Reassessing Haydn’s Friendship with Anton Weidinger

Bryan Proksch

So far as most trumpeters are concerned there are really only two Classical-era solo works: “The Haydn” and “The Hummel.” Large-scale solo concertos in three movements, both are played repeatedly at student recitals as a stylistic requirement and heard equally as often at professional orchestral concerts. Familiarity has made it easy to forget their enormous historical significance for the development of the chromatic trumpet, even though they were isolated geographically, written for a single trumpet player, and promptly forgotten for nearly a century. Anton Weidinger (1766–1852), the Viennese inventor of the keyed trumpet who flourished from about 1795–1815, performed on natural trumpet as a theater musician and occasionally toured with limited success as a keyed trumpet soloist. His invention prompted both the Haydn and Hummel trumpet concertos, thereby singlehandedly influencing the instrument’s solo repertoire in a way not seen at any other point in history before or since. Yet this very familiarity has fostered a sense of complacency regarding the genesis of the works written for Weidinger, and about Haydn’s Trumpet Concerto in Eb major (Hob. VIIe:1) of 1796 in particular. As it stands, our knowledge of Weidinger’s life, personal relationships, and influence has been based on a precious few facts and a variety of unverified anecdotes and assumptions. In fact, virtually everything known about the personal connection between Haydn and Weidinger rests on information gleaned from an interview of Weidinger’s grandson by Richard Heuberger that took place over a century ago—information of dubious quality that has been further distorted through repetition to the point that chronological discrepancies in the narrative have been overlooked in favor of a clean storyline.

The present essay attempts to refine our understanding of the “knowns and unknowns” revolving around Weidinger, his instrument, and his circle of colleagues and friends by assessing surviving documentation with a more critical eye than was done a century ago. A follow-up essay in the next volume of this journal will provide a larger context by presenting the lesser-known works performed by Weidinger in an effort better to understand the uneven evolution of Weidinger’s instrument and his apparent initial struggles to present Haydn’s concerto in recital. Haydn’s Trumpet Concerto is perhaps the most important work of the group, partly because of the composer’s stature, additionally because it was the earliest work composed for Weidinger, and finally because of the oddity of its lying fallow for some years before its premiere. An effort will be made to reconcile a number of chronological contradictions between the primary sources and the secondary literature. While the work is a crucial part of the trumpet’s repertoire today, it was not as central to Weidinger’s performances or to the development of his instrument in exactly the way that is typically assumed. As will be demonstrated, Weidinger actually had a hand in the writing and performance of a number of other compositions that have remained essentially forgotten, even though he likely performed them more frequently than the larger concer-
tos. In addition, it will become apparent that his personal connections with Haydn have been vastly overestimated. The first step of this effort will be to scrutinize the chronology of events ca. 1793–1800 to discern the development of Weidinger’s first fully functional prototype and the compositional background of Haydn’s Trumpet Concerto.

**Revising the Haydn-centric narrative**

Since the first scholarly examination of Weidinger in 1907 by Heuberger, Joseph Haydn has been identified as the crucial composer in the evolution of the keyed trumpet. He was purportedly a “close friend” of Weidinger and also the visionary who lent his prestige as the most renowned composer of the era by writing a concerto for an apparently emerging virtuoso.³ It was this work, so the story goes, that solidified Weidinger’s reputation by validating his invention and thereby enabling all the keyed trumpet works that followed shortly thereafter. In a sense, this oft-repeated narrative—which has never really been questioned—credits Haydn with inventing the concept of the modern trumpet (a fully chromatic instrument capable of the widest range of expression) as much as it credits Weidinger with fabricating the actual instrument known as the keyed trumpet. In the discussion that follows, this aspect of the narrative will actually be confirmed, but for reasons other than those originally given by Heuberger and generally understood until now.

