

Beethoven's and Mozart's Lost Oboe Concerto Manuscripts: A New Lead in Augsburg

by Susanne Wosnitzka, dedicated to Hedwig Richter

"What happened to the autograph manuscript and is there any chance that it will ever surface again? We can hope to answer the last question one day. There is room for speculation that Beethoven's Oboe Concerto is still lying on a dusty shelf somewhere, waiting to be rediscovered," says Jos van der Zanden, sighing longingly in his 2002 preface to *Beethoven's Oboe Concerto in F major (Hess 12): A Mystery Case*¹, in which he goes into detail – gathering all the facts known so far – about the derivation and mysterious disappearance of Beethoven's original manuscript of the lost original oboe concerto in F major (WoO 206/Hess 12).² Maybe we're now one step closer to this *dusty shelf*. And not just anywhere, but in Augsburg.

The town on Lech and Wertach rivers made its earliest acquaintance with Ludwig van Beethoven in March 1787 through the married couple Joseph Wilhelm von Schaden (1752–1813, councilor) and Anna/Nanette von Schaden née von Stadler/von Pranck (1763–1834). Anna von Schaden was court pianist and composer in Oettingen-Wallerstein. The von Schadens supported Beethoven financially, primarily to enable him to travel back from Vienna (to study with Wolfgang Amadé Mozart) to Bonn to visit his terminally ill mother.³ Traveling from Vienna and through Munich, Beethoven arrived in Augsburg on April 26, 1787, at the *Weißes Lamm*.⁴ Anna von Schaden was also a close friend of the Augsburg (later Viennese) piano maker Nannette Streicher née Stein (1769–1833), and they often played music together. Nannette Streicher advised Beethoven in Vienna not only on educational matters, but as a piano maker – in this way she was the most important 'translator' of Beethoven's innermost musical feelings.

In Augsburg, the musical hub of bourgeois music practice in the 18th and 19th centuries was the *Goldene Traube* (Golden Grape) hotel on today's Moritzplatz (former Weinmarkt and former *Filmpalast*). Once an early modern city inn, it developed into the most important hotel beside the former *Drei Mohren* (today

¹ See Zanden van der, Jos: *Beethoven's Oboe Concerto in F major (Hess 12): A Mystery Case*, in: Beethoven van, Ludwig: *Oboe Concerto in F major (Hess 12), second movement (largo); reconstructed from the sketches by Cees Nieuwenhuizen & Jos van der Zanden*. Amsterdam (Raptus) 2002, p. III.

² "The oboe concerto was composed and performed by Beethoven while still in Bonn; Joseph Haydn sent a revised version to Bonn, for which Beethoven recomposed the second movement and retained the corner movements. Several 'reconstructions' of this work have been made based on sketches, most recently by Cees Nieuwenhuizen and Jos van der Zanden in 2002." See Dorfmueller, Kurt/Gertsch, Norbert/Ronge, Julia (ed.): *Ludwig van Beethoven. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*. Part 2. Munich (Henle) 2014, p. 543.

³ See Haberl, Dieter: *Beethovens erste Reise nach Wien. Die Datierung seiner Schülerreise zu W. A. Mozart*, in: *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*. Vol. 14 (2006), p. 215–255, and Goebel-Streicher, Uta: *Schaden, (Maria) Anna (Leopoldine Theresia Elisabetha), Nanette von, geb. von Stadler, von Pranck*, in: Sophie Drinker Institut (ed.): *Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*: <https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/schaden-nanette-von>, retrieval date June 26, 2020. See Panzerbieter, Eduard: *Beethovens erste Reise nach Wien im Jahre 1787*, in: Einstein, Alfred (ed.): *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*. Vol. 10. Leipzig (Breitkopf & Härtel) 1927/28, p. 153–161, and Schenk, Erich: *Beethovens Reisebekanntschaft von 1787, Nanette von Schaden*, in: *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 60. Geburtstag*. Regensburg 1962, p. 461–473. Haberl's essay was turned into the book *Das Regensburgische Diarium (Intelligenzblatt) als musikhistorische Quelle. Erschließung und Kommentar der Jahrgänge 1760–1810*, in: Archiv der Stadt Regensburg (ed.): *Regensburger Studien*. Vol. 19. Regensburg (Stadtarchiv Regensburg) 2012. For this publication, I was commissioned as a student assistant to search in historical Augsburg newspapers for Beethoven and other musicians with a connection to Regensburg – the prelude to my researches.

⁴ See Haberl, Dieter: *Regensburger Diarium*, p. 18. There are commemorative plaques for Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Wolfgang Amadé Mozart on the building of the former *Weißes Lamm*. One for Beethoven and also for the important composer, pianist and music teacher Maria Theresia Paradis (there in December 26, 1783) are missing so far. She was – according to the *Augsburgisches Intelligenz-Blatt* No. 52 December 29, 1783, p. 210 – nearly at the same time as her teacher, Antonio Salieri (December 21, 1783), in Augsburg. Surprisingly, I could not find any evidence of a Paradis concert in Augsburg, although she had already been announced several times as an eagerly awaited superstar months before.

Maximilian's) a few steps away. It was situated at a traffic junction, according to historical pictures⁵ it was used by stagecoaches and had three concert halls (a small hall, Rotunda Hall = a round hall, and the large Apollo Hall), which, according to notarized legal documents communicated in the newspapers and original ad flyers, had room for an incredible number of 2,200 people⁶ in total and 110 horses in the stables. For the reconstruction of not only the musical history of this hitherto little-noticed house, but also of Augsburg's musical life during the Mozart era in general and beyond, I examined nine Augsburg daily newspapers (e.g. *Augsburgischer Intelligenz-Zettel/-Blatt*, *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung*, *Augsburgische Ordinäre Postzeitung*, or *Augsburger Tagblatt*) for music news from the years 1746 to (current status: December 9, 2022) 1878 with an almost endless amount of messages about traveling and concertizing musicians, composers, artists, music publishers, and VIPs – in short: the crème de la crème of European concert and social life.⁷

