

Notes

1 Haydn's career and the idea of the multiple audience

1 Letter of March 29, 1789; *Briefe*, 202:

“Übersende die 3te Sonate [*recte* Trio, Hob. XV: 13], welche ich also nach Ihrem Geschmack mit Variationen ganz neu verfertigt.” H. C. Robbins Landon translates this as “newly rewritten with variations,” but this seems implausible (*CCLN*, 82).

2 *Briefe*, 202; the terms *Capriccio* and *Fantasia* were sometimes used interchangeably, though possibly Haydn used the former to remind Artaria of his previous publication. Presumably by “besonderer Ausarbeitung” Haydn meant the unusual structure of the work, “Ausarbeitung” being a rhetorical term sometimes meaning working-out, sometimes meaning the figural details once the structure is set; see the diagram of the piece in Elaine R. Sisman, “Haydn’s solo keyboard music,” in Robert L. Marshall (ed.), *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1994; 2nd ed., 2003), 294.

3 Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (1796), facs. ed. Otto Biba (Munich and Salzburg, 1976); portions trans. Kathrine Talbot in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 289–320.

4 See the extensive mapping of these and other related terms in Erich Reimer’s article “Kenner – Liebhaber – Dilettant,” in Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (ed.), *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1974), as well as Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and Their Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), chap. 9.

5 When Triest uses “half-connoisseurs,” he intends a put-down of those who slavishly look to the true connoisseurs in order to follow their judgments. Johann Karl Friedrich Triest, “Remarks on the development of the art of music in Germany in the eighteenth century,” trans. Susan Gillespie, in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 321–94, at 345–46 (especially: “The half-connoisseurs, as usual, followed the opinion of the connoisseurs. They secretly disliked [C. P. E.] Bach’s works, which they found dark and difficult.”). The essay was originally serialized in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (Jan 1–March 25, 1801), nos. 14–19 and 22–26.

6 Griesinger, 14; trans. modified from Gotwals, 12.

7 The flap over Artaria’s “premature” announcement of the reasonably priced publication of Op. 33 while Haydn was still trying to fulfill his expensive subscription orders (Haydn’s solicitation letters to Lavater and others were dated December 3, 1781, and Artaria’s advertisement was placed in the *Wiener Zeitung* on December 29) caused Haydn deep embarrassment, and it was in that context that Swieten gave Haydn “distinctly to understand that in future I should dedicate my compositions directly to the public,” as Haydn told Artaria in a letter the publisher received on July 27, 1782 (Landon II, 464).

8 Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (Leipzig, 1771–74), s.v. “Kammermusik”: “Da die Kammermusik für Kenner und Liebhaber ist, so können die Stücke gelehrter und künstlicher gesetzt sein als die zum öffentlichen Gebrauch bestimmt sind, wo alles mehr einfache und cantabel sein muss, damit jedermann es fasse.”

9 To Griesinger, Haydn deplored the tendency of new composers not to explore a single idea, but rather to “string out one little idea after another, . . . break off when they have hardly begun, and nothing remains in the heart when one has listened to it.” Griesinger, 114; Gotwals, 61.

10 Griesinger, 24; trans. modified from Gotwals, 17.

11 See the listing in the Esterházy inventory c.1740 in János Hárlich, “Inventare der Esterházy-Hofkapelle in Eisenstadt,” *HYB* 9 (1975), 5–125, at 46: item B.20, listing the parts (Violino Princ: with 2 vns, va, basso and organo) for twelve concertos.

12 I refer to the Auenbrugger sonatas; the Lieder responding to those of Hofmann; and the premature publication of the Op. 33 string quartets when they were still in subscription. These incidents will be discussed below.

13 *Briefe*, 60; *CCLN*, 11.

14 Griesinger, 62; Gotwals, 36.

15 The numbering follows that in *JHW* XXVII/2.

16 William Kumbier, in a cogent rhetorical analysis of *Applausus*, discusses the details of text-setting that make this style especially

- appropriate, noting its return in the B section of the final aria; “Rhetoric and expression in Haydn’s *Applausus cantata*,” *HYB* 18 (1993), 213–65, at 234–38.
- 17 Letter of 22 September 1802; *Briefe*, 410; *CCLN*, 209.
- 18 *Briefe*, 76–82; *CCLN*, 18–21, reproduced in Landon II, 397–99.
- 19 I explore the nature and implications of this construction for Haydn’s knowledge of rhetoric in *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), chap. 2, “The rhetoric of variation.”
- 20 Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment*, preface by E. H. Gombrich (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), cited in Leon Botstein, “Haydn and the demise of philosophical listening,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 255–85 (270).
- 21 Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c.1750 to c.1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 50–51.
- 22 Letter of July 20, 1781; *CCLN*, 31; *Briefe*, 101.
- 23 A. Peter Brown, “Joseph Haydn and Leopold Hofmann’s ‘Street Songs,’” *JAMS* 33 (1980), 356–83.
- 24 *Briefe*, 77–78; *CCLN*, 20; Landon II, 399.
- 25 Mozart, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family* [hereinafter *Letters*], 3rd rev. ed., trans. Emily Anderson (London: Macmillan, 1985), 833; Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* [hereinafter *MBA*], ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, iii (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 245–46. I offer a new understanding of this letter in “Observations on the first phase of Mozart’s ‘Haydn’ quartets,” in Dorothea Link (ed.), *Words about Mozart in Honour of Stanley Sadie* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 33–58, at 36–41.
- 26 See Theresa M. Neff, “Baron van Swieten and late eighteenth-century musical culture” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1998), 61–62.
- 27 On this topic, see Elaine Sisman, “Haydn, Shakespeare, and the rules of originality,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 3–56. On the controversy in general, see Hubert Unverricht, *Geschichte des Streichtrios* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1969); Klaus Winkler, “Alter und Neuer Musikstil im Streit zwischen den Berlinern und Wienern zur Zeit der Frühklassik,” *Die Musikforschung* 33 (1980), 37–45; Landon II, 128–32; Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York: Norton, 1995), 256–61; on his deducing that it was Dittersdorf who wrote the *Wiener Diarium* piece, see 443–46.
- 28 Griesinger, 18–19; Gotwals, 14.
- 29 Johann Adam Hiller, *Wochentliche Nachrichten* (Leipzig, 1767), 14, quoted by Mark Evan Bonds, “Haydn, Laurence Sterne, and the origins of musical irony,” *JAMS* 44 (1991), 83.
- 30 *Briefe*, 89; *CCLN*, 24. The phrase “einsichtsvollen Welt” is translated by Landon as “judicious public.”
- 31 Letter of February 25, 1780; translation somewhat altered from Landon, *CCLN*, 25. The extensive literature on this letter includes Elaine Sisman, “Haydn’s hybrid variations,” in Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Server, and James Webster (eds.), *Haydn Studies* (New York: Norton, 1981), 509–15; Jürgen Neubacher, “‘Idee’ und ‘Ausführung.’ Zum Kompositionsprozess bei Joseph Haydn,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 41 (1984), 187–207; A. Peter Brown, *Joseph Haydn’s Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 23–25; Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation*, 120–21.
- 32 Christian Gottlob Neefe, “Ueber die musikalische Wiederholung,” *Deutsches Museum* 1 (August, 1776), 745–51. I discuss this article in *Haydn and the Classical Variation*, 16–18. Neefe, an organist and composer, is known to music history primarily as Beethoven’s first teacher in Bonn, sponsor of his first publication in 1783.
- 33 I consider the rhetorical perspectives of this issue in more detail in “Rhetorical truth in Haydn’s chamber music: genre, tertiary rhetoric, and the Op. 76 quartets,” in Tom Beghin, Elisabeth LeGuin, and Sander Goldberg (eds.), *Engaging Rhetoric: Essays on Haydn and Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, in press).
- 34 I describe the structural principles of these “hybrid” forms of variation in *Haydn and the Classical Variation*, 150–63.
- 35 Leopold Mozart said in 1773 that “both of them, in particular the elder, play extraordinarily well.” Letter of August 12, 1773; Mozart, *Letters*, 236. See also A. Peter Brown, *Haydn’s Keyboard Music*, 25. The dedication, as it appears on the title page, comes from Artaria, the publisher, as was not uncommon, but Haydn expressed disappointment about this in a letter of March 20, 1780. It is possible that he had the dedication in mind and saw Artaria take it away from him, not that it was never his own idea. A reproduction of the title page appears in Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 24.
- 36 Letter of 11 December 1801; *Briefe*, 389; in *CCLN*, 197. Landon famously translates the expletive as “Frenchified trash,” which I have altered to get more at the sense of both food

matter and detritus included in the meaning of Quark, which means both curds and something much more distasteful; Johann Christoph Adelung's *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart* (Leipzig, 1801) says it is a respectable word to use when one means the vulgar "Dreck."

37 Gotwals, 39–40, 186–88. The relevant documents are reproduced in Landon V, 118–20.

38 See Elaine Sisman, "The voice of God in Haydn's *Creation*," in Vera Lampert and László Vikárius (eds.), *Essays in Honor of László Somfai: Studies in the Sources and the Interpretation of Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 139–53. Many other writers have discussed the text and organization of Haydn's *Creation*, among them Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: The Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Bruce C. MacIntyre, *Haydn: The Creation* (New York: Schirmer, 1998); Georg Feder, *Joseph Haydn: Die Schöpfung* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999); Landon IV, 342–426; William A. Kumbier, "A 'new quickening': Haydn's *The Creation*, Wordsworth, and the pictorialist imagination," *Studies in Romanticism* 30 (1991), 535–63; Noam Flinker, "Miltonic voices in Haydn's *Creation*," in James D. Simmonds (ed.), *Milton Studies* 27 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 139–64.

39 Gotwals, 63 on the former; 62 and 155 on the latter.

40 The literature on this comment and on meaning in the instrumental works is extensive. See especially Richard Will, "When God met the sinner and other dramatic confrontations in eighteenth-century instrumental music," *ML* 78 (1997), 175–209; James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in the Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chap. 7, "Extramusical associations"; Horst Walter, "Über Haydns 'charakteristische' Sinfonien," in Gerhard J. Winkler, ed., *Das symphonische Werk Joseph Haydns* (Eisenstadt, 2000), 65–78; and Elaine Sisman, "Haydn's theater symphonies," *JAMS* 43 (1990), 292–352, where I suggest Symphony no. 26, "Lamentation," as the Adagio in question.

41 Charles Neete quoted Beethoven as saying this in 1815; see Elaine Sisman, "After the heroic style: fantasia and the 'characteristic' sonatas of 1809," *Beethoven Forum* 6 (1998), 68–96, at 78–82.

42 Griesinger, 117–18; Gotwals, 62–63.

Griesinger mistakenly placed this passage in the *Agnus Dei*; see Gotwals, 236, n. 91.

2 A letter from the wilderness: revisiting Haydn's Esterházy environments

1 This and subsequent quotations from Haydn's letters are taken from *CCLN*. For the original texts, see *Briefe*.

2 Elizabeth Heckendorn Cook, *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the 18th-Century Republic of Letters* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). See also Bruce Redford, *The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) and Mary A. Favret, *Romantic Correspondence: Women, Politics and the Fiction of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For an illuminating reading of Mozart's letters, see David Schroeder, *Mozart in Revolt: Strategies of Resistance, Mischief and Deception* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

3 Elaine Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 24. On Haydn's literary reputation, see David Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and their Audience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 21.

4 Favret, *Romantic Correspondence*, 56.

5 Rebecca Gates-Coon, *The Landed Estates of the Esterházy Princes: Hungary during the Reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 2.