Weidinger’s personal connection to Haydn has been viewed as critically important for two reasons. The first, that the secure dating of his Concerto on the autograph manuscript makes it the earliest work for a fully chromatic trumpet, is undeniable: Haydn dated the autograph manuscript himself. The second reason is highly suspect because it is based on an undocumented Weidinger family anecdote. Weidinger’s grandson maintained that Haydn attended the trumpeter’s wedding to Susanna Zeissin on 6 February 1797 and went so far as to say that Haydn was a formal witness of the nuptials (something akin to a modern groomsman), thereby implying a very close personal relationship between the two.⁴ Heuberger quite naturally concluded that this meant that Haydn took a “close interest” in Weidinger’s invention and wrote the concerto as a favor.⁵ In the wake of Heuberger’s statements, most of the secondary literature has simply condensed this entire discussion into what will be called the “close friend” narrative. That is, at some point in the past century scholars began depicting the two as “close friends” at the time of composition, even though no documentation supports this notion and despite the reality that such a conclusion was not presented as factual in the original 1907 article.⁶

It is entirely possible that Haydn attended the wedding; however, the evolution of this anecdote into a second completely unsubstantiated anecdote—that Haydn and Weidinger were what might be called “close friends” and had been such for at least enough time for the Trumpet Concerto to have been written as a favor in 1796—stretches the known chronology of events virtually to the breaking point. The reason the issue of friendship matters at all is that the idea that the two were very close has led to a distinct way of interpreting Haydn’s approach to composing the Trumpet Concerto. This includes an overemphasis on the versatility of Weidinger’s invention (which by this train of logic emerged fully
developed from the outset) and on Haydn's supposedly intimate knowledge of the instrument at the time he composed the work (which leads to the conclusion that he wrote it in a way tailored to Weidinger's abilities and his instrument's capabilities). Both stances are historically problematic, the second especially so because it relies on circular reasoning. In fact, as will be shown, all of the surviving documentary evidence—everything but the unsubstantiated claim of Weidinger's descendant—inevitably leads to two conclusions: 1) Weidinger's instrument was non-functional at the time of composition in 1796; and 2) the composer and soloist were most likely distant acquaintances (or at least something less intimate than "close friends") at the time of composition.

The self-serving nature of the wedding anecdote is a crucial problem in that there is no surviving documentation to verify it as factual. In fact, there are no documents save the autograph of the Concerto itself that point to any connection between Haydn and Weidinger. Even if the wedding anecdote were true, its 1797 timing postdates Haydn's Concerto by perhaps a year or more once one takes into account the amount of time it would have taken Haydn to complete the work. In essence the wedding anecdote reveals little about their personal relationship prior to 1797. Chronologically speaking, there was a very limited amount of time during which Haydn and Weidinger could have met one another before the wedding, let alone become close friends. They had even less time to meet prior to the composition of the Trumpet Concerto. The unlikelihood of a close friendship is especially evident when one considers that Weidinger was a virtual unknown in the mid-1790s Viennese musical world while Haydn was a wealthy and aged legend, intent on writing large-scale sacred works in an effort to secure his legacy.

Weidinger left his position as a military trumpeter on 10 April 1792 and soon thereafter took up a position at the Marinelli Theater, a local Viennese venue that had imperial privileges. Four years later, on 16 April 1796 (within months of the time during which Haydn must have written his Concerto), Weidinger became an "Exspectantist auf eine Hoftrumpeter Stelle"—i.e., was placed on the waiting list to become an imperial court trumpeter. He had worked his way up the proverbial ladder in these four years, but he would not actually assume the more prestigious post until 1799. Prior to 1799 he was a mere second trumpeter in a theater orchestra of secondary importance. There has been some confusion concerning his employment in the 1790s, in that he did not work at the K.K. Hofopern-Theater—that is, the Burgtheater, one of the most important venues for the court opera—from the beginning. A letter of 16 January 1799, years after the period in question, sheds light on the situation, as it confirms Weidinger's appointment to the "K.K. Hoftheater Orchester" effective the beginning of the following month. His concert advertisements thereafter always included his title as a "K.K. Hof- und Theater-Trumpeter," reflecting the change. Of course none of this would have had a bearing on the composition of Haydn's Trumpet Concerto, since before 1799 Weidinger, although experienced, was either freshly added to the waiting list for the Hofoper trumpet position or still at the Marinelli Theater.

