

Some observations about Johann Baptist Wanhal

a contribution to the Johann Baptist Wanhal Association

by Prof. Paul R. Bryan, Jr.

I have been very fortunate in my career which, through the good graces of the Chapelbrook Foundation and Duke University Research Council, facilitated my coming to Wanhal's stomping grounds from Nechanice to Vienna and Varaždin and to examine sources throughout Europe. It also allowed me to become a friend of and collaborator with Alexander Weinmann and a host of scholars. The result was my book that contains most of the results of my efforts to find all the available information about the composer Wanhal and his symphonies. While I had an enormous amount of help in the process, there is, unfortunately, no successor dedicated to him. Now the Johann Baptist Wanhal Association fills that role. I am delighted to know that my long-time and lonely role regarding Wanhal that resulted in *Johann Wanhal, Viennese Symphonist His Life and His Musical Environment*, i.e. the BIG RED BOOK (= BRB) has been taken from my shoulders and the leadership role has been assumed by Allan Badley and Pavel Svacinka and the committee.

The following is either an introduction or coda (an addendum) to the 'Remarks for the first meeting of the Johann Baptist Wanhal Association meeting in Prague June 20, 2011' that I sent just before that meeting. Still in my possession is much pertinent material that is not sufficiently well organized for publication. After the BRB was published in 1997 I participated in organizing the Society for Eighteenth Century Music and presenting papers for that organization that seemed appropriate regarding Wanhal's symphonies. Otherwise my only other contribution to Wanhal studies is Chapter 26 'Johann Baptist Wanhal' for Indiana Press's forthcoming *The Eighteenth Century Symphony*, a volume in honor of A. Peter Brown.

Meanwhile I have communicated with performers throughout the world who were interested to study and perform Wanhal's symphonies and concertos. It is, therefore, clear that, in addition to Allan Badley's beautiful editions and the excellent Naxos recordings they have generated, there has been a minor explosion of worldwide interest in performing and recording Wanhal's works.

Now, in 2012, with the advent of the Johann Baptist Wanhal Association, I have been reminded that my book was based on Wanhal, the symphonist whereas I must now consider him as Wanhal, the composer! It seems that a good contribution from me could be some observations about what I have learned about Wanhal the man and his career. In the process I have reread the basic biographical sources: Dlabacž, A-A, and Burney, and connected the dots that have thereby become clearer. There are several questions that have intrigued me for many years:

- How did Wanhal support himself?
- What was the relationship between Wanhal and the church?
- How did Wanhal view himself? What kind of person was he?
- What effect did Burney's negative report regarding his visit with Wanhal have on the Viennese?

- Regarding Wanhal's decision not to accept Baron Riesch's important job in Dresden: What happened and when? At what time did he begin to contemplate the idea of refusing the Baron's offer. It would have required a huge personal struggle, especially during his time in Italy where he was alone in the midst of an opulent society that made him feel important and passed him around from the exciting ambiance of one noble lord to another, but a society he could not join? Had he made his decision before he left Italy and returned to Vienna? Did he have confidants who helped him decide, e.g. Gassmann with whom he returned to Vienna? Was there anything said in his conversations with Emperor Joseph II that goaded him into his decision? Where was he living when he returned to Vienna with Gassmann? What connections did he have in Vienna that led to his being rescued from his plight. What were the machinations that ended in his being plucked from the grasp of Baron Riesch and transported to Count Erdödy's home in Varaždin
- Regarding Wanhal and patrons: there is no evidence that he ever sat 'below the salt' with either Schaffgotsch or Erdödy. Might he not be named *the Václav Havel or Martin Luther King of his day*?
- Is there more information available regarding Wanhal's residences including the final one?
- Wanhal's compositions versus those of other composers, especially regarding the large amount of sacred music and trivial music he published and how their outputs changed over the same time period.

