei - de, wah - re, hei - sse, wah - re, hei - sse Mau - rer -

f *p*

f *p*

f *p*

Cello

Cello & Bass

f *p*

102

Ob.1
Cl.(Bb)
Hn(Eb)
Vln 1
Vln 2
Va
Tenor Solo
Cello & Basso

freu - de,

106

Ob.1
Cl.(Bb)
Hn(Eb)
Vln 1
Vln 2
Va
Tenor Solo
Cello & Basso

das ist Mau - rer - au - gen - wei - de,

In the reprise of this material in the tonic (E flat major) in the second half of the aria, important alterations are made which give this section of the aria additional expressive emphasis. The tenor line is now more assertive, the three-bar phrases pronouncedly rising. The chromaticism at the adjectives ‘true’ (bar 98) and ‘fervent’ (bar 99) serve to enhance this musical climax at the attainment of the masons’ joy. This intensification is developed in the more complex orchestral texture from bar 103. Horn calls are added, an octave rising figure in the first violin is repeated stubbornly for five bars (bars 104–8; the same rising octave figure occurs at the glorious first arrival

in E flat major in K.477, bar 18 and in the subsequent two bars) and an imitative treatment of the oboe melody at bar 104 occurs in the second violin (Ex.6.4 above).

After a short recitativo a G minor Andante has almost ritual solemnity and drama by comparison with the exuberance of the earlier music: through the hands of Joseph the masonic brethren will receive a crown, a symbol of Wisdom and Virtue. Here rising thirds in the oboes are prominent against the triplets in the strings. As the masons are urged to take the crown, the clarinet appears to paint the text with its circling chromatic figure, perhaps a symbol of the crown itself (a prominent motif too in K.477, for example bars 8 and 21). Jubilation explodes in the Presto, which leads to a chorus celebrating Joseph's support of the masonic movement. Many features of the masonic topic may be recognised: the simple harmony, the parallel thirds, even the three knocks from bar 21. The stepwise melody at bar 25 ('Joseph the Wise has gathered laurels, twined laurels around the brow of the wisest of Masons') is accompanied by a repetitious quaver tonic-dominant bass. But if the climax of the first aria was the altered reprise of bar 47 at bar 103, the appearance of the three-part chorus is here the ultimate fraternal expression of joy. The upper voices move in parallel thirds, the bass supplying the simple tonic and dominant pitches.

K.498 shares with K.471 the E flat major masonic key. The opening movement commences with an allusion to a rather uncontentious descending horn call, this topic subverted timbrally through the piano and viola texture, and melodically by the *gruppetto*. The opening eight bars, with rhetorical rests, reveal a tension that will last to the end of the movement: namely that between localised descent (1-3: bars 1-2) and prevailing ascent (1-3: bars 1-8). The clarinet then extends the fragmentary theme as a *quasi* aria, through a threefold repetition, with a lilting piano accompaniment. The true singing quality is only momentarily achieved, the interrupted cadence at bar 12 and the ascending chromatic passage breaking down this topic. The piano takes up the three-bar repetition to the conclusion of the first period at bar 16. Then the *gruppetto* pervades the modulating passage in preparation for the second key area, and there is a threefold presentation (bars 21-3), of the same chromatic circling figure performed by the clarinet in the Andante section of K.471.

When the singing topic is finally achieved at bar 25 there is a palpable sense of this music having emerged from the germ of the opening. Now the piano has a robust broken triad accompaniment over alternating tonic and dominant chords, the clarinet melody bearing striking similarity with the melody of K.471, bars 37ff. and bars 92ff. and sharing its essential three-bar phrase structure (Ex.6.5 i-iii).

Ex.6.5 (i) Mozart K.498, I bars 25–30 *cf.* (ii) K.471, bars 37–42 and (iii) K.471, bars 92–7

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

The linking bar 34 is a *forte* presentation of disjunct horn calls derived from opening.

A repetition in the piano of the second key theme occurs at bar 35, with the inserted *gruppetto* now making direct connection with the opening of the movement. A more explicit cadence is prepared in bar 46, the trills and the rising chromatic scale signals of closure. From bar 51 a threefold presentation of the opening motif in the piano LH leads to a dominant preparation for the key of F major. But this modulation to II is thwarted by a seemingly unprompted reprise at bar 55 of the second key theme in the subdominant A flat major. The seminal importance of the aria topic is reinforced, particularly as topic itself has usurped the logical progression of the harmony. Now, at bar 64, after sliding chromatic harmony a more impassioned mutation of the horn call is heard. The reprise at bar 74 sees the horn call tossed between instruments. The powerful rhetorical rests of the opening disappear in the confusion of the half-bar interplay, and the clarinet *quasi* song at bar 82 now finds a tonic resolution at bar 85 (*cf.* the interrupted cadence of bar 12). At bar 98 the viola has the second key theme in the tonic, the fourth hearing of the melody. The coda, built up exclusively of single bar units, charts the ascent and descent implicit in the tensions of the opening eight bars (Ex.6.6).

Ex.6.6 Mozart K.498, I bars 117–29 (coda): pitch scheme

In contrast to the first movement, whose phrase structure is predominantly built upon either single bar units, or groups of three bars, three four-bar phrases are clearly heard in the Minuet. The

metricality, the assertive bass movement and the initial doubling of the melodic line, signal this to be a low style Minuet, with more than a trace of Harmoniemusik. The 3-5-4-2-1 intervallic disposition of the song in the first movement at bar 25, pervades the opening three bars here, which also traces an essential 3-1 descent. The only points when four-bar phrasing is disturbed are in the hemiola at bar 19, and when an additional inserted bar (bar 27) momentarily disrupts the repetitive phrase structure.

The G minor Trio is the expressive focal point of the movement. The clarinet introduces a chromatic circling figure, perhaps alluded to through the chromaticism of bar 19 of the Minuet, and also perhaps an intertextual reference to the 'crown' motif of K.471. As the metrical status of the Minuet was confused by a hemiola effect, the piano V-I punctuations disrupt the natural hierarchy of emphasis in the bar. The importance of this motif is made clear through its persistent repetitions in the clarinet. Whilst the Minuet was primarily concerned with homophony and regularity here counterpoint and irregularity come to the fore (according to Nettl, counterpoint accompanies points of climax and tension with masonic significance: see Nettl 1957, 53). There are many ways that the phrase structure of the opening of the Trio may be heard: for example, 4+3+3+3 or (1+3)+(1+2)+(1+2)+(1+2). At bars 49 and 52 repetitions are cut short and propelled to a different tonality by the clarinet's interjection. At bar 55 the chromatic figure becomes the basis for four-part imitative interplay in the piano, which becomes a circle of fifths descent. All sense of metricality has now been abandoned: the viola triplets enter on the second beat of the bar, compounding the ambiguity that the imitative use of the chromatic figure has elicited. As if to emphasise the confusion the viola appears to overshoot the D minor cadence at bar 62.

