

Johann Nepomuk Hummel

A Musician's Life and World

Mark Kroll



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For Carol and Ethan

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Introduction

Johann Nepomuk Hummel: A Musician's Life and World is not only a book about a great artist who history seems to have forgotten, although that would have been reason enough to write one. It is also about the many worlds in which he lived. Hummel flourished during one of the most dynamic periods in music history and was at the center of the transformation from the classical to the romantic style of playing and writing music. As Mozart's most famous student, Haydn's protégé, and Beethoven's friend and chief competitor, he was the ultimate classicist. Hummel the romantic, however, exerted a powerful influence on the next generation of composers, notably Schubert, Schumann, Liszt, and Chopin.

The political, economic, and cultural environment in which Hummel lived and worked was also constantly shifting under his feet, resulting in a new world of opportunities and responsibilities for the artist. Hummel took full advantage of these changes and even initiated some of his own.

Each new discovery about Hummel will surely increase the reader's respect and admiration for this superb musician and fascinating human being. A child prodigy who could read music at the age of four and play the violin at five and the piano at six, Hummel went on to become one of the great virtuoso pianists of his era. He toured more extensively than any of his contemporaries, essentially creating the model for today's touring artist, and was an innovator in the commercial aspects of the music business, such as advertising, promotion, and copyright protection. Hummel was also a highly respected conductor, a Kapellmeister to the important courts of Esterháza, Stuttgart, and Weimar, and one of the most sought-after piano teachers in Europe. Hummel the composer was held in as high

esteem as Hummel the performer. He was, in fact, the most popular composer of his era, the appearance of every new composition being heralded as a major event by critics, the public, and fellow musicians.

The question, then, is not why this book needed to be written but why there have been so few studies about this important musical figure. This is the first English-language book to consider the entirety of Hummel's career. It is a rich and complex story, not only about a great musician but also about a world in flux, offering us a complete picture of a pivotal juncture in music history and of the role of the musician in that society.

My first instinct was to tell the story in a strictly chronological manner. However, I soon came to the realization that the complexities of Hummel's life, the wide variety of his accomplishments, and the intricate web of connections that link him to other musicians could not be confined to the calendar. For example, in a single month we might find Hummel touring in Moscow, Paris, or other European cities; conducting operas by Mozart, Rossini, or Weber's *Der Freischütz*; and instituting a new concert series for his orchestra while fulfilling his formidable administrative responsibilities as the Kapellmeister of Weimar. At the same time, he could be teaching the next generation of pianists, composing, collaborating with Goethe, and submitting petitions for copyright protection to the European courts while also maintaining an active correspondence with a large network of publishers and colleagues.

I have therefore organized this book in a way that will allow the reader to fully appreciate the rich fabric of Hummel's life and music. The first chapter places Hummel's family background and earliest years within the context of the experiences of working musicians living under the regime of the Habsburgs and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In chapter 2, we meet Mozart and his family, as did Hummel for two of his most formative years, enabling us to see Mozart through Hummel's eyes and Hummel through Mozart's. We also follow Mozart's influence throughout Hummel's adult life, including Hummel's continuing connections to Mozart's son and widow. Chapter 3 traces the progress of Hummel's career under Haydn's generous tutelage, culminating in Hummel's experiences as Haydn's successor at Esterháza. Hummel's association with other musicians is taken up in chapters 4 and 5, where we explore his volatile relationship with Beethoven (which may have begun as early as 1787, became firmly established in Vienna in the 1790s, and ended with unabashed drama at Beethoven's deathbed in 1827) and his brief encounter with Franz Schubert, one that made a lasting impression on both composers.

In chapter 6, which forms the center of the book, I take a somewhat different approach and examine Hummel's entire career as a touring musician. I begin with the wildly successful grand tour he took as a child with

his father, trace his concert appearances through Hummel's numerous performances "on the road" that garnered unequivocal praise from the public and the press, and conclude with the final period of his life, when the quantum shift in styles and tastes represented by Paganini and Liszt had a negative effect on Hummel's ability to fill concert halls.