As explained in the BIG RED BOOK, most of our basic information about the first phase of Wanhal's life comes from two persons: Dlabacž who spent considerable time with Wanhal in Vienna in 1795 and speaks from a personal point of view, and A-A, an unidentified critic whose necrology was published in 1813. A natural empathy between Wanhal and Dlabacž, can be assumed since they were fellow countrymen from Bohemia and had strong religious inclinations. Most of A-A's information which was published in 1813, while second hand, has the ring of truth. Burney, who interviewed Wanhal for a few hours during the darkest moments of Wanhal's life, was more interested in himself but his words cast a shadow on Wanhal's reputation that has lingered.

A short biography

Wanhal was born in 1739 in Nechanice a little Bohemian town in the midst of the vast lands owned by the powerful Count Schaffgotsch to whom he was legally bonded, a *serf* - a slave in modern parlance. Details of his childhood are sketchy and not much is known about his family, although his mother's family may have been musicians. His parents recognized his musical potential and reared him with a mission that he must escape the bonds to which society had held them and would entrap him. We are told that, in the local school at the age of eight, he was instructed in singing and playing string and wind instruments. Later, at an unspecified date, he no longer lived in Nechanice because he was sent to Marscherdorf to learn the German language and other fields of knowledge. Still later, as a youth of thirteen, he was a violinist and the organist in Opoczna (Opočna) and shortly thereafter, at the age of seventeen, the choir director in

Niemezowes whereby he supported himself for some years.

By that time he had also composed and played his own concertos for violin and organ. He, therefore, was well trained and ‘germanized’ from the beginning as preparation for going to Vienna and was already acquainted with the many demands of being a Kapellmeister (organist, teacher, librarian, composer and chief motivator). By the time he reached Vienna in ca 1760 at the age of twenty-four, with the assistance of Countess Schaffgotsch and her sister (the wife of the ambassador to Portugal), he was superbly well prepared both socially and musically to face the demands of the situation. The location of his first residence in Vienna is not known, but he arrived at the best possible time for his career and it seems that as soon as possible he purchased his freedom from bondage.

From that time on Wanhals’ career could be depicted by a spectacularly rising crescendo of success. It was propelled especially by his teaching and by his symphonies, as he rode the crest of a wave that led to his name becoming familiar in the households of Viennese musical intelligentsia in the 1760s and 1770s. The news that this glamorous young man from the country had been invited to assume the role of Kapellmeister for Baron (Freiherr) Wolfgang von Riesch’s establishment in Dresden and was first being sent to Italy was electrifying. In Italy, the center of music, he was to acquire the finishing touches by speaking the language, meeting the great personages and rubbing elbows with composers like C.W. Gluck and Florian Gassmann, a fellow Bohemian and the musical director to the Viennese court, who were already there. The latter was even in the process of composing two operas to which Wanhals contributed some arias. It must have been a big success story in Viennese circles.

Doubtless reports of Wanhals’ exciting activity during his two years in Italy were sent back to Vienna by friends or official envoys and received with joy and pride and perhaps a bit of surprise that he seemed to be staying longer than the projected time. There must, of course, have been a shocked reaction some time in 1772 when the news that, instead of going to Dresden to assume his position with the Baron, Wanhals had refused it and had returned to Vienna with Gassmann.

There is no description of how or where the confrontation with Baron Riesch took place but it was unquestionably a crisis moment in Wanhals’ life. Dlabacž says that he was overcome by ‘a mental depression [*Gemüthskrankheit*] which hindered his work not a little’. During this time Charles Burney visited him in his little ‘bower’ [‘in a situation more lofty than splendid’] on the other side of the Danube and formulated the overblown story of what had happened to the unfortunate young man that he published in his *Travels*.

