

Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II as a representation of the development of the waltz within the socio-political context of Vienna ca. 1820

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- *Soli Deo Gloria* -

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Abstract

During 1824, composer and music publisher Anton Diabelli (1781-1858) published a collection of piano compositions in two volumes, entitled the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* (Patriotic Artists' Association). He invited 51 of Vienna's most prominent musical personalities (among them an 11-year-old Franz Liszt, Franz Schubert and Ludwig van Beethoven) active during the early nineteenth century to each contribute a variation on a waltz theme written by himself. The first volume (Part I) of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* was at first published in 1823 and contains the 33 *Veränderungen über einen Walzer von Diabelli op. 120* by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) which has subsequently become known simply as the *Diabelli Variations*. To some, it is one of the most profound sets of variations ever composed (Tovey 1944: 124). Because of the fame of the first volume, the second volume has fallen into relative obscurity – it has become all but forgotten by most musicologists and pianists alike. This second volume (Part II) contains an additional 50 variations by (the remaining) 50 composers invited by Diabelli to partake in this mammoth project. French (2004: 220) and Roennfeldt (2009: 2) agree that this set of variations can provide invaluable insight into Viennese musical life ca. 1820. This set of variations, comprising a catalogue of the influential musical figures of the time, proved a worthwhile subject of investigation for a holistic perspective on musical life in Vienna between the deaths of Mozart (1791) and Beethoven (1827).

The socio-political conditions in Vienna in the early nineteenth century proved an extremely interesting time. After the upheavals of 1789 - 1815, caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the Congress of Vienna, (between November 1814 and June 1815), provided a means to relative peace during the subsequent century. The democratising ideologies of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had affected the whole of Europe, sparking widespread emancipation of the middle class and a re-evaluation of the nobility's power. Vienna found itself in a period of apparent peace, with an appreciation for moral responsibility, patriotism, family and nature; this period would retrospectively be called the Biedermeier Period (1815-1830). The art of music was liberated to become an accessible, cultural pastime, not only for the nobility and for aristocratic peoples, but also for the average middle class citizen. The popular music genre became eminent with, as one of its major exponents, the waltz.

During the Biedermeier Period, Vienna was gripped in a waltz frenzy, with composers producing a prolific amount of waltz music to satisfy public demand. Ballantine (1984: 5) holds the opinion that social structures always crystallise in music. This study explores how the socio-political climate that reigned in Vienna during, and preceding, the Biedermeier Period influenced the popular eminence of the waltz, investigating to what extent Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II is a reflection of this development. Through comprehensively synthesising various definitions of the waltz, this study compiles an expansive list of characteristics evident in waltz music during the early nineteenth century. The study scrutinises Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II (comprising 50 variations composed by 50 composers) for evidence of these traits in an effort to determine to what degree this composition (and therefore its composers) utilised the then contemporary, compositional conventions. An integration of the abovementioned traits in turn reveals the extent to which the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II is a representative product of its time.

Keywords

Vaterländischer Künstlerverein

Waltz

Vienna

Socio-political

Diabelli

Nineteenth century

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CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

During 1824, Anton Diabelli (1781-1858) published the complete *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* (Patriotic Artists' Association). There were two parts, and the entire collection was based on a waltz theme composed by Diabelli himself followed by 83 variations written by 51 of Vienna's most prominent musical personalities active during the early nineteenth century (Roennfeldt 2009: 1). Part I of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* was first published in 1823 and contains the 33 *Veränderungen über einen Walzer von Diabelli op. 120* by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) which has subsequently become known simply as the *Diabelli Variations*. Part II (the focus of this study), contains 50 variations by 50 composers on the same waltz theme.

As a pianist, I have been interested in including Beethoven's set of *Diabelli Variations* in my repertoire for quite some time. It has been included in many professional pianists' concert programmes and has been described by Donald Francis Tovey as "the greatest set of variations ever written" (Tovey 1944: 124). I was, however, not aware of Part II of the so-called *Diabelli Variations*. The existence of this second volume was brought to my attention by Marianne Feenstra, a previous history of music lecturer. I was surprised (and immediately interested) to learn that a second volume on this famous theme exists; further still when I learnt that Beethoven's monumental set of variations was the smaller of the two volumes. When I discovered that the second volume (Part II) had been composed by 50 different Viennese composers, my interest in the work was cemented and I began informally researching what I later realised was called the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II. The initial, though limited, snippets of information discovered regarding the 50 composers involved, the timeframe of composition and its social context proved very interesting and persuaded me to investigate the collection more thoroughly. I thought that this thorough investigation would prove worthwhile as a research topic. Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II proved an interesting collection to investigate, not only because of the unusual process surrounding its creation, but also because so little is known about it and most of the composers involved.

French (2004: 220) and Roennfeldt (2009: 2) agree that this set of variations can provide invaluable insight into Viennese musical life ca. 1820. It serves as a catalogue of the influential musical figures active at the time and can prove a worthwhile subject of investigation for a new perspective on Viennese life in the 36 years between the deaths of Mozart (1791) and Beethoven (1827).

Upon researching the composition, I was immediately struck by the theme's waltz-like character. I decided to investigate if it is possible to determine why Diabelli particularly chose to write a waltz as the theme, as the scope of the project would surely have forced him to craft the theme in such a way that the composers involved could adequately display their compositional abilities.

To understand this, it is necessary to briefly investigate the social conditions in Vienna in the early nineteenth century. It was an extremely interesting time. After the upheavals of 1789 - 1815 caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the Congress of Vienna, which convened between November 1814 and June 1815, resorted to the drawing up of a new map of Europe creating far fewer states (Burkholder et al. 2009: 596). Despite the shifting of certain borders, and the still-partitioned countries, inhabitants felt a greater unity through language and culture than before (Burkholder et al. 2009: 596). The democratising ideologies of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had impacted on the whole of Europe, sparking widespread emancipation of the middle class and a re-evaluation of the nobility's power and responsibilities towards their countries.

Additionally, the production of printed music during the early nineteenth century became an important new industry (Fog 1985: 33). Owing to the growth of the middle class, music became a societal staple: churches, schools, houses and other gatherings were punctuated by music performances (Fog 1985: 33). With the decline of the aristocratic *Hauskapellen* (private house ensembles) a social broadening of music patronage ensued resulting in greater demand and, thanks to the technical progress made in the printing and manufacturing of paper, cheaper production methods made it possible for more people to obtain music scores (De Nora 1991: 310). Developments in the trade industry also ensured that music publications were available outside urban areas, further increasing the market (Fog 1985: 33). This increase in demand, as well as the influx of tourists during the Congress of Vienna,

gave rise to innumerable compositions in an ever-growing market; it was any composer's paradise.

1.2 Aims of the study

This study will strive to better understand the socio-political climate at play in Vienna during the early nineteenth century through the use and the development of the waltz with specific reference to Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* which is entirely based on variations of a single waltz composed by Anton Diabelli. The social factors that influenced the importance and popularity of the waltz within Viennese society will also be considered. Finally, the variations contained in Diabelli's publication are used to determine how each composer interpreted the conventions of the time concerning the waltz.

1.3 Research questions

1.3.1 Main research question

How are the waltzes that comprise Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II representative of the waltz that emerged during Vienna's socio-political climate of ca. 1820?

1.3.2 Sub-questions

- What were the social reforms and political shifts at play in Vienna ca. 1820?
- Where did the waltz originate and how did it gain its social prominence?
- What instigated the publication of Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*?

1.4 Literature Review

This section will outline literature that deals with the following topics relating to this study:

- The emergence of the waltz in Vienna.
- Vienna between 1819 and 1824.

- The background to and existing research about the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II.

1.4.1 The emergence of the waltz in Vienna

The minuet was the most popular court dance during the eighteenth century. It reflects the Classical ideals of balance, restraint and clarity of the time (Katz 1973: 370). The minuet was also a “learned” dance. Katz quotes Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the German statesman and writer, as stating that “Nobody ventures unconcernedly to dance unless he has been taught the art; the minuet in particular, is regarded as a work of art and is performed, indeed, only by a few couples. The couples are surrounded by the rest of the company, admired and applauded at the end.” (Katz 1973: 370).

It is clear from this description that the minuet was stylised and that it was carefully rehearsed and not spontaneous. It is also clear that there were two different groups involved when dancing the minuet: the few who were well-versed in the steps and dance, and those who appreciated the performance. Clothing, the order of entry to the dance floor and social standing all determined how the minuet was performed (Katz 1973: 370).

In contrast to the rigour of the minuet, the waltz provided everyone with the opportunity to dance. Around 1750 a dance for couples, called *Walzer*, was being danced by the peasants of Bavaria, Tyrol and Styria. This dance quickly spread to Vienna and, in describing life in Vienna around 1776 - 1786, Don Curzio is quoted as writing: “The people were dancing mad ... The ladies of Vienna are particularly celebrated for their grace and movements of waltzing of which they never tire.” (Jacob 2005:24-25). By 1786 a waltz was included as the second act finale of the opera *Una Cosa Rara* by Martín y Soler. Soler had marked the tempo of the dance as *andante con moto*, but in performances in Vienna the tempo was increased, leading to the *Geschwindwalzer*, and the *Galoppwalzer* (Wechsberg 1973: 49, 50).

Plantinga (1984: 343) describes the characteristics of the Viennese waltz as typically consisting of a set of five to seven dances with each dance normally consisting of either two eight-bar phrases or one sixteen-bar section. The whole composition would normally be framed by an introduction and a coda.

Plantinga further mentions that waltz music was most often performed with a violin leading the instrumental ensemble, and the music therefore featured various devices associated with this instrument, including double stops, playing on open strings and frequent folk-like *portamento*.

In their books *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz* (2012) and *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps and Sounds* (2002) McKee and Yaraman respectively provide a more extensive list of characteristics as pertaining to the waltz. Yaraman also juxtaposes the waltz to the minuet. McKee notes the psychological “power” that the spinning of the waltz had on both dancers but interestingly also on the onlookers. McKee further highlights the popular music revolution in opposition to the increasingly serious, learned quality of concert music. McKee holds that this revolution gave rise to a specific market capable of financially sustaining itself, and, as a result, composers like Johann Strauss I started specialising in such works for the fast-expanding popular market.

In his book *Sounds of the Metropolis*, Scott (2008) affirms that the waltz is one of the earliest examples of popular music and he paraphrases Adorno (Scott 2008: 6) in maintaining that, from the middle of the nineteenth century, “good” music may be defined as music that renounces commercialism altogether.

In his book *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances*, Knowles (2009) recounts the history of the waltz from its origins in the *La Volta* and the *Ländler* to the reception of its performance as one of shock, horror and immense excitement, reactions which both Katz (1973) and Plantinga (1984) also mention. Knowles provides insightful sections on the aristocracy’s initial repulsion and later acceptance of the dance style as well as listing some musical elements belonging to the waltz and its origins. The waltz musical form is discussed and the works of the two most important composers, Johann Strauss I and Joseph Lanner are explored. This book contains quotes from press releases of the time which accurately convey the attitudes and atmosphere of Vienna during the 1820s and later.

1.4.2 Vienna between 1819 and 1824

In the book *Musical life in Biedermeier Vienna*, Hanson (1985) controversially paints a picture of Vienna during the 18th century as a city offering little social or political

cohesion. She maintains that Austria was not bound by language, ethnic heritage or history and as a result there was very little patriotism. Such a description does not, however, consider that the dialect known as Viennese German (German: *Wienerisch*), which is distinct from Standard German in vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation, is spoken in Vienna while Standard German is used as the official language. This factor alone binds the people of the city in language and cultural heritage. The country's broader ethnic heritage and history stretches back as far as 1145 when Duke Henry II Jasomirgott moved the Babenberg family residence from Klosterneuburg in Lower Austria to Vienna which became the centre of the Babenberg dynasty. In 1440 Vienna became the resident city of the Habsburg dynasty and it grew to become the capital of the Holy Roman Empire (1483–1806) and one of the most important European cultural centres for music, the arts, science and fine cuisine.

In the early 1800s the cosmopolitan nature of the city was reflected in the languages spoken: musicians also spoke Italian and aristocrats often spoke French. The services of the Roman Catholic Church services were conducted in Latin.

Hanson, however, comprehensively documents various aspects of Viennese life from population growth, living standards, mortality rate to foreign musicians actively working in the city between 1815-1830. The author also states that, during the period between the Napoleonic Wars and the March Revolution (1815-1830), there was a prolific number of writers, musicians, politicians and dramatists living in Vienna. The author postulates that, for this reason, many normally fame-worthy compositions were forgotten as they were directly compared to some of the greatest music ever written. The work does well in describing the way government strove to control music and musicians; it also discusses various concert venues and the genres of music performed at each one. This book provides a good perspective from which to view the social reforms that would transform Vienna and ultimately Europe during the next century.

In her article *Musical patronage and social change in Beethoven's Vienna* (1991), De Nora raises some key questions regarding music's role in Viennese society during the early nineteenth century. She recounts how Mozart's music was deemed "too highly seasoned", with questions asked about whose palate is capable of enduring

this for long (De Nora 1991: 313). Yet, less than a decade later Mozart was labelled as “immortal”, and his music was so idealised that Constanze Mozart was able to arrange an all-Mozart benefit concert. This change in outlook on Mozart’s work echoes a dramatic shift in taste of the Viennese elite. No longer was the emphasis on Italian opera composers, nor on relatively simple-textured, non-learned, short works but on complexity and seriousness, and “master” composers were valued. This might possibly offer one explanation why Diabelli’s *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II was not as popular as Part I, composed by Beethoven. Beethoven, according to De Nora (1991: 314) was the “connoisseur’s musician”; Part II contained pieces in a more popular style that was intended for immediate consumption and quickly found itself out of fashion.

Parsons (in *Vienna: A Cultural History* [2008]), mentions some of the characteristics of the Biedermeier style. It is interesting to note that paintings in this style typically valued and depicted moral responsibility, family and nature as well as personal sorrow in a patriotic context. This style directly followed the Napoleonic Wars, and it reflects that many families suffered devastating losses. The values depicted became the precursors for the nationalism which was to grip the nation during the early nineteenth century.

1.4.3 The *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*

It seems that, “[s]ometime between early 1819 and 1821, Diabelli conceived the idea of commissioning variations on his waltz as a collective project involving numerous Viennese composers.” (Solomon in Bonds & Sisman 1999: 147). Ludwig van Beethoven was one of these composers and, according to Solomon, he “proceeded on his own, working without any commitment to Diabelli well before the collective set was under way ... he revised and completed the work in late 1822 and early 1823 shortly after concluding an agreement for its publication.” (Bonds & Sisman 1999: 147)

The importance and impact of the set of 33 variations that Beethoven produced and that were published first as his op.120 in 1823 and a year later as *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part I, has been widely discussed and documented, and does not form part of the research of this dissertation. My current research focuses on the response of the 50 composers who each contributed one variation, as requested by

Diabelli, and whose works were published in 1824 as the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II.

The title *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* may be translated into English in various ways, but a useful one is “The Patriotic Association of Artists”, and it reflects the collective nature of the project. One (possibly apocryphal) story is that Diabelli, horrified by the suffering of the Austrian widows and orphans in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, envisaged that a percentage of the profits from sales would be used to support them, and this explains why the composers’ contributions would have been described as being part of a “patriotic” association. (See also Dierauf (2016), accessed 19 March 2018; I have, however, not been able to verify this information which would involve researching Diabelli’s as yet largely unpublished correspondence.)

Carl Czerny’s variation is the earliest dated manuscript bearing 7 May 1819 as the starting date. The last manuscript, which bears the date of 16 January 1824, is by Johann Nepomuk August Wittasek. The whole project therefore took five years to complete. (Roennfeldt 2009: 6; Brown 1959: 271; Weinmann & Warrack 2002: 280; Beethoven 1998; Todd 1992: 85; Solomon 2003: 19)

Though there are several sources that refer to the existence of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, it is generally as a passing reference to contextualise Beethoven’s set of variations which were published as Part I. There is one thesis in English titled *The Interpretation of rhythm in Diabelli’s “Vaterländischer Künstlerverein” variations* by G.A. Govier (2003) that deals exclusively with the rhythmic content of the variations as an illustration of piano performance practice of around 1820. The study highlights inconsistencies in musical notation and the use of (amongst other devices) *staccati* and tempo fluctuations. Despite a whole volume being dedicated to the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, even the comprehensive *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Monuments of Music in Austria) only offers information already mined from other sources. Roennfeldt’s *The (50) Variations (not by Beethoven) on a Theme by Diabelli- Monstrosity or Monument?* (2009) proved seminal to this study through its establishment of the background of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*. It provides a comprehensive examination of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II. Truscott (1959) is the only other author to

specifically mention the musical content and relevance of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II. Literature pertaining to the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II is thus severely limited.

1.4.3.1 Background: Anton Diabelli (1781-1858)

Anton (or Antonio) Diabelli was an Austrian music publisher, editor and composer. He was born in Mattsee, near Salzburg, in 1781 and died in Vienna in 1858 (Walker 2016: 2). He entered the monastery at Raitenhaslach, Bavaria, in 1800 to study towards the priesthood where he remained until 1803 when Napoleon dissolved all monasteries. In 1803 he moved to Vienna and became a piano and guitar teacher, a composer of pieces for pedagogical and entertainment purposes, a copyist, and a proof-reader (Rodda 2017: 4).

Diabelli worked at various publishers as a copyist and proof-reader before establishing his own music publishing business in 1817. Petro Cappi joined him as a partner in 1818, and the firm became known as Cappi & Diabelli. They quickly became known as suppliers of popular and dance pieces. Many of these were arrangements of popular pieces, including dance music, comic theatre songs and well-known opera arias, so that they could be played by amateurs in the home environment.

Diabelli is described by Rodda (2017: 4) as having “limited creative ability”, a debatable description. He wrote several masses, songs, the operetta *Adam in der Klemme*, numerous works for classical guitar, and many piano works of which the works for piano four hands are especially popular.

Diabelli is widely acknowledged for his support of the composer Franz Schubert. It was he who published Schubert’s op.1, *Erlkönig*, in 1821. In 1823 Schubert and Cappi fell out, and the firm of Cappi & Diabelli was dissolved in 1824. Diabelli then established a new firm, Diabelli & Co, and he became Schubert’s publisher in 1824, publishing the huge number of this composer’s works during his lifetime and for almost 30 years after his death. Roennfeldt (2009: 1) believes that one of his most important achievements was instigating the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*.

Despite Diabelli’s significance as music publisher, this study could find no article nor

book solely related to him. Diabelli's life is most often discussed regarding its impact on the lives of other composers. An example of this is Sonneck's article *Beethoven to Diabelli: A Letter and a Protest* (1926). In this article, Sonneck divulges many biographical details concerning Diabelli, but only because the information is relevant to the study's subject, namely Beethoven. The same may be said of Clive's book on Schubert, *Schubert and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (1997), in which Clive mentions important biographical details regarding Diabelli as they are relevant to the book's focus on Schubert's life. It is however, possible to paint a comprehensive picture of Diabelli's life from an amalgamation of the little nuggets of information offered by the various sources. It might prove fruitful to thoroughly examine the life of Diabelli, including his correspondence with some of the most notable composers of the day, in a study solely dedicated to him as an avenue for future study.

It is significant that Anton Diabelli specifically chose to compose a waltz for his "patriotic enterprise". A waltz would have guaranteed the work the wide appeal and popularity that he sought. Moreover, as Solomon (in Bonds & Sisman 1999: 147-149) explains:

...one aspect of the theme's significance becomes somewhat clearer, for a waltz, interchangeably called 'Einer Deutscher' or 'Deutscher Tanz,' is a plain musical product of German soil. ... On an uncomplicated level, then, the theme, composed by Diabelli in contemporary German vernacular ... represents the homeland through its native language. ... Diabelli's theme conveys ideas not only of the national, the commonplace, the humble, the rustic, the comic, but of the mother tongue, the earthly, the sensuous, and, ultimately perhaps, of every waltzing couple under the sun.

It is, therefore, because of its representation of the "contemporary German vernacular" that 50 composers were able, independently, to compose the range of variations that were sent to Diabelli, and that Beethoven was able to compose a further 33 variations: a total then of 83 variations on a single theme.

1.4.4 The fifty composers who contributed to *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II

The firm of Cappi and Diabelli announced the publication of the *Vaterländischer*

Künstlerverein in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 9 June 1824 as follows:

National Association of Artists / Variations for the Pianoforte / on a Given Theme / Composed by the Most Excellent Composers and Virtuosi / in Vienna and the I. & R. Austrian States. Part I, containing 33 Variations by L. van Beethoven, op.120 ... Part II, containing 50 Variations on the same theme by the following composers. (Bonds & Sisman 1999: 147.)

In the limited literature concerning Part II of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, only the “most famous” composers are mentioned; the remaining ones are dismissed as a “horde of forgotten names.” Only Roennfeldt (2009: 17) and Dubins (2013: 185) provide a complete list of all the composers involved, however, still without their dates or additional information. Carew (2016) lists additional names, not mentioned by other sources, including Voříšek, Czerny, Kalkbrenner, J.P. Pixis, Moscheles, Gelinek, Hummel, Sechter, Franz Xaver Mozart, Schubert, Archduke Rudolph and Liszt. Rodda (2017: 4) mentions Schubert, Czerny, Hummel, Kalkbrenner, Moscheles, Tomášek, Franz Xaver Mozart, Archduke Rudolph and Liszt. Dupree & Franzel (2015) make mention of the same names. Dubins (2013: 184) rather shockingly calls the collection of composers a “motley crew of mediocrities.” Truscott (1959: 139) mentions that from the set of composers, only Schubert is well-known. French (2004: 220) mentions Czerny, Hummel, Liszt, Moscheles, Franz Xaver Mozart, Archduke Rudolph and Franz Schubert. Ringer (1964: 103), when mentioning the set of variations, makes no mention of the composers apart from “numerous composers”. The same is true of Todd (1992: 85) who merely mentions that the invitation was circulated to “fifty composers”. In the *Grove* article on “Diabelli, Anton,” Weinmann and Warrack (2006: 280) make no mention of the composers’ identities, only stating “Diabelli’s intention in 1819 in sending his waltz theme to every composer he considered important in Austria...” Later in the article, however, the musical content of some of the composers’ variations is discussed.

Two recent articles by Gerald Groemer concerning the musical scene in Vienna at the time of the Congress of Vienna, *Music at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815): Opera, Singspiel, and Ballet* (2016) and *The Congress of Vienna and music as revealed in the diaries of Matthias Perth (1814-1815), Part 2: Balls and the waltz* (2017) provide information about the works that were being performed at this time,

and the numerous composers involved. Some information regarding the composers whom Diabelli approached could be gleaned from both.

A comprehensive list of the contents of *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II is to be found in the online Wikipedia article, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vaterl%C3%A4ndischer_K%C3%BCnstlerverein#Part_II,_by_various_composers. This article not only provides a full list of the composers, but also their vital dates, the time signature, key and tempo indication of each variation, a subtitle if present, as well as limited information about some of the composers.

My research did not uncover much information regarding the composers' biographical details. Considering that this collection of variations can be interpreted as representing a microcosm of Viennese musical life, it is telling that researchers have only investigated the musical material, and then only to a very limited extent.

1.5 Research Methodology

1.5.1 Research Approach

This study utilises a qualitative research approach. Tesch (1990: 55) explains that qualitative data refers to information that is non-numerical and that cannot be expressed numerically. Tesch mentions that this broad definition would allow for a great range of qualitative data that extends beyond words, resulting in the inclusion of, for example, photographs, music and paintings. This definition allows this study to examine every form of human production or creation. Leavy (2014: 2) mentions that qualitative research is used as an instrument to gain insight into social reality. He agrees with Leedy and Ormrod (2001: 147) that qualitative research is a collection of research approaches that often differ greatly from each other.

Leedy and Ormrod (2001: 147) further mention that qualitative data always share two aspects: firstly, the focus of qualitative research is on a singularity that occurs in the "real world"; and secondly, qualitative research involves studying these singularities in all their complexity. They add that further mention that it is not necessary for qualitative data to prove or result in a single ultimate truth, rather, qualitative research often has as its target to reveal the nature of multiple perspectives.

Leavy (2014: 2) provides greater clarity by describing the purpose of qualitative data as being "...to explore, describe or explain social phenomenon; unpack the meanings people ascribe to activities, situations, events or artefacts; build a depth of understanding about some aspect of social life; build 'thick descriptions' (Clifford Geertz, 1973) of people in naturalistic settings; explore new or under researched areas; or make micro-macro links...".

The goal of this study is to better understand the socio-political conditions present in Vienna during the 1820s. Regarding music as a crystallisation of contemporary social structures (Ballantine 1984: 5), and dancing as a particular reflection of society's order and composition (Katz 1973: 368), this study aims to track the waltz's development and eminence within this examined society as a "social phenomenon". Through this investigation a synthesised definition of the waltz will be construed in an effort to identify contemporary conventions utilised by the composers of the time. Having established these traits, the study will then scrutinise each of the 50 variations that make up Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II to establish to what extent these variations exhibit the waltz characteristics already identified. This will allow the study to demonstrate, to an extent, how the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II is representative of the time in which it was created through its use (or lack of use) of contemporary conventions. This dissertation also aims to explore the lives of the 50 composers in their respective individual settings. Considering other notable waltz compositions by these composers, performances of their works during the Congress of Vienna, their relationships with each other in addition to their biographical details, this study will be better able to understand Viennese piano culture through the tallying of the individuals' experience of it. The qualitative research approach allows me to explore these composers' lives as a representation of the Viennese piano culture, ca. 1820.

1.5.2 Research Design

This study follows a historical research design. According to Maree (2007: 72), historical research involves the description, analysis and interpretation of past events, based on information relevant to the topic being studied. Additionally, Maree (2007: 72) mentions that historical researchers tend to focus on the description of past events and possibly an analysis thereof. Historical research therefore aims to

provide a “map” of earlier events. It places a singularity within a particular time and place and then aims to understand the context within which such a singularity took place.