It seems unlikely that Weidinger would have been able to approach, let alone commission and become friends with, a composer of Haydn's stature, given the short span of
time in which both figures were present in Vienna. This was the very time during which Haydn made his two London journeys. He did not return from his first visit to London until July 1792 (three months after Weidinger’s initial Viennese appointment), and was then away again for his second London journey from January 1794 to August 1795. This means that the composer and trumpeter had only two relatively short periods (eighteen months in 1792–93 and no more than sixteen months from late 1795 to the end of 1796) during which to become acquainted at all. Given the absence of correspondence or other documentation from the first window of opportunity, their acquaintance during the 1792–93 span seems unlikely. There is no surviving documentation apart from the composition itself to support the development of a close relationship during the second period, but given the technical aspects of the resulting work (examined below) and the two men’s very different personal situations (one a wealthy elder statesman focused on writing masses, the other a virtual unknown playing at an unremarkable theater), a distant acquaintance or one in the initial stages of friendship seems most likely.

The questionable nature of the “close friend” anecdote is further supported by a crucial and overlooked oddity in the concerto’s history: Haydn did not attend Weidinger’s premiere of the work in 1800, even though he was actively attending concerts throughout Vienna as a public “elder statesman” type of figure at that time. Neither of the surviving published advertisements mentions the possibility of Haydn’s attendance at what would have been the most prestigious performance of Weidinger’s career up to that point in time. If the two really were as close as has been presumed, Haydn surely would have supported Weidinger’s efforts in a public way by attending. One would assume that even if Haydn did not attend out of a sense of personal fidelity, he would have appeared simply because it was the premiere of one of his own significant symphonic compositions. In Haydn’s defense, his estranged wife (with whom he basically had no relationship whatsoever for decades) died eight days before the planned concert, but he could still have attended, even in feigned mourning. Regardless of the reason, the premiere does not support a strong personal relationship between Haydn and Weidinger.

In the end, the Concerto’s March 1800 premiere might best be described as a borderline disaster. Landon records an oft-quoted diary entry by Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, who attended both the dress rehearsal and the performance:

Liesinger and Weinmüller came [to Therese Gassmann’s] to rehearse the duet for the academy today, but it won’t be possible to do it, for the poor thing went hoarse while singing…. In the evening I was in the academy of the court trumpeter Weidinger in the Burgtheater. Therese sang after all, but was very hoarse. — It [the hall] was empty.

It is noteworthy that Rosenbaum went not to hear Weidinger play the trumpet, but to hear Gassmann, his wife and a prominent soloist, sing. Gassmann was the headline performer brought in to sell tickets; Weidinger was more of an afterthought. When word leaked that she was not going to be at her best, no one showed up. The Trumpet Concerto’s premiere
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was a Haydn-less financial wash. This series of events demonstrates rather clearly the lack of interest shown to Weidinger and his invention by the Viennese musical community. As late as 1800 he was still a musician of little import, a noteworthy problem with regard to the “close friends” narrative, which would have us believe that by this time Weidinger and Haydn had been “close friends” (with all the benefits of such a connection) for approximately five years.