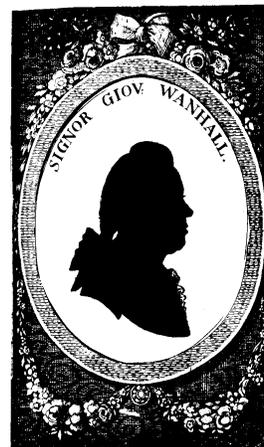
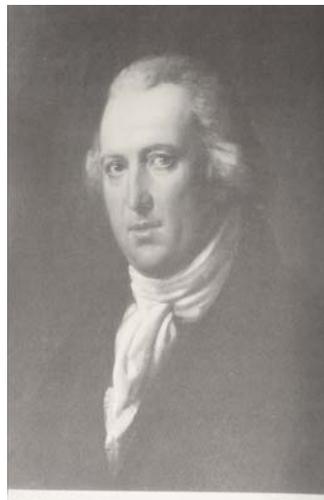
Burney’s visit must have soon been followed by an emissary of Count Erdödy who rescued Wanhals from his plight and took him to the Count’s home in Varaždin, Croatia and established him in a new job for which he was well prepared: the role of Kapellmeister for the musical establishment in the Ursuline Convent, on the Erdödy estates. It included a small orchestra of the nuns, a position that entailed far less responsibility than would the Baron’s in Dresden!

In the next few years it seems that Wanhals was going back and forth from Varaždin to Vienna during the concert season and perhaps to Count Erdödy’s other residence in Pressburg. Proof that he continued to compose both symphonies and sacred music is provided by autograph copies of both symphonies and sacred pieces with dates, ranging from 1773-79 still in the convent’s archive. During these years he was firmly reestablishing himself in Vienna, doubtless closer to the

Griechenbeisl than to the bower where Burney and his helper eventually found him after a long walk on a dusty road on September 12 1772! Wherever his abode, he was easily available to his former students and the soirees for which he produced his symphonies. There seems no evidence to suggest that there was a big or long-lasting reaction in Vienna to Burney's remarks in his *Travels* that were published in London in 1773.

Wanhal's ceasing to produce symphonies ca. 1779 reflects both the drooping economy and the tastes of the Viennese high society that depended on it and supported him. He merely changed the kinds of compositions he composed, and public appreciation of his music remained high. On the serious side, he began to compose more music for the church (many title pages of his sacred works record performance dates between 1774-1818) and to participate in the fledgling music-publishing industry, perhaps in connection with his old French friend, Huberty. After 1780, when Artaria issued Wanhal's op. 28, more than 270 of his compositions were published in Vienna alone. He was able to choose the Viennese publishers with whom they were placed. Until and even after he died the following publishers issued his compositions in Vienna: Artaria (Torricella), forty-nine items; Hoffmeister, twenty-one items beginning in 1784; Traeg, ten items beginning in 1795; Eder, fifty-eight items beginning in 1796; Sauer, seventy-four items beginning in 1796; Koželuch, seven items beginning in 1798; and Sennfelder-Steiner (*Chemische Druckerei*) fifty-two items beginning in 1805. He also sold some of his compositions to publishers away from Vienna in London, Offenbach, Paris and Amsterdam; included among the foreign publishers were André, Bland, Bureau d'Abonnement, the Hummels in Amsterdam and Berlin. He never bothered to publish his own compositions as did many of his colleagues like Koželuch.

Wanhal's last residence, where he lived alone in 1813, was in a flat in the Trienterhof no. 896 almost in the shadow of the Stephansdom, which owned it. Predominant in its contents was his *Musikalien*. Most fascinating is a four-page *Inventur und Schätzung* that was made by his special publisher, Ignaz Sauer, who was also the *Inventurs- und Schätzungs- Kommissär in Kunstssachen*. In beautiful script, it includes an inventory of Wanhal's belongings including his *Musikalien* and probably represents the music he composed after returning from Italy in 1772, and established residence in Vienna. The 247 items it contains were autographs, the copies he had given to copyists and, therefore, most of the music he had composed over the years since he assumed control of his own existence, including 32 symphonies in score and one in parts, and four bassoon concertos and pieces for Czakanflute, etc. Weimann's unpublished article broke them down into 472 items.



Good pictorial representations of the ca. fifty year old Wanhall who, at the peak of his career walked the streets in Vienna and drank strong coffee and smoked some type of tobacco at the *Griechenbeisl* (as he had in Venice many years previously with the famous nobleman Leonardo Venieri), are presented by two pictures [in Vienna's Gesellschaft der Musikfreude]: Joseph Willibrod Mähler's portrait and an engraving of SIGNOR GIOV. WANHALL by an unidentified artist. Similar recognition is provided by a *Schattenriss* dated 1785 by Lösenkohl and the appearance of his name as 'Van Hall' is prominently displayed among the stars and superstars in a cartouche published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1799.