Paler-Calmorin (2007: 68) argues that historical research is both science and art: it is scientific, yet the narration thereof is art. Paler-Calmorin further adds that history is different from science in that it is founded upon the reports of observations, which cannot be repeated (though similar events may occur). Unlike in the natural sciences, history is based on experimentation. Listed as the fifth “use” of historical research, Paler-Calmorin (2007: 68, 69) states that historical research “...chronicles the events of enduring worth which confer upon the individual consciousness of unity and the feeling of importance of human achievement”.

Using a historical research design, this study collected secondary source data on the socio-political elements at play in Vienna during the early nineteenth century. Secondary data sources that were used include archives, books, journal articles, diaries and non-textual information such as the score. This data aided the study in establishing the social context in which the characteristics of the waltz, and the corresponding characteristics in the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II*, developed. The origin and development of the waltz was discussed within the socio-political context of early nineteenth-century Vienna, in an effort to better understand how the dance originated and how it came to embody and dictate contemporary conventions of the time. These secondary sources were used to arrive at a clearer understanding of the development of the waltz through, not only the already researched socio-political aspects, but also the musical factors at play. Characteristics of the waltz were then compiled in an effort to arrive at a comprehensive definition of the waltz. Each of the variations composed by the 50 composers were scrutinised in an effort to identify as many of the waltz’s characteristics as possible. The prevalence of these traits indicated the extent to which Diabelli’s *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II* is representative of the time in which it was created.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

Although this study does not aim to provide an in-depth musical analysis of the variations composed by the 50 composers who contributed to the *Vaterländischer*

Künstlerverein Part II, it was necessary to scrutinise certain compositional elements. This study only aims to provide a succinct account of each of the composers' biographical details as a more exhaustive investigation would be too extensive and might prove valuable as the topic of further study.

1.7 Chapter outline

In *Chapter One: Introduction*, the study is contextualised regarding its objectives and its position in academic theory. It provides an overview of the essence of the study's themes and topics as well as its structure.

In *Chapter 2: The Social-political climate of Vienna 1814-1824* the study contextualises the waltz and *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II through an investigation of the socio-political circumstances in Vienna at that time. Through the identification of these elements, this study strives to determine to what extent the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II is a product of the society in which it was created.

In *Chapter 3: The waltz* the origins, development as a dance form and musical characteristics of the waltz are discussed. The chapter ends with a workable definition of the waltz with which I hope to contrast the various variations in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 4 focusses on Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II. It provides biographical information of the 50 composers who contributed to the project; scrutinises the theme; and discusses how the characteristics of a waltz are interpreted by the composers.

In the last chapter, *Chapter 5: Conclusions* the findings are stated and answers to the research questions are offered. Suggestions for further study are noted.

CHAPTER 2

2 Introduction

In this chapter, some of the socio-political factors that influenced life in Vienna during the years that preceded the publication of Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II will be discussed. The timeframe for the study is therefore approximately 1814 (the start of the Congress of Vienna) and the publication of the collection (1823).

2.1 The Biedermeier period

The years 1814-1823 fall into a period that is, especially in art history, also referred to as the Biedermeier period. According to Hanson (1985: 1), Vienna's Biedermeier period has been given different epithets, including *Stillstand* (implying that little happened during this era), *Restaurationszeit* (meaning a time of restoration after the heavy losses of the Napoleonic Wars) and *Vormärz* (in anticipation of the marches that preceded the 1848 revolutions). From these descriptions, it is clear that it was a period of reflection and reestablishment and apparently, nothing significant happened, since it was also described as a precursor to further important events. However, where did the word "Biedermeier" originate, and what did it describe?

According to the AEIOU (Bamberger et al 2016) the term "Biedermeier" (also "Biedermaier") was "originally a derogatory name mocking conventional middle-class comfort. [It] was coined by A. Kussmaul and L. Eichrodt between 1855 and 1857 to describe the lifestyle of the Vormärz period (pre-revolutionary period in Austria and Germany before 1848). The term has come to characterize the lifestyle and mentality as well as art and culture of the period between 1815 and 1848. Art historians, however, use it primarily to describe interior design of the period." The name was taken from a cartoon character called Gottlieb Biedermeier, more commonly referred to as "Papa Biedermeier", that appeared in the popular newspaper, *Fliegende Blätter*, a German-language, non-political humour and satire magazine which was published weekly between 1845 and 1944 in Munich, Germany. *Bieder* means plain or solid and *Maier* is a common surname, so the character was meant to exemplify conventional bourgeois values.



He was the comic symbol of middle-class comfort.

AEIOU (2016) further states that:

In Austria, the Biedermeier culture penetrated all social classes . . . An important factor that furthered the development of the Biedermeier was the disappointment felt after the political restoration [sic] of 1815 and the subsequent withdrawal of the citizens from political and public life. After the solemn Baroque and dainty Rococo, the Biedermeier style constituted an escape into a snug, secluded life of pleasure. In Chancellor Metternich's police state, the bourgeoisie, although well off and respected, was excluded from any official business. As a consequence [sic], personal, purely private interests became increasingly important. People went dancing, on daytrips to the country, or visited amusement parks, theatres, coffeehouses or a Heurigen tavern to forget about the struggles of everyday life with its social problems and the highly unstable political situation.

Art and culture played an important role in the Biedermeier lifestyle, and the rising middle class actively supported all the various arts. The salons of these influential patrons became the homes of writers, composers, painters and sculptors as well as representatives of other areas of cultural life. Literary circles were organised, as well as soirees, discussions etc. For a young artist, an invitation to such an event could make or break his/her career.

Although B[iedermeier] literature consisted primarily of epic works, theatre in Vienna flourished despite the strict censorship laws, with dialect folk plays by F. Raimund and J. Nestroy, which served as an outlet for people's secret thoughts and frustrations. Noted writers of the B[iedermeier] period were N. Lenau, A. Gruen, J. G. Seidl and F. Stelzhamer.

In music, too, the balance shifted: The interested and generous patrons were no longer members of the nobility, but of the middle class. In 1812, the "Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde" (Association of Friends of Music) was founded, later the "Singverein" and the "Singakademie", followed by the "Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra" in 1842. Family music became highly popular, quartets were set up and musical circles ("Schubertiaden") held in

the houses of the bourgeoisie. Light music (Viennese waltz) also flourished.

The term was therefore applied retrospectively to the period presently under discussion and, with the exception of interior design, it generally does not refer to a specific artistic or musical style, but to a general life style that also supported what might be called “popular” music.

The historical events leading to the situation where people needed to forget about the struggles of everyday life with its social problems and the highly unstable political situation (AEIOU: 2016) are discussed below.

2.2 Austria and Vienna during Napoleon’s reign

In France, there was great political uncertainty during the years that followed the Revolution of 1789. Having led several successful military campaigns, Napoleon Bonaparte quickly rose through the military’s ranks to assume political power in 1799. As an excellent administrator, Napoleon systemised the way in which France was ruled. In 1802 he amended his position as first consul to a lifetime title of Emperor of France in 1802. This event famously led to Ludwig van Beethoven, who had dedicated his *Symphony no.3 in E flat major* to Napoleon because of the many reforms he had introduced, rededicating it as being “in memory of a great man”.

On 23 September 1805, Napoleon declared war on a weak and defensive Austria. It was a short, costly war, with the French army occupying the suburbs of Vienna within three months. Napoleon took up residence in Schönbrunn palace, the seat of Emperor Franz II of Austria (Jones 2016: 134). During this time, Napoleon appointed his own composer, Luigi Cherubini, at the republican court at Schönbrunn (Jones 2016: 134). Cherubini was an Italian opera composer who had written many well-received operas for Paris. During his (short) time in Vienna he composed the opera *Faniska* which was well-received, but it seems to have made no great impression on Viennese musical taste. On 2 December 1805, Napoleon marched his troops out of Vienna towards Austerlitz to do battle against the combined armies of Austria and Russia, an encounter which he won decisively.

The European continent was dominated by Napoleon for the next seven years and he freely forced his will on all whom he conquered. In 1809, Austria tried to

overthrow Napoleon for the second time. Once more, Napoleon was the victor, and Vienna was occupied for a second time. Having defeated Austria convincingly, Napoleon considered demanding the Emperor of Austria's resignation and the division of Austria into its principal states of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary. In the negotiation process, Austria had to cede Croatia, Carniola, Salzburg and Galicia. After having fled the city in anticipation of Napoleon's arrival, the Austrian imperial court returned to Vienna in November 1809. (Jarrett 2014: 34; Jones 2016: 138; Roberts 2015: 100)

2.3 The Vienna Congress (1814-1815)

Constant alliances were formed by the various European powers in an attempt to overthrow Napoleon. His defeat finally occurred in 1814 and a congregation of all the major states of Europe to negotiate a peace settlement, known as the Congress of Vienna was established (Chapman 1998: 1). The Congress was held from September 1814 until June 1815 (Kroll 2014: 12). Jelavich (1987: 29) mentions that the work of the Congress resulted in a long period of peace; another conflict involving all the great powers would not come until 1914, a century later.

When the Congress dissolved, Austria was, apart from Russia, the largest country in Europe. All of present-day Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Croatia fell within the borders of the Empire of Austria.

Both Vick (2014: 1) and Kroll (2014: 12) agree that, just as much as it was a diplomatic summit that gathered to settle the future of Europe in the wake of the Napoleonic wars, the Congress was a grand spectacle of dancing, festivals, parties and waltzing, all of which impacted on the social and cultural life of the Viennese. Vienna played host to thousands of foreigners who were attending the Congress. The principal guests were the heads of state (and their entourages) of the great nations of Europe, including Klemens, Prince von Metternich, the principal minister of Austria, who represented the Emperor, Francis II; Prince Karl August von Hardenberg of Prussia; the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I; Lord Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, representing Britain; and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand who represented France (Kroll 2014: 12). According to Chapman (1998: 40), the Austrian Emperor entertained the heads of state, politicians and aristocrats, including their respective entourages, daily. Chapman (1998: 40) and Hanson (1985: 150) mention

that a “Festival Committee” was tasked to ensure that ample entertainment was available.

So frequent and elaborate was the partying, that this Committee apparently struggled to keep devising new ideas for the full nine months during which the Congress met. The Emperor required entertainment to be provided at the daily dinners, balls, galas, picnics, medieval tournaments, sleighing expeditions and receptions (Chapman 1998: 40). The excesses of Vienna’s social life during this time led to the remark by the Belgian Prince Charles Joseph de Ligne that “the Congress does not work, it dances”. As will be more fully discussed in the following chapters, it is important to note that dancing the waltz had become so popular with Viennese society during the early nineteenth century, that more than one writer and tourist described the Viennese as “obsessed” with dancing (Hanson 1985: 150). Throughout the Congress, most evenings of entertainment would close in ballrooms with a myriad of people waltzing. Waltzing became so popular that visitors to the city required lessons in dancing so that they would not appear socially unschooled. Writing in 1844, John Tuvora ranked dancing next to eating as Vienna’s favourite pastime (Hanson 1985: 150). The average composer was not composing sonatas, oratorios or operas but waltzes, other dances and chamber music, and making transcriptions of large, popular works.

2.4 Life in Vienna after the Congress

During 1815 to 1830, the period between the Napoleonic wars and the revolution of 1830, Vienna experienced an unprecedented concentration of not only outstanding musicians, but also writers, dramatists and powerful political leaders (Hanson 1985: 1). Though Hanson admits she chose “Biedermeier” to describe some of the music that was produced due to its time-period, some Biedermeier characteristics seem to be reflected in the society and music under discussion. Parsons (2008: 196) mentions that the Biedermeier style in art and architecture reflected a predilection for elegance and simplicity, family and high moral values, a celebration of nature and often an evocation of personal grief in a patriotic context.

2.4.1 The rise of the salon: the middle class

Hanson (1985: 109) states that, during the nineteenth century, it was the Viennese

home, particularly its salon (which in South Africa would today be called the “sitting room”), which became the centre of family, intellectual and social life. “Maintaining a salon”, according to Taruskin (2009: 75), involved having an open house on a regular, designated night on which this occurred. To ensure that the salon was highly regarded, a roster of important guests was arranged. De Nora (1991: 316) mentions that, although a salon could range in social status from being merely a house concert to providing an opulent performance space, the practice of entertaining guests and presenting a salon on a regular basis was financially draining. When musicians hosted a salon, they would often rely on friends to perform free of charge.

Although the catering and organisation involved in hosting a salon, proved very time consuming (De Nora 1991: 316), the salon became the channel for the new genre of “domestic-romantic” music, as Taruskin (2009: 75) describes it, to which Diabelli’s *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II belongs. Though they imitated the aristocrats through their concerts at home, Hanson (1985: 117) writes that the salons of the middle class were intimate, informal, congenial get-togethers with an emphasis on entertainment.

As élite gatherings, salons therefore involved both the private and public spheres of life through its promotion of a form of music making that carried high prestige while addressing a small, and in some cases, exclusive audience. Musical taste within the salons varied greatly, with “serious” music generally being associated explicitly with the aristocracy and the more popular genres with the middle class (De Nora 1991: 317).

Hanson (1985: 119) mentions that, after the formal salon, instrumentalists were often asked to perform dance music, with waltzes, marches, quadrilles and gallops being the favourites. Those members of the middle class able to host a salon would often also have in their employ the services of a teacher who, on these occasions, would provide the dance music with the aid of the house servants who could play instruments. This view is corroborated by an anonymous writer of 1834, quoted in Hanson (1985: 119):

In the meantime, a musical choir performs favourite pieces and, if there are daughters in the house, then too a little dance will be organised. Every respectable household has not only its own teacher, but also a few servants

who are also good musicians. The parlor is laid with parquet, swept and varnished, that is, ready for dancing at any moment.

The most famous of these middle-class salons is arguably the “Schubertiade” that were hosted by Josef Spaun, Karl Ritter von Enderes and Hofrat Josef Witticzek. According to Hanson (1985: 120), a Schubertiade was an informal gathering of guests invited by Spaun and comprised of family members, business associates, and friends. As quoted in Gibbs (1997: 65), a diary entry by Franz von Hartmann, who attended a Schubertiade on 15 December 1826, indicates how diverse the audience was:

I went to Spaun’s, where there was a big, big “Schubertiade”... There was a huge gathering. The Arneth, Witteczek, Kurzrock and Pompe couples, the mother-in-law of Witteczek: Dr. Watteroth’s widow, Betty Wanderer, and the painter Kupelwieser with his wife, Grillparzer, Schober, Schwind, Mayrhofer and his landlord Huber, the tall Huber, Derffel, Bauernfeld, Gahy (who played gloriously *à quatre mains* with Schubert) and Vogl, who sang almost 30 splendid songs. Baron Schlechta and other court probationers and secretaries were also there. I was moved almost to tears... When the music was done there was grand feeding and then dancing.

Further evidence of Vienna’s love for music is made apparent by the multitude of writers who commented on the phenomenon. In 1834, J.B. Weis (quoted in Hanson 1985: 118) mentions that, from his experience, it seems as if the whole of Vienna is musical. He continues that “even if no one in the household is musical, a piano will always stand next to the other furnishings in the apartment”. A certain Sealsfield (in Hanson 1985: 118) noticed that middle class families took pride in their children’s abilities to play the piano. He noted that piano lessons began at the age of four and, by the age of five or six, a good level of proficiency was already attained. To further illustrate the commonness of amateur music-making, Hans Normann (in Hanson 1985: 118) reveals that:

Furthermore the number of amateurs is immense. In almost every family of several members there is an amateur. Pianos are certainly never missing in prosperous houses, and in narrowly built houses often the comic situation arises that the parties must make appointments regarding the hours in which they want to practice. Very often one hears in a house violin playing on the ground floor, piano on the first floor, flute on the second, singing and guitar on the third, while, into the bargain, in the courtyard, a blind man exerts himself

on a clarinet.

Music became so deeply rooted within the very core of society that a correspondent (quoted in Hanson 1985: 118-119) wrote as follows for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1800:

Every well-bred girl, whether she has talent or not, must learn to play the piano or to sing; first of all it's fashionable; secondly, it's the most convenient way for her to put herself forward in society and thereby, if she is lucky, make an advantageous matrimonial alliance, particularly a moneyed one. The sons likewise must learn music: first also, because it is a thing to do and is fashionable; secondly because it serves them too as a recommendation in good society; and experience teaches that many a fellow (at least amongst us) has musicked (SIC) himself to the side of a rich wife, or into a highly lucrative position. Students without means support themselves by music...if someone wants to be a lawyer, he acquires a lot of acquaintances and clients through music by playing everywhere, the same is true of the aspiring physician.

Weber (1975: 31) agrees that men utilised music and performing to further their careers. This love for music, partnered with the new idea of public concerts gave rise to a staggering number of amateur performances (Hanson 1985: 118).

Gibbs (1997: 65) mentions that this sharing of a common interest in music during a Schubertiade (and therefore the whole middle-class salon culture included), often strengthened their shared sense of culture. Dancing and conversation, according to Hanson (1985: 121) being equally important as music at these events, also aided in this sense of community.

2.4.2 The salon: the aristocracy

As mentioned previously, the economic downturn also impacted on the music practices of the nobility. This might be seen in the disbandment of the Esterházy orchestra in 1809, while the celebrated patron and dedicatee Prince Lobkowitz went bankrupt during the year 1811. In addition, Rasumofsky's palace and priceless music collection was destroyed by fire in 1816 (Hanson 1985: 110).

There were, however, still reports by travellers of aristocratic homes that survived the economic difficulties. Hanson (1985: 111) mentions the home of Count Czernin who, during 1817, still entertained approximately 60 guests every evening during the

winter months. Furthermore, the home of Clemens Metternich (who was appointed Austria's Secretary of Foreign Affairs after his profitable negotiations on behalf of Austria at the Congress of Vienna) was said to be the meeting place for the "who's who" of the time, with musical soirees presented every Sunday (Hanson 1985: 111).

For those not so fortunate to survive with an intact court, families and friends often performed, as was the case with the middle class. Weber (1975: 40) mentions that, although the aristocratic societies and salons still invited musicians to perform for them, they were no longer able to act as patrons.

Ultimately, with the standard of performance becoming exceptionally high, the increasing costs, and the time constraints involved in organising salons, public concerts eventually became the norm (De Nora 1991: 316; Weber 1975: 40). The aristocracy frowned upon the public's appetite for seemingly pointless virtuoso displays and Italian, operatic style, music. However, the success of public concerts forced them to reconsider their stance. According to Weber (1975: 40) the first public concert to feature a strong attendance by aristocrats was that of the touring virtuoso Niccolò Paganini, who refused to perform in salons. After this, the aristocracy became a permanent fixture in the audience at public concerts.

This study will now endeavour to provide a holistic view of life in Vienna during the Biedermeier era from a musician's perspective. The cost of living, musical patronage, the development of public concerts, and differences in musical taste will be discussed to gain an understanding of the life in the city in which Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II came into being.

2.5 Cost of living

Hanson (1985: 14-33) provides a detailed account of life in Vienna between approximately 1815-1830 that proved invaluable to this study. At the start of the nineteenth century, Vienna was the third most populous city in Western Europe, with only London and Paris hosting more inhabitants. Housing was very expensive and, due to the post-war economic depression, it was impossible to build extra apartments. Vienna consequently faced an intense housing shortage. In 1815, it was common for 33 people to share one apartment, and this number had risen to 38 by 1830 (Hanson 1985: 14). Kroll (2007: 150) also states that it was not uncommon for

adult children to carry on living with their parents due to the high cost of renting an apartment. Hotel rooms were especially costly, and visitors often complained of bed bugs and lice, compelling them to rent a clean apartment.

After the sharp decline in population during 1810 because of all the preceding wars (224 000 versus 270 000 in 1793), Vienna's population regained its steady growth rate of 5 500 per annum so that by 1830, it hosted 320 000 residents. Part of this increase was due to a steady influx of foreigners. Hanson (1985: 9) reports that, in contrast to 1810, when only about 8.25% of the Viennese population were foreigners, the percentage of foreigners in Vienna doubled by 1825 and by 1840 almost 40% of all Viennese inhabitants were foreigners. Palmer (1994: 5) and Parsons (2008: 19) affirm that, although Vienna's spoken language was almost exclusively German, as it was the first language of the sovereign, there were residents from Hungary, Bohemia, the Czech Republic, Moravia, Serbia and even Turkey and Greece. Interestingly, Palmer (1994: 5) reports that during an 1830 census, only a fifth of the Empire's population was German. The reason for the incursion of foreigners in Vienna might be attributed to one of the reforms introduced by Joseph II in which it was decreed that skilled foreign workers would be paid handsomely and provided with proper housing, if they plied their trade in the Austrian Empire (Jelavich 1987: 26). Hanson (1985: 9) observes that, although the diversity of nationalities present in Vienna led to ethnic rivalry and separatist movements throughout the Empire, it also imbued Vienna's cultural and artistic life with an invaluable richness and colour. Compositions such as Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II bears evidence of the diverse nationalities of musicians active in Vienna. This diversity will be discussed and analysed later in this study.

Despite the high cost of living in Vienna, food still constituted the biggest expense on the average Viennese's budget. Both Hanson (1985: 15) and Kroll (2007: 150) agree that food remained relatively cheap when compared to other capital cities, such as Paris and London. One reason for this is Vienna's geographical location: it is near the fields and vineyards that supplies its markets. This nearness to nature might also be the reason why the artists of the Biedermeier era placed such emphasis on the beauty of nature and simplicity, with both Beethoven and Schubert using the imitation of folk music, pastoral sounds, hunting horn calls and dance music to relay

this ethos musically (Hanson 1985: 178).

During the Napoleonic Wars, the price of meat had increased from 18 Heller to 99 Heller per kilogram. Yet, despite the increases in food prices, a soup kitchen that was established to alleviate the strain on the poor was closed after only 20 days as nobody seemed to require its services (Hanson 1985: 16).

The other substantial items on the budget of a Viennese citizen were wood and clothing. Wood was used for both cooking and to provide heat and Hanson (1985: 17) records that, despite its already high price, city dwellers paid an extra charge for woodcutters and haulers. Because of the importance of appearance, clothing was a significant and necessary expense as well. As with other items, the price of clothing, too, rose sharply after the war.

The wars had had a lasting impact on the wealth of Viennese citizens. In 1804 it was reported that a man could make a living with 967 florins a year, yet by 1828 that amount had increased to 2000 florins a year (Hanson 1985: 19). It is clear that, after the wars and the Congress, the economy struggled. The money spent to clothe the army drained the imperial purse as well as the wealth of the aristocracy. Hanson (1985: 8) reports that the state declared bankruptcy by 1811 and, as a result of inflation, the Austrian currency decreased in value by as much as 40%. The wars had brought about great change within the social and political workings of the Empire, but their effect was felt in the financial sector too, because the usual benefactors, sponsors, patrons and supporters became insolvent and the often little-regarded middle class rose to pick up the pieces.

2.6 Making a living from music

Because of the increase in living costs, the Viennese had to be mindful of where they worked to ensure that they would earn enough money to make a decent living. As a result of the Industrial Revolution and the trade reforms introduced by Joseph II, Vienna started to provide an increased number of job opportunities for middle class workers, offering them more money and also effectively more leisure time. For musicians, there were four primary avenues of income (Hanson 1985: 23):

- entering State employment, which included working as a musician in state

theatres, churches and bands;

- giving public or private concerts;
- composing and music publishing;
- teaching.

Each of these will be discussed below.

2.6.1 State employment

From time immemorial, music has always been sponsored by a certain party. In Vienna, the sponsor at this time was the State. The music in most theatres, military parades and, in some cases, even churches, was composed because of state patronage. As a result, many a musician's dream was to be employed by the State: it could provide a steady income as well as the protection of the court and, after retirement, a state pension was paid. These musicians worked hard: they often played in several concerts at different venues on one day often in unheated theatres, and at night had to brave the weather to get home (Hanson 1985: 26).

As Jones (2016: 76), Hanson (1985: 23) and Plantinga (1984: 6) document, musical patronage, however, changed forever during the early nineteenth century, and this was due to the rise of public concerts.

2.6.2 Public and private concerts

The concert's emergence into the public sphere symbolises the changes that were occurring in Vienna (Plantinga 1984: 6). Besides encouraging appreciation of a professional musician, or group of musicians, the concert also served other practical purposes. A concert could be arranged purely for economic gain, including fundraising for charity; as part of a celebration, such as the marking and commemoration of events (social or political); and lastly, for entertainment (Weber 1975: 17-18). According to Weber (1975: 17-18) concerts also had a diverse make-up of sponsors, reflecting the change of musical patronage. In addition to the State, sponsors now included individual musicians; established and *ad hoc* groups of musicians; newly-formed cultural societies; music periodicals; various charitable organisations; and music publishers wanting to introduce new works by established

and new composers to the public. Weber (1975: 17) and Plantinga (1984: 11) both ascribe the concert's rising popularity to various factors, chief of which was that a concert was relatively less expensive to produce than were operas and other works for the theatre. Censorship, which affected the production of operas, played a negligible role. Moreover, a concert could be sponsored by anyone and repeated as many times as was practical and profitable.

Hanson (1985: 82) provides observations by various travellers and residents who tell how most of Vienna's social life revolved around the performance of music, whether in public halls or private homes. Hanson (1985: 82) further provides figures showing that, during 1824 alone (the year Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, was published), 75 major public concerts were held. Regarding the two seasons of 1826-1827 and 1845-1846 both Hanson (1985: 83) and Weber (1975: 16) mention that formal concerts' frequency increased from 111 during the 1826-1827 season, to 163 during the 1845-1846 season. Weber (1975: 16) further states that the two other cities also experienced a considerable growth in public concerts during this time: London had a growth rate of 305% and Paris one of 491%. While Vienna seems to have shown a growth of only 163%, Weber (1975: 16) maintains that Vienna's growth spurt occurred much earlier as a result of socio-political factors like the Congress which provided the platform for an increased number of performances. Weber (1975: 16) therefore maintains that the number of concerts in Vienna had effectively increased threefold. De Nora (1991: 315) provides a chart indicating the decline of the closed concerts at court in comparison to the growth of those open to the public.

Although concerts could have different purposes, Hanson (1985: 26) and Weber (1975: 18) both maintain that concerts were generally organised by three distinct groups: firstly, by an individual; secondly, by amateur clubs; and lastly, by societies of professional musicians.