6 Richard Perger, *Das Palais Esterházy in der Wallnerstrasse zu Wien* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1994). As well as the Wallnerstrasse palace, the Esterházy's owned several properties in the suburbs in addition to their twenty-nine estates scattered across Hungary. See also Gates-Coon, *Landed Estates*, chap. 1; János Hárlich, "Das fürstlich Esterházy'sche Fideikommiß," *HYB* 4 (1968), 5–35.

7 Gates-Coon, *Landed Estates*, 11; for example, Prince Esterházy was Captain of the Hungarian Guard from 1760 until 1787.

8 On Eisenstadt, see Harald Prickler, "Eisenstadt," in *Oesterreichischer Städteatlas*, 3. Lieferung (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1988); Harald Prickler and Johann Seedock (eds.), *Eisenstadt: Bausteine zur Geschichte anlässlich der 350-Jahrfeier der Freistadterhebung* (Eisenstadt: Nentwich-Lattner, 1998); Johann Mathias Korabinsky, *Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn* (Pressburg: Weber and Korabinsky, 1786); and "An Englishman in Vienna and Eisenstadt Castle in 1748 and 1749," transcribed and edited by H. C. Robbins Landon in *HYB* 18 (1993), 197–212.

9 Abraham Rees, s.v. "Eisenstadt," in *Cyclopaedia* (Philadelphia: Bradford, 1810–24); on economic conditions, see Felix Tobler,

- “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Eisenstadt um 1770/80,” in Prickler and Seedock (eds.), *Eisenstadt: Bausteine zur Geschichte*, 466–90.
- 10 Cited in Landon II, 99–100.
- 11 Andrew F. Burghardt, *Borderland: A Historical and Geographical Study of Burgenland, Austria* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), 15.
- 12 Sarti’s visit is discussed in John A. Rice, “Sarti’s *Giulio Sabino*, Haydn’s *Armida*, and the arrival of opera seria at Eszterháza,” *HYB* 15 (1984), 181–98.
- 13 Amanda Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven (eds.), *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction, Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia: 2000), 1.
- 14 This section is informed by the essays in Bernhard Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System*, trans. Kevin Repp (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- 15 Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Post Bags* (New York and London: D. Appleton, 1928), 153. On the history of the postal service in Austria, see Eduard Effenberger, *Geschichte der österreichischen Post nach amtlichen Quellen* (Vienna: R. Spies, 1913); see also Horst Walter “Das Posthornsignal bei Haydn und anderen Komponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts,” *HS* 4 (1976), 21–34.
- 16 *Geographische- und topographisches Reisebuch durch alle Staaten der österreichischen Monarchie, nebst der Reiseroute nach Petersburg durch Polen* (Vienna: Rudolph Gräffer, 1789); hereafter, *Reisebuch*.
- 17 See the *Wiener Diarium* report in Landon I, 382–83.
- 18 Landon II, 197. Archduke Ferdinand and Beatrice d’Este also supposedly reached “Eszterháza” from Vienna in five hours but it appears that the Esterházy palace in Oedenburg was meant. Landon II, 218.
- 19 To Nanette Peyer, May 5, 1786, *CCLN*, 52.
- 20 *CCLN*, 56, 81.
- 21 *CCLN*, 101–2.
- 22 Subsequent letters of 1790 indicate that Genzinger sent food to Haydn, though it was forbidden to send “Viktualien” through the post; Effenberger, *Geschichte*, 97.
- 23 *Beschreibung des hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterhass im Königreiche Ungern* (Pressburg, 1784); *Excursion à Esterhaz en Hongrie en Mai 1784* (Vienna, 1784), both available in Landon II; Korabinsky, *Lexikon*, s.v. “Eszterháza”; see also Mátyás Horányi, *The Magnificence of Eszterháza*, trans. András Deák (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962); Rebecca Green, “Representing the aristocracy: the operatic Haydn and *Le pescatrici*,” in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 155–69; and Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 79–95.
- 24 July 20, 1781, *CCLN*, 31.
- 25 Henrik Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur B. Yolland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910; rpt: New York: Arno Press, 1971); Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary*, trans. Anna Magyar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- 26 On preserved meat, see Marczali, *Hungary*, 45. John Bland, publisher of the so-called “Razor” Quartet, visited Eszterháza in 1789. See “‘Razor’ Quartet,” in David Wyn Jones (ed.), *Haydn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 27 See Landon II, 672, 496.
- 28 *CCLN*, 23.
- 29 Marczali, *Hungary*, chap. 2; Gates-Coon, *Landed Estates*, 37; Molnár, *Concise History*, 151; Tobler “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft”; Domokos Kosáry, *Culture and Society in Eighteenth-Century Hungary*, trans. Zsuzsa Béres (Budapest: Corvina, 1987), 22–37.
- 30 The impact of this community on Haydn is ripe for consideration. A good start has been made in Gates-Coon, *Landed Estates*, chap. 5; Roland Widder, “Die Esterházyischen ‘Siebengemeinden,’” in *Die Fürsten Esterházy: Magnaten, Diplomaten & Mäzene* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländische Landesregierung, 1995), 156–71; Josef Klampfer, “Das Eisenstädter Ghetto,” *Burgenländische Forschungen* 51 (1966).
- 31 Gerhard J. Winkler, “Das Haydn-Haus: Ein historischer Abriss,” in Prickler and Seedock (eds.), *Eisenstadt: Bausteine zur Geschichte*, 517–29; Korabinsky, *Lexikon*, s.v. “Eisenstadt.”
- 32 “Documents from the archives of János Hárich,” *HYB* 18 (1993), 9, 12.
- 33 Steavens recounts that “All the People here speak Latin & yesterday at Dinner I held a Discourse with an Officer of Hussars in Contempt of Cicero, & Sallust, of all Case, Number & Gender”; Landon, “Englishman,” 208.
- 34 See for example Map 20d in *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Burghardt, *Borderland*, 11.
- 35 Quoted in Landon II, 99; Korabinsky, *Lexikon*, also describes surrounding villages as Hungarian.
- 36 *Reisebuch*, 4.
- 37 Johann Pezzl, “Sketch of Vienna,” trans. H. C. Robbins Landon, in *Mozart and Vienna* (New York: Schirmer, 1991), 87–88.

- 38 See a similar contemporary description in Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy: From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 19.
- 39 Gates-Coon, *Landed Estates*, 74; descriptions of the peasant revels in Landon II, 165, 197.
- 40 "The Acta Musicalia of the Esterházy Archives (Nos. 175–200)," *HYB* 17 (1992), 37.
- 41 June 27, 1790, *CCLN*, 106; contract is translated in Landon I, 350–52.
- 42 See Joachim Hurwitz, "Haydn and the Freemasons," *HYB* 16 (1985), 5–98; R. William Weisberger, *Speculative Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: A Study of the Craft in London, Paris, Prague, and Vienna* (New York: East European Monographs, 1993), 109–68. Nicolaus Esterházy was master of ceremonies of the lodge "Crowned Hope" in 1790, though precisely when he became a member or where he attended meetings before this time is unclear. See H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and the Masons: New Light on the Lodge "Crowned Hope"* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982).
- 43 On Haydn's literary environment, see Schroeder, *Enlightenment*, 21–32; Maria Hörwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's library: an attempt at a literary-historical reconstruction," trans. Kathrine Talbot, in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 395–462.
- 44 July 20, 1781, *CCLN*, 31.
- 45 Landon II, 456.
- 46 *Reisebuch*, 50, my translation; see also Johann Pezzl, "Sketch of Vienna," s.v. section 147, "Parties."
- 47 Landon II, 748, n. 1. Pezzl's "Sketch" gives a vivid sense of the emerging commodity culture of Vienna in this period; see sections 99, 100, 108, 120 and 152 on Tailors, Coffee-houses, Fashions, Wines, Lemonade, respectively.

3 Haydn's aesthetics

- 1 Griesinger, 113.
- 2 This section is based on Georg Feder, "Joseph Haydn als Mensch und Musiker," in Gerda Mraz (ed.), *Joseph Haydn und seine Zeit* (Eisenstadt: Institut für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1972); *NG Haydn*, chap. 6.
- 3 Both volumes are translated with commentary in Gotwals. For the convenience of readers I cite accessible English translations of German-language sources; however, these are often inaccurate, and all translations are my own except where indicated.
- 4 Feder, "Joseph Haydn," 45–46; trans. Landon IV, 267.
- 5 Feder, "Joseph Haydn," 51.
- 6 Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive*

Public in the Age of Haydn, c.1750 to c.1810 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), chap. 2.

- 7 Webster, "Haydn's sacred vocal music and the aesthetics of salvation," in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 35–39.
- 8 Griesinger, 55–56 (Gotwals, 33).
- 9 Feder, "Joseph Haydn," 48–49.
- 10 Maria Hörwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's library: an attempt at a literary-historical reconstruction," in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and his World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 395–462.
- 11 Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981); John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).
- 12 Dies, 87 (Gotwals, 125).
- 13 David Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and their Audience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- 14 *Briefe*, 494 (Landon, III, 173–74). Such performances occurred every year on the first Thursday in June; Haydn apparently attended in 1792 (Landon III, 173n). The comparable performance in 1791, involving "about 6,000" children, is described in *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer*, ed. Brian Robins (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1998), 495–96.
- 15 Dies, 130 (Gotwals, 154).
- 16 C.-G. Stellan Mörner, "Haydniana aus Schweden um 1800," *Haydn-Studien*, 2 (1969–70), 26 (hereafter cited as "Mörner"). Silverstolpe saw much of Haydn in 1797; although his informative memoirs were written down long afterwards, they are based on notes made at the time and, factually at least, are reliable (*ibid.*, 30–31, note [g]).
- 17 Neubauer, *Emancipation*, 157–67; Wye J. Allanbrook, "'Ear-tickling nonsense': a new context for musical expression in Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets," *The St. John's Review* 38 (1988), 6–8.
- 18 Horst Walter, "Gottfried van Swietens handschriftliche Textbücher zu 'Schöpfung' und 'Jahreszeiten,'" *HS* 1 (1965–67), 250–51 (Landon IV, 351).
- 19 Mörner, 25.
- 20 *Briefe*, 240; Landon II, 744.
- 21 Griesinger, 117 (Gotwals, 62).
- 22 Dies, 131 (Gotwals, 155).
- 23 Richard Will, "When God met the sinner, and other dramatic confrontations in