The three distinctive three-bar phrases that proceed from bar 63 fall sequentially, outlining the 3-2-1 descent. Through phrase elision, the reprise of the chromatic figure in the piano LH emerges at bar 73. From bar 95, in preparation for the reprise, a more logical meter is restored, the chaotic canonic interplay in the viola and piano at bar 98 playfully recalling earlier ambiguities. The coda from bar 143 is based upon the Trio, but from bar 148 its material has assumed the surety of the consistent phrase structures of the Minuet. If there have been clear contrasts between the low and high styles of the Minuet and Trio, here the two appear reconciled.

The final movement has a rondo structure, with three principal episodes. The simple stepwise motion of the softly articulated aria topic is a particular feature of the subject (A). The ascending octave in bar 6 portrays a different character within this theme however: the piano quaver accompaniment is disrupted, and dotted rhythms in the clarinet emerge. With its identical first bar rhythm, oscillating quaver accompaniment and closing semiquaver melodic ornamentation it is

difficult to avoid association with the melody of K.471, bar 37. The first episode (B) is an *alter ego* of the first aria (also commencing on 5), but, with a pedantic accompaniment, this appears a more earthly manifestation. The aria gives way to brilliant semiquaver figuration at bar 24, and chains of suspensions at bars 29–30.

Bar 36, though in the dominant key area (B flat major), is derived from A, preceded by the rising octave anacrusis (*cf.* K.471, I bars 104–8). But this has a more concentrated expression, the clarinet and viola sharing the motif over more widely spaced broken arpeggios in the piano. The brilliant figuration returns, with a typical concerto-like closure at bars 49–50. Here the three-quaver repetitions in the clarinet and viola (three knocks?) have a similar preparatory context to the presentation in bar 21 of the closing aria of K.471. The reprise of A at bar 59 sees the aria presented over an *alberti* piano LH, almost a ‘piano sonata’ presentation of the theme.

The tragic C minor episode at bar 67 (C), with the Bach-like triple stops in the viola, conjures up an historic topic. Texturally this is an important moment, the viola accompanied by lean piano writing. But a harmonic and stylistic turnabout is effected at bar 72, signalled by the shift to the B flat⁷ chord. At bar 73 the clarinet, which has remained silent for a while, introduces the triplet figuration used in the depiction of masonic joy in K.471 (at bars 47ff. and bars 103ff.). The broken viola line, with its carefully notated ‘short’ appoggiaturas (see Brown 1999, 470ff.), here takes up a more fluent semiquaver movement, a different realisation of what might have been notated with the same appoggiaturas. At bar 77 the piano sonata texture returns, with E flat-versus-C minor juxtaposition (two+two bars). Indeed it is the contrasting C minor and the E flat major tonalities that have special significance in the second episode (such a feature of the same oppositional tonalities in K.477). Here C minor ultimately takes the upper hand: the clarinet takes up the historic topic, the triplets redistributed to the viola. At bar 91 the cadential phrase from 89–90 is repeated in the piano and then deployed imitatively.

From bar 96 there is an extended dominant preparation for the reprise at bar 108. But the triplet accompaniment figuration in the viola comes to the foreground, sustaining some of the spirit of the clarinet triplets from bar 73. The reprise of A in the viola at bar 108 is now more exuberant, the leaping triplets in the piano RH also derived from the clarinet at bar 73.

The final contrasting episode in A flat major (D) comes as an abrupt shift. The parallel thirds over a tonic pedal have remarkable similarity to the fraternal closing chorus of K.471, bar 25 (‘Joseph the Wise has gathered laurels...’). But a second dimension is revealed: the triplets in the clarinet are now transformed into a brilliant figure across the full range of the clarinet, seeming to affirm the

spirit of this episode. At the repeat of the phrase at bar 124, as if to intensify the expression still further, the clarinet is released to perform the rising octave figure previously associated with masonic joy. If the music appears to enter something of a void at bar 132 (with a bland accompaniment; the piano sonata accompaniment at bar 136; the obvious developmental progression via flat 6) this is in preparation for a new idea clearly derived from the stepwise movement of the opening subject (itself related intramusically to I bar 28). This repetitive figure in the clarinet at bar 140, over harmonic action that appears to be regaining the tonic E flat major, has an anticipatory quality, but the fraternal topic in A flat major reappears at bar 146. Once again, as if to emphasise the expressive significance of this music, the section is repeated, making the D section sixty bars in duration.

Bar 154 offers an equivalent interlude to bars 132–40. Now the anticipatory motif leans towards B flat major, and ushers in the reprise of A with the notated ornamentation that appeared in the piano bars 9ff. in the clarinet (a signal that this will be the sole presentation of the eight-bar melody). Brilliant figuration ensues in the piano, the three-quaver repetitions in the clarinet and viola from bar 180 at least an intramusical reference to bar 51, if not to the masonic three knocks. In the final reprise of A at bar 185 the piano is in sonata mode, its notated ornamentation a further signal of the impending ending. All instruments join together in a unison affirmation at the close of the eight-bar phrase.

The thirty-one-bar coda from bar 192 is a skilfully crafted crescendo of energy. Over a tonic pedal, parallel thirds in the clarinet and viola (three two-bar statements) are complemented by exuberant brilliant flourishes in the piano RH. These three features are redistributed amongst the trio until increasingly brilliant writing leads to a *forte* cadence point at bar 212. But here the anticipatory motif that had been used to such potent effect in the transformation of the tonality earlier reveals itself in a different guise, becoming the principal motif of closure. The effect of the now energised semiquaver piano accompaniment, the circling anticipatory motif, redolent with the character of the opening theme, all within the prevailing *piano* dynamic, creates a loaded backdrop against which the viola articulates the *gruppetto* figure so prominent in the opening of K.471. The joyous end of the work effected through inevitable but protracted closure has an effect akin to the ‘expressive crescendo’ of the masonic participatory chorus. The effect was described admirably by Einstein:

How well Mozart now understands not only how to end a work but how to close it, with a distillation of melodic and contrapuntal beauty that does not merely satisfy the listener but leaves him enchanted! The last word music can utter as an expression of the feeling of form is here spoken.