Hummel's difficult sojourn as Kapellmeister in Stuttgart is discussed in chapter 7, while chapter 8 focuses on what was surely the climax of Hummel's career—his long and successful tenure as Kapellmeister in Weimar, the city of Goethe. Here Hummel would also enjoy a contented and fulfilling family life with his wife and children and maintain close contact with some of the greatest intellectuals of the day. Chapter 9 explores in detail Hummel's brilliant and long career as a pedagogue and his most influential piece of writing—the voluminous *Clavierschule*. The reader will also marvel at the impressive roster of his students and the particularly close relationship he had with his protégé Ferdinand Hiller, a loyal friend whose writings about Hummel have been so valuable to this historian.

In chapters 10, 11, and 12, I return to the exploration of Hummel's relationship with other composers, in this case Schumann, Liszt, and Chopin. Here there are numerous bonds that link Hummel with these most progressive romantics. We learn, for example, about the young Schumann's almost obsessive desire to study with Hummel, and about Liszt's stormy tenure as Hummel's successor as Kapellmeister in Weimar. Chopin's relationship to Hummel was particularly close; Chopin even sat for a portrait drawn by Hummel's son Carl. The rapport between the two keyboard artists was also of great musical significance since Chopin expressed unqualified admiration for Hummel's music and used it as the basis for his own florid piano style. The final chapter concludes with a consideration of Hummel's legacy as a man and a musician.

I have drawn on the work of a number of scholars who have contributed much to our knowledge of Hummel. Karl Benyovsky published a complete biography of the musician in 1934, but it was written in German and has long been out of print. Dieter Zimmerschied and other German scholars have made invaluable contributions to the subject since the 1960s and 1970s, as did Joel Sachs with his English-language studies of Hummel's touring activities in England and France and his facsimile editions of Hummel's piano music. I have been able to add substantially to this information by consulting many new and previously unexamined primary sources and taking into account the most current research about the composers with whom Hummel was intimately connected. As a professional keyboard player, I have been profoundly influenced by my experiences both performing and editing Hummel's music; this visceral contact with his music was of primary importance in the shaping of this book.

All of this has enabled me to offer a far more accurate and sensitive picture of Hummel's accomplishments as a performer and composer, his relationship with his contemporaries, and his legacy for today. This will, I trust, represent a major step in restoring Hummel's name to its rightful place among the pantheon of great musicians.

Chapter 1

The Worlds of Johann Nepomuk Hummel

PROLOGUE: THE HUMMELS AND THE HABSBURGS

Johann Nepomuk Hummel was born on 14 November 1778 in the city of Pressburg (now Bratislava), one of the most important provincial capitals of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹ He therefore became a subject of the Habsburg royal family from the moment of his birth, as had his father and grandfather before him, entering a world in which absolute monarchs ruled over most of Europe, the aristocracy enjoyed great wealth, power, and privilege, and the rights and obligations of each class were clearly defined and strictly enforced. By the time of Hummel's death in Weimar on 17 October 1837, however, political, social, and economic events had profoundly transformed this world and shaped Hummel's life as a man and as an artist.

Hummel remained a subject of Austria-Hungary for the first thirty-eight years of his life.² He was therefore able to take full advantage of the generous patronage of the arts that was a hallmark of the Habsburgs. Hummel received his early training under their reign, established his reputation as a performer and composer while living in the capital city of Vienna, and launched what would become a major touring career. Hummel also received his first full-time position as a Habsburg subject when he became Kapellmeister to the Esterházy court.

This apparently stable world, however, was gradually but inexorably changed beyond recognition by some of the most pivotal events in European history. The Industrial Revolution, for example, created a middle class that soon rivaled the economic power of the aristocracy. The ancient feudal system disappeared, family lineage was now measured in decades

rather than centuries, and Europe experienced wholesale movements in its populations.³ Literacy also became more widespread: the number of books published in England, for example, increased from six thousand in the 1630s to fifty-six thousand in the 1790s.⁴ The very role of art in society also changed. Music, along with the other arts, ceased to be purely representational, a tool used by the aristocracy to display its power and status. Art was now also the property of the middle class, which often viewed it in merely commercial terms.⁵ The rising tide of nationalism also played a role in transforming the face of Europe, and it found expression in the works of many musicians, such as Liszt, Chopin, and Hummel.⁶