- eighteenth-century instrumental music," *ML* 78 (1997), 175–209.
- 24 James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chap. 7; Walter, "Über Haydns 'charakteristische' Sinfonien," in Gerhard J. Winkler (ed.), *Das symphonische Werk Joseph Haydns* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 2002), 65–78; on such works in general, Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 25 Bence Szabolcsi, "Joseph Haydn und die ungarische Musik," *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1959), 62–73.
- 26 Helmut Rösing, "Gedanken zum 'Musikalischen Hören,'" *Die Musikforschung* 27 (1974), 213–16.
- 27 Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, chap. 11.
- 28 Mary Hunter, "The *alla turca* style in the late eighteenth century: race and gender in the symphony and the seraglio," in Jonathan Bellman (ed.), *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 43–73.
- 29 Anke Riedel-Martiny, "Das Verhältnis von Text und Musik in Haydns Oratorien," *HS* 1 (1965–67), 205–40, esp. 224 ff.
- 30 *bonum Cantabile* (emphasis original); facs. in Robert Freeman, "Robert Kimmerling: a little-known Haydn pupil," *HYB* 13 (1982), 147; Landon I, 98.
- 31 Griesinger, 114–15 (Gotwals, 61).
- 32 *Briefe*, 436; Landon V, 284.
- 33 Haydn's instrumental music also often exhibits what may be called "vocality." Nancy R. November, "Haydn's vocality and the idea of 'true' string quartets," (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2003).
- 34 *Briefe*, 101 (Landon II, 449); see A. Peter Brown, "Joseph Haydn and Leopold Hofmann's 'Street Songs,'" *JAMS* 33 (1980), 356–83.
- 35 *Briefe*, 536.
- 36 Feder, "Haydns Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der 'Jahreszeiten,'" in Thomas Kohlhasse and Volker Scherliess (eds.), *Festschrift Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1978), esp. 107–8, 112.
- 37 *Briefe*, 388–89 (Landon V, 89).
- 38 See Sisman, "Haydn, Shakespeare, and the rules of originality," in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 3–56.
- 39 Griesinger, 113 (Gotwals, 61). Hollace Ann Schafer made Haydn's famous utterance the foundation for her important study of Haydn's compositional process, "'A wisely ordered Phantasia': Joseph Haydn's creative process from the sketches and drafts for instrumental music" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1987).
- 40 C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. William J. Mitchell (London: Norton, 1949), part 2, chap. 7; Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 40–45, 66, 72.
- 41 Heinrich Schenker, "On organicism in sonata form," in Schenker, *The Masterwork in Musik*, trans. William Drabkin et al., vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 23.
- 42 Mörner, 28 (emphasis original). Given the year 1797, the work must have been from Op. 76.
- 43 Griesinger, 114 (emphasis original); Gotwals, 61.
- 44 *Briefe*, 23, 86 (Landon II, 419). Haydn's phrase "serve the widows" relates to the primary purpose of the Tonkünstler-Sozietät: to assist poor musicians and their widows and children by charity performances, to which Haydn regularly contributed especially after 1795.
- 45 David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 77–79.
- 46 Griesinger, 24–25 (Gotwals, 17, with a serious mistranslation: "be an original").
- 47 This is not the only case of its kind; see the analysis of his autobiographical letter of 1776 in Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 24.
- 48 E.g., to Mme Genzinger on February 9, 1790: *Briefe*, 228 (Landon II, 737).
- 49 Griesinger, 114 (Gotwals, 61).
- 50 Mörner, 27.
- 51 *Briefe*, 279–80; Landon III, 521.
- 52 Griesinger, 116 (Gotwals, 61–62).
- 53 Griesinger, 104–5 (Gotwals, 56).
- 54 See again Sisman, "Haydn and Originality."
- 55 *Briefe*, 320 (Landon IV, 469).
- 56 *Briefe*, 104 (Landon II, 453).
- 57 See my other chapter in this volume, chap. 11.
- 58 Gretchen Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor* (New York: Schirmer, 1992).
- 59 Griesinger, 117–18 (Gotwals, 62–63).
- 60 John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792–1807*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

61 Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting*, chap. 2.

62 Charles Rosen complained about the “triviality” of a passage in the *Mass in Time of War* in *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Viking, 1971), 368.

63 *Briefe*, 404 (Landon V, 227).

64 *Briefe*, 265 (Landon III, 107).

65 *Briefe*, 531 (Landon III, 299).

66 Feder, 53 (Landon IV, 567–68).

67 For example, Leopold Mozart wrote his wife from Milan in November 1770, “Wolfgang . . . has so far done only a single aria for the *primo uomo*, because the latter hasn't arrived yet; he doesn't want to have to work double, and so prefers to await his presence, so as to be able to measure the garment correctly to the body.” *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 7 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–75), II, 304 (*The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, trans. Emily Anderson, 2nd ed., 3 vols. [London: Macmillan, 1966], I, 497).

68 *Briefe*, 60 (Landon II, 148).

69 *Briefe*, 202 (Landon II, 718).

70 For a general survey of such distinctions see László Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn: Instruments and Performance Practice, Genres, and Styles*, trans. Charlotte Greenspan and the author (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 166–70, 173–80.

71 In the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 3/24 (11 March 1801), 407 (trans. “Remarks on the development of the art of music in the eighteenth century,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 373).

72 Bonds, “Haydn, Laurence Sterne, and the origins of musical irony,” *JAMS* 44 (1991), 57–91.

73 *Ibid.*; Webster, “Farewell” *Symphony*, 37–45 *passim*, 125, 127–30, 267–87 *passim*, 307–8.

74 Webster, “The Creation, Haydn's late vocal music, and the musical sublime,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 57–102.

75 Webster, “Farewell” *Symphony*, 2, 114–5; Griesinger, 55–6 (Gotwals, 33).

76 Webster, “Freedom of form in Haydn's early string quartets,” in Jens Peter Larsen et al. (ed.), *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, D.C., 1975* (New York: Norton, 1981), 522–30; Sisman, “Haydn's baryton pieces and his serious genres,” in Eva Badura-Skoda (ed.), *Internationaler Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien 1982* (Munich: Henle, 1986), 426–35.

77 Triest, “Remarks,” 373.

78 *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1790–92), I, col. 610.

79 Landon III, 507–600, 614–15.

80 Griesinger, 113–14 (Gotwals, 60).

81 *Kritik der Urteilkraft* (1790), § 46, final paragraph (emphases original).

82 Bernard Harrison, *Haydn: The “Paris” Symphonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16–25; Sisman, “Haydn and originality,” 9–11.

83 *Ibid.*, 3–5.

4 First among equals: Haydn and his fellow composers

1 Griesinger, 7.

2 Griesinger, 17.

3 Haydn's autobiographical sketch prepared in 1776. Landon II, 398.

4 For instance, Wagenseil's *Symphony in C* (Kucaba C3, no later than 1756) shares these features and others with Haydn's *Symphony no. 2* (no later than 1764). Score of the Wagenseil symphony in B. S. Brook (editor-in-chief), *The Symphony 1720–1840. Series B, Vol. 3, Georg Christoph Wagenseil 1715–1777. Fifteen Symphonies*, ed. J. Kucaba (New York: Garland, 1981), 63–101.

5 Griesinger, 12.

6 B. Harrison, *Haydn's Keyboard Music. Studies in Performance Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 167–95.

7 See John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792–1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

8 In his early twenties Haydn was occasionally employed as an extra singer at the Hofkapelle; D. Edge, “New sources for Haydn's early biography” (unpublished paper read at the American Musicological Society in 1993). For further information on Haydn's relationship with churches and with private chapels in the 1750s see O. Biba, “Haydn's

Kirchenmusikdienste für Graf Haugwitz,” *HS* 6 (1994), 278–87; and R. Steblin, “Haydn's Orgeldienst 'in der damaligen Gräfl. Haugwitzischen Kapelle,’” *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 55/2 (2000), 124–34.

9 For Framery's 1810 description of Sarti's ecstatic reception of Haydn's *Armida* during a performance at Eszterháza in 1784, see John A. Rice, “Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*, Haydn's *Armida*, and the arrival of opera seria at Eszterháza,” *HYB* 15 (1984), 197–98.

10 The particular circumstance of the opera house at the Esterházy court and Mozart's reputation were the two reasons given by Haydn for turning down a commission from Prague to compose an opera. See letter of December 1787; Landon II, 702.

11 Landon I, 351.

12 A. D. Coleridge, *The Autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf Dictated to His Son*, [translation of Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf.

Lebenbeschreibung. Seinem Sohne in die Feder diktirt (1801)] (London, 1896), 251–53.

13 Cliff Eisen, “The Mozarts’ Salzburg music library,” in Cliff Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies 2* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 94–95, 133.

14 Reported by Leopold Mozart to his daughter, Nannerl. E. Anderson (trans. and ed.), *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1966), vol. II, 886.

15 For an account of the complex network of musical patronage in London that might have led to Mozart traveling to the city see I. Woodfield, “John Bland: London retailer of the music of Haydn and Mozart,” *ML* 81 (2000), 210–44.

16 H. Mautner (trans.), *Life of Mozart*, [translation of F. Niemetschek, *Leben des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart* (1798) with an introduction by A. Hyatt King] (London: L. Hyman, 1956), 60–61.

17 For instance, M. E. Bonds, “The sincerest form of flattery? Mozart’s ‘Haydn’ quartets and the question of influence,” *Studi Musicali* 22 (1993), 365–409.

18 E. L. Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1812–14), vol. II, col. 569. The symphony is D7 in J. A. Rice’s catalogue in B. S. Brook (ed. in chief), *The Symphony 1720–1840. Reference Volume: Contents of the Set and Collected Thematic Indexes* (New York: Garland, 1986), 286.

19 C. Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789), with critical and historical notes by F. Mercer (New York: Dover, 1957), vol. II, 951–52.

20 Quoted in Landon III, 241.

21 H. Walter, “Haydn Gewidmete Streichquartette,” in Georg Feder, Heinrich Hüschen, and Ulrich Tank (eds.), *Joseph Haydn, Tradition und Rezeption* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1985), 17–53.

22 J. Riepe, “Eine neue Quelle zum Repertoire der Bonner Hofkapelle im späten 18. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 60 (2003), 97–114.

23 See J. Webster, “The falling-out between Haydn and Beethoven: the evidence of the sources,” in L. Lockwood and P. Benjamin (eds.), *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 3–45.

24 Griesinger reported this remark to Breitkopf & Härtel. O. Biba (ed.), “Eben komme ich von Haydn.” *Georg August Griesingers Korrespondenz*

mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf & Härtel (Zurich: Atlantis Musik-Verlag, 1987), 178.

25 E. Anderson (trans. and ed.), *The Letters of Beethoven* (London: Macmillan, 1961), vol. I, 174.

26 See, especially, Beethoven’s letter of February 1809 concerning the offer of the position of Kapellmeister at Kassel; *ibid.*, vol. I, 214–15. For a broader consideration of this underplayed aspect of Beethoven’s ambition see D. W. Jones, *The Life of Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), *passim*.

27 See J. Webster, *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 366–73.

28 O. Biba, “Beethoven und die ‘Liebhaber Concerte’ in Wien im Winter 1807/08,” in R. Klein (ed.), *Beiträge ’76–78: Beethoven Kolloquium 1977: Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 82–93.

29 For a full account see Landon V, pp. 358–65; and G. Feder, *Joseph Haydn. Die Schöpfung* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 170–73.

5 Haydn and humor

1 For a sustained practical joke that unfolds in several stages, see the trio section of Symphony no. 92 as discussed by Charles Rosen, in *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1997), 159–60.

2 Gretchen Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jesting with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor* (New York: Schirmer, 1992), 183.

3 See Melanie Lowe, “Expressive paradigms in the symphonies of Joseph Haydn” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1998), *passim*. For a convenient tabulation of the dance origins of each of Haydn’s symphonic finale themes, see Lowe, 326–27.

4 Any view of Haydn’s multi-movement symphonies and sonatas that tries to say something about the logic of all four movements must recognize the minuet as a crucial turning point. For sophisticated views of the expressive complexity of Haydn’s minuets, see Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jesting*, 55–89 (her chapter entitled “Humorous manners and the ‘really new minuet’”) and also Melanie Lowe, “Falling from grace: irony and expressive enrichment in Haydn’s symphonic minuets,” *JM* 19 (2002), 171–221.

5 Following a notion about comedy put forth by philosopher Henri Bergson, Janet Levy has written engagingly about such mechanical effects “encrusted” onto living phrases in the music of Haydn and others. See Levy,

“Something mechanical encrusted on the living”: a source of musical wit and humor,” in W. J. Allanbrook, J. M. Levy, and W. P. Mahrt (eds.), *Convention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music* (New York: Pendragon, 1992), 225–56. On comic distraction in Haydn’s music, see Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jestings*, 154–92 (chapter entitled “The paradox of distraction”).

