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Issues of Authenticity and Chronology in the Sacred Music of Leopold Hofmann

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Around 650 manuscript copies of sacred works with attributions to the eighteenth-century Viennese composer Leopold Hofmann have survived into the 21st Century.ⁱ Few of these copies are in score and none, bar a brief *Alleluja* setting is indisputably in the composer's hand. Most of Hofmann's sacred works are preserved in manuscript parts of varying degrees of reliability and, all too often, of uncertain provenance. Few of these parts offer much help in the matter of establishing the works' authenticity let alone reliable composition dates. Some, indeed, complicate matters further by introducing major textual variants that appear to be authorial in origin with the attendant problem of determining the primacy of the versions. These variants are not always apparent from entries in contemporary thematic catalogues or more recent bibliographical sources. How then does one combine this frequently unhelpful bibliographical evidence with the slender biographical information we possess to construct a tolerably accurate account of the career of such an important figure in eighteenth-century Viennese music? In this paper I argue that one of the keys to solving the problem lies in reconstructing Hofmann's working repertory at the two churches with which he was associated longest: St Peters (from 1764 until his death in 1793) and St Stephen's Cathedral (from 1772). This reconstruction doesn't provide all the answers but it does allow us to separate works that were performed (and possibly composed) in conjunction with his official duties from those that may have been written for other institutions.

Leopold Hofmann was a church musician by profession and wrote sacred music throughout his career as a composer. In his 1774 application for the post of Hofkapellmeister, Hofmann wrote that he had composed church music from his earliest years and that his works had been received with the greatest approbation in all the great churches in Vienna.ⁱⁱ This was no exaggeration. Hofmann joined the chapel of the Empress Dowager Elizabeth Christine as a chorister in 1745 and while there began his studies in keyboard playing and composition with the chapel's organist, Georg Christoph Wagenseil. After the dissolution of the chapel in 1750 he continued his studies with

Wagenseil who seems to have thought a good deal of his young pupil and certainly helped further his career in Vienna through his connections with the Imperial Court.ⁱⁱⁱ Wagenseil may also have been instrumental in organizing Venier's publication of six of Hofmann's symphonies in Paris in 1760.^{iv} The earliest known work by Hofmann is a short *Alleluja* setting scored for four-part choir with an accompaniment of two violins, basso and organ with is preserved in autograph in the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien.^v Written on a single leaf of 14 stave hand-ruled paper, the piece may represent a student exercise. The rather informal signature – “*Da Leop. H: D: S: M: 1756*” – suggests that the work was not written with wider circulation in mind. It is a simple yet effective setting and contains a number of stylistic elements that are encountered in the composer's later works. Two years later, when the twenty-year-old Hofmann married, he gave his occupation as *musicus* (probably a violinist) at St Michael's. One of the witnesses at the wedding was Johann Nepomuk Boog, *regens chori* at St Peter's. Whether we can infer from this that Hofmann also played in the orchestra at St Peter's is unclear, but it does suggest that the two men knew each other well and that his appointment as Boog's successor in 1764 may have been made on the recommendation of Boog himself.

It is not clear how much sacred music Hofmann had written by 1764. Only a handful of works can be dated up to and including 1764^{vi} but these surely represent only a small proportion of his output from these years. Copies of two of these works are preserved in the music archive at St Michael's.^{vii} Unfortunately, neither can be dated with confidence and as both works achieved wide circulation during the Eighteenth Century it is possible that the copies were acquired after Hofmann's professional association with the church ceased.

Little is known about the early years of Hofmann's professional life beyond his connection with St Michael's. As the salary of a rank and file violinist in mid-eighteenth-century Vienna was modest, he may have held multiple positions in churches around the city or perhaps in one or more of the many private musical establishments maintained by wealthy members of the nobility. One of these churches was the Obere Jesuitenkirche

(Kirche am Hof) where, according to Abbé Stadler, Hofmann was organist around the years 1762-1763.^{viii} Interestingly, one of the early Masses (No.10 and its variant 10a) includes an elaborate organ solo in the *Benedictus* which Hofmann may have played himself. The wide range of genres that he cultivated during the early 1760s suggests that his professional life was hectic and his duties varied. Although this pattern continued in his later career there is no doubt that his appointment as *regens chori* at St Peter's in 1764 caused Hofmann to concentrate his energies on the composition of church music and this inevitably precipitated a decline in his output of instrumental works, particularly symphonies.

Hofmann's appointment as Kapellmeister at St Stephen's may represent the pinnacle of his professional career but in many respects his early years at St Peter's are the most important of his career. During the period 1764 to 1772 he composed the bulk of his works in all genres, consolidated his international reputation as a composer, secured a lucrative appointment as Hofklaviermeister in 1769), and three years later, arguably the most sought-after position in Viennese music. His significance and the respect in which he was held during these years is evident both from the tone and the specificity of the references in the well-known article "Von dem Wienerischen Geschmack in der Musik" which was published in the *Wiener Diarium* in 1766.^{ix}

As the title of this paper suggests, authenticity and chronology are highly problematic issues in Hofmann research. The 650-odd extant manuscript copies represent something in the order of 185 works about most of nothing is known and little can be surmised. How then do we distinguish between authentic works, works of questionable authorship and spurious works in the absence of autograph scores? How do we evaluate multiple versions, musical variants and contrafacta? And how do we even begin to create a chronological framework for his extensive output? There are no simple solutions to these problems but it is possible nonetheless to make some sense out of the confusing jumble of extant sources.

If one were to apply the same rigorous standards employed by scholars working on the music of Bach, Haydn or Mozart to authenticate Hofmann's works his output would shrink to two works and a fragment. Even then, the range of extant autograph material is so small that it raises doubts about its usefulness as a guide to authenticating further possible autographs. Indeed, I entertain grave suspicions about the *a cappella* mass autograph in the Austrian National Library^x and certainly see no justification for dating the work to 1760 or suggesting that it represents a kind of rite of passage work to prove that its composer was ready to work as a professional as has been claimed in a recent publication.^{xi} In Hofmann's case, the authenticity of a work rests on a number of factors among which are provenance of the source or sources, the existence of multiple copies with supporting attribution, and the inclusion of the work in reliable contemporary thematic catalogues.

The music archive of St Peter's, Vienna has formed part of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library for many years. It is the richest church music archive in Vienna after the Hofkapelle and is without question the most important source for Hofmann's sacred works. When Carl Rouland was appointed Kapellmeister in 1897 he found the archive in a very disorganized state. By his own account, "only the repertory pieces lay to hand; all the remaining music, smothered in finger-thick dust, lay about in a disorganized manner in great higgledy-piggledy piles."^{xii} Rouland reorganized the music, made new scores of some of the more interesting items for use in modern performances, and most importantly, he published (in 1908) a catalogue of the entire music archive including a list of instruments owned by St Peter's. Only one Hofmann work listed in Rouland's catalogue, the motet *Gaude coelum et mirare*, has been lost or misplaced since 1908; and of even greater interest is the fact that the works listed in this catalogue match in almost every detail those listed in a catalogue of the collection prepared in 1824 by the Dechant und Pfarrer Joseph Sauermann and Kirchenprobst Ignaz Anton Figl **[Fig.1]**.^{xiii} It appears then that the current collection of works probably comes close to representing Hofmann's working repertory during his tenure as *regens chori*. Some works have undoubtedly been lost including Hofmann's only-known setting of the *Stabat mater*.^{xiv}

Fond 24 St Peter Wien includes fifty-three works by Hofmann: fourteen masses, one Requiem, seven litanies, twenty-three motets, three offertories, one Te Deum and several miscellaneous works. As a group, these works represent under a third of the extant works attributed to Leopold Hofmann. The St Peter's copies are the closest we come to a corpus of authentic performing material for Hofmann's sacred music yet they offer at best mixed evidence in relation to internal chronology. One of the most puzzling aspects of the copies is that not a single manuscript part or wrapper identifies Hofmann as either *Regens chori* or *Maestro di Capella* at St Peter's whereas ten attribute the works to "Signore Leopoldo de Hoffmann, Maestro di Capella di Santo Steffano." The unusual form of the composer's name and the uniformity of the handwriting indicate that all of these wrappers were likely produced by the same copyist. The reference to Hofmann's position at St Stephen's establishes a convenient *terminus ante quem* of April 1772, the month Hofmann succeeded Georg Reutter as Kapellmeister at St Stephen's. Performances are recorded on a number of the St Peter's wrappers but none of these is earlier than 1772. Purely on the basis of the physical evidence then there is nothing to suggest that any of Hofmann's works were performed at St Peter's in the 1760s or indeed that he was connected professionally with the church. Such evidence (or the lack of it) highlights the pitfalls of restricting oneself to a literal interpretation of the bibliographic record however well intentioned the motivation for doing so.