The most important political events during Hummel's lifetime were, of course, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. These upheavals shook the European monarchies to their foundations, particularly that of the Habsburgs, who lost much if not all of their former influence. As the focus of power moved west, in the direction of England and France, so did Hummel. He put Vienna and Esterháza behind him and found employment in the German states, first in Stuttgart and ultimately in Weimar, where he spent the last and most satisfying years of his life as a composer and teacher. The growing peace and order throughout Europe also allowed Hummel to expand his career as a touring artist. He remained a constant and welcome presence in the major cities of Europe, including several important visits to Paris and London, and firmly established his reputation as one of the leading and most respected musicians of his time.

THE HUMMEL FAMILY

Hummel came from what appears to have been a close-knit family with strong roots in music, business, and the soil.⁷ Hummel tells us that his grandfather Caspar Melchior Balthasar Hummel was born in Unterstinkenbrunn, a town in the Mittlesbach district of Lower Austria, and that he "loved music, played several string and wind instruments and sang with a strong bass voice. This small talent made him beloved and known in the whole region in his youth. [It also] gave him the idea to derive profit from it . . . he was invited to all church festivals, weddings, etc. in order to enhance the pleasure of dancing, [from which] he derived considerable gain."⁸ Hummel continues his narrative by describing how his grandfather, who at first played all of the instruments himself at these festive events, gradually expanded the ensemble with the assistance of some willing and supposedly talented friends. Since this larger group would eventually become the standard configuration for such ensembles, Hummel proudly gives credit to Caspar for "founding this musical genre in Austria."⁹

We derive a number of insights about Hummel from his description of his grandfather. One is the fact that he mentions the “considerable gain” Caspar derived from his musical activities. Another is Hummel’s comment that his grandfather held two jobs in his native village—as an innkeeper and as a manager of a small creamery—and that he became the first person in the area to cultivate potatoes for human consumption, these having been previously used only as feed for animals.¹⁰ Hummel’s obvious approval of his grandfather’s capacity for hard work and success in business is consistent with the high value that he would place on such traits throughout his life. It is probably from Caspar that Hummel inherited his own entrepreneurial skills, independent spirit, and unshakable sense of responsibility.

The autobiography also tells us that Caspar and his wife Eleonora “had many children, who for the most part remained solid farmers,” but three sons chose different paths.¹¹ The middle child, Melchior, became a schoolteacher in Vienna and also “played a very good and tuneful bassoon.”¹² The youngest, Caspar, whom Hummel describes as a stepson from a previous marriage, lived in Aichenbrunn, approximately two hours from his grandfather’s village, and was also employed as a schoolteacher. The eldest, Johannes, who had been born on 31 May 1754, apparently “did not want to return to the life of a farmer” and ultimately chose the career path of a professional violinist.¹³ He was also to become Hummel’s father.

It is to grandfather Caspar’s credit that he recognized the musical abilities of his eldest son—not to mention his lack of interest in potatoes—and encouraged Johannes’s artistic aspirations by sending him to Vienna to study at the *Waisenhaus*, an esteemed educational institution directed by the Jesuit priest Ignaz Parhammer.¹⁴ Although music was part of an impressive curriculum at the *Waisenhaus* that included humanistic, military, and vocational training, it was considered to be of only secondary importance. Johannes therefore found it necessary to do much of his practicing at night, often in the school’s bathroom in order to avoid disturbing his fellow students or the faculty.