(Einstein 1946/R1971, 262)

The masonic bond between Mozart and Stadler appears to have been a cornerstone of their relationship. After the closure of the Palmtree Lodge, Stadler joined the 'Zur Wahrheit' (Truth) Lodge in 1786, being promoted to the second degree on 24 March 1786, and becoming a Master Mason on 15 May 1786 (Schuler 1992, 152). Whilst still a member of the New Crowned Hope Lodge Mozart was considering the formation of his own secret society *Die Grotte*. Constanze Mozart, in writing to the publisher Breitkopf and Haertel concerning a biography of her deceased husband, recorded that a fragment of an essay concerning the society was extant and that she would forward it to 'someone who perhaps was in a position to complete it, because he took part in it' (Bauer and Deutsch 1962–75, 4: 299–300: letter of 27 November 1799). This was Anton Stadler, who returned the completed essay. In further correspondence with Breitkopf and Haertel Constanze noted that '[t]he elder Stadler, presently court clarinettist, wrote the rest of the essay and could probably explain it. But he is reluctant to admit what he knows about it because secret orders and societies are so much hated' (*ibid*, 360: letter of 21 July 1800). The summer of 1786, when K.498 was written, may have been the time when the influence of the masonic movement affected both Stadler and Mozart most profoundly. It is little wonder then that chamber music, probably written for their own performance, should have been imbued with the spirit and musical symbols of the brotherhood.

A plethora of individual symbols serve to make up a masonic topic. A holistic masonic *affect* is that aura recognised by authors as undemonstrative and convivial (Keys 1980, 163, for example, describes its intimate manner). Complex intratextual references, almost monothematicism (see Keller 1974, 135) connect the movements of K.498. But the work is also loaded with intertextual references, many from K.471, at both structural and surface levels. It is inconceivable that these masonic allusions were not there to be recognised (at least to Stadler) and articulated in performance. To misapprehend the masonic topic would therefore be to misconstrue the expressive potential of the work.

It is little wonder that song predominates, for it was in song that masons of the Viennese and Prague Lodges in particular celebrated the beginning and ending of Lodge ceremony (Schuler 1992, 57). Above all a mellifluous vocal quality, so much prized by contemporary writers on the clarinet, is called for here. But if the song is to emerge by I bar 25 then the disjointedness of the opening may be emphasised, rendering the final realisation of the song topic more powerful. An awareness of the three-bar phrase structure may be articulated (as though a hyper-metrical dotted minim, with the hierarchical emphasis falling respectively on 'beats' 1-3-2). The smallest detail can take on crucial structural significance too: the timing of the pregnant pause before the repeat of the song at I bar 55 (a rhetorical rest, actually notated by Mozart) is crucial to the hearing of this harmonic digression

and topical repetition. In contrast to the opening, the continuous *mêlée* of the reprise (now *forte*) needs to be boldly projected at I bar 74. The emerging *quasi* aria will then be heard as continuation of this fabric rather than a starting point as it was at I bar 9.

The low- versus high-style tensions of the Minuet and Trio are signalled through tonality. But a rumbustuous presence in the Menuetto and a more faltering, nervous presentation of the Trio reinforce these differences. The Trio is structurally complex: a performance that attempts to resolve the metrical ambiguities and disorientation plays against the essence of the expression here. From II bar 55 the breakdown of meter must not be resisted and the viola must be heard to blunder haplessly beyond the cadence. For this music to have its effect, a pulseless essence must be achieved. The separation of the phrases from II bar 63 reinforce the three bar units and serve to highlight the three tone descent. By contrast restitution of meter at II bar 95 can be pronounced, the ambiguities resolved and celebrated in the *forte* canon from II bar 98. Thenceforth a strict pulse serves to emphasise that the Trio's thematic material is now within the metrical stability of the Menuetto.

If the prevailing spirit of the third movement is masonic joy, it is hard to believe that its particular signs would not have received special attention in performance. Aside from the obvious presence of the masonic song at the opening, calling for a *cantabile* approach, surface features requiring prominence include the rising octave figure (III bars 35 and 125), the three-quaver knocks (III bar 51) and the joyous triplets (III bar 73). Here the metaphor of the meeting of ancient and modern may be revealed in the explicit characters of the C minor and E flat major material in the second episode. Mozart has, after all, left few clues as to the execution here (neither the autograph nor the first edition have any indication of dynamics). Although a subito *forte* at III bar 67 is the typical manner of performance, a more subtle inflection here may save a stronger dynamic for III bar 73. All the more forceful then is the C minor presentation from III bar 85. Such details matter to the last: Mozart permits two final references to the mason's joy in the viola (III bars 214 and 216), probably first performed by the composer himself, features that require projection through the prevailing *piano* dynamic. All energy must be suppressed for the exuberant extended *crescendo* to the close.

Bibliography

Abert, Hermann, 'Mozart: Chamber Music with Piano', in Walter Willson Cobbett, *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 167ff.

Adams, Sarah Jane, 'Quartets and Quintets for Mixed Groups of Winds and Strings: Mozart and His Contemporaries in Vienna, c.1780–c.1800', (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994)

Adelson, Robert, 'Reading between the (Ledger) Lines: Performing Mozart's Music for the Basset Clarinet', in *Performance Practice Review* 10/2 (Fall 1997), 137–91

Adorno, Theodor W., 'Bach Defended against his Devotees' (1951), in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), 133–46

Agawu, Victor Kofi, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991)

_____ 'The Challenge of Semiotics', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, eds, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 138–60

Albrechtsberger, Johann Georg, *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* (Leipzig: J.G.I.Breitkopf, 1790)

Allanbrook, Wye Jamison, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1983)

_____ 'Two Threads through the Labyrinth: Topic and Process in the First Movement of K.332 and K.333', in *Convention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Music: Essays in Honor of Leonard G.Ratner* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1992), 125–71

Anderson, Emily, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Beethoven* (London: Macmillan, 1961)

_____ ed. and trans., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 3rd edn (London: Macmillan, 1985)

Angermüller, Rudolph, *Sigismund Neukomm: Werkverzeichnis, Autobiographie, Beziehung zu seinen Zeitgenossen* (Munich; Salzburg: E.Katzbichler, 1977)

Autexier, Philippe A., 'Wann wurde die Maurerische Trauermusik uraufgeführt', in *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1985), 6–8

_____ 'Freemasonry', in Landon, H.C.Robbins ed., *The Mozart Compendium* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990)

Backofen, Johann Georg Heinrich, *Anweisung zur Clarinette mit besonderer Hinsicht auf die in neuern Zeiten diesem Instrument beigefügten Klappen nebst einer kurzen Abhandlung über das Basset-Horn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1824)

_____ *Anweisung zur Clarinette nebst einer kurzen Abhandlung über das Basset-Horn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, c.1803; R Celle: Moeck, 1986)

Balassa, György, 'Az első bécsi klasszikus iskola zongora-klarinét szonárai', in *Magyar Zene* 17 (1976), 12–41