The importance of a connection with Haydn can be seen later in Weidinger’s career, during his tour of Europe, where advertisements consistently promoted his relationship with the composer. In 1803 he performed as a soloist in two London concerts. His first known performance in London was at the King’s Theatre on 10 March. A newspaper advertisement includes the line “Concerto Organised Trumpet by Mr. Weidinger, (the inventor) one of the Band of his Imperial Majesty—N.B. Mr. Weidinger is particularly recommended to this country by Dr. Haydn.” Haydn’s continuing popularity in London is evident here, and Weidinger is the only performer on the concert with a prominent public referral. It seems unlikely that he had an actual recommendation letter from Haydn, rather the Concerto itself served as a recommendation. On the other hand, since the advertisement does not list Haydn as the composer of the Concerto, it is possible that he played an early version of Hummel’s Concerto or perhaps one of the works by Leopold Koželuch (1747–1818) or Joseph Weigl Jr. (1766–1846) instead. Weidinger’s other known performance in London, on 28 March, was given in the concert series organized by Johann Peter Salomon, the same impresario who instigated Haydn’s two London sojourns. Salomon’s advertisement mentions a “Concerto for Organized Trumpet” and that Weidinger was “lately arrived from Vienna,” but includes no references to Haydn. Perhaps mentioning Weidinger’s connection with Haydn was no longer necessary now that he had already performed earlier in the month; it may have been implicit, given Salomon’s connections with Haydn. As much as the Concerto opened doors for Weidinger in London in 1803, the work seems to have done little for his reputation in Vienna in the years prior to the 1800 premiere.

Another overlooked problem in the tale of Weidinger’s invention and his connection with Haydn is the timeline of the instrument’s development. The only document mentioning Weidinger’s initial interest in the chromatic trumpet is the 22 March 1800 advertisement for the concert at which he premiered Haydn’s Concerto. This states that he would “present to the world for the first time … an organized trumpet which he has invented and brought—after seven years of hard and expensive labor—to what he believes may be described as perfection.” The “seven years” would place the beginning of his work in 1793, the time of his initial arrival in Vienna after his military service. There is no mention of the setbacks and breakthroughs encountered along the way, but this comment clearly presents the instrument as very recently perfected. The secondary literature has overlooked the import of this statement, relying instead on Haydn’s composition as the earliest datable evidence for a fully functioning prototype. Weidinger’s own admission in the advertisement that the keyed trumpet was not presentable as a completed or “perfected” instrument before 1800 must be taken at face value. He had played the works by Koželuch and Weigl in the two years prior, but (as will be seen in my follow-up essay) neither work requires the level of
technical proficiency demanded by Haydn’s Concerto: Haydn’s work did in fact require a perfected chromatic trumpet.

Taken as a whole, the keyed trumpet’s seven-year developmental timeframe, the dearth of documentation supporting a connection, the flop of the 1800 premiere, and Weidinger’s obscurity as a performer prior to 1800, everything seems to indicate that Haydn and Weidinger likely were not particularly close personally at the time of composition and the keyed trumpet was very much an imperfect work-in-progress. If we add to these the general situation ca. 1795–96—i.e., that Weidinger was still for all intents and purposes an unknown in the Viennese musical world, apart from being a trumpeter he was not even playing at a prestigious venue with any kind of working relationship to Haydn, who had never written an opera for Vienna anyway—it quickly becomes evident that Weidinger needed a facilitator to introduce him to Haydn and to convince the elderly composer to take a risk by writing the 1796 Concerto for an instrument that still did not really exist in the form of a working prototype.20

**Technical aspects of Haydn’s Trumpet Concerto**

There is no greater oddity in the Haydn-centric narrative than the circumstances surrounding the Concerto’s premiere. It sat unplayed from 1796 to 1800, an eternity given that eighteenth-century music, and that of Haydn in particular, was almost always written to be performed in the very near term (weeks rather than years). The four-year gap has been explained away by scholars as being due to the difficult nature of the Concerto. Wallace and McGrattan attribute it to the emphasis on distant-key harmonies in the work and the performance-based problems associated with extensive chromaticism on the newly invented instrument.21 Dahlqvist, while defending Weidinger as “certainly, already the master of his instrument” in 1796, offers no explanation for the gap.22 Tarr suggests that “he must have been gaining experience with his newly invented, fully chromatic instrument by playing other works [such as Koželuch’s and Weigl’s].”23 None of these explanations is really plausible. How could he gain experience on his instrument by playing works by other composers that would not exist until after Haydn completed his Concerto? If Weidinger and Haydn were really close, would not Weidinger have told Haydn that the work was too difficult to play and have asked him to revise it? This exact chain of events occurred with Hummel’s Concerto a few years later, yet Haydn’s work went unaltered and the manuscript shows no retouching on Weidinger’s part (again, unlike the Hummel manuscript). If Haydn’s work was playable in 1796, Weidinger would have performed it then, or at the latest he would have presented it in 1798 on the same debut concert during which he premiered Koželuch’s work.