Despite the lack of time and the cramped, somewhat damp practice facilities, Johannes must have made considerable progress on the violin. Hummel tells us that his father, after his studies, “therefore stayed for a short time in Vienna and sought to support himself as well as he could.”¹⁵ There he attracted the attention of Count Antal Grassalkovich II, who hired him to play in the *Hauskapelle* of his palace. When Grassalkovich moved his court to Pressburg, he naturally brought with him his favorite violinist.¹⁶

We do not know how long Johannes worked for Grassalkovich in Pressburg, but his reputation as a first-class violinist became sufficiently established in that city for Karl Wahr, the director of the *Neues Theater*, to

appoint Johannes as its orchestra director.¹⁷ This theater was reported to be one of the most beautiful in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It glistened with particular brilliance from the moment it opened on 9 November 1776; one writer claimed that although he “had seen most of the great theaters in Germany, none of these were as beautiful as the one in Pressburg.”¹⁸ This is probably no exaggeration. Empress Maria Theresa spared no expense in building this new theater since she considered Pressburg to be one of the jewels in the crown of her empire, particularly because her favorite daughter Maria Christina (1742–1798) lived there with her husband Duke Albert of *Sachsen-Teschen*.

Johannes must have been delighted to work in such a rich and important cultural center, and the security that his position provided seems to have given him the self-confidence to entertain the idea of taking on the responsibilities of a husband and father. On 15 July 1778, Johannes married Margarethe Sommer, widow of the wig maker Josef Ludwig and three years older than Johannes. The newlyweds moved into a comfortable house with a lovely garden at *Huttergasse* 50, where Johann Nepomuk Hummel was born.¹⁹

The relatively stable life enjoyed by Johannes and his family lasted only until 1779, when Wahr resigned as the director of the theater. His successor Josef Schmallögger apparently could not sustain the high standards established by Wahr, and Johannes decided to move to Prague in search of a better position. He was unsuccessful, remaining in Prague for less than one year, but he was soon offered the position of music director at the recently erected Military Institute in Wartberg (Senec), a city near Pressburg.²⁰ With a wife and small child to support, Johannes gladly accepted the offer.

By this time, Johannes and Margarethe had become aware that they were blessed with a son who possessed extraordinary musical gifts. Max Johann Seidel, a friend and colleague of Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Weimar who wrote an extensive biographical sketch of Hummel several years after the composer’s death, tells us that Johannes was astonished to see the three-year-old Hummel beating his hands and feet in exact time to the music that Johannes was practicing.²¹ When the child was four, his father taught him how to read music. He also bought a small violin for his son around this time on which Hummel was soon playing short pieces with impressive skill. The following year, Johannes purchased a small piano for the prodigy and gave him his first keyboard lessons. The tiny piano was barely one and one-half feet deep, two and one-half feet wide, and one and one-half feet high, but Hummel considered it such a treasure that he kept it with him until a few years before his death.

The five-year-old was soon able to reproduce on the piano whatever he heard his father play or sing. Hummel could also sing with perfect into-

nation, so his father gave him voice lessons as well. Johannes described his son's prodigious musical skills—and his prodigious desire to learn music—with admirable understanding, pride, patience, and a good sense of humor: "My Nepomuk was still quite young when he already showed an inclination to music, in which he was very gifted . . . he never gave me a moment's rest until I showed him several techniques on the violin and let him do it himself. I began to give him a little instruction, and . . . with my guidance he made good progress on the piano, and by his sixth year his playing was already very finished and fluent. While I was serving as the music teacher at the military institute in Wartberg, my Nepomuk was on the same level as most of the students, but in piano playing he was *the best*."²²

Seidel relates several anecdotes from these early years that provide further confirmation of Hummel's exceptional abilities as a child and offers a glimpse into the traits of independence and self-confidence that would fully manifest themselves in Hummel the adult. For example, Seidel tells us that the little boy would often pick up his violin and sneak out of the house after his father had left for his evening performances, intent on giving his own vocal and instrumental "concerts" on the street. These impromptu performances apparently attracted a crowd of neighbors who listened with admiration, amusement, and pleasure while his mother proudly watched over her little boy from the window. His father, on the other hand, was not nearly as sanguine, expressing concerns about his son's safety during these nightly solo excursions.²³

