

ON THE VENUES FOR AND DECLINE OF THE ACCADEMIES AT ESZTERHÁZA IN HAYDN'S TIME

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ABSTRACT

This article examines various eighteenth-century sources to determine whether they confirm the present practice of calling a first-floor hall of the Fertőd (Eszterháza) palace the 'music room'. While the answer is essentially negative, we learn that the neighbouring ceremonial hall was used by Empress Maria Theresia for a banquet with some music-making in 1773, and that two more spaces on the ground floor served regularly as the 'summer music halls'. So where did the 'real', quality concerts take place? A whole body of documentary evidence clearly shows that the academies took place in the opera house or Grosses Theater. Much of this evidence refers to the first opera house, which burnt down in 1779. The practice apparently continued in the new, bigger 1781 opera house, but by then the number of concerts would have been reduced substantially, owing to the Prince's growing addiction to opera. A survey of Haydn's last symphonies and concertos composed for domestic use confirms that regular concerts could not have taken place later than 1783 or, possibly, 1784. However, a long-neglected remark in a contemporary witness report provides direct proof of the inclusion of symphonies in the course of opera performances.



Two hundred and fifty years ago, on 3 January 1766, Peter Ludwig Rahier, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy's estates director, informed the administrators of the Esterházy tenures throughout Hungary that the 'castle near Süttör' had been renamed 'Eszterház near Süttör' by the prince. Thereby the name Eszterháza became official.¹



I first visited Eszterháza – or, as it was consistently referred to at the time, the Esterházy palace of Fertőd – in the late spring of 1964 on a school trip. I clearly remember the guide referring to the hall adjacent to

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¹ Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv, Schloss Forchtenstein (EPA), Protocolle (PR) 6625 f. 172r. The princely administration mostly used the 'Eszterház' form, in Latin script and with flawless Hungarian spelling and accent. Contemporary Hungarian usage oscillated between the equally correct forms of 'Eszterház' and 'Eszterháza', whereas the modern Hungarian usage, which also used to be official between 1900 and 1950, is unequivocally 'Eszterháza'. This form has been taken over by today's 'politically correct' English and American – and more and more by German – musicology, although 'Eszterház' is equally correct historically. However, the form 'Esterháza', also fashionable among authors writing in German, is to be considered a corrupted form, mixing features of the place name and of the name of the family. Finally, the use of the family name as place name (as in 'Haydn spent many years in Esterházy/Esterhazy') also occurs, but this is a straightforward error.



Figure 1 Photograph of first-floor dining hall, c1940, taken by Károly Diebold. The doors of the ceremonial hall are situated behind the photographer. Soproni Múzeum (Sopron Museum). Used by permission

the first-floor ceremonial hall on the inner courtyard side, approachable both via the staircase inside the building and via the external ceremonial staircase and terrace, as the ‘music hall’ (Figure 1); this sounded peculiar because everyone knew and considered it natural that the venue for the palace concerts would have been the splendid ceremonial hall itself (Figure 2). In fact, in recent times the ‘music hall’ has been officially referred to as ‘the Haydn hall’. Eszterháza has undergone numerous changes since my school trip; however, on my most recent guided tour, in 2013, the guide not only described this hall in the same way but was even more explicit: ‘this is the hall where Joseph Haydn and his musicians made music’.

Trouble is, there is no reference to the hall as a music hall in the eighteenth century, either in the extensive archives or in contemporary descriptions. As we shall demonstrate, during the lifetime of Prince Nicolaus Esterházy I (‘The Magnificent’; 1714–1790) and Haydn, the hall was chiefly used for dining. In the well-known illustrated description of the palace and the Eszterháza estate, *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterháß im Königreiche Ungern*, published in Preßburg, the ceremonial hall is referred to as ‘Paradesaal’ and the adjacent hall simply as ‘Vorsaal’ (entrance hall, antechamber).² Gottfried von Rotenstein, author of the most thorough account,³ also calls them ‘Paradesaal’ and ‘Vorsaal’ in both the 1783 and 1793 editions of

2 (Karl Gottlieb Windisch,) *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterháß im Königreiche Ungern* (Preßburg: Anton Löwe, 1784), 26. Preßburg is now Bratislava, in Slovakia (in Hungarian, Pozsony).

3 According to a splendid study by art historian Edit Szentesi that provides an account and evaluation of contemporary descriptions of Eszterháza, Gottfried von Rotenstein is identical with Preßburg apothecary Gottfried Stegmüller, who had bought himself a title and whose Red Crab pharmacy still stands in Michalská Street. Edit Szentesi, ‘Eszterháza 18. századi leírásai’, in *Kő kövön: Dávid Ferenc 73. születésnapjára / Stein auf Stein: Festschrift für Ferenc Dávid* (Budapest: Vince, 2013), volume 2, 165–229, with German abstract (‘Eszterháza in der zeitgenössischen Öffentlichkeit’). Since the



his book; both texts use the adjective 'prächtig' (splendid).⁴ However, in his travel book of 1782 Heinrich Sander labels them as 'Gesellschaftsaal' (social or party hall) and 'Speisesaal' (dining hall) respectively.⁵ Johann Matthias Korabinsky, editor of the *Preßburger Zeitung*, refers only to 'großer Saal' (great hall) in his almanac of 1778, but in his 1786 lexicon of Hungary names both halls, calling the ceremonial hall 'Prachtsaal' (state hall) and the adjacent space, similarly to Sander but apparently independently of him, 'Speisesaal'.⁶ The internal financial documents⁷ and the great palace inventory of 1832⁸ call the ceremonial hall simply 'Grosser Saal' (big hall) and the other one 'Vorsaal' or 'Oberer [upper] Vorsaal' to distinguish it from the hall directly below it that gives on to the ceremonial courtyard; in a list of the palace rooms it is plain 'Vorzimmer' (anteroom). Three well-known French accounts only mention the ceremonial hall – as 'grand sal(l)on', and, occasionally, as 'salon d'enhaut' or 'salon du haut' – to differentiate it from the hall on the ground floor.⁹

Since some of the contemporary descriptions take the ground floor as their point of reference, and because we have begun referring to palace documents, it would seem useful to consider the names given to the two large ground-floor spaces as well. As we shall see, the functions of the two floors are inseparable; hence we will be able to survey the entire *corps de logis* of the palace.

The ground-floor hall with its arches (Figure 3), opening onto the parterre and overlooking Lés wood, is called 'Sala Terrena' in the German descriptions, in several versions of Italian and French spelling; the *Beschreibung* also calls it 'Unterer [lower] Saal'.¹⁰ The names used for the adjacent room (Figure 4), overlooking the ceremonial courtyard, just like those of the smaller hall above, include references to function: what Rotenstein labels simply as 'Vorsaal', the *Beschreibung*, the most 'authoritative' source, denotes, somewhat awkwardly, 'Vor- und Sommerspeisesaal' (entrance and summer dining hall). Sander does not

publication of this book, I have come across the same information on page 51 of Johann Mathias Korabinsky's *Beschreibung der königl. ungarischen Haupt- Frey- und Krönungsstadt Preßburg* (Preßburg: bey Johann Mathias Korabinsky, 1782–1785?): 'Herr Gottfr. Stegmüller sonst von Rottenstein'. Like Edit Szentesi in the field of the contemporary descriptions, Ferenc Dávid, the dedicatee of this festschrift, has introduced me to the realm of the archival documents connected with Eszterháza. I express my most sincere thanks to both of them.

- 4 Gottfried von Rotenstein, 'Reisen durch einen Theil des Königreichs Ungarn, im 1763sten und folgenden Jahren. Erster Abschnitt', in Johann Bernoulli, ed., *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder- und Menschenkenntniß dienender Nachrichten* (Berlin: Bernoulli, 1783), volume 9, 252, and Gottfried von Rotenstein, *Lust-Reisen durch Bayern, Würtemberg, Pfalz, Sachsen, Brandenburg, Österreich, Mähren, Böhmen und Ungarn, in den Jahren 1784 bis 1791* (Leipzig: Friedrich Schneider, 1793), volume 3, 162. The latter, considerably enlarged, version has so far been mostly ignored by Haydn and Eszterháza research. I am indebted to the literary historian Katalin Czibula for having drawn my attention to this important source well before the publication of the Szentesi study.
- 5 Heinrich Sander, *Beschreibung seiner Reisen durch Frankreich, die Niederlande, Holland, Deutschland und Italien; in Beziehung auf Menschenkenntnis, Industrie, Litteratur und Naturkunde insonderheit* (Leipzig: Friedrich Gotthold Jacobäer und Sohn, 1784), volume 2, 564.
- 6 (Johann Matthias Korabinsky,) *Almanach von Ungarn auf das Jahr 1778* (Vienna and Preßburg: 'im Verlage der Gesellschaft'[, 1778]), 325, and Johann Matthias Korabinsky, *Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn* (Preßburg: Weber und Korabinsky, 1786), 167.
- 7 A few random examples: 'Sala Terren' and 'Vorsahl': EPA, Bau Cassa (BC) 1781 N 122; 'Grosser Saal': EPA, Secretariats-Protocolle (SP) 1781 F 3 N 161 P 2; 'Grosser Vorsaal': SP 1781 F 3 N 169 P 11; 'Oberer Vorsaal': SP 1781 F 1 N 54 and BC 1781 N 90; 'Vor Sall': BC 1781 N 63 (the last three documents are connected with the same reparation work executed in the palace).
- 8 EPA, PR 6075.
- 9 Personal memoirs by Zorn de Bulach from 1772, in *L'Ambassade du Prince Louis de Rohan à la Cour de Vienne, 1771–1774. Notes écrites par un gentilhomme, officier supérieur attaché au Prince Louis de Rohan, ambassadeur du roi et publiées par son arrière-petit-fils le baron Zorn de Bulach* (Strasbourg: Fischbach, 1901), 69–72; *Relation des fêtes données à sa Majesté l'Imperatrice par S. A. Mst le Prince d'Esterhazy dans son Château d'Esterhazy le 1^r & 2^e 7^{bre} 1773* (Vienna: Ghelen[, 1773]), v; (Alphons Heinrich Traunpaur,) *Excursion à Esterhazy en Hongrie en mai 1784* (Vienna: Jean Ferdinand Noble de Schönfeld[, 1784]), f. 12v.
- 10 (Windisch,) *Beschreibung*, 23.



Figure 2 Photograph of ceremonial hall, 1935, taken by Károly Diebold. The glass door to the left of the corner opens into the dining hall. Soproni Múzeum. Used by permission

write about the ground floor; in 1778 Korabinsky mentions the ‘Sala Terrena’ only, but in 1786 the ‘Vorsaal’ as well.¹¹

In the estate-management documents the ground-floor spaces are always called ‘Sala Terrena’ and ‘Vorsaal (zur Sala Terrena)’ respectively. Of the three French accounts, *Excursion à Esterhaz en Hongrie en mai 1784* does not discuss the ground floor; the *Relation des fêtes données à sa Majesté l’Imperatrice par S. A. M^{gr} le Prince d’Esterhazy dans son Château d’Esterhaz le 1^r & 2^e 7^{bre} 1773* and the memoirs of Zorn de Bulach are unaware of the Sala Terrena label: they call it ‘salon d’enbas’ (lower hall) and ‘salon du rez-de-chaussée’ (ground-floor hall) respectively, without mentioning the antechamber, similarly to their descriptions of the first floor.¹²

11 Rotenstein, ‘Reisen durch einen Theil des Königreichs Ungarn’, 257; (Windisch,) *Beschreibung*, 23; (Korabinsky,) *Almanach von Ungarn*, 325; Korabinsky, *Geographisch-historisches Lexikon von Ungarn*, 168.

12 *Relation*, vi, and Zorn de Bulach, *Notes écrites par un gentilhomme*, 70.



Figure 3 Photograph of Sala Terrena, c1894, taken by an unknown photographer. Behind the glass door is the summer dining room. Iparművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Applied Arts), Budapest. After a reproduction published in *Művészi Ipar* 9 (1894), 159

The survey above does not encompass all contemporary sources known to me, but any reference to a ‘music room’ or similar is absent in all the other sources as well. Figure 5 is a floor plan showing all namings of the four spaces in question quoted above.