6 There is also a subliminal taunting effect in this reiterated minor third (to profile this effect, try singing the theme on E and C instead of G and E).

7 The viola’s G as a non-tonic bass note of the texture subtly increases the frantic aspect.

8 Wheelock’s view of this coda as a stalled conversation is delightfully confirmed by Haydn’s later part-song on the text “Die Beredsamkeit,” in which chattering parties talk at each other with similar musical techniques. My thanks to James Webster for urging the importance of these part-songs as genial examples of Haydn’s humor.

9 Poundie Burstein focuses on the comic incongruity of “lofty” and “lowly” in his engaging analytical essay, “Comedy and structure in Haydn’s symphonies,” in Carl Schachter and Hedi Siegel (eds.), *Schenker Studies 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 67–81. Elaine Sisman adds this aspect of Haydn’s art to her compelling sense of him as an artist of Shakespearean range; drawing on tropes of Haydn reception and on her own astute analyses, she seeks to “recover some part of the ‘Shakespearean’ Haydn: the capricious juxtapositions of high and low, serious and comic, that reflect his deepest proclivities, the theatrical effects of ‘character’ and ‘scene’ that reveal his extensive experience in the playhouse, the casting aside of rules in original ways.” Sisman, “Haydn, Shakespeare, and the rules of originality,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 29.

10 Of particular bite in this bit of mockery is the cross relation between the high Fs of the fanfare and the low F♯ of the reply.

11 Momigny suggested a text for the allegro theme: “Ah mon dieu! Ah mon dieu! Que vous avez eu peur!” For an annotated translation of Momigny’s essay see Ian Bent (ed.), *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century, Vol. 2: Hermeneutic Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 127–40.

12 See James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, “The medial caesura and its role in the eighteenth-century sonata exposition,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 19 (1997), 115–54.

13 Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jestings*, 186.

14 The image of the music falling asleep in this passage is suggested in Burstein, “Comedy and structure,” 67.

15 See also Levy, “Something mechanical,” especially 233–38, for some wonderful examples of musical mimicry in Haydn that involve the isolation and repetition of “gestural characters.”

16 Wheelock reports that this extended comedy of upbeats was a late addition to the movement. In the autograph score, Haydn rejected a much simpler version of this retransition that presented three isolated upbeats in the manner of mm. 39–44. See Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jestings*, 188.

17 On the interaction of Salomon and Haydn in this context see Landon III, 534.

18 A sustained and brilliant discussion of the recall of the minuet in Symphony no. 46 can be found in Webster, *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 267–87.

19 Leon Botstein, “The demise of philosophical listening: Haydn in the 19th century,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 275.

20 See Mark Evan Bonds, “Haydn, Laurence Sterne, and the origins of musical irony,” *JAMS* 44 (1991), 57–91.

21 Daniel K. L. Chua, “Haydn as Romantic: a chemical experiment with instrumental music,” in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 120–51.

22 Marshall Brown, “Haydn’s whimsy: poetry, sexuality, repetition,” in *The Tooth that Nibbles at the Soul?: Essays on Poetry and Music* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming.)

23 Daniel Chua finds another, more forceful, way to make a similar point: “This is perhaps the greatest achievement of Haydn: he was the first to glory in the sheer artificiality of instrumental music.” See Chua, “Haydn as Romantic,” 146.

24 Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jestings*, 206.

6 Haydn’s exoticisms: “difference” and the Enlightenment

1 Carlo Goldoni, *Lo speciale, drama giocoso in tre atti* (1768), anon. trans. in liner notes to *Franz Joseph Haydn: Lo speciale*, Il canto, dir. Fabio Maestri (Bongiovanni, 1993), GB2171/72–2, 22–71 (at 23–26).

2 Ralph Locke, “Exoticism,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 459–62 (at 459).

3 See Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 47–68 and *passim*.

- 4 See Karl Geiringer, “Haydn and the folksong of the British Isles,” *MQ* 35 (1949), 179–208.
- 5 This view is stressed in Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 302–11.
- 6 Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart’s Turkish Music*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 9 (London: RMA, 2000), chap. 3.
- 7 For further commentary see *ibid.*, 67–70. Ex. 6.1a is reproduced from Dénes Bartha, “Mozart et le folklore musical de l’Europe centrale,” in André Verchaly (ed.), *Les influences étrangères dans l’oeuvre de W. A. Mozart, Paris, 10–13 Octobre 1956* (Paris: Centre National de la recherche scientifique, 1958), 157–81, at 174–75.
- 8 Geoffrey Chew, “The night-watchman’s song quoted by Haydn and its implications,” *HS* 3 (1973–74), 106–24.
- 9 Triest’s essay appeared serially in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1801); trans. by Susan Gillespie in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 321–94, at 327.
- 10 Gotwals, 7–8 (Griesinger).
- 11 Cited in Friedrich Blume, *Classic and Romantic Music*, trans. Herter Norton (London: Faber, 1972), 28.
- 12 Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chap. 5 “Europe’s mirror? The Enlightenment and the Exotic,” 63–79, at 77.
- 13 For a classic statement of this view see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978; repr. London: Penguin, 1995). For Said, orientalism is not a neutral scholarly representation of “the Orient” but a regime of power and knowledge that seeks to master and define that (geographically nebulous) territory. The presence of negative stereotypes of “the Orient” in orientalist discourse is noted by Said but such stereotypes are not the basis of his critique.
- 14 See Judith L. Schwartz, “Cultural stereotypes and music in the 18th century,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 151–55 (1976), 1989–2013; Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart’s Turkish Music*, 1–8.
- 15 Cited from Bruce Alan Brown, “Gluck and *opéra-comique*,” liner notes to C. W. Gluck, *La rencontre imprévue ou les pèlerins de la mecque*, dir. John Eliot Gardiner (Erato, 1991; 1991-09-03), 34.
- 16 Andrew Varney, *Eighteenth-Century Writers in Their World* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 4.
- 17 See David Wyn Jones, “Minuets and trios in Haydn’s quartets,” in David Young (ed.), *Haydn the Innovator: A New Approach to the String Quartets* (Todmorden, Lanes: Arc Music, 2000), 90.
- 18 Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 51.
- 19 See Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 77–79.
- 20 Matthew Craske, *Art in Europe 1700–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 92–96, at 92.
- 21 Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c.1750 to c.1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 74.
- 22 Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 45, from which derives the information in this paragraph.
- 23 [William Napier, compiler], *A Selection of the most Favourite Scots-Songs, Chiefly Pastoral. Adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by Eminent Masters. Respectfully Inscribed to Her Grace The Duchess of Gordon. Price One Pound Six Schillings* [vol. I] (London: W. Napier, [1790]), prefaced by [William Tytler] “A Dissertation on the Scottish Music.” Quotations in this paragraph are from 1, 15 and 2 respectively. The reference to Gesualdo appears on 4–6. On the source of this dissertation see Karl Geiringer, preface to *JHW* 33: 2, 1, ix–x who observes that it was taken unacknowledged from Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh* (1770), where it was an appendix by Tytler (1711–92).
- 24 Advertisement, *The Morning Chronicle* (November 3, 1791) for *A Selection of original Scots songs in three parts. The harmony by Haydn, dedicated by permission to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York*, vol. II (London: Napier, [1792]), cited Geiringer, preface to *JHW* 32: 1, x.
- 25 For the political context of English imperialism in Scotland see Fiske, *Scotland in Music*, 10.
- 26 Griesinger’s letter to Breitkopf & Härtel (January 20, 1802), cited in Marjorie Rycroft, Kirsten McCue, and Warwick Edwards (eds.), *JHW* 32: 3, preface, xii col. 2 (my translation).
- 27 *Fifty Scottish songs with symphonies and accompaniments wholly by Haydn*, vol. III (London: For George Thomson, 1802), preface, 2, n. The preface is reproduced in *JHW* 32: 3, 379–80.
- 28 Elaine Sisman, “Haydn, Shakespeare, and the rules of originality,” in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 3–56.
- 29 Evident from a comparison with the incipits of the *Verbunkos* repertory in Géza Papp, “Die Quellen der ‘Verbunkos-Musik’: Ein bibliographischer Versuch,” *Studia Musicologica* 21 (1979), 151–217.

30 The death of Joseph II in 1790 and his hated “Germanizing policies” was met with a strong nationalist movement styled “The Reform Period” that led to the war of independence against Austria in 1848–49. See László Dobszay, *A History of Hungarian Music*, trans. Mária Steiner and Paul Merrick (Budapest: Corvina, 1993), 131. R. J. W. Evans summarises these policies as: 1) use of German in public life (from 1784), and 2) abolition of the Hungarian constitution “based on a regularly convoked diet, a distinct and native administrative structure, and a separate legal system.” See the entry on “Hungary” in *A Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century History*, ed. Jeremy Black and Roy Porter (London: Penguin, 1996), 339–40, at 339. Maria Sztatky notes that a Republican plot was suppressed in 1795 in s.v. “Hungary” John W. Yolton et al., *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 235. Of significance for Haydn’s works in the *style hongrois* in the 1780s and 1790s was the literary movement that “fought for the right to use the Hungarian language” (*ibid.*), leading to the first periodical in Hungarian, *Magyar Hirmondó*, in 1780.

31 See *JHW* 5, preface by Günther Thomas, xxi–xxii.

7 Orchestral music: symphonies and concertos

1 Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 5, 10–11.

2 Landon II, 399.

3 Contemporary writers such as J. J. Momigny interpreted the symphonies of Haydn and Mozart programmatically. See Malcolm Cole, “Momigny’s analysis of Haydn’s Symphony 103,” *MR* 30 (1969), 261–84.

4 Griesinger, 62.

5 Richard Will, “When God met the sinner, and other dramatic confrontations in eighteenth-century instrumental music,” *ML* 78 (1997), 194.

6 Dies, 155.

7 H. C. Robbins Landon and Gretchen Wheelock have opted for the slow movement of Symphony no. 28, while Elaine Sisman points to the second movement of no. 26. See Will, “When God met the sinner,” 195.

8 These principles of rhetoric have been examined by Mark Evan Bonds in “The symphony as Pindaric ode,” in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 131–53.

9 Griesinger, 56.

10 A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire*, vol. II: *The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 35.

11 Griesinger, 13. For an examination of the issues, see Gretchen A. Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jesting with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor* (New York: Schirmer, 1992).

12 Maria Hörwarthner, “Joseph Haydn’s library: an attempt at a literary-historical reconstruction,” trans. Kathrine Talbot, in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 420.

13 Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 4th ed., vol. I (London, 1727), 266.

14 James Webster, *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Daniel Heartz had written about the same issue in 1983. See his *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School 1740–1780* (New York: Norton, 1995), 355.

15 Melanie Lowe, “Falling from grace: irony and expressive enrichment in Haydn’s symphonic minuets,” *JM* 19 (2002), 171–221.

16 Some symphonies, such as nos. 37 and 72, are out of place in Mandyczewski’s list, coming much earlier than the numbers suggest. Two have been added to his 104 symphonies, both early symphonies (Hob. I: 107 and 108; Hob. I: 106 is thought to be the overture to *Le pescatrici*). Four catalogues, prepared or inspected by Haydn, have allowed the symphonies to be authenticated: the *Entwurf Katalog*, the *Kees Catalogue*, the *Quartbuch*, and the *Haydn-Verzeichnis*. For descriptions of them, see Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire*, vol. II, 25–26.

17 For more details on chronology, authenticity and editions, see Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire*, vol. II, 23–37.