Numerous incomplete curricula vitae can be closed this way (for example, previously missing years in the life of Abbé Vogler): one can trace travel routes; travel durations; travel companions; lengths of stays of musicians and composers, especially coming to and from Italy; concert programs and music publications of the publishing houses Lotter, Anton Böhm & Sohn, Gombart, Gitter, or Kranzfelder. The reports also include an advertisement for the estate of Johann Andreas Stein (1728–1792) and its contents⁸, a second unknown stay of Antonio Salieri (1750–1825)⁹, an unknown fourth stay of Giacomo Casanova (1725–1798) in the *Goldene Traube*¹⁰, an unknown stay of the actor Ira Aldridge (1807–1867)¹¹, and – scattered over many years – several references to hitherto unknown members of the Augsburg Mozart family. When the original news and critical commentaries are arranged chronologically, this basic research reveals a dense network of information, especially of relationships in the quartet of the most important music venues *Goldene Traube*, municipal theater, today *Maximilian's* and the (private) Fugger Hall.¹² With a view to the municipal musicians, the development of today Augsburg's Philharmonic Orchestra can also be traced in minute detail. On the basis of these findings, I have been able to document Augsburg's theater history in tabular form with almost 10,000 entries on works, performances, and reviews from the years 1745 to 1878, adding myriad

⁵ See various individual depictions of the *Goldene Traube* (advertising prints, business cards, etc.) in Grafische Sammlung and Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

⁶ In fact, for an event organized by the Augsburg Women's Association, 1,256 tickets were sold for a single evening and for the use of the Apollo Hall and smaller adjoining rooms only. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 44 February 13, 1840, p. 181.

⁷ See Wosnitzka, Susanne: *Die Goldene Traube – Zentrum der bürgerlichen Musikausübung in Augsburg zwischen 1746 und 1806 (Ende der Reichsstadtzeit). Eine kommentierte Quellenpublikation und Rekonstruktion anhand des Augsburgischen Intelligenz-Zettels, der Augsburgischen Ordinari Postzeitung und Augsburgischen Ordinären Zeitung* (work in progress).

⁸ See Wosnitzka, Susanne: *Nannette Streicher, the woman who could party twice, but...* (January 16, 2020): <https://donne365.blogspot.com/2020/01/music-herstory-nannette-streicher-1769.html>, retrieval date December 16, 2022.

⁹ See *Augsburgisches Intelligenz-Blatt* No. 52 December 29, 1783, p. 210 (today *Maximilian's*); see *ibid.* No. 30 July 24, 1786 p. 124 (*Weißes Ross*).

¹⁰ See *ibid.* No. 51 December 16, 1756, p. 8 (today *Maximilian's*, from Italy); the second stay in 1761 (private host) and the third in 1767 (*Goldene Traube*) are not present in the newspapers but (without references) in Heinzle, Jörg: *Casanova und die schönen Augsburgerinnen* (October 19, 2016), in: Holland, Alexandra (ed.): *Augsburger Allgemeine*: <https://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/augsburg/Casanova-und-die-schoenen-Augsburgerinnen-id39272252.html>, retrieval date September 21, 2019. For the unknown fourth stay see *Augsburgisches Intelligenz-Blatt* No. 26 June 30, 1783, p. 107 (*Goldene Traube*, from Venice).

¹¹ He stayed together with his wife and son on their onward journey from St. Gallen/Switzerland on their way to Munich on August 3, 1854, in today *Maximilian's*. The theater director of the time, Friedrich Engelken (1804–1879), tried to engage him for a guest performance at the Augsburg municipal theater – however, in vain. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 212 August 4, 1854, p. 1344, as well as several other related announcements.

¹² Concerts and balls ('Redouten') alternated; apparently, planning took into account the events of individual concert organizers and hosts, so that only in the rarest cases did different events coincide on the same evening (which participants complained about angrily in letters to newspaper publishers). See the Fugger Hall concerts in Huber, Herbert: *Die Konzerte im Fuggerschen Saal in Augsburg im Spiegel ihrer Programme (1776–1826)*, in: Wüst, Wolfgang (ed.): *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*. Vol. 103. Augsburg (Wißner) 2011, p. 225–302.

unknown performances – to complement the history of the theater that the actor and director Friedrich August Witz¹³ published in 1876 –, as well as to completely fill the gaps that have existed up to now in the series of theater directors.¹⁴

The *Goldene Traube* not only hosted (premiere) performances of secular music, but also performances of sacred works, such as Carl Wilhelm Ramler's (1725–1798) cantata *Ino*, set to music by Gottfried Seyfert (1731–1772) under the overall direction of the Augsburg soprano Susanna Jacobina Jungert (1741–1799)¹⁵, one of Seyfert's students. In the period after the end of the Imperial City Era in 1806, the *Goldene Traube* was also the venue for numerous cultural and musical societies such as the *Frohsinn*, *Erheiterung*, *Tivoli*, *Museum*, *Typographia*, and *Bürger-Verein* in association with the *Rosenau* and upper and lower *Schießgraben* shooting societies and the *Musik-Liebhaber-Verein*. In the latter, the physician and court councilor Dr. Franz Reisinger (1787–1855) had a leading role.

What gradually emerged from early individual organizers such as the *Musikübende und -liebende Gesellschaft* (Music Practicing and Loving Society) or the *Collegium musicum* of the 18th century¹⁶, the later *Frohsinn* society, the winter and the benefit concerts for the general hospital (which Dr. Reisinger headed as director), after the decline of musical and cultural life due to the Schleswig War 1848–1851, was this music society (including statutes), which became the center of the upscale musical culture of the 19th century.¹⁷ This concert society offered four to six public concerts a year, mainly in the *Goldene Traube* and in the concert hall (with an organ!) of the stock exchange house (which also no longer exists) on town hall square in cooperation with local semi-professional dilettantes, the orchestra and the management of the municipal theater, as well as foreign musicians and composers such as Leopoldine Blahetka (1809–1885,

¹³ See the only comprehensive theatrical history to date by the professional actor Friedrich August Witz: *Versuch einer Geschichte der theatralischen Vorstellungen in Augsburg: Von den frühen Zeiten bis 1876*. Augsburg (self-published) 1876, 315 p.