Nevertheless, Hummel persisted in embarking on his childhood "tours." Seidel in fact tells us that he usually took along a piece of bread and butter to sustain him. It was during one of these street concerts that Hummel presumably had his first run-in with a nasty critic. As Seidel relates, Hummel was playing as usual when a schoolboy began to tease him by meowing like a cat. The young solo virtuoso was of course enraged, and he responded to his critic in a way that many mature artists only dream of—he hit him. The two boys were soon fighting in the street, and at one point Hummel was struck with such force that the violin flew out of his hands and fell to the ground. This was too much for Nepomuk to bear. He promptly picked up the instrument and smashed it on his adversary's shoulder, the violin breaking into pieces. As chance would have it, the story goes on to tell us that Hummel's father walked by at this very moment. We can only imagine what his reaction might have been on seeing his son battling in the street, his shattered violin lying in the dirt. Nevertheless, Johannes was probably secretly pleased that Nepomuk had showed such spirit and courage (and an appropriate response to critics) since he immediately bought him a new violin. For Hummel, however, the experience was traumatic. The practical little boy apparently abandoned

his career as a street violinist and chose to remain within the safe confines of his home. There he would practice on his piano undisturbed for the entire day. In a certain sense, then, and not without a touch of irony, the boy who meowed had unwittingly changed the course of Hummel's career: he would become not a violinist like his father but rather a pianist who would eventually mature into one of the greatest keyboard virtuosos of his time.

Hummel was making astonishing progress on the piano by the age of eight when Emperor Joseph II decided to move the Wartberg Military Institute to Pressburg.²⁴ At first glance, this event would seem to have been only a minor inconvenience to the Hummel family. In reality, however, it was a pivotal moment, setting into motion a sequence of events that would have profound implications for Hummel's future. Rather than following the Institute back to Pressburg, Johannes decided to search for another and presumably better position. His young prodigy might have factored into this decision not to return to Pressburg. At this point, Nepomuk's accomplishments had far outstripped his father's ability to teach him, and Johannes probably realized that it was now necessary to find a better teacher in a major musical center.

Fortunately, the decision was made for Johannes when he received the invitation in 1786 to serve as music director of Vienna's *Theater auf der Wieden*.²⁵ Johannes would also soon become the first music director of the *Apollo-Tanzsaal* in Vienna, a position that was subsequently held by a succession of musicians long associated with the dance, including Sigmund Sperber, Thomas Storch, Mathias Schwarz, and Josef Lanner.²⁶

The family therefore packed up their furniture, musical instruments, and little prodigy and moved to Vienna, the musical capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and home to some of the greatest musicians and teachers in Europe. Here Hummel would meet the person who played the critical role in his development as a musician—Mozart.

NOTES

1. At the time of Hummel's birth, the empire radiated east from Austria to the borders of Russia and the Ottoman Empire and north, south, and west to almost every corner of Europe, including Bohemia (the Czech Republic and Slovakia), Northern Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

2. The reigning monarchs at the time of Hummel's birth were Maria Theresa (1717–1780; reigned 1740–1780) and her son Joseph II (1741–1790; reigned as coregent from 1765 and as Holy Roman emperor 1780–1790). Maria Theresa inherited not only the throne from her father, the Holy Roman emperor Charles VI (1685–1740; reigned 1711–1740) but also an economy and administration in disarray. She therefore embarked on a number of important economic, agricultural, and

educational reforms. Her efforts were supported and furthered by her son Joseph II, who was a staunch advocate of Enlightenment principles, at least as much as was possible for a Habsburg. He worked long hours and, like his mother, tried to make himself accessible to the "people." He also attempted to foster a degree of religious freedom with his "Edict of Tolerance" of 1781, which abolished discrimination against Protestants and Greek Orthodox; later special legislation would allow Jews to settle in areas previously forbidden to them. University training for a number of professions was also made mandatory under his reign. Joseph II was succeeded by Leopold II (1747–1792; reigned 1790–1792), the older brother of Marie Antoinette, whose short and unhappy rule ended just six weeks before the French Assembly forced Louis XVI to declare war on his son and successor, Francis II (1768–1835; reigned 1792–1835). Francis II served as Holy Roman emperor from 1792 to 1806 and then as Francis I, emperor of Austria, until his death. Francis at first seemed to share many of the enlightened views of his predecessors. For example, he spent two full mornings each week receiving anyone who showed up to air a complaint or make a request. The Habsburg reform policies were put on hold, however, because of the numerous wars against Austria that ended only with the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and Wellington's victory over Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. Francis I was succeeded by Ferdinand I, the Benign (1793–1875), who served as emperor of Austria from 1835 to 1848. For further information on the Habsburg dynasty, see Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs* (London: Viking, 1995), and Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526–1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