18 For a good survey of the concertos see Jones, 41–51.

19 Landon IV, 227–28. A reviewer at the time agreed that a trumpet with chromatic notes represented an important step forward, but lamented the disappearance of the distinctive tone.

20 Griesinger, 15–16.

21 *Ibid.*, 13.

22 Landon I, 351.

23 *NG Haydn*, 13–14.

24 Dies, 100.

25 Daniel Heartz, “Haydn und Gluck im Burgtheater um 1760: *Der neue krumme Teufel, Le Diable à quatre* und die Sinfonie ‘Le Soir,’” in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann (eds.), *Bericht über den*

Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bayreuth 1981 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 120–35.

26 Will, “When God met the sinner,” 196–208.

27 Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School*, 281.

28 Landon I, 569. Neal Zaslaw, “Mozart, Haydn, and the *sinfonia da chiesa*,” *JM* 1 (1982), 113.

29 Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart*, 285–94; Elaine Sisman, “Haydn’s theater symphonies,” *JAMS* 43 (1990), 294; Webster, “Haydn’s symphonies between ‘Sturm und Drang’ and ‘Classical style’: art and entertainment,” in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 218–45; and Bonds, “Haydn’s ‘Cours complet de la composition’ and the ‘Sturm und Drang,’” in *ibid.*, 152–76.

30 Landon II, 291–94.

31 This may have prompted Mendelssohn’s similar instrumentation in the second movement of the “Italian” Symphony.

32 Dies, 100–2.

33 For a detailed analysis of this movement, see Webster. *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony*, 30–57. For differing views, especially of the “episode” in the development, see Landon II, 302, and Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1980), 156, 160.

34 Sisman, “Haydn’s theater symphonies,” 311ff.

35 *Ibid.*, 339–40.

36 *Ibid.*, 311–12.

37 See Landon II, 564 and *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition and Rockliff, 1955), 389.

38 The Paris audience, familiar with his symphonies for as much as a decade prior to this, has been examined by Bernard Harrison in *Haydn: The “Paris” Symphonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 5–44.

39 See my *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and their Audience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 84.

40 For a closer examination of this movement, see *ibid.*, 85–88.

41 *CCLN*, 60.

42 For a thorough analysis, see Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 83–128.

43 Griesinger, 21.

44 *CCLN*, 131. In fact, the claim was inflated, as there is little evidence of change.

45 *Ibid.*, 131.

46 Landon III, 241.

47 Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 151–57.

48 Other writers have noted this passage, such as Eugene K. Wolf in “The recapitulations

in Haydn’s London symphonies,” *MQ* 52 (1966), 78.

49 The character of the dance is similar to a *Passepied*, noted in Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 150.

8 The quartets

1 Early complete editions of Haydn’s quartets include eighty-three works. The extra fifteen include the string quartet adaptation of Haydn’s *Seven Last Words*, published as Op. 51; the six “Op. 3” quartets, which are in fact by Roman Hofstetter; Op. 1 no. 5, which is a symphony; and Op. 2 nos. 3 and 5, which are sextets with horns. To the sixty-seven thus left after removing the arrangements and spuriousities is added “Opus 0,” an early work discovered after the nineteenth-century editions were made.

2 James Webster, “Towards a history of Viennese chamber music in the early classical period,” *JAMS* 27 (1974), 212–47.

3 Roger Hickman, s.v. “String Quartet,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001).

4 *Ibid.* See also Janet M. Levy, “The Quatuor Concertant in Paris in the latter half of the eighteenth century,” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1971).

5 Griesinger, 13.

6 Landon IV, 502.

7 Or occasionally to confuse potential publishers. For example, Haydn offered Opp. 54/55 more or less simultaneously to two different publishers, with the works differently ordered. See Landon IV for the presumed order of composition for each opus.

8 Landon III, 460. See also Simon McVeigh, s.v. “Quartet,” in Jones.

9 *NG Haydn*, 22–23.

10 Landon III, 24n.1, 60ff, 65ff.

11 Fredrik Silverstolpe, letter of June 14, 1797, quoted in Landon IV, 255.

12 See W. Dean Sutcliffe, *Haydn: String Quartets, Op. 50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 7: “Haydn was too busy pursuing his own musical ideals to be able to absorb many external models or adverse judgments.”

13 Roger Hickman, “The flowering of the Viennese string quartet in the late eighteenth century,” *MR* 50 (1989), 157.

14 This information is chiefly taken from Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*, vol. VII, *Sociology of Music* (New York: Pendragon, 1989).

15 The Italian violinist Regina Strinasacchi, who spent time in Vienna, was evidently renowned as a chamber player. See s.v.

“Strinasacchi” in the *New Grove Dictionary*, and Morrow, *Concert Life*, 170.

16 Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts*, Walter Wiora (ed.), *Saarbrücker Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), 298–99.

17 See Momigny’s comment: “A work in four parts in which two or three parts are only filler is not a true quartet, but simply a piece in four parts. Ignorant composers [i.e. not Mozart and Haydn] are incapable of writing true quartets,” in A. L. Millin, *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, s.v. “Quatuor,” from *ibid.*, 294. See also Morrow, *Concert Life*, 9; a citation from the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* of 1805 describing chamber music gatherings: “Sunday mornings, and perhaps also Fridays, are usually devoted to true music, which one never loses sight of here.”

18 McVeigh, s.v. “Quartet.”

19 See n. 7 above.

20 Griesinger, 7.

21 Dies, 98.

22 Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in Einzelnen, nach Alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden Artikeln abgehandelt*, 4th ed., 4 vols. (Leipzig: 1792–99; reprint, Facsimile, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), s.v. “Quartet; Quatuor.” Cf. also Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 279–83 for a discussion of the special primacy of four-part writing from the Renaissance on.

23 Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (New York: Norton, 1972), 140, makes a similar observation about this movement.

24 For a related but different reading of this movement see McVeigh, s.v. “Quartet,” 313.

25 Gretchen Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jesting with Art* (New York: Schirmer, 1992), chap. 4.

26 Letter to Zelter, November 9, 1829. Cited in Finscher, *Studien Zur Geschichte*, 288.

27 *Ibid.*, 285–89.

28 See Mara Parker, *The String Quartet, 1750–1797: Four Types of Musical Conversation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) for an extended examination of how different textures adumbrate different kinds of discourse.

29 Carpani, *Le Haydine* (1812), cited in Finscher, *Studien Zur Geschichte*, 288.

30 Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, (1802), cited in Parker, *The String Quartet*, 21.

31 Wheelock, *Haydn’s Ingenious Jesting*, 94.

32 Gretchen Wheelock comments on Haydn’s deployment of the fermata as a moment when the conversation extends to the audience in “The ‘rhetorical pause’ and metaphors of musical conversation in Haydn’s quartets,” in Georg Feder and Walter Reicher (eds.), *Internationales*

musikwissenschaftliches Symposium “Haydn und das Streichquartett,” Eisenstadt 2002 (Tutzing: Schneider, 2003), 67–85.

33 Haydn would not have distinguished between Magyar and Romani, but rather thought of the music of professional Gypsy musicians as part of Hungary’s musical heritage. See Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 11–12.

34 Reginald Barret-Ayres, *Joseph Haydn and the String Quartet* (New York: Schirmer, 1974), 300.

35 William Drabkin, *A Reader’s Guide to Haydn’s Early String Quartets* (Westport CT: Greenwood, 2000), 139–42.

9 Intimate expression for a widening public: the keyboard sonatas and trios

1 As recounted to A. C. Dies, in Gotwals, 141.

2 As recounted to G. A. Griesinger, in Gotwals, 63.

3 The revised inventory of Haydn’s keyboard compositions rests on Georg Feder’s research for the *JHW* edition (see his “Probleme einer Neuordnung der Klaviersonaten Haydns,” *Festschrift Friedrich Blume zum 70. Geburtstag* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963], 92–103). For a current listing of the keyboard music, see Feder, work-list to s. v. “Joseph Haydn,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. XI, 242–7. A. Peter Brown, *Joseph Haydn’s Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), xvi–xix, provides a concordance of the competing editorial numberings of the solo sonatas and keyboard trios.

4 Brown, *Keyboard Music*; László Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn: Instruments and Performance Practice, Genres and Styles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Bernard Harrison, *Haydn’s Keyboard Music: Studies in Performance Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); Elaine Sisman, “Haydn’s solo keyboard music,” in Robert Marshall (ed.), *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1994), 270–307; Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (New York: Norton, 1997), 351–65; W. Dean Sutcliffe, “The Haydn piano trio: textual facts and textual principles,” in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 246–90.

5 On the latter, see Gretchen Wheelock, “The classical repertory revisited: instruments, players, and styles,” in James Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 109–20.

- 6 Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 172–97; Michelle Fillion, Prefaces to *Early Viennese Chamber Music with Obbligato Keyboard*: vol. I: *Six Keyboard Trios*; vol. II: *Six Ensemble Works for Two to Five Performers* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1989).
- 7 As recounted to Griesinger, in Gotwals, 15.
- 8 Recorded in 1986: Decca 436 455–2.
- 9 Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 11–13.
- 10 Both survive in copies in the hand of a Fürnberg copyist known from manuscripts of Haydn's early string quartets and symphonies; see Georg Feder, "Haydn's frühe Klaviertrios: Eine Untersuchung zur Echtheit und Chronologie," *HS II/4* (1970), 294–95 and 305.
- 11 The manuscript collection A Wn S.m. 11084, with Haydn's Concertino Hob. XIV: 11.
- 12 Its main source, now in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, was preserved in Haydn's estate; see Feder, "Frühe Klaviertrios," 296; on its dating, see Feder, *New Grove*, 243.
- 13 Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 203–29; Harrison, *Performance Practice*, 167–95.
- 14 Brown, 219–25; the *Versuch* was first advertised in 1763 in the *Wienerisches Diarium*.
- 15 Harrison, *Performance Practice*, 183–84.
- 16 Feder, "Probleme," 102.
- 17 Harrison, *Performance Practice*, 16–17.
- 18 Landon II, 42–43.
- 19 Haydn's letter to Artaria (February 25, 1780), in *CCLN*, 25.
- 20 Harrison, *Performance Practice*, 22–23.
- 21 Somfai, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 178–79. Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 26, downplays this collection as evidence of Haydn's distraction with opera production.
- 22 Tom Beghin, "Haydn as orator: a rhetorical analysis of his keyboard sonata in D major, XVI: 42," in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 201–54.
- 23 Cramer's *Magazin der Musik* (1785), 535, cited by Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 27.
- 24 Haydn's letters to Artaria of c. July 22, 1782 and June 18, 1783, in *CCLN*, 37 and 42; on the appeal from Cramer's *Magazin* (April 1783), see Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 26.
- 25 Alan Tyson, "Haydn and two stolen trios," *MR* 22 (1961), 21–27.
- 26 Katalin Komlós, "The Viennese keyboard trio in the 1780s: sociological background and contemporary reception," *ML* 68 (1987), 224–26; Michelle Fillion, s.v. "Accompanied keyboard music," *New Grove*, vol. I, 53–55.
- 27 Reproduced in Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 236.
- 28 Hob. I: 717, classified Hob. XV: 32 as a trio on the basis of the Preston edition of 1794; on the likely precedence of the duo scoring, see Irmgard Becker-Glauch's Vorwort to *JHW* 17/3 (1986), ix.
- 29 Letter of September 23, 1785, in Ernst Suchalla, *Briefe von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach an Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf und Johann Nikolaus Forkel* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1985), 510.
- 30 Reproduced in Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 31.
- 31 Letters to Artaria of August 10, and October 26, 1788 (*CCLN*, 77, 79). On Haydn's keyboard instruments, see Horst Walter, "Haydn's Klaviere," *HS* 2/4 (1970), 256–88; Harrison, *Performance Practice*, 1–32.
- 32 Walter, "Klaviere," 266, proposes with little evidence that Haydn's Wenzel Schanz was in the form of a grand; this view is contested by Richard Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 129, who argues that it was "almost certainly" a square.
- 33 Letter of July 4, 1790, to Frau Genzinger regarding the purchase of her Schanz instrument, in *CCLN*, 107.
- 34 *CCLN*, 106.
- 35 Letter to Artaria of March 29, 1789, in *CCLN*, 82–83.
- 36 Quoted in Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 36.
- 37 Further elaborated in Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and Their Music: Germany, Austria, and England, 1760–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 69–71.
- 38 *CCLN*, 107–8.
- 39 The sources for Hob. XV: 17 specify flute or violin.
- 40 Landon III, 157.
- 41 In the manner of the Symphonies nos. 45–46, as observed by James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Other examples of cyclic integration are found in Hob. XV: 26, 31, and the celebrated Sonata no. 52.
- 42 The composition date of Hob. XV: 27–29 is disputed, but the consensus is that they were likely completed by August 1795; see Feder, *New Grove*, 242.
- 43 According to Dies, Nicolaus II reappointed Haydn in summer 1794.
- 44 Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 54–55. Thomas Tolley believes Hob. XVI: 51 may have been written for Maria Hester Park. See his "Haydn, the engraver Thomas Park, and Maria Hester Park's 'little Sonat,'" *ML* 82 (2001), 421–31.
- 45 It shared the fate of another Bartolozzi Sonata, the famous Hob. XVI: 52, which was withheld until the Artaria first edition of December 1798, likewise with dedication to Kurzböck.