The matter gets more complex, however, if we take into account the contemporary references to music-making. In respect of the four big central halls we have two specific references to venue from Nicolaus the Magnificent’s time. The earlier one is found in *Relation*, revealing that on the occasion of Maria Theresia’s famous visit in 1773 the serving of grand meals alternated between the ground floor and first floor ‘salon(s)’ – that is, assuming the description is accurate, not their antechambers, even though the primary function of these latter spaces was as dining halls. What is more, on the second day of the sovereign’s visit, in the course of the first lunch, served on the first floor for thirty-five covers, some kind of mealtime music-making¹³ is said to have taken place: ‘Pendant le diner, plusieurs musiciens du Prince, chacun excellent dans son genre, ont eu l’honneur d’être entendus de S. M. I. & d’en mériter des applaudissemens’ (During lunch¹⁴ a few of the prince’s musicians, each excellent in his own field, had the honour of being listened to and

13 The expression ‘musique de table’ (‘asztali musika’) itself appears (in Hungarian) at a later time, in the description of a banquet arranged on the occasion of Prince Anton’s inauguration as the lord-lieutenant of Sopron county in 1791; see *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek* 5 (1791), 182.

14 The French text says ‘diner’, but this meal should rather be regarded as a lunch, since at 4 p. m. the guests were already taking a stroll in the park.



Figure 4 (Colour online) Photograph of the summer dining room in 2015, taken by János Mácsai. Behind the glass door is the Sala Terrena. The puppets on show have no historic relevance. Used by permission

rewarded with applause by Her Imperial Majesty).¹⁵ This event was also recorded, considerably later, by Rotenstein in 1793, but he did not specify the venue; according to him, the ‘herrliches musikalisches Concert’ (superb musical concert) included a solo played on a ‘Pandorino’ (probably pandurina or mandolin).¹⁶ It is difficult, if not impossible, to establish from this description where precisely the musicians were placed; my acoustic experience of the venue suggests it is unlikely that the musicians would have been playing in the antechamber for the diners in the ceremonial hall. What is without doubt is that this contemporary description, uniquely, draws a connection between the entrance/dining hall, referred to these days as ‘music hall’, and music-making.

The other piece of information relating to music-making in the central part of the palace originates from Rotenstein and appears in slightly differing versions in the 1783 and 1793 editions of his book. In 1783 Rotenstein concludes his description of the Sala Terrena with an abrupt switch to its anteroom: ‘Im Vorsaal ist alsdann Musik von 36 Musicis: so stark ist die Kapelle des Fürsten’ (In the antechamber thirty-six musicians play: this is how large the prince’s orchestra is).¹⁷ In the 1793 version Rotenstein moves from Sala Terrena to antechamber in mid-sentence: ‘Hier [in the Sala Terrena] wird im Sommer gespielt¹⁸ und im Vorsaale

15 *Relation*, viii. See H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 2: *Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 193.

16 Rotenstein, *Lust-Reisen*, 191.

17 Rotenstein, ‘Reisen durch einen Theil des Königreichs Ungarn’, 260.

18 It is almost certain that this time the word ‘play’ refers to billiards, games of cards or some kind of gambling rather than music-making. Compare with the characterization of Prince Nicolaus by Rotenstein: ‘Der Fürst liebte ehemals das Spiel, jezt spielt er gar nicht, haßt die Spieler und alle Spiele’ (The prince used to like playing in former times, but now he does not play at all; he hates players and all games); Rotenstein, *Lust-Reisen*, 187–188. We should collate this information with the fact that when his elder brother Paul Anton paid off Nicolaus’s overwhelming debts in 1751, one of the conditions of Nicolaus’s officer’s parole (his vow of honour) was that he keep himself away from expensive

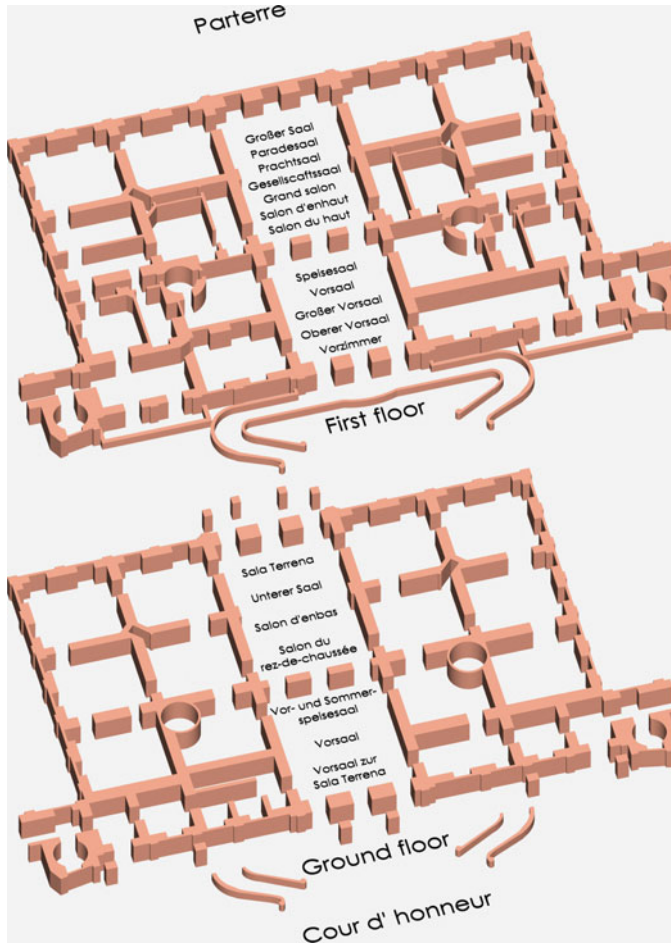


Figure 5 (Colour online) A schematic floor plan of the four large spaces of the *corps de logis* of Eszterháza Palace, showing their various names as found in contemporary sources. The bigger room on the first floor is the ceremonial hall. Drawing by architect Gergely Patak

eine Musik von 36 fürstlichen Tonkünstlern unterhalten' (This is where they play in summer and in the anteroom thirty-six princely musicians provide music).¹⁹ Being originally familiar with the earlier version only, I started suspecting the veracity of this description a long time ago, because the anteroom (Figure 4) that looks out onto the ceremonial courtyard would have provided an extremely confined space for thirty-six musicians, no matter how 'period' their instruments were, not so much because of its limited floor space as its low ceiling; not to mention the fact that the number of musicians in the 'Kapelle' – officially named

Vienna for some time ('Wienn . . . auf einige Zeit zu verlassen', or elsewhere 'das theure Wienn meiden' (to avoid expensive Vienna)); see Arisztid Valkó, 'Újabb adatok a fertődi (eszterházi) kastély építéstörténetéhez' (Recent Details Concerning the History of the Construction of the Palace at Fertőd (Eszterháza)), *Ars Hungarica* 28 (1982), 83. And if we consider furthermore that the gambling opportunities at his residence at Süttör (the later Eszterháza) must have been infinitesimal in comparison with Vienna, we are tempted to think that both contemporary witnesses might have been referring to Nicolaus's gambling addiction, but tactfully refrained from mentioning it explicitly.

19 Rotenstein, *Lust-Reisen*, 166–167. The inventory of the palace from 1832, mentioned above, lists a few music stands in this antechamber (I thank Ferenc Dávid for this information).



‘Cammer-Music’ – not counting the singers, never exceeded twenty-four. On the occasion of the visit to Kittsee²⁰ by Maria Theresia and Joseph II in July 1770, effectively a dress rehearsal for the later Eszterháza festivities, Rotenstein tells us that a thirty-six-member ‘Musikchor’, ranged on the staircase, awaited the dignitaries.²¹ Yet a bill referring to the same occasion confirms that at the time the Cammer-Music only had sixteen instrumentalists.²² If we further consider the fact that at a 1763 ball in Eisenstadt twenty-four ‘Ballgeiger’ (ball fiddlers) were paid,²³ even though the prince’s own ensemble consisted of precisely half that number at the time,²⁴ the picture that emerges is that for occasional entertainment purposes – ‘unterhalten’ as Rotenstein calls it – the ensemble was regularly enlarged to two or three dozen by employing extra musicians. If these musicians only played mealtime entertainment and dance music, then the acoustic expectations would not have been highly sophisticated. Besides, the adverb ‘im Sommer’ of the second version could well refer to the music-making as well as to dining, further strengthening the ad hoc character of the thirty-six-strong ensemble. (There is mention of the thirty-six musicians in the summer dining room in Korabinsky’s 1786 text as well.²⁵)

Yet more considerations arise from the fact that in contemporary accounts another, less central, area of the palace is mentioned as a concert venue. One source is the traveller Sander. He does not refer to music at all in relation to the central spaces, but when listing Eszterháza’s twenty-six most notable attractions, in second place he says this: ‘Ein *Sommermusiksaal* ganz mit Gemälden behangen, unter welchen besonders zwei sehr rar und schön seyn sollen; – schöne Aussichten auf den *Neusiedler See* hinaus hat man hier auch’ (A summer music hall full of paintings, two of which are supposed to be particularly rare and beautiful; from here there is also a good view of the Neusiedlersee²⁶).²⁷ A hall full of paintings and with a view of the lake can only be the picture gallery, which protrudes at length from the western wing; from the central section of the palace, naturally with the exception of the belvedere, there is no view of the lake at all, since its windows either face south, the opposite direction to the lake, or else open onto the ceremonial courtyard. The winter garden affords some view in a north to north-westerly direction, but it definitely did not house a multiplicity of paintings (refer to Figure 6).

Thus, relatively far from the central part of the palace an authentic, though seasonal, music venue has been found, even if only mentioned in passing by one visitor. This piece of information from 1782 corresponds with the following assertion by H. C. Robbins Landon: ‘On 30 May [1781], during one of the visits of Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen and his wife, Archduchess Marie Christine, to Eszterháza, there was an extraordinary concert held in, of all places, the picture gallery.’²⁸ Unfortunately, Landon does not offer a reference. Of the newspapers that might normally have provided such information, the 30 May issue of the *Preßburger Zeitung*

20 Kittsee (or Köpcsény in Hungarian) is a settlement and palace near Preßburg/Bratislava, but on the opposite (southern) side of the Danube. In the eighteenth century it was owned by the Esterházy; in the late nineteenth century it went over to the possession of the Batthyány counts.

21 Rotenstein, *Lust-Reisen*, 213.

22 *H-Bn* (= Országos Széchényi Könyvtár / National Széchényi Library, Budapest), Zeneműtár (Music Collection), A. M. 602, originally in the Esterházy Archives in Forchtenstein Castle, General-Cassa (GC), 1771 R 8 F 15 Lit. Z.

23 EPA, GC 1763 R 5 F 1 N 1.

24 Ulrich Tank, *Studien zur Esterházyischen Hofmusik von etwa 1620 bis 1790* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1981), 489.

25 Korabinsky, *Geographisch-historisches Lexikon von Ungarn*, 168.

26 In Hungarian: Fertő tó (= Lake Fertő).

27 Sander, *Beschreibung seiner Reisen*, 564 (italics printed in bold characters in the original). I thank Edit Szentesi for drawing my attention to this source.

28 Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 447. However, the venue was by no means peculiar. For example, on 22 May 1783 a ball took place in the picture gallery; relevant bills: EPA, BC 1783 R 16 2.Qu N 25, 29. Compare also Ferenc Dávid and Kristóf Fatsar, ‘Esterházy “Fényes” Miklós herceg itineráriuma és az általa rendezett ünnepek hercegi rangra emelkedésétől haláláig (1762–1790)’ (The Itinerary of Nicolaus Esterházy ‘The Magnificent’ and the Festivities Arranged by Him from His Inauguration as a Prince until His Death (1762–1790)), *Levéltári Közlemények* 75/1 (2004), 101.