¹⁴ See Wosnitzka, Susanne: *Augsburger Theatergeschichte neu erlebbar* (June 18, 2021): <https://susanne-wosnitzka.de/augsburger-theatergeschichte-neu-erlebbbar/2021/06/18/>, retrieval date December 9, 2022. Beyond the year 1878, there are currently (as of December 2022) no further digitized copies of Augsburg's historical daily newspapers. I have recorded not only the performances in the municipal theater, but also the summer theater performances at the Schießgraben, puppet and crèche theaters and other theater performances in Lechhausen, Oberhausen, at the Wertachbrücke, and in Friedberg. During the gap between 1865 and 1867, Carl Boeckel was in charge of the theater; Moritz Krüger had already been working there since the 1875 season.

¹⁵ See *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung* No. 288 December 1, 1770, p. 4. World premiere. Jungert also gave singing lessons in her apartment in Schmiedgasse, sold concert tickets there, and sang in the choir of the Barfüßerkirche. See *Augsburgischer Intelligenz-Zettel* No. 44 November 3, 1777, p. 4, und *ibid.* No. 24. June 14, 1779, p. 97. See *Manuskript Rechnung über die eingegangenen Gelder u: deren Austheilung vor die aufgeführte ordinari u: extraordinari Musiquen* [in St. Anna and the Barfüßerkirche], *welche von mir Johan* [sic] *Gottfried Seyfert, Directore Musices geschehen 1767*, Stadtarchiv Augsburg. With thanks to Gregor Richter, Bach-Archiv Leipzig, for the use of his find. Read a bit more about her biography in her German wikipedia article, which I created: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Susanna_Jacobina_Jungert, retrieval date December 14, 2022.

¹⁶ See Schmid, Ernst Fritz: *Ein schwäbisches Mozartbuch*. Nachdruck. Augsburg 1998, p. 103–122.

¹⁷ See *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung* No. 287 November 30, 1811, p. 3; *Augsburgisches Intelligenz-Blatt* No. 83. October 20, 1824, p. 354; *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 125 Mai 7, 1833, p. 499 (Statuten-Erneuerung), and Winkel von, Franz: *Reisinger, Franz*, in: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.): *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 28. Leipzig (Duncker & Humblot) 1889, p. 128. Dr. Reisinger's musical activity seems to be unexplored so far; however, I can reconstruct it based on the historical newspapers. Dr. Reisinger himself was an English horn player. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 300 November 1, 1846, p. 1335. According to newspaper reports, he also founded a breast cancer center in Augsburg in 1853, which must have been unique in Germany at that time.

November 6 and 11, 1830)¹⁸, Stephen Heller (1813–1888, for example December 18, 1830)¹⁹, Johann Strauss Sr. (1804–1849) with orchestra (October 16, 1835, and February 15, 1837)²⁰, Ole Bull (1810–1880, November 6, 1839)²¹, the Clara Schumann student Luise Adolpha Le Beau (1850–1927, April 9, 1877)²², the first group of the *Fisk Jubilee Singers* (May 3, 1878)²³, or Franz Liszt (1811–1886, e.g. October 18, 1843), and Clara Schumann (1819–1886, e.g. November 11, 1857).²⁴

Military music in particular boomed in Augsburg at this time: weekly or almost daily, the wind orchestras of the Royal Infantry Regiment *Prinz Karl* and the 4th Royal Regiment of Grenadiers *König* performed in summer in society gardens, of which there were also coupling outs of pure oboe nonettes, which competed with the municipal musicians, who could be booked in trios and quartets for various occasions. The most important oboist of the city was Caspar/Kaspar Reichardt (?–1857), first oboist of the Augsburg municipal theater, who could be heard quite often as a soloist in the concerts of the *Musik-Liebhaber-Verein*, also on the stage of the *Goldene Traube*.²⁵ His father, Joseph Reichardt, appears in the newspapers for the first time in 1819 as a mask and costume salesman and as a women's dressmaker.²⁶ In January 1839, Kaspar Reichardt took over his father's business (located, together with his residence, at Litera A 87, today Hunoldsgarten 36). In the same year, Lindpaintner arrangements by Kaspar Reichardt for the flute were published by Anton Böhm.²⁷ Reichardt also composed for the guitar, namely 12 easy pieces printed by the same. He also created arrangements of the opera *Der Maurer und der Schlosser* by Daniel-François-Ésprit Auber (1782–1871) for two flutes, as well as individual pieces from other operas that were very popular at the time (such as *Robert le diable*). Meanwhile, Lucie/Luzia Reichardt, Kaspar Reichardt's wife

¹⁸ She publicly thanked Augsburg for her favorable reception: "On her departure from the friendly city of Augsburg, the undersigned cannot fail to express the liveliest thanks for the favorable appreciation of her talent to the inclined friends of art, as well as for the willing and unselfish cooperation of so many artists. Leopoldina [sic] Blahetka, sound artist." See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 318 November 14, 1830, p. 1296. Coming from Munich on November 5 (concert at the *Odeon* before Queen Therese of Bavaria), she had stayed with her father and mother at the *Goldene Traube*. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 306 November 2, 1830, p. 1244, und *ibid.* No. 310 November 6, 1830, p. 1262.

¹⁹ Stephen Heller remained in Augsburg for a longer period of time and can be traced in the *Augsburger Tagblatt* from September 9, 1830, to December 7, 1834, in several concerts, also with his own compositions. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 251 September 9, 1830, p. 1007, and *ibid.* No. 336 December 7, 1834, p. 1355. In Augsburg he collapsed due to the tyrannies of his father. See Sietz, Reinhold: *Heller, Stephen*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1969), p. 480f.: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118773852.html#ndbcontent>, retrieval date December 9, 2022.