- Bauer, Wilhelm A. and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–75)
- Becker, Heinz, ed., *Klarinetten-Konzerte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, as vol.41 of *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1957)
- Beethoven, Ludwig van, *Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, Band 1, 1783–1807, Sieghard Brandenburg ed., (Munich: G.Henle Verlag, 1996)
- Beghin, T., 'Haydn as Orator: a Rhetorical Analysis of his Keyboard Sonata in D major, Hob.XVI:42' in Elaine R.Sisman, *Haydn and his World* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 201–54
- Berger, Jonathan, 'Playing with Playing with Signs: A Critical Response to Kofi Agawu', in *Journal of Music Theory* 38/2 (Fall 1994), 293–313
- Berry, Wallace, *Musical Structure and Performance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989)
- Biba, Otto, 'Beethoven und die 'Liebhaber Concerte' in Wien im Winter 1807/08', in Rudolf Klein ed., *Beiträge '76-78: Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977: Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 82–93
- _____ 'Grundzüge des Konzertwesens in Wien zu Mozarts Zeit', in Ed. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg *Mozart und seine Umwelt* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978–9), 132–43
- _____ 'Concert Life in Beethoven's Vienna', in Robert Winter and Bruce Carr, eds., *Beethoven Performers and Critics: The International Beethoven Congress, Detroit, 1977* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), 77–93
- Birsak, Kurt, 'Salzburg, Mozart, and the Clarinet', trans. G Schamberg in *Clarinet* 13 (1985), 26–31
- _____ *The Clarinet: A Cultural History* (Buchloe: Obermayer, 1994)
- Böckh, Franz Heinrich, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller, Künstler, und Dilettanten im Kunstfache...* (Vienna: Bauer, 1821)
- Boese, Helmut, *Die Klarinette als Solo Instrument in der Mannheimer Schule* (Dresden: Dittert, 1940)
- Braunbehrens, Volkmar, *Mozart in Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)
- Brecht, Karl-Peter, *Conradin Kreutzer: Biographie und Werkverzeichnis* (Messkirch: Stadt Messkirch, 1980)
- Brook, Barry S., ed., *The Symphony 1720–1840*, Series B vol.5 (New York; London: Garland, 1984)
- Brown, Clive, 'Perspectives on Beethoven', in *Musical Times* 129 (September 1988), 448–52
- _____ *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

- Bryan, Paul, *Johann Wanhal, Viennese Symphonist: His Life and His Musical Environment*, as vol.23 of Pendragon Press Thematic Catalogue Series (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1997)
- Bücken, Ernst, 'Romantik und Realismus: Zur Periodisierung der 'romantischen' Epoche', in *Festschrift Arnold Schering* (Berlin: A.Glas, 1937), 46–50
- Burstyn, Shai, 'In Quest of the Period Ear', in *Early Music* 25 (1997), 693–701
- Butt, John, 'Consistent Inconsistencies: John Butt on Bach', in Bernard Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 173–92
- _____. *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Charlton, David, 'Classical Clarinet Technique: Documentary Approaches', in *Early Music* 16 (1988), 396–406
- Cohen, Aaron I., *International Encyclopaedia of Women Composers* (New York: Books & Music, 1987)
- Cone, Edward T., *Musical Form and Musical Performance* (New York: Norton, 1968)
- Cook, Nicholas and Mark Everist, eds, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Cook, Nicholas, *Music, Imagination and Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990)
- _____. 'Analysing Performance, and Performing Analysis', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, eds, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 239–61
- _____. 'Between Process and Product: Music and/as Performance', *Music Theory Online* 7/2 (April 2001), at <http://societymusictheory.org/mto/issues/mto.01.7.2/toc.7.2.html> (accessed 13/8/2003)
- Cooper, Barry, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Cramer, Karl Friedrich, *Magazin der Musik* (Hamburg, 1783)
- Croll, Gerhard and Kurt Birsak, 'Anton Stadlers 'Bassetklarinetten' und das 'Stadler-Quintett' KV 581', in *Oesterreichische Musikzeitschrift* 24/1 (January 1969), 3–11
- Cumming, Naomi, *The Sonic Self: Musical Subjectivity and Signification* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000)
- Czerny, Carl, 'Recollections from My Life', trans. E. Sanders, in *Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956), 302–17
- _____. *On the Proper Performance of all Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, facs, Paul Badura-Skoda ed., (Vienna: Universal, 1970) (includes extracts from Czerny's 'Memoirs') [page references to Universal edition rather than original]
- Dahlhaus, Carl, 'Romantische Musikästhetik und Wiener Klassik', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 29 (1972), 167–81

- _____ 'Romantik und Biedermeier', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 31 (1974), 22–41
- _____ 'Was ist eine musikalische Gattung?', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 135/10 (1974), 620–25
- _____ *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989)
- Dazeley, George, 'The Original Text of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto', in *Music Review* 9 (1948), 166–72
- DeLong, Kenneth, 'The Conventions of Musical Biedermeier', in *Convention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Music: Essays in Honor of Leonard G. Ratner* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1992), 195–223
- Deutsch, Otto Erich, *Schubert: a Documentary Biography* (London: Dent, 1946)
- _____ *Musikverlags Nummern: Eine Auswahl von 40 datieren Listen 1710–1900*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Merseburger, 1961)
- _____ *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (London: A. and C. Black, 1965)
- Dittersdorf, Carl Ditters von, *Karl von Dittersdorfs Lebensbeschreibung, seinem Sohne in die Feder diktiert* (Leipzig, 1801; Eng. trans., 1896/R1970)
- Dlabacž, Gottfried Johann, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien* (Prague: G. Haase, 1815)
- Doernberg, E., 'Adalbert Gyrowetz', in *Music and Letters* 44 (1963), 21–30
- Drake, Kenneth, *The Beethoven Sonatas and the Creative Experience* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994)
- Dreyfus, Laurence, 'Early Music Defended against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century', in *Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983), 297–322
- Dubrow, Heather, *Genre* (London: Methuen, 1982)
- Dulak, Michelle, 'The Early Music Movement Circles Its Wagons Again', in *The New York Times* (Sunday Arts and Leisure section), 11 June 1995, 25
- Dullat, Günther, *Klarinetten: Grundzüge ihrer Entwicklung* (Frankfurt: E. Bochinsky, 2001)
- Dunsby, Jonathan, *Performing Music: Shared Concerns* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995)
- Edge, Dexter, Review of Morrow 1989, in *Haydn Yearbook* 17 (1992), 108–67
- Einstein, Alfred, *Mozart: His Character, His Work* (London: Panther, 1946/R1971)
- Eisen, Cliff, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O.E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1991)