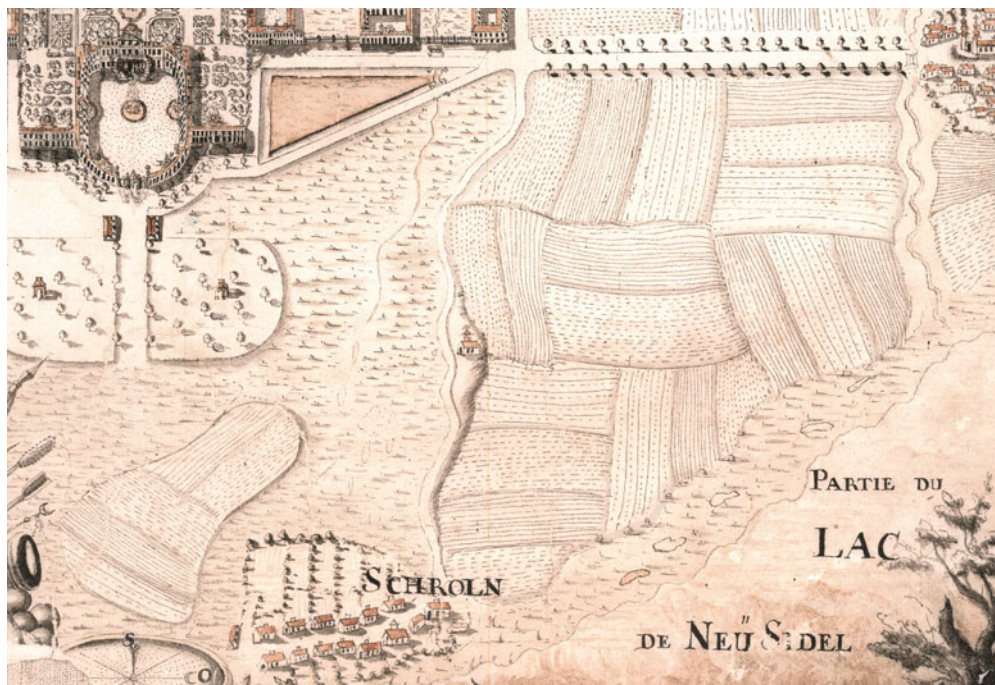


Figure 6 (Colour online) Detail of the 'Sienna plan' of Eszterháza by Nicolas Jacoby, c1768–1772. Some buildings shown here were actually finished later. On the plan west is to the right and south is upward, and so the Neusiedlersee is to be found in the lower right-hand corner. The figure shows clearly that the northern windows of the picture gallery (the right-side horizontal protrusion of the palace) offer the best view onto the lake (except for the rooms in the arched wing closest to the gallery, housing the library). MTA BTK Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézetének Fotótára (Photo Collection of the Institute of Art History of the Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences). Used by permission

only mentions the plan of the ducal couple's visit to Eszterháza;²⁹ the *Wiener Zeitung* of 2 June, however, informs us that the couple had travelled from Vienna to Preßburg on 26 May and, having stopped there overnight, travelled on to Altenburg (today's Mosonmagyaróvár), arriving back in Vienna on 30 May.³⁰ These details put a possible Eszterháza visit somewhere around 28 to 30 May, confirmed by the information, again without reference, available in the itinerary of the prince,³¹ according to which the Sachsen-Teschens spent 29 and 30 May 1781 at Eszterháza. Although the source of the information relating to the musical occasion remains unclear, the agreement between the data makes it likely that Landon drew on a reliable source. Finally, *Az eszter-házi vigasságok* (The Merriments of Eszterháza), a famous poem by György Bessenyei that

29 The relevant issues of *Preßburger Zeitung* are available online at <www.difmoe.eu/archiv/year?content=Periodika&kalender=o&name=Pre%C3%9Fburger+Zeitung&title=Pre%C3%9Fburger+Zeitung> (31 March 2016).

30 This issue is missing from the online version of the newspaper made accessible by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek at <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz>>. I was able to study a copy at the Wienbibliothek (formerly Wiener Stadtbibliothek) on microfilm.

31 '1781. 05. 29.–30. Eszterháza: ünnepség Albert herceg és Mária Krisztina részvételével' (29–30 May 1781 Eszterháza: festivity with the participation of Duke Albert and Marie Christine): Dávid and Fatsar, 'The Itinerary of Nicolaus Esterházy', 101.



was published in 1772, reserves its most lyrical passages for the description of music-making, although the poem says nothing about the venue or any detail about the music played.³²

In summary, the accounts mention three parts of the central building as musical venues of some kind: the ceremonial hall (or its anteroom) on the single occasion of Maria Theresia's 1773 visit; the antechamber to the Sala Terrena or the summer dining room, as a general venue for summer music; and the picture gallery as another summer music venue, but also the venue for a specific concert at the end of May 1781 – almost a summer date.

All this leads us to conclude that if one of the fundamental function(s) of the ceremonial hall, or its antechamber, had been the hosting of musical performances, this might have been reflected in the names by which the rooms were known. However, there are no such indications.



The only kind of music-making discussed thus far has involved occasional programmes: the entertainment of high-ranking visitors, mealtime music and summer music – possibly outdoor in nature. Could these have been the *accademies* for which Haydn composed his symphonies and concertos, aiming to satisfy Prince Nicolaus's sophisticated tastes? This is hardly likely: it should suffice to remind ourselves of the mandolin solo performed at Maria Theresia's lunch, with the mandolin being associated with lighter musical styles. Where, then, did the real *accademies* take place?³³

Landon offers a ready answer: in the ceremonial hall. His 'evidence' is based on his way with words: he 'translates' the German names of the ceremonial hall he quotes without hesitation as 'concert-room'³⁴ and thus appears to solve, or render non-existent, the problem of the venue. In contrast with Landon and with the general consensus, Georg Feder wrote in 2002:

Haydn's concerts (with his orchestra or with a smaller ensemble), despite today's opinion, probably rarely took place in the ceremonial room on the first floor of the palace. Rather, according to witness reports, in the Sala Terrena on the ground floor, in the picture gallery, where on the afternoon of 30 May 1781 a concert took place in the presence of Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen and his spouse, Archduchess Christine, in the opera house and, according to a register from the year 1778 (C. F. Pohl 1882, pages 367ff., see Lit. G.), in the apartment of the prince (*Accademia musica nell' Appartamento*).³⁵

32 György Bessenyei, *Az eszter-házi vígasságok* (Vienna, 1772), see the end of page 9. The poem describes the festivities connected with the visit of Prince Rohan, the French ambassador to Vienna at that time, later Archbishop of Strasbourg.

33 Mátyás Horányi, in his *The Magnificence of Eszterháza* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), makes a mention (on page 87, with no reference to any source) of 'a symphony and selected concert pieces' performed under Haydn's direction during the fancy-dress ball that was one of the features of Maria Theresia's 1773 visit, following the performance of *L'infedeltà delusa* in the opera house. The venue of the ball was the Chinese ballroom, or 'Redouten-Saal', next to the opera house, where the great fire burst out six years later, destroying both buildings. (Horányi has in fact mixed up the Chinese ballroom with the Chinese pavilion, or 'Bagatelle', which was built elsewhere, and not until 1783.) However, such a concert programme is missing from the detailed description provided by the *Relation* as well as from the two contemporary press reports, and so this datum does not seem to have any foundation. In fact, it would have been rather astonishing if the musicians, dressed in Chinese uniforms, had performed symphonies and the like during the celebrations, which lasted until dawn, rather than playing invigorating (and not necessarily Chinese) dance music. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility of a 'relaxation' concert taking place between the opera performance and the ball.

34 Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 30. Landon first uses the correct word 'Prachtsaal', though curiously he refers to Vályi, the Hungarian translator of Korabinsky, rather than to Korabinsky himself (András Vályi, *Magyar országnak leírása*, volume 1 (Buda: Királyi Universitas, 1796), 623). However, in the next paragraph he writes 'Prunksaal', a word I have never met in contemporary sources. Landon even talks about 'a great music room . . . , specially designed for the purpose', without any reference or foundation, in a slightly later publication; see H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: A Documentary Study* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), 54.

35 Georg Feder, 'Haydn, Joseph', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, second edition, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), Personenteil 8, column 914. My translation. The mention of



The goal of this article is partly to substantiate Feder's statement (which refers to just one document), and partly to refine it on the basis of more archival sources. (In fact, the only major correction I can add to his statements is the replacement of the Sala Terrena by its anteroom.)

As far as Landon is concerned, he, too, ought to have been aware that the situation was far from that simple, since he was forced to acknowledge the problem when discussing the overall programme of the 1778 season by Philipp Georg Bader, also mentioned by Feder. (Bader, princely librarian since 1774 or 1775, assumed the directorship of the opera house and marionette theatre once founding director Carl von Pauerspach left after the 1777 season.) The complete title of this document is 'Verzeichniß der Opern, Academien, Marionetten und Schauspiele welche von 23n. Januarii bis Xbris 1778. auf den Hochfürstliche [*sic*] Bühnen in Esterhatz gegeben worden sind' (List of Operas, *Academien*, Puppet Shows and Plays Performed from 23 January until December 1778 at the Princely Theatres of Eszterháza).³⁶ This annual list of events includes six concerts, even providing a rough programme for two of them. In connection with the first orchestral 'Academie' Landon writes: 'Jan. 30: "Academie" (concert), held in the great hall, one presumes'.³⁷ This facile 'one presumes' has, however, a rickety foundation: if the consistently meticulous Bader mentions that three of these 'Academia musica' occasions – most probably chamber-music recitals – took place in the prince's private quarters (that is, at a venue that is different from those listed in the document's title), it is most likely that he would have also indicated a specific venue for the two orchestral 'Academies' if they had been given somewhere other than the theatre; not to mention the question that if the theatres did not host concerts of any kind, what possible reason could there be for the *accademies* to appear on the title page of the document?³⁸

Is it possible that the explanation resides in the somewhat fussy title of Bader's list? I think the answer is yes, all the more so because this is not an isolated piece of evidence: it is supported by several other available documents from which, hitherto, no one has drawn the readiest conclusions.

The 1778 theatre-management regulation, quoted by several scholars and published in its entirety both in Mátyás Horányi's *The Magnificence of Eszterháza* and later by Landon,³⁹ reads: '9no: Wird eine Stunde nach jeder Oper, Comedie, und Akademie gleichfahls zur Vorbeugung aller Gefahr, der Wache habende Corporal der Grenadier Zimmerman, und ein Trabanth das Theater visitiren, worüber Unser Unter Lieutenant den

the opera house as a concert venue, to my knowledge a completely new idea at that time (apart from a hidden and tangential remark; see note 41), is not substantiated by any document. The list of references also fails to offer a clue. Remarkably, in volume 6, published just one year earlier, Ágnes Sas was still echoing the 'official' view: 'In the centre of the palace stood the big concert-room'. 'Fürst Miklós (II), Nikolaus Joseph', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, Personenteil 6, column 523. László Somfai's 'Eszterháza' entry in the *New Grove Dictionary* avoids the question (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 8, 351–352). Finally, in his summary of Western music history, Richard Taruskin envisions no fewer than 'two concert rooms in the palace itself' (Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, volume 2, *The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 526.)

36 Philipp Georg Bader, 'Verzeichniß der Opern, Academien, Marionetten und Schauspiele welche von 23n. Januarii bis Xbris 1778. auf den Hochfürstliche [*sic*] Bühnen in Esterhatz gegeben worden sind', Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary), P 149 15. cs. 1/a–7.

37 Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 98.

38 To avoid being too unjust, one must note that Landon was by no means alone with his 'ceremonial-hall hypothesis', or in regarding it as self-evident. Among others, James Webster put the photo of the ceremonial hall on the cover of his renowned book *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), although in the blurb he prudently referred to it as the 'presumable' venue of the first performance of the symphony. The organizers of the 'Haydn at Eszterháza' Festival from 1998 to 2009, myself among them, were of the same opinion, and with a perfectly good conscience, as quite a few prestigious artists – I remember Andrew Manze especially vividly – asserted that this room and its acoustics had meant a true revelation to them, offering a key for the understanding of Haydn's compositions. (In those days we had no knowledge of Feder's doubts as brought forward in his entry in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.)

39 Horányi, *The Magnificence of Eszterháza*, 118–119, and Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 63–64.



Befehl erhalten wird' (9. One hour after each opera, play or concert [*Akademie*], the corporal on duty together with Grenadier Zimmermann and a guardsman will inspect the theatre premises, with a view to preventing all possible dangers. Our Sub-Lieutenant will receive the appropriate instructions).⁴⁰ This document proves beyond doubt that 'Akademien', too, took place in the (first) opera building: the text explicitly discusses the security arrangements following theatrical performances, and the mention here of 'Akademie' would make no sense if the venue for the concerts had been a different part of the palace.