An interesting aspect of the performance data is the revelation that many of these performances took place outside St Peter's. The most common venue is St Stephen's, all of the performances taking place there within the first year or two of Hofmann's appointment as Domkapellmeister. Performances at other churches are also noted although it is unclear whether Hofmann himself directed these or whether the annotations on the wrappers merely record the loan of the parts to the churches concerned. That he did direct performances at other churches during the 1760s is borne out by a report printed in the *Wiener Diarium* in September 1767 which describes the celebration of a High Mass at the Augustinerkirche in honour of the patron saints of Styria, Aegydius, Abbot, and Maximilian, Bishop and Martyr, which was attended by several members of the Imperial family. The "famous Mr Leopold Hoffmann" is described as an "Imperial

and Royal Court Musician and the present Choir Director at St Peter's.”^{xv} The reference to Hofmann's status as a court musician is puzzling since no evidence has come to light that he held such a position at this time. The success of the occasion - the *Wiener Diarium* was lavish in its praise of Hofmann's music - led to further appearances in this capacity one of which is described in Issue 73, September 1771. Hofmann's titles are unchanged but the music is described as “one of the most exquisite works of the famous Mr Leopold Hofmann (‘eines von den auserlesensten Werken des berühmten Leopold Hoffmann’)” whereas in 1767 the implication is that the work was new (‘eine neue Erfindung’).^{xvi}

Hofmann's use of music from St Peter's for services at the cathedral suggests that in the early years of his tenure there cannot have been a great deal of his music, if any, in the archive. He doubtless set about rectifying this as quickly as possibly, building up a library of his own works that he supplemented from time to time with the use of borrowed material. The combined resources of the two collections provided him with the bulk of his working repertory for the remaining twenty years of his life.

Unlike the St Peter's archive which survives intact, the music archive at St Stephen's was largely destroyed in May 1945 when the cathedral burned for several days after being hit by Russian artillery fire. Although most of the works were destroyed – and among them, all of Hofmann's – we are in the fortunate position of being able to identify all of his works that were in the archive at that time.

Our knowledge of the cathedral's holdings of Hofmann's music comes from three sources, the most widely known of which is the list of works Robert Eitner includes under the entry for Hofmann in his *Quellenlexikon*.^{xvii} Eitner's list makes it possible to identify works with distinctive or unique texts, such as motets and offertories, but not generally those with liturgical texts like masses and litanies. Whether Eitner actually saw these works or simply included information about them from a Viennese correspondent is uncertain. What is clear, however, is that the works included in the *Quellenlexikon*

correspond exactly with those listed in two nineteenth-century catalogues of the cathedral music archive.

The first of these is a non-thematic catalogue drawn up in December 1824 that includes, in addition to a list of all the music and instruments belonging to the cathedral, an inventory of the furniture in the Kapellhaus.^{xviii} Under the rubric Domkapellmeister - Hofmann the following works are listed [Fig.2]:

Domkapellmeister: Hofmann					
13 Solemn Masses	7	4	1		
	C	D	Eb		
1 Missa brevis	Bb				
14 Graduals and Offertories	5	2	4	1	2
	C	D	Eb	F	C
1 Veni Sancte	C				
2 Te Deum laudamus	2 C				
1 Salve Regina	C				
1 Solemn Litany	C				
1 4-part Panga Lingua	C				
1 Vidi Aquam	C				
1 Sequence	C				
1 4-part Antiphon					
- Miserere	a				
1 Requiem	C minor	Kyrie – Dies Irae			
2 Motets	C	d			
2 Motets	Eb				
1 Exaudi Domini	F				
1 4-part Confitebor de Angelus	d				

A second thematic catalogue, copied in 1837 by the contrabassist Joseph Perschl from a version prepared ten years earlier by the then Domkapellmeister Johann Baptist Gänsbacher,^{xix} enables us to identify the works with certainty and make a comparison between this collection and the archive at St Peter's. A number of points stand out.

Firstly, a significant number of works duplicate those found in the St Peter's archive. These presumably represent compositions that Hofmann performed regularly and felt were essential to have in both locations even though the St Peter's material was freely available and lay in close proximity to the cathedral.

Secondly, eight of the St Peter's copies show evidence of having been used for services at St Stephens in 1772 and 1773.^{xx} As four these works are listed in the St Stephen's catalogues^{xxi} it is probably safe to infer that the cathedral copies were acquired *after* 1773. The other works may not have been borrowed again but it is equally possible that the lack of performance data post 1773 simply signifies that the practice of recording performances on wrappers was abandoned. Given the close links between the two musical establishments, it seems reasonable to suppose that Hofmann also borrowed music from the St Stephen's archive for performances at St Peter's from time to time; the destruction of the cathedral archive makes verification of this impossible.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the question arises as to whether the works listed in the St Stephen's catalogues that are not found in the St Peter's archive were composed later in his career or, at the very least, not prior to his appointment as Domkapellmeister in 1772. The evidence for this is tenuous at best but it remains a possibility if only because so few of Hofmann's works in the St Peter's archive can be confidently dated post 1772. Only two works, the Motets Nos 10 and 16, have wrappers that describe Hofmann as Kapellmeister at St Stephen's;^{xxii} these copies, for obvious reasons, are unlikely to have been acquired earlier than April 1772. Unfortunately, although all too predictably to the scholar in search of unambiguous chronological evidence, we find that Motet No.10 is not among the works listed in the St Stephen's catalogues. If we accept that the unduplicated works in the St Stephen's archive were composed later, then we need to consider whether they were written in the first instance for the cathedral or merely acquired at a later date for use there. The evidence will be considered later in this paper.

Finally, the positive identification of the works in the St Stephen's catalogue allows us to consider the relationship between the music archives at the cathedral and St Peters. Hofmann's was the guiding hand in building up both collections of his music and it is clear that he intended the two to be complimentary; in other words, that he considered the two collections in effect to comprise a single large depository of his sacred music. This is evident both from the distribution and the types of works found in each collection. St Peter's, for example, has nearly double the number of motets, offertories and graduals (the terminology appears to be interchangeable in Hofmann's sacred works); it has four *Sinfonie pastorali* to none in the St Stephen's archive; it also has seven Litany settings to St Stephen's one duplicate copy. St Stephen's, on the other hand, has ten antiphons to St Peter's five (to which can also be added five duplicates). The most important category, masses, is evenly divided between the two with fourteen works in each archive, six of which are duplicated. What is surely of great significance, however, is the fact that the St Stephen's catalogues list eight masses that are not part of the St Peter's collection. Two of these are unknown from any other source and may represent works that were composed specifically for St Stephen's. The six works that are preserved in other sources warrant further discussion [Fig 3].