²⁰ Johann Strauss Sr. with orchestra occupied 11 rooms in the *Goldene Traube*. He apparently received his Amati violin as a gift from Helene Duchess of Orléans née zu Mecklenburg(-Schwerin, 1814–1858), which she had purchased for 200 louis d'or. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 349 December 20, 1837, p. 1428. This possible origin of this instrument is unknown to the Wien Museum, which administers the Strauss apartment where this violin is now housed, according to inquiries.

²¹ Ole Bull had health problems at the time, up to and including reports of attempted suicide in Paris. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 71 March 12, 1838, p. 283. He had previously given concerts in Munich at the *Odeon*, and in 1839 he traveled via Augsburg (without a concert) to Baden-Baden to take the cure. See *ibid.* No. 194 July 17, 1839, p. 893.

²² Luise Adolpha Le Beau accompanied the soprano Aglaja (von) Orgeni (1841–1926) and the violinist Bertha Haft (ca. 1860–?) in the municipal theater. See *Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten* No. 76 March 30, 1877, p. 599, and *ibid.* No. 82. April 8, 1877, p. 652.

²³ In Augsburg they sang in the no longer existing hall of the *Schießgraben* society (today a park at Königsplatz). See *Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten* No. 86 April 11, 1878, p. 722, *ibid.* No. 103 May 3, 1878 (with a detailed report about a concert in Breslau), and *ibid.* No. 106 May 7, 1878, p. 917.

²⁴ See Wosnitzka, Susanne: *Clara Schumann hat null Bock*. Guest blog text for the Monacensia Munich archive for the project *#femaleheritage* (November 9, 2020): <https://susanne-wosnitzka.de/clara-schumann-hat-null-bock>, retrieval date December 10, 2022, or in English here (December 10, 2020): <https://donne365.blogspot.com/2020/12/clara-schumann-cant-be-bothered-article.html>, retrieval date December 10, 2022).

²⁵ For example, on November 3, 1839. See *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung* No. 306 November 3, 1839, p. 4.

²⁶ See *ibid.* No. 18. January 21, 1819, p. 4.

²⁷ See *ibid.* No. 287. December 1, 1829, p. 8, as well as arias and polonaises from the opera *Die beiden Fische* by Étienne-Nicolas Méhul arranged by Reichardt for two flutes.

(?–1860), continued to sell 'masked wardrobes from operas' – possibly discarded theater costumes.²⁸ In 1835, Kaspar Reichardt²⁹ performed 'a great mass' by Wolfgang Amadé Mozart in Augsburg Cathedral under the direction of Cathedral conductor Carl Bonaventura Witzka (1768–1848) for the birthday of Queen Therese of Bavaria (1792–1854).³⁰ Where did Kaspar Reichardt get his compositional knowledge; where did he get his artistic excellence?

This riddle can be solved as follows and leads back to the initial question: Reichardt's teacher³¹ was apparently none other than the first oboist of the Vienna Imperial and Royal Court Opera theater, Ernest/Ernst Krähmer (1795–1837)! Krähmer was born in Dresden and initially worked there in the Royal Court Orchestra. After Krähmer was discharged from compulsory military service, he moved to Vienna in 1815 and became second oboist of the Burgtheater. From 1819 he appeared increasingly as a soloist. In 1822 Caroline Schleicher (1794–1873) arrived in Vienna and gave concerts.³²

In the same year, Ernest and Caroline were married – one of the groomsmen was Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart (1791–1844), who, according to Krähmer expert Nicola Buckenmaier, had also introduced the two to each other. The Krähmers were fleetingly acquainted with Ludwig van Beethoven: One of their concerts was attended by Beethoven's nephew Karl (1806–1858), who reported to his uncle about it, stating that he (Ludwig van Beethoven), above all, knew Mrs. Schleicher: "You still remember the violin and clarinet player who met us with her husband, an oboist, as far as I remember, and traveled to Russia? – She was also at the concert, but dressed very simply, in the same cloth coat in which I saw her at the time. Pfeiffer, I think, is her name."³³ It's unknown where Kaspar Reichardt took lessons from Ernest Krähmer. Given Krähmer's rising fame, it could have been Vienna, the capital of the educated musical world.

Ernest Krähmer was on his last tour together with his wife, the clarinetist, violinist and composer Caroline, as well as their son Carl, who was 10 years old at the time. Coming from Salzburg and Munich, they arrived in Augsburg shortly after September 20, 1834, which Johann Gottlieb Freiherr von Langenthal (?–[before]

²⁸ With a shop in Litera C 289 (= today Hunoldsgarten 11). See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 6 January 6, 1833, p. 24.

²⁹ On September 16, the birth of a son named Otto Bernhardt Aloys can be verified. Reichardt is described in the birth announcement as a 'music teacher', as a resident in Litera C 289. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 264 September 26, 1835, p. 1095. A Christian Reichardt died on May 23, 1832 as 'ehem. Harmonie=Diener' (= former janitor *Harmonie* society). See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 148 May 29, 1832, p. 595. According to opera singer, actor, comedian, and director Friedrich August Witz's *Versuch einer Geschichte der theatralischen Vorstellungen in Augsburg von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1876*. Augsburg (self-published) 1876, p. 274, there were still a Friedrich Reichard [sic] working at the Augsburg municipal theater with unknown subject/job 1809–1812, as well as a Gabriel Reichardt (from Weißenburg am Sande) as a municipal musician, who is given as music director. Unfortunately, this publication only contains the names of actors and singers, but not of the remaining opera and orchestra personnel.

³⁰ See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 187 July 19, 1835, p. 781.

³¹ See *ibid.* No. 303 November 4, 1834, p. 1221. Here Krähmer is mentioned as Reichardt's teacher.