I believe that Mähler's portrait is the way Wanhall viewed himself c. 1790: a mature person who, in the face of society's most difficult roadblocks, emerged as a flourishing and respected man-about-town in Vienna who is known to all. He is comfortable in his belief that the church is his basic foundation, proud that he is not beholden to a patron, and confident in his proven ability to support himself because of his ability as a composer. He can care for the needs of himself and others; the needy man on the street, with whom he empathized and to whom he would give the shirt off his back, and the nobleman (or his wife or child) with whom he was on a first name basis.

His fingers are on the musical pulse of the community and he had long ago given up writing symphonies and even string quartets - the playthings of rich nobility - who are more enamored of compositions by Haydn, Mozart and the young lion, Beethoven. Responding to the increasingly easy availability of the piano to the nouveau-riche he easily produces a sonata or caprice or variations on a popular tune or a duo for flutes or even a concerto for piano or bassoon etc. with abbreviated orchestra. For a big orchestra with a full wind section he was commissioned to compose the dances for the masked balls in the famed and prestigious Imperial Ballrooms (*k. k. kleinen Redoutensaal*) for the *Faschings* season during both 1792 and 1794. Among the dance types are Ländler, pointing forward to the future craze for waltzes by the Strausses and Lanner. Otherwise, together with his favorite publisher, Sauer, he can create something whereby they could both profit from the latest sensational bit of news such as *Die grosse Seeschlacht bei Abukir* or *Trafalgar* or *Die Vollmondsnacht auf dem Kahlenberge*.

He still composes for orchestra because almost every monastery, cloister and parish church had its own orchestra which is employed to perform a wide variety of sacred texts: masses, offertories, motets etc. Many of these works include parts for clarinet and *obbligato* parts for trombone and viola etc, instruments not found in Wanhall's symphonies. His daily personal relationships were closer to the man on the street than to Mozart. And he is doubtless aware of Mozart's presence and of his personal travails with his wife and family as well as of his demise into an unknown grave. But he does not relate in a warm personal manner because he has no responsibilities to care for family and no close friends or confidants. He is also, of course, aware of Joseph Haydn's responsibilities at Eszterháza and all they entailed as well as that of the Kapellmeister of Count's Wallenstein and Clam Gallas for whom he supplied symphonies at their palaces in Vienna, without envying any of them. The monasteries also had palaces in Vienna and these too were probable contact points. It is a bit surprising that there are no reports of his visits to monasteries or parish churches where his works are found in sizeable numbers.

As a performer one might presume that he attended the famous Hofburg Palace in 1792 and 1794 for which he was commissioned to compose the important *Dances for the Redoutensaal*.

Wanhal was known to be an excellent, but not a virtuoso performer. Kelly's account of the most famous quartet in music history in which Wanhal apparently was the cellist, with Dittersdorf, a true virtuoso, and Haydn and Mozart who were not, perhaps underlies this point when he suggests that the performance was not the most exciting he had ever heard. How interesting it would be to discover whose quartets they were performing and if Wanhal's was among them.

Concerning the effect of Burney's remarks on Wanhal's reputation: Wanhal has in recent years



been represented to the public by a picture of a tired droopy-faced old man that was used to advertise a modern recording of his delightful symphonies. That illustration had been deliberately antiqued from an engraving of the dignified elderly man by Riedel. One must wonder why it was used since its influence is negative and would not have encouraged most persons to purchase the long-play disk recording. It represents the point of view that was engendered by gossip-monger Burney's diatribe that included such remarks as

A little perturbation of the faculties is a promising circumstance in a young musician, and M. V. began his career very auspiciously, by being somewhat flighty. Enthusiasm seems absolutely necessary in all the arts, but particularly in music . . . a cold, sedate and wary disposition, but ill suits the possessor of such an art . . . the intellects are endangered . . . But as insanity in an artist . . . he may cry out to the physicians who cure him . . . M. V. is now so far recovered and possesses a mind so calm and tranquil, that his last pieces appear to me rather insipid and common, and his former agreeable extravagance seems changed into too great economy of thought.

and A-A's second-hand rhetoric published in 1813:

... he was seized by his bigoted obsessions, which he previously had suffered only moderately, so badly that he was overwhelmed; his entire nature was shattered and his mind was distraught; only after a long time were the doctors able to heal him. In this condition of mania he had the strangest visions. One of them persuaded him to tear his clothes, cut his hair and throw into the fire a symphony and several other compositions which he had just completed, etc.