Fig. 3. St Stephen's Non-Duplicated Masses (excludes two lost masses)

Mass	Dedication	Other Sources	Comments
No.1	Sti Ignatii	A WMich 27 A Wn HK 470 "No.7" D HR III 4 ½ 2 151	Earliest perf. Date 15 Nov. 1792 Copy <i>ca</i> 1780
No.3		A Wgm Q598 A WMi A 68	Christe/Et incar./Sanctus/et Agnus Dei Earliest perf. Date 1796
No.8	Sti Vincenti	A Gd A Wa 494 "No.47" A WMich 25 "Sti Vincentii" A Wn S.m.513 "No.20"	Early 19 th -century copy
No.25	Sti Peregrini	A HE II e A Wn S.m.22264 A WPi 84 A WSk H PH Mus.sacr. Ant. H10	Copy <i>ca</i> 1780?
No.40	Sta Anna	A H 455/2	
No.42	Stae Theclae	A LA M33 A WIL 484	Copy Festl 1860

The first thing that strikes one about this list is that none of the copies can be dated confidently to earlier than *ca* 1780 and two of these – or perhaps three – were made after Hofmann's death. Mass No.42 is listed in the *Lambach Catalogue* but it is unclear whether the entry was made in 1768, the year the catalogue was drawn up, or at some later date. Only one of the works – Mass No.8 – has a dedication which is found in another source although a number of Hofmann's other masses listed in the St Stephen's catalogue have identical dedications to copies found in other locations.^{xxiii} None of the 'unduplicated' works was widely disseminated in Hofmann's lifetime nor, with the exception of the copies I alluded to a moment ago, were the extant copies made after his death. The copies that do survive, however, are for the most part found in locations that are important sources for Hofmann's sacred music. With several of these - St Michael's, the Hofkapelle and St Augustine's - we know Hofmann had direct associations; others,

such as the Piaristen and the Schottenkirche, may well have been in the same category since Hofmann was such a prominent figure in Viennese church music. It is unsurprising that some of these works should have found their way into monastic collections but their absence from Göttweig, Melk, Seitenstetten and Herzogenburg, to name four very important Austrian monasteries with substantial collections of Hofmann's church music, is interesting to say the least. It is also noteworthy that none of these works is preserved in a Czech or Slovakian source.

While there is a strong degree of parity between the mass holdings in the two archives the same cannot be said for another important category of works – that designated variously motet, offertory or gradual: St Peter's, with twenty-five, has nearly twice the number of works in this category than are listed in the St Stephen's catalogues. Nonetheless, St Stephen's owned copies of five works that at no stage appear to have been owned by St Peter's. One of these, the Gradual *Vicitores festinate* (or *Matrem Dei honorate*) is otherwise unknown. The remaining four works tell a rather different story to the St Stephen's masses [Fig.4]. With the exception of No.35 [*Te summa bonitas*], which is preserved in only one other source, the remaining works were disseminated relatively widely.

Fig.4. Unduplicated Motets in the St Stephen's Catalogues

'Motet'	Other Sources	Title or Principal Function
No.3	A Ed B 84 A MT A Wa 498 A Mi 502 A Wn S.m. 2728 CZ Pnm XLVI C 178 CZ Pnm XLVI C 179 CZ Pnm XLIX E 32 CZ Psj 318; 319 HR Vu 69 SK BRnm Mus.VII 86 SK BRnm Mus.X 127	De Beata De Venerabili clientes
No.17 AGÖ 1777 (Lost)	A Ed B83 A KN 985/4 A SL (4 copies) A St Lambrecht (2 copies) A TU207 A Wk XI 473 A Mich 176 A Mi 508 A Wn F.5 Mödling 935 A Wn S.m.22166 H P H 134	De Tempore De Tempore De Tempore De Tempore
No.25	A KN 985/5 A M II 75 A Wsj 316 A Wsjm G 139 A Wk 476 A WMich 345 A Wn S.m.00692 A WPi 307 A Wsfl 315 CZ NYd D PO Hofmann 37	"Pastorella" Ms. Ca 1810 De Nativitate Domini Chorus pastoralis Pastorale
No.35	A Wn HK482	Copy post 1778?

These teasing scraps frankly do not add up to a great deal. But, when considered alongside other factors such as general distribution patterns for Hofmann's music, a picture emerges that appears to be consistent with what we know about the composer's professional circumstances. Although it is hardly a reliable indicator, Hofmann's earlier works tend to survive in much higher numbers than his later works. This is true not only of his sacred music but also of his instrumental works. The relative paucity of sources for some of the masses in the St Stephen's catalogue suggests that they were composed later in Hofmann's career whereas the motets have distribution patterns similar to the those found in works composed in the 1760s and early 1770s.

The 99 manuscript copies of Hofmann's sacred works that comprise this single musical resource represent 82 individual works or slightly less than half of the extant sacred works that are attributed to our composer. As this total certainly includes some of the works that Hofmann composed prior to his appointment as *regens chori* at St Peter's, the vexing question remains as to how many of the one hundred-odd works that were never part of these two collections can be considered authentic? The answer seems destined to elude us while our knowledge of Hofmann's freelance activities remains so incomplete but the scant documentary record does shed some light on the issue.

Our principal knowledge of Hofmann's activities as Domkapellmeister is found in report compiled in 1784 by one Andreas Furthmoser, Kirchenmeister at St Stephen's. Furthmoser was a member of a commission set up to examine the classification of church music personnel at the cathedral following the introduction of new regulations governing church music promulgated by Joseph II in the previous year.^{xxiv} The commission was soundly abused by Hofmann who later received a written censure condemning his disrespectful and unseemly behaviour and warning him of the unpleasant consequences should a repetition occur.^{xxv} Furthmoser's hostile report accuses Hofmann of arrogance, gross professional negligence and avarice. Among the more damning broadsides are the accusations that Hofmann only worked some sixty hours a year in his official position and that in twelve years of service to date – that is 1772-1784 – he had composed only one piece of music for the cathedral.^{xxvi} At the heart of Furthmoser's damaging rant is the

extent of Hofmann's professional activities at other churches, even more so than the fact that he is rarely seen in church on Sundays or Feastdays and spends all summer at his house in Döbling virtually leaving the singers to direct themselves.^{xxvii}

“... he does not observe his obligatory duty, pretends to observe the decree and is never in compliance with the same, and through avarice, holding secondary positions at other churches and serving them more diligently than his own church, can lead a complete and splendid life... For that reason, the larger part of the music personnel follow the example put forward by their Chief; musicians only endeavour to make money, and consequently their services are dedicated to other, foreign churches.”^{xxviii}

Furthmoser's criticism of the cathedral musicians' activities at other churches deliberately disregards the way in which church music was managed in Vienna before the chaos unleashed by Joseph II's 1783 decree concerning the new regulation of church music changed the landscape forever. A document drawn up in 1783 titled *Verzeichniz über sämtliches Musick=Personal*^{xxix} provides a list of expenditure on music for virtually every church, chapel and cloister in Vienna with the exception of St Stephen's Cathedral and the Hofkapelle. Those chapels for which either Hofmann or Karl Frieberth is named as Kapellmeister,^{xxx} provide unusually detailed information about individual musicians and their salaries. It is apparent at a glance that the majority of the musicians held multiple positions, even those who are known to have been members of the Hofkapelle.^{xxxi} In other words, the pattern of employment that Hofmann, Haydn, Ditters and others experienced as young men in the 1750s and remained fundamentally unchanged until 1783.

The *Verzeichniz* also lists costs of f 1,832 22xr incurred by Hofmann and the Cathedral musicians' provision of musical services for seven further religious foundations, namely: Bey den Siebenbücherinen, Bey den Himmelpfortnerinen, Bey den Nicolaerinen, Bey den P.P Franciscanern, Bey den Deutschen Haus, Bey den S: Salvator Kirche and Bey den Johans Hof.^{xxxii} By good fortune, fourteen *Quittungen* (receipts)

relating to external performances by the cathedral musicians during the years 1774-1777 and signed by Hofmann in his capacity as Kapellmeister, are preserved in the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien.^{xxxiii} Five of these concern services at the Malteserkirche (described variously as the Malteserkirche, Johannskirche, St: Johannis-Kirche or St Johannis-Hof) and the remainder relate to services at the St Ivokapelle in the Juristenschule, a foundation that Hofmann was apparently no longer associated with by 1783. The *Quittungen* generally follow a similar formula, specifying the place and nature of the services provided and the costs associated with them. The *Quittung* dated 28 May 1775, for example, covers performances of two Vespers and a High Mass at the Juristenschule that took place over a two-day period. The works were performed by the “gesamten Music bey St Stephan” at a cost of f 30 plus an additional f 2 for the use of the positive organ [Fig.5]. The commitment of so many personnel to these performances raises some important issues about Hofmann’s management of his musical forces especially on major feast days. Although the record is incomplete, the numbering of the *Quittungen* suggests that performances took place on a regular basis. By 30 June 1774, for example, there had already been seventeen services at the Malteserkirche; by 25 October, thirty. The record is a little more complete for the Juristenschule: 10 April 1776, twenty-three; 19 May 1776, twenty-six; 29 May, twenty-seven. The range of costs recorded in the *Quittungen* allow us to calculate an average charge for these services and if this figure is then divided into the sum listed in the *Verzeichnisz* then Hofmann and his musicians were providing music for around 200 performances annually over and above their commitments at the St Stephen’s.^{xxxiv} In the circumstances it is no wonder that Furthmoser was so incensed. What he does not reveal in his report – and this suggests a strong measure of personal animus - is that Georg Reutter, Hofmann’s much-praised predecessor, did exactly the same thing: these additional services were part of the Domkapellmeister’s responsibilities and a number of *Quittungen* signed by Reutter that relate to these activities are also preserved in the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.^{xxxv}

However biased Furthmoser’s report might be it is easy to understand why Hofmann might not have found time to compose any music for the cathedral given the

extent of his professional commitments. But if Furthmoser's claim that Hofmann left his singers to fend for themselves is substantially correct, then he would have had time to compose and probably did so during twelve-year period under review. For whom he composed, however, remains unknown although it is highly unlikely that he would have bothered to write music for the cloister of the Siebenbücherinen or similar foundations for which he and the Cathedral musicians provided professional services.