- 46 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* I, no. 38 (June 19, 1799), cols. 599–602, cited in Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 56.
- 47 Bart van Oort, “Haydn and the English classical piano style,” *Early Music* 28 (2000), 73–89.
- 48 Becker-Glauch, Vorwort, vii.
- 49 The inventory of this collection is listed in: Laurie Shulman, “The Breitkopf & Härtel *Oeuvres complètes de J. Haydn*,” in Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Serwer, and James Webster (eds.), *Haydn Studies* (New York: Norton, 1981), 139.
- 50 Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), vol. I, 450, quoted in Leon Botstein, “The consequences of presumed innocence: the nineteenth-century reception of Joseph Haydn,” in Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies*, 10–11.
- 51 Especially in the Bartolozzi set Hob. XV: 27–29; see Sutcliffe, “The Haydn piano trio,” 246–90.
- 52 *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 117/1 (1789), cited in Brown, *Keyboard Music*, 36.
- 10 Sacred music**
- 1 John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12, 155–65.
- 2 Jones, “Catholicism,” 37–39, “Liturgy,” 215–16. Bruce C. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 13–26. Reinhard Pauly, “The reforms of church music under Joseph II,” *MQ* 43 (1957), 372–82.
- 3 *NG Haydn*, worklist.
- 4 Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 163–64. Jones, “Catholicism,” 39, “Liturgy,” 215. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass*, 15.
- 5 James Dack and Marianne Helms (eds.), *JHW XXIII/1b, Messen Nr. 3–4* (Munich: Henle, 1999), Kritischer Bericht, 180.
- 6 Marianne Helms, and Fred Stoltzfus (eds.), *JHW XXII/1, Stabat mater* (Munich: Henle, 1993), Vorwort, vii–viii.
- 7 Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 131–33.
- 8 Geoffrey Chew, “Haydn’s pastorellas: genre, dating and transmission in the early church music,” in Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (eds.), *Studies in Music History Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on his Seventieth Birthday* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 21–43.
- 9 Gotwals, 10 (Griesinger), 87 (Dies).
- 10 James Dack and Georg Feder (eds.), *JHW XXIII/1a, Messen Nr. 1–2* (Munich: Henle, 1992), Vorwort, x–xi.
- 11 Landon II, 398.
- 12 Gotwals, 117 (Dies).
- 13 Landon II, 398.
- 14 Dack and Helms (eds.), *JHW XXIII/1b, Vorwort*, x.
- 15 Landon I, 350–52.
- 16 Landon II, 168.
- 17 Dack and Feder (eds.), *JHW XXIII/1a, Vorwort*, viii–ix.
- 18 James Webster, “Haydn’s sacred vocal music and the aesthetics of salvation,” in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 35–69.
- 19 Landon II, 144.
- 20 Dack and Helms (eds.), *JHW, XXIII/1b, Vorwort*, viii–ix. Denis McCaldin, “The *Missa Sancti Nicolai*: Haydn’s long ‘Missa brevis,’” *Soundings* 3 (1973), 3–17.
- 21 Jeremiah W. McGrann, “Of saints, namedays, and Turks: some background on Haydn’s masses written for Prince Nicolaus II Esterházy,” *JMR* 17 (1998), 195–210.
- 22 Martin Chusid, “Some observations on liturgy, text and structure in Haydn’s late masses,” in H. C. Robbins Landon and Roger E. Chapman (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 125–35.
- 23 Edward Olleson, “Georg August Griesinger’s correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel,” *HYB* 3 (1965), 12.
- 24 No. 1 [*Heiligmesse*] (1802), no. 2 [*Paukenmesse*] (1802), no. 3 [*Nelsonmesse*] (1803), no. 4 [*Schöpfungsmesse*] (1804), no. 5 [*Missa Cellensis*] (1807), no. 6 [*Harmoniemesse*] (1808), no. 7 [*Mariazellermesse*] (1823).
- 25 C. I. Latrobe (ed.), *A Selection of Sacred Music . . .* (London: Birchall, 1806–26), 6 vols. V. Novello (ed.), *A Collection of Sacred Music* (London, 1811), 2 vols.; *A Collection of Motetts . . .* (London: H. Falkner, 1818–24); *Haydn’s Masses, with an Accompaniment for the Organ . . .* (London: W. Galloway, 1822–25), nos. 1–6 = Breitkopf & Härtel nos. 1–6, no. 7 *Nikolaimesse*, no. 8 *Kleine Orgelsolomesse*, no. 11 *Missa brevis* in F, no. 12 *Große Orgelsolomesse*, no. 15 *Mariazellermesse*, no. 16 *Theresienmesse*. (Nos. 9, 10, 13, and 14 are not by Haydn.) Further: “Novello’s Cheap Musical Classics,” “Novello’s Original Octavo Editions” etc. (J. Alfred Novello).
- 26 Dack and Feder (eds.), *JHW, XXIII/1a, Vorwort*, x.

- 27 J. D. Brown, *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (London, 1886). See Ulrich Tank, “Joseph Haydns geistliche Musik in der Anschauung des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in Georg Feder, Heinrich Hüschen and Ulrich Tank (eds.), *Joseph Haydn. Tradition und Rezeption. Bericht über die Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung. Köln 1982, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, Bd. 144 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1985), 231–32.
- 28 Tank, “Joseph Haydns geistliche Musik,” in *Joseph Haydn. Tradition und Rezeption*, 229–31.
- 29 Respectively, C. A. von Mastiaux, *Über Choral- und Kirchengesänge* (Munich, 1813); Ludwig Nohl, *Der Geist der Tonkunst* (Frankfurt, 1860). See Tank, “Joseph Haydns geistliche Musik,” 234.
- 30 G. Weber, “Über das Wesen des Kirchenstyls,” *Cäcilia, eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt*, III (Mainz, 1825). See Tank, “Joseph Haydns geistliche Musik,” 239–40.
- 31 Peter le Huray and James Day (eds.), *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 5, 69–74.
- 32 *Morning Chronicle*, London, April 9, 1794 (of the “Military” Symphony). See Landon III, 247.
- 33 Landon II, 398. Olleson, “Georg August Griesinger’s correspondence,” 12.
- 34 Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790). See Tank, “Joseph Haydns geistliche Musik,” 224.
- 35 Webster, “Haydn’s sacred vocal music.”

11 The sublime and the pastoral in *The Creation* and *The Seasons*

- 1 On *The Creation* generally see Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: The Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Bruce C. MacIntyre, *Haydn: The Creation* (New York: Schirmer, 1998); Georg Feder, *Joseph Haydn: Die Schöpfung* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999). Temperley’s Appendix 2 gives a concordance of the varying numberings of the individual numbers in accessible editions; I follow his scheme.
- 2 Letter published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, January 9, 1799, I, col. 254 (Landon IV, 116).
- 3 Temperley, *The Creation*, chap. 3.
- 4 Landon IV, 350–2; V, 115–8.
- 5 A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn’s The Creation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 20–21.
- 6 Webster, “*The Creation*, Haydn’s late vocal music, and the musical sublime,” in Elaine

- Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–102, at 96–97; Matthew Head, “Music with ‘no past’? Archaeologies of Joseph Haydn and *The Creation*,” *19th-Century Music* 23 (1999–2000), 191–217.
- 7 Landon IV, 572–601; Feder, *Die Schöpfung*, 161–65, 175–90.
- 8 Webster, “Between Enlightenment and Romanticism in music history: ‘first Viennese modernism’ and the delayed nineteenth century,” *19th-Century Music*, 25 (2001–02), 108–26, at 123–26.
- 9 *Briefe*, 362, 363 (Landon V, 47, 48); Griesinger, 104–5 (Gotwals, 56).
- 10 Pohl-Botstiber, 177 (Thomas, 73; Landon V, 41); compare Griesinger’s unreservedly enthusiastic review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, May 20, 1801, 3, cols. 575–79 (Landon V, 43–5).
- 11 Surveyed in Landon V, 41–47, 58–59, 182–99.
- 12 Dies, 182 (Gotwals, 188).
- 13 See the facsimiles in Landon, *Haydn: A Documentary Study* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), plates 153, 156, 173.
- 14 *Briefe*, 389 (Landon V, 89); Griesinger, 72 (Gotwals, 41).
- 15 Griesinger, 70 (Gotwals, 40); Thomas, 73.
- 16 Temperley, *The Creation* 42–45.
- 17 On the latter type, common in late eighteenth-century Germany, see Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. VIII, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 331–39.
- 18 Griesinger to Härtel in early 1804; Thomas, 100 (Landon V, 281). On Swieten’s attitude see Herbert Zeman, “Von der irdischen Glückseligkeit: Gottfried van Swieten’s *Jahreszeiten*-Libretto: eine Utopie vom natürlichen Leben des Menschen,” in *Die vier Jahreszeiten im 18. Jahrhundert: Colloquium der Arbeitsstelle 18. Jahrhundert, Schloss Langenburg 1983* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986), 108–20.
- 19 Table 11.1 is adapted from Temperley, *The Creation*, 48; cf. 21–23.
- 20 Webster, “*The Creation*.”
- 21 Donald Francis Tovey, “Haydn: ‘The Creation,’” in *Essays in Musical Analysis*, vol. V, *Vocal Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), 114–18; Heinrich Schenker, “The Representation of Chaos from Haydn’s *Creation*,” trans. William Drabkin, in Schenker, *The Masterwork in Music*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 97–105; Brown, “Haydn’s Chaos: genesis and genre,” *MQ* 73 (1989), 18–59; Lawrence Kramer, “Music and representation: the instance of