³² See Buckenmaier, Nicola: *Caroline Schleicher-Krähmer: The First Female Clarinet Soloist*, in: International Clarinet Association (ed.): *The Clarinet*. 46/4 (September 2019): <https://clarinet.org/2019/09/02/caroline-schleicher-kraemer-first-female-clarinet-soloist/>, retrieval date June 27, 2020. According to Krähmer expert Nicola Buckenmaier, Caroline Krähmer wrote herself consistently with the letter C. See Färber, Nicola [Buckenmaier]: *Caroline Schleicher-Krähmer. Eine Spurensuche*, in: Chaker, Sarah/Erdélyi, Ann-Kathrin: *Frauen hör- und sichtbar machen. 20 Jahre „Frau und Musik“ an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien*. Wien 2010, p. 179–193, and Färber, Nicola [sic; Buckenmaier]: *Caroline Schleicher-Krähmer, die erste Soloklarinetistin*, in: *Hegau – Frauen – Geschichte*. Jahrbuch des Hegau-Geschichtsvereins. Singen/Hohentwiel 2009, p. 85–96, as well as personal e-mail exchange June 27, 2020.

³³ See Köhler, Karl-Heinz/Herre, Grita/Beck, Dagmar (ed.): *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*. Vol. 5. Leipzig (Deutscher Verlag für Musik) 1968, p. 194. The editors note that this must be a confusion of names and that Caroline Krähmer and her husband are meant here.

1838)³⁴ proudly announced in the *Augsburger Tagblatt*, presumably as a member of the *Musik-Liebhaber-Verein*, founded by Dr. Reisinger.³⁵

The evidence shows that Caroline Krähmer had already made several appearances in Augsburg a few years earlier, the first at the end of November 1811, when she performed with her father and sister "in a local music lovers' society on the violin, clarinet and bassoon with a very particular expression, a rare skill".³⁶

The first concert of the Krähmer family took place on September 26, 1834, in the *Goldene Traube*: "After the overture, Madame Krähmer performed in the first section a concerto for clarinet by St[ephan]. Franz³⁷, which was followed by an original divertissement for the oboe, composed and performed by Mr. Krähmer, which was concluded with a (very interesting) fantasy on favorite motifs from the opera *Robert le diable* composed and performed by Madame Krähmer. The second section consisted of variations on a Hungarian national theme, for the violin, composed by [Leopold] Jansa³⁸, played by Mad. Krähmer; then: variations brillantes for the csakan³⁹ (which, according to the concertmaster, is complicated and has never been heard here before), composed and performed by E. Krähmer; and finally, a duo concertante for oboe and clarinet, composed by E. Krähmer, performed by both concertmasters. The applause, which both virtuosos rightly received, was general and extraordinary, and several who had already heard Mr. Krähmer in the Royal Saxon Orchestra before his call to Vienna, and who had also heard his wife here while still unmarried, were pleased to find both so advanced in their artistic careers."⁴⁰

On October 3, 1834, the Krähmers played in the municipal theater, at the request of theater director August Rothhammer, as a special feature between two plays, offering "the first movement of a concerto composed by him [Mr. Krähmer] on the oboe, as well as Madame Krähmer in a second divertissement from *Robert le diable*, also composed by her, for the clarinet. [...] Mr. Krähmer then let us admire an introduction in bravura variations on the csakan, again written by himself, which was followed by the duo concertante for oboe and clarinet, composed so beautifully by Mr. Krähmer, in which the instruments, sometimes united, sometimes serving as foil for the other, rounded out two enjoyable evening hours to the highest

³⁴ See Seide, Ferdinand: *Der Führer auf den Gräbern der in Augsburg Verstorbenen, und Sammlung aller Inschriften auf den Monumenten des Kirchhofes der Protestanten in Augsburg*. Augsburg (A. Bäumer) 1838, p. 400.

³⁵ See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 258 September 20, 1834, p. 1035. Johann Georg von Schaezler – a cousin of the well-known entrepreneur and banker Johann Lorenz von Schaezler (1762–1826) – was also a member of the *Musik-Liebhaber-Gesellschaft* and, as an outstanding and popular flute dilettante, occasionally performed as a soloist at the *Goldene Traube* and arranged musical works for the flute, which appeared in Augsburg as a publication in six booklets by Gombart (*Unterhaltungen für eine Flöte mit willkürlicher Begleitung einer zweiten Flöte, eine Sammlung der modernsten, beliebtesten Ton=Stücke; partly from the latest operas, partly favorite marches, dances and songs, etc.*). See e.g. *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 71 March 12, 1831, p. 317 und *ibid.*, No. 275 October 8, 1831, p. 1179.

³⁶ See *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung* No. 287 November 30, 1811, p. 3. Furthermore, verifiable in Augsburg in 1812, 1814, 1815, 1821, 1822, 1834, and 1840.

³⁷ Stephan Franz (1795–1855), violinist, conductor, pedagogue, composer. Student of Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809). Franz was first violinist at the Theater an der Wien and arranged works by Beethoven and others. See Harten, Uwe: *Franz, Stephan*, in: *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*: https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_F/Franz_Stephan.xml, retrieval date December 9, 2022. With thanks to Nicola Buckenmaier for deciphering the abbreviated name.

³⁸ Leopold Jansa (1795–1875), violin virtuoso. Teacher of Wilma Maria Franziška Neruda (1839–1911), the most famous violinist of her time. See Harten, Uwe: *Jansa, Leopold*, in: *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*: https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_J/Jansa_Leopold.xml, retrieval date December 9, 2022.

³⁹ The csakan (or czakan) is a type of a duct flute crafted in the shape of a walking stick with a mouthpiece in the handle, developed by Anton Heberle, in the design of shepherd's flutes from e.g. Hungary or Croatia. From the 1820s the csakan was in the shape of an oboe. See Betz, Marianne: *Csakan*, in: Grove, George (ed.): *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (8th ed.). Oxford University Press (2001): <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06917>, retrieval date December 9, 2022.

⁴⁰ See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 266 September 28, 1834, p. 1067f.

applause of the many strangers and concluded the sonic entertainment."⁴¹

A third important and leading musician was André Hippolyte Chélard (1789–1861)⁴² – at this time not only Kapellmeister of the Bavarian court in Munich, but also for several years the music director of the Augsburg municipal theater. In order to be able to play Beethoven's and Mozart's oboe concertos with orchestra, a conductor's score and the instrumental parts must have been available!