Most of what we know about Hofmann's life comes from a biographical sketch of the composer, based on interviews with his widow Maria Anna and brother Karl Joseph, which was published in 1799 in Meusel's *Neue Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber*.^{xxxvi} In this account, Maria Anna Hofmann observes that "Many flattering letters were sent to him from foreign cities and commissions for his works."^{xxxvii} "Foreign cities" has more impressive ring to it than Furthmoser's "foreign churches" which might, by his measure, include neighbouring churches in Vienna. "Commissions" might equally refer to instrumental works or sacred works; but in any case, Maria Anna Hofmann's statement should alert us to the possibility that many of Hofmann's sacred works were not composed specifically for use in Vienna irrespective of where copies of them might be preserved today. Judging from Hofmann's financial fleet-footedness, a topic which deserves a paper in its own right, it would be quite consistent for him to compose a work on commission for a foreign city and retain a copy for his own use in Vienna.

An obvious difficulty that arises from the use of the term "city" is its precise definition. Does "city" imply a major metropolitan centre like Prague or even a significant centre like Passau, or is it used more loosely to denote another geographical location such as Melk, Göttweig or Seitensetzen? Copies of Hofmann's sacred works are found in many locations in Central Europe and there is evidence from the wrappers that works were borrowed and lent by churches and monastic foundations on a quite regular basis.^{xxxviii} The sources from which these copies stem are unknown and likely to remain that way unless sensational new information is uncovered. Nonetheless, it is possible that some of the more important collections of Hofmann's sacred music include works that

were acquired directly from the composer or his agent. Some of these works may have been commissioned.

The evidence as always is incomplete, but certain patterns do emerge from the current distribution of manuscript copies of Hofmann's works. Time does not allow us to explore this in depth but it is useful to look at one particular class of work: the masses that are neither part of the St Peter's archive nor listed in the cathedral catalogues. The majority of these fall into the category of works of uncertain authorship.

Fig.6. Masses of Uncertain Authorship

Work	Sources	Comments
No.4	A WMich 23 A WPi 86	Professional association
No.9	A HE IIc A M I 98	Check No.
No.11	A Z I/233	Ms. ca.1780 (RISM)
No.15	A SEI D XII 3 e	1773
No.17	A M I 94 A Wgm Q600 A Wn 18717 D B Mus.ms.10722/3	Identified erroneously as an autograph
No.18	A MS 131	
No.19	A KR B 21/397 A LA M 26 A WIL	1773 Late copy (19 th Century)
No. 20	A KR B 15/340 SK KRE 83	Ms. ca 1790 (RISM)
No.21	A WMich 28 A WPi 91	Professional association
No.26	A WS 154	Sti Peregrini

Work	Sources	Comments
No.27	A SEI D XII 3g	1785
No.29	A LA M32 A LA M35 AWIL 485	? After 1772 1860
No.30	ASEI D XII 3d	1779 (ex Melk?)
No.31	A H 463	
No.36	18 extant sources	1776 (AGÖ)
No.37	25 extant sources	1781
No.38	AM I 97	
No.39	18 sources	1778 (AGÖ)
No.41	15 sources	1777 (AGÖ)
No.43	A Ed A-99	
No.44	CZ Nitra SA HS JP 18	Late copy
New C1	H Bb 47,062	1774
New C2	A KR K48/20	
New C3	CZ Pnm XXXVIII A39	
New C4	H VEs M.1.cl.41	1820
New C5	D Po Hofmann 7	Ca 1768
New d	DB Mus.ms.10722/5	Ca 1820
New G	D Po Hofmann 9	1774
New Bb	A GE I 173	New Bb

Four of the masses (Nos. 36, 37, 39 and 41) are preserved in an unusually large number of sources including archives located in Vienna. If the usual distribution patterns for Hofmann's music apply in this instance then we can probably infer from these figures that the four works concerned are authentic, probably pre-date Hofmann's appointment at St Stephens and may even have been composed prior to his appointment as *regens chori* at St Peter's.

A further three masses are preserved in Viennese sources. Two works, Nos 4 and 21, each survive in two copies that can be found in the same two archives. One of these, St Michael's, is of course a church with which Hofmann was associated early in his career. They are probably authentic works – certainly there are no grounds to exclude

them on stylistic grounds - but given the uncertainty of their dating it is as risky to assert that they were composed before 1764 as to claim that they were written after this date.

The remaining works fall into two distinct categories: those that are preserved in multiple sources and those that survive in a single source. Into the first of these categories fall Masses Nos 9, 17, 19, 20 and 29.

The first thing that strikes one about these works is that most of the copies are preserved in monastic libraries: Heiligenkreuz (No.9), Melk (Nos 9 and 17), Kremsmünster (Nos 19 and 20), Lambach (Nos 19 and 29), and Wilhering (Nos 19 and 20). The Wilhering copies, like those of most of their Hofmann works, date from the mid-Nineteenth Century and were copied from older sources. All of the Lambach copies, on the other hand, probably date from the 1770s (Hofmann's identification as "Maestro di Capella a St^o Steffano" on the wrapper of Lambach M35 creates a *terminus ante quem* of 1772 for this copy) and may have served as the authority for later copies of the works. Little is known about the Heiligenkreuz, Melk and Kremsmünster copies beyond their inclusion in very important collections of Hofmann's works. Masses Nos 17 and 20 are interesting in that they represent the only two works in this particular category that are preserved outside Austria. No.17 is Hofmann's one surviving *a cappella* setting of the Mass. The Austrian National Library source purports to be an autograph, the sole authority being Stadler.^{xxxix} However, on the evidence offered by the small number of surviving Hofmann musical autographs this score does not appear to be in the composer's hand. All of Hofmann's other *a cappella* settings are associated with St Stephen's and it is possible that this work too was part of the music collection at one point even if, for some reason or other, it was not entered into the catalogue in 1824. The copy in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde was probably made after 1772 – the score is headed *Missa / alla Capella / von Herrn Capellmeister Hoffmann* – and may have been copied from a source close to the composer. The Berlin copy, which is dated 1782 on the cover, belongs to the library of the German singer and collector Georg Johann Daniel Poelchau (1773-1836) which was acquired by the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin in 1842.^{xl}

The case for accepting Mass No.20 as an authentic work is undermined by a contra-attribution to Georg Reutter in SK-KRE.^{xli} Reutter's authorship is also doubtful and for the moment at least the mass retains its current attribution to Leopold Hofmann.

Mass No.20 highlights the problem of works that survive in very small numbers particularly if their sources are far removed from Hofmann's known professional ambit. The remaining masses on our list are preserved in single sources. Once again, certain patterns of acquisition are apparent. Seven of the sixteen works – Nos. 11, 15, 31 and 38 - are preserved in the libraries of Austrian monasteries and two further works in the archive of the St Martin's Cathedral (formerly the Stadtpfarrkirche) in Eisenstadt. Establishments like Seitenstetten, Herzogenburg and Melk have many apparently authentic Hofmann works in their archives and the inclusion of these particular masses perhaps argues for their authenticity. The same can be said of the Cathedral archive in Passau which has dated Hofmann copies from the mid-1770s including a Mass in G which may be the work referred to enthusiastically in a review published in 1843 under the pseudonym "Philokales" (Ferdinand Peter, Graf von Laurencin^{xlii}) in the *Allgemeine Wiener Musikzeitung*.^{xliii} In these cases, as in the masses with multiple sources, it is possible that the works were acquired through the offices of the composer or an agent (possibly a copyist) with whom he was associated. The most problematic works are those like Masses Nos 44, New C1, 3, 4 and d that are known only from manuscript copies in collections far removed from Vienna.