3. For example, the population of Europe increased from one hundred twenty million people in 1700 to over one hundred ninety million in 1800. By the early nineteenth century, one-quarter million people had moved to London. A seventy-five percent reduction in transatlantic fares between 1815 and 1840 also meant that many Europeans left the continent entirely to take advantage of the burgeoning opportunities in the New World. For further information about the political, social, and cultural changes that occurred during this time, see Robert Gildea, *Barricades and Borders*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; 1st ed. 1987) and T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

4. Blanning, *The Culture of Power*, 137.

5. One manifestation of this was "the replacement of aristocratic patrons by publishers as commissioning agents." Blanning, *The Culture of Power*, 9.

6. An important aspect of nationalism was the desire of each nationality to speak its native language. Johann Gottfried Herder had this in mind when he proposed the establishment of a "Patriotic Institute" to foster the use of a uniform German language in 1788, and he received full support from his patron, Duke Carl August of Weimar. Blanning, *The Culture of Power*, 258. The multiethnic, multilingual population of the Austro-Hungarian Empire provided particularly fertile soil for the growth of nationalism as well as other political movements. The majority of Habsburg subjects felt no real allegiance to the crown in Vienna since they were not bound by any common language, ethnic heritage, or history.

7. We learn much about Hummel's ancestors from a fragmentary autobiography that he wrote at some unknown date. It is printed in Dieter Zimmerschied,

“Die Kammermusik Johann Nepomuk Hummels” (Ph.D. diss., Gutenberg University, 1966), no. 142, 524–27, and summarized in Karl Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel, Der Mensch und Künstler* (Bratislava: Eos, 1934), 16 ff. (Several different spellings of the name “Benyovsky” can be found in the literature. The version above will be used throughout this book.)

8. Zimmerschied, “Die Kammermusik,” 525.

9. Zimmerschied, “Die Kammermusik,” 525. Hummel’s autobiography was clearly written by a grandson who loved and admired his grandfather. For example, he proudly recounts that Caspar remained committed to music long after he stopped playing professionally: “I remember, when I visited him in his old age . . . in the parish church of Gaubitsch . . . I heard him singing a short Haydn or Mozart Mass on Sundays . . . his sonorous bass . . . still strong and without much trembling.” Hummel also made efforts to visit his grandfather as often as possible. He writes, with a sense of some sadness, “When I wanted to visit him in 1805 and was only a few hours from his home, I heard that he had been buried the day before; he reached an age of 83–84 years.” Recent research about the Hummel family provided to me by Manfred Kanngießner and the *Hummel-Gesellschaft-Weimar* raises some questions about the accuracy of Hummel’s account. For example, it appears that Grandfather Casper was born on 2 January 1728 and died on 24 October 1809. This would have made him eighty-one years old at the time of his death rather than Hummel’s estimation of eighty-three or eighty-four. There are also discrepancies regarding the names and numbers of Casper’s sons. Until further research reconciles these questions, it seems prudent to rely on Hummel’s autobiography as a reliable source.

10. Apparently, Caspar created not only a new musical genre in his native Austria but a new source of nourishment as well.

11. Eleonora Gross was born in 1726 and died on 2 November 1762. She married Caspar Melchior Hummel on 25 May 1751. I am grateful to Manfred Kanngießner for providing this information. See also Zimmerschied, “Die Kammermusik,” 525.

12. Zimmerschied, “Die Kammermusik,” 525.

13. Zimmerschied, “Die Kammermusik,” 525. The record of the birth of Johannes can be found in the baptismal registry in Unterstinkenbrunn and is printed in Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 145. Johannes died in Jena on 20 December 1828.

14. Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 18. Ignaz Parhammer (1715–1786) was not only a Jesuit priest but also a respected humanistic scholar and gifted linguist. He earned his doctorate in philosophy in Vienna in 1747, studied poetry and rhetoric in Erlan (Hungary) and Belgrade (Serbia), and ultimately achieved fluency in Serbian, Hungarian, Czech, and Slovakian. Parhammer was appointed director of the *Waisenhaus* in 1759. At the time of Johannes Hummel’s matriculation, there were four hundred and six students enrolled in the school, of whom one hundred sixty-three were girls. Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 19.

15. Zimmerschied, “Die Kammermusik,” 527.

16. Antal Grassalkovich II (1734–1794). The members of the Grassalkovich family, which also included Antal I (1695–1771) and Antal III (1771–1841), were influential figures of the Austro-Hungarian aristocracy during the latter part of the

eighteenth century. Like his brother-in-law Prince Nikolaus Esterházy II, Grassalkovich was a devoted patron of music.

17. Karl Wahr had been serving as the director of the theater in Pressburg since 1773. A renowned actor, Wahr was considered one of the most famous Hamlets of his time. Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 20, fn. 3, citing the *Gothaer Theaterkalender*, 1780.

18. Cited in Karl Benyovsky, *Hummel und Seine Vaterstadt* (Bratislava-Pressburg: Sigmund Steiner, 1937), 6–7, and Karl Benyovsky, ed., *Geschichte der Schaubühne zu Pressburg. Zum Vortheil der Henriette Schmidtinn, Einsagerinn bei der Christoph Seipischen Schauspielergesellschaft, aufgesetzt 1793* (Pressburg: Eos, 1927). Also cited in Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 20, fn. 6. The theater was also the site of many important theatrical events, among them the first German-language performances of Shakespeare's *Othello* and *King Lear*. Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 21, fn. 7, citing Karl Benyovsky, *Das alte Theater, Kulturgeschichte Studie aus Pressburgs Vergangenheit* (Vienna, 1926), 33.

19. For more information about the marriage and birth, see Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 22 and 145. *Huttergasse* was later renamed *Hummelgasse*, and the house and number in Bratislava is currently *Klobunická 2*. See Zoltan Hrabussay, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel und Bratislava* (n.p., ca. 1969), 8. This area was once the site of the Jewish ghetto in Pressburg.

20. The Wartberg Institute was one of many educational institutions erected by Maria Theresa as part of her reforms. For example, she established the *Theresianum* in 1749 to train young nobles for administration, a "Military Academy" in Wiener Neustadt (1752) for the training of officers, a "Commercial Academy" for business education, and an "Oriental Academy" to teach diplomats the languages of the Middle East and Asia. By 1747, Maria Theresa had established over five hundred new primary schools throughout her empire. Consequently, both emperor and empress generously supported the Wartberg. See Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 23, fn. 14, citing the "Austrian War Archives in Vienna, Lit. G. Pag. 1230. Nr. 2238. 8 May 1782." Hrabussay asserts that Johannes assumed the position in 1773. Hrabussay, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel und Bratislava*, 3. This is of course incorrect.

21. Max Johann Seidel, *Biographische Notizen aus dem Leben des am 17ten October 1837 verstorbenen Großherzoglich-Sachsen-Weimarischen Kapellmeister und Ritter mehrer Orden: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, ersten Klavierspieler seiner Zeit* (handwritten), 1. Original in *DÜlk, Katalog der Musikalien* (Bonn, 1987), no. 2317. Seidel admittedly exaggerates or colors his narrative at times, very much in the romantic narrative tradition of the nineteenth century, but his biographical sketch nevertheless remains a highly important source of information about Hummel.

22. Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 26–27, citing Moritz Müller, "Ein alter Musikmeister," *Europa*, no. 37, 1873.

23. Seidel, *Biographische Notizen*, 6.

24. The relocation of the Institute took place in 1786 and was announced in the *Pressburger Zeitung* of 8 July 1786. Cited in Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel*, 26, fn. 19.

25. Johannes received his offer of employment from Johann Friedel and Eleonore Schikaneder, the estranged wife of Emanuel Schikaneder, who served as the directors of the theater that had reopened in 1786 in the *Starembergischen Freihaus*. Emanuel Schikaneder ultimately reconciled with his wife and on 12 July 1789 assumed the management of the theater, where he would preside over the