Burney's self-serving, flamboyant and exaggerated remarks in his *Travels* published in London in 1773 were partially based on his pique that in Vienna, if he wanted the symphonies he came for, he must pay for them at a copyist's shop (in England we publish music). So he, therefore, had to settle for some insipid little pieces that did not have the exciting qualities that he had heard in the symphonies he had heard in England. It would be well to remember that he reached Vienna by riding in a little hut perched on top of a large raft made of logs, and, furthermore that he had been well informed about Wanhal's problem before he set out on his long hike beyond the Danube to find Wanhal's bower.

Burney's assessment apparently was soon forgotten in the view of the average catholic Viennese, but not by the rest of the musical world. E.L. Gerber remarks in his 1792 *Tonkünstler*

Lexikon that all Wan,_hal wants to do is ‘please the masses’. Gerber was speaking, however, from both the distance and the attitude of Northern Germany where the musical intelligentsia preferred serious contrapuntal music to melody-predominated pieces, but where Wan,_hal’s symphonies, nonetheless, were still *au courant*, and where Masses, Te Deums, Offertories, and Motets were not.

It should also be noted that Burney must have changed his mind because after his visit with Wanhal in Vienna he subsequently heard at the residence of Mr. Osborne in Dresden ‘an incomparable symphony by Vanhal, a work which his inflamed spirit had brought forth in those happy moments when his reason exerted less influence than his emotions. Since the recovery of this excellent artist we have experienced various great works from him which have been performed by the most numerous [practically all] orchestras, and have contributed greatest fame to him’.

Wanhal was probably aware of the criticism from abroad that had been inspired by Burney, e.g. Junker who, in 1776, wrote: ‘Formerly Vanhal’s imagination was inclined toward madness - then the character of his pieces was naivety, flow, melody, lightness - now his mind is calm and tranquil, his pieces shallow and common’. E.L. Gerber in 1792 complains that ‘Wan,_hal’s only concern is to please the masses [‘dem grossen Haufen’] and to attract as many buyers as he can’ which clearly shows the attitude of Burney. In fact Burney’s name and influence is seen in all the Groves Dictionaries of Music from the article ‘Wanhal’ by ‘G’ in Groves third edition(1927) which notes: ‘The list of his works is enormous’ and ends with ‘Many of the symphonies and sonatas were produced a dozen at a time . . . [and] must not therefore be judged of from too serious a point of view’.

Burney’s name is included in all the comparable articles in successive editions of Groves. In the fourth edition of 1940 Wanhal’s name is changed to ‘VANHAL, Jan Křtitel’ by ‘G’ thus beginning the attempt to portray him as a Czech rather than a Viennese composer. My own article was, against my protest, forced into the V volume, no. 26, of New Groves II. References to Burney are also included in both MGG editions.

Wanhal’s personal characteristics

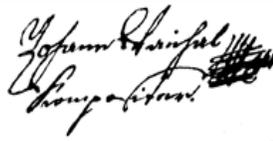
Here is a list that I have derived and which I believe provide clues to many aspects of his life and career.

- ***Personal appearance and deportment:*** he was **handsome** and concerned about his appearance, probably strong and healthy. **Good natured** and **upbeat**, easy going, **pleasant**, **sensitive** and **conscientious**, **shy** and **extraordinarily modest** and not interested in talking about himself, and he **had a beautiful bass voice**, all characteristics that endeared him to the nobility, especially the wives. That he was equally comfortable with the nobility and the man on the street is shown in Georg Forster’s Diary entry on Aug. 31, 1784: ‘ . . . at 10:30 in the evening with Lichnowsky to the home of the Sonnenfels in the city. Lichnowsky, Count Nostitz, Count Wrbona, and Vanhal . . . at 11:30 Sonnenfels departed with his wife and Vanhal for Bohemia’.
- ***Interpersonal relationships:*** **generous** (Dlabacž: ‘multifarious beneficence’ (he would give

you the shirt off his back), **concerned** about his fellows who were less fortunate than he, and **sympathetic**, a quality necessary for being a good teacher, **proper and friendly** with a **warm handshake** but not a warm or outreaching personality.