However, an objection could be raised along the following lines: since these instructions pertain to the concerts put on in the theatre only, the possibility of part, or even the majority, of concerts being performed elsewhere cannot be ruled out. This objection can be dealt with by referring to another, not altogether unfamiliar but less well-known document (Figure 7).⁴¹ The facsimile shows the third page of a three-page document whose first page contains the following heading: 'Zimmer Tag Werk in Verrichtung des Hochfürst. schloß Esterhas dan andern nothwendigen Reparation in Monath Marty 776' (Carpentry day-rates completed in the Eszterháza princely palace and other necessary repairs in the month of March 1776). Such documents were created throughout the year at fortnightly intervals; in the theatrical season the overtime ('Extra Stunden') that the carpenters had completed in the theatre was accounted for in this manner. The third page of the document gives details of precisely such work, including the description of the types of events taking place there day by day; this is the kind of detail, sadly, not recorded either before or after this period in this type of document. Below we give the transcription of the page:

Extra stunden in denen Comethäusern

Den	9	N: ist in der letzten zahlung	15	
den	10	Accademie	6	
den	11	Comoëdie	18	
den	12	accad	6	
den	13	Comoëd	18	
den	14	accad	4	
den	15	Comoëd	18	
den	16	accad	6	
den	17	Comoëd	20	
den	18	accad	6	
den	19	Comoëd:	14	
den	20t.	operett dido	16	
den	21	opera große:	40	
den	22	Marionet:	12	
den	23	accad:	4	à 3 Xr

⁴⁰ Original document: Esterházy Familien-Archiv, Eisenstadt, Ablage des Regenten Rahier (RR), 1779 N 1226, presently in *H-Bn*, Music Collection, A. Th. 89, document no. 5 (earlier, together with Hárích's complete *Acta Musicalia* and *Acta Theatralia* selections of documents, in the Theatre History Collection). This document comprises two sections with different dates, but the original date of the regulation itself is 14 February 1778. Another, slightly different version (Bader's draft) of the same document is essentially identical as far as the relevant points of the regulation are concerned: Familien-Archiv, Miscellanea (MI), F 41 N 33, presently in *H-Bn*, Music Collection, A. M. 3579.

⁴¹ EPA, BC 1776, Bau Cassa Rechnungen N 16. The transcription found in Hárích's legacy was edited by Else Radant and H. C. Robbins Landon in *Haydn Yearbook* 19 (1994), 131–132. The English translation following the transcription clearly shows that Radant and Landon have misunderstood or misread quite a few essential points of the document. (This is why I am instead using my own translation.) Their most important mistake is not understanding that the details given relate to genres rather than venues. However, this time they finally acknowledge the fact that there were concerts held in the theatre – more than a decade and a half after the publication of the Eszterháza volume of Landon's monograph.



N: Bey denen accademien hat kein zimmerman Etwas zu Thun in Theatro, mithin sollen auch keine stunden Eingerechnet werden, sondern der Pollier oder Ein ander zimmerman wird künftig vor der Music die luster anzünden, vor 8 uhr sodan die lampen in der Allée, und nach der Music auflöschen.

Anton Kühnel MP
Bausch.⁴²

(The notes that follow the list translate as follows: ‘NB: With respect to the *accademies* none of the carpenters have any jobs in the theatre, therefore overtime cannot be charged, but henceforth the foreman or another carpenter will light the candelabra before the beginning of the music, and before 8 o’clock also the lamps in the alley, and after the music he puts them out.’)

This account points a narrow but focused beam into the obscurity that surrounds the precise dating of various cultural events at the palace (for the moment disregarding the year 1776 and opera performances in general) at a time of exceptional significance: the note ‘opera grosse’ for 21 March almost certainly refers to the first performance of Gluck’s *Orfeo, ed Euridice*⁴³ – that is, to the beginning of the fifteen-year period of the ‘opera factory’ – while the day before apparently saw the first performance of Haydn’s marionette opera *Dido*.

Apart from Bader’s list mentioned earlier, this is the only known document that lists every event, regardless of type, taking place over a certain period – in this case, a fortnight. Kühnel’s notes are important not only because of the large number of the *accademies* – six concerts over a fortnight, the same number as over the whole year of 1778 – but also as a confirmation of the venue. Although one might wonder why ‘with respect to the *accademies* none of the carpenters have any jobs in the theatre’ – is it because the concerts didn’t require any technical preparation of the stage, or perhaps they were not, after all, held in the theatre? – the job that the chief carpenter or one of his workmates was required to do before and after every concert provides a decisive argument for the theatre as the venue for them. There were, or there could have been, candelabra⁴⁴ at every conceivable concert venue in the palace, but if the concerts had been held in the ceremonial hall or in another hall of the *corps de logis*, or in the picture gallery or, indeed, at any other point of the main building, there would have been no need to light any avenues of trees after the concert (see Figure 8). It is quite obvious that the lamps the foreman was expected to attend to were the ones along the avenue of trees that runs from the privy garden on the western, right-hand side to, and beyond, the entrance to the theatre from the garden; thus the audience could make its way back to the palace safely in the descending darkness. The avenue with a double alley and a pergola⁴⁵ running alongside would also have provided a safe, well-lit tunnel for those leaving the building.⁴⁶

The monotonous regularity of the alternating *accademies* and theatrical performances – put on, as we have concluded, in the theatre – in the first ten days of the highlighted fortnight suggests that this was the normal pattern (note that tragedies were also labelled as ‘Comoedie’ most of the time, sometimes as ‘Trauerspiel’, very rarely ‘Tragoedie’). Concerts outside the theatre – other than those involving chamber music – seem to have been the exception.

42 Anton Kühnel, originally a double-bass player in the instrumental ensemble at Eszterháza, was employed for decades as ‘Bauschreiber’, or administrator of construction and maintenance work. He often prepared documents referring to theatre and opera as well.

43 Note that the comma in the title is found in the Eszterháza libretto. As to the date of the premiere, a different document suggests that this took place two days later: EPA, BC 1776, Auszüge 2.Qu N 47.

44 ‘Luster’ = Lüster; our sources often use *ü* (meaning *u*) instead of *ü* out of sheer laziness.

45 On an engraving found within the *Beschreibung*, ‘Alleen welche Berceaux formiren’.

46 The alley and the pergola were already in existence in 1760. Compare Géza Galavics, ‘Eszterháza 18. századi ábrázolásai – a kép mint művészettörténeti forrás’ (Eighteenth-Century Depictions of Eszterháza: Pictures as a Source for Art History), *Ars Hungarica* 28/1 (2000), 38.



Rechnung über die in dem Comedien-Theater...

Jan 9	N. in der Luftschiffung	15
Jan 10	academie	6
Jan 11	Comodie	18
Jan 12	acad.	6
Jan 13	Comod.	18
Jan 14	acad.	4
Jan 15	Comod.	18
Jan 16	acad.	6
Jan 17	Comod.	20
Jan 18	acad.	4
Jan 19	Comod.	14
Jan 20	operett Dido	16
Jan 21	opera groß.	40
Jan 22	Marionet.	12
Jan 23	acad.	4

N. Singmann academiesal... in dem Theater...

Handwritten signature and date: 1776

Figure 7 (Colour online) An account for carpentry work completed in the palace between 11 and 23 March 1776. Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv, BC 1776, Bau Cassa Rechnungen N 16. Used by permission

All this does not mean, however, that before 1776 Eszterháza would have had a concert performance every other day of the season. Nicolaus the Magnificent had a *horror vacui*, leading him to make arrangements to have something to do every single day whenever he was staying at Eszterháza. However, it was not possible to achieve this all the time; for instance, according to the overtime accounts, the previous fortnight featured a two-day pause.⁴⁷ It is even more important to bear in mind that over the ten-day period under discussion there was no marionette performance – probably because of rehearsals for the premiere of *Dido* – even

47 EPA, BC 1776, Bau Cassa Rechnungen N 12.

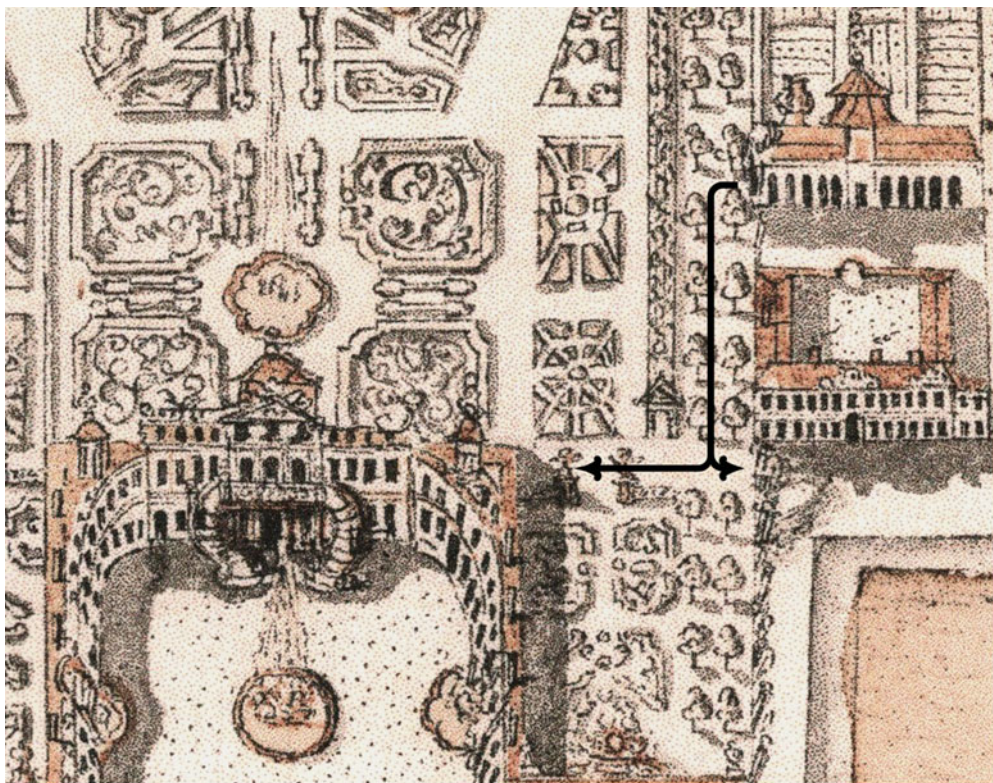


Figure 8 (Colour online) Another detail from the 'Sienna plan'. The building in the upper right-hand corner is the complex of the first opera house, a water tower and the Chinese ball-room or 'Redouten-Saal' (from left to right). Below this on the right-hand side of the picture, at mid-height, is the 'Herrschafts-Gebäu', the guesthouse of the noblemen (for middle-rank aristocrats). The arrows added to the image show how the public, having walked along the illuminated alley, could then turn right and return to the main building, or they could turn left, leave the parterre and then either enter the guesthouse through its main gate, which is clearly visible on the plan, walk to a nearby place or take a vehicle to more distant destinations

though the marionette theatre had been regarded as one of the favourite kinds of entertainment over the previous three years; similarly, there were no pantomime or ballet performances either. All these types of production, together with – even if not with the same regularity as – opera, had been appearing in the programmes for a considerable time,⁴⁸ therefore it is unlikely that as many as half of the dates would have been available for concerts before 1776.

The inception of the opera seasons on 21 March 1776 – a turning-point – inevitably reduced the relative weight of the *accademies*, not least because of the sudden significant increase in Haydn's work commitments. Change came on the day of the first performance of *Dido*: marionette performance, followed by opera the day after, then marionette performance again, and when the next concert finally took place, it had already been five days since the previous one. It is likely that over the week beginning on 24 March⁴⁹ there were no

⁴⁸ Marionette productions had only been happening since 1772, when Prince Nicolaus simply bought the marionette theatre which Carl Michael von Pauerspach (1737–1802), an Austrian state official and playwright, had set up in his home. Then, in 1773, he made Pauerspach the actual director of the newly constructed permanent marionette theatre at Eszterháza.

⁴⁹ We talk about one week rather than two weeks because the week between 1 and 7 April that year was Holy Week, and so no productions took place after 30 March.



concerts at all, because there is not a single date with carpenters' overtime of six or fewer hours recorded.⁵⁰ However, over the following months this happens frequently: after totting it all up, the likely number of concerts between 28 February and 24 September is fifty-one – naturally discounting any concerts that might have taken place in the prince's residence.⁵¹ (It seems that in 1776 there were no concerts in the theatre after 24 September.) Since by this time opera performances fairly consistently took up two days a week, Sunday and Thursday, and this was the liveliest year for the marionette theatre,⁵² this number of concert fixtures is probably lower than that of previous years, in respect of which there are no records on which to base such estimates.