Benefit concerts had a specific purpose. A musician often sponsored a concert for their own "benefit" (Hanson 1985: 26; Weber 1975: 18). These concerts were intended to promote the musician's abilities through exposure. Exposure would lead to patronage or sponsorship and the promise of future students, and the concert itself often provided great financial gain. Travelling virtuosi, like the violinist Niccolò

Paganini, played many such concerts throughout Europe. In most cases, the concert consisted of 10 to 30 numbers, a few of which would be performed by the sponsor of the concert. Friends and colleagues would offer their services free of charge and perform in the concert, with the understanding that the current sponsor would also offer his services freely when the friends hosted a benefit concert of their own (Weber 1975: 18).

Concerts also provided the only means of providing financial relief to the victims of freak disasters or catastrophes. Hanson (1985: 84) reports that the *Damen-Verein*, a group of influential Austrian noblewoman, organised a series of fundraising concerts for the operational costs of a local hospital during the horrors of the Napoleonic Wars.

As another example of a charitable benefit concert, Hanson (1985: 84) recounts that after the flash flood of March 1830 (which left around 70 dead and thousands homeless), a flurry of benefit concerts was arranged to help the families rebuild their lives. These concerts were organised not by an individual or group, but by an amateur music society. Since the aristocratic and State fortunes were severely depleted, concert organisers turned to the moneyed middle class to purchase tickets to these benefit concerts. The programme for one of these concerts featured the overture by Gioachino Rossini to his opera *Semiramide*; Rossini had moved to Vienna in 1822 and his operas were all the rage in that city. The overture had been arranged by Carl Czerny for 16 pianists on 8 pianos. Hanson (1985: 84) accounts that, for this concert, all the performers were notable members of the aristocracy who included the Countess Esterházy and Princess Lobkowitz. The spectacle of 16 pianists on stage, the celebrity status of the performers and the popularity of the arranger, reflected the exploitation for financial gain of the emerging predilection for novelty and showcase when it came to musical taste. The divide that this brought about between the “learned” and the “amateur” changed not only the role of music, but also the contexts in which it was enjoyed.

The emergence of middle class music-making reflected the emancipation prevalent throughout this era. According to Weber (1975: 18), by 1848 concerts organised by amateur societies had the second most concerts per season, exceeded only by benefit concerts. Almost every city in Europe had at least one amateur orchestra and

at least one choral society that, despite limited commercial orientation, performed regularly in front of family and friends. Efforts were often made to break through to broader audiences, but, as Weber (1975: 18) reports, initially it was with little success. Plantinga (1984: 6) states that, as these amateur societies, known as *collegia musica*, became more and more popular, they started to enlist the help of professional musicians to raise their performance standards which helped them to attract a paying audience.

Concerts organised by societies of professional musicians reflected the societal changes more clearly. Plantinga (1984: 6) notes that, in Italy, the main forerunners of concert organisation were the academies which met to discuss a myriad of topics, amongst others science, history, archaeology and the arts. These academies eventually specialised in certain fields and music was one of the areas of specialisation. Two of the academies that specialised in music were Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's *Accademia del cimento* to which Alessandro Scarlatti and Arcangelo Corelli belonged, and the *Accademia Filharmonica* of Bologna to which Mozart was granted admission after completing various compositional exercises. Plantinga (1984: 6) mentions that, during the late eighteenth century, it became the norm for these academies to invite audiences to hear performances. Such concerts were called "accademia". Plantinga (1984: 6) remarks that the word "concert" was used much later to describe the event that took place. This was the case in both Italy and in Austria.

In time some of the musical academies became aristocratic concert organisations. In Vienna, for example, the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* was formed in 1812 by Vienna's aristocrats and financial elite to continue the musical activities that had preceded the Napoleonic Wars. However, since they had been bankrupted by these same wars, the aristocrats pooled their money and acted collectively as patrons for the concerts (Botstein 1999: 61). It should be noted that the "accademias" were not open events to which a ticket could be bought. They were "by invitation only" events, from which the middle class was generally excluded.

During the early nineteenth century musical patronage shifted to the moneyed middle class, resulting in the emergence of the public concert (Hanson 1985: 109). Through the financial support offered to the nobility after the war, the middle class

rose in importance, becoming the embodiment of the Revolutionary concept of “power to the people” which was then directly reflected in Vienna’s music scene. Plantinga (1984: 8) mentions that the upcoming middle class did not only wield political and economic power, but the articulation of their collective needs, desires and ideas created the expression “public opinion”: in several languages the etymology of the word dates from the early nineteenth century. It should be remembered, however, that this was not a democratic age. Though the nobility agreed that everything they did should be *for* the people, no aspect of this should be done *by* the people (Jelavich 1987: 21).

The season for Viennese public concerts corresponded with that of the theatre. Beginning in autumn, the concert season lasted until early summer (Hanson 1985: 83). Typically, concerts were mostly presented on *Normatagen* (days set aside for religious or state holidays), when the theatres, by law, were forbidden to stage productions. Since the government did not wish other matters to interfere with productions celebrating these holidays at night, concerts had to start at midday. In addition, Herman Ullrich (in Hanson 1985: 83) suggests that the government was also wary of allowing large crowds to gather at night, fearing that an uprising might ensue. Policing the crowds was much easier during the day. The effect of this “crowd-control” was felt in all areas of concert life. There were however, according to Hanson (1985: 83), a few exceptions to daytime concerts. *Entr’acte* (or “between the acts”) performances were often presented between the acts of operas, plays or even ballets. Hanson (1985: 83) reports that one to three musical acts could typically be expected.

Venues for concerts were one of the challenges faced with when organising a concert. According to Hanson (1985: 86) it was frequently impossible to utilise the city’s theatres because, in addition to the extravagant hiring cost, these theatres were reserved exclusively for their respective annual benefit concerts. Vienna’s first dedicated concert hall was only established in the 1830s and for this reason churches, chambers of government, the University’s Aula, dance halls and private homes became Vienna’s concert venues.

Hanson (1985: 86) also mentions that the showrooms of the city’s piano manufacturers and music publishers gained eminence as recital venues. Often the

publishers and manufacturers would offer young and foreign musicians the opportunity to perform in front of the internationally-esteemed Viennese public, at no cost. In this way the performer performed for free but gained a rare performance opportunity and exposure while the manufacturers had the quality of their instruments showcased through the soloists' performances. Music publishers in turn enticed clients who might want to purchase the sheet music of the pieces they had just heard into their shops. This links directly to the following section.

2.6.3 Music composing and publishing

Hanson (1985: 27) mentions that musicians need not have been exceptional composers to derive an income from composition. The transcription of well-known songs, dances and other works, many of them for orchestra (as, for example, the previously-mentioned arrangement by Carl Czerny of the overture to the opera *Semiramide* by Gioachino Rossini for 8 pianos) became incredibly popular as more and more amateur musicians wanted to perform the repertoire they heard in the concert halls in the comfort of their own homes.

Apart from this demand, music publishers were constantly on the lookout for new music to publish in their almanacs and *Taschenbücher* (Hanson 1985: 27; Kroll 2014: 12). By 1765, Immanuel Breitkopf had devised a new method of typesetting music, making the process of publishing easier as well as considerably cheaper (Plantinga 1984: 10). This meant that publishers could fulfil the demand for music created by the emerging amateur market which was also affordable enough to purchase. Hanson (1985: 27) mentions a custom that emerged in Vienna during the Biedermeier era, namely the exchanging of musical gifts, or souvenirs, starting in the New Year with *Fasching* (the "carnival time" between the Christian celebration of the Epiphany, celebrated on 6 January, and Ash Wednesday which marks the start of the Christian period of Lent). The collections of little pieces were called anthologies, and such compilations were commonplace at the time. It was a profitable business, as Hanson (1985: 27) notes. Diabelli's actions in inviting the most prominent composers active in Vienna at the time to contribute to an anthology reflects known practice. The common thread running through his anthology, and which made it more likely to have a wider distribution, was that each composer would be writing one variation on the same theme.

Although publishers made more money from publishing and distributing compositions than did the composers, Gibbs (1997: 48) highlights that a musician living in Vienna in about 1820 could make a living either as a virtuoso performer or as a prolific composer who constantly made money from published works. If the musician regarded himself as a composer of “serious” music as opposed to the new popular music (see 2.7 below), he would have had to compete with more trivial music and the attention that it was receiving. As we have seen, however, most successful musicians (including Czerny) dealt with this aspect by arranging popular works for an amateur audience, composing certain works in a more popular vein, publishing compositions for didactic purposes, and composing works aimed at beginners and amateurs.

Income from performance and publication were not the only two returns that a composer could expect from a successful composition. As Hanson (1985: 29) notes, additional money could be made when composers dedicated their compositions to influential individuals. Beethoven was one composer who realised the potential of dedicating works and often reaped the benefits for doing so. The financial advantages were sometimes good and sometimes disappointingly small. Beethoven for example dedicated his *Polonaise op. 89* to the Empress of Russia, who thanked him with 225 florins. George Small offered him 2100 florins to compose an oratorio. However, despite dedicating the Symphony no. 9 to the King of Prussia, he merely received a ring valued at 120 florins. Schubert received between 70 and 90 florins for every song dedication (Hanson 1985: 29).

Publications about music also started to appear. Plantinga (1984: 10-11) notes that about two hundred and sixty music periodicals appeared between the years 1789 and 1848. These periodicals contained articles about various music subjects such as reviews of published scores; reviews of concerts; reviews of music-related publications; correspondence reports from other cities; and publishers’ advertisements of their available catalogues. These publications were aimed at the general musical public. This group was specifically targeted because they were now able to afford tickets to concerts and operas, and they wanted to educate themselves through reading the reviews published in the journals. Moreover, it became fashionable to purchase the transcriptions of the scores heard during concerts to

play in front of one's guests when entertaining at home (Plantinga 1984: 11), and these scores could be sourced through the published catalogues.

2.6.4 Teaching music

The relative economic stability after the wars, together with a decline in prices for certain items because of decreasing production costs, led the middle class to live more comfortable lives (Weber 1975: 6). This economic boom spurred middle class citizens on to purchase instruments and learn to play them. This demand gave rise to nearly all the avenues of income that a musician could explore: if the fashion was to play music, people had to be taught. Once able to play, there was an ever-increasing demand for accessible music, providing the opportunity for composers' "popular" works to not only be performed, but published too, providing a double income from a single investment. For this reason, "there was a profusion of *Kleinmeister* composers – for they became the underlings of many a salon or parlour" (Sturm 2000: 629). At the start of the nineteenth century, an "army" of middle class amateur musicians emerged (Sturm 2000: 629). Participating in musical activities became the fashionable activity and, as a result, "everybody" sang or played (Sturm 2000: 629). Beethoven wrote, in a letter to a certain Mr Wiedebein, that "contrary to what you might believe, Vienna is swarming with teachers who are trying to make a living by teaching" (Hanson 1985: 30).

As it is now, so it was then: social aspects, such as cancellations because of illness, lengthy summer vacations, or busy social calendars meant that this was not a steady income. What mattered most with teaching, was the reputation and fame of the teacher. The more famous the teacher, the more lucrative it was to study with him/her, and the more expensive it was to do so. Yet, despite Czerny's fame as a teacher, it was still necessary for him to teach from dawn until dusk to maintain a proper household (Hanson 1985: 30-31).

2.7 Musical taste

This section will deal with musical taste and the emergence of different styles of music. These styles could be associated with the aristocracy on the one hand, and the middle classes on the other, but it should be noted at the outset that any attempt to draw decisive conclusions is flawed. The use of generalisation and stereotyping

assumes that everybody fell into one of these two categories in their choice of music. This is obviously incorrect. However, a generalisation of audience preferences proves effective in providing a clearer understanding of the divide in musical taste.

Weber (1975: 19) believes that, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, three musical styles dominated Vienna's courts, theatres and salons.

These styles were:

- The Italian operatic style represented especially by the operas of Gioacchino Rossini.
- A virtuoso style that emerged through public concerts - this style was composed of various national sources and emphasised novelty and virtuosity, culminating in the careers of composer-performers like Franz Liszt and Niccolò Paganini. Weber (1975: 19) states that, during the nineteenth century, these two styles fused because of the regular inclusion of popular excerpts from operas (like arias and overtures) during concerts. One example of this is Liszt's numerous piano transcriptions of popular, well-known opera melodies and arias which he would perform in a concert recital.
- The third musical style distanced itself from the preceding two; this was the classical style as championed by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven and Schubert. Weber (1975: 19) also notes that the classical style had the smallest number of followers and was therefore the least popular. The reason for this decline can be related to the decline in musical patronage which relied heavily on aristocratic support, a challenge which "popular music" did not have to confront.

This differentiation between musical styles had far-reaching consequences. A preference for a particular style came to represent not only one's level of musical education and appreciation, but also of one's association with either "high" or "low/popular" culture. Peterson and Simkus (1992: 152) agree that, during this time, musical taste was often used as a tool to gauge social class position.

Weber (1975: 10) considers this differentiation to mark a watershed in music history,

as, until this time, composers all wrote in a primarily “high art” manner, taking for granted that audiences would require some special education to understand the music fully. However, Weber (1975: 19) notes that, during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, both musicians and audiences became aware of the fact that the music of the classical school (Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven) was “high art” – whether that was the composer’s intention or not – and this implies that the other two styles were geared towards the new, more popular taste.

2.7.1 The virtuoso and popular music

Weber (1975: 20) describes the keynote of the more popular genres as being novelty. The technical progress in instrument manufacture, allowed soloists to develop greater performing skills and to take advantage of new sound effects. One of the biggest differences between popular concerts and their more serious, classical counterparts, is the popular concert’s concern with the performance of a work and the technical powers of its performers, as opposed to a “serious” concert’s concern with the message and content of the music. One could perhaps argue that virtuosos became famous not because they were great composers, but because they were astounding players, but many exceptions to this statement (including Mozart, Beethoven, Paganini, Luigi Boccherini, Liszt, and Camille Saint-Saëns) immediately spring to mind.

A very lucrative commercial market emerged surrounding virtuosos. Concerts, publications, music journalism and music programmes all fuelled the success of the virtuosos, providing various “means” for the public to attain the same level of artistic prowess and fame (Weber 1975: 20). After hearing a virtuoso performance, the audiences eagerly sought modified versions of what they had heard in the concert hall, to try and emulate them at home (Weber 1975: 20). These “modified” versions were so written as to allow all levels of amateurs to practice and perform the music. This in turn aided the publishers in selling copies of the adaptations that appealed to a wider audience. Also, as mentioned earlier, such transcriptions provided musicians with the opportunity to gain an income from making arrangements. Amateurs would then perform their rehearsed item during salons.

2.7.2 Conserving the “high art” of music

In stark contrast to this taste for dazzling, virtuoso and entertaining music for a popular audience, the taste for classical music (which included performances of the works of earlier masters) grew more and more elitist through the aristocrats’ private enjoyment of what they considered “proper” music. De Nora (1991: 314) argues that, with the emerging popular genre, another dramatic ideological shift occurred within the circles of the aristocracy towards music that was short, simple-textured and non-learned. These uncomplicated compositions were, ironically, also the kind of works admired by the general public. However, this shift in musical taste established a new “aristocratic” aesthetic founded on ideas of musical learning, complexity, momentousness, as well as a dislike of self-indulgent practices like virtuoso displays and concerts at which popular opera highlights were showcased (De Nora 1991: 314).

Through their championing of a learned style, adherents to the classical music taste established various institutions where music could be learned, investigated, divulged, understood and evaluated. Hanson (1985: 92) mentions that, because of the quest for understanding, journals, societies and conservatories were established. Admirers of art music expected a concert to be an elevating experience, one where the listener would be stimulated intellectually. Within this aesthetic, “master” composers emerged as archetypes. An illustration of this sentiment may be found in an article published by a critic in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1804 when discussing Beethoven’s Opus 26 and 27 piano sonatas: “less educated musicians, and those who expect nothing more from music than a facile entertainment will take up these works in vain” (De Nora 1991: 314).

Beethoven also weighed in on the matter, as Johann Stumpff recorded in his memoirs in 1824. Stumpff wrote, “And now he unbosomed himself on the subject of music which had been degraded and made a plaything of vulgar and impudent passions (in Hanson 1985: 92). ‘True music’, Beethoven said, ‘found little recognition in this age of Rossini and his consorts’ ”.

Five years later, in 1829, the wife of the English music publisher, Novello, told of a conversation she had had with Adalbert Gyrowetz, who at that stage was the *Kapellmeister* of the *Hofkapelle*. According to his wife (Hanson 1985: 92), Gyrowetz

said:

On my expressing regret at hearing so little of the music of Mozart and Haydn, either operas, masses, quartets, quintets, he shook his head and said that the age of good music was gone by. He pointed to a large quantity of waltzes, airs with variations, dances, marches and trifling pieces that were lying spread out in the music shop upon the counter, and said (with a laugh of just contempt) that that was the kind of music that was now the fashion in Germany.

Through Gyrowetz's comments, two facts may be gleaned: firstly, that waltzes and sets of variations were popular in Germany, and therefore also in Austria and Vienna as well; and secondly, that Diabelli's decision to publish a set of variations on a waltz theme would guarantee good sales.

Concerning the genres of compositions, both Weber (1975: 20) and De Nora (1991: 314) agree that the serious classical music scene was rooted in the orchestral and chamber genres. Weber (1975: 20) mentions that high art adherents rarely programmed works that displayed too much virtuosity and furthermore, they avoided new compositions, even by composers who were inspired by the composers whom they adored. So complete was their abhorrence of virtuoso displays, that certain high art concert societies avoided works for piano altogether (Hanson 1985: 94). Pianistic virtuosity and improvisation, necessary skills in most contemporary compositions, were too closely associated with the commercial concerts to be condoned in the high art circles.

De Nora (1991: 316) comments that concerts of enlightened art music would often be premiered privately in front of the aristocracy, who would then "showcase" them as public concerts to educate, or to communicate that which was practiced in their salons. The aristocracy clearly viewed the middle class as "uneducated" and shared what they deemed superior to point the population to a greater understanding of music as being something more than mere entertainment.

Concerts organised by the aristocratic societies still took place, but they were generally closed events. A journalist for the *Oesterreichische Rundschau* reported in 1817 that no minister's house stood open any longer. Plantinga (1984: 11) remarks that, for musicians living in and after the Napoleonic Wars, a lucrative and solid position under the old system of aristocratic patronage was no longer a viable option.

Few courts or churches still had the financial means to employ musicians or to attract important composers. The historian Andlaw (in Hanson 1985: 113) recounts his experience of aristocratic salons during this time:

If I were to characterise briefly the tone of society at that time, I would want to call it just harmless: the conversation moved, without political cabals, in a fairly uniform circle and great importance was placed on essentially insignificant things, about which one himself later smiled. It was a struggle for [who should be accorded] superiority in elegance; one argued in all seriousness over the question of who belonged to the 'crème' of society, and it was not always beauty, wealth, wisdom, rank or birth which decided whether citizenship could be acquired in that fashionable realm, for its governess, mode, fickle as she is, only too often allowed chance to rule.

The change that was happening socially, was also, as has been discussed, reflected musically through the support for public concerts as well as the rise in popularity of the piano as the instrument of choice. So widespread was the love amongst the middle class for the piano that, as Weber (1975: 17) recounts, a certain London journalist remarked in 1846 that, "in families the piano has extinguished conversation and the love of books." A Parisian newspaper of the time also reported that music had indeed become the foremost hobby and pleasure of society (Weber 1975: 17).

2.8 Conclusion

The French Revolution had had a major impact on the formation of socio-political life in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most important event of the French Revolution was, as Chapman (1998: 5) suggests, when the governor of the Bastille was decapitated, and power was, metaphorically, handed to the people. This transfer of power was reflected in Viennese musical society through the emergence of public concerts, the creation of the popular music genre, a new patronage system, the concept of "popular demand", and the emancipation of music for all to enjoy. While the French Revolution was the catalyst that gave prominence to the disregarded French middle class, the public concert became the catalyst that brought about the social change and prominence that the Viennese middle class sought.

The cultural uprising of the middle class in Vienna was not merely a matter of social status nor was it only about who acquired the most money. It also led to the new

genre of popular music, a genre not primarily concerned with providing an intellectual encounter but with entertainment. This in turn caused a re-evaluation of music's role in society because it became a means to entertain, a subservient resource. The rift that ensued between the "high art" and the "popular music" adherents was a distinguishing feature of the early nineteenth century. There were vastly more adherents to popular music than to serious, "high art" music.

Although the middle class attended concerts in concert halls, it lived in its private homes. The idea of domestic music-making, on privately owned instruments, for entertainment, is a concept that developed during the early nineteenth century. As has been discussed, the technological advances that allowed for cheaper music printing as well as for the production of improved and quality instruments at lower prices, fuelled the flame of the middle class's passion for music. The importance that the piano still enjoys dates from this period. As mentioned, the piano replaced books, conversations, and, in some cases, even furniture. For this reason alone, it was a sensible decision for Diabelli to commission his grand set of variations for the piano, as that would have opened a large market to buy the music, also making it a financially successful venture.

Also of relevance to this study, is the influx of foreigners into Vienna during the early nineteenth century in search of lucrative job opportunities. This had a profound impact on the city's musical life, as well as on Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, as will be shown in the next chapter.

In addition, the tradition of presenting small musical souvenirs or anthologies as gifts between New Year and Lent appealed to the taste for novelty music, which possibly informed the idea of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II. The predilection for popular music, dances, marches and polkas presented the perfect opportunity to cater to this market with a set of variations on a waltz theme by popular composers active in Vienna. As mentioned in this chapter, both theme and variations and waltzes were incredibly popular during this time. By using the patriotic, unifying title of *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, Diabelli ensured that his efforts would not be in vain.

Finally, my research showed that life for the middle class in Vienna during the early

nineteenth century, was markedly better than during preceding years. The heightened status of the middle class with regard to its social, political and economic influence, as well as its active support of music, provided Diabelli with the perfect opportunity to compile an anthology of composers active in Vienna at that time.

In the next chapter, multifaceted aspects of the waltz will be considered, for, as this chapter has disclosed, the popularity of the waltz was unprecedented. Diabelli would not have made the decision to use as his theme a new waltz lightly: it was a calculated decision to ensure the widest possible audience.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 The waltz: introduction

In the previous chapter, this study elicited the socio-political circumstances at play in Vienna during the early nineteenth century. The vast influence of the French Revolution on the social, cultural, economic and political life of Vienna was discussed. The Revolutionary ideas of *liberté*, *égalité* and *fraternité* were reflected in the Viennese's outlook on life, the emergence of the moneyed middle class attesting to this new reality. The notion of popular demand was created as well as a whole new ideology surrounding music: music made solely for entertainment. This new ideology created a new genre in music, the popular genre, in which music did not only reflect the taste of the majority but also became a style of music that, initially, repulsed the more learned aristocratic classes. In this chapter, this study will investigate the waltz. In an effort to understand the significance of Diabelli's *waltz* theme in his *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, a holistic examination of the waltz will be conducted. This study has already mentioned how dancing, in particular waltzing, became an "obsession" amongst all Viennese during the early nineteenth century. This chapter will investigate this craze further, probing the waltz's origins, its social context, its reception and negation, its characteristics and finally examining who the most prominent composers of the genre were and how they influenced future composers. All of this will be done in an effort to build a solid framework of the waltz with all of its characteristics. The 50 variations that comprise Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II will then be scrutinised to illustrate how the composition may be a reflection of its time through its employment of the characteristics gleaned from the synthesised definition.

3.2 Origin of the waltz

Literary sources are of several opinions as to the origin of the waltz. Naturally, it is a retrospective investigation as no-one at the time bothered to document the waltz's origins as no-one could prophesy its future popularity. For this reason, various sources offer different dances as the definitive origin of the waltz. A few sources mentioned that the waltz did not develop from a single dance, but rather as a culmination of several. For this reason, this chapter will investigate the most common dances offered as ancestor to the waltz. Though these dances were ancestral

inspiration for the development of the waltz, it does not refer to the dance that preceded the waltz; that distinction belongs to the minuet, as this study will show. The *Deutsche* or *Ländler*, *Volta*, *Languis*, *Dreher* and *Deutsche-walzer* are all types of dance styles alleged to have made an impression in the formation of the eventual Viennese waltz.

3.2.1 Stylistic inspiration for the waltz

Judging by the amount of literature supporting the *Ländler* as an influence on the development of the waltz, it is highly likely that this dance made the biggest, or rather, most discernible impact. Plantinga (1984: 341), Knowles (2009: 20), Katz (1973: 369) mention that the waltz had its origins in the peasant dance known as the *Ländler*. The *Ländler* was an alpine folk dance popular in Bohemia, Germany, Austria and Bavaria. It is one of several turning folk dances grouped together as *Deutsche* (Knowles 2009: 20). These various dances were identified by either a particular characteristic or step within the dance or by a certain geographical location (where the dance either originated from, or was very popular). Dances recognised by peculiar characteristic include the spinner, *dreher* (“spinning top”) or *schleifer* (sliding). Those known by geographical location include the Styria or the *Ländler*. According to Knowles (2009: 20), the *Ländler* derived its name from *das Landl* which in turn means “the little country”. This name refers to a fairly specific region in upper Austria known as *Landl ob der Enns*.