Three days later, the *Augsburger Tagblatt* reports the following in more detail: "Local news. The day before yesterday, our esteemed guests from Vienna gave a great concert at the municipal theater in remembrance of Mozart, Haydn and Bethoven [sic], and let themselves be heard publicly for the third time. After a prologue beautifully spoken by Mr. Rothhammer [director of the municipal theater] and excellently composed by Professor J. E. Seidel⁴³, we heard in the first section an overture by J. Haydn to the opera *Pyramus und Thisbe*; a concerto by W. A. Mozart for oboe (first movement), performed by Mr. Krähmer (both played from handwritten scores owned by the performers [!]), as well as J. Haydn's Austrian folk hymn⁴⁴ for the clarinet, performed by Madame Krähmer. The second section consisted of a soprano aria with obligato clarinet from the opera *Titus* by Mozart, performed by Mad. Haine⁴⁵ and Mad. Krähmer; an aria from



Original concert ad *Augsburger Tagblatt*
No. 271 October 3, 1834, p. 1094
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the *Creation* by Haydn with variations for the czakan, composed and performed immensely beautifully by Mr. Krähmer, accompanied on the pianoforte by their ten-year-old son Karl Krähmer, and finally an Adagio and Rondo from a concerto by Bethoven [sic] for the oboe (also from a manuscript) performed by Mr. Krähmer. Each section was preceded by a short comedy, and it was to be regretted that due to the excessive and uncalculated duration of the whole, many spectators left the event before its official end. It would have been advisable to omit at least one of the comedies and the (otherwise so wonderful) tone poem *Adelaide*. Incidentally, it hardly needs to be said that all foreign listeners were delighted with the brilliant arrangement of the concert, with the excellent orchestral direction of the Royal Court conductor

⁴¹ See *ibid.* No. 270 Oktober 2, 1834, p. 1088. Picture: original concert ad, *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 271 Oktober 3, 1834, p. 1094.

⁴² See Focht, Josef (ed.): Chelard (Chélard), Hippolyte-André-Jean-Baptiste, in: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (ed.): *Bayerisches Musiker-Lexikon Online*: <http://bmlo.de/c0128>, retrieval date December 9, 2022. The fact that he worked as a Kapellmeister at the Augsburg municipal theater for several years has not yet been further researched. What is known so far is that he is said to have conducted only a few performances there. But there are many more of these. Under his direction, for example, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (1804–1860) sang a series of guest roles in Augsburg in 1830, and there is evidence that she stayed overnight at the *Grüner Hof* hotel. See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 314 November 10, 1830, p. 1280. To this day, no modern publication exists with a detailed overall account of Augsburg's theater history.

⁴³ Probably Johann Esaias Seidel von Rosenthal (1758–1827), publisher and bookseller. See Lommer, Markus: *Seidel von Rosenthal, Johann Esaias*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 24 (2010), p. 174f.: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117469408.html>, retrieval date December 14, 2022.

⁴⁴ Probably the Austrian so-called *Volkshymne* or *Kaiserhymne* (anthem) *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*.

⁴⁵ Charlotte Sophie Haine (soubrette), mother of composer Carl Haine (1830–1910). His father August was a member of the Augsburg municipal theater. Carl had a sister, Babette Henriette Louise Auguste (born December 14, 1836). The Haine family lived near the theater in Litera H 189 (today Langes Sächsengässchen 12/14). See Beer, Axel (ed.): *Musik und Musiker am Mittelrhein 2 online*: <http://mmm2.mugemir.de/doku.php?id=haine>, retrieval date December 14, 2022, and *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 4 January 4, 1836, p. 16, and Witz, Friedrich August: *Versuch einer Geschichte der theatralischen Vorstellungen in Augsburg: Von den frühen Zeiten bis 1876*. Augsburg (self-published) 1876, p. 226.

Mr. Chelard, and especially with the beautiful performance of the Viennese virtuosos on the oboe, the czakan, and the clarinet. The departure of these artists, which took place yesterday, pains us; confirming their reputation as being indisputably among the first oboists and clarinetists now living, they have compelled us to remember them forever."⁴⁶

The works described here can only be Mozart's oboe concerto KV 285 d = KV 314 (*Ferlendis Concerto*⁴⁷), whose autograph is considered lost⁴⁸, as well as Beethoven's oboe concerto, which is also lost in the original manuscript.⁴⁹ Is it a coincidence that both oboe works have disappeared? Or a deliberate 'taking away'? The opera *Pyramus und Thisbe* and its overture are also not to be found in Joseph Haydn's catalog of works. The *Augsburger Tagblatt* uses the word 'manuscript', which in music, unlike in some other artistic genres, always means either an autograph manuscript or a (handwritten) copy. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, which reports on a concert of the Krähmers in Neuchâtel, also mentions Beethoven's, Mozart's and Haydn's manuscripts "von den drey Heroen der deutschen Tonkunst" reverently.⁵⁰ Especially interesting is also the fact that the Krähmers gave a concert in Salzburg on September 6 and 10, 1834 – in the presence of Constanze Mozart and in memory of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart.⁵¹ Thus Constanze must have known about the possible autograph manuscripts in Krähmer's possession – perhaps she procured them and gave them away so that they would get into the 'right' (= good/best) hands for appropriate performances and publicity of Mozart's work? This could explain the lack of Mozart's original oboe concerto manuscript today. According to Alexander Wheelock Thayer, Beethoven's original – or a copy? – was in the possession of the Viennese publisher Anton Diabelli (1781–1858)⁵² in 1865, which he is said to have 'acquired' more or less legally via the autograph collector Aloys

⁴⁶ See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 273 October 5, 1834, p. 1099f.