A seasoned trumpeter, the “master of his instrument,” performing on a regular basis would not have needed four years to “gain experience” with Koželuch’s and Weigl’s works of dubious musical quality when he had one of the greatest masterworks of all time for the instrument sitting on his music stand. Both Koželuch’s and Weigl’s works for keyed trumpet were written after Haydn’s Concerto, in 1798 and 1799 respectively, and premiered im-
mediately. They are simplistic (at best) in comparison to Haydn’s work, even though both were written at least two years later. The earliest documented performance of Koželuch’s piece actually places Weidinger in the same room with Haydn (who conducted pieces earlier in the same concert) in December 1798 for a Tonkünstler-Societät concert, but of course by then Haydn’s unperformed Concerto was already two years old. If they really were close friends, Haydn, consistently at the cutting edge of composition as he was, must have fumed about Weidinger’s decision to play Koželuch’s piece instead of his own that day!

The four-year gap between the completion of the Concerto and its premiere, combined with the striking technical backtracking seen in Koželuch’s and Weigl’s works, cannot be explained away as easily as has been done in the secondary literature. The most likely conclusion is that Weidinger never demonstrated the instrument to Haydn or, if he did, it must have been a very early, potentially non-functional or not fully chromatic prototype. Had Weidinger actually demonstrated the instrument to Haydn prior to the Concerto’s composition in the way scholars have presumed, Haydn would have been virtually forced into writing something much closer in style and difficulty to the functional and immediately playable works of Weigl and Koželuch. Unlike J.S. Bach, Haydn was not in the habit of writing unplayable or theoretical works; he would have been acutely aware of the limitations of the instrument after a demonstration. Furthermore, if Haydn was unwilling to compromise on his compositional ideas by writing a simpler and immediately playable work, he would not have bothered to write the Concerto at all. The inevitable conclusion is that he wrote the work “in the dark,” so to speak, perhaps with only a vague promise that Weidinger would be able to work up a fully functioning chromatic trumpet in short order.

Haydn’s resulting work is both more abstract in nature and far more technical in its demands than the works by Koželuch and Weigl. This, together with the four-year gap, suggests that he was very likely composing for an idealized trumpet detached from the realities of Weidinger’s imperfect or incomplete prototype. Haydn’s manuscript provides significant insights into his ignorance of the situation. His use of written $d^1$ notably departs from Weigl’s and Koželuch’s pitches outside the harmonic series. The first movement of Haydn’s Concerto uses a sustained half-note $d^1$ as the second pitch of the main theme, while Weigl and Koželuch use this tone sparingly, most often as a quick passing tone (see Example 1).

The lowness of this note outside the harmonic series would have made it one of the least desirable pitches on the instrument in terms of tone and timbre. Even the best modern

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\begin{music}
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Example 1: Haydn, Trumpet Concerto, primary theme as written for trumpet in E.
recordings using reproduction keyed trumpets sound awkward in the opening phrase. This is hardly the way to introduce the capabilities of the new instrument while glossing over its flaws! By way of contrast, Hummel, writing more than five years later, saved his most chromatic moments for the slow movement, having eased the audience into hearing the keyed notes in the more natural-trumpet-like first movement. Hummel’s first theme opens with a far more conservative (and idiomatic) triadic fanfare that waits before moving on to the problematic keyed pitches. In comparison to Hummel, Haydn appears oblivious to the strengths and weaknesses of Weidinger’s instrument from the very first motive. The whole-note written $ab$ occurring later in the first movement (m. 116)—which modern trumpet teachers love to cite as indicative of Haydn’s interest in highlighting the instrument’s chromatic abilities—must be seen in the same light. The composer assumed the note would sound good on a truly chromatic trumpet, not realizing that, because it is so low, it was one of the worst-sounding notes on the keyed trumpet, one to be avoided rather than emphasized.