Originally, the *Ländler* was danced by peasants, outdoors. Some of the most discernible steps include wild hopping, stamping, and the throwing of the female partner into the air (Kassing 2007: 123; Plantinga 1984: 341). Apart from the fact that the *Ländler*, like the waltz, was a turning dance, couples also embraced whilst rotating, a very definitive and most controversial characteristic shared with the later waltz (Kassing 2007; Knowles 2009: 20). The *Ländler* was originally the last part of a greater dance called the *Schuhplatter*. The *schuhplatter* refers to a group of dances where the dancers would slap their bodies (and those of others) percussively to form intricate, syncopated rhythmic patterns. The movements were derived from an old animal dance which mimicked the fighting and mating of the Bavarian black grouse. The fighting was normally symbolised by two men dancing a basic version of the dance whilst the dance signifying the mating ritual (which is most relevant to this

study) involved a male and a female. During the mating dance the man and woman would rarely touch, however, during the last part of the performance, the man would embrace the woman and they would dance together in a waltz-like *Ländler* to signify the grouse's mating ritual. (Knowles 2009: 20)

Some further, relevant characteristics of the *Ländler* include the posture and position normally assumed by the couple dancing: the male would place his hands on the woman's waist whilst the woman's hands would rest on his shoulders. Another important characteristic of the *Ländler* was that it was danced in a triple meter, usually accompanied by alpine wind instruments, yodelling or fiddle playing. The music typically employed lilting melodies and wide interval leaps. These traits were echoed in the dancing through wide steps, deep swinging motions and lifts within the dance. According to McKee (2012: 176), the *Ländler* involves a wide variety of steps, bodily motions and embraces; these would all be streamlined to form the waltz. One of the biggest differences between the *Ländler* and the waltz was that during the *Ländler*, dancers had to stop to perform foot stomping or clapping motions whereas the waltz is a continuous dance. Despite both dance forms being in triple meter, a marked difference between the waltz and the *Ländler* is the speed at which each is danced (the *Ländler* is distinctly slower as to allow time to stop and stomp or clap); when waltzing, the waltz once again differs from the *Ländler* in that the feet are dragged to glide across the floor whereas in the *Ländler*, the hopping and outdoor nature of the dance made it less smooth; lastly, the accents in a waltz were placed on the first and third beat, while a *Ländler* placed the accent on the second beat (Scott 2008: 118-199). As McKee (2012: 176) notes, an important characteristic of the *Ländler* was the fact that it was primarily danced in rural areas, by peasants and the middle class. It was only in the 1780s that some members of the aristocracy started dancing the *Ländler* as a result of exposure to the dance through the publication of various dances by eminent composers such as Johann Baptist Vanhal and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Yet, this study has frequently noted that the waltz was a universally appealing dance with both Barons and Boers able to participate. If the *Ländler* provided the rural influence, the *Volta* was responsible for representing the nobility.

The *Volta* was a dance that formed part of a series of Renaissance court dances.

These sets of court dances were called Galliards and were energetic in character employing various turns, kicks, hops and leaps. These lively dances were normally in triple meter and they typically followed the slower, stately, processional *pavanes* as a sort of “after-dance”. During its peak period of popularity (1550-1650) the *Volta* was considered one of the most controversial dances; not just because of its athletic strain on the noble dancer, but also because of the dancers’ positions. The *Volta*, much like the *Ländler*, was performed with the couple in close embrace. Perhaps even more controversial was its required and signature lift. The man places his hand between woman’s legs grabbing hold of her corset’s busk (an unyielding wooden or metal piece found at the bottom of the corset that was used to stiffen it) and, lifting the woman in the air with the support of his knee, placed under her buttocks, then pivots her on one leg. Johan von Münster (in his tract *Gottseliger Tractat von dem ungottseligen Tantz* of 1592 in McKee [2012: 19]) mentions the repulsion that he witnessed upon observing the lift in the *Volta* being performed for the first time:

In this dance the dancer with a leap takes the young lady – who also comes to him with a high jump to the measure of the music – and grasps her in an unseemly place... With horror, I have often seen this dance at the Royal Court of King Henry III in the year 1582, and together with other honest persons have frequently been amazed that such a lewd and unchaste dance, in which the King in person was first and foremost, should be officially permitted and publicly practiced.

Oddly enough, Knowles (2009: 17) notes that this dance, the *Volta*, was one of Queen Elizabeth’s favourite dances, too. As was the case with the *Ländler* and will be the case with the waltz, the *Volta* was considered not only indecent because of the close contact between the dancers, but hazardous towards the dancers’ health as well. In the book *Dancing Through Time*, Allison Thompson (in Knowles 2009: 19) mentions that eyewitnesses of the *Volta* confirmed its dangerous nature as various dancers broke their legs as a result of the feverish skipping and leaping.

By the 1600s, though, the *Volta* had grown tame; the large leaps were replaced with smooth, polished slides of the feet. It was both the sliding figure, as well as the fact that the *Volta* is done in six beats (like a waltz) that contributed most significantly to the development of the waltz. (Knowles 2009: 17-19; Royston 2014: 84)

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, sources do not agree as to the exact origin of the waltz. According to Scott (2008: 118), the *Ländler’s* influence has been

overstated. He is of the opinion that the *Dreher*, a whirling type dance of the sixteenth century, was a greater influence. Van der Straeten (1928: 894) argues that the *Langaus*, a round, fast dance in which the dancers glided up and down the ballroom until too exhausted to continue, is the direct ancestor to the waltz. Scott (2008: 118) adds that the reason why the *Langaus* was so exhausting was due to the fact that the dance replaced the *Ländler's* hop with a slide so therefore the dancers could move across the dancefloor more swiftly and continually.

It appears that there were a myriad of dances, each just a little different than the other (but baring a completely different name) that gave rise to the waltz. In an effort to consolidate the character traits that did in fact influence the formation of the waltz, McKee (2012: 175) fused all the spinning or turning dances danced in German-speaking lands together to form, what he calls, *Deutscher-Walzer*. McKee uses this term to denote all the spinning dances in which couples danced in large circles whilst embracing each other. McKee (2012: 175-176) continues to list the choreographic characteristics of the *Deutscher-Walzer*: firstly, it was a group dance (in contrast to the waltz that was a couple's dance); there was a lead couple that everybody followed, even mimicking the posture and position of the elbow and copying certain steps (in the waltz every couple is its own entity); the *Deutscher-Walzer* still contained some athletic motions such as hopping and skipping (though it should be noted that, by the end of the eighteenth century, the *Deutscher-Walzer* had smoothed out and adopted a narrower range of steps [alluding to the simplistic waltz which was to follow shortly]); and lastly, the *Deutscher-Walzer* was the fastest of all the spinning dances leading directly to the ferocious speed at which waltz would be danced eventually. McKee (2012: 174) notes that during the 1780s these *Deutscher-Walzer* were all the rage but during the early 1800s, the terminology changed abruptly to define a clearer, smoother type of dance. The new term *Walzer* was used to describe a dance now known as the Viennese Waltz.

It is clear that the *Volta*, the *Ländler* and the numerous *Deutscher-Walzer* stylistically gave rise to the formation of the waltz. Yet, these dances were not necessarily the most popular in Vienna just before the waltz-frenzy began. As this study has shown, fashion and popularity during the late eighteenth century was not dictated by popular demand but rather by the tastes of the aristocracy and nobility. The previous chapter

has shown that it was during the early nineteenth century that this idea changed and that power was shifted to the people as a result of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the bankrupt aristocracy and the suddenly significant middle class. Therefore, during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Yaraman (2002: 1) recounts that most dancing took place in the nobility's courts. Moreover, dancing was considered not only a social activity but also a means for members of the aristocracy to validate their refinement and adherence to the customary social order. Yaraman (2002: 1) continues by saying that these dances were a formal and learned commotion – often requiring both an understanding of the social hierarchies as well as the exhaustive training and skill.

3.2.2 The popular predecessor of the waltz

According to Katz (1973: 368), the dance (like most art forms) that enjoys the greatest popularity in any given society is often a true reflection of the social order in which it is appreciated. This theory holds true for the late eighteenth century. With the nobility and aristocracy still firmly in control, the most popular dance to precede the waltz, was the court dance, the minuet. Katz (1973: 368) remarks that the dances that were popular with the upper classes often have their roots in folk dances. When borrowing these dances from “the people”, the upper classes would comprehensively transform these dances to better reflect their values. Katz (1973: 369) mentions that, until the fifteenth century, the two versions of a dance (the one for the people versus the one for the upper classes), were often not too different. However, during the course of the fifteenth century, the upper classes started to move away from an appreciation of simplicity. Their tastes were replaced by a liking of multiple, complex elements crowned by an intense appreciation of detail. This new taste was reflected in the illumination of books as well as the details on woven tapestries. Katz (1973: 369) remarks that this newfound predilection caused an elaborate vocabulary of steps to be danced containing intricate motions that, according to Katz, must be performed with the utmost “exactitude”.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, during the eighteenth century, France was the quintessential idea of culture towards which most courts aspired. Hamilton (2015: 46) mentions that, during the height of the French courts' glory days, the great balls held at the palace of Versailles would all culminate in the dancing of a minuet.

Though it might look stale and artificial today, Hamilton (2015: 47) remarks that, during the eighteenth century, the minuet was considered the most harmonious and beautiful dance to execute. Yaraman (2002: 2) notes that, in the dance manuals of the time, social commentators remarked that those who danced the minuet needed to be a “fine person” who is already in possession of all the necessary attributes, both social and physical. Yamaran (2002: 2-3) continues by saying that, even when, after years of study, the prospective dancer has mastered all the choreographic demands required, a solid understanding of society, hierarchy and proper manners is of the utmost importance to perfectly execute the minuet. Goethe (in Katz [1973: 370]) attests to this strictness and obsession with “exactitude”, after witnessing the minuet being danced at a carnival in Rome, by saying: “Nobody ventures unconcernedly to dance unless he has been taught the art; the minuet in particular, is regarded as a work of art and is performed, indeed, only by a few couples. The couples are surrounded by the rest of the company, admired and applauded at the end.”

From this quote it may be deduced that, not only was the minuet so difficult to master that its execution was considered a work of art, but also that, due to the presence of onlookers who “admired” the couples dancing the minuet, it was highly elitist and not for everybody to enjoy. Furthermore, it can also be deduced, from the rigorous study of the choreography that, as Katz (1973: 370) agrees, there was no opportunity for any individualism, creativity or embellishment; everything was carefully ascertained beforehand. As the ultimate expression of all the accoutrements of noble society, the whole dance was performed with the dancers in opposition to each other; the man and the woman never embraced (McKee 2012: 11). Remembering what Katz (1973: 368) remarked with regard to dancing reflecting the society in which it is performed or danced, Hamilton (2015: 48) notes that, in anticipation of the French Revolution, social commentators often mocked the popularity of the minuet amongst the nobility. An example of this might be found in a comment by Voltaire, where he remarked that the politicians active during the last years of his life were just like the dancers of a minuet: they are elegantly dressed and beam with a lofty charm but upon completing the dance, they find themselves in the exact same spot as when they began (Hamilton 2015: 48).

After the French Revolution, the exclusivity, formality and uniformity of the minuet no longer appealed to the newly emancipated population. Yaraman (2002: 3) agrees that, as a new democratisation of Europe's social life was taking place, the minuet was replaced by the *contredanse*. Katz's (1973: 368) theory that societal changes are reflected in the art it produces holds vast as the *contredanse* was characterised by some very after-Revolution ideals. According to Yaraman (2002: 3-4), a *contredanse* could not only be danced by anyone, but also by any number of people. It is performed by two lines of dancers, men and women facing each other. The first, top couple is designated as "couple number one" (according to *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart* by Allanbrook in Yaraman [2002: 3]), but as the dance progresses, the top couple moves down one position at each repetition of a specific figuration. By doing this, the couple at the top of the line changes every time, creating a more democratised dancefloor. Further characteristics include a turning away from the hierarchical, formal court dance towards an expression of individualism. *Contredanse* are normally danced in triple meter, but does accept any meter. Some dance tutors regarded the *contredanse* as the "danceless dance" because of the flexibility and freedom it allowed its dancers (Yaraman 2002: 3-4).

It is clear that a culmination of various factors and influences thus led to the formation of the waltz. No single source could lay claim to have fathered it, rather, the waltz emerged as a response to the socio-political happenings surrounding it. This study has examined the waltz's folk heritage through investigating the influence of the *Ländler*, *Dreher*, *Volta* and *Deutscher-Walzer*. It has also endeavoured to show how the minuet, the most popular dance of the preceding era, would reflect the changing society from its initial adoration of restraint and formality to its eventual abandonment after the Revolution in favour of the freer *contredanse*, and eventually, the waltz. In the next section, an investigation into the development of the waltz within society will be discussed, considering its reception and negation.

3.3 Society

According to Katz (1973: 373), the French Revolution created a world in which artistic freedom had no precedent. Hauser (in Katz [1973: 373]) mentions that the effects of the Revolution caused society to re-evaluate the social function of music, as well as its accessibility to all classes. Katz (1973: 373) continues by saying that

music was no longer only the privilege of the rich and leisured, it should rather (also) be taught and improved to contribute to the happiness of the general public. Hauser (in Katz [1973: 373]) then affirms that music should "...be the possession of every man." Importantly, Katz (1973: 373) mentions that, before the Revolution, the arts as a means to associate with the loftiness of the aristocracy constituted a separation from the lower classes. Yet, in the post-Revolution period, the arts became an individualistic statement, a matter of taste. Significantly, Katz (1973: 373) contends that this matter of taste would vary amongst different people, at different time and at different places - this emancipated the individual from conventional standards and tastes. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the debate between the genres of popular versus art music emerged during this time. Yet, this newfound freedom enabled the public to like both Beethoven *and* Strauss as it was decided that both could co-exist.

Yet this altering, or rather emancipation, of taste stretched further than merely musical taste; as Katz (1973: 374) and Knowles (2009: 26) mention, the artist as composer was freed from royal patronage with the emergence of a new market revolving around the popular or public opinion. The consequent period enshrined the concept of uniqueness and individualism, as well as the struggle against the very principles of rule, authority and tradition (Katz 1973: 373). Hamilton (2015: 56) mentions that, young people who survived both the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars were searching for an outlet to vent some of their experienced, emotional turmoil. They wished to unleash their deeper emotions as well as satisfy the needs of body and soul. To this end, they also turned to dance; dancing became a means to escape the horrors of the previous wars as well as the economic struggles which the country still faced. Goethe (in Hamilton 2015: 57) accurately captures the dance's ability to escape circumstances when he remarked after waltzing that: "Never have I moved so lightly. I was no longer a human being. To hold the most adorable creature in one's arms and fly around with her like the wind, so that everything around us fades away."

Ironically, this urge for self-expression and escapism lead the dancers to a dance which (in a very familiar, though not exact same guise) was rejected a couple of decades ago because of the criticism it received for being immoral (because couples

danced the dance whilst embracing) and hazardous to the dancers' health (the spinning created dizziness and feelings of vertigo) (Katz 1973: 373).

Katz (1973: 368-369) mentions that, whenever Hollywood depicts a certain scenario in a movie, caution should always be applied when considering its historical correctness. When Hollywood depicts nineteenth century Vienna, ballrooms, waltzing and glamorous dresses with everybody from king to commoner joining in the dance is shown on screen. Katz (1973: 368-369) continues by saying that, this is probably one of the few instances when Hollywood does not exaggerate. The universality of the waltz reflected the era of unity and peace that was ushered in by the Congress of Vienna after the dreadful Napoleonic Wars. Katz (1973: 375) mentions that dancers could "loose" themselves in the dancing, that, not only was social classes not considered in the ballroom but also, waltzing provided an escape from modern life.

The fact that the escapism offered by the waltz surfaced in the works of Katz and Goethe is of interest as Schnitzler's article was found in which he is of the opinion that Vienna, during the early nineteenth century was not a profoundly jovial, "waltzing" city but rather a morbid "cover-up" operation. Schnitzler's article "*Gay Vienna*" – *Myth and Reality* (1954: 95) offers as evidence the inscription on the introductory page to a set of "Schubert Melodies" in which the publishers praise "their Viennese gaiety." Upon investigating merely the first page of Schubert's diary of the time when he composed these melodies, Schnitzler (1954: 95) mentions that the facade of Viennese life begins to crumble: Schubert writes of the darkness of this life. Further, to a friend in a letter, Schubert writes (in Schnitzler 1954: 95): "I feel myself to be the most unhappy and wretched creature in the world. Imagine a man whose health will never be right again, and who in sheer despair over this ever makes things worse and worse instead of better; imagine a man... whose most brilliant hopes have perished, to whom the felicity of love and friendship have nothing to offer but pain at best, whom enthusiasm... for all things beautiful threatens to forsake, and I ask you, is he not a miserable, unhappy being?... Each night, on retiring to bed, I hope I may not wake again, and each morning but recalls yesterday's grief..."

True, this is merely one, possibly depressive, famously infatuated with death, man's

words. But there remains a clear discrepancy. Being praised as the epitome of Viennese gaiety and then actually experiencing life in the city like this. Emperor Joseph II (in Schnitzler 1954: 98) once remarked: “When Vienna gets gay, the situation is truly grave.” According to Schnitzler (1954: 98), to cope with the reality of Viennese life, inhabitants tried to escape by plunging headlong into music, theatre and dancing. The joviality for which Vienna was famous, was a joviality of escape, born out of anguish and despair (Schnitzler 1954: 103). The theatre provided a depiction of a better world, with a famous play by Hugo Hofmannsthal proclaiming: “Here is reality.” Upon saying these words the character points to the stage.

Still further, Schnitzler (1954: 98) postulates that the Viennese dealt with the harsh reality of life by ignoring it. Popular Viennese folksongs of the time (by Marx Augustin) reflects this resigned outlook: “Oh my dear Augustin, everything’s gone; your money is gone, your girl is gone, everything’s gone.” Still another reflects the apparent indifference of society to the reality of life: “I am indifferent to everything, to pain and joy, to pleasure and grief; for everything passes as quickly as a shadow, a dream, a slumber; everything is in constant change and so I remain indifferent to everything.” Another famous reflection of Viennese triviality is found in Beaumarchais’ famous Figaro who states: “I force myself to laugh about everything, for fear of being compelled to cry.” In Schnitzler (1954: 99-100), the twentieth century satirist, Karl Kraus, famously remarked, “In Berlin, things are serious but not hopeless; in Vienna, they are hopeless but not serious.”

What was so unbearable that the Viennese had to constantly disassociate with reality? Schnitzler (1954: 105) mentions that it was Metternich’s police state. His aim, according to Schnitzler (1954: 105) was ultimately to sequester Vienna from the outside world, in an effort to deter the intrusion of supposedly seditious, revolutionary ideas. As a result, intellectuality was officially discouraged, beginning with the thwarting of an attempt to establish an Academy of Sciences. Furthermore, Schnitzler (1954: 105) remarks that, upon addressing a faculty of university professors, Emperor Francis said: “I have no use for scholars but only good citizens. It is up to you to mould our youth into such. Who serves me, must teach what I order; who cannot do this or come along with new ideas, can leave – or I shall get rid of him.” It is fairly obvious that creativity was a dangerous attribute in these times and

as a result, the only vent for creative thoughts was the theatre (provided that the censors allowed the work to be performed), and waltzing.

As mentioned earlier, Katz (1973: 373) confirms that apparently everybody in Vienna was waltzing and seemingly having the time of their lives. Schnitzler (1954: 100) offers a reason for the Viennese's apparent hiding of the truth from the rest of the world: patriotism. Since the city was not bound by ethnicity or culture, one of the unifying factors in Vienna, was Vienna itself. Therefore, Schnitzler (1954: 100) mentions that, despite the apparent underlying dubiousness felt by all who lived in Vienna, the inhabitants aimed to hide their sorrow by taking pride in their city. Rather paradoxically it was the city that they were placing on a pedestal that was also the source of their despair. This paradox is also reflected in their posthumous adoration of patriotic legends. Schnitzler (1954: 101) reveals that, during her funeral procession, Maria Theresa's coffin was hurled with stones and curses. However, today, she is widely regarded as the mother of the nation. Further, Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, widely considered to be the very symbol of Enlightenment thinking nowadays, died a hated man because some of his reforms would have abolished deeply rooted Austrian traditions. These paradoxes continues with Schnitzler (1954: 102) mentioning Mozart's pauper's grave and Beethoven who had to beg for money in the last year of his life.

According to Schnitzler (1954: 103), it was the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) that acted as the catalyst to cementing Vienna's image as the jovial, waltzing city. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Congress of Vienna proved especially beneficial for Austria, yet other delegates who attended the Congress were not so enamoured with it. Schnitzler (1954: 104) mentions the Prussian Minister, Freiherr vom Stein, who remarked about the Congress that, "...distraction, lack of profundity of some, dullness and coldness of other, imbecility, vulgarity...of still others, frivolity of all, were the reasons why no great noble, beneficial idea could be brought into being." Furthermore, the Archduke Johann, a Habsburg prince, was quoted as saying (in Schnitzler 1954: 104): "The Congress of Vienna was a mistake; they are getting acquainted with us and our inner being and thus confidence is decreasing since our weaknesses are often so glaring." This remark indicates firstly, that there was an "inner" Vienna, a hidden aspect to society of which the prince wanted no-one

to be aware. The prince's remark also clearly indicates, secondly, that this "inner being" was not a pleasant one, as he describes it as a "weakness."

Schnitzler (1954: 104) offers the Viennese's possible solution to protect their "inner being" from exposure: partying. According to Count de la Garde (in Schnitzler 1954: 104), "it seemed as if one considered every moment not dedicated to pleasure as lost." Schnitzler (1954: 104) also mentions how the death of the dethroned queen of Naples, Maria Carolina, during the Congress was covered up, her burial kept secret, in an effort to not disturb the spirit of festivity that reigned in the city. So intense was the partying that the Russian Emperor, after forty nights of successive attendance at the State's banquets, collapsed with exhaustion. Regardless of whether the Viennese danced in defiance of the horrible circumstances they were facing or in ignorance thereof, the fact that is of great importance to this study is, that the waltz was waltzed profusely. Knowles (2009: 27) agrees that, as a result of the Vienna Congress' tens of thousands of delegates learning the dance in the city, the waltz' reputation was cemented as each of these delegates became ambassadors for the dance upon returning to their respective countries.

3.4 The development of the Viennese waltz

Both Scott (2008: 118) and Van der Straeten (1928: 894) agree that waltz music came from musicians travelling down the Danube on boats entertaining guests. These musicians were usually grouped into quartets consisting of two violins, a bass and a guitar. When the boats anchored in Vienna, the musicians would augment their income by performing in the taverns and coffee houses around the city. Van der Straeten (1928: 894) adds that, because of the ensembles' increasing popularity, they were frequently offered to stay in the city and perform their music with great financial reward. The ensembles initially performed *Ländler*s but the spirited Viennese temperament quickly increased the tempo at which the dances were performed, leading to the establishment of the waltz's faster speed. The characteristics of the waltz will now be discussed after which its acceptance by the aristocracy and repulsion by the Church will be considered.

3.4.1 Characteristics

Firstly, the waltz became popular in defiance of the minuet's formal, elitist,

authoritarian character. A great emphasis was placed on freedom. According to Yaraman (2002: 17), the waltz's characteristics developed to satisfy certain social needs. The waltz, according to McKee (2012: 11), celebrates a newfound freedom from aristocratic conventions, physical pleasure as well as individualism. McKee (2012: 175) notes that this freedom in the waltz was generally found in the speed at which the dancers chose to move about the room; by extending or shortening the length of their strides, whilst keeping to the beat of the music, the dancers could determine how fast or slow they wanted to complete the revolution of the dancefloor. Also, McKee (2012: 175) continues that the dancers had the freedom to choose if they wanted to dance in the small, inner circle or the larger, outside circle. According to McKee (2012: 12), the liberty that the waltz offered was also reflected in its egalitarian character. As a result of its simplistic steps, anyone of any social standing could quickly master the necessary basic skills to partake in the dance. One of the most striking characteristics of the dance is its rotating motion and the fact that it uses the same step pattern for the entire duration of the dance.

As a result of the spinning or rotation, a tight grip on the partner was required to balance out the centrifugal force so that the couple would remain upright. Rather controversially, this tight grip involved the couple embracing and maintaining this position for the whole dance. Yaraman (2002: 5) agrees that this position, torso to torso, employed by the waltz most accurately, reflected the social changes that were taking place: no longer were dancers focussed on their position relative to the other dancers in the social hierarchy (as was the case with the minuet) but rather, now that the dance focussed on couples (and no longer two lines of dancers) a greater freedom and individualism was created. Yaraman (2002: 5-6) continues that, with the two dancers turning towards each other, they were turning their backs towards society. To help offset dizziness and to orient themselves within the ballroom, the two embracing dancers maintained constant eye contact, further increasing the sense of intimacy.

Katz (1973: 371) again emphasises that, with the couple isolating themselves in the dance, they were in effect losing themselves (not merely escaping from the horrors of the outside world, as suggested by Schnitzler), surrendering their worldly identities at the door. Katz (1973: 371) continues by saying that, where the minuet was

structured according to social hierarchy, the waltz was only concerned with a dancer's skill and performance in the dance; a commoner, permitting she could dance well, could very well partner with the king in the waltz.

In addition to the abovementioned social characteristics, there are also a number of musical elements which are of the utmost importance to this study. The following characteristics were compiled from the works of Plantinga (1984: 341), Katz (1973: 371), Scott (2008: 124-127) and Yaraman (2002: 5-6, 17-26):

- Evidence of a strong awareness of the dance rhythm was prevalent and as a result, most waltzes were in triple meter
- With a waltz, the accents also fall on the first and third beat of the bar
- The famous oom-pah-pah figure was initially made famous by Josef Lanner and its acceptance as the standard waltz accompaniment only became the norm around 1826 as evidenced by Schubert's extensive use of the figuration in his *Moderne Liebeswalzer*
- The use of syncopation and *hemiola* in an effort to foil the predictability of the waltz's triple rhythm
- In an effort to create a Viennese version of the waltz (as opposed to the version created by the alpine musicians), composers such as Johann Strauss the elder, often included yodelling figures, these figures are especially prevalent in his set of waltzes titled *Gute Meinung für die Tanzlust*
- Frequent use of sighing appoggiaturas and extensive use of chromaticism (especially later in the nineteenth century)
- Short motivic ideas as well as frequent call and response segments
- The colouristic effects of *staccato* and *pizzicato*
- Frequent shifting of instrumental colours became a signature characteristic of the waltz

- Frequent changes in dynamics in accordance with the instrumental colouristic shifts
- Doubling of the melody in the lower instruments
- Extensive use of the interval of a 10th
- The music is also characterised by leaping intervals, such as Scotch Snaps, chromatic appoggiaturas, grace notes and arpeggio-based themes

Yaraman (2002: 19) mentions A.B. Marx's influential book, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, as Marx offers three characteristics which music must fulfil in order to fully support the dance and the dancers. As the most important consideration, Marx argues that, in the very least, the music must reflect the repetitive and incessant motion of the dance. Marx argues that, in a waltz, there are two, interrelated kinds of motion: firstly, the couple revolving in their own circle and, secondly, the larger circle through which the couple revolves around the ballroom. The music must reflect all the motion prevalent in a waltz. Next, as the waltz is danced in six steps, two measures of music will be required for the completion of the movement. According to Marx, waltz music should therefore reflect this by making use of two bar motives. He also advises that an upbeat is useful in starting a waltz as it prepares the dancers to be able to dance from the first beat. Lastly, Marx notes that, in the interest of clarity, a waltz should be simple and symmetrical. He notes that that is why the oom-pah-pah figuration became so popular: its constant repetition throughout the dance turned it into an *ostinato* which added to the simplicity of the waltz.