⁴⁷ Giuseppe Ferlendis (1755–1810, composer and oboist) can be traced to the *Weißes Lamm* in Augsburg on March 9, 1795, coming from Venice. See *Augsburgisches Intelligenz-Blatt* No. 11 March 16, 1795, p. 47.

⁴⁸ See Köchel von, Ludwig Ritter: *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts nebst Angabe der verlorengegangenen, angefangenen, von fremder Hand bearbeiteten, zweifelhaft und unterschobenen Kompositionen*. Ed. 7. (edited by Giegling, Franz/Weinmann, Alexander/Sievers, Gerd). Wiesbaden (Breitkopf & Härtel) 1965, p. 295, and Giegling, Franz (ed.): *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Konzert in C für Oboe und Orchester KV 314 (285 d)*. Kassel–Basel–London–New York (Bärenreiter) 2002, p. II.

⁴⁹ See *ibid.*

⁵⁰ See *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* No. 50 December 10, 1834, column 846. This newspaper article unveils a bit more: "Neuchâtel in der Schweiz, im Monat Nov. Hr. Krähmer aus Wien, k. k. Hof- u. Kammermusik, erster Hoboist am kaiserlichen Hoftheater, und seine Gemahlin, geborne Schleicher, Künstlerin auf der Violine und dem Klarinett, gaben allhier am 20. d[ies]. M[onats]. Ein Concert mit rauschendem Beyfall. [...] Herr Krähmer befindet sich im Besitz dreyer Manuscripte von den drey Heroen der deutschen Tonkunst: Mozart, Haydn und Beethoven. Von Haydn die Ouvertüre aus der Oper Pyramus und Thisbe, welche der Selige für die Kapelle des Fürsten von Esterhazy componirte; von Mozart und Beethoven Compositionen für die Hoboe. – An dem in Mozart's Vaterstadt [Salzburg] den 10. Septbr. d[ieses]. J[ahres]. Statt gehaltenen Concert wurden benannte Compositionen nebst andern von ebendenselben Meistern im Beyseyn der Wittwe Mozart aufgeführt." This wrote Andreas Späth (1790–1876), who was the Musikdirektor/Kapellmeister in Neuchâtel who probably was in person in this Neuchâtel concert and conducted it in person. See *Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Gesamtausgabe* (ed.): *Späth, Andreas*: <https://weber-gesamtausgabe.de/de/A000A10.html>, retrieval date December 15, 2022. Do copies of the works exist in Neuchâtel, too? The whole tour of the Krämer family would have to be urgently examined for possible unknown concert venues and local contacts.

⁵¹ See Morgenstern, Anja: *Constanze Nissen in Salzburg 1824–1842. Neue Aspekte zur Entstehung des Mozartkults*, in: Sedivy, Dominik (ed.): *Salzburgs Musikgeschichte im Zeichen des Provinzialismus? Die ersten Jahrzehnte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Wien 2017, p. 316ff.

⁵² See Cooper, Barry: *Das Beethoven-Kompendium: Sein Leben – seine Musik*. Munich (Droemer Knauer) 1992, p. 265. Diabelli himself was in contact with Beethoven (see Diabelli Variations 1823); possibly, Diabelli knew of Beethoven's 'sloppiness' in dealing with his originals. Let us assume that the oboe manuscript was indeed the original one: Perhaps he simply asked Beethoven for it?

Fuchs (1799–1853) around 1840.⁵³ Due to the date recorded in it, one could certainly speculate that Caroline Krähmer knew that there was no copy of the original and had left the original to Anton Diabelli after the death of her husband (January 16, 1837) for a possible print edition, which then – for whatever reason – never appeared.⁵⁴

Beethoven himself was known for placing little or no value on his handwritten originals – once they were published in print, he no longer seemed to be interested in them. Heinz von Loesch and Claus Raab write about this: "After completing the work on an autograph score, Beethoven gave it to a copyist who had the difficult task of finding the correct text form out of the chaos and to record it in a fair copy. [...] Beethoven's carelessness in the preservation of his autographs led to the fact that, at his death, only relatively few were in his estate and that they were sold at public auction in November 1827. Most of the early scores were lost, whereas most of the later ones (with exceptions, of course), such as the final movement of the violin sonata op. 24 [...] or the complete autograph of the piano sonata op. 106 (*Hammerklavier Sonata*), have been preserved. Beethoven's carelessness in handling his manuscripts is one explanation for their wide dispersion, which today can be described as worldwide."⁵⁵

Can the 'loss' of the original manuscript possibly be explained that Ernest Krähmer simply 'helped' himself to it during a possible visit to Beethoven's apartment, thus depriving it of a printed edition? Could it even have been given to him by Beethoven, who did not value either the original manuscript or the publication of his early works? Was it Ernest Krähmer himself who bought the manuscripts at the public auction in 1827 in order to be able to rehearse the works and to go on tour with them?

It could also be possible that Kaspar Reichardt, as an interested oboist, seized the opportunity to make a copy of the oboe works played by his teacher in Augsburg or Vienna, in order to be able to study and play these works himself. Does Kaspar Reichardt still have an estate in which one could at least find copies?

Kaspar Reichardt resigned from the orchestra of the theater in 1856 and offered his musical services (teaching the zither, guitar, and flute) in the newspapers, which also praise an introductory zither textbook that he apparently wrote.⁵⁶ He died of a 'Schlagfluß' (stroke) at the age of 53 after a short illness on May 12, 1857⁵⁷; the names of his sons, Max and Otto, also appear in the obituary.⁵⁸ At his funeral in the Catholic cemetery (Hermannstraße), the *Liedertafel* sang and the theater orchestra played; the orchestra then also gave benefit concerts for Luzia and the two sons.⁵⁹ Too, that year the big orchestra concert that Kaspar Reichardt traditionally gave on/around November 1 in the *Goldene Traube* was dedicated to his memory

⁵³ See Zanden van der, Jos: *Beethoven's Oboe Concerto in F major (Hess 12): A Mystery Case*, in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Oboe concerto in F major (Hess 12), second movement (largo); reconstructed from the sketches by Cees Nieuwenhuizen & Jos van der Zanden*. Amsterdam (Raptus) 2002, p. I.