Nevertheless, it would be unwise to view Bader's list as a live report of the final decline of concert performances at Eszterháza. There are gaps in the opera schedules later on, too, and specific references to concerts do not cease altogether. For example, Márton Dallos's 1781 rhyming report from Eszterháza mentions music-making a number of times, with special emphasis on the theatre. Stanzas 53 and 54 end with a draft list of the different art forms performed in the theatre, the crowning glory being 'masterful Music', in other words concert (and possibly also opera) performances. These stanzas from Dallos, who visited Eszterháza on more than one occasion,⁵³ offer further convincing evidence for the *accademies*' taking place in the theatre:

Itt a' mint a' másik kert el-készítettett,
 A' mellet egy Kaffé-Ház építettettett,
 Hol egy Komedia-Ház-is emeltettett,
 Melly sok ezer Summa pénzekben telhetett.

Itten egy kevéssé méltó meg-állanunk,
 Ebben kik mennek bé? majd meg-sajdéttanunk,
 Az után a' Tánczot, játékokat látunk;
 Végre mesterséges Musikát hallanunk.⁵⁴

Here once the other garden had been completed
 Next to it a coffee-house was built
 Where a comedy house was also erected,
 Which must have cost a pretty large sum.

Here it is fitting for us to stop for a moment,
 Who goes in there? we will take a guess
 After that we see dance and plays,
 Finally we hear masterful music.

Let me just add two much more indirect data to these direct and clear indications. These are rather like the shadows on the wall of Plato's cave if compared with the preceding palpable arguments. However, they are interesting. The first detail in question is found in Nicolas-Étienne Framery's famously unreliable little book on Haydn of 1810, *Notice sur Joseph Haydn*, which leans on his acquaintance with Pleyel. The relevant story

⁵⁰ EPA, BC 1776, Bau Cassa Rechnungen N 23.

⁵¹ Compare EPA, BC 1776 N 12, 16, 23, 27, 28, 34, 44, 45, 50, 51, 55, 59, 74, 77, 82, 86, 87, 96.

⁵² Compare for example, H. C. Robbins Landon, 'Haydn's Marionette Operas and the Repertoire of the Marionette Theatre at Esterháza Castle', *Haydn Yearbook* 1 (1962), 192–193.

⁵³ Szentesi, 'Eszterháza in der zeitgenössischen Öffentlichkeit', 174.

⁵⁴ Márton Dallos, *Eszterházi várnak, és ához tartozandó nevezetesebb helyeinek rövid le-írása* (Short Description of the Castle of Eszterháza and of the Noteworthy Places Belonging to It) (Sopron: Siess, 1781). Translation by Sara Liptai and David Ennever.



tells of how Haydn presented a new symphony to Prince Nicolaus during one of the prince's not infrequent depressive episodes, hoping, on the strength of previous instances, to bring the prince out of his melancholy with the music. However, the situation was worse than usual, and Haydn's attempt failed: 'Haydn . . . se tourne vers *la loge* du prince . . . L'infortuné n'ose plus l'espérer; . . . le prince, . . . toujours silencieux, loin de paraître donner aucune attention à ce qu'on exécute pour lui, affecte de se retirer au fond de *sa loge*' (Haydn . . . turns towards the prince's *box*. The unfortunate man dare not hope; . . . the prince, . . . still silent, without appearing to pay the slightest attention to those who are playing for him, withdraws to the back of *his box*).⁵⁵ Is it possible that the only true detail of this story is the box, meaning that the concert took place in the theatre?

The other shadow on the wall is, however, the only datum I know of suggesting that a particular famous concert took place in the main building. It certainly comes from a somewhat more reliable source. It is a sentence in Dies's book on Haydn: having finished the performance of the 'Farewell' Symphony, 'Die Virtuosen hatten sich indessen im Vorzimmer versammelt, wo sie der Fürst fand, und lächelnd sagte: "*Haydn*, ich habe es verstanden . . ." (In the meantime, the virtuosos had assembled in the antechamber, where the prince found them and said with a smile 'Haydn, I've got the point').⁵⁶ Here the word 'Vorzimmer' (anteroom) can certainly be much more easily associated with the main building than with the opera house (unless the musicians were waiting for the prince in the vestibule).

However, the relevance of this evidence may be limited. First, we should note the words of Sigismund Neukomm: 'Ich bemerke hier daß alle Mittheilungen die ich persönlich von Haydn [habe] (größtenteils aus unseren tête à tête – Tischgesprächen) in frühere Zeit fielen, als die Besuche meines Freundes Dies, in eine Zeit in welcher H. noch kräftig genug um sein Riesenwerk "die Jahreszeiten" zu schaffen.' (I ought to remark here that all these communications which I received personally from Haydn (mostly from our tête-à-tête conversations at table) occurred in a period earlier than the visits of my friend Dies, in a period when Haydn was strong enough to create his huge work *The Seasons*).⁵⁷ In other words, Neukomm tactfully reminds the reader of Haydn's limited capacities during his last years, when Dies was interviewing him. Secondly, Dies's reliability has just suffered a major blow a few lines earlier, when he explains that the 'Farewell' Symphony ends with a solo by the last violin player – a mistake Haydn can hardly have committed even in his worst shape. Thirdly, the antechamber motif does not return in any other account of the 'Farewell' Symphony, by any author who might have been talking to either Haydn or other witnesses; namely in the accounts by Gregor August Griesinger, Giuseppe Carpani, Carl Ferdinand Pohl,⁵⁸ Framery or by the author of the anecdote published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* and referred to by Dies in a footnote.⁵⁹

Putting on concerts in a theatre was certainly a practice that Prince Nicolaus experienced in Vienna. Mary Sue Morrow's fascinating monograph *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna* suggests that 'By far the most desirable [concert] locations were the theaters, both in comfort and acoustics'.⁶⁰ (Of course, there were important concerts taking place at other locations, too.) We know for certain that the prince attended concerts held

55 Nicolas-Étienne Framery, *Notice sur Joseph Haydn* (Paris: Brasseur, 1810), 15–16 (my italics). I collated Landon's edition of Framery's text (*Haydn at Eszterháza, 757–763*) with a copy of the original book available in the British Library with the shelfmark Hirsch 3307. My translation.

56 Albert Christoph Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn* (Vienna: Camesianische Buchhandlung, 1810), 47.

57 'Bemerkungen Neukomm's zu den Biographischen Nachrichten von Dies,' cited in Horst Seeger, 'Zur musikhistorischen Bedeutung der Haydn-Biographie von Albert Christoph Dies (1810),' *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 1/3 (1959), 29; translation in Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 181.

58 Gregor August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, published in instalments in eight 1809 issues of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, then in a separate volume (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810), 28–29; Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Haydine, ovvero Lettere su la vita e le opere del celebre maestro Giuseppe Haydn* (Milan: Buccinelli, 1812), 115–118; Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, volume 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882), 57.

59 *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (2 October 1799), column 14; Dies, *Nachrichten*, 47–48.

60 Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1989), 65–66.

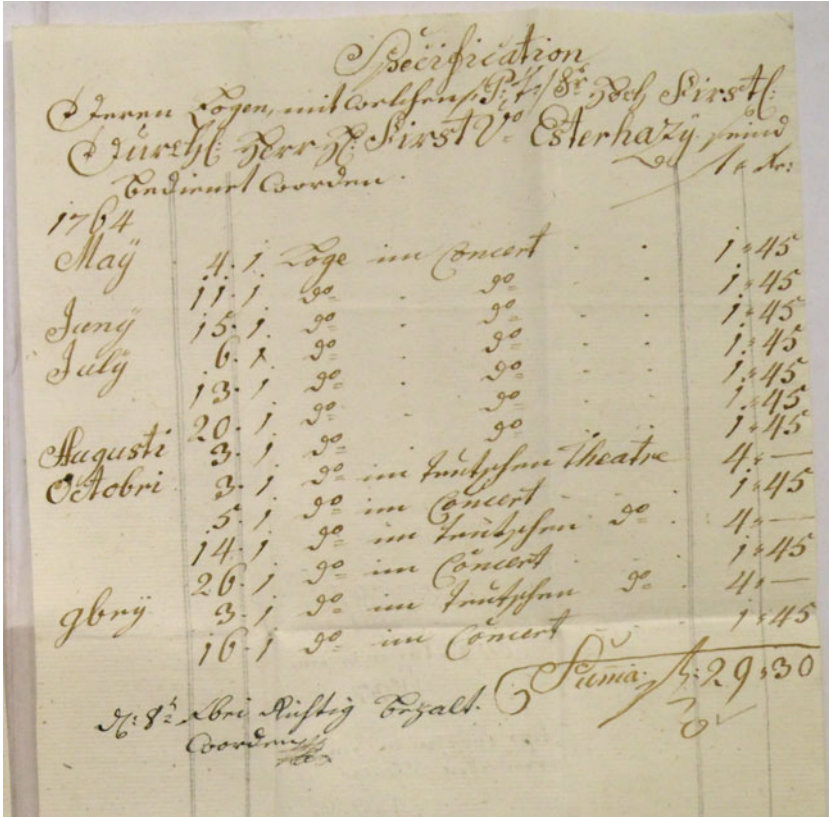


Figure 9 (Colour online) Invoice for the boxes used in the Kärntnerthor-Theater in 1764. Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv, GC 1764, R 8 F 7 N 37. Used by permission

in Viennese theatres, at the very least the Kärntnerthor-Theater (or ‘German theatre’), on the evidence of an invoice for his tickets (see Figure 9),⁶¹ concert tickets cost one gulden and three-quarters (1 gulden 45 kreutzer), while those for opera performances cost four gulden. Many aristocrats had at their disposal ceremonial halls that could be and often were used as venues for domestic concerts, but private theatres that could emulate the conditions of the best Viennese concerts were rare.

In fact, the ceremonial hall, today’s ‘Haydn-Saal’, in Eisenstadt was not the typical venue for concerts either, at least in the 1760s. We know this because of the Werner–Haydn affair of 1765. In a report accusing his successor of neglectful behaviour, and in order to force Haydn into a more regular pattern of work, Gregor Joseph Werner recommends the restoration of a practice followed during the lifetime of Prince Paul Anton. This involved the musicians giving a twice-weekly (Tuesday and Thursday) *accademie* during the prince’s absence in the officers’ (or clerks’) dining room, a ground-floor space in the remote northern part of the north-eastern tower of the Eisenstadt palace.⁶² However, this was a room modestly furnished for the meals of the higher-rank employees; it may well have been used as the venue for (public?) rehearsals, but was by no means a place to be visited by aristocrats. References to the ceremonial hall as a venue for balls and banquets abound, whereas any unambiguous evidence of its use of a concert hall is missing, and furthermore the

61 EPA, GC 1764, R 8 F 7 N 37.

62 EPA, Eisenstädter District (ED) N 537, 3–4 November 1765, facsimile and transcription in Josef Pratl, ed., *Acta Forchtensteiniana* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2009), DVD enclosure, 4 November 1765.



great hall is far too big for a group of fourteen musicians, which would have been the maximum strength of the (instrumental) ‘chamber music’ in those days,⁶³ and so we are forced to look elsewhere for the genuine Eisenstadt location of Haydn’s *accademies*. The most plausible candidate is the first-floor drawing-room with a balcony in the middle of the southern façade, called the mirror-room today, with – alas, later – stuccos representing musical instruments.