If the business of establishing the authenticity and chronology of the Masses is problematic enough, it becomes even more challenging with the smaller works beginning with their nomenclature. Whether Hofmann himself considered the terms motet, offertory and gradual to be interchangeable is not entirely clear. The St Peter's copies overwhelmingly favour the designation 'motet' but the St Stephen's catalogues group these works under the rubric, "Gradualien und Motetten". Where these particular works are preserved in multiple sources the designations are divided equally between motet and offertory with only occasional use of term gradual. The works themselves may retain their cyclical integrity but many motet and offertory copies omit movements, generally

either the recitative and/or the aria. It is common for several *contrafacta* to exist for a given work and many copies include vocal parts for several texts thus extending their utility. Some *contrafacta* are known from several sources but others are preserved in just one. From what we know of the St Peter's and St Stephen's copies it is probable that Hofmann himself either set multiple texts or, at a later date, sanctioned the use of a *contrafactum* for a specific occasion within the liturgical calendar. It is not always apparent which text, if any, should be considered of primary importance: Hofmann himself doubtless considered this type of work to be fluid in nature, capable of alteration and adaptation when the need arose. Nonetheless, many of the extant motet copies doubtless represent unsanctioned adaptations for local use. It is possible too that some of the most problematic works – those that are preserved in a single source far removed from Vienna – represent adaptations of authentic works that do not survive.

It seems highly unlikely that a reliable chronology will ever be established for these works. Hofmann's interest in writing motets seems to have peaked in the early 1770s and on the basis of the current evidence it seems unlikely that any of these works were composed in the post-reform era.

Litanies

There are several categories of sacred work which are especially interesting since they are not particularly well represented in Viennese sources but from the number of works known occupy a significant place in Hofmann's output: these are litanies and psalms. Their preservation in sources located principally outside Vienna naturally has implications concerning the origins of the works. Of the two, litanies are the more complex and generally call for larger musical resources. Some of the litany settings have concertato vocal parts as well as the usual four-part choir and a number of the works also feature prominent instrumental *obbligati*.^{xliv} The elaborate style of these settings suggests that they were composed for important churches and religious foundations or were commissioned by individuals with substantial musical establishments.

Fig. 7. Litany Sources

Litany	Designation	Sources	Comment
No.1	De la Madona	A Ed G114	Esterházy #82 as Pater Joseph
No.2	Lauretanae	A GÖ A KR E42/34 A TU 199 CZ KRa A-2095 CZ LIT 633 CZ Pkriz XXXV A163 CZ Pnm XLIX E 314	No.7 “De Beata” 1778 Prov. Strobach
No.3	Sanctissimae Trinitate	A Wn F24 St Peter B3	#6 “M.D.C. di Santo Steffano” St.P
No.4	Lytaney	A Wn S.m. 2727	No.4
No.5	Sanctissimae Trinitate	A Wn F24 St Peter B4	#8 “M.D.C. di Santo Steffano” St.P
No.6	De la Madona	A Ed G113 A Wn F4 Baden 208 A Wn F5 Mödling 934 A Wn S.m.2726 D PO Hofmann 16 SK BRnm MUS VII 83	g6. Prov. Joh. Pernold 1829 #7. Prov. Wieser Prov. Joh. Winkler Esterházy #73
No.7	Sanctissimae Trinitate	A Wgm I 70127 P A Wn F24 St Peter B5 A Wn S.m. 0693 A WPs 73	#2 “M.D.C. di Santo Steffano” St.P Lauretanae 1781 Esterházy #72
No.8	Lauretanae	CZ KRa A-2094 CZ OSm A-1954 D PO Hofmann 15	1774 <i>ca</i> 1770
No.9	Lauretanae	A MT 9L A MT 29L A Wn F24 St Peter B15	Esterházy #77
No.10	Lauretanae	A Wn S.m. 9116	Prov. A.S. de F
No.11	Sanctissimae Trinitate	A Wn F24 St Peter B6 CZ Pnm XLIX E315	“M.D.C. di Santo Steffano”

Litany	Designation	Sources	Comment
No.12	Omnium Sanctorum	A Wn HK1299	Processional. Prov. St Stephen's?
No.13	Sanctissimae Trinitate	A MT 26L A MT 54 A Wn F24 St Peter B2 D PO Hofmann 17	Prov. Spoth 1852 #1 "M.D.C. di Santo Steffano" 1780 Esterházy No.81 as Pater Joseph
No.14	De Beata	CZ LIT 632	Prov. Strobach
No.15	Sanctissimae Trinitate	A Wn F24 St Peter B7 A WStStephan (lost)	#4 "M.D.C. di Santo Steffano" St.P
No.16	De la Madona	A Ed G112 A KN 194 A MT 80L SK Mms D II 26	Prov. Josephi Richter Lauretanae Esterházy #75
New 1	De la Madona?	A Wn F24 St Peter B24	Autogr. Fragment (Virgo prudentissima)
New 2	Litany in C		Esterházy #71
New 3	Litany in C		Esterházy #74
New 4	Litany in C		Esterházy #76
New 5	Litany in G		Esterházy #78
New 6	Litany in d		Esterházy #79

Only one important Viennese source, St Peter's, exists for the twenty-two litanies that are attributed to Hofmann: St Peter's. Six of the seven extant works in it are numbered one to eight: the one work that is preserved without the wrapper may be either Litany No.6 or No.7. The autograph fragment, which conveniently brings the total of works to eight, may also belong to this sequence. All of the extant wrappers identify Hofmann as "Maestro di Capella di Santo Steffano" denoting that they acquired after 1772; four of the wrappers are marked "St.P" establishing their ownership by St Peter's. The more usual formula found on the St Peter's wrappers during this period is "Ad chorum Sancti Petri;" the abbreviated form used on these copies suggests that the markings may have been added by an other hand as an afterthought or as a reminder that the music needed to be returned to St Peter's. Although this interpretation is necessarily speculative, it might be

accurate and also help to explain why only one Hofmann litany is listed in the St Stephen's catalogues. The wrappers present us with another conundrum: if these works were composed after 1772 as the wrappers suggest, why did Hofmann not compose them for St Stephen's or, if he did, why are they not listed in the catalogues? Surely it would have been more prudent for him to write the works for his new employer than for the church he had served so well over the past decade? If one or two works were involved, it might be possible to argue that the ownership markings were made later and possibly in error: this is understandable given Hofmann's dual positions. But for eight works to be involved, and, tellingly, one of them in autograph, the case for St Peter's being the intended recipient is strengthened. That none of the eight works circulated widely may indicate that they were composed relatively late in Hofmann's career.

The remaining litanies, four of which are preserved in multiple copies with a reasonably wide geographical range, are even more problematic. On the basis of the usual distribution patterns for Hofmann's sacred music, one would expect to see copies of the litanies in most of the great monastic libraries and indeed there are manuscripts at Göttweig (No.2), Kremsmünster (No.2) and Klosterneuburg (No.16). But these numbers are small in comparison with those for the composer's masses and none of the monasteries appears to have attempted to acquire multiple settings of Hofmann's litanies. This is unusual enough to cause one to surmise that the monasteries concerned were unaware of the existence of the other works.

The presence of two works in the archiepiscopal library at Kroměříž (Nos 2 and 8) is particularly interesting since this collection is a rich source for Hofmann's instrumental works. It is the largest single collection of his keyboard concertos and includes a significant number of unica. Given the strong interest in Hofmann's music evidenced by this collection, the archiepiscopal court at Kroměříž must be considered a strong candidate for the role of commissioner of new Hofmann sacred works. The copies in this archive may also have served as the source for other copies of these works found in Czech collections.