3.5 Opposition to the waltz

According to Knowles (2009: 3), dancing has been criticised for as long as there has been dancing. He continues by saying that the criticism emerged as dancing often crossed the line of acceptable behaviour; those lines were often barriers of class, gender or race. Knowles (2009: 3) quotes an anonymous critic who said that, "dancing is the perpendicular expression of a horizontal desire."

According to Schnitzler (1954: 98), the people of Vienna, as a result of their bleak, indifferent outlook on life, deeply devoted themselves to the Catholic faith. Schnitzler

(1954: 98) is of the opinion that this faith was as a result of the promise of a better afterlife, one that would be without the suffering encountered in this world. This theory contributes to the fact that the Church had enormous influence on Viennese life. Knowles (2009: 3) is also quick to point out that the Christian Church was amongst the first and most fervent to ban waltzing. According to Yaraman (2002: vii), the Bishops of Austria signed decree upon decree in an effort to ban the scandalous dance. Even the pope, Leo XII, endeavoured to suppress the waltz by papal decree. Other parties were also against the dancing of the waltz, with moralists being outraged, etiquette books being rewritten, France banning the dance at court and even authors writing about it, being jailed (Yaraman 2002: vii).

What were the grounds upon which these de-waltzers were basing their arguments? According to Yaraman (2002: 7), health and moral grounds. The English critic, Donald Walker (in Yaraman 2002: 7), urges his female readers to “abandon waltzing, on account of its causing too violent emotions or an agitation which produces vertigo and nervous symptoms.” Citing the exact cause of these symptoms Walker blames the waltz for, “...its rapid turnings, the clasping of the dancers, their exciting contact, and too quick and too long continued succession of lively and agreeable emotions...” Yaraman (2002: 8) quotes Charles Burney who anticipated maternal distress whilst a German critic, Ernst Moritz Arndt notes the “hazardous” erotic nature of the dance as ladies’ dresses were shortened as not to be stepped on and the close embrace of the dancers were too exciting. Continuing with the dangers of shorter women’s dresses, Scott (2008: 118) mentions that critics were increasingly worried that women’s dresses and skirts would lift up as a result of all the turning.

Hamilton (2015: 58) too discusses the disapproval by moralists, citing the “mad whirling” as the most hazardous attribute. Further perilous effects, according to the detractors, were the intense vertigo that couples experienced, often causing bouts of dizziness. Yet, Roger Caillois (in McKee 2014: 177) postulates that the waltz became a game to the dancers in which they endeavoured to, through the pursuit of vertigo, “...momentarily destroy the stability of perception and inflict a kind of voluptuous panic upon an otherwise lucid mind.” Though it was banned at the Prussian court until 1818 and its entry into England was delayed until 1812, Hamilton (2015: 58) reports that the authorities could not stop the spread of the waltz, through

all their efforts they could merely delay its arrival at their courts and cities' ballrooms.

There were however, certain undisputable consequences upon dancing the waltz: McKee (2012: 177) notes that, though the waltz's constant spinning provided physical and psychological pleasure, the spinning also led to loss of orientation or control resulting in collapse. The heating and ventilation of the ballroom (or lack thereof), the tightness of the women's corsets as well as falling and tripping often led to mental or physical breakdown. The undisputable erotic nature of the dance was proven in Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* novel when Werther mentions to himself that, any woman he loves should never waltz with another man. So strong was the erotic nature of the dance, that McKee (2012: 178) notes that moralists of the time moved to have the waltz danced by only married couples. McKee (2012: 178) quotes a critic of 1782 when he remarked that, "We shall not consent to our wives, daughters or beloveds should be embraced by other men's arms, chest to chest with them in a full reckless abandon of themselves, being tossed around to wild music."

The waltz quickly became the scapegoat for the immorality that was already prevalent in Viennese society at the time. Despite continual efforts, Hamilton's (2015: 58) words remained true in that, no authority could successfully eradicate the waltz, they could merely delay its arrival.

3.6 The waltz in practice

According to Van der Straeten (1928: 894), Schubert was among the first composers to compose waltzes as they were to become known. Though Van der Straeten (1928: 894) and Scott (2008: 119) agree that these compositions were not on the same level as the later waltzes by Strauss and Lanner, Schubert's did recognise the artistic merit and the true expression of the human condition in them. He lifted the simple Minuet to a higher level, embodying the feelings awakened by nature, simplicity and Biedermeier ideals. His first set of waltzes Op. 9 (composed during 1816-1817) reflect these traits beautifully - they were incorrectly attributed to Beethoven until Schubert provided an authentic copy in 1818 to prove otherwise. Van der Straeten (1928: 894) is of the opinion that Schubert's influence extends further - Schubert extended the form and provided a richer harmonic texture than the foregone, traditional binary dances consisting of two eight bar phrases. Schubert is

also credited with the popularisation of the “oom-pah-pah” accompaniment. J.N. Hummel is recognised as the first composer to string a couple of dances together and rounding them off with a coda. These additions would help composers to create some of the most popular waltzes ever written, and to provide some popularity to their creators (Plantinga 1984: 431).

3.7 Strauss and Lanner

Few composers are as closely associated with a specific style of music, as Josef Lanner and Johann Strauss are with the waltz. Not only did they compose some of the most recognisable waltz melodies, but they also pioneered the performance of these works not just as entertainment or accompaniment, but as autonomous works worthy of the concert stage. In the next section, this study will explore the biographical details of these two eminent composers to illustrate how they embodied the rise of the waltz as well as the Viennese *zeitgeist*.

Josef Lanner was born in 1801 in Vienna. From the age of 12 he played in coffee houses but soon suffered from alcoholism and an addiction to gambling. As a result, Lanner was relieved from his band. His greatest ambition however, was to play in a band and he restarted his pursuit in 1819 by forming a trio with two Bohemian brothers. They proved to be very successful and soon became a recognised trio. During this time, a young musician hailing from Leopoldtstadt joined the trio as a violinist. He was born in 1804 and his name, was Johann Strauss. Johann wanted desperately to study and play music but his mother forced him to become a bookbinder. He ran away and joined Lanner’s band. Lanner and Strauss quickly rose to prominence with their string orchestra, to such a degree that they had the means to hire two orchestras to supply the need. Strauss and Lanner would each conduct an orchestra. Eventually Strauss broke away from Lanner, destroying a cordial friendship that would, however, blossom again years later. The rivalry between the two prominent conductors was very good for the evolution of the waltz as each tried to create better music than the other. Lanner and Strauss however, differed night and day, with Strauss being described as black-eyed, wild haired and vivacious whilst Lanner’s description puts him as a fair-haired, blue-eyed gentleman. (Van der Straeten 1928: 894-895; Plaut 1993: 1003)

According to Scott (2008: 119), Strauss and Lanner are responsible for the creation

of the popular music genre through the release of their dance music. An anonymous writer in the *Musical Times* of 1895 noted that (in Scott 2008: 119), “Haydn and Mozart... left the courtly dance of the last century pretty much where they found it, but the Strauss waltz is almost a distinct creation.” Luckily for Strauss and Lanner, waltz music reception seemed to have been separated from the moral dilemmas waltzing posed to society with Eduard Hanslick (in Yaraman 2002: 10-11) saying: “[the waltz composers] have filled the waltz form with an undreamt-of musical charm and true poetic life. They interest the musician and make people happy. But it is hardly possible to form an adequate idea of the enthusiastic intoxication into which they transported Vienna.” Additionally, Strauss and Lanner have almost exclusively been credited with the creation of an entire music style. Yaraman (2002: 11) argues that the reason for their prominence was because critics did not consider the waltz as an independent musical style from the start. The music was associated with the Strauss family and Lanner, not with a particular style. Yaraman (2002: 11) continues that, as a result of the instant fame of Strauss and Lanner with their revolutionary music, they became stars; with Hanslick later mentioning: “They were idolised. I would be the last to underestimate the talent of these two men... but it can readily be understood that this sweetly intoxicating three-quarter time, to which heads as well as feet were abandoned, rendered listeners steadily less capable of intellectual effort.”

Strauss and Lanner’s work was highly regarded even by their contemporary composers. Katz (1973: 369) lists Wagner, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Bellini, Auber, Berlioz and Brahms as composers who applauded the work done by Strauss and Lanner. The already mentioned emancipation of musical taste added to the fame of Strauss and Lanner for, even though they were composers of popular music, their genre was no longer looked down upon by the aristocracy; it was possible to like Strauss and still be considered high class (Katz 1973: 373). Though Strauss and Lanner lifted the style of waltz music to stratospheric heights, the most relevant composition to this study is Carl Maria von Weber’s concert waltz, *Invitation to the dance* published in 1819. This was one of the first waltzes that was not intended for dancing, but merely for listening. Yaraman (2002: 15) notes that, as the waltz music that was intended to be danced to, was considered as being popular music, waltz music intended only to be listened to, must

be considered as art music. In this way, waltz music bridged the gap between highbrow and lowbrow, further unifying the masses and expanding its accessibility.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter this study has endeavoured to show the waltz's social background as well as its stylistic characteristics. It hailed from humble, peasant dance beginnings to eventually end up in royal ballrooms. The waltz came to signify the immense social change that was altering hierarchies all over Europe, especially in Vienna. The waltz was not received equally as amorously by all in society but in the end, it conquered most courts to become the most popular dance on the continent.

The analysis of the waltz's family tree has enabled this study to identify characteristics belonging solely to the waltz. Through an extensive investigation of these features, this study will now endeavour to scrutinise the score of Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II to determine to what extent this work reflects the socio-political and musical characteristics of the time in which it was created.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 Introduction

The two previous chapters of this study endeavoured to compile and investigate the socio-political factors that influenced musicians active in Vienna during the early nineteenth century and document the rise and development of the waltz as the epitome of social expression and the embodiment of the *zeitgeist* of the Biedermeier period. In this following chapter, the 50 composers and their 50 variations, which comprise Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, are individually inspected in an effort to determine to what extent this composition reflects the society in which it was created.

This chapter commences with a brief discussion of Anton Diabelli, the instigator, composer of the waltz theme (that served as germ for the variations) and publisher of the set of variations. Subsequently, a brief history of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II will be offered after which, significant biographical details of the composers will be discussed. Thereafter, this study will examine how the various composers' variations reflect the treatment of the waltz style, as defined and characterised in Chapter 3.

4.2 Diabelli as musical figure

Researchers postulate several reasons as to why Diabelli attempted such an ambitious project as the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*. To fully understand these reasons one must first understand who the man Diabelli was. Diabelli was an Austrian native; he was born in Mattsee near Salzburg in 1781 and died in Vienna in 1858 (Clive 1997: 37; Walker 2016: 2). Diabelli is described by Rodda (2017: 4) as having "limited creative ability", and is mainly known for producing three types of output: he was a music publisher (notably Schubert's first publisher); composer of pedagogical pieces and, most famously, the instigator for the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* (Roennfeldt 2009: 1). Anton Diabelli was born to a musical family and, at his father's insistence, entered the Michaelbeuren Monastery as a choirboy at age seven. In 1790, he moved to Salzburg where he studied with Michael Haydn. Diabelli was studying towards a priesthood at the Cistercian monastery at Raitenhaslach in Bavaria, when Napoleon dissolved the monasteries in 1803. Throughout this time,

he continued music studies with Michael Haydn who encouraged Diabelli's composing (Clive 1997: 37; Rodda 2017: 4; Walker 2016: 2).

In 1803, he settled in Vienna and became a piano and guitar teacher, a composer of pieces for pedagogical and entertainment purposes, a copyist, and a proof-reader (Rodda 2017: 4). Diabelli initially worked at Sigmund Steiner Publishing, based in Vienna, but in 1818 joined the publishing company Cappi Music Publishing with Petro Cappi as partner. In 1824, Diabelli acquired complete artistic control of the company. He parted ways with Pietro Cappi and obtained a new licence as an art and music dealer. He then entered into a new partnership with his lawyer, Anton Spina, rebranding the company as Diabelli & Co. Diabelli attended to all matters musical, whilst Spina focussed his attention on the management of the firm.

Diabelli's publishing company quickly became known as suppliers of popular and dance pieces, as well as operatic arrangements for the growing amateur market (Kanwischer 2014: 1-2). According to Clive (1997: 37), the *Diabelli Variations* (Parts I and II) launched Diabelli & Co.'s career in June of 1824. *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part I, consisting of Beethoven's monumental set of variations (which was originally published by Cappi & Diabelli in 1823), was reedited and republished, thereby making the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, the company Diabelli & Co.'s first original publication. Diabelli and Spina's partnership lasted until Diabelli's retirement in 1851, at which time Spina's eldest son, Carl, joined the business. Clark and Goss (1994: 16) mention that the publishing company, C.F. Peters can trace its roots back to Diabelli & Co.

Diabelli's compositional style may be regarded as the epitome of Classical period practice: sonorous, tuneful melodies; distinct and memorable rhythms coupled with triadic harmonic use (Hinson and Roberts 2013: 328). Diabelli's aptitude to compose for the piano is evident in his numerous works for this instrument. Most of his compositional output, however, is dedicated to the guitar. Upon investigating Diabelli's musical contribution, the titles of most of his works clearly reflect the showcases and popular music that the middle class desired. Apart from his numerous solo guitar compositions, Diabelli notably composed a trio for three guitars, arranged Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* for two guitars, wrote 8 sonatas for piano-duet, compiled a "potpourris" from both the arias of *Rigoletto* and

Beethoven's most beloved works respectively, and arranged Rossini's *Otello* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* for piano-duet.

4.3 Possible reasons for the creation of the work

One reason why Diabelli attempted this venture was, according to Rodda (2017: 4), "to bring artistic balance to the firm's catalogue". Another reason suggested by Roennfeldt (2009: 2) is that Diabelli regarded this composition as an enormous project designed to bring all the "eminent" composers of the day together, creating, according to Rodda (2017: 5), a "compendium" of variation technique. He also contends that, due to Diabelli's thwarted goal of becoming a priest as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, Diabelli was encouraged to write a popular, "patriotic" theme as a show of defiance towards the French Army, who robbed him of his priestly dream. Roennfeldt (2009: 2) agrees with this proposition of patriotism. Solomon (2003: 19) argues that Diabelli's use of a waltz as theme, and his invitation to "Viennese" composers was an invitation to appeal to national pride. Todd (1992: 38) and Weinmann & Warrack (2002: 280) agree with Solomon that this endeavour by Diabelli is a "patriotic enterprise". Manley (2015) mentions that the Variations were to serve as a post-war fundraiser but no mention is made of where the funds were to be distributed. Kinderman (1995: 211) states that Diabelli used the publicity garnered by this project to promote his publishing company. It is worth remembering that Diabelli published the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II in 1824, the same year he founded Diabelli & Co.

As to the first reason regarding Diabelli's intent with this venture: it has already been clarified in Chapter 2 that the Viennese population, at the onset of the nineteenth century, were ideologically split between the newly created popular genre and the newly labelled "high art" genre. As McKee (2012: 10) points out, adherents to the popular genre were considered lowbrow, low class, trivial and commercial whilst those who were enthusiasts of high art were deemed high class, highbrow, cultivated and serious. In Chapter 3, however, this study quoted Katz (1973: 373) who mentioned that, as a result of the eminence of the waltz as the personification of popular music, the role of music was altered. No longer were musical tastes indicative of social status; they came to merely signify a certain predilection that could change at any given time. Katz famously remarks that it no longer was a

choice between Beethoven *or* Strauss, but rather, Beethoven *and* Strauss. For this reason, Diabelli possibly considered that the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II would “bring artistic balance to the firm’s catalogue” (Rodda 2017: 4). Had the social standing of these two, once opposing, musical genres not been reconciled in social standing, Diabelli would not have considered this work of any great significance for posterity, or as attributing artistically to the firm’s catalogue, as it is based on a popular, waltz theme as an introduction to a set of theme and variations, a form that was widely popular during the early nineteenth century as a musical souvenir or novelty.

With regard to the second notion of intent concerning the involvement of all the “eminent” composers active in Vienna during this time, Diabelli added the following preface to the first publication of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*:

All the famous composers and piano virtuosos now living in this country, fifty in number, have joined in writing one variations each on a single theme that was submitted to them. In a most intriguing and enlightening manner are revealed spirit, taste, individuality, and artistic promise, as well as the particular approach of each to the keyboard.

Diabelli stipulated the following to his advertisement of the release of his new brain child in the *Wiener Zeitung* of June 9 1824:

...In a most intriguing and enlightening manner are revealed spirit, taste, individuality, and artistic promise, as well as the particular approach of each to the keyboard. (Newman 1958: i)

It could therefore be deduced that it might possibly have been Diabelli’s intent to create an anthology for, not only posterity, but for all who would purchase the music, to enjoy the best that composers in the world music capital had to offer. Newman (1958: i), being of the opinion that Diabelli succeeded in his mission (were his mission to create a collection of various composers’ approaches to a waltz theme), praises the work by remarking that it does include examples of distinct originality; providing a fine “panorama” of the varied piano idioms found in Vienna during the early nineteenth century.

Lastly, it was suggested that Diabelli commissioned the variations as an effort to rally patriotism. As this study has described in both Chapters 2 and 3, Vienna succumbed

to the French on two occasions during the Napoleonic Wars. Despite the eventual success of the Congress of Vienna for the Austrians, there was little to bind the Viennese as a society, apart from music. In both Chapters 2 and 3, this study has shown that the theatre provided a superior version of reality to the Viennese, binding them together through the audience's shared experience thereof; and also, as a result of the cosmopolitan make-up of the inhabitants of Vienna, language, culture and cuisine often provided more of an opportunity to quarrel than rally together as a result of the vast differences. Diabelli's effort then, would showcase the richness and beauty of Vienna's pluralistic society through the generally enjoyed, unifying medium of music.

4.4 Background to Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II

As mentioned in Chapter 1, it is relatively unknown when exactly Diabelli sent out his invitations for composers to compose a variation on his waltz theme. Carl Czerny's variation was started, according to his manuscript, on the 7th of May 1819. This is the earliest date offered by the 50 composers. Contextually, Czerny's commencement date makes sense as Anton Diabelli had only recently, in 1818, become a partner at Cappi & Diabelli; so it is likely that he would only issue such a bold directive in the following year. From Sonneck (1927: 296) we learn that this group-effort composing venture of Diabelli, was not the first time Diabelli endeavoured to "compose" in such a way.

As early as 1808, Diabelli published a solo guitar collection in which various composers similarly contributed to the composition (*Apollo am Damentoilette*) and he published a private collective composition project based on a short poem by Carpani, *In questa tomba obscura* (In this dark tomb). A leading lady of the Viennese social circles hosted a composition competition in which both amateurs as well as Italian and German composers were invited to contribute. Those deemed worthy by the adjudicating party, would be published privately, as a set, by the socialite and sent as gifts to the winning, contributing composers and Viennese musical elite. Some of the composers featured in the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II were also published in this earlier venture; these include Gelinek, Weber, Tomaschek, Förster, Czerny and Beethoven. It was an elaborate work with various composers submitting multiple settings. Beethoven's setting was published as No. 63, the last of the set.

According to Schindler & MacArdle (1966: 148), the eventual publication enraged many of the Viennese composers as the set was supplemented with a large engraving which, through its elaborate and ill-informed depiction of an aristocratic lady in mourning, seemed to be a parody of the seriousness and tragic character of the works contained within the set. The composers featured within the work felt ridiculed and decided to lodge a public complaint. Salieri, Weigl and Beethoven were chosen to act as spokesmen for the protest, however, since the work was not published publicly, the composers realised that a public protest would possibly draw the public's attention to the unfamiliar work and subject the composers to further, and indeed public, ridicule. The composers decided that a letter of protest addressed to the lady who instigated the project, would have to suffice. Krehbiel et al (2017: 127) add that Beethoven vowed never to partake in such a venture again.

For this reason, and also the fact that Beethoven regarded the theme that Diabelli proposed for the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* as a "cobbler's patch" because of its extensive use of sequences, Beethoven initially declined to compose a variation for Diabelli's set (Sonneck 1927: 296). Schindler & MacArdle (1966: 252) mention that, not long after the initial unwillingness to contribute, Beethoven inquired of Diabelli what he would pay for a set of variations on his own theme. Diabelli replied that he would pay Beethoven 80 ducats, which was an unusually high fee for a small set of variations. Beethoven wrote to Diabelli and accepted the commission; and so began the composition of the mighty *Diabelli Variations Opus 120*, by Beethoven.

Returning to the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, the variation that was completed last was the one by Wittassek; it was dated 16 January 1824. In fact, most of the variations date from late 1823 until early 1824. One of the reasons for the five year production time for the set of variations might be that Diabelli waited until 50 composers had handed in their variations, being of the opinion that such a large number as 50, would lend the work some credibility as being an exhaustive or comprehensive anthology. Some sources postulate that, as soon as Beethoven indicated that he would not partake in this enterprise but would rather hand in his own full-scale set of variations, Diabelli apparently ordered work on the other variations to be halted, so as to delay the publication thereof. By doing this, Diabelli would be able to publish Beethoven's set first and then issue the other variations as

a “companion set”, in an effort to boost sales. (Roennfeldt 2009: 6; Brown 1959: 271; Weinmann & Warrack 2002: 280; Naxos 1998; Todd 1992: 85; Solomon 2003: 19)

4.5 Background to the 50 composers

Diabelli chose, according to the front page inscription, 50 of the “most famous composers and piano virtuosos” active in Vienna. However, French (2004: 220) states that, apart from the renowned Czerny, Hummel, Moscheles, Xaver Mozart, Archduke Rudolph, an 11-year-old Liszt and Schubert, most of the composers were unknown to the public. Roennfeldt (2009: 7) agrees that the list of contributing composers did not only include well-known figures and virtuosos but also featured prominent orchestral and chamber music players, theory of music teachers, publishers, theatre directors, *Kapellmeisters*, a singer and members of the nobility. These musicians might not have been well-known to the public at large, but they were certainly familiar to each other as well as a prominent musical figure, such as Diabelli.

Upon considering the backgrounds of the 50 composers, it becomes clear that Diabelli might not only have been trying to rally a feeling of patriotism towards the city of Vienna’s musicians, but also for Austria and even greater parts of Europe. After the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars and the unsuccessful-to-most-countries Congress of Vienna, Diabelli’s inclusion of composers from various regions within the Austrian Empire as well as greater parts of Europe might be seen as an incentive to stir an appreciation for each other’s talents, therefore bridging the gap created by politics. Ten composers hailed from Bohemia, two from Hungary, one from Moravia and also ones from Prague, Graz and Pest. There were also composers from distant cities such as Berlin and Mannheim, as well as three from Salzburg. By birth, only eleven of the 50 composers could claim to be Viennese. As the biographical details compiled in Appendix A show, most of these composers could claim that the greatest part of their working life, or their greatest success happened in Vienna, thus making them, for all intent and purposes, Viennese.

When Diabelli published his set of variations, Part II, in 1824, the average age of the composers who partook in this venture, was 41 (Roennfeldt 2009: 12). However, upon investigating the birth and death dates of the composers, it is interesting to realise that the earliest birth date and the last death date was 140 years apart. The oldest

composers had experienced the decline of the Baroque era whilst the youngest represented here would usher in the Romantic period.

Upon deeper investigation, there are also interesting interrelationships between the various composers. These associations were identified in Roenfeldt's (2009: 10) seminal work on the topic of Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, as well as the biographies compiled by the author of this study in Appendix A.

When dealing with a group of living musicians as large and as specific as this (they were all famously related to the keyboard in some way), it is highly probable that a number of interesting relationships might arise. At least ten of the composers (such as Hummel, Gelinek, Xaver Mozart, Kreutzer and Gänsbacher) studied counterpoint with Vienna's famous learned-style teacher Albrechtsberger. At least six of the composers studied with Imperial *Kapellmeister*, Antonio Salieri: Liszt, Schubert, Hüttenbrunner, Assmayer, Xaver Mozart and Moscheles. Also of some interest is the number of composers who either studied with or knew Mozart personally: Förster, Freystädtler, Gelinek, Hummel, Hüttenbrunner, Mozart's son Xaver, Roser and Wittasek all claim to have musically gained from the man himself. Umlauff was closely associated with Beethoven, working closely with the famous composer as his conductor when Beethoven's hearing started to fail him. There were also a couple of interesting teacher-pupil relationships: the most prominent being Czerny-Liszt. Bocklet had also studied with Thomaschek and Weber, whilst Liedesdorf and Schoberlechner had studied with Förster. Dietrichstein too had studied with Mosel in previous years, whilst also being an inspirational figure to the young Schubert (Schubert dedicated his opus 1, the song *Der Erlkönig*, to Dietrichstein).

The employment of the Church still had an obvious attraction with Drechsler, Gänsbacher and Wittasek serving in the famous *Stephansdom* at some point in their lives. Assmayr served in the *Schottenkirche*, and Plachy in the *Piaristenkirche*. Furthermore, theatres provided lucrative employment opportunities. Vienna offered various theatres during the early nineteenth century. At the *Theater an der Josefstadt*, Drechsler (1821), Payer (1832) and Roser (1812) served as directors. Drechsler was also employed at the *Theater an der Leopoldstadt* in 1824. Kreutzer (1822) and Roser (1819) were both employed at the *Kärntnertortheater*, whilst Mayseder worked at the *Hoftheater* (from 1810). Payer (1816), Riotte (1808) and

Roser (1820) all worked at the *Theater an der Wien*. It is therefore abundantly clear that most composers contributing to the set would have been familiar with, at the very least, the names of the other contributors.