- Eitner, Robert, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, 10 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1898–1904)
- Engel, Hans, 'Die Grenzen der romantischen Epoche und der Fall Mendelssohn', in *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum achtzigsten Geburtstag* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 259–72
- Ernemann, M., Lessel Worklist, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 12 (1840), 67–8
- Evan Bonds, Mark, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991)
- Fétis, François Joseph, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2nd edn, 8 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, fils et cie., 1860–5)
- Fink, Heinrich, 'Anton Stadler in Hannover', in *Tibia* 11 (1986), 20–24
- Fischer, Julius Wilhelm, *Reisen durch Oesterreich, Ungarn, Steyermark, Venedig, Böhmen und Mähren, in den Jahren 1801 und 1802* (Vienna, 1803)
- Floyd, Samuel Russell, 'The Clarinet Music of Johann Baptist Vanhal', (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1988)
- Fröhlich, Joseph, *Vollständige Theoretisch-praktische Musikschule für alle beym Orchester gebräuliche wichtigen Instrumente* (Bonn: Simrock, 1810–11)
- _____ 'Ueber der Verbesserung der Klarinette vom Hrn. Iwan Müller ...', in *AmZ* XIX, 15 October 1817: 713–19
- Gerber, Ernst Ludwig, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: J.G.I.Breitkopf, 1790–92; R Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1977)
- _____ *Neues Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: A.Kühnel, 1812–14; R Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1966)
- Gillaspie, Jon A., Marshall Stoneham and David Lindsey Clark, *The Wind Ensemble Catalog* (Westport: Greenwood, 1998)
- Goehr, Lydia, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1992)
- Godlovitch, Stan, *Musical Performance: A Philosophical Study* (London: Routledge, 1998)
- Haberkamp, Gertraut, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Bibliographie*, 2 vols (Tutzing: Schneider, 1986)
- Hacker, Alan, 'Mozart and the Bassett Clarinet', in *Musical Times* 110 (1969), 359–62
- Hanslick, Eduard, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, 2 vols (Vienna: W.Braumüller, 1869)
- Hanson, Alice Mary, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)
- Hárach, Janos II ed., 'Documents from the Esterházy Archives in Eisenstadt & Forchtenstein', as *Haydn Yearbook* 19 (1994)

Harlow, M.D., 'The Transcriptions for Wind Harmonie of Wenzel Sedlak (1776-1851)', (M.Phil. diss., University of Sheffield, 1996)

_____ 'The Chamber Music with Clarinet of Ferdinand Ries', in *Clarinet* 27/3 (June 2000), 50–54

Harmoncourt, Nikolaus, *Baroque Music Today: Music as Speech*, ed. Reinhard G. Pauly, trans. Mary O'Neill (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1988)

Hatten, Robert, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation and Interpretation* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994)

Haupt, Helga, 'Wiener Instrumentenbauer von 1791 bis 1815', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1960), 120–84

Hausner, Henry H., 'Franz Anton Hoffmeister (1754–1812), Komponist und Verleger', in *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 38/1–4 (1990), 155–62

Heindl, Waltraud, 'People, Class, Structure and Society', in Raymond Erickson ed., *Schubert's Vienna* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 36–54

Hellyer, Roger, '“Fidelio” für neunstimmige Harmonie', in *Music and Letters* 53/3 (July 1972), 242–53

_____ '“Harmoniemusik”: Music for Small Wind Band in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1973)

_____ 'Some Documents Relating to Viennese Wind-Instrument Purchases' in *Galpin Society Journal* 28 (1975), 50–59

_____ 'The Wind Ensembles of the Esterházy Princes, 1761-1813', in *Haydn Yearbook* 15 (1984), 5–92

_____ 'Chamber Music: Wind Instruments with Strings and Piano', in H.C. Robbins Landon ed., *The Mozart Compendium* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 287–9

Herresthal, Harald, *Carl Arnold: Ein europäischer Musiker des 19. Jahrhunderts. Eine Dokumentenbiographie mit thematischem Werkverzeichnis* (Wilhelmshaven: F.Noetzel, 1993)

Hess, Ernst, 'Die Ursprüngliche Gestalt des Klarinettenkonzertes KV 622', in *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 15 (1967), 13–30

Hill, Cecil, *The Music of Ferdinand Ries: A Thematic Catalogue* (Armidale, New South Wales: University of New England Publishing Unit, 1977)

Hindemith, Paul, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Heritage and Obligation* (speech delivered 12 September, 1950 at Bach commemoration in Hamburg, Germany) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952)

Hoeprich, T. Eric, 'Clarinet Reed Position in the Eighteenth Century', in *Early Music* 12 (1984), 49–55

- _____ 'A Trio of Basset Horns by Theodor Lotz', in *Galpin Society Journal* 50 (1997), 228–36
- Hoffmann, Freia, *Instrument und Körper: die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1991)
- Höly, Fritz-Georg, Preface to Mozart, W.A., 'Grande Sonate' (Lottstetten; Adliswil, Kunzelmann, 1996)
- Hopfner, Rudolf, *Wiener Musikinstrumentenmacher, 1766–1900: Adressenverzeichnis und Bibliographie* (Tutzing: H.Schneider, 1999)
- Howell, Tim, 'Analysis and Performance: The Search for a Middleground', in John Paynter et al. eds., *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought*, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1992), vol.2, 692–714
- Hüppe, Eberhard, *W.A.Mozart, Innovation und Praxis zum Quintett Es-Dur KV 452*, as vol.99 of *Musik-Konzepte* (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1998)
- Ingrao, Charles, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Jacob, Michael, *Die Klarinettenkonzerte von Carl Stamitz* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1991)
- Jan, Steven B., 'The evolution of a memplex in late Mozart: Replicated structures in Pamina's Ach, ich fuhl's' in *Journal of Royal Musical Association* 128/1 (2003), 30–70
- Jeltsch, Jean, 'La clarinette de Mozart', in *Crescendo* 34 (July-August 1990), 12–24
- Johnson, Douglas P., *Beethoven's Early Sketches in the 'Fischhof Miscellany: Berlin autograph 28'*, (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980)
- Johnson, Peter, 'Musical works, musical performances', in *Musical Times* 138 (August 1997), 4–11
- Johnston, Stephen Keith, 'The Clarinet Concertos of Louis Spohr' (D.M.A. diss., University of Maryland, 1972)
- Kagan, Susan, *Archduke Rudolph, Beethoven's patron, pupil, and friend: his life and music* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1988)
- Kallberg, Jeffrey, 'The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G minor', in *19th-Century Music* 11/3 (1988), 238–61
- Kaplan, Richard, 'Exempli gratia: Mozart's self-borrowings: two cases of auto-theft', in *In Theory Only* 6/3 (April 1982), 25–30
- Kees, Stephan Edler von, *Darstellung des Fabriks-und-Gewerbswesens* 2nd edn, 3 vols (Vienna: Morschner und Jaspar, 1824) [1st edn 1803]
- Keller, Hans, 'The Chamber Music', in H.C.Robbins Landon and D.Mitchell, eds, *The Mozart Companion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), 90–137
- Kenyon, Nicholas ed., *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)