Two of the remaining sources also offer possible evidence of Hofmann's freelance activities: the music archive of St Martin's in Eisenstadt and the sacred music holdings of the Esterházy Kapelle. Hofmann is not known to have had any association - either personal or professional - with Eisenstadt or the Esterházy family. Nonetheless, the St Martin's archive contains an important collection of Hofmann's works and includes within it a number of compositions that are otherwise unknown. Among these works are three litany settings. Two of these works (Nos 6 and 16) are preserved elsewhere but No.1 is otherwise known only from an entry in a catalogue the Esterházy music collection made around 1801-1805^{xlv} where it is attributed to Pater Joseph [Kainz / Keinz]. While this casts some doubt on its authenticity, the Esterházy catalogue also attributes Litany No.13 to Pater Joseph when Hofmann's authorship of the work is not seriously in doubt. None of the copies can be dated with certainty nor is acquisition sequence apparent unless it is reflected in the numbering of the works in the catalogue. The number of sources and their relatively wide distribution may be an indication that Litany No.6 is the oldest of the three works.

The most intriguing aspect concerning sources for the Hofmann litanies is the presence of so many works – five of which are unknown from any other source - in the Esterházy catalogue. As it stood at the turn of the Nineteenth Century this collection included not only the historical holdings of the Esterházy Kapelle but also the music that had been acquired or integrated into the collection in more recent times at the instruction of Prince Nicolaus II who considered that the sacred music holdings had been neglected in recent years.^{xlvi} Many of the works added to the collection were presumably acquired in the 1790s, too late, in Hofmann's case, for new works to be commissioned but certainly not too late for copies of works to be purchased from Hofmann's former copyists or professional associates. The other and more intriguing possibility is that Nicolaus, whose interest in sacred music is well documented, commissioned the works from Hofmann before he succeeded to the title. The duplication of several of the works in the Eisenstadt Cathedral archive might indicate a common origin.

Fig.10. Psalm Sources

Psalm	Source	Comments
Beati omnes/ Confitebor tibi	A Ed G111	
Confitebor tibi	A WStStephan (Lost)	
De profundis clamavi/ Memento Domine	A Ed G108	
Credidi propter/ Captivitatem Sion/ In convertendo Dominus	A Ed G110	
In exitu Israel No.1	A Ed G107	Esterházy leaping stag watermark
In exitu Israel No.2	A Ed G109	
In te, Domine, speravi	A H 467	No.6 Graduale. 1802
Laetatus sum/ Nisi Dominus/ Lauda Jerusalem	A Ed G106	Esterházy Catalogue #48
Magnificat		Esterházy Catalogue #47
Miserere No.1	A LA A MT 11 ½ A SB 808 A SEI E XVI 2 g (III) D PO Hofmann 22	Lambach Catalogue RISM 600.251.513 1778 1772 Ca 1770 (RISM)
Miserere No.2	A LA	Lambach Catalogue
Miserere No.3	A LA A MT 10 A SB 807 A SEI E XVI 2 g (V) D PO Hofmann 21	Lambach Catalogue 1772 Ca. 1770
Miserere No.4	A GÖ A LA A MT 11 A SB 809; 812 A SEI E XVI 2 g (IV) D PO Hofmann 20	1779 (lost) Lambach Catalogue A SB 812 ca 1780

Psalm	Source	Comments
Miserere No.5	A LA	Lambach Catalogue
Miserere No.6	A LA	Lambach Catalogue
Miserere No.7	A LA	Lambach Catalogue
Miserere No.8	A GÖ A KR F 22/23 A LA A SEI E XVI 2 g (II)	1771 (lost) Lambach Catalogue 1772
Venite exultemus	A Pfarre Haitzendorf 167	Graduale. Prov. Herzogenburg

With the exception of a single setting of the psalm *Confitebor tibi Domine* which is listed in the St Stephen's catalogues, no other psalm attributed to Hofmann is preserved in a Viennese source. The absence of copies in any of the other churches with which he is known to have been professionally associated is so startling that it is tempting to infer that Hofmann composed all of these settings on commission for institutions outside Vienna. The current distribution of the extant copies may provide a clue to the origins of these works.

The extant psalm settings fall into three distinct groups. The first of these consists of works that are preserved exclusively in the cathedral archives in Eisenstadt. To these works might be added an additional copy of *Laetatus sum* and an otherwise unknown setting of the *Magnificat* which are listed in the Esterházy catalogue. If these works are indeed authentic - and there is nothing from either a structural or stylistic perspective to challenge the current attribution - then the case for Hofmann having been commissioned to compose them looks not unreasonable when one considers the presence of the litanies in this source and in the Esterházy collection. The second group of works consists of eight settings of the *Miserere*. The present distribution of manuscripts is intriguing. One source, Stift Lambach, has copies of all eight, one of which (Miserere No.8) is dated 1772. Göttweig also owned a copy of No.8 (now lost) that was acquired in 1771. Copies of No.1 (Seitenstetten) and No.3 (Domarchiv, Passau) are also dated 1772; copies of other settings dating from later in the decade are to be found at Schlierbach and in the Göttweig Catalogue. Although Lambach owned all eight works and together they might

be described as a set, the evidence points to the works having been composed individually over a period of several years. Some of them can be dated to the early 1770s and it is possible that all of the settings were composed around this time. Göttweig's acquisition of No.4 in 1779 might have little bearing on the actual date of composition. For whom did Hofmann compose these settings of the *Miserere*? If it were not for the 1771 Göttweig copy of *Miserere* No.8 it would be tempting to assume that they were written for Lambach. As it is, I am still inclined to the view that some of the settings may have been composed for Lambach and that the copies found at Maria Taferl, Seitenstetten and elsewhere derive from these manuscripts or a common source. The evidence to support this hypothesis is hardly overwhelming but it is not beyond the bounds of possibility. Of one thing, however, we can be quite sure: Hofmann did not compose these settings for use at St Peter's or St Stephen's.

Conclusion

The reconstruction of Hofmann's working repertory at St Peter's and St Stephen's throws a great deal of light on his day to day activities but still leaves many questions unanswered particularly in regard to the large number of works that seem not to have been written for his two principal churches. The proliferation of manuscript copies of Hofmann's sacred works confirms his position as one of the pre-eminent figures in Viennese church music during the middle decades of the Eighteenth Century. There was a strong demand for his music throughout Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and, to a lesser extent, Hungary. It seems very likely that Hofmann received commissions to compose masses, litanies and smaller sacred works from "foreign cities" and that some of these works also circulated to a limited extent in Vienna. The bibliographic record is rarely helpful and never conclusive but such evidence as does exist points to the overwhelming majority of Hofmann's sacred works having been composed during the 1760s and 1770s. He was certainly active in the late 1750s and it is likely that his output of sacred music was quite substantial by the time he was appointed *regens chori* at St Peter's. That Hofmann continued to accept external commissions in the 1770s is implied in Furthmoser's report and confirmed, in all probability, by the large number of works that survive outside the archives of St Peter's and St Stephen's.

A few tentative conclusions can be advanced on the basis of known distribution patterns of Hofmann's sacred works.

- multiple sources increase the likelihood that a work is authentic;
- an unknown work which is preserved in a collection that contains a significant number of 'authentic' works is more likely to be authentic than a work which is found in an otherwise unknown source;
- the more copies there are, the older the work is likely to be

The last of these points is the most important since it implies that the creation of a rough chronological framework in which to consider Hofmann's career as a composer of sacred music is at least possible. The incompleteness of the bibliographic record means that the internal chronology cannot be considered very reliable but its outer limits probably reflect the reality of Hofmann's professional circumstances.

The bibliographic record suggests that Hofmann's productivity tailed off sharply at the beginning of the 1780s. Some of the works that survive in very small numbers may have been composed towards the end of his career, but just how much he might have written during the last decade of his life, considering the radically altered professional environment in which he found himself, is open to debate. Although the post-reform climate would hardly have been conducive to the composition of new works for the cathedral, particularly after the mauling he received over his handling of the commission, he might just have felt sufficiently threatened to make amends for his earlier slackness and the fruits of his new-found diligence are to be found in the entries of 'new' works in the St Stephen's catalogues.