Years later, some of these composers would continue to associate with the highest echelons of Vienna's music life. Czapek became a lifelong friend of Chopin, whilst Panny was honoured with Paganini performing some of his compositions. Sechter went on to inspire a whole new generation, becoming one of Austria's leading theorists and teachers. He could count Anton Bruckner as one of his pupils. Moscheles was very well acquainted with Mendelssohn and, at Mendelssohn's insistence, would later head his new conservatory in Leipzig.

Roefeldt (2009: 8) mentions other prominent composers active in Vienna during this time who were not featured in the set: Firstly, Imperial *Kapellmeister* Antonio Salieri. It should be noted that he was already very old when he died early in 1825. Secondly, Court *Kapellmeister* Joseph Eybler and thirdly the Court Opera Director, Joseph Wiegler. Roefeldt postulates that the prominence of these composers within the Viennese music world would have assured them an invitation to contribute, however, he is of the opinion that these composers were either too busy or merely disinterested to partake in Diabelli's endeavour.

4.6 With regard to other compositions by the composers

In an effort to better contextualise the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, this study has enlisted the aid of the Petrucci Music Library (found online at IMSLP.org) to establish what other compositions were composed by the 50 composers. Though all 50 composers are found on Petrucci's database, only 29 composers contain entries listing compositions other than the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, Diabelli's project became many of the composers' most famous, and in 21 cases, only lasting contribution. Upon closer investigation of the respective compositions composed by the various composers, it was ascertained that all the composers, except Johann Schenk (number 36), Michael Umlauff (number 44) and Franz Weiss (number 48), composed original piano music. With regard to the three exceptions, these composers often transcribed or arranged for piano, but never (according to this study's records), composed original, solo piano works.

Czerny (number 4), Gelinek (number 11), Kalkbrenner (number 18), Liszt (number 24) and Moscheles (number 26) composed waltzes similar in style to the outline discussed in this study; with Hummel (number 16) composing waltzes specifically for the famous Viennese dance hall, the *Apollo-Saal*. These compositions are titled *Tänze für den Apollo-Saal*. Interesting, too, is Czerny's set of compositions, Opus 32, titled *New Year Souvenirs*; this set contains 24 waltzes, and catered to the Viennese tradition of gifting a piece of music during important festivities, as mentioned in Chapter 2. Furthermore, 16 of the 50 composers composed at least one set of variations for piano during their lifetime. Other notable trends discovered include the abundance of piano *concerti* (to showcase the composer's pianistic abilities) and numerous compositions catering to the popular music genre such as piano duets, string quartets, transcriptions, souvenirs, sonatas for violin and piano and potpourris on various themes.

4.7 The theme

Firstly, it should be noted that, according to Newman (1958: ii), the theme constitutes the form of an early waltz with obvious references to the *Ländler*. This study has shown that the *Ländler* undoubtedly inspired the waltz but, according to the characteristics identified in Chapter 3, there is little evidence to support Newman's claim. The speed at which the performers of the existing two recordings of this work that this study found perform the piece is fast, whereas the tempo of a *Ländler* is markedly slower; furthermore, the accents within the bar are clearly placed on beats one and three (as highlighted in Example 1 below), with the bass articulating this by resting on beat two – a *Ländler* traditionally emphasises beat two.

Example 1: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Theme by Diabelli, (bars 1-7)



Diabelli employs real sequences in his theme, transposing the rhythmic and melodic figuration of the initial pattern exactly to the sequences. The sequences, or *rosalias* (as Newman calls them), simple harmonic language, and clear binary structure (marked in Example 2) might appear uninspiring but proved to be a wonderful blank canvas as foundation for the composers to extrapolate upon. This view is

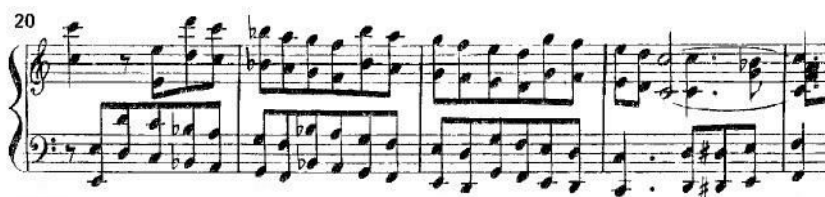
corroborated by Truscott (1959: 139) who mentions that, most of the composers who contributed to Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, are most famous for their contribution to this set of variations; thereby implying that the theme by Diabelli, in a way, inspired these, normally uninspired composers to write upon it a variation that in some cases represents these composers' best work.

Example 2: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Theme by Diabelli, (bars 8-16)



Roefeldt (2009: 8) mentions that keyboard prowess was probably the only skill necessary to be considered for invitation. The reason for this is quite simply because, during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the formal structure theme and variation was closely associated with that of the etude or study. For this reason, many of the composed variations of this set figure prominent virtuosic displays. Cases of exciting virtuosity might be found in Hüttenbrenner's variation (number 17) which employs double octave passages:

Example 3: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 17 by Hüttenbrenner, (bars 20-24)



Lannoy's variation (number 22) demands double octave leaps in contrary motion:

Example 4: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 22 by Lannoy, (bars 28-30)



The most technically demanding variation belongs to F.D. Weber's variation (number 45). As is clear from the following music examples, the composer requires the pianist to perform a ludicrous number of double thirds, massive chordal leaps, *glissandi* and awkward, chromatically altering chords.

Double thirds:

Example 5: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 45 by Weber, (bars 1-4)



Wide leaps:

Example 6: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 45 by Weber, (bars 10-17)



Awkward, chromatically altered chords:

Example 7: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 45 by Weber, (bars 18-25)

The following two variations (numbers 46 and 47) offer no respite from the demands of the previous variation whilst Czerny's composition-concluding coda offers a fitting, challenging finale to the fireworks that preceded it. The use of 10th leaps, chordal progressions and prolonged octave passages in both hands feature prominently.

Czerny's use of 10th interval leaps:

Example 8: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Coda by C. Czerny, (bars 120-131)

These variations reflect the waltz through their intense speed and required agility, much like the frenzied dancing the waltz necessitates. The displays of virtuosity would also have been appreciated by the middle class who, as mentioned in Chapter 2, cherished a predilection for pyrotechnical displays.

Keeping with the times, Drechsler's variation (number 7) offers a composition inspired by the countless transcriptions of larger works; here, his variation invokes the character of an overture through its extensive dotted rhythm use.

Example 9: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Variation 7 by Drechsler, (bars 4-7)



There are other character pieces evident in the work as well: Thomaschek (number 43) offers a Polonaise, whilst counterpoint, either as a fugue or merely imitation features in the variations by Forster (number 8), Archduke Rudolph (number 40) and Hoffmann (number 13). Sechter's variation (number 39) "prepares" the listener for the Archduke's extended fugal variation through its canonic imitation. Both Schenk (number 36) and Förster (number 8), offer a caprice; Förster's "Capriccio" is embodied in a fugal cloak.

4.8 Waltz characteristics of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II

This section aims to scrutinize the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II for the characteristics of the waltz identified in the previous chapter. The first element that should be present in a waltz, according to the demarcations described in Chapter 3, is a strong awareness of the dance rhythm, which implies triple meter. Apart from variations nos. 2 (by Bocklet), 24 (by Liszt) and 47 (by Winkhler), the remaining variations are all in triple meter, attesting to the popularity of the customary rhythmic meter of this popular dance form. The conventional triple meter was chosen by 47 composers of the 50 composers – whether they all aimed to retain the waltz's traditional character is questionable but highly likely.

Further definitive characteristics of the waltz, as identified by this study, are the accents on the first and third beats. Apart from the three, above-mentioned, variations that are not in a triple meter, most variations adhere to this rhythmic hierarchy, accentuating the mentioned beats. No evidence could be found of variations placing emphasis on beats other than one and three; no *Ländler*-like second beat emphasis was found.

Another waltz characteristic relates to the aspect of the oom-pah-pah accompaniment figure, as popularised by Schubert. In later years this accompanimental figure would feature prominently in the concert waltzes of Brahms and Chopin. Czerny's variation (number 4) and sections of his concluding coda display this figure but Czerny keeps with the waltz's six step pattern, effectively doing

oom-pah-pah-pah-pah-pah, oom-pah-pah-pah-pah-pah over two bars.

Example 10: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Variation 4 by C. Czerny, (bars 1-6)



Schubert, in his variation (number 38), does exactly the same thing, delaying the bass note to form a six beat pattern, as does Thomaschek in his 43rd variation. Variation number 25 by Mayseder features the normal three beat bass figure prominently, as does Roser's variation (number 35).

Example 11: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Variation 25 by Mayseder, (bars 1-3)



Halm (variation number 12) makes use of a variation of this rhythmic pattern, albeit infrequently. In bar 13, he displaces the first, emphasised bass note (the “oom”) from the lowest point in the left hand, to the melodic line of the right hand, with the left hand duly continuing with its quaver (“pah-pah”) accompaniment. In the next bar (bar 14), Halm then inverts this figuration placing the “oom” note back where it belongs in the bass, and moving the “pah-pah” accompaniment to the right hand. Furthermore, Halm uses this figure in diminution: by dividing every beat into triplets, creating nine “oom-pah-pah” figures per bar.

Example 12: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Variation 12 by Halm, (bars 12-14)



Huglmann (number 15) uses the spirit of this figuration in the right hand with slurs and a wide leap on beat one to two and a *staccato* third beat on the same chord as the second beat. In the first four beats, Huglmann’s variation displays five identified waltz traits: the grace note (both reminiscent of Diabelli’s theme and waltz practice); the leap in the right hand; the use of *staccato* and *pizzicato*-like effects; the use of chromaticism (illustrated by the chromatic passing notes in the left hand) and lastly, the use of, albeit slightly altered, “oom-pah-pah” accompaniment.

Example 13: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Variation 15 by Huglmann (bars 0-1)



The use of *hemiolas* and syncopation to foil the predictability of the waltz’ triple meter may be found throughout the greater work, especially in variations by Forster (number 8), Halm (number 12), Riotte (number 34) and Roser (number 35). Diabelli himself makes use of syncopation by emphasising the offbeat in his theme.

Example 14: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Theme by Diabelli, (bars: 8-16)



In addition, Mosel (number 27) creates a *hemiola*-effect through his grouping of perpetual quavers; with the leap on the third beat, the listener is tricked into mistaking the meter as duple, instead of triple meter.

Example 15: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Variation 27 by Mosel, (bars 0-3)



Further characteristics illustrated in the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II include the use of short motivic ideas, as well as *staccato* and *pizzicato* effects. These effects may be found in all the variations, apart from the overture-inspired Drechsler variation (number 7), the previously mentioned variation by Mosel (number 27) and the more rhapsodic variations (numbers 14 and 20 by Horzalka and Kerzkowsky respectively). Leidesdorf's (number 23), Liszt's (number 24) and Mosel's (number 27) variations are devoid of *staccatos* or *pizzicato* effects.

Example 16: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 20 by Kerzkowsky's, (bars 1-19)

Example 17: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 23 by Leidesdorf, (bars 1-19)

Example 18: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 24 by Liszt, (bars 1-19)

LISZT FRANZ (Knabe von 11 Jahren) geboren in Ungarn .

Allegro .

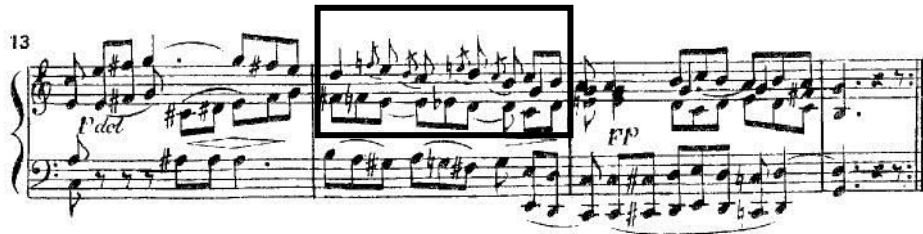
The effect of alternating instrumental colours can be achieved by a change of register on a piano. Within these variations, composers varied, not only the octave or hand with which the theme is played within their respective variations, but also the register and hand position originally announcing the theme. Another characteristic described previously is the use of the interval of a 10th. There is one section of a “variation” in particular for which this holds true - Czerny’s composition concluding coda.

Example 19: Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II, Coda by C. Czerny, (bars 120-131)

With regard to the upward leaping intervals, yodelling figures, chromatic appoggiaturas and grace notes, the theme itself utilises these characteristics from the very first note. After the first eight bars we find ascending intervals with wide upward leaps in a real sequential pattern and then the grace note opening returns for a second time. Every single variation utilises one, or often all, of these characteristics as a result of their importance to the theme. The variations by Freystädtler (number 9) and Schoberlechner (number 37), and to a lesser degree the variation by

Horzalka (number 14), exhibit the extensive use of grace notes in their respective compositions.

Example 20: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 9 by Freystädtler, (bars 13-16)



Example 21: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, Variation 37 by Schoberlechner, (bars 1-6)



Chromaticism might be found in abundance in most of the variations but especially in those by Bocklet, Carl Czerny, Förster, Freystädler, Gänsbacher, Hummel, Liszt, Kanne, Mozart, Riotte, Schoberlechner, Archduke Rudolph, Weber and Weiss.

4.9 Formal structures of the variations

This study has previously mentioned that the accessible binary structure was favoured by composers of waltzes and later became a characteristic thereof. In accordance with the simplistic, binary structure (characteristic of a waltz) of Diabelli's theme, most of the variations adhere to this same formal arrangement. The theme utilises 64 bars when played with repeats, and similarly, those variations in binary form also consume 64 bars. Forty-four of the fifty variations are in binary form with 64 measures. The exceptions include Drechsler's (number 7) through-composed variation which he casts in a quasi-overture style (167 bars); Förster's (number 8) through-composed contribution also breaks the binary mould and is the longest variation lasting 294 bars; incidentally, this caprice was Förster's last composition. Gelinek's (number 11) composition is exactly double the size of the theme, with 128 bars. Gelinek keeps the binary structure but interestingly writes out the repeats; however; he alters these repeats to offer other variants of the theme. Hoffmann (number 13) utilises 80 bars in his fugal offering whilst Horzalka (number 14)

chooses to repeat two bars in his through-composed rhapsodic variation taking his bar count to 34.

Panny (number 29) chooses to add a coda to his variation extending his bar count to 36; the structure of his variation does, however, still resemble a binary composition. With a variation still adhering to binary form, Riotte (number 34) composed a longer B-section which breaks with the Classical tradition of symmetry and balance. His composition uses 92 bars. In the next variation, Roser also (number 35) kept the binary structure but managed to complete his contribution in a mere 32 bars when counting the repeats. This is the shortest variation of the set. Variation number 36, by Schenk, is again a through-composed variation, evoking a caprice, and utilises 120 bars. The last variation to depart from the binary structure is the massive fugal variation by the Archduke Rudolph, variation number 40. His fugue spans 136 measures. This study may thus deduce that, upon composing their waltzes, most composers favoured the theme's simple, binary structure.

4.10 Keys of the variations

It is obvious that the composers had free rein as regards their usage of keys and therefore it is no surprise that key relationships (cycles) are not evident between the various variations. These relationships are, however, interesting to glance at as they provide some insight as to how the composer went about establishing the character of his variation. Roenfeldt (2009: 9) mentions that, in a work as large-scale as this, the listener is often grateful for a momentary departure from the theme's (in this case, C Major) key. Horzalka (number 14) and Huglmann (15) both composed their variations in A flat major, as did Roser (number 35). Kerzkowsky set his number 20 variation in F major whilst Panny's (number 29) is set in A minor. Riotte's (number 34) variation is in F minor which then moves to F major. Both Förster (number 8) and Schenk (number 36) modulate to C minor whilst Schubert (number 38) and Liszt (number 24) favoured the key of C minor throughout their respective variations.

4.11 Conclusion

Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, was evidently a product of its time in more ways than one. As a result of the political turmoil preceding the composition of this work by way of the French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars and Congress of

Vienna, Vienna was a cosmopolitan hub, housing thousands of inhabitants from all over Europe. The composition itself was not merely a compendium of waltz upon waltz, it also reflected Vienna's diversity of music styles through the incorporation of a French Overture (Drechsler's variation number 7), various fugues and multiple rhapsodic variations. The diversity of Vienna's ethnic make-up is reflected in the composers' diverse backgrounds (see appendix for their biographies). Only eleven composers were in fact true Viennese exponents. In general, most of the composers were keyboardists or famous piano teachers, reflecting the public's famous predilection for piano virtuosos. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the piano was the most common instrument found in private homes, and the fact that this large-scale work was aimed at this instrument was not accidental.

As Diabelli's ultimate goal was to sell the set of variations, public taste surely played a role in the conceptualisation and creation of the work. This is clearly shown in the composers "adhering" to then-contemporary compositional customs and devices. This chapter has shown how prevalent the characteristics of the waltz (as identified in Chapter 3) are within the variations. Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II can be viewed as being representational of the time in which it was created.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 Introduction

As mentioned at the outset of this study, social structures continually crystallise in musical structures (Ballantine 1984: 5). Using this statement as quasi-hypothesis, this study has explored the socio-political factors at play during the early nineteenth century in Vienna in order to trace the origin and characteristics of the waltz as the most popular dance of the time. Once these socio-political factors and the waltz characteristics were identified, Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II was investigated as a possible reflection of such factors and characteristics.

5.2 How is *Diabelli's Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II representative of the development of the waltz that emerged during Vienna's socio-political climate of ca. 1820?

The main research question posed by this study, comprises a synthesis of three sub-questions, each concentrically linked. Firstly, the study focussed on the socio-political climate of Vienna in the early nineteenth century; secondly, on the development and characteristics of the waltz within this societal context; thirdly, on the 50 variations that constitute the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II as representation of the waltz form.

5.3 What were the social reforms and political shifts at play in Vienna ca. 1820?

To fully comprehend the shifts of the political landscape, it is important to look at the years preceding the Biedermeier period. As most nations looked to the French as the embodiment of modern civilisation, the French Revolution's radical ideology eventually swept through the entire Continent. In Austria, the French Revolution's ideology of the breaking away from the oppressive, disproportionately favoured *ancien régime* towards a new, democratised society posed a danger to the nobility (as it would eventually prove fatal to those of France).

Politically, Austria found itself in a dire situation following the French Revolution (1789-1799), the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1804, two defeats and occupations by Napoleon in 1805 and 1809, the bankruptcy of the State, devaluation of the Austrian currency, and the smouldering ideology of liberty, equality and fraternity brooding amongst its inhabitants. Despite repeated attempts to reform the

government by his predecessors, Emperor Francis II of Austria reinstated many of the oppressive reforms abolished by Joseph II and Leopold II. As a result of the turbulent political climate, Francis II was adamant to re-establish the supremacy of the State. This “re-establishment” would not only be brought about through the reintroduction of old, oppressing laws but also through the introduction of a new secret police, spies, propaganda and a censorship bureau, headed by Prince Metternich.

Despite the rather successful Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815 (a meeting attended by all the European political powers that defeated Napoleon, convened by Austria’s Prince Metternich in Vienna, to restore the balance of power in an effort to avoid imperialistic aggression, draw up new borders and maintain peace) that followed, and a lasting period of peace, the Austrian capital still found itself in the grips of a totalitarian government with its citizens under close watch for any spark of revolutionary talk. Though the Congress might not have brought about the political change most diplomats were aiming for, it acted as a catalyst for the social reformation that was to alter the Viennese society, dramatically.

Viewing Viennese society holistically, this study considered societal aspects such as the housing market and the price of food, employment opportunities for musicians and the effects of censorship on music. It emerged that the country faced an intense housing crisis as a result of the damage inflicted upon the city through the two Napoleonic Wars and subsequent occupations. Also, the State did not have the resources to repair the buildings and increase housing for its inhabitants. Families, therefore, lived together for many years before the children (some already adults) were able to move out. In post-Napoleonic War Vienna, food remained relatively cheap but clothing, housing and heating became very expensive. Yet, in general, the emancipated middle class managed to maintain a higher standard of living than in previous years. Not only were the middle class gaining relative wealth thanks to the job opportunities and exponential expansion of business as a result of the Industrial Revolution, they also gained status and recognition within the political system through the shift in power from a single monarch to the people (as exemplified in France). Though Austria would still maintain its monarch for many years to come, the eventual democratisation of Austrian society can trace its roots to this period.

As far as cultural needs were concerned, the middle class had, as a result of newly created job opportunities, suddenly acquired enough money to attain a proper music education. Within a political climate of animosity towards the Government and a secret police unknowingly increasing (and working hours becoming more humane and standardised) music became a welcome and safe respite for many inhabitants of Vienna. In fact, music making became so colloquial that, to many tourists and writers passing through the city, it seemed as if every household owned and used a piano for entertainment. The level of a citizen's knowledge of and proficiency with music had suddenly become a determining factor in the establishment of status. This created an immense demand for accessible music, which was duly fulfilled by composers as evidenced by the sudden increase of popular and chamber music.

Chapter 2 describes four areas from which musicians could typically expect to generate an income: music tuition, music publishing, commissions and, either State or Church employment. Though State and Church employment still proved the most sought after positions to obtain, the composing of popular music also proved very profitable as the newly created popular market was immense and insatiable.

Musicians were also able to augment their income through the nineteenth century's (arguably) most important musical contribution; the concert. Public, paid performances of popular music catered to the middle class' obsession with music featuring virtuosic displays by local and visiting artists. Vienna became so infatuated with the performance of music, that travellers and writers of the time in fact commented that Vienna's social life solely revolved around the attendance of concerts, either publicly or privately.

In 1824, Vienna played host to, on average, two public concerts per week and around-the-clock popular music performances in coffee houses. In addition to the more professional performances hosted by prominent members of society, evening home concerts amongst friends also became customary. These concerts featured mainly popular music, reflecting the middle class' predilection for accessible, yet virtuosic, works. Painstakingly aware of their losses at the start of the nineteenth century, the previously-advantaged aristocracy and nobility closed the doors to their once crowded courts and it became fashionable for them to retract to privately arranged concerts of elevated, learned music. Their aim was to establish a "higher",

more “enlightened” form of art music, as opposed to the popular music favoured by the middle class public. The nobility had as purpose a stark distinction between lower, popular music, and enlightened, high art. Towards maintaining its exclusivity, with as aim the conservation of “high” art for future generations, the aristocracy established societies in which standardised, high art works were analysed and performed.

With the sudden rise of popular music, a change in musical patronage occurred: the aristocracy financially found themselves in an increasingly dire position, limiting their exclusive ability to commission and host performances of music. Composers turned to the enormous, more profitable demand of the middle class for popular works, chamber music, piano music and transcriptions; an abundance saw the light. The enthusiasm of the middle class soon led to the establishment of conservatories and societies for music education and the publishing of journals and periodicals containing calendars of upcoming music events and reviews of past concerts.

The work of composers such as Strauss and Lanner during the late 1810s and 1820s, can be seen as pioneering through its bridging of the taste-gap that existed between the classes. However, joyous performances and attractive orchestral arrangements of the “new” waltz creations by Strauss and Lanner weren’t the only attributing factors, the waltz itself, favoured as dance, aided tremendously to unify the different classes as well as establish an acceptance and tolerance for opposing music tastes.

The political climate in Vienna ca. 1820 was precarious; a government in fear of an uprising exerting greater and greater censure on its citizens in an effort to maintain “freedom” and peace created an ominous, gloomy, dangerous political space which intimidated most. With political aspirations and patriotism eschewed, inhabitants turned to music as a unifying force to connect, celebrate and enjoy life. As is often the case, the political shift of importance from a person to the people was echoed in society; minority aristocratic tastes were declared unfashionable, with the rising middle class’ populous tastes coming to the fore. Though the government acted ruthlessly against any uprising or ideological disturbance, a music revolution proved innocent and harmless. With the styles and tastes of the previous *Régime* finally abolished, it was an ideal time to introduce new standards.

5.4 Where did the waltz originate and how did it gain its social prominence?

The second sub-question focussed the attention of the study on the waltz: its origin, its characteristics and its inclusion and acceptance into society. The intent of this question was to gain a holistic understanding as to why the waltz in particular, became so popular during the early nineteenth century.

The core ideological effects of the French Revolution had spread across borders; the results clearly affected Viennese society through the somewhat sudden social prominence of the middle class; creation of a democratised, public market; the importance of public opinion in the determining of fashion and taste; and the blurring of the previously solid classicistic barriers.

In Chapters 1, 3, 4 and 5 sources have been quoted that agree that, art, whether it be music or visual, always reflects the society in which it was created (Ballantine 1984: 5; Katz 1973: 368). The research in Chapter 3 clarifies that the waltz had at its origin, two sources: an ideological source, and a stylistic source, the latter mostly folk inspired.

5.4.1 Stylistic source of the waltz

The waltz had deep roots in the folk dance, the *Ländler*, with various steps of its steps and embraces foreshadowing the waltz: the six step pattern, triple meter, turning choreography and the embracing, physical posture. Chapter 3 also mentions that no concrete evidence can prove precisely which dance was the exact inspiration to the waltz, yet, the *Ländler* is credited as such in most of the perused literature. Other dances that also influenced the waltz include the *Volta*, an aristocratic dance (which also required couples to embrace); the *Languis*, (which probably inspired the waltz' fast-paced revolving speed) and the *Deutscher-walzer* (itself a descendant of the *Ländler*) which closely resembled the ultimate form of the waltz.