- Kerman, Joseph ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph Miscellany from c.1786 to 1799*, 2 vols (London: British Museum, 1970)
- Kerman, Joseph et al, 'The Early Music Debate: Ancients, Moderns, Postmoderns' in *Journal of Musicology* 10/1 (Winter 1992), 113–30
- Keys, Ivor, *Mozart: His Music in his Life* (London: Elek, 1980)
- Kinderman, William, 'Subjectivity and objectivity in Mozart performance', in *Early Music* 19/4 (November 1991), 593–9
- Kim, Jin-Ah, *Anton Eberls Sinfonien in ihrer Zeit: hermeneutisch-analytische Aspekte der Sinfonik, 1770–1830* (Eisenach: K.D.Wagner, 2002)
- King, A.Hyatt, *Mozart in Retrospect* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970/R1976)
- Kinsky, Georg Ludwig, *Das Werks Beethovens* (Munich; Duisburg: G.Henle Verlag, 1955)
- Kivy, Peter, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections of Musical Performance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995)
- Klöcker, Dieter, Notes to recording of Czerny Op.126, (Dabringhaus and Grimm: MDG 301 0518-2, 1994)
- Koch, Heinrich Christoph, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt: H. dem Jüngern, 1802/R Hildesheim: Olms, 1964)
- Köchel, Ludwig von, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amade Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1862; R.6/1964)
- _____ *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien vom 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna: Holder, 1869)
- Köhler, Karl-Heinz, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Konversationshefte* (Leipzig: VEB, Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968–93)
- Komlós, Katlin, 'The Viennese Keyboard Trio in the 1780s: Sociological Background and Contemporary Reception', in *Music and Letters* 68 (1987), 222–34
- _____ *Fortepianos and their Music: Germany, Austria, and England, 1760–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995)
- Konrad, Ulrich, *Mozarts Schaffensweise. Studien zu den Werkautographen, Skizzen und Entwürfen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992)
- Kratochvíl, Jiří, 'Betrachtungen über die Urfassung des Konzerts für Klarinette und des Quintetts für Klarinette und Streicher von W.A.Mozart', in *Internationale Konferenz über das Leben und Werk W.A.Mozarts, Praha, 27.-31. Mai 1956* (c.1958), 262–71
- _____ 'Koncertantní klarinet v českém klasicismu', in *Ziva Hudba* 9 (1968), 285–371
- Kraus, Hedwig, 'W.A.Mozart und die Familie Jacquin', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 15/4 (January 1933), 155–68

Krauss, Joseph, *Vollständiges Verzeichniss der National-Schauspiele und Besetzung ... welche in beiden k.k.Hoftheatern ... im Jahr 1785 aufgeführt worden sind. Nebst einen Anhang von musikalischen Akademien* (Vienna, 1786)

Krausz, Michael ed., *The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993)
_____ 'Rightness and Reasons in Musical Interpretation', in Micheal Krausz ed., *The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 75–87

Kroll, Oscar, *Die Klarinette: Ihre Geschichte, ihre Literatur, ihre Grossen Meister* ed. D.Riehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965). Trans. H.Morris as *The Clarinet* (with repertory by D.Riehm) (New York: Taplinger, 1968)

La Mara (pseud. of M. Lipsius), *Beethoven und die Brunsviks: nach Familienpapieren aus Therese Brunsviks Nachlass* (Leipzig: C.F.W.Siegel's Musikalienhandlung, 1920)

Landon, H.C.Robbins, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 5 vols (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976–80)

_____ ed., *The Mozart Compendium* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990)

_____ *Mozart and the Masons* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991)

Landon, H.C.Robbins, and David Wyn Jones, *Haydn: His Life and Music* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988)

Lawson, Colin, 'The Basset Clarinet Revived', in *Early Music* 15/4 (1987), 487–501

_____ 'The Development of Wind Instruments', in Robin Stowell ed., *Performing Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 70–84

_____ *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

_____ *Mozart: Clarinet Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

_____ *The Early Clarinet: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

_____ 'Performing through history', in John Rink, *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3–16

Lawson, Colin and Robin Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Leeson, Daniel N., and David Whitwell, 'Mozart's Thematic Catalogue', in *Musical Times* 114 (August 1973), 781–3

Lester, Joel, 'Performance and Analysis: Interaction and Interpretation', in John Rink ed., *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 197–216

Levy, Janet, 'Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (Fall 1982), 482–531

_____ 'Beginning-Ending Ambiguity: Consequences of Performance Choices', in John Rink ed., *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 150–69

Link, Dorothea, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122/2 (1997), 205–57

Lönn, Anders, 'Paul Struck', in *NG2*, 24: 611

Luper, Ray Fernando, 'The German Lieder of Nikolaus Freiherr von Krufft, 1779–1818', (Ph.D. diss, University of Tulane, 1976)

MacArdle, Donald W., 'Beethoven and Ferdinand Ries', in *Music and Letters* 46/1 (January 1965), 23–34

Mandyczewski, Eusebius, *Geschichte der K.K. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, 2 vols (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1912)

Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, 4 vols (Berlin: Birnstein, 1760–64; R Hildesheim: Olms, 1974) [II (1763)]

Martin, Robert L., 'Musical "Topics" and Expression in Music', in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 53/4 (Fall 1995), 417–24

Massin, Jean and Brigitte Massin, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Paris: Club Français du Livre, 1959)

Maunder, Richard, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1998)

_____ 'Viennese Wind Instrument Makers, 1700–1800', in *Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998), 170–91

Meredith, William R., 'The origins of Beethoven's op.109', in *Musical Times* 126 (December 1985), 713–16

Merriman, Lyle, 'Early Clarinet Sonatas', in *Instrumentalist* 21/9 (April 1967), 28–30

Miller, Arthur Maximilian, 'Franz Xaver Kleinheinz', in *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Swaben* 12 (1980), 152–77

Moore, Julia, 'Beethoven and Inflation', in Christopher Reynolds ed., *Beethoven Forum* 1 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 191–223

Morgan, Robert P., 'Tradition, Anxiety, and the Current Musical Scene', in Nicholas Kenyon ed., *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 57–82

Morrow, Mary Sue, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1989)

_____ 'Of Unity and Passion: The Aesthetics of Concert Criticism in Early Nineteenth-Century Vienna', in *19th-Century Music* 13/3 (Spring 1990), 193–206

_____ *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Müller, Iwan, *Anweisung zu der neuen Clarinette und der Clarinette-Alto* (Leipzig: F.Hofmeister, 1825)

Münster, Robert, 'Anna Maria Countess Erdödy', in *Münchener Beethoven-Studien* (Munich; Salzburg: E.Katzbichler, 1992), 217–24

Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 17 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86)

Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2nd edn (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–)

Myslík, Antonín, 'Repertoire und Besetzung der Harmoniemusik an den Höfen Schwarzenberg, Pachta und Clam-Gallas', in *Haydn Yearbook* 10 (1978), 110–20

Nagy, Michael, 'Zur Geschichte und Entwicklung der Wiener Holzbläuserschule' in O.Biba and W.Schuster eds, *Klang und Komponist: Ein Symposium der Wiener Philharmoniker* (Tutzing: H.Schneider, 1992), 263–82

Narmour, Eugene, 'On the Relationship of Analytical Theory to Performance and Interpretation', in Eugene Narmour and Ruth A.Solie eds., *Explorations in Music, the Arts, and Ideas* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1988), 317–40