Let us now return to Bader’s list of the 1778 performances. He lists six concert dates: 30 January (‘Academie’ with programme), 3 February (‘Academia musica’), 11 February (‘Academie’ with programme), 22 February (‘Academia musica nell’ Appartamento’), 24 and 26 February. (The character of the last two is indicated only by a ‘ditto’ mark that refers to 22 February.) A transcript of this list was published in Pohl’s Haydn monograph as an appendix to the second volume, in Gothic script, with (often faulty) added information; it was also published in the German and Hungarian editions of Horányi’s *Magnificence of Eszterháza*, with several mistakes; in English translation it appeared in Landon’s book, with some small mistakes, as well as in the English version of Horányi’s book, also with mistakes.⁶⁴ Therefore it would seem useful to republish the two concert programmes recorded by Bader, with generous spacing for greater clarity:

d: 30. d^o [Jan:] Academie,
 Synfonia,
 Aria v[on]. M^e Poschwa,
 Concert von M^r Hirsch,
 Aria v. Mr. Dichtler,
 Sonata v. M^r Luigi [Tomasini],
 Synfonia v. Vanhall,
 Aria v. M. [Mademoiselle] Prandtner,
 d[ett]o v. M. Bianchi,
 Synf.

d: 11n ij.⁶⁵ Academie,
 Sinfonia,
 Aria M. Bianchi,
 Conc: M: Rosetti,
 Divert: v. M. Pichl,
 Aria v. M. Dichtler,
 Conc^{time} v. Pichl,
 Aria v. M. Bianchi,
 Sinf: von Mr. Hayden.

As we can see, during the two *accademies* nine and eight pieces were performed respectively, almost half of which were symphonies and concertos; less than half the programmes consisted of arias; and there were

63 Compare, for example, the annual accounts of the musicians’ incomes for 1767 and 1768: EPA, GC 1767 R 9 F 2 N 83 and GC 1768 R 9 F 1 N 26. Compare too the thoughts of Gerhard Winkler: ‘das Ensemble . . . bestand mehr oder weniger aus Solisten – daher ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, dass der Haydnssaal der ursprüngliche Aufführungsort war, weil der Saal hierfür zu groß ist!’ (the ensemble consisted more or less of soloists, and so it is unlikely that the Haydn room was the original performance venue: the hall was too big for them!). Gerhard J. Winkler, ‘Musik für den Dienstherrn zum Anteil der Fürsten Esterházy am Phänomen Haydn’, in *Die Familie Esterházy im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Tagungsband der 28. Schlaininger Gespräche*, Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 128 (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 2009), 396.

64 Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, volume 2, 367–371; Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 94–98; Horányi, *The Magnificence of Eszterháza*, 230–235.

65 Meaning the second month of the year, namely February.



also a few instrumental pieces, of the character of chamber music, one (violin) sonata and a divertimento. The names of the singers and instrumental soloists are always listed – Zacharias Hirsch played the flute and Antonio Rosetti the violin – but the names of the composers of the symphonies, Wanhal and Haydn, only appear twice out of five occasions; it is possible, of course, that the other three symphonies were also by Haydn. Bader also gives the name of composer Wenzel (Václav) Pichl with reference to a divertimento and a concertino.

After six concerts held over three and a half weeks, the series came to an abrupt finish at the end of February. In the meantime, similarly to the start of the following (year's) season, the opera season began on 1 February but was interrupted on 5 February, resuming five weeks later on 12 March. Although there was a ten-day break in performances in February and a fortnight's pause over February and March (probably because of the absence of the prince), the overall impression is that the six concerts and two pantomime performances – the latter also being absent as a genre over the rest of the year – fitted into the schedule in the early part of the year because the 'opera factory' was not yet in full swing. Later, however, the schedule became very full, in spite of the prince's numerous brief absences. Suffice it to mention that over the eighty-nine days – or nearly thirteen weeks, or a quarter of a year – between 20 April and 17 July there was a performance every single day: plays, operas and (only two) marionette shows. For *accademies* at whatever venue, even including the prince's private quarters, there was simply no time, since (as we have seen) the performances took up the entire evening: they were unequivocally evening events, as the foreman's lighting instructions prove, and lasted at least two hours, as illustrated by the surviving programme listings.

In this respect it pays to review the activities of Johann Schellinger (or Schilling or Schillinger: he himself spelled his name in different ways), theatrical prompt and opera copyist, since he did much more than copy out operas. It has been known for quite a while that the summaries of his copyist activities over the decade and a half of regular opera performances have largely survived. In these documents Schellinger lists the work he has completed according to the titles of the operas or according to the genre of the pieces. Luckily for us, on top of his modest basic salary, Schellinger was paid for the copies piece by piece, and so there is documentation of his work; by contrast, the three copyists by the name of Elßler, father and two sons, who worked not for the director of the opera house but for the composer Haydn as his trusted collaborators, were paid a fixed monthly sum for copying.⁶⁶ On the occasions when Haydn commissioned copying for his private use he probably paid them himself, without paperwork, and therefore the extent of their copying activities can only be surveyed in terms of the music we recognize as copied by them or, rather, of the surviving portion of these copies.

Table 1 is a summary of the sheet music copied by Schellinger that does not belong directly to any opera, puppet show, ballet, play or pantomime performance (the right-hand column has the number of completed 'sheets' ('Bögen') or four-page booklets).

We can see that symphonies and (concert) arias dominate; other than these, there are pieces for baryton (up till 1777) and a series of minuets by Haydn, which may have had various uses. It seems reasonable to conclude that what we are witnessing here is the production of sheet music for the *accademies*, confirmed by the actual wordings of the list: 'Sinfonie(n)' is mostly accompanied by 'pro/per/di T(h)eatro; and 'Arie' is followed in every case by 'di accadem[ique]'. So far, so good: we showed earlier that the venue for the 'Accademien' was the 'Teatro'.

But what might be the explanation for Schellinger's consistent, and somewhat disconcerting, habit of referring to the theatre – and never to concerts – in connection with the symphonies, even though he does refer to concerts in relation to arias? Surely, symphonies would have dominated the programmes of the *accademies*. We find the explanation in a hitherto-overlooked sentence of the oft-quoted *Excursion*, describing an opera production: 'à l'instant que le Prince paroît dans sa loge, le coup d'archet se donne & après une Simphonie dans le dernier goût, on est enchanté par le spectacle' (the moment the prince appears in his box, the bows hit the strings, and after a symphony in the latest fashion all are enchanted by the

66 Compare, for example, *H-Bn*, Music Collection, A. M. 785 (originally GC, no sigla available).



Table 1 Non-theatrical music copied by Johann Schellinger

To February 1776

(EPA, Rentamt Eisenstadt [RA] 1776 N 86/20)

<i>Arie di accadem:</i>	59
<i>Sinfonie pro theat:</i>	193
<i>6 Atre^a Di luigi Tomasini a Paritone</i>	50

To August 1776

(EPA, RA 1776 N 86/39)

<i>Menuetti di Sig. Haydn</i>	19
<i>Sinfonie</i>	130
<i>Arie di accadem:</i>	19

November 1776 to May 1777

(EPA, GC 1777 F 14 R 20 N 7)

<i>Arie di accademique</i>	54
<i>Sinfonie di Theat</i>	493
<i>Atre a Parit:</i>	39

May to November 1777

(EPA, GC 1777 F 14 R 20 N 21)

<i>Sinfonien vor d. Theater duplirt</i>	284
<i>Divert: e Sonate für den Pariton</i>	29

1778–1780no data^b**April to September 1781**(EPA, GC 1781 F 10 R 19 N 29 = *H-Bn*, Music Collection, A. M. 1108)

<i>Sinfonien 12 duplirt</i>	86
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To May 1782

(EPA, GC 1782 F 12 R 19 N 15 = A. M. 1135)

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June to December 1782(EPA, GC 1782 F 12 R 19 N 29 = A. M. 1152)^c

<i>Sinfonien von verschiedenen Authoren^d</i>	98
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1783

(EPA, GC 1783 F 10 R 20 N 60 = A. M. 1161)

<i>Sinfonie per Theatro</i>	19
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1784–1790(Esterházy-Archiv, GC 1784 F 11 R 18 N 21 = A. M. 1186; EPA, BC 1786 R 5 N 9; Esterházy-Archiv, GC 1786 F 13 R 18 N 18 = A. M. 1211; Esterházy-Archiv, GC 1787 F 13 R 18 N 19 = A. M. 1220; Esterházy-Archiv, GC 1788 F 13 R 18 N 20 = A. M. 1240; Esterházy-Archiv, GC 1789 F 12 R 18 N 11 = A. M. 1252; EPA, GC 1790 F 17 R 29 N 24/4)^e

Notes:

^a'Atre' is being used as a noun, meaning a trio ('a tre'); my thanks to Balázs Mikusi for solving the riddle.^bThis gap of three and a half years is hard to explain, since this kind of discontinuity of information is quite rare in the relevant archival material. For example, the bills relating to the duties (during the opera performances) of the ladies' and the gentlemen's tailor and of the hairdresser have been preserved completely from the spring of 1777 until 1790; the accounts for supernumeraries (called 'Stabenen-Ausweis') are also preserved in their entirety from the beginning, in October 1779, and amount to several hundred documents. As to Schellinger, Landon (*Haydn at Eszterháza*, 67) makes a mention of a contract from 1780 (EPA, ED N 1299 (5 October 1780)), though he fails to

Table 1 *continued*

mention his source; nevertheless, Schellinger already appears in various lists of allotments in kind and payments, first as ‘Copist’ and then with his full name, from 1776. The contract just mentioned was definitely made with him in his capacity of prompter, as this is the first document where he is mentioned as ‘Souffleur’ (compare, among others, EPA, Schafferey Süttör Rechnung (SS) 1776 N 51, Acta Varia (AV) F 291a, GC Handbuch 1778 f. 97–98, Rent Amt Süttör Rechnung (RS) 1779 N 117). In fact, we know of a bill for copying of instrumental music that was completed during this three-year period: EPA, GC 1780 F 9 R 17 N 55½ tells us that the cellist Anton Kraft has copied twelve trios and six quartets, adding up to eighty-nine sheets, though the exact purpose of the copying is not clear. ^cThe title of this document highlights especially clearly that operas and symphonies were connected to the same venue: ‘Was für den hochfürstlich. Theat: an opern und Sinfonien ist copiret worden von 1 Juny bis 12 Decemb. 782’ (What has been copied for the High Princely Theatre from among operas and symphonies between 1 June and 12 December 1782).

^dSymphonies by various authors.

^eThat is to say, over the years 1784–1790 Schellinger no longer copied either instrumental pieces or arias.

EPA = Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv, Burg Forchtenstein

RA = Rentamt Eisenstadt

GC = General-Cassa

A. M. = Acta Musicalia

BC = Bau Cassa Süttör

Note that in the case of those documents that were removed from the Forchtenstein archives between the two World Wars ‘Esterházy-Archiv’ is used, as when they were still being held there the name ‘Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv’ did not yet exist.

performance).⁶⁷ This suggests that the opera performances (or at least part of them) were preceded by the performance of a symphony played either before or instead of the operatic overture.

The authenticity of this description is beyond reasonable doubt because it reflects the common Viennese practice of the time, and the practices in Vienna constituted a natural model both for Haydn and for Prince Nicolaus. We know that the practice of playing symphonies in the intervals of singspiel performances existed in 1781, when a German traveller reported: ‘Ich bin sehr aufmerksam gewesen, nicht allein in Singspielen, sondern auch auf die Symphonien zwischen den Akten, auf welche die Zuhörer gewöhnlicherweise so wenig Acht zu geben pflegen. Es fügte sich, daß ich verschiedene Symphonien von Haydn und Vanhall hörte, die ich in Berlin oft gehört . . . hatte.’ (I was very attentive, not only in the *Singspiele*, but also to the symphonies between the acts, which the audience normally pays so little attention to. It so happened that I heard various symphonies by Haydn and Wanhal that I had often heard in Berlin.)⁶⁸ It is worth noting that this account names, yet again side by side, the two known composers of symphonies played at Eszterháza *accademies*. Further, Morrow treats this practice as self-evident with respect to operas proper.⁶⁹ A similar practice still seemed to exist a decade and a half later in 1797 at the Freyhaus Theater an der Wien. Between the acts of Haydn’s *Armida*, a genuine opera which was being given a concert performance for a charitable cause, a symphony by Mozart was heard: ‘Im Zwischenakt eine Symphonie von Mozart’ (In the intermission a symphony by Mozart).⁷⁰ But it seems that fine distinctions between different genres were not made: in her

67 *Excursion*, f. 11r.

68 Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1781* (Berlin and Stettin: [Nicolai,] 1785), volume 4, 541–542. Partly quoted in English translation in Morrow, *Concert Life*, 144.

69 Morrow, *Concert Life*, 143. More examples may be found in Elaine Sisman, ‘Haydn’s Theater Symphonies’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43/2 (1990), 300–301.