5.4.2 The ideological source of the waltz

The reason why the waltz became so popular in the early nineteenth century, may be found upon considering its ideological or psychological implications. More important still is bearing in mind that, as far as popularity and accessibility was concerned, the dance that could be viewed as a direct forerunner to the waltz is the

minuet. As this study has shown, the minuet was an elitist dance, with only *some* educated enough to attempt its *performance*. In direct opposition to the minuet's exclusivity and difficulty, the easy-to-master, all-inviting waltz quickly gained prominence as the people's dance. The freedom of each couple, the simplicity of the steps, the inclusive nature of the dance and the wonderful accompanying music so intoxicated the Viennese public (*and* later the nobility) that a waltz-obsession was born. The Viennese public was left spellbound by all the qualities that this dance had to offer; chief amongst which were the escapist potentials the waltz presented. To young men who had just fought in the two deadly Napoleonic Wars, parents who had lost children, brothers and sisters who had lost siblings, politicians who were oppressed by the totalitarian government, to financially failing aristocrats; the intense embrace of a couple sweeping across the dancefloor provided a release of daily tensions and an abandonment of limiting class segregation.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the minuet had served as a symbol of an arts trend, associated with the loftiness of the aristocratic classes. However, in Post-Revolution Europe, the arts became a medium of individual expression with the impulsive, free waltz replacing the stylised, rigidly choreographed minuet on the dancefloor, symbolising the newfound artistic freedom.

The waltz was, however, not met with equal joy and enthusiasm, as various moral bodies across Europe such as the Church and State sought to ban the waltz from the dancefloor at various stages. These efforts were founded on the supposed allegations that the constant spinning could result in female infertility or general moral decay. A further reason provided for the resistance, was the exhaustion experienced by the dancers as a result of poor ventilation of venues; dancers would supposedly faint after revolving around the dancefloor too feverishly. However, as a quote by a traveller in Chapter 3 remarks, it was impossible to deter the waltz from being danced despite repeated attempts by various parties to do so; as a result of its infectious, inviting traits, it was only possible to delay its eventual arrival. Resistance ultimately proved worthless (Hamilton 2015: 58).

In Chapter 3 this study also traced further musical roots of the waltz: it was ascertained that the waltz's accompanying music "drifted down" the Danube River from Alpine regions where musicians were entertaining guests in small ensembles

typically comprising two violins, a bass and a guitar. To augment their income, these entertainers would perform in coffee houses and taverns, eventually reaching Vienna, where the Viennese public greatly applauded their efforts. In due course, it proved wiser financially for a musician to settle in Vienna and perform to the appreciating public. As a result, more and more riverboat entertainers flocked to the city. In their interpretation of *Ländler*, these musicians quickly realised that they had to increase the tempi to suit the spirited Viennese temperament; this preference for faster tempi can be regarded as another element that led to solidifying the waltz tradition.

This study identified characteristics of waltz music in an effort to gain a comprehensive definition thereof that could be applied to the set of 50 piano variations that comprises Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II. The most notable of these characteristics included the requirement for the music to be in a triple meter, with accents on the first and third beat; the use of syncopation and *hemiola*, short motivic ideas and colouristic use of *staccato* and *pizzicato*; the use of the interval of a 10th and leaping intervals, chromatic appoggiaturas and grace notes. A thorough understanding of the waltz, its origins, impact on society and characteristics was arrived at through facts elicited from the literary and musical sources, quoted in Chapter 3.

5.5 What instigated the publication of Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II?

This question implied an intrinsic probing into Diabelli as music figure to arrive at possible circumstantial evidence that led to the conception of his *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II. Biographical details of both Diabelli and the 50 composers he commissioned were investigated to conclude the possible motivations that lead to the participation in the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* project. Each composer's compositional treatment of the theme was scrutinised towards eliciting definitive evidence of the waltz characteristics identified as exemplified in Chapter 3 of this study.

To best answer this multi-faceted question, Chapter 4, in an effort to understand a possible motive for the creation of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, focussed on a clearer biographical portrait of Diabelli himself, first. It was established that, even

though he was well-known as a publisher and composer of pedagogical pieces, his *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* project garnered him his most fame. The most probable motives for his undertaking of this project are, according to Rodda (2017: 4), identified as firstly, a publication that would bring artistic merit to Cappi & Diabelli's mostly popular catalogue, and secondly, it could serve as an anthology of all the most prominent composers active in Vienna during these years. It would thus constitute a time capsule for posterity as it could be interpreted as a musical act of patriotism by employing Viennese composers to compose variations on an original, "Viennese", *waltz* theme. It was also interesting to ascertain that it was not the only time (nor the last time) that Diabelli would publish a multiple contributing artistic work – similar pursuits in later years, such as the solo guitar collection *Apollo am Damentoilette* and the earlier *In questa tomba obscura*, support the societal and patriotic relevance such projects held for him.

With regard to the background of the composers involved in Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, their biographic details are briefly captured in the first appendix to this study. From this appendix it was, to an extent, possible to ascertain ways in which the composers' biographies reflected the socio-political climate of the time. This was done through comparing birth dates, cities of origin, notable compositions, and respective vocation. This examination yielded interesting results: firstly, the composers were described as "Viennese" in the preface Diabelli added to his work – in fact, only eleven could claim to be native Viennese - Diabelli probably attributed his statement to the fact that most of the composers had considerable success in the city of Vienna sometime throughout their careers. Furthermore, the vocations of 47 of the 50 contributors were linked to the piano, either as piano virtuosos, piano pedagogues or famous composers of piano music. A few of the composers were still under the employment of either the Church (Drechsler, Gänsbacher, Wittasek, Assmayr and Plachy) or the State (Drechsler, Payer, Roser, Mayseder, Riotte and Kreutzer), with other composers fledging their wings without patronal support (e.g. Schubert). As a whole, the composers represented remnants of the Classical era (with Stadler and Förster being born during the Baroque era in 1748), as well as future champions of the Romantic era (Czerny, Schubert and Liszt), that was about to dawn.

Concerning the musical aspect of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, 10 of the 13 waltz characteristics identified in Chapter 3 could be found in Diabelli's theme alone. These include his use of real sequences, a strong rhythmic treatment of the triple beat and frequent accentuation on beats one and three, a simple harmonic scheme, his use of a binary formal structure, and his use of grace notes, *staccati*, syncopation to offset the predictable triple meter, short motives and sudden dynamic changes. In an effort to qualify the question of how Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II represents the society in which it was created, the study then combed through each variation, in an effort to identify musical characteristics of the waltz or compositional trends of the time. Various characteristics were recognised (illustrated through musical examples): a strong awareness of the triple meter (in all but variations 2, 24 and 47); lengthy displays of virtuosity (in particular variations 17, 22, 45 and the concluding coda) catering to the middle class' predilection for showcases and fireworks; and the use of chromaticism (variations 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 16, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 45 and 48). Despite discerning an overarching simple harmonic language in most of the variations, other characteristics also emerged: the use of the interval of a 10th (coda), the fast tempo indications of most of these variations; the echoing of (reference to) larger works through references to famous forms such as fugues, polonaises, overtures and canons (as evidenced in variations 8, 13, 36, 39, 40, 43); emphasis on beats one and three and occasional oom-pah-pah accompanying figure (variations 4, 12, 15, 25, 35, 38, 43); the use of *hemiola* and syncopation (theme, variation 27); the short motivic ideas (used in all the variations as a result of the theme's short motives); colouristic use of *staccati* (evident in all the variations except numbers 7, 14, 20, 23, 27, and 24); and use of grace notes (variations 9, 14, and 37).

As so many similarities between the study's waltz-definition and the various variations were found, it might possibly be assumed that, during the early nineteenth century, a certain compositional style in which composers composed a waltz had already been cemented. Considering that this study fused the characteristics of the waltz from various sources for its establishment of the waltz's characteristics, it might be concluded that the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II is representative of its time as it generally reflects the stylistic approaches to popular music prevalent during the early nineteenth century. From a contextual point of view, Diabelli's

Vaterländischer Künstlerverein Part II could be seen as an apt reflection of the socio-political and cultural society in which it was created.

5.8 Conclusion

This study has investigated the socio-political circumstances of early nineteenth century Vienna, in an effort to contextualise the rise of the waltz, with Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II as an acceptable illustration thereof. It was determined that the French Revolution (with its emancipating ideologies) and Napoleon, not only impoverished the State and nobility's coffers but also shifted the wealth of the nation from a select few, to the populous masses. Furthermore, the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars liberated the middle class from aristocratic, economic, and cultural oppression through not only the shift in wealth but also the uprising and recognition of the popular market. The radical new democratisation, that gripped Vienna with new phenomena such as the sudden new vogue for music and public performances, was not dominated by the learned aristocracy any longer, but rather by the heavily populated middle class. No longer were high art and elitism the unyielding aspirations of the common man, rather, he or she could express themselves individually by favouring an aesthetic similar to that of the aristocrat, albeit in a more popular format. Patronage always proved to guide taste; whatever the well-heeled paid to hear, was heard. However, as musical patronage shifted from the aristocracy to the middle class, the population as a whole could decide what kind of music they would enjoy listening to; thus influencing the types of compositions being composed and inadvertently influencing taste.

As is often the case with "new money", all that is glitzy and glamorous was pursued, and for this reason, performance venues frequented by music lovers served evening after evening of touring virtuosos performing popular, virtuosic and accessible music. In reaction to this, aristocrats withdrew to their private residences with secluded concerts of what they considered "learned" music; their founding of elitist societies was aimed at protecting the arts from the trivialities heard at the populist concert hall.

The political climate during this Biedermeier period (1815-1830; an era in Viennese culture that celebrated family, simplicity and elegance, and patriotism) was oppressive, with both the middle class and the nobility suffering from the iron grip of the State through the hand of Prince Metternich. However, the ideologies of the

French Revolution could not be snuffed out and as a result, the middle class, paired with their newly acquired financial status, started to dominate what was considered tasteful. They discarded the elitist dance, the minuet, and introduced and fervently supported the “scandalous” new dance style, the waltz. Wonderful music accompanied this all-inviting dance and before long, the entire city was obsessed with the waltz vogue. Fuel-to-the-fire was the festivities of the Congress of Vienna, with attending dignitaries and entourages seeking souvenirs to take home with them. A short piece of publicised waltz music proved the perfect gift. The result of the popularity of this new dance form benefited composers greatly – an abundant array of waltz scores were supplied to and bought from publishing houses.

As a breather from political oppression, an escape from post-war family tragedy, an opportunity to mingle with different classes, an evening of popular music and dancing; the waltz became all the rage and provided a much-needed vent for the inhabitants of the city. Through these provisions, the waltz became a unifying force amongst social classes.

To the Viennese, music had become a way of life. Society’s desire for music, paired with the middle class’ increased wealth and education (especially in the arts) led to evening upon evening of music-making where members of the family would entertain themselves or friends and celebrate communal music-making. The fact of the matter is, a great and as-to-then unknown demand for music had erupted with musicians hardly able to satisfy the fast-growing demands.

Various composers and publishers joined in the craze by composing and distributing music that was “fresh” and “original” and out of the ordinary in an effort to be distinguishable within the immense popular market. One can draw the conclusion that Diabelli, with his *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, endeavoured to appeal to a wide-reaching audience: to the aristocrats he would present his work as an anthology of the most imminent composers of the day (satisfying their predilection for “serious” music), whilst to the middle class, it would be pitched as a collection of 50 short waltzes by various composers for the piano, the most popular instrument of its day. The reason Diabelli chose a waltz theme was also a logical starting point upon considering the craze that existed amongst, at first the middle class, yet eventually most of society, for the waltz. It might be deduced that Diabelli was casting a wide

net, amalgamating an array of music customs - piano music, popular music, waltzes, variations, fugal and other forms, virtuoso and pedagogical material – into one single venture in an effort to garner a good amount of sales.

Through focus on the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II, the social and political circumstances of early nineteenth century Vienna have emerged. It has been established how the waltz gradually grew from a humble folk dance to apparent representation of the ethos of an entire epoch through its spontaneity, inclusivity and simplicity. Furthermore, this study has shown how Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II comprises a conglomeration of a multitude of elements associated with the time and city of Vienna during the early nineteenth century.

In the end the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II can be viewed as a reflection of the society in which it was created, reflecting the two camps (the aristocracy with their predilection for the academic, anthological character of the work and the middle class with its popular, accessible character) as a collective symbol. It might be postulated that Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* was created to enthrall the aristocrats with an analysis of the current state of “serious” music affairs whilst affording the average pianist the opportunity to play a variation by his musical heroes, in a dance form adored by most, in the comfort of his/her own home. Truly this is a reflection of the simplistic, naturalistic character of Biedermeier Vienna.

It is interesting to observe how the course of art and music, and creative thinking, gradually tended towards a distinct change at the turn of the nineteenth century. The epitome of this cultural revolution was situated in Vienna. Many a composer walked its streets and frequented its coffee houses, hearing the waltz more often as it gained popularity throughout the city. The search for the new included both the artistic and the patriotic and composers were quick to try their hand at composing in the newly established waltz style. The waltz and piano playing dominated the scene. This period is described as the Biedermeier period because of its focus on family life, the celebration of fellowship and emphasis on simplicity, accessibility and elegance. Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* was born to stand as a representation of both previously established and new music traditions. This work was composed during the first years of Romanticism, with the changing socio-political landscape and the cultural search for staid compositional avenues developing rapidly after the

publication of this work. Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* exemplifies the immense change that had happened whilst at the same time exemplifying the dormancy of the Biedermeier-ness and state of affairs that had occurred as a result.

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Appendix A

This section of the study primarily used the comprehensive, *Grove's New Dictionary of Music and Musicians* to compile a short biography on every composer. Where the composer was not mentioned in *Grove's*, every effort was made elsewhere to find some biographical data to contextualise the composer.

Variation number 1: Ignaz Assmayer (1790-1862)

Born in Salzburg in 1790, Assmayer died in Vienna in 1862. He is noted as being an organist and composer. From 1808 until 1815, he was the organist at St. Peter's cathedral in Salzburg. Hereafter, he moved to Vienna to study with the famous court composer, Antonio Salieri. He became second imperial court organist in 1825 and in 1846 he was promoted to deputy *Kapellmeister*. In the same year, he became *Kapellmeister*, after the sudden death of Joseph Leopold von Eybler. (Clive 1997: 5)

Variation number 2: Carl Maria von Bocklet (1801-1881)

Born in Prague in 1801 and died in 1881, Bocklet first came to Vienna in 1817. He became an influential teacher and intimate friend of Beethoven and especially Schubert. His students include, most notably, Brahms. (Pascall 2008: 41)

Variation number 3: Leopold Eustache Czapek (1792 - ?)

Born in Bohemia in 1792, Czapek travelled to Vienna in 1818. He was noted to be a close friend of Chopin. Forty-five published compositions have been credited to him, most notably the variation composed for Diabelli's set. (Badura-Skoda 1982: 353)

Variation number 4: Carl Czerny (1791-1857)

Czerny was born in Vienna in 1791 and passed away during 1857. Famous for being a pupil of Beethoven and the teacher of Liszt, Czerny composed more than 860 published compositions, estimated to be even more considering the number of works without opus numbers. Despite Czerny's proficiency as a pianist, he is remembered for his prolific number of pedagogical compositions and successes with students. During Clementi's visit to Vienna in 1810, Czerny remarked how he enjoyed watching him teach, and how he would like to do the same. In truth, Czerny was already teaching and commanding quite a substantial fee for lessons since the age of 15. (Lindeman and Barth 2001)

Variation number 5: Joseph Czerny (1785-1842)

Born in Bohemia in 1785, Czerny died in Vienna in 1842. He is unrelated to Carl Czerny. He was a pianist, composer and publisher. The firm Cappi & Diabelli, would bare Czerny's name from 1828 until 1831. (unknown 2001)

Variation number 6: Graf Moritz von Dietrichstein (1775-1864)

Graf Moritz von Dietrichstein was born in Vienna in 1775 and died in the same city in 1864. After returning from French captivity, he studied music with Maximilian Stadler. He is remembered as an Austrian composer. His most notable positions include *Obersthofmeister* to Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt (from 1815), then

Hofmusikgraf (1819–26), and director of the imperial court library between 1826 and 1845. Graf Moritz von Dietrichstein was a regular friend of Schubert and Beethoven; he was also the dedicatee of Schubert's famous song, *Erlkönig*. (Gruber 2001)

Variation number 7: Joseph Drechsler (1782-1852)

Joseph Drechsler was born in Bohemia in 1782 but was active for most of his life in the Austrian capital. He moved to Vienna in 1807, where he also died in 1852. He is remembered as an organist, composer and conductor. During 1810, Drechsler became a *répétiteur* at the Court Opera, and in 1812, he was appointed assistant Kapellmeister. During 1815, Drechsler was the official organist at the *Servitenkirche* in Vienna. It was during this same year that he decided to open a music school - one of his most famous students was Johann Strauss. In 1844, he was appointed *Kapellmeister* of the famous *Stephansdom*. In 1821, Drechsler became the conductor of the *Theater in der Josefstadt*, and from 1824 to 1830 Drechsler was appointed chief composer and conductor at the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*. (Branscombe 2001)

Variation number 8: Emanuel Aloys Förster (1748-1823)

Förster was born in Saxony in 1748 and died in Vienna in 1823. Förster moved to Vienna in the late 1780s where he became acquainted with Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven (who thought highly of Förster as a composition tutor). His music enjoyed *succès d'estime* (critically praised but failed commercially) and as a result, he had to publish most of his works at his own expense. Förster was a pioneer of chamber works written for larger ensembles, such as piano quintets. He is also viewed as an important link between Mozart and Beethoven because of his experimentation with form and tonality. (Longyear and Lorenz 2001)

Variation number 9: Jacob Freystädtler (1761-1841)

Born in Salzburg in 1761, Jacob Freystädtler passed away in Vienna where he achieved fame as a piano teacher, in 1841. From 1777 until 1782, he was the organist at St. Peter's church in Salzburg. Freystädtler then moved to Munich where he acquired an unsurmountable amount of debt which led to his incarceration. After moving to Vienna in 1786, he studied counterpoint with Mozart; Mozart would later hire Freystädtler as a copyist. It was long assumed that Freystädtler completed Mozart's *Kyrie* from his *Requiem* after Mozart's death. This theory has since been debunked. (Lorenz 2001)

Variation number 10: Johann Gänsbacher (1778-1844)

Born in Italy in 1778, Johann Gänsbacher moved to Vienna in 1801 after having studied organ, piano, violin, thoroughbass and cello; philosophy and law; and completing four campaigns against Napoleon. In 1803, he was adopted into the home of Count Firmian who helped Gänsbacher further his career in music. After re-joining the Italian army to fight against the occupation of Bohemia in 1813, Gänsbacher again established himself as a musician; initially in Innsbruck but ultimately in Vienna where he was appointed as the organist in the *Stephansdom* in 1824. By the time of his death, Gänsbacher was considered one of the most famous

musicians in Vienna. He died in the city in 1844. (Senn and Veit 2001)

Variation number 11: Abbé Gelinek (1758-1825)

Born in Sedlec in 1758, Gelinek met Mozart on his visit to Prague in 1787. Upon successfully improvising on a theme by Mozart, Mozart recommended Gelinek to the Count Philip Kinsky for employment. Gelinek moved to Vienna with the Kinsky family between the years 1789 and 1792 where he was the chaplain, piano teacher and tutor for the whole family. Gelinek was also well-acquainted with Haydn and Beethoven. Gelinek became a famous teacher, performer and composer of especially variations. As is evident in this study, piano reductions, variations and arrangements were in great demand during the early nineteenth century. Gelinek was considered a master of the “popular” genre, displaying copious amounts of inventiveness. He often took as his themes, popular tunes from stage works, large-scale instrumental compositions and folk music. Gelinek’s music also pre-empted Romantic expressionism through his use of excessive chromaticism. He died in Vienna in 1825. (Poštolka 2001)

Variation number 12: Anton Halm (1789-1872)

Anton Halm lived between 1789 and 1872 (Katz et al. 1991: 301). According to Anderson (1961: 570), Halm was a teacher, composer and pianist. Born in Styria, Halm initially worked in Graz between 1811 and 1815 but hereafter settled in Vienna, as a successful teacher, where he remained for the rest of his life. Halm was a passionate admirer of the piano works of Beethoven.

Variation number 13: Joachim Hoffmann (1788 - ?)

Very little is known about Hoffmann. Hoffmann, who was born in 1788, was a flourishing Viennese composer and friend of Beethoven. Lew (2010: 94) mentions that Johann Strauss the younger, studied with Hoffmann at Hoffmann’s private music school.

Variation number 14: Johann Horzalka (1778-1860)

According to Smart (2014: 110), Johann Horzalka was a Bohemian born in 1778 and died in 1860. Smart (2014: 110) notes that Horzalka’s music was greatly enjoyed in Vienna. He studied with both Moscheles and Förster and was associated with Schubert. Hellborn (1869: 137) mentions that Smart passed away in 1861 in Hietzing, a district of Vienna located near *Schönbrunn* palace.

Variation number 15: Joseph Huglmann (? - ?)

Information on Huglmann is sparse. According to Wollenberg (2016: unknown), Schubert described Huglmann as an amateur composer. This view is corroborated by McKay (1996: 189).

Variation number 16: J.N. Hummel (1778-1837)

Born in Pressburg in 1778, Hummel was considered to be a *wunderkind*, as at age three, he was more proficient at the piano than children more than twice his age. When Hummel was eight years old, the family moved to Vienna where Hummel’s

father later became the director of the very famous *Apollo-Tanzsaal*, as mentioned in Chapter 3. During 1786, Hummel started his studies with Mozart, who was so impressed with the young pupil that he taught him free of charge in addition to inviting Hummel to come and live with him. During 1788, Hummel and his father, Johannes, embarked on a concert tour across most of Europe that would last five years. Later on, Hummel would study with Albrechtsberger, Salieri and Haydn. In 1804, Hummel became concert master to the Prince of Esterházy in Eisenstadt, a position he held until 1811. Upon his return to Vienna, Hummel's reputation as a performer soared as he was a sensation during his concerts at the Congress of Vienna, garnering fame as a master improviser. In 1818 he became the grand-ducal *Kapellmeister* in Weimar; a position he held until his death. (Sachs and Kroll 2001)

Variation number 17: Anselm Hüttenbrenner (1794-1868)

An accomplished pianist and composer, Anselm Hüttenbrenner was born in Graz in 1794 where he also passed away in 1868. Upon the recommendation of the Graf Moritz von Fries, Hüttenbrenner went to Vienna during 1815 to study composition with Salieri. He befriended both Beethoven and Mozart during this time. In 1818, he returned to Graz on completion of his studies in Vienna and became the director of the *Steiermärkischer Musikverein* in 1825. Hüttenbrenner was the son of a wealthy landowner and could, as a result, avoid the struggles faced by so many of his contemporary, impoverished colleagues. He composed music inspired by Beethoven's style. Most of his compositions remain unpublished; however, most of them have survived in manuscript form. (Brown and West 2001)

Variation number 18: Frederic Kalkbrenner (1785-1849)

Kalkbrenner was born whilst his parents were *en route* from Kassel to Berlin. The most influential part of his education dates from his time at the Paris Conservatoire between 1799 and 1801. In 1803 until 1804, Kalkbrenner visited Vienna, receiving guidance from Haydn and making the acquaintance of Clementi. At the end of 1814, Kalkbrenner decided to move to England, where he lived for ten years. During this time he established himself as a successful performer, teacher and composer. During 1823, Kalkbrenner embarked on an international tour, stopping in London, Germany, Austria, Scotland and Ireland. At the end of 1824, he decided to move to Paris. This move proved well-timed as it helped Kalkbrenner to establish a relationship with the piano manufacturers, Pleyel, as well as providing him with ample performing opportunities. Kalkbrenner achieved unprecedented successes receiving various prestigious awards, such as the *Légion d'Honneur* (1812), the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia (1833) and the Order of Leopold of Belgium (1836). Kalkbrenner also presented a course in piano pedagogics, to which he invited Chopin. He devised a piano method in which the hand rested on a "hand-guide" to minimise wrist movement and maximise finger independence. Though not remarkable for its originality, Kalkbrenner's works always exhibit careful and considered compositional development and execution. His predilection for virtuosity, counterpoint and ornamentation foreshadowed composers who would follow, e.g. Saint-Saëns. (Dekeyser 2001)

Variation number 19: Friedrich August Kanne (1778-1833)

Born in Germany in 1778, Kanne studied medicine in Leipzig and then theology in Wittenberg before dedicating himself to music. He moved to Vienna in 1808, where he spent the rest of his life. Kanne was a close friend of Prince Joseph Lobkowitz and worked as a music teacher, journalist and poet. Turning down several permanent posts, Kanne preferred to maintain a tenuous independence. He briefly contributed and edited the *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* where he displayed a notable, uncommon awareness of the significance of Beethoven's later works. Kanne also temporarily held the *Kapellmeister* position at Pressburg cathedral. Apart from a few successes with operas, Kanne failed to establish himself to the measure that his noteworthy talents prophesied with the last few years of his life shrouded in destitution and alcoholism. (Branscombe 2001)

Variation number 20: Joseph Kerzkowsky (1791 - ?)

The only bit of information to be found was a reference to Diabelli's variations in a letter by Franz Liszt, in which he notes that Kerzkowsky was a contributor to the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* Part II and that he was born in 1791 (Hall-Swadley 2012: 289).

Variation 21: Conradin Kreutzer (1780-1849)

Born in Baden during 1780, Kreutzer received his first musical instruction from the local choirmaster. From 1789, he received formal instruction from Ernst Weinrauch with whom he studied theory and organ. In 1804, Kreutzer went to Vienna where he reportedly met Haydn and had lessons with Albrechtsberger. In an effort to sustain himself, Kreutzer concertized extensively and composed. During 1812, Kreutzer was appointed *Hofkapellmeister* in Stuttgart. He gave up the position in 1816 and became *Kapellmeister* to Prince Carl Egon of Fürstenburg at Donaueschingen. He constantly endeavoured to have his stage works performed, with the monodrama *Adele von Budoy* attaining some success in Vienna during 1823 under the title, *Cordelia*. Kreutzer also produced a successful opera in Vienna during 1822 named, *Libussa*. Shortly hereafter, Kreutzer was appointed *Kapellmeister* at the *Kärntnertheater*, a position he held from 1822 until 1827 and again from 1829 until 1832. Between 1833 and 1835, he was appointed *Kapellmeister* in *Josefstadt* and served as city director of music at Cologne (1840 until 1842) and in Mainz (1844 until 1845). He was rumoured to become the director of the Vienna *Hofoper* but the negotiations fell flat and Kreutzer moved to Riga. Kreutzer's later works have remained popular in German theatres with some of his chamber works and songs republished and recorded. (Branscombe 2001)

Variation number 22: Baron Eduard von Lannoy (1787-1853)

According to Baron (2010: 1733) and Cooper (2013: 135) Heinrich Eduard Josef von Lannoy lived between 1787 and 1853. Ashbrook (1983: 661) reports that Baron Eduard von Lannoy was born in Styria, and was regarded as a notable amateur composer. He wrote various operas, *singspiels* and melodramas as well as various orchestral, chamber and vocal works. From 1818 he was eminent in Viennese concert life and later became the director of the Viennese Concerts Spirituels. Stowell (1998: 37) mentions that Lannoy was appointed conductor, and the director

of the Vienna Conservatoire but fails to mention dates.