- Haydn's *Creation*," in Steven Paul Scher (ed.), *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 139–62.
- 22 Tovey, "Haydn: 'The Creation,'" 132–33.
- 23 Webster, "The *Creation*," 83–88.
- 24 On the pastoral in eighteenth-century music, see Ellen Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), introduction and *passim*.
- 25 Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Viking, 1971), 162–63.
- 26 William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1935), chap. 2, "Double plots."
- 27 William A. Kumbier, "A 'new quickening': Haydn's *The Creation*, Wordsworth, and the pictorialist imagination," *Studies in Romanticism*, 30 (1991), 535–63; 535–45. Will, *Characteristic Symphony*, 143–48.
- 28 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, March 10, 1802, 4, col. 389 (Landon IV, 594); cf. Kumbier, "A 'new quickening,'" 545–55.
- 29 Tovey, "Haydn: 'The Creation,'" 124.
- 30 Critiqued by Temperley, 49–51.
- 31 "The closing numbers of *Die Schöpfung*," in Landon and Roger E. Chapman (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 315–22; compare Landon IV, 425–26.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 316, 320.
- 33 *Paradise Lost*, IV, 750–52, 758–61.
- 34 David Wyn Jones, *Beethoven: "Pastoral" Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11–16; Will, *Characteristic Symphony*, 143–55. Admittedly Zeman, "Glückseligkeit," had treated it as such in all but name.
- 35 Brian Loughrey (ed.), *The Pastoral Mode: A Casebook* (London: Macmillan, 1984); Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). On eighteenth-century literary thought, J. E. Congleton, *Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1684–1798* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1952); Helmut J. Schneider (ed.), *Deutsche Idyllentheorien im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Narr, 1988).
- 36 James Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938); Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

- 37 On the orientation of the libretto towards the values of the rulers rather than the ruled, see David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 79–82; of course, most pastorals portray country life sympathetically, notwithstanding its actual harshness (see Henisch, *Calendar Year*, chap. 8).
- 38 Winfried Kirsch, "Vergangenes und Gegenwärtiges in Haydns Oratorien: Zur Dramaturgie der *Schöpfung* und der *Jahreszeiten*," in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (ed.), *Florilegium Musicologicum: Festschrift Hellmut Federhofer zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1988), 169–87; 183.
- 39 On this technique see Webster, "The *Creation*," 81–89.
- 40 Jones, *Pastoral Symphony*, 11–14; Will, *Characteristic Symphony*, 177–87.
- 41 Webster, "The *Creation*," 89–92.
- 42 This interpretation is adumbrated in Zeman, "Glückseligkeit," 120.

12 Miscellaneous vocal genres

- 1 A. Peter Brown, "Notes on Haydn's Lieder and canzonettas," in Darwin F. Scott (ed.), *For the Love of Music: Festschrift in Honor of Theodore Front on His 90th Birthday* (Lucca, Italy: Lim Antiqua, 2002), 77–103.
- 2 For a comprehensive account of the repertory, see Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert*, i–ii (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1902).
- 3 See Roswitha Strommer, "Wiener literarische Salons zur Zeit J. Haydns," in Herbert Zeman (ed.), *Joseph Haydn und die Literatur seiner Zeit, Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte* 6 (1976), 97–121.
- 4 For a good cross-section of the contemporary Viennese Lieder repertory, complete with informative Preface, see Margarete Anson and Irene Schläffenberg (eds.), *Das Wiener Lied von 1778 bis Mozarts Tod, DTÖ XXVII/2*, Bd. 54 (Vienna, 1920).
- 5 *CCLN*, 28.
- 6 See his letter of July 20, 1781 in *CCLN*, 31. The subject is discussed in detail in A. Peter Brown, "Joseph Haydn and Leopold Hofmann's 'Street Songs,'" *JAMS* 33 (1980), 356–83.
- 7 For a brief summary of this repertory, see the Introduction to the anthology edited by Timothy Roberts, *O Tuneful Voice: 25 Classical English Songs* (Oxford, 1992), iv–vi.
- 8 On the musical conception of Hunter's lyrics, see A. Peter Brown, "Musical settings of Anne Hunter's poetry: from national song to canzonetta," *JAMS* 47 (1994), 39–89.
- 9 See Marianne Helms, *Kritischer Bericht* to *JHW* XXIX/1, 76–77.

- 10 For a historical survey of the six-note motif, see Peter Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth During Four Centuries of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- 11 William Kumbier, “Haydn’s English canzonettas: transformations in the rhetoric of the musical sublime,” in P. Barker, S. W. Goodwin, and G. Handwerk (eds.), *The Scope of Words: In Honor of Albert S. Cook* (New York: P. Land, 1991), 73–93.
- 12 On the dual rhetoric of the song see Katalin Komlós, “Viola’s willow song: ‘She never told her love,’” *MT* 140 (1999), 36–41.
- 13 On the “English” character of Haydn’s songs, see Marion Scott, “Some English affinities and associations of Haydn’s songs,” *ML* 25 (1944), 1–12.
- 14 See also Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and Their Music: Germany, Austria, and England, 1760–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 80–81. A. Peter Brown suggests that the melancholy “Spirit’s Song” provided Beethoven with “an effective model for the dungeon scene that opens Act 2 of *Fidelio*,” and draws a convincing parallel between “O Tuneful Voice” and that composer’s “Adelaide”; see his “Notes on Haydn’s Lieder and canzonettas,” 98–103.
- 15 *CCLN*, 31 and 306, respectively; also the reminiscence of William Thomas Parke, in his *Musical Memoirs* (London, 1830), 198.
- 16 The most thorough treatment of the subject is László Somfai, “Opus-Planung und Neuerung bei Haydn,” *Studia Musicologica* 22 (1980), 87–110.
- 17 *CCLN*, 32.
- 18 See Marianne Helms, “Zur Entstehung des zweiten Teils der 24 deutschen Lieder,” in Eva Badura-Skoda (ed.), *Internationaler Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien 1982* (Munich: Henle, 1986), 116–26.
- 19 *CCLN*, 43.
- 20 See Wolfgang’s letter to his father from Mannheim, Nov. 12, 1778, in Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 631.
- 21 See letters of February 9 and March 14, 1790, and Sept. 17, 1791, in *CCLN*, 97, 99, 118.
- 22 For an exhaustive survey of through-composition in Haydn’s music see James Webster, *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. 6–9, 155–66, and 186–94.
- 23 “Viennese amateur or London professional? A reconsideration of Haydn’s tragic cantata *Arianna a Naxos*,” in David Wyn Jones (ed.),

- Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 232–45.
- 24 Landon III, 47.
- 25 See Berthold Over, “Arianna travestita: Haydn’s Kantate *Arianna a Naxos* in geistlichem Gewand,” *HS* VII/3–4 (1998), 384–97; Landon IV, 325; *CCLN*, 175.
- 26 Collections of catches and glees are represented by several volumes in the Esterházy Collection, one-time music library of Joseph Haydn, housed in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. This material (compositions by Barthélemon, Cooke, Harrison, Callcott, Webbe, and others) was acquired by, or presented to Haydn, during his London sojourns. Haydn collaborated in the publication of one such album, preparing accompaniment to the pieces composed by the Earl of Abingdon. See *Twelve Sentimental Catches and Glees for 3 voices / Melodized by the Earl of Abingdon, the Accompaniments for the Harp or Piano Forte by the celebrated Dr. Haydn* (London: Monzani, 1795).
- 27 See “Joseph Haydn,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 2nd ed., vol. XI, 198.
- 28 See Haydn’s letter of Sept. 23, 1799, to Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *CCLN*, 167.
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 See details and a comparative Table in Paul Mies, *Kritischer Bericht to JHW XXX*, 9.
- 31 For more on the lyrics see Paul Mies, “Textdichter zu J. Haydn’s ‘Mehrstimmigen Gesängen,’” *HYB* I (1962), 201.
- 32 Haydn’s personal library contained Ramlér’s *Blumenlese* and the collected works of Gellert. See Maria Hörwarthner, “Joseph Haydn’s Bibliothek – Versuch einer literarhistorischen Rekonstruktion,” in Zeman (ed.), *Joseph Haydn und die Literatur seiner Zeit*, 157–207.
- 33 Certain passages as examples for “key text-phrases” are cited in James Webster, “The Creation, Haydn’s late vocal music, and the musical sublime,” in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–102.

13 Haydn in the theater: the operas

- 1 The works list in *NG Haydn*, compiled by Georg Feder, gives a total of twenty-six dramatic works, including eighteen Italian and seven German, some with two versions and several with incomplete sources.
- 2 Gotwals, 11 (Griesinger). This story may be apocryphal.
- 3 He gave keyboard lessons, performed in pick-up orchestras, played the violin and organ

for various functions, and furthered his education through self-study.

4 Gotwals, 61 (Griesinger). “Now and then Haydn said that instead of so many string quartets, sonatas, and symphonies, he should have written more vocal music, for he could have become one of the leading opera composers” (63).

5 In a letter to Prague theater director Franz Roth in 1787, Haydn explained that: “all my operas are too closely connected with our personal circle (Esterház in Hungary), and moreover they would not produce the proper effect, which I calculated in accordance with the locality.” Landon II, 702.

6 Bartha and Somfai catalogue surviving sources of Italian opera, including scores and parts, contained in the Esterházy collection at the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. For documentation on performances see János Hárích, “Das Repertoire des Opernkapellmeisters Joseph Haydn in Eszterháza (1780–1790),” *HYB* 1, (1962), 9–109; and Ulrich Tank, “Studien zur Esterhazyschen Hofmusik von etwa 1620 bis 1790,” *Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 101 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1981).

7 Who chose the librettos Haydn set is not known. In the early years Carl Friberth, a singer at court, refashioned the texts; this role was taken over by the Italian poet Nunziato Porta in 1780.

8 For a fuller description of the opera house and its four principal parts – the auditorium (decorated in red, gold, and green), raked stage (with sets of flats, trap doors, and machinery permitting rapid scene changes), wardrobe (behind the stage), and foyer – see the entry on “Eszterháza” in Jones, 94. For images of the façade, aerial and cross-sectional views, see Somfai, 47.

9 Extrapolating from evidence about audiences for plays at Eszterháza, Thomas Tolley speculates that “in order to attract a decent [size] audience [Prince Nicolaus] apparently encouraged servants to attend, even permitting them to appear ‘uncombed, drunk and disheveled,’ a concession not available on other occasions.” Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 125 and 370 n.6.

10 Caves on either side of the auditorium were decorated with shells in the fashionable *rocaille* style; some featured frescoes, and others miniature fountains with gurgling jets and sparkling plasterwork to reflect the light of the chandeliers. Mátyás Horányi, *The Magnificence*

of Eszterháza, trans. A. Deák (Budapest 1959; London 1962), 88.

11 Daniel Heartz, “Haydn’s *Acide e Galatea* and the imperial wedding operas of 1760 by Hasse and Gluck,” in Eva Badura-Skoda (ed.), *International Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien 1982* (Munich: Henle, 1986), 336.

12 See entries on *Bon* and *La marchesa Nespola* by John A. Rice, in Jones, 22 and 202.

13 Jones, *Entwurf-Katalog*, 79–85, esp. 85.

14 The intermezzo was inserted in several mid-eighteenth-century stage works. See Georg Feder, “Dramatische Aspekte der *Cantarina-Intermezzi* von Sciroli (1753), Conforto (1754), Piccinni (1760) und Haydn (1766),” in Bianca Maria Antolini and Wolfgang Witzemann (eds.), *Napoli e il teatro musicale in Europa tra sette e ottocento: studi in onore di Friedrich Lippmann* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1993), 55–67; and Gerhard Allroggen, “*La canterina* in den Vertonungen von Niccolò Piccinni und Joseph Haydn,” in Georg Feder, Heinrich Hüschen, and Ulrich Tank (eds.), *Joseph Haydn: Tradition und Rezeption* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1985), 100–12.