⁵⁴ Diabelli published numerous works by Ernest Krähmer, including his *Neueste theoretisch=practische Czakan=Schule*. See Weinmann, Alexander: *Verlagsverzeichnis Anton Diabelli & Co. (1824–1840)*, in: Füssl, Karl- Heinz/Robbins Landon, H. C. (ed.): *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages*. Series 2. Vol. 24. Wien (Musikverlag Krenn) 1985, p. 463.

⁵⁵ See Loesch von, Heinz/Raab, Claus (ed.): *Das Beethoven-Lexikon*, in: Riethmüller, Albrecht (ed.): *Das Beethoven-Handbuch*. Vol. 6. Laaber (Laaber) 2008, p. 67.

⁵⁶ See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 312 November 12, 1856, p. 2198f.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.* No. 15 June 5, 1857, p. 1217.

⁵⁸ See *ibid.* No. 132 May 14, 1857, p. 1051.

⁵⁹ See *ibid.* No. 140 May 22, 1857, p. 1111, and *ibid.* No. 155 June 7, 1857, p. 1227. Viktoria Katharina (Käthchen) Then (1837–1905), one of the daughters of the important Augsburg piano builder Christian Then (1803–1877). She was a student of Clara Schumann, and also played in this concert. The overnight stay and concert venue of the legendary pianist and composer as well as Augsburg concerts and stays of Franz Liszt I can prove since winter 2020. See Wosnitzka, Susanne: *Clara Schumann hat null Bock*. Guest blog text for the Monacensia Munich archive for the project *#femaleheritage* (November 9, 2020): <https://susanne-wosnitzka.de/clara-schumann-hat-null-bock>, retrieval date December 9, 2022, or in English here (December 10, 2020): <https://donne365.blogspot.com/2020/12/clara-schumann-cant-be-bothered-article.html>, retrieval date December 10, 2022).

and played for the benefit of his widow and the two sons. Luzia Reichardt continued to sell and rent out carnival clothes in the Reichardt family home at Litera C 296, on the 2nd floor in Hunoldsgarten. On March 12, 1860, she died, 58 years old, after many years of suffering.⁶⁰ Regina Weinmayr took over her fundus and continued to sell/rent in the Reichardt apartment.⁶¹ After Luzia Reichardt's death, 'music and musical instruments' from the estate of Kaspar Reichardt were auctioned off.⁶²

Were there also copies of, or possibly the original, oboe works, which were not particularly noticed at that time because the music as well as the instrument were 'out of date'? Even Beethoven's so-called *Moonlight Sonata* was considered old-fashioned and 'unflattering' at a concert by the pianist Caroline von Staudt (1830–1917) in Augsburg in 1857.⁶³

Augsburg commemorated the anniversary of Mozart's death with, for example, specially written plays about the composer performed in the municipal theater. Ernst Krähmer Jr., who was a close friend of the Reichardt family and one of the musical stars of the city, would also have been interested in transcriptions of the oboe works and/or originals, if necessary, as Kapellmeister of the theater orchestra. The value of a Mozart and a Beethoven was also known through the 'cult of genius' that had set in long before. Can these things be found in Ernst's estate? Ernst Krähmer Jr. accepted a call as professor to Munich in February 1863, but while retaining his Augsburg position.⁶⁴

Krähmer expert Nicola Buckenmaier states that despite 15 years of searching — for she is also eager to find Caroline Krähmer's clarinet works — she has not been able to find any evidence of a Krähmer estate collection, or even of living descendants: "In general, the estate seems to have been very fragmented, since I was able to find originals worldwide, but not a collected collection." However: "Three of Krähmer's sons became (professional) musicians and were certainly aware of the importance of the manuscripts. And Caroline herself was a full-blooded instrumentalist with a very good network in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. For example, she personally knew Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836) in Zurich, who published Beethoven's works in his publishing house. She, too, would probably not have let the originals out of her hands lightly."⁶⁵

In any case, it is no coincidence that both original manuscripts are missing at the same time — they were together and perhaps still are. This case is not yet a cold case, but still a mystery case — with fewer old questions, but a few new ones. But maybe these new clues can help lead to a solution to this legendary riddle of music history — with real manuscripts on a *dusty shelf*.

Susanne Wosnitzka, December 17, 2022⁶⁶

⁶⁰ See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 72 March 12, 1860, p. 577.

⁶¹ See *ibid.* No. 8 January 8, 1861, p. 66.

⁶² See *ibid.* No. 207 July 30, 1857, p. 1641.

⁶³ See Wosnitzka, Susanne: *Caroline von Staudt – Augsburger Claviervirtuosin mit seltener Bravour* (August 27, 2021): <https://susanne-wosnitzka.de/caroline-von-staudt-augsburger-claviervirtuosin>, retrieval date December 9, 2020.

⁶⁴ See *Augsburger Tagblatt* No. 44 February 13, 1863, p. 350.

⁶⁵ See e-mail exchange June 25, 2020.

⁶⁶ This article has been available to the research and publication department of the Beethoven-Haus Bonn since June 2020 in an older version that was intended as a contribution to the Beethoven Anniversary Edition 2020. Due to Corona, the printing of this special edition has not yet come to light. For the Beethoven conference of the *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung* in Bonn in September 2021, I was invited to be a speaker at the poster session there with my finds. See Wosnitzka, Susanne: *Beethovens & Mozarts verschollenes Oboenkonzert – Spur in Augsburg* (September 10, 2021): <https://susanne-wosnitzka.de/beethoven-mozart-verschollene-oboenkonzerte-spur-in-augsburg/2021/09/10/>, retrieval date December 9, 2022. With thanks to Anne Midgette for her kind review of my

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translation into English, to Austin Glatthorn as a wise consultant, to Nicola Buckenmaier for a fantastic and an inspiring scientific exchange, and to Annegret Huber for her mediation of contacts.

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