Whether the incompleteness of Weidinger’s instrument or personal unfamiliarity between the two men dictated Haydn’s compositional approach, the exact same conclusions are reached. In a sense, it does not matter if the two were friends or not: either way, the work was written without specific insight into the keyed trumpet. To put it simply, Haydn was ignorant of the instrument’s technical capabilities in 1796. The 1800 advertisement of the Concerto’s premiere clearly mentions the perfection of the instrument as a very recent event, a perfection obviously not attained by the instrument Weidinger had been playing publically for the past few years. Once he had agreed to write the Concerto, Haydn had no choice but to write his piece for an archetypical chromatic trumpet as he imagined it would eventually be. The resulting composition, the first of its kind, ended up not making any compromises in terms of style or technique in the manner seen in the works by Koželuch, Weigl, or Hummel, due in large part to Haydn’s ignorance of the technical details. From this perspective, we might infer that Haydn actually influenced Weidinger’s invention by writing a work requiring full chromatic capabilities akin to the modern valved instrument. The work forced Weidinger to find a way actually to live up to the promise of a fully functional chromatic trumpet, a task that took him some four years to accomplish and even then met with limited success. Weidinger was not merely practicing Haydn’s work or gaining experience performing it in public—he was still trying to figure out how to build an instrument capable of playing it.

Viewing Haydn’s Concerto as an abstract theoretical work quickly solves many of the obvious problems in its history and reception. For instance, the work was basically forgotten after its premiere (in fact, there is evidence for only a handful of later performances by Weidinger) and totally abandoned after Weidinger’s death, which makes sense if it was not idiomatic to the instrument then available.25 It also explains the level of difficulty and seeming freedom with which Haydn wrote the work (unencumbered by technical knowledge, his chromatic elements and key changes are consistent with the style of his other late compositions). Further, it explains the speed with which the concerto was embraced after its rediscovery: modern valve trumpets eventually realized Haydn’s idealized conception
in a way Weidinger’s instrument never could. More importantly, from this perspective the work is not really the “curiosity” it has been called, but simply a concerto for a fully chromatic trumpet. Haydn’s autograph, the sole surviving source, includes only the word “Concerto,” while the trumpet part bears the heading “Clarino Solo.” It seems unusual that his score does not use any of the terms typically connected with Weidinger’s instrument at the time (“keyed trumpet,” “organized trumpet,” “inventions-trumpet,” or the like), nor is there any reference to chromaticism or Weidinger in the manuscript. At the very least this indicates an arm’s-length distance between Weidinger’s instrument and Haydn’s work, which could provide further evidence of the archetypical instrument for which he wrote the concerto.

In view of the probable absence of a strong personal relationship between Haydn and Weidinger and the probable lack of a fully functional prototype in 1796, we are left with a trumpet concerto written in the abstract. This perspective opens up a number of possibilities for our understanding of the work. For instance, it could mean that the concerto does not actually emphasize the trumpet’s chromatic abilities in an unusual or prominent way nor does it provide insight into the strengths and weaknesses of Weidinger’s abilities or those of his instrument (which pitches sound better, difficulties in fingerings, embellishment, expressive possibilities, limitations on historically informed cadenzas, etc.). Instead, the work was nothing more (or less) than a generic concerto conceived of theoretically for an unrealized ideal instrument.