Ness, Arthur J., 'Some Remarks Concerning the Bassett Clarinet and Mozart's Concerto in A Major (KV 622)', (Master's diss., Harvard University, 1961)

Nettl, Paul, *Mozart and Masonry* (New York: Philosophical, 1957)

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe 130 vols ed. International Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978–)

Newbould, Brian, *Schubert: The Music and the Man* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997)

New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980)

New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Reference, 2001)

Newhill, John, *The Bassett Horn & its Music*, 2nd edn (Sale: the author, 1986)

Newman, William S., 'Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata', in *Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947), 327–49

_____ *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963)

_____ *The Sonata since Beethoven* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969)

_____ *Beethoven on Beethoven: playing his piano music his way* (New York; London: Norton, 1988)

Nissen, George Nikolaus von, *Anhang zu Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Biographie* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1828)

Novello, Vincent, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: being the travel diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the year 1829*, trans. N. Medici di Marignano, ed. R. Hughes (London: Novello, 1955)

Pay, Antony, 'Phrasing in Contention', in *Early Music* 24/2 (May 1996), 291–321

Pichler, Caroline, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, 4 vols (Vienna, 1844)

Pisarowitz, Karl Maria, 'Müaßt ma nix übel aufnehma...': Beitragsversuche zue einer Gebrüder-Stadler-Biographie' in *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 19/1–2 (February 1971), 29–33

Plath, Wolfgang, 'Beiträge zur Mozart-Autobiographie II: Schriftchronologie 1770–1780', in *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1978), 131–73

Pohl, Carl Ferdinand, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler Societät* (Vienna: Im Selbstverlage des Vereines, 1871)

Poulin, Pamela, 'The Basset Clarinet of Anton Stadler', in *College Music Symposium* 22/2 (Fall 1982), 67–82

_____ 'A Report on New Information Regarding Stadler's Concert Tour of Europe and Two Early Examples of the Basset Clarinet', in R. Angermüller *et al.* ed., *Bericht über den Internationalen Mozart-Kongreß Salzburg 1991* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 946–53

_____ 'An Updated report on New Information Regarding Stadler's Concert Tour of Europe and Two Early Examples of the Basset Clarinet', in *Clarinet* 22/2 (February-March 1995), 24–8

_____ 'Anton Stadler's Basset Clarinet: Recent Discoveries in Riga', in *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 22 (1996), 110–27

Powers, Harold S., 'Reading Mozart's Music: Text and Topic, Syntax and Sense', in *Current Musicology* 57 (1995), 5–44

Radant, Else ed., 'The Diaries of Joseph Carl Rosenbaum', as *Haydn Yearbook* 5 (1968)

Ratner, Leonard G., 'Eighteenth-Century Theories of Musical Period Structure', in *Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956), 439–54

_____ *Classic Music: Expression, Form and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980)

_____ *The Musical Experience: Sound, Movement and Arrival* (New York; San Fransisco: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1983)

_____ 'Topical Content in Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas', in *Early Music* 19 (1991), 615–19

_____ *The Beethoven String Quartets* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995)

Rau, Ulrich, 'Die Kammermusik für Klarinette und Streichinstrumente im Zeitalter der Wiener Klassik' (Ph.D. diss., Universität des Saarlandes, 1977)

Rendall, F. Geoffrey, *The Clarinet: Some Notes upon Its History and Construction*, 3rd edn (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971)

- Rice, Albert R., 'Clarinet Fingering Charts, 1732-1816', in *Galpin Society Journal* 37 (1984), 16–41
- _____ *The Clarinet in the Classical Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Rice, John A., 'The Musical Bee: References to Mozart and Cherubini in Hummel's "New Year" Concerto', in *Music and Letters* 77 (1996), 401–24
- Ringer, Alexander L., 'Mozart and the Josephian Era: Some Socio-Economic Notes on Musical Change', in *Current Musicology* 9 (1969), 158–65
- Rink, John, Review of Berry 1989, in *Music Analysis* 9/3 (1990), 319–39
- _____ 'Authentic Chopin: history, analysis and intuition in performance', in John Rink and Jim Samson, eds., *Chopin Studies 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 214–44
- _____ ed., *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- _____ 'Translating Musical Meaning: The Nineteenth-Century Performer as Narrator', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist eds, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 217–38
- _____ 'Analysis and (or?) Performance', in John Rink ed., *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- _____ ed., *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Roeser, Valentin, *Essai d'instruction à l'usage de ceux qui composent pour la clarinette et le cor*, (Paris: Le Menu, 1764; reprint Geneva: Minkoff, 1972)
- Rosen, Charles, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London: Faber, 1971)
- Rosenblum, Sandra P., *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988)
- Ross, David, 'A Comprehensive Performance Project in Clarinet Literature with an Organological Study of the Development of the Clarinet in the Eighteenth Century', (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 1985)
- Rothstein, William, 'Analysis and the Act of Performance', in Rink, ed., *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 217–40
- Saam, Joseph, *Das Bassethorn: Seine Erfindung und Weiterbildung* (Mainz: Schott, 1971)
- Saint-Foix (see Wyzewa, 1912–46)
- Sandberger, A., 'F.X.Kleinheinz' in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Musikgeschichte* (Munich 1921, 1924, 1934)

Schiedermair, Ludwig, 'Die Blütezeit der Öttingen-Wallerstein'schen Hofkapelle', in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (Leipzig, 1907/8), 83–130

Schilling, Gustav, *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst*, 7 vols (Stuttgart: Köhler, 1835–42)

Schindler, Anton F., *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840). 3rd edn, 2 vols (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860) as Donald W. MacArdle ed., *Beethoven as I Knew Him* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966)

Schink, Johann Friedrich, *Litterarische Fragmente* (Graz: Widmanstättenschen Schriften, 1785)

_____ *Dramaturgische Monate* (Schwerin, 1790–91)

Schmalfeldt, Janet, 'On the Relation of Analysis to Performance: Beethoven's Bagatelles Op.126, Nos. 2 and 5', in *Journal of Music Theory* 29/1 (1985), 1–31

Schönfeld, Johann Ferdinand von, ed., *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna, 1796, reprint Munich; Salzburg: E.Katzbichler, 1976)

Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* [dictated 1783–5], (Vienna: J.V.Degen, 1806; R Hildesheim: G.Olms, 1969)

Schuler, Heinz, *Mozart und die Freimaurerei* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1992)

Scruton, Roger, *The Aesthetics of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997)

Seifert, Herbert, 'Die Verbindungen der Familie Erdödy zur Musik', in *Haydn Yearbook* 10 (1978), 151–63

Senner, Wayne ed., *The Critical Reception of Beethoven's Compositions by His German Contemporaries* 2 vols, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1999)

Shackleton, Nicholas, 'The Development of the Clarinet', in Colin Lawson ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 16–32