It is possible that he continued to fulfill external commissions during the last years of his life but it seems more likely to me that the wealth of additional masses, psalms and litanies were composed during the 1770s when Hofmann was in his pomp. In the 1780s this enigmatic man, who loved solitude,^{xlvii} probably spent more and more time at his charming house in Oberdöbling, away from the hustle and bustle of Vienna and its

endless musical politics. Although he ceased to be in the public eye, his sacred music continued to be performed in all of the great churches and remained in the public's ear for decades to come.

ⁱ All information concerning sources and the numbering system employed throughout this paper are derived from the author's draft thematic catalogue of Hofmann's complete works.

ⁱⁱ "...von meiner Jugend an mich zu der Kirchenmusik, und Composition, vorzüglich verwendet, und durch mehrer Jahre in den ansehnlichsten hiesigen Gottes Häusern die Proben meiner Fähigkeit mit jedesmahligen Beyfalle abgelegt habe." Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv: Obersthofmeisteramtsakt Nr.10 ex 1774.

ⁱⁱⁱ "Da sich bald sein grosser Hang zur Tonsetzkunst entwickelte, liess ihn sein Vater von dem berühmten Hofcompositor und Hofclaviermeister Wagenseil in Klavier und der Composition unterrichten. Er machte auch hierin so grosse Vorschnitte, daß ihn sein Lehrer dem Hofe als Klaviermeister vorschlug, in welcher Eigenschaft er die Erzherzoginnen Elisabeth, Amalie, Josephe und Theresie, die Tochter Kaiser Josephs II, der unseren Hofmann selbst für sie wählte, unterrichtete. Auch componierte er schon damals zu gänzlichen Zufriedenheit seines nicht leicht zu befriedigenden Lehrers". See Johann Georg Meusel: *Neue Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber*. Leipzig, Gerhard Fleischer, dem jüngern, 1799, p.46.

^{iv} See Johansson, Cari. *French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*. 2 vols. Stockholm, Library of the Swedish Academy of Music, 1955. I, facs. 118. col.2.

^v A Wgm A460: *Alleluja Da Leop. H: D:S:M: 1756*.

^{vi} In addition to the *Alleluja* (see above) only five works can be confidently dated before 1764: Mass No.10 in C (A H 456, 1760), Mass No.14 in C (A GÖ, 1760), Mass No.6 in C (A GÖ, 1762), Mass No.10a in C (A GÖ, 1764), and Mass No.35a in F (A Wn S.m. 22269)

^{vii} Mass No.6 in C (A WMich 22) and Mass No.10 in C (A WMich 19),

^{viii} "Während meiner Studien in Wien wurde ich mit den berühmtesten Musikern und Komponisten bekannt, als mit Reuter, Bonno, Vanhall, Haydn, Hofmann, Ziegler, Gassmann, Mittelmayer, Domorganist lud mich öfter an die Orgel in der Domkirche zu spielen, wie auch Hofmann bey den oberen Jesuiten." From *Entwurf meine Biographie* (ca 1815). See Croll, Gerhard. "Eine Zweite, fast vergessene Selbstbiographie von Abbé Stadler. *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1964, p.175.

^{ix} Herr Leopold Hoffmann, his path soars ever upwards. The **serious** with the **pleasant, melody** with **correctness**, characterize his pieces above all others. He is the only one to approach the

church style of **Hrn von Reuttern**. His masses are full of majestic and grand thoughts, which elevate and inflame the praise of God and the prayer in the temple. His **musical Oratorio**, which was performed last year by the Carmelites in the Leopoldstadt and was composed in honour of St Johann Nepomuk, shows us a genius who was born for lyric poetry. Who does not feel everything that one can feel about a bloodthirsty tyrant, when the horrid words of the Hoffmann movement sound: ‘ut irrita consilia in vanum abeant’ etc. The menacing pride which lurks in these words flashes from every note, every bar awakes terror in the breast, as the listener hears of the innocent’s death. But serious though this style is, as pleasant and attractive is he in his symphonies, concertos, quartets, and trios; one may say that **Hoffmann** after **Stamitz**, is the only one to give the transverse flute the proper lightness and melody.” [Trans. H.C. Robbins Landon. *Joseph Haydn: Chronicle & Works Vol.II – Haydn at Eszterháza 1766-1790*. London, Thames & Hudson, 1978, p.129.

^x A Wn 18717

^{xi} See Chen, Jen-Yen. “Three Masses from Vienna: a cappella Masses.” *Recent Researches in Music of the Classical Era*, No.71. Middleton, WI, AR Editions, 2004

^{xii} “Als ich im Jahre 1897 dasselbe übernahm, befand es sich einem sehr vernachlässigten, chaosartigen Zustande. Nur die Repetoir-Stücke lagen zu hand, alle übrigen Musikalien befanden sich, von fingerdickem Staub bedeckt, in großen Stößen kunterbunt durcheinander.” See Carl Rouland. *Katalog des Musik Archives der St. Peterskirche in Wien, zusammengestellt von Carl Rouland, Kapellmeister*. Wien, Kommissions-Verlag von Anton Böhm & Sohn, 1908, Vorwort.

^{xiii} A Wn Inv 1 Peterskirche 1a

^{xiv} See A Wn St Peter C1. The wrapper, which reads “#/Stabat Mater / à / 4 Voci Soprano Conc^{to} / 2 Violini Ripⁿⁱ / 2 Trombini / con / Organo Conc^{to} / Del Sigl Leopoldo de Hoffmann / M:D:C: di Sancto Steffano / ad chorum Sancti Petri / Partes i8,” has been turned inside out and reused for twelve short settings of the *Ave Maria*. These are catalogued as anonymous works but they are without question by Leopold Hofmann. Hofmann’s designation as Kapellmeister at St Stephen’s indicates that the wrapper was written after 1772.

^{xv} “Die dabey angestimmte, und mit Erlaubnis des Hofes mit Trompeten und Paucken besetzte Musik war eine neue Erfindung des berühmten Herrn Leopold Hoffmanns, k.k. Hofmusici, und dermaligen Chordirektors zu St. Peter, in welcher der Verfasser das Angenehme mit dem Künstlichen so genau verbunden, daß es nicht allein nur zur Rührung der zahlreich versammelten Kirchengemeinde gedienet hat, sondern auch von den Kennern mit allgemeinem Beyfalle aufgenommen worden ist.” *Wiener Diarium*, Issue 73, September 1767.

^{xvi} “Die dabey angestimmte, und von den ersten wienerischen Tonkünstlern aufgeführte Musik, in welcher das Lob Gottes zu Erbauung der zahlreichen Kirchengemeinde gesungen worden, war das Hochamt eines von den auserlesensten Werken des berühmten Leopold Hoffmann, k.k. Hofmusici und Chordirectors bey St. Peter. Die bey dem Offertorio gewöhnlich absegungene Motette war eine ganz neue Erfindung des Herrn Anton Salieri, in welcher dieser noch junge Componist, von den Kennern allen Beyfall, wie ihn bisher alle seine bekannten Stücke verdient haben, wiederum neuerdings erworben hat.” *Wiener Diarium*, Issue 73, September 1771.

^{xvii} Eitner, Robert. *Biographisch-bibliographische Quellenlexikon der Musiker*. 10 vols, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906.

^{xviii} Vienna, Domarchiv: *Inventorium / Uiber die der Domkirche St. Stephan angehörigen Instrumente, Musikalien, und Mobilien in dem Kapellhause, welche von denen am Ende Unterschriebenen am 6^{ten} December 1824 vorgefunden, und der Ordnung nach beschrieben worden sind*.

^{xix} Vienna, Domarchiv: *Catalog / sämtlicher Musicalien, welche der Kapellmeister / de Dom=Kirche St Stephan / in Verwahrung hat. / verfasset / vom / Joan: Bapt. Gaensbacher. / Dom=Kapellmeister / in den Jahren 1827 u: 1828 / abcopirt vom Jos: Persechl. Contrabassist / in der Dom: Kapelle i837*

^{xx} A Wn F24 St Peter F20: Motet/Offertory No.13 *Huc adeste* [“1773/ 2 May S: St: chor”]; A Wn F24 St Peter F33: Motet/Offertory No.16 *In tuo nomine* [“14 decemb. 1773 S: St:”]; A Wn F24 St Peter F37: Motet/Offertory No.22 *O Sancte Michaël* [“1773/ 25 Aug S: St: chor; 26 Nov S: St:; 6 Decemb.; 25 Aug: S: St: chor / 1774 / 3 April S. St: hora 9”]; A Wn F24 St Peter F34: Motet/Offertory No.24 *Omnia sunt plena insidiis* [“1772/ i6 Nov S: St:; 1773/ 6 Juny S: St: chor”]; A Wn F24 St Peter F15: Motet/Offertory No.29 *Quid hostem times (I)* [“[1772] 2 Decemb. S: St: hora ii”]; A Wn F24 St Peter A146: Mass No.2a in C *Sanc. Barbarae* [“1772/ 15 Nov S: St: hora 9 Kyrie/glor:”]; A Wn F24 St Peter A150: Mass No.33 in Eb *Omnium Sanctorum* [“1773/ 8 April S: St: ... 31 Oct. S: St:”]; A Wn F24 St Peter A147: Mass No.35 in F *Sta Catharinae* [“1772/ 28 Nov S: St:”].