Variation number 23: Maximilian Josef Leidesdorf (1787-1840)

An Austrian publisher known to have published works by Schubert and Beethoven. Leidesdorf was initially in the business with partner Ignaz Sauer. Montgomery (2003: 107) remarks how, after Sauer's departure, Leidesdorf let the quality of the printing slide. This decrease in quality of his publications and increase in frustration with dissatisfied composers forced Leidesdorf to leave Vienna.

Variation number 24: Franz Liszt (1811-1886)

Born in 1811 in Doborján, Hungary, Liszt was merely eleven years old when he contributed his variation. Despite being unable to speak Hungarian, Liszt was passionate about his homeland and would often be seen wearing and performing in Hungarian national costume during the turbulent years of the 1840s. Liszt started his musical education under his father's guidance aged six. After 22 months, Liszt's father proudly announced that Franz has mastered an extensive repertoire consisting of works by Bach, Mozart, Hummel and others. Aged nine, Liszt performed publicly for the first time, playing a concerto by Ries and his own improvisation on popular melodies of the time. During 1822, the Liszt household moved to Vienna so that the young Franz might have lessons with Carl Czerny. During this time, he published his first composition, a certain variation on a theme by Diabelli, the focus of our study. Throughout his life, Liszt attained unprecedented international fame by touring, performing and composing music of the highest standard and virtuosic abilities. Compositionally, Liszt invented the genre of the symphonic poem as well as the concept of thematic transformation; his radical new use of harmony also inspired generations after him. Liszt became a very famous and desirable teacher after being refused entry to the Paris Conservatoire, touring England, settling in Paris, later in Switzerland (to escape scandal with Marie d'Agoult) and eventually in Weimar and Rome. (Eckhardt, Mueller & Walker 2001)

Variation number 25: Joseph Mayseder (1789-1863)

Born in Vienna in 1789, Mayseder was a prolific composer and violinist. After initial instruction by Joseph Sucho in 1797 and Anton Wranitzky in 1789, the famous Austrian violinist, Ignaz Schuppanzigh invited the 15 year old boy to play second violin in his revered quartet. Having performed a series of highly successful concerts, Mayseder performed in front of highly esteemed audience members such as Empress Maria Theresa, Prince Lobkowitz and Zmeskall von Domanovecz. Later on, Mayseder would become known as an unsurpassable exponent of Mozart, Haydn and early Beethoven quartets. Positions he filled include: leader of the *Hoftheater* orchestra in 1810, soloist at the *Hofkapelle* in 1816, soloist to the emperor in 1835 and music director of the *Hofkapelle* in 1836. Sixty-three of Mayseder's compositions were published with most intended for his own performance. He composed, amongst others, twenty sets of variations for violin and piano, a mass and various chamber works. His works are mostly in a conservative style. (Rutter 2001)

Variation number 26: Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870)

Moscheles was born in Bohemia in 1794. He moved to Vienna in 1808 after hearing and devouring Beethoven's piano works. In Vienna, Moscheles studied counterpoint with Albrechtsberger and composition with Salieri. During the year 1814, Artaria commissioned Moscheles to prepare a piano reduction of Beethoven's *Fidelio*. At this time, he was one of Vienna's most popular pianists. As a recitalist, Moscheles travelled to Germany, Paris and London. After giving Mendelssohn (15 at the time) some finishing piano lessons in 1824, and marrying Charlotte Embden in 1825, Moscheles and his new wife moved to England. Here he became a conductor and passionate teacher delivering famous students such as Litolff and Thalberg. As a result of his increasing interest in teaching, Moscheles moved to Leipzig in 1846 to become the head professor at Mendelssohn's Leipzig Conservatory; a position he held till his death in 1870. Moscheles, famous for compositions such as piano etudes, primarily composed for himself and the emerging amateur market, yet Schumann regarded him as one of the most profound sonata composers of his generation. His music fuses Classical balance with Romantic dynamism. (Roche and Roche 2001)

Variation number 27: Ignaz Franz von Mosel (1772-1844)

Ignaz Franz von Mosel was an Austrian writer on music, a composer and a conductor. Born in 1772, he was the first to conduct music festivals of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in the Spanish Riding School in Vienna during 1812 until 1816. He was ennobled and made a *Hofrat*. Between 1820 until 1829, Mosel was the vice-director of Vienna's two court theatres. From 1829, he became the principal *custos* of the Imperial Library; a position he held until his death in 1844. Mosel was one of three chief mourners at Beethoven funeral. Despite his compositions being forgotten (even during his lifetime), Mosel's position at the theatres and imperial library enabled him to write authoritatively on his contemporaries and their ideologies. (Pohl and Carr 2001)

Variation number 28: W.A. Mozart (Fils)

Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart, was born in 1791 as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's sixth, and youngest surviving, son. Xaver Mozart studied with various prominent members of the Viennese musical society, including Salieri, Hummel, Vogler and Albrechtsberger. Salieri prophesied that Xaver Mozart possessed a rare gift and that his career would possibly even surpass that of his father. Xaver Mozart took up various teaching positions throughout Europe and from 1819 until 1821 concertized all over the Continent as a keyboardist. In 1841, he was made an honorary *Kapellmeister* of the *Dommusikverein* as well as the *Mozarteum* in Salzburg. The pianistic figuration of his musical style admits to Hummel's inspiration, whilst his more relaxed quality and greater sonorities honours Liszt and Chopin's influence. (Angermüller, Oldman and Stafford 2001)

Variation number 29: Joseph Panny (1794-1837)

Born in lower Austria in 1794, Panny was a violinist and composer. After becoming a schoolteacher at the age of nineteen, Joseph Eybler chanced to hear a cantata of Panny which impressed him so much that he offered to teach Panny in Vienna. By

1815, Panny was living in Vienna. Panny was not received with enthusiasm by the Viennese audiences. He was, however, undaunted by their lacklustre response to his works. Panny is mostly remembered for his close association with Paganini, who he had met in Italy in 1824. At his farewell concert to Vienna, Paganini performed Panny's "The Tempest" sonata yet, before the year's end, both the composer and the composition lay forgotten. Despite his unsympathetic receptions, Panny still toured Germany during 1829 and he conducted various concerts in Bergen during 1831. In 1834 he founded a music school in Weisserling, Alsace, and again in Mainz, where he married and settled in 1836. He died in 1837. (Mell 2001)

Variation number 30: Hieronymus Payer (1787-1845)

Payer was born in Meidling in 1787 and died in Vienna in 1845. From his childhood he was educated in various instruments as well as singing. He was however, a self-taught composer. In 1816, he moved to Vienna where he played piano in the *Redoutensaal* and in the *Theater an der Wien*. During this time he became especially sought after as a teacher. In 1824 he became the *Kapellmeister* in Amsterdam. During 1825 until 1832 he apparently conducted the Paris opera in addition to teaching piano and singing. After his stint in Paris, he returned to Vienna in 1832, briefly conducting at the *Theater an der Josefstadt*. Most of his composition fell into oblivion but he was, however, considered to be on par with the best pianists of his era. (Uwe 2001)

Variation number 31: Johann Peter Pixis (1788-1874)

J.P. Pixis was born in Mannheim in 1788. From the age of twelve, Pixis was recognised as a skilful pianist. He received his initial instruction from his father, who too, was a celebrated musician. After moving to Munich in 1809, Pixis moved to Vienna. In 1825, Pixis moved to Paris where he became one of the most sought after piano professors of his day. During his lifetime, Pixis composed and published more than one hundred and fifty compositions including a symphony, quintets and quartets, sonatas and concertos. (Moore 1880: 736)

Variation number 32: Wenzel Plachy (1785-1858)

Apart from his birth and death dates of 1785-1858 at (<https://www.recordsinternational.com/cd.php?cd=07R027>) not a lot could be ascertained. Gibbs and Gooley (2010: 171) mention a concert in which Plachy's name appears on the playbill, distinguishing himself as a who's who in Vienna's pianistic circles, as his name appears next to other famous virtuosos such as Czerny and Thalberg.

Variation number 33: Gottfried Rieger (1764-1855)

Rieger was born in 1764 in Opvice. He is described as a Moravian composer of Austrian decent. In 1787, Rieger went to Brno to earn a living as a musician, however, he had to support himself intermittently by working as a hairdresser. In 1790 he became *Kapellmeister* at the Brno Theatre. Rieger was a respected composer of, especially, singspiels. From 1804 until 1808, Rieger was *Kapellmeister* to Count Haugwitz in Náměšti nad Oslavou. Rieger is remembered as an excellent

teacher with his treatise on counterpoint published in Vienna during 1833 and subsequently reprinted numerous times. Attesting to this is the fact that he founded a music school in Brno during 1828 where he taught singing, music theory, and wind and string instruments. Though his compositions are completely unfamiliar, those published during his lifetime were those composed in the more popular genre such as fantasies and variations. (Steinmetz 2001; Beresnevičiūtė-Nosálová 2017)

Variation number 34: Philip Jakob Riotte (1776-1856)

Born in St. Wendel, Saar, during 1776, Riotte first appeared as pianist and composer at a concert in Frankfurt during 1804. During 1808, Riotte moved to Vienna where he initially worked at the court opera and later as the music director of the *Theater an der Wien*. He held this position between 1818 and 1821 and again from 1824 until 1826. Despite success in many different musical forms, Riotte is most famous for his stage works and keyboard pieces: most notably his relatively long contribution to Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*. His most famous and longest-living score is the music he provided for Raimund's *Moisasurs Zauberspruch* as this was republished in 1920. Riotte also composed music for plays, chamber, orchestral, choral works and a well-received cantata. Riotte died on the 20th of August 1856. (Branscombe 2001)

Variation number 35: Franz de Paula Roser (1779-1830)

Considered one of the most prolific composers of the early nineteenth century active in Vienna, Roser was born in Upper Austria during 1779. He studied singing and the playing of various instruments under his father's guidance and is rumoured to have been a pupil of Mozart during 1789. Roser travelled widely during the years 1799 until 1812, becoming a musical director in Freiburg, a novice in the Cistercian monastery of Wilhering, a soldier, a *Kapellmeister* of a travelling opera troupe, a tenor in various theatres, and a composer. In 1812, he settled in Vienna, accepting the position of *Kapellmeister* at the *Theater an der Josefstadt*. He held this position until 1819, when he became assistant *Kapellmeister* at the *Kärntnertheater*. As of 1820, he was *Kapellmeister* at the *Theater an der Wien* and from 1824 at the German theatre in Pest. From 1826 Roser worked successfully as a freelance composer in Vienna. (Wessely 2001)

Variation number 36: Johann Schenk (1753-1836)

Having been instructed in the art of composition from an early age, Schenk became a proficient violinist, keyboard and wind player. While still a boy, Schenk started composing dances, symphonies and songs. During 1773, he travelled to Vienna to study counterpoint and composition with Wagenseil. After Wagenseil's death in 1777, Schenk had sufficiently advanced so that he felt comfortable in undertaking large scale compositions. His mass was performed in 1778 and his *Stabat mater* was successfully performed in 1779. It was also during the 1790s that Schenk endeavoured to establish himself at the court theatres. In the autumn of 1796 he would deliver what was to become his masterpiece, a *singspiel* called, *Der Dorfbarbier*. For the rest of his life, Schenk lived in the shadow of this work's, albeit minor, success. For twenty five years, it was one of Vienna's most successful and

popular operas. Schenk is also reported to have been recommended to Beethoven by Gelinek as a suitable counterpoint and composition teacher when Beethoven expressed his dissatisfaction with Haydn's tutoring. (Branscombe 2001)

Variation number 37: Franz Schoberlechner (1797-1843)

Born in Vienna during 1797, Schoberlechner is described as a pianist and composer. As student of Hummel, Schoberlechner was so promising, that Hummel composed his C major Piano concerto especially for him. Further studies were made with E.A. Förster. In 1814, Schoberlechner embarked on a concerto tour to Italy. Here he was engaged as *Kapellmeister* to the Duchess Marie Louise of Lucca, returning to Vienna in 1823. Schoberlechner toured to St. Petersburg, where he met his would-be wife. After marrying, Schoberlechner and his operatic singer wife, travelled throughout Russia, Germany and Italy. Schoberlechner died in Berlin whilst on tour. His compositional output reflects the popular style of the day with a predilection for virtuosity. His three sets of piano variations as well as two concertos show the influence of Hummel and the newly created popular demand. (Warrack 2001)

Variation number 38: Franz Schubert (1797-1828)

Franz Schubert is the only canonic Viennese composer to actually be born in Vienna. He was born on the 31st of January 1797 and passed away on the 19th of November 1828. Schubert received his initial musical instruction from his father, a schoolmaster, who taught him basic violin technique; his brother gave him piano lessons. At the age of seven, Schubert received his first formal lessons from the organist Michael Holzer. During this time, Schubert also played in the family quartet with his father on the cello, Schubert on the viola and his two brothers on first and second violin. In 1808, Schubert joined the *Stadtkonvikt* (Imperial Seminary); here his vocal talents were first discovered by Salieri. Through exposure to the symphonies of Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn at the *Stadtkonvikt*, a solid foundation for Schubert's compositional language was laid. Schubert's compositional genius came to the fore as he composed prolifically for this orchestra - his first symphony dates from this period - and conducted the choir. Salieri offered him private composition and music theory lessons from the age of thirteen. After his voice broke, Schubert went to study teaching where after he taught as his father's school for two years. During 1814, Schubert experienced a burst of creativity seldom seen in the Western music world. He composed about 150 songs, including *Gretchen am Spinnrade* and *Erlkönig*. Schubert also wrote two symphonies, two string quartets, two masses and four singspiels. He still continued with his lessons with Salieri on a twice weekly basis. It is interesting to note that this composer had to that date, not enjoyed a single public concert of his music. This changed rapidly in 1818 when an overture of his was performed and received favourable reviews in the press. During 1820, the famous house concerts, the so-called *Schubertiades* began. Schubert led a tumultuous life, marked by difficult relationships with friends and trying financial times as he never held an official, musical vocation that would have provided him with a steady income. However, through all the difficult times, Schubert always managed to compose at a prodigious rate. Despite significant contributions to the genres of orchestral, chamber and piano music, Schubert made the biggest impact

in the area of the German lied. His elevation of popular genres such as dances and songs to pillars of the concert repertoire is his biggest contribution to music. (McKay 1996)

Variation number 39: Simon Sechter (1788-1867)

Born in 1788 in Bohemia, Sechter is described as a theorist, composer, organist and conductor. After his relocation to Vienna in 1804, Sechter soon became famous as a counterpoint and harmony teacher. He was appointed assistant court organist in 1824 and promoted to principal court organist the year after. In 1851, Sechter also became the professor of thorough bass and counterpoint at the Vienna Conservatory; his students included, amongst others, Anton Bruckner. Said to have composed a fugue a day, Sechter composed more than 8 000 compositions, many of which are for the keyboard. Today he is mostly known for his masses and oratorios. Sechter was also the most famous Viennese music theorist of the nineteenth century with numerous influential treatises on thorough bass and harmony. Sechter died in Vienna in 1867. (Saslaw 2001)

Variation number 40: S.R.D. (1788-1831)

Archduke Rudolph of Austria was the youngest of 16 children born to Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany (he would later become Emperor Leopold II of Austria). Upon his brother, Franz's ascension to the throne in 1792, Rudolph moved to Austria. As a child, Rudolph displayed a great musical talent and became an accomplished pianist aged fifteen. He met Beethoven in the winter of 1803 and began studying the piano and composition with him. These lessons would last for two decades, with a wonderful friendship resulting. Beethoven dedicated eleven of his most famous compositions to Archduke Rudolph: his fourth and fifth piano concertos, the *Hammerklavier* and *Les Adieux* sonatas, the "Archduke" trio and his *Missa solemnis*. Archduke Rudolph saw three of his compositions published during his lifetime with the fugal variation offered to Diabelli being the most famous. His musical style is one of restraint and traditionalism. (Kagan 2001, Kagan 1988)

Variation number 41: Abbé Stadler (1748-1833)

Abbé Stadler was born in Melk in 1748. Regarded as a composer, keyboard performer and music historian, Stadler received his earliest musical training from Johann Leuthner. Abbé Stadler then proceeded to study violin, organ, clavichord and composition as a choirboy at Lilienfeld in 1758. Stadler continued his formal education in music in Vienna at the Jesuit College in 1762. In 1772 he was ordained at the Benedictine abbey of Melk, after having taken his vows in 1767. Stadler was favoured by Emperor Joseph II during his quest to suppress the Austrian monasteries. Stadler was appointed abbot of Lilienfeld in 1786. He also held the same post from 1789 in Kremsmünster, where his administration was renowned for its support of secular music. In 1796, Stadler moved to Vienna where he was secularised in 1803. After settling in Vienna, Stadler most notably became the advisor to Mozart's widow, Constanze. He, along with Nissen, was the first to demand the creation of a catalogue of Mozart's works and the number of Mozart's unfinished pieces completed by him, remains uncertain. According to a conversation

book by Beethoven, dated 1819, Stadler worked on what would become the first history of Austrian music called, *Materialen zur Geschichte der Musik unter den österreichischen Regenten*. Long thought to be lost, this document was rediscovered in Vienna in 1969. With regard to Abbé Stadler's compositional style, it seems he was eclectic in his approach. He experimented with eighteenth century aleatory music; ethnic music, and composing by throwing the dice. Stadler was regarded as an important composer by his contemporaries as well as an accomplished keyboardist. He was a prominent figure in Vienna's musical circles, featuring not only in the lives of the Mozart family, but in the lives of Beethoven and Haydn. Stadler died in 1833. (Freeman 2001)

Variation number 42: Joseph von Szalay (? - ?)

According to Kroll (2014: 14), Szalay was a piano pupil of Hummel. Kroll (2007: 91) mentions that Szalay was a classmate of Schubert.

Variation number 43: Wenzel Tomaschek (1774-1850)

According to Bonds (2014: 125) Wenzel Tomaschek was born in 1774 and died in 1850. Sonneck (1926: 21) notes that Tomaschek was of Bohemian descent and was famous for being an organist, teacher and composer. Ehrlich (1894: 345) mentions that Tomaschek did not follow the conventional path of becoming a piano virtuoso but became famous first as an excellent teacher. This unconventionality might refer to the fact that Tomaschek never received formal training in music, as Weitzmann and Lessmann (1893: 132) mention. Sonneck (1926: 21) continues by saying that Tomaschek was, however, an excellent keyboardist and provides as reason the fact that Tomaschek had heard all the greatest virtuosos from Mozart to Chopin and Liszt. One of his pupils was Count Buquoy, who would later become his patron, enabling Tomaschek to fully devote himself to his music. His house was regarded as the centre of musical life in Prague, with some commentators calling him "the Schiller of music." He left 110 compositions which include a symphony, an opera, two requiems, a mass various cantatas and sonatas. (Ehrlich 1894: 346)

Variation number 44: Michael Umlauff (1781-1842)

Michael Umlauff lived between 1781 and 1842. He was born and bred in Vienna. From an early age he displayed great artistic merit and soon became a violinist in the Vienna court orchestra. He was deputy to *Kapellmeister* Gyrowetz in 1809 and by the year 1815, had been promoted to fourth of the six *Kapellmeisters* at the court theatres. Umlauff retired in 1825 but applied successfully to become director of the two court theatres. His lengthy absence had caused him to grow out of fashion and he soon retired yet again. Umlauff's fame stems not so much from his own compositions but rather Beethoven's; as Umlauff was chosen to conduct most of Beethoven's works when Beethoven had become too deaf to do it himself. Compositionally, Umlauff obtained moderate success with his ballet scores, which were popular in their day. In addition, he also wrote three *singspiels*. (Branscombe 2001)

Variation number 45: Dyonisius Weber (1766-1842)

Bedřich Diviš Weber was born in Velichov in 1766. Before turning his attention completely to music, Weber studied law, philosophy and theology. After being tutored by Abbé Vogler in 1792, Weber quickly established himself as an excellent teacher and pianist in Prague. His initial successes as composer came from his dance and salon pieces for piano and small orchestra. Weber, along with others, was instrumental in the formation of the Prague Conservatory; he was to become its first director in 1811. From 1839, he also held the directorship of the Prague Organ School. Weber was described as a reactionary figure, abhorring Beethoven's later works and praising Mozart's Classical restraint well into the nineteenth century, a staidness that had a detrimental effect on the creation of a Czech music aesthetic. However, later in his life, Weber did acknowledge Beethoven's genius by conducting an all-Beethoven programme in 1839. Weber also showed admiration for Wagner, whom he tutored for a short while in 1832, by conducting a performance of Wagner's Symphony in C, in Wagner's honour. Despite delaying the creation of a Czech music idiom, Weber was responsible for the creation of an education system in Prague that would later deliver high quality musicians. Also, he was a collaborator on the first publication of Czech folksongs in 1825. He championed the use of the chromatic horn and developed a version of the timpani's current pedal tuning system. His most notable students include Wagner and Moscheles. (Stapleton 2001)

Variation number 46: Franz Weber (1766-1831)

Some uncertainty exists as to who Franz Weber was. He was supposedly the son of Franz Weber (the elder) and brother to Carl Maria von Weber. Should this be the case, this Franz was born in Vienna during 1766 and died sometime after 1831. He studied with Haydn between the years 1787 and 1788 and led an uncomfortable existence in the theatre his whole life. He was an instrumentalist, singer, stage manager and director. He travelled all over Europe with his father's and other opera troupes. Biographical details and documentary records grow thin after the documentation of a concert in the Cologne area in 1832. (Veit 2001)

Variation number 47: Carl Angelus von Winkhler (1787-1845)

Wier (1938: 2022) mentions that Carl Angelus von Winkhler was a pianist and composer of Hungarian decent who was born in 1787 and who died in Budapest in 1845. He is noted to have been the composer of various "concerted" pieces for both orchestra, chamber ensemble and piano.

Variation number 48: Franz Weiss (1778-1830)

According to Winter and Martin (1994: 34, 37), Franz Weiss was a violinist who lived in Vienna between 1778 and 1830 and was a regular partner in Schuppanzigh's quartet. Born in Silesia, Weiss came to Vienna at an early age. In addition to performing in Schuppanzigh's quartet, it would appear that Weiss is mentioned more often as a performer of Beethoven's chamber and orchestral works than Schuppanzigh. Despite playing in the premieres of most of the quartets from Opus 59 onwards, no mention or review is ever made of his playing. Stowell (1999: 60) corroborates this information but adds that Franz Weiss was the viola player, with Ignatz Schuppanzigh as leader, Prince Lichnowski on second violin and Kraft on

cello. Weiss remained in Vienna for his whole life.

Variation number 49: Johann Wittassek (1770-1839)

Also known as Jan August Vitásek, Wittassek was born in Hořín on the 22nd of February 1770. Wittassek received his first instruction from his father, himself an organist and choirmaster. Later on he studied with Dušek in Prague. His early years were spent in the service of the Lobkowitz and Nostitz families. Through his teacher's, Dušek's, influence, Wittassek came to know both the person and the music of Mozart. Wittassek would later greatly support Mozart's music and become known as an exceptional interpreter thereof. In 1814 he obtained the highest musical office in Bohemia namely, the Choirmaster of the Prague Cathedral. He held this position until his death refusing other prestigious offers such as the position of choirmaster at the *Stephansdom* in Vienna in 1824. He was the founder and first director of the Society for the promotion of Church Music in Bohemia in 1826. Despite his 25 years in ecclesiastical service, Wittassek also composed a considerable amount of secular music, especially for the piano. His compositional style reflects both Mozart's and Dušek's influence in its appreciation and predilection for Classical restraint, balance and clarity. (Simpson 2001)

Variation number 50: Jan Hugo Voříšek (1791-1825)

Voříšek was born in Vambert, north-east Bohemia in 1791. He died in Vienna in 1825. From an early age, Voříšek studied music with his father, being deputised aged seven as organist for a nearby church. Voříšek also toured Bohemia on foot as a performing pianist - after one of these performances, Voříšek captured the attention of the Countess Rozina Kolowrat-Libstejnsky. Under her patronage, Voříšek was able to move to Prague in 1802 where he continued his musical studies. His teachers included Tomashek, who mentioned in his diary that Voříšek had considerable talent. Tomashek, Bach and Beethoven were amongst Voříšek's greatest inspirations, according to his diary. Voříšek, through Tomashek's recommendation, met Beethoven on a couple of occasions in Vienna (ca. 1813/1814) during which the great composer commented favourably on Voříšek's compositions. In 1813, Voříšek moved to Vienna where he became known as an active violinist and fantastic pianist, rivalling Meyerbeer and Moscheles in expressive capability, technique, virtuosity and improvisatory skills. During the 1820s, the *Wiener Zeitung* described Voříšek as "our pre-eminent master of the piano." During 1822, Voříšek successfully applied for the position of assistant court organist and in 1825, he was elected to formal membership of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*; the same year as Schubert. During 1823, Voříšek became the principal court organist. Due to tuberculosis, he died in 1825. Though born in Bohemia, Voříšek's work shows little Bohemian influence. In addition, musicologists have described his work as the epitome of Biedermeier Vienna: Classical in conception yet peppered with virtuosity, attractive melodic surface, interesting use of harmony, decorative figuration and evocation of the recent past all reflect the Biedermeier epoch. As with the music of Hummel and Moscheles, this style of music quickly fell out of fashion with the arrival of the emotive Romantic idiom in the early 1830s. (DeLong 2001)