Nothing in the preceding discussion implies that Haydn did not write the work for Weidinger or that he never meant for Weidinger to perform the piece. Indeed, Haydn seems to have written all of his surviving concertos on request or commission from performers with whom he was acquainted. Landon describes his concertos generally as “occasional” works that survive only in single sources, probably because he never intended them for publication or widespread use. Weidinger was the intended recipient and performer for Haydn’s Concerto, of this there can be no doubt, yet a number of questions remain. In an essay to follow in the next volume of this journal, I will examine the possible ways in which Weidinger managed to convince Haydn to write the work in the absence of a close friendship during the short time in which they were both in Vienna. In addition, I will look at the other surviving works written for Weidinger in an effort to better contextualize Haydn’s Concerto in comparison to the more practical works written for his newly-invented yet short-lived instrument.

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Notes


3 Ibid.


5 Ibid. “Joseph Haydn, dem Weidinger, wie zu vermuten, sein nunmehr um so vieles vollkommeneres Instrument vorführte, scheint sich für die wichtige Neuerung lebhaft interessiert zu haben, denn er schrieb 1796 in Wien ein schönes *Concerto für Clarino-Solo.*”

6 Rather than cite the numerous recent books and articles that describe Haydn and Weidinger as good or close friends without presenting any information beyond a citation of Heuberger, I will simply note the prevalence of the idea in the popular imagination by calling attention to the anonymous Wikipedia entry on Haydn’s Trumpet Concerto http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trumpet_Concerto_(Haydn), accessed 18 July 2014. This website goes to the most inaccurate of extremes by calling Weidinger Haydn’s “long-time friend,” something that was quite impossible, as will be seen below.


8 Andreas Lindner, *Die Kaiserlichen Hoftrumpeter und Hofpauker im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999), 575. The document with these details dates from 1848 but appears to be reliable concerning the other dates involved. Because Haydn’s autograph is dated only with the year, there is no way of knowing when exactly in 1796 he began or completed it.

9 Ibid., 558. The 1848 document confirms 1 February 1799 as the demarcation point for his career in the imperial establishment.

10 Anton Weidinger, “Musikalische Akademie,” *Wiener Zeitung* 24 (22 March 1800): 916. This is the earliest published advertisement, so there was no way of knowing about the subtleties of his career prior to the dates found in the documents transcribed by Lindner, cited above.


12 Sixteen months would be the absolute upper limit for the second opportunity the two had to meet, given that there were four months in 1795 after Haydn returned and then at most all twelve months of 1796 before he began and completed work on the Concerto (assuming he could have begun and completed the work in December 1796). In reality, there may have been much less time: Haydn wrote two masses in the second half of 1796 and presumably would have had little time for anything else. In contrast, no works are dated specifically late 1795 or early 1796, making these months more likely.

13 The information from this paragraph has been gleaned from H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: 
14 Ibid., 227–29.
15 Ibid., 545.
16 For the full review, see ibid., 228. Landon’s transcribed review seems to be an abridgement of another review transcribed in Dahlqvist, Weidinger, 14.
17 “New Musical fund… At the King’s Theatre” in The Morning Chronicle (London), 28 February 1803.
18 “Mr. Salomon’s Annual Concert” in The Morning Chronicle (London), 28 March 1803; “Hanover Square Rooms” in The Morning Post (London), 25 March 1803.
19 The advertisement is transcribed in full in Landon, Creation, 227–28. There is no other independent reference to 1793 as an important year, apart from this concert advertisement.
20 Landon (Creation, 31–32) characterizes Haydn’s relationship with the Viennese opera establishment as an “outsider,” with the caveat that he likely would have known many of the performers.
22 Dahlqvist, Weidinger, 11.
23 Tarr, “Haydn’s,” 33.
24 Landon, Creation, 333–34.
25 Documentation or later performances is limited to those found in Lindner (Hoftrompeter, 567–71), with the possible exception of performances on Weidinger’s European tour.
26 Tarr, “Haydn’s,” 33, concludes it is a “curiosity.”
27 Landon, Creation, 226.