- **Character**: a keen, quick-thinking and calculating **mind** that was alert to the situation at hand. He was highly motivated; a hard worker who was aware of what was going on around him, both musically and politically; **disciplined, impulsive**, driven by need for self support in the upper-level society to which he was not born; **strict principles, integrity** and **strong will to succeed**; **sensitive, conscientious** and **proud**.

All are characteristics that could explain many things such as his approach to composing, whether of symphonies or occasional pieces or consistently spelling his name in the Germanized form.

A handwritten signature in black ink, likely of Johann Wanhal, written in a cursive style. The signature is somewhat difficult to decipher but appears to contain the name 'Johann Wanhal' and possibly a date or location.

They could also have impacted his realization that he could not follow up on his agreement to taking Baron Riesch's position and that he must not do so. He had been bold enough to cast off the support of a patron and was fearful of the results. Fortunately there was another patron who had enough clout to bail him out: Count Erdödy who trumped Baron Riesch. Was there some political maneuvering in the process? It even seems not impossible that Wanhal might even have been clever and calculating, depressed rather than sick, and looking for a way out of his quandary.

- concern for **family** regarding composing Requiems for his parents and returning home for their performances.
- An **opportunist** with an **entrepreneurial spirit** who had an important relationship including a family tie with Sauer the entrepreneur supreme, and other Viennese publishers.
- **systematic** and **frugal** as revealed in the inventory of Wanhal's possessions made by Sauer (operating in his official role as *Schätzmeister* of the *Kunstsachen* of deceased Viennese).
- **alert, aware** and **imaginative** e.g. of what his colleagues were composing and things that had commercial potential, e.g. dedications and types of subjects upon which to base compositions.
- **practical** and **determined**, more concerned about life's practicalities than about his legacy or reputation. He stopped composing symphonies at the height of his artist success (**D4** one of his best symphonies was probably the last one he wrote) when, probably due to the dip in the economy the commissions ceased.
- Wanhal was a **loner** who lived alone and had no daily responsibilities for friends or family. Doubtless a natural empathy with Dlabacž developed during the latter's visit in 1795, but there is no evidence that he had any special relationships with men or women other than that he worked with the nuns in the convent in Varaždin (ostensibly the job that Count Erdödy had in mind for him to do) and that he bequeathed his effects to the wife of a bookseller friend.

We are told nothing about Wanhal's natural musical talent. Did he, e.g., have an exceptionally

good memory or pitch recognition? Regardless, it can be seen that he was exceptionally highly musically talented, and an early age was taught the basic skills of music, harmony, counterpoint, form, and general bass and that during his youth he learned to apply them quickly as an organist and violinist and as a composer of concertos for both instruments.

Regarding how he supported himself: Wanhal, who lacked the continuing support of a rich patron and was unwilling to undertake the responsibilities of a Kapellmeister, was uniquely subject to the musical whims and economic realities of Viennese upper-level society in the late 18th c. A-A pointing to the large quantity of pieces he published says: ‘He was dedicated to write practice pieces for young people to play on all instruments; and in this sphere his talent shaped an important epoch [*machte sein Talent eine bedeutende Epoch*]’. ‘As much of such music as he wrote for this purpose during his long life span, it still found a ready market, and he never had any difficulty finding publishers for such works, and beyond this he found himself continuously pressed by them to provide such pieces’.