^{xxi} Motet/Offertory No.16; Motet/Offertory No.22; Motet/Offertory No.29; Mass No.33 in Eb.

^{xxii} A Wn F24 St Peter F109: [Motet/Offertory No.10] *Gradual o [Offertorium] / Chorus /a/ 4 Voci / 2 Violini / 2 Tromboni / 2 Clarini / Tympani / e/ Organo / St: Peter / Parti 2i / Del Sigl Leopoldo de Hoffmann / M:D:C^{la} di Santo Steffano*; A Wn F24 St Peter F 33: [Motet/Offertory No.16] # / No. / Mottetto / de Beata Maria Virgine / et de / omni Tempore / a / 4 Voci / Soprano

in conc^{to} / 2 Violini, 2 Tromboni Ripⁿⁱ / con / Organo, Violone, e Violoncello / Ad Chorum Sti Petri 20 Part / Del Sig^{re} Leopoldo Hoffmann / M:D:C: di St^o Steffano

^{xxiii} Mass No.2 *Sancta Barbarae*; Mass No.28 *Sti Aloysii*; No.33 *Omnium Sanctorum*

^{xxiv} For a useful discussion of this complex area see Pass, Walter. 'Josephinism and the Josephinian Reforms Concerning Haydn'. Larsen, J P, H Serwer and J Webster (eds). *Haydn Studies. Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, D.C. 1975*. New York, London, Norton, 1981, pp.170-175.

^{xxv} See Vienna, Stadtarchiv, Rathaus: "Hauptregistratur" Facs. 19 Nr.38/784

^{xxvi} "... für die allenfalls 60 Stunden, die er das ganze Jahr hindurch dermal bey dem Kirchendienste zuzubringen verbunden ist, und was bringt er der Kirche für einen Nutzen dafür, was sind seine Verdieneste, hat er, wie derselbe die rückgelassene Beyspiele von seinem Vorfahrer Herrn von Reitter seel: täglich vor Augen siehet, seit seiner 12 jährigen Anstellung ein einziges Stück componirt, und der Kirchen geliefert. In "Hauptregistratur" Fasc. 19, Nr.38/784.

^{xxvii} "Mir und der ganzen Welt ist es bekant, daß Herr Hofmann kaum in Sonn- und Feyertagen vormittag sich bey denen Kirchendiensten in Person einfunden, den ganzen Somer zu Döbling unbekümmert zugebracht, und die Musik durch die Vocalisten Wechselweise dirigieren lassen..."

Ibid.

^{xxviii} "...der seine aufhabene Pflicht seine Schuldigkeit nicht beobachtet, allerhöchste Verordnungen vorschüzet, und er selbe noch niemals in Erfüllung gebracht, der aus Habsucht andere Nebenkirchendienste fleissiger, als seine eigene Kirche, von welcher er vollkomen und herrlich leben kann, versieht und bedienet. Dahero ist auch der gröste Theil der samtlichen Musik nach dem Beyspiel des ihnen vorgesezten Chefs also beschaffen, weilien die Musik Subjecten nur um die Einkünften such bestreben, ihre Dienste aber sonach anderen fremden Kirchen widmen." *Ibid.*

^{xxix} Vienna, Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv: Fasc. C; Norm 477 Statthaltereiakten 1784. See also Biba. Otto. "Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783." *Jahrbuch für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte* 1/2 (1971), pp 7-79

^{xxx} Hofmann and Frieberth are the only two designated Kapellmeister; all other music directors are styled *regens chori*.

^{xxxi} Köchel, Ludwig Ritter von. *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*. Wien, Beck, 1869

^{xxxii} "Leopold Hofmann Kapellmeister von St: Stephan samt gesamten Musizis alda, setzen an entgangenen jährlichen Klöstern, und recludirten Andachten." *Ibid.*

^{xxxiii} A Wgm Leopold Hofmann - Briefe 1-14

^{xxxiv} SPECIFY CHARGES IN THE QUITTUNGEN AND THE FORMULA

^{xxxv} I am indebted to Prof Dr Otto Biba, Archivist of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, for this information and for drawing my attention to the newly-acquired *Quittungen* signed by Hofmann.

^{xxxvi} Meusel, Johann Georg. *Neue Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber*. Leipzig, Gerhard Fleischer, dem jüngern, 1799, pp 46-48.

^{xxxvii} “Aus verschiedenen fremden Städten wurden ihm schmeichelhafte Briefe zugesant, und Bestellungen auf seinen Arbeiten gemacht.” Meusel, *op.cit.*, p.47.

^{xxxviii} For example, A WMi 508: *Mottetto ex Eb / a 4 Voci in pienno / 2 Violinis / 2 Trombonis / Organo con Violone / Del SigL Leopoldo de Hoffmann. Pro choro Ducumburg. 1778*. This copy of Motet/Offertory No.17 *Inimici circumdederunt nos* belonged originally to Herzogenburg Monastery.

^{xxxix} “Nach Stadler” is written next to the identification of the score as an autograph.

^{xl} For information on this collection see Charteris, Richard. “An early seventeenth-century collection of sacred vocal music and its Augsburg connections.” *Notes*, March 2002.

^{xli} SK KRE 83: *Missa S. Michaelis / a / Canto Alto / Tenore Basso / Conc^{to} / Violino Primo. / Violino Secondo. / Clarino Primo. / Clarino Secondo. / Tympano. / Con / Organo e Violono. / Del Sig. Giorg de Reutern*.

^{xlii} See *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* (1841-1848). 1990, RIPM Consortium.

^{xliii} “Kirchenmusik: Am 24 Dezember wurde in der Franciskanerkirche eine Messe in G-Dur von Hoffmann, eine sehr interessante Antiquität, nebst einer gehaltvollen Einlage von Michael Haydn (Graduale) und einer herrlichen Mozart’schen Fuge (Offertorium) mit Präcision gegeben. Da ich mit nächstem beabsichtige, einen größeren Aufsatz über Kirchenmusik namentlich über das Verhältnis der älteren Musica sacra zur neueren für diese Blätter zu schreiben, so denke ich auf diese Hoffmann’sche Messe, eines der bedeutungsvollsten Tonwerke des an sich schon sehr bedeutenden Kirchencomponisten noch zurückzukommen.” *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung, Jahrgang 3*, Wien, 1843, p.658.

^{xliv} Litany No. 2 [Trombone solo in the *Salus*]; Litany No. 3 [Organo concertato]; Litany No.5 [Oboe solo]; Litany No.7 [2 Viole concertati]; Litany No.9 [2 Viole concertati]; Litany No.11 [2 Flauti, 2 Fagotti, 2 Tromboni, 2 Viole, 2 Violoncelli concertati]; Litany No.15 [Fagotto concertato]

^{xlv} Radant, Else. 'A Thematic catalogue of the Esterházy Archives (c.1801-5).' *Haydn Yearbook* 13, 1982, pp. 180-212.

^{xlvi} For a discussion of Nicolaus II's interest in sacred music see Landon, H C R. *Haydn: Chronicle and Works Vol. IV – The Years of the Creation (1796 -1800)*. London, Thames & Hudson, 1977, p.50

^{xlvii} "Er war der redlichste Mann von der Welt, liebte ein einsames Leben, und brachte seine lezteren Jahre auf seinem Landhause, unweit der Hauptstadt, auf dem Dorfe Döbling, zu." Meusel, *ibid*.