70 Compare Tadeusz Krzeszowiak, *Freihaustheater in Wien 1787–1801: Wirkungsstätte von W. A. Mozart und E. Schikaneder. Sammlung der Dokumente* (Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2009), 447.



book Morrow writes, without specific reference: 'Symphonies were very much in demand since each virtuoso concert included two or three and every oratorio generally opened with one, not to mention the countless works that served as intermission fillers in the theaters.'⁷¹ (Actually, the snapshot of the *Excursion* might also have described the events of an intermission in the theatre.)

We also have data about a symphony in a Viennese theatre directly connected with Haydn, even if at a somewhat later date. On 21 September 1795, not long after Haydn's return from his second London sojourn and obviously with his approval, one of his final London symphonies was performed in Vienna. It took place in the Burgtheater as part of an evening consisting of spoken plays, as Count Zinzendorf's well-known diary informs us: 'Au spectacle. Der Jurist und Bauer. Symphonie de Hayden de Londres avec les tambours.' (At the theatre. *The Lawyer and the Peasant*. London symphony by Haydn with drums.)⁷²

The information given by the *Excursion* also looks convincing because we have here two pieces of evidence, in themselves of doubtful meaning and value, shedding light on one another, so they possess a considerably more precise meaning and more cogency together than they used to have separately. For what firm conclusions could be drawn from the music copyist's consistent references to the theatre when describing symphonies he copied, which have connections both with theatre and with concerts? Not much. But if we know of the practice of performing symphonies before opera performances, his choice of words takes on a different significance: in this context the 1,300 sheets, some 5,000 pages' worth of copy, proves the existence of an established practice rather than a one-off occasion in 1784. All this increases the weight and validity of the *Excursion* reference. The quantity of the copied material also dispels any lingering questions, perhaps generated by the ambiguity of the term 'sinfonia', about the music in question being nothing more than 'normal' operatic overtures.⁷³ It is not possible for this to be the case because, just for example, the 493 sheets, nearly 2,000 pages, of music copied in the period between November 1776 and May 1777 exceeds several times over the combined length of the overtures of the ten or so operas that were performed at the time. The likelihood of producing copies of overtures in such quantity is cast into further doubt by findings in the Esterházy sheet-music inventory of 1858:⁷⁴ only thirty-four separate operatic overtures are listed, including those of *Singspiele* and of music accompanying plays; in any case, most of this material dates from a later period and only two or three of the pieces can be connected with performances at Eszterháza. One should also not assume that copies of overtures have disappeared from the library in large quantities: most of the full scores and the parts of the overtures needed for the opera productions are to be found together with the rest of the performing material.

We can also rule out the possibility that these 'Sinfonien vor d. Theater' might have served as incidental music to (spoken) plays and would be equivalent to the category of 'theater symphonies' proposed by Elaine Sisman. In fact, 'theater symphonies' and 'Sinfonien vor d. Theater' are two strikingly similar terms with entirely different meanings. Sisman's 'theater symphonies' relate to a very limited number of symphonies by Haydn, written not later than 1774, in which musical material that might have been specifically composed for the stage appears. By contrast, Schellinger's term refers to a large number of symphonies by various composers⁷⁵ covering some 5,000 pages and copied between about 1775 and 1783. Beyond the realization that such a large quantity of sheet music is likely to account for the entire set of symphonies over the

71 Morrow, *Concert Life*, 151.

72 Quoted in Landon, Haydn: *Chronicle and Works*, volume 4: *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation', 1796–1800* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 55, with reference to Edward Olleson, 'Haydn in the Diaries of Count Karl von Zinzendorf', *Haydn Yearbook* 2 (1963), 49. Landon takes it for granted that the symphony in question was No. 103 ('Drumroll'); I would not exclude either No. 100 ('Military') or, *horribile dictu*, No. 94 ('The Surprise', or, as it was probably known to Count Zinzendorf, 'Symphonie mit dem Paukenschlag').

73 This objection could be underpinned by reference, among other things, to Breitkopf's 1769 catalogue, containing the incipits of an opera overture by Hasse and four symphonies by Haydn under the same 'SINFONIE' heading. For a facsimile see Landon, *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 79.

74 EPA, PR 6276, volume 1 (Cammer- und Theater-Musicalien), 47–49.

75 As stated explicitly in Esterházy-Archiv, GC 1782 F 12 R 19 N 29 = A. M. 1152: 'Sinfonien von verschiedenen Authoren'.

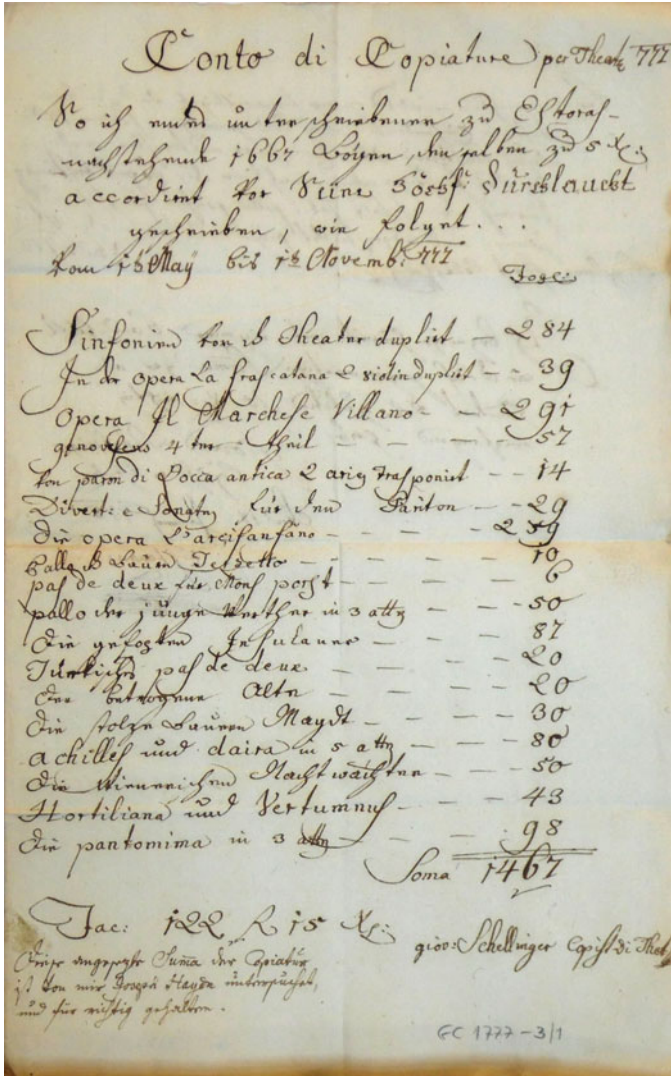


Figure 10 (Colour online) Schellinger's second invoice from 1777. Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv, GC 1777 F 14 R 20 N 21. Used by permission

period – in other words, all symphonies are ‘appropriate for the theatre’ – the decisive argument is to be found in Schellinger’s second invoice of 1777 (Figure 10).⁷⁶ As well as 284 sheets of symphony copies, this invoice lists the musical material of a dozen theatrical pieces of different kinds, including those of four German plays. This makes it clear that the very notion of ‘Sinfonie vor d. Theater’ does not include any kind of incidental music for the theatre. This leaves only one role for the symphonies: that of being performed as introductions (and possibly also as intermission entertainment, according to the Viennese custom) to opera performances as independent pieces, as reported in the *Excursion*.

76 EPA, GC 1777 F 14 R 20 N 21. Transcription in Pratl, *Forchtensteiniana*, DVD enclosure, 4 December 1777.



A tally of copied sheets reveals an order-of-magnitude difference between the lengthier symphonies and the naturally shorter arias. It also becomes clear that after the three-and-a-half-year-long hiatus from autumn 1777 to spring 1781 Schellinger no longer copied arias; in fact, this was already the case in the middle of 1777. Vocal music must by then have disappeared from the programme of the *accademies*. (It is possible that, starting in 1777–1778, the ‘theatre symphonies’ gradually took over the function of the *accademies*, thus the performing of symphonies became part of the opera performances, a hypothesis reinforced by the evidence of Bader’s list, reflecting the decline of the *accademies* proper.) From 1781 on, copying of symphonies continued for another three years, even if at a third to a fifth of the productivity of 1776–1777. Schellinger’s swansong as a copyist of instrumental music was the nineteen sheets of music – probably the material of a single symphony – in 1783, suggesting that the performing of symphonies at Eszterháza, whether at concerts or in connection with operas, had reached its final stage around this time. (It is therefore surprising to have an explicit mention of a symphony in connection with an opera performance precisely in the year 1784, by which time the stream of performing material must have ceased. Could it be that by then theatre symphonies were performed on rare occasions only, using existing copies of music? Or did they use ready-bought copies of music? Future scholarship will, hopefully, provide answers.)

If we cast a glance at the 1783 accounts for supernumeraries,⁷⁷ we will not find the decline of the *accademies* astonishing. As well as the operas, the accounts for 1782 to 1785 include all theatrical productions that required staging – that is, stagehands and supernumeraries – but nothing else. Hence, in contrast to Bader’s summary of 1778, which does not deal with money matters, there is no mention of *accademies*. Nevertheless, the two documents give the same impression: opera and spoken theatre seem to have squeezed out all other genres of entertainment.

It is also quite improbable that *accademies* took place and were simply left off the list: weeks with three nights of opera and with four of spoken theatre follow each other, sometimes filling up a full month like March (after the beginning of the season) or October 1783. During the whole season – apart from the obvious interruption between 12 and 20 April, including Holy Week, and the probable programme break between 12 and 15 September – there occurred only ten (maybe eleven) ‘empty’ days. Some or all of these may easily represent *accademies*, but even if that were so, the concerts would have represented at most four per cent of the season’s performances. Later, from 1786, the dates of performances other than opera disappear from the accounts of the theatrical supernumeraries, and so we don’t know how full the diary was; but it seems clear that by then a practice of regular concerts no longer existed.

All this is in agreement with our understanding that around this time Haydn stops composing symphonies for local use. Symphony No. 73, ‘La chasse’ (composed at the latest in 1782, but probably in 1781),⁷⁸ is followed by the series of Nos 76, 77 and 78. According to the generally accepted hypothesis, it is these pieces that Haydn refers to in his letter of 15 July 1783, mentioning three symphonies composed in the previous year and connected with his planned visit to England.⁷⁹ The following three symphonies, Nos 81, 80 and 79 (in the probable order of their composition) also form a unit; Haydn may well have started composing them in 1783, completing the last of the three in the autumn of 1784. Both sets were published in several places, both singly and in their entirety. Of course, there is no reason for these symphonies not to have been performed at Eszterháza if, and as long as, *accademies* were still taking place, as the scoring certainly permits this. However,

77 EPA, BC 1783 R 16 2.Qu N 11; EPA, BC 1783 R 16 2.Qu N 17; Esterházy-Archiv, BC 1783 N 74 = *H-Bn*, Music Collection, A. M. 3974; Esterházy-Archiv, BC 1783 N 80 = A. M. 3975; Esterházy-Archiv, BC 1783 N 104 = A. M. 3973; Esterházy-Archiv, BC 1783 N 121 = A. M. 3970; Esterházy-Archiv, BC 1783 N 135 = A. M. 3971; Esterházy-Archiv, BC 1783 N 157 = A. M. 3972; EPA, BC 1783 R 16 4.Qu N 17.

78 From this point on I am following the datings of Georg Feder’s Haydn work list as published in the ‘Haydn, (Franz) Joseph’ entry of *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (7 March 2016).

79 See Dénes Bartha, ed., *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel and Budapest: Bärenreiter and Akadémiai, 1965), 129–130; English translation in H. C. Robbins Landon, ed., *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 42–43.



these compositions no longer substantiate the existence of such concerts: the intent of publishing them and the possibility of their performances as ‘theatre symphonies’ – perhaps even on the occasion immortalized in the *Excursion* – is reason enough for their creation.

Sonja Gerlach, the editor of the volume containing these six symphonies in the *Joseph Haydn Werke* complete edition, is of a different opinion. In the Introduction she emphasizes that Haydn would have been considering publication from the start:

The grouping into two series arises from the transmission itself. Haydn disseminated the new symphonies himself, in the first place in the usual grouping of three works at a time, and sold them to specific publishers.