Wanhal was a **church musician** from the beginning. Although he never joined the clergy he was devoted to the church throughout his career. The performance of his sacred music in monasteries and churches of Vienna and throughout the Habsburg territories is attested to by the large number of copies listed in Weinmann’s catalogue. Pointing towards his future predominant concern with sacred music are non-autograph parts for a Motetto *Lauda Sion* and *Aria Solemnis in G . . .* dated 1767 [WeinWanCat XXe: G2] (with indications of repeat performances in the succeeding five years) that are now in the Austrian National Library. A-A spoke of Wanhal’s ‘true religion’ and further comments: ‘His most important work, however, from now on (i.e. after his recovery from his ‘illness’) consisted of music for the church which he offered to his Creator as an offering in gratitude for his restored health. The best among his works are his church works in whose style he preserved a fortunate skill and inventiveness; these were, however, little known to the general public because they were not published, but were the private property of individuals’.

Vol. 2 of the Weinmann-Wanhal Catalogue, includes a list of 45 masses and 199 smaller church works (of fourteen different text types) he composed in the later years of his life. Their title pages show that they were composed for and performed in monasteries, cloisters and parish churches such as Einsiedeln, Eisenstadt, Melk, Sonntagberg, Voralpe, Wilhering, etc. Rochlitz-Gerber-Wurzbach all point out that at the end of his life Wanhal completed two large masses, probably the same two that were published by Steiner in 1818. Unfortunately there are no records of payments or commission. Study and evaluation of the sacred works and information about his relationship with the church is one of the most important needs. As shown by the works already recorded, the *Stabat Mater* and the *Missa Pastoralis* among others, many gems will be identified.

Wanhal was, in fact, a celibate who was, in a sense, married to the Church. He chose to join neither the clergy nor the Masons, and he was not an atheist. I regard him as a practical man who composed a huge quantity of sacred music and in addition, during his extensive career, wrote all the compositions included in the Weinmann-Wanhal Catalogue!

Considering the low regard Wanhal has been accorded due to the large quantity of occasional and instructional pieces he wrote, any attempt to evaluate him as a serious composer as I have done with his symphonies must involve a similar study of Wanhal’s church music. In the long run it may be his best work. In that regard it might be helpful to identify works that might represent his best

efforts e.g. his *Requiems* for his parents or his *Trauermusik* in memory of Joseph II (whose text says 'He broke the chains of bondage for body and spirit'. ('*Er brach dir der Knechtschaft Kette für den Leib und Geist entzwey . . .*').

As a coda appropriate to our time and its social upheavals, just as in the eighteenth-century, it seems appropriate to point out that Wanhal's non-violent contribution to the revolutionary changes which played out in eighteenth-century European society deserves special recognition. By exchanging his role as bonded servant for that of an independent and highly respected citizen of Vienna, entirely by the fruit of his musical labors - his significant compositions - he qualifies as one of society's heroes. Having successfully bypassed the artist's usual need for the support of a patron, he must be reckoned a super-hero, a man of spirit and wit, a real-life musical Figaro who outsmarted the Viennese musical system. His career does more than merely mirror the musical moods and trends of the time. He was a leader who, through his independence and courageous disavowal of the artist's normal methods of support in eighteenth-century European society, actively contributed to the trend towards emancipation for individuals in that strongly regulated society. Only a part of his music has been studied in detail and made available to the public, so the complete extent of his musical accomplishments remains to be seen and heard. Clearly however he was a very important composer who thwarted, and helped to disintegrate the musical establishment which had for so long determined the lives and career paths of the Haydns, Mozarts, *et al* of the musical world.

There is no scientific way to order or rank composers according to who influenced whom until all their compositions have been exhumed and studied and unless better methods can be devised for dating. Neither can be claimed for Wanhal or any of the acknowledged Master composers or *Kleinmeister-Nebenmänner* active during the Classical Period in 18th-century Vienna. But I believe his symphonies show that he was a first-class composer and a leader among his contemporaries.

We must also recognize that, like all the so-called *Kleinmeister = Nebenmänner*, Wanhal is still a shadowy figure whose story as well as his music should be better known to today's concert-going public. In time, especially after his sacred works are examined, it might even be possible to claim that, among composers, Wanhal is the first among equals both in terms of both the quality and the quantity of his serious compositions.

Paul R. Bryan, Jr.
Durham, N.C.

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www.wanhal.org