_____ 'Clarinet: The clarinet in Western art music', in *NG2*, 5: 897–910

Sharpe R.A., 'Authenticity again', in *British Journal of Aesthetics* 31/2 (1991), 163–6

Sherman, Bernard, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Sheveloff, Joel, 'When Sources Seem to Fail: The Clarinet Parts in Mozart's K.581 and K.622', in John Knowles ed., *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard* (Amsterdam: Gordon & Breach, 1996), 379–401

Silver, Phillip Alan, 'Ignaz Moscheles: A Reappraisal of his Life and Musical Influence', (D.M.A. diss., University of Washington, 1992)

Smallman, Basil, *The Piano Trio: Its History, Technique and Repertoire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)

- _____ *The Piano Quartet and Quintet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)
- Smidak, Emil F., *Isaak-Ignaz Moscheles: The Life of the Composer and his Encounters with Beethoven, Liszt, Chopin and Mendelssohn* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989)
- Solomon, Maynard, *Mozart: A Life* (New York; Hutchinson, 1995)
- Spengler, Gernot, *Der Komponist Philipp Jakob Riotte aus St.Wendel: sein Leben und seine Instrumentalmusik* (St. Wendel: St. Wendel Buchdruck und Verlag, 1977)
- Spiel, Hilde, *Fanny von Arnstein: Daughter of the Enlightenment 1758–1818*, trans. Christine Shuttleworth (New York; Oxford: Berg, 1991)
- Spoehr, Louis, *Autobiography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969) [R of first printed English edition of 1865]
- Steblin, Rita, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1996)
- Stein, Erwin, *Form and Performance* (New York: Limelight, 1989)
- Stekl, Hannes, 'Harmoniemusik und "türkische Banda" des Fürstenhauses Liechtenstein', in *Haydn Yearbook* 10 (1978), 164–75
- Stradner, Gerhard, 'Wiener Instrumentenbau zur Zeit Maria Theresias', in *Musik am Hof Maria Theresias: in memoriam Vera Schwarz* (Munich; Salzburg: E.Katzbichler, 1984)
- Suppan, Wolfgang, *Heinrich Eduard Josef von Lannoy (1787–1853): Leben und Werke* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1960)
- Taruskin, Richard, 'The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past', in Nicholas Kenyon ed., *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 137–210
- _____ *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Taylor, A.J.P., *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809–1918* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1948)
- Thayer, Alexander Wheelock. rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2/1967)
- Thomson, Katharine, *The Masonic Thread in Mozart* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977)
- Titus, Robert Austin, 'The Solo Music for the Clarinet in the Eighteenth Century', (Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1962)
- Tovey, Donald Francis, 'Mozart: Quintet in E flat (K.452) ... (essay of 1900)' in *Essays In Musical Analysis: Chamber Music* (London: OUP, 1944), 106–20
- Türk Daniel Gottlob, *Klavierschule* (Kassel; London, Bärenreiter, 1789/R 1962)
- Tuthill, Burnet, 'Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano: Annotated Listings', in *Journal for Research in Music Education* 20/3 (Fall 1972), 308–28

- Tyson, Alan ed., *Beethoven Studies III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- _____ *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Score* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1987)
- Volek, Tomislav and Jaroslav Macek, 'Beethoven's rehearsals at the Lobkowitz's', in *Musical Times* 127 (February 1986), 75–80
- Voxman, Himie and Mauritia Murphy Mead, 'Some Notes on the Early Clarinet Sonatas and Anton Eberl's Sonata in Bb, Op.10, No.2', in *Clarinet* 22/4 (July-August 1995), 28–32
- Warner, Thomas E., *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600–1830* (Detroit: Information Co-ordinators, 1967)
- Waterhouse, William, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993)
- Weber, William, 'Did people listen in the 18th century?', in *Early Music* 25/4 (November 1997), 678–91
- Wegeler, Franz and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Koblenz, 1838, R. 3/1906 by A.C.Kalischer) as *Remembering Beethoven* (London, 1987 trans. Frederick Bauman and Tim Clark)
- Weinmann, Alexander, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages* (Vienna, 1948–)
- _____ *Themen-Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Johann Baptiste Wanhal*, 2 vols (Vienna: Musikverlag Ludwig Krenn, 1988)
- Weston, Pamela, 'Beethoven's Clarinetists', in *Musical Times* 111 (December 1970), 1212–13
- _____ *Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (London: R.Hale, 1971)
- _____ *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (London: the author, 1977)
- _____ 'Schwencke's Mozart Concerto: A Hypothesis', in *Clarinet* 24/1 (November-December 1996), 64–6
- _____ *Yesterday's Clarinetists: A Sequel* (York: Emerson, 2002)
- _____ 'Out of Purdah: Three Early 19th-century Female Virtuosi', in *Clarinet* 31/1 (December 2003), 90–92
- Whistling, Carl Friedrich and Friedrich Hofmeister, *Handbuch der Musikalischen Literatur* (Leipzig: A.Meysel, 1817–45)
- Whittall, Arnold, 'Autonomy/Heteronomy: The Contexts of Musicology', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist eds, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 73–101
- White, Alton Duane, 'The Piano Works of Anton Eberl (1765–1807)', (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1971)

Williams, Peter, 'Merely Players', Review of Butt 2002, in *Musical Times* 143 (Autumn 2002), 68–9

Wintle, Christopher, 'Analysis and Performance: Webern's Concerto Op.24/II', in *Music Analysis* 1/1 (1982), 73–99

Wurzbach, Constant von, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Vienna: K.K.Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856–91)

Wyzewa, T.de, and Saint-Foix, G.de, *W.-A.Mozart* (Paris, 1912–46)

Young, Phillip T., *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993)

Zeileis, Friedrich Georg, 'Bermerkung zum Fragment von Mozarts Freimaurerkantate KV 429', in *Mitteilungen der International Stiftung Mozarteum* 33/1–4 (July 1985), 11–16

Ziegler, Anton, *Adressen-Buch von Tonkünstlern, Dilettanten, Hof-Kammer – Theater und Kichern Musikern* (Vienna: Strauß, 1823)

Zimmerschied, Dieter, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Nepomuk Hummel* (Hofheim am Taunus: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1971)

Journals

Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (Leipzig, 1798–)

Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht aus der österreichischen Kaiserstaat (Vienna, 1817–24)

Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (Berlin, 1824–)

Cäcilia (Mainz, 1824–)

Harmonicon (London, 1823–)

Realzeitung (Vienna, 1771–86)

Der Sammler (Vienna, 1808–)

Das Wienerblättchen (Vienna, 1783–91)

Wiener Journal für Theater, Musik und Mode (Vienna, 1806)

Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode (WZKLTM) (Vienna, 1816–)

Wiener Zeitung (Vienna, 1780–)

Zeitung für die elegante Welt (Leipzig, 1803–)

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Unterhaltung (Conversationsblatt) (Vienna, 1819–21)