Subsequently, however, she states:

Nevertheless, it is out of the question that Haydn should have composed the six symphonies specifically for publication. His main task remained the entertaining of his employer Prince Nicolaus Esterházy with new music. His symphonies had to comply with the prevalent composition of the court orchestra and had to be suitable for an orchestra of 25 to 30 instrumentalists.⁸⁰

At the end of 1784 and the beginning of 1785 the number of instrumentalists in the Eszterháza orchestra was at most twenty-four.⁸¹ Therefore if these symphonies required at least twenty-five musicians, then they were not adjusted to the conditions of the orchestra, which should raise serious doubts about the assertion that in 1784 Haydn’s ‘main task’ should still have been ‘to entertain’ the prince ‘with new music’.⁸² It is enough to cast a cursory glance over the dense programming of 1782 to 1784, including the first performances of *Orlando paladino* in December 1782 and of *Armida* in February 1784, to realize that the real question is whether by this time Haydn was obliged to compose anything other than operas for the court. The plausible answer to the question is no. This finds an echo in Haydn’s second contract – dated 1 January 1779 – in which the prince effectively relinquishes his rights over Haydn’s compositions.⁸³ Moreover, *Armida* marks the end of his Eszterháza opera compositions: afterwards Haydn only composes insertion arias for domestic use.

All this is, however, no more than a storm in a teacup: the six symphonies we have been discussing are followed by the six ‘Paris’ Symphonies, composed unequivocally in response to external commissioning, and thus the more than two decades of writing symphonies for Eszterháza’s in-house entertainment comes to a definite end.⁸⁴ If we inspect the contemporary concertos as well, we find that the D major cello concerto (HVIIB:2), written for Anton Kraft and therefore meant for Eszterháza, was composed in 1783; the lost concerto for two horns (HVIIId:2) probably dates from no later than 1784, and the last keyboard concerto, the popular D major one (HXVIII:11), cannot have been composed later than 1784. Therefore we have to

80 Joseph Haydn Werke, series 1, volume 11, Sinfonien 1782–1784, ed. Sonja Gerlach (Munich: Henle, 2003), vii. My translation.

81 Tank, *Studien zur Esterházyischen Hofmusik*, 499; standing as of 1 January 1785. However, according to the ‘Kammer Music Stand’ of the same date (EPA, General-Cassa Handbuch 1785, fols 95–97), the number of instrumentalists employed was only twenty-two.

82 Our conclusion is concordant with James Webster’s opinion: ‘The conjecture that [Haydn] composed his symphonies until about 1779, perhaps until 1782, primarily for the Esterházy court holds true.’ (‘Die Vermutung bleibt nach wie vor aufrecht, daß [Haydn] bis etwa 1779, vielleicht sogar bis 1782 seine Sinfonien primär für den Esterházyischen Hof komponierte.’) James Webster, ‘Haydn’s Symphonik zwischen “Sturm und Drang” und “Wiener Klassik”’: Zur Ästhetik der gehobenen Unterhaltungsmusik’, in Gerhard J. Winkler, ed., *Das symphonische Werk Joseph Haydns: Referate des internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Symposions Eisenstadt, 13.–15. September 1995* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 2000), 84.

83 EPA, Süttör Missiles, F 6 N 20. Published, among others, in Bartha, *Briefe*, 83. For an English translation see Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 42–43.

84 Symphony No. 89 is a possible exception, as it has no trumpet parts; still, it was published in several places shortly after its completion.



conclude that Haydn's last compositions for the Eszterháza academies were written in 1783 or, at the latest, in 1784. Considering how clearly the 'Paris' Symphonies were intended for publication and that we can only be certain of the copying of one symphony and the composing of one concerto in 1783, I would venture that the last academies are most likely to have taken place in 1783.



To complete the list of the instances of music-making known to us, let me just briefly refer to Haydn's widely known letter written to Marianne von Genzinger on 14 March 1790, making mention of a very specific and intimate musical event. In this letter Haydn describes how he and his musicians tried to console the afflicted Nicolaus just a couple of days after his wife's death:

der dodtfall Seiner verstorbenen gemahlin drückte dem Fürsten dergestalt darnieder, daß wür alle unsere Kräften anspanen musten, Hochdensenben aus dieser schwermuth herauszureissen . . . Der arme Fürst verfiel aber bey Anhörung der Ersten Music über mein Favorit adagio in D in eine so tiefe Melancoley, daß ich zu thun hatte, Ihm dieselbe durch andere stücke wider zu benehmen.

The death of his wife so crushed the Prince that we had to use every means in our power to pull his Highness out of this depression . . . but the poor Prince became so depressed when he heard my favourite Adagio in D that we had quite a time to brighten his mood with the other pieces.⁸⁵

Alas, any reference to the location is missing here; we cannot even try to guess it, as the size and composition of the ensemble are also unclear.⁸⁶

By way of an acknowledgement that this paper may not have clarified, once and for all, the questions surrounding the venues for the Eszterháza concerts and the time-span over which they took place, I will finally quote from a surprising, even disconcerting, document. Since the word 'academie' disappears altogether after 1779, including accounts concerning theatrical supernumeraries, it is very surprising to encounter the *Staben-Ausweis* dating from April 1789,⁸⁷ the penultimate year of Eszterháza's golden age (Figure 11). It records three *accademies* taking place on three consecutive days, as if references to the *accademies* had never disappeared from the records. However, the situation is, in fact, even more peculiar than it seems to be at first sight: 9, 10 and 11 April fell on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Saturday of Holy Week in that year. Palace observance did, indeed, lose a great deal of its initial piety over the years: while in the first years the entire Holy Week, including Easter Sunday, was spent without programmes (as we have seen for 1776), from 1784 – four years after the introduction of three regular opera performances (Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays) per week⁸⁸ – Tuesday of Holy Week and Easter Sunday found their way into the opera schedule.⁸⁹ We have

85 See Bartha, *Briefe*, 231; English translation in Landon, *Correspondence*, 98.

86 There is a relative shortage of Adagios in D major in Haydn's instrumental output of the 1780s. Possible candidates are the slow movements of the 'Paris' Symphony No. 87 in A major or of the 'Oxford' Symphony No. 92. In addition, Symphony No. 88 in G major has a *Largo* in D major, and there occur further examples in the symphonies of the 1760s and 1770s), together with the touching second movement (Adagio cantabile) of the String Quartet in A major Op. 55 No. 1. I was unable to find anything more, leaving aside the baryton pieces, by then surely a distant memory, and the opening Siciliano, also marked Adagio, of the String Trio in D major HV:21, then a quarter of a century old and lacking the depth of feeling of the movements mentioned above. This short list, nevertheless, leaves open the question of the approximate size of the group of players on this occasion.

87 EPA, BC 1789 N 444. As explained briefly in note b of Table 1, each *Staben-Ausweis* was an account listing payments made to stagehands and supernumeraries.

88 For detailed documentation relating to this see my dissertation: János Malina, 'Az 1776 és 1790 közötti eszterházi operaevadok kronológiája' (The Chronology of the Eszterháza Opera Seasons between 1776 and 1790) (PhD dissertation, Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem (Franz Liszt Academy of Music) Budapest, 2016).

89 What is more, whilst in the Viennese theatres opera performances were suspended – aside from Holy Week – during Lent (compare Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 17), at



Stabenen pro mensis Aprilis 1789

	Opera = Proo.	Comedia =	Operas	Stabell	Compositio	Stabell	Stabell	
		27 =	23 =	25 =	25 =			
2	Verdette di Clivio	6	—	30	6	4	12	
5	Calisto	—	—	2	6	—	40	
7	Castellani	4	—	28	—	—	2 48	
9	} Accademie	—	—	—	—	—	—	
10		—	—	—	—	—	—	
11		—	—	—	—	—	—	
12	Disertine	—	—	20	8	3	40	
14	Castellani	4	—	28	—	—	2 48	
16	Calisto	—	—	2	6	—	40	
19	Damburo	—	—	14	5	—	35	
21	Bello	—	—	14	5	—	35	
23	Verdette di Clivio	6	—	30	6	4	12	
26	Bello	—	—	—	—	—	—	
28	Suppelle Cort.	2	—	29	—	—	2 99	
	Barbent Spielten	—	—	—	—	—	48 4	
	Comedi Pastomina	—	—	—	—	—	34 2 99	
		22	=	225	194	31	29	
	Zijnmanfingte Opera in'te Parzies							4:30
							30 = 9	

Figure 11 (Colour online) Detail from the accounts for theatrical supernumeraries, April 1789. Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv, BC 1789 N 444. Used by permission

to presume that the Roman Catholic prince's household did not eschew religious tradition to such an extent as to perform symphonies, sonatas or even secular arias instead of the lamentations intended specifically for these three days of the year. But if we further presume that the *accademies* contained devotional music, where would they have taken place? Were they put on in the theatre, whose acoustics are nothing like that of a church, in a move verging on blasphemy? Or in the tiny chapel, which did have a small positive organ⁹⁰ but had never featured in any document relating to music-making? Or in the more appropriate venue of the Eisenstadt palace chapel, whose expenses had never appeared in the Esterháza Bau Cassa? In any case, why is there mention of it in the supernumeraries' accounts if there are no associated costs? Finally, if there is a record of these *accademies*, why is there no mention in the same place of the concerts which we are inclined

Esterháza, in an almost provocative fashion, the 1786 and 1790 opera seasons began on Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent, while in the 1788 season the second performance took place on Ash Wednesday. This in spite of the fact that opera performances held on Wednesdays were a rarity from the beginning!

90 EPA, GC 1772 Züsser N 444.



to think were put on in 1782 and 1783? Is it possible that Holy Week lamentations were a regular custom at Eszterháza, but that – as with other, secular *accademies* – they were left unmentioned? Or maybe, quite the other way round, this piece of information from 1789 could be used to prove that – in contrast with what has been said and thought before – separate *accademies* were no longer put on in 1782–1783, as they would have appeared in the accounts for supernumeraries? To be sure, this might also mean that the concertos composed in those years must have been performed in the course of the opera performances – which, in fact, would not be at all unprecedented.⁹¹ (As we have seen, the concert arias had very probably disappeared by then anyway.) I have to admit that, for the moment, I have no answer to these questions.



In summary, our virtual tour, in space and time, of the Eszterháza palace during its golden age may have helped us understand the logic of the use of various venues, as well as revealing to us the custom of starting an opera performance with a symphony – a practice that may well have taken over the role of the gradually declining *accademies*.

Several accounts confirm that not only were the theatre and operas (and almost certainly the concerts as well) put on by Nicolaus the Magnificent free to attend, but also that any- and everybody was admitted – provided, presumably, that they were appropriately attired. (In another part of his poem, stanza 55, Dallos mentions ‘the Peasant . . . with his Mate’ among the visitors to the theatre.) This does not mean that there was no separation between the areas for the general public, those reserved for visiting aristocrats and the prince’s (and his lady’s) private space. It is well known that the two theatres, the parterre and the pleasure garden were public spaces. But it is most likely that the main building, and especially its central section, was not open to just any visitor, and members of the public would not have been allowed to attend the feast put on for Maria Theresia. It seems sensible to assume that musical entertainment for the higher ranks was provided in the main building – as we have shown, probably mostly in the summer dining hall on the ground floor and in the picture gallery. However, the regular and free-to-attend *accademies* could not possibly have been held there: their obvious venue was the opera house and the marionette theatre – ‘die beyden Comoedien-Hauser’ – open to the public and hosting a whole range of cultural and entertainment programmes.⁹² For intimate chamber music, especially pieces involving the baryton (and Prince Nicolaus as its player), the prince’s private quarters provided a natural setting.⁹³ In other words, in the different spaces of the Eszterháza palace, just as in the auditorium of a theatre of the time, all those present had their appropriate place, reflecting their social status; the same must have applied to the different occasions of music-making.

(English translation by Sara Liptai and David Ennever)

91 Compare Sisman, ‘Theater Symphonies’, 301.

92 In fact, the order just outlined would not become questionable even if Horányi’s information concerning the symphonies and concertos performed during a ball could somehow be substantiated. Or, to put it in a more general way, the existence of some seasonal or occasional forms of music-making, involving other locations, does not change this fundamental picture.

93 It belongs to the peculiar character of Eszterháza that from among the various forms of music-making it was exactly the *accademies*, held in the opera house and accessible to the widest of publics, which seem to have delivered the highest artistic quality to the listeners.