15 For a textual amendment to the concluding quartet, see my “*A lieto fine for La canterina*,” *HYB* 20 (1996), 17–23. A facsimile of the libretto is in the same issue.

16 Employment contract of May 1, 1761, clause 8. Landon I, 351.

17 An extended journal article on my research into the circumstances surrounding the preparation and reception of *Der Apotheker* at the turn of the twentieth century, including Felix Weingartner’s revival for Vienna’s centennial celebrations of 1909, is in preparation.

18 Rebecca Green, “Representing the aristocracy: the operatic Haydn and *Le pescatrici*,” in Elaine Sisman (ed.) *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 168.

19 *Ibid.*, 169–73.

20 C. F. Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, vol. II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882), 62. Since Pohl’s nineteenth-century biography is the first record of this remark, it is of questionable authenticity, although he did have more sources at his disposal than we have today. Following the death of her consort in 1765, the empress renounced amusements of all kinds; this may well have been one of the few operas she had seen.

21 Horányi, *The Magnificence of Eszterháza*, 64.

22 Landon II, 197.

23 Landon II, 394 and 396. Among the new singers was Pietro Gherardi, the alto castrato who sang the role of Orfeo in Gluck’s opera. His tenure from 1776–78 was the only period a castrato was available at Eszterháza.

- 24 Although the marriage of these older first cousins – he age thirty-six and she age thirty – apparently took place on August 3, 1777, the exact date of the opera's first performance is unknown. Landon II, 406; Günter Thomas, "Observations on *Il mondo della luna*," in Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Serwer, and James Webster (eds.), *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington D.C., 1975* (New York: Norton, 1981), 144–47.
- 25 Tank, "Studien" (1981), 459. Günter Thomas (ed.), *JHW, XXV 7/I, Il mondo della luna* (Munich: Henle, 1979), viii.
- 26 Their names appear on costume receipts and in the libretto, five hundred copies of which were printed for June 28, 1777. Thomas, ed., *Il mondo della luna*, vii. Confusion arises over the various layered versions evident in the autograph, and whether the parts for Ecclitico and Ernesto were originally conceived for tenor and alto castrato respectively, or vice versa, and whether Lisetta was a soprano or an alto. Who assumed the Jermoli's roles in Gassmann's *L'amore artigiano*, which ran from April to October that year, is also not known.
- 27 Landon II, 403.
- 28 The ceiling fresco in the main concert room at Eszterháza, located in the center of the palace, depicts Apollo, god of both sun and music, driving his chariot across the sky, thereby linking light and music. Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar*, 83.
- 29 Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 295.
- 30 Haydn recycled more music from this opera than from any other, as if he realized that following its troublesome gestation and short-lived reception, it would never be revived . . . despite the re-employment of the Jermolis from October 1779–March 1781.
- 31 For a detailed analysis of Flaminia's aria see Mary Hunter, "Text, music and drama in Haydn's Italian opera arias: four case studies," *JM* 7 (1989), 31–38.
- 32 Jessica Waldoff, "Sentiment and sensibility in *La vera costanza*," in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 70–119.
- 33 Patricia Deby provides detailed readings of several arias and ensembles in "*La vera costanza*: a case study for musical characterization in Haydn's operas," *Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 305, Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment (1992), 1509–13.
- 34 See my "Reading and listening: Viennese *Frauenzimmer* journals and the socio-cultural context of Mozartean opera buffa," *MQ* 87 (2004), 140–75, at 146–50.
- 35 Rice, "Polzelli Family," in Jones, 288–89. Although Luigia possessed only a modest talent, Haydn lovingly reworked several soubrette roles for her in numerous operas staged at Eszterháza between 1779 and 1790.
- 36 On the ability of the pastoral to be a refuge for contemplation and instruction as well as entertainment, see Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).
- 37 The *cor de chasse* signal "L'ancienne vue," blown when an animal is first spotted, hence the "sighting" or "viewing," was part of an elaborate system of horn calls designed by Marquis de Dampierre at Versailles in 1723 to communicate the location and progress of a hunt over long distances. J. Drew Stephen, "The motif of the hunt in romantic opera," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2002), 38 and 74.
- 38 Caryl Clark, "Intertextual play and Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*," *Current Musicology* 53 (1993), 59–81.
- 39 This topic is explored by Kate Galloway in an unpublished seminar paper entitled "The hunt and its extended symbolism in Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*" (University of Toronto, Fall 2003).
- 40 Fillide/Celia, originally conceived for mezzo-soprano Maria Jermolli, was rewritten in 1782 for soprano Mathilde Bologna, who specialized in seria roles featuring sustained legato lines and florid vocal writing in the high register, as showcased in the upward transposition of "Deh soccorri un infelice" with bassoon solo. Bologna was one of the highest-paid singers at court, where she worked with her husband, Nunziato Porta, the court poet and costume director, from 1781–90.
- 41 Several articles discuss the adaptation of Haydn's opera from earlier versions; the most recent one is by Bruce Alan Brown, "*Le pazzie d'Orlando, Orlando paladino*, and the use of parody," *Italica* 64 (1987), 583–605.
- 42 Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Memoirs* [1823], trans. Elisabeth Abbott, ed. and annotated by Arthur Livingston (New York: Orion, 1959), 59–60.
- 43 Sander Gilman discusses numerous literary and artistic works linking the phenomenon of insanity to the sea (including Ruggiero's shipwreck in Canto 41 of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*) in *Seeing the Insane* (New York: Wiley, 1982). Michel Foucault describes the *Narrenschiff* or "ship of fools" in *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1961); trans. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage, 1965), 11.

44 The completion of the grand building and restoration project in 1784 was immortalized in three publications that year: a commemorative poem by Márton Dallos; “Excursion à Esterhaz en Hongrie,” an entertaining description of life at “le petit Versailles de l’Hongrie” (reprinted in full in Landon II, 104–16; and the more detailed “Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterházs” (portions are reproduced in Somfai, 46–47, plates 72–75). The “Beschreibung” states that the theater “exceeded in magnificence and beauty anything of its kind ever viewed” and best exemplified the excellent taste of Prince Nicolaus.

45 Landon II, 476.

46 Acta Musicalia 3986, reproduced in full in Géza Staud, “Haydn’s *Armida*,” *Maske und Kothurn* (1982), 87–104. This original document, notorious for its illegibility, is now lost and survives only on microfilm. All three operas were in production in 1783–84, as shown in the yearly performance calendar in Tank, “Studien” (1981), 466ff. *Armida*’s indebtedness to Sarti’s opera is discussed in John A. Rice, “Sarti’s *Giulio Sabino*, Haydn’s *Armida*, and the arrival of opera seria at Eszterháza,” *HYB* 15 (1984), 181–98.

47 Porta’s requisition for costumes from October 1783 is transcribed in Georg Feder and Günter Thomas, “Dokumente zur Ausstattung von *Lo speciale*, *L’infedeltà delusa*, *La fedeltà premiata*, *Armida* und andere Opern Haydn’s,” *HS* 6 (1988), 108–15. Seven watercolours depicting costumes traditionally linked to Haydn’s *Armida* are traced to Salieri’s 1771 opera of the same name in my “Fabricating magic: costuming Salieri’s *Armida*,” *Early Music* 31/3 (August 2003), 451–61.

48 Following its premiere, it was performed another twenty times that year, and a further thirty-three times over the next four years for a total of fifty-four performances.

49 Marita McClymonds traces the sources of Haydn’s libretto in two articles. “Haydn and his contemporaries: *Armida abbandonata*” in Badura-Skoda (ed.), *Internationaler Joseph Haydn Kongress*, 325–32; and “Haydn and the opera seria tradition: *Armida*,” in Antolini and Witzemann (eds.), *Napoli e il Teatro Musicale* 191–206.

50 See b. 127 (Vivace, b \flat minor) where the fury music first appears, only to be overtaken by double statements of a military fanfare in the winds (mm. 159 and 164, first stated in the dominant in the overture’s opening section at mm. 43 and 48). In the preface to *Alceste* (1767) Calzabigi and Gluck advocated overtures that would presage the opera’s action and argument, advice Salieri heeded in his setting of *Armida* in

1771; his autograph annotations describe the overture as “a kind of pantomime.” See John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 166–67.

51 Mary Hunter, s.v. “*Armida*,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), I, 199.

52 The political and theatrical intrigues preventing the May 31, 1791, premiere are discussed in Curtis Price, “Italian opera and arson in late eighteenth-century London,” *JAMS* 42 (1989), 55–107; Price et al., *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Ian Woodfield, *Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London: the King’s Theatre, Garrick and the Business of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

53 John Rice speculates that the four-act version of the opera is probably complete, but that “it lacks revisions that Haydn, like any opera composer, would have made as the work went through rehearsals and first performances.” Jones, 203–4.

54 This scene was stunningly set as a funeral procession and onstage burial of Eurydice’s body in the production by the German director Jürgen Flimm for Vienna in 1995 (revived at Covent Garden in 2001). A dejected Orpheus buries his lyre with his beloved, signaling the death of his musical powers.

55 In the 1997 Decca recording (L’oiseau-lyre 452 668–2) featuring Cecilia Bartoli and Uwe Heilmann as the lovers and The Academy of Ancient Music led by Christopher Hogwood, Bartoli rises phoenix-like from the ashes to sing this commanding role following her death as Eurydice – an unrivaled performative resurrection capable of divas whose voices are versatile enough to sing both mezzo-soprano and coloratura roles. Bringing to life two characters in one and the same voice is, as Bartoli suggests, a rational choice that helps Orpheus in identifying with the Platonic bifurcation of his soul – the two sides of the same self exemplified by the Apollonian/Dionysian or mind/body split. The animus of his soul is Eurydice and the Sibyl, passion and reason – the internal and external worlds of his existence that map onto the conscious and unconscious, the real world and the Underworld.

56 So wrote Haydn to Prince Anton Esterházy shortly after arriving in England in January 1791. Badini’s allegorical drama more closely resembles Monteverdi’s and Striggio’s *fine tragico* of 1607, and even quotes several poetic lines from Rinuccini’s libretto *Euridice* set by both Peri and Caccini in 1600. See Silke

Leopold, “Haydn und die Tradition der Orpheus-Opern,” *Musica* 36/2 (1982), 132.

14 A composer, his dedicatee, her instrument, and I: thoughts on performing Haydn’s keyboard sonatas

This essay synthesizes two earlier ones:

“Delivery, delivery, delivery!': crowning the rhetorical process of Haydn’s keyboard sonatas” (in Tom Beghin, Elisabeth Le Guin, Sander Goldberg (eds.), *Engaging Rhetoric: Essays on Haydn and Performance*; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming) and “‘Your humble and obedient servant’: male and female rhetoric in Haydn’s Sonata Hob. XVI: 40” (delivered at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Houston). I thank my former advisor (but mentor for life) James Webster and present advisee Erin Helyard for their constructive comments.

1 A common eighteenth-century metaphor for the effect of a dissonance.

2 On slurs as indicators of accents, see Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 30–36.

3 Inspired by Haydn’s famous utterance about his compositional process: “I sat down [at the keyboard], began to fantasize depending on whether my mood was sad or happy, etcetera.” See Griesinger, 61. On “to what I am used to,” see *infra* in this essay.

4 Johann Ludwig Dussek, whose Broadwood piano Haydn may have used in the summer of 1791. See Horst Walter, “Haydn’s Klaviere,” *HS* 2 (1970), 269.

5 I am inspired here by the program of a benefit concert by “Miss Parke” on May 19, 1794. She played a solo sonata in the second act, after an overture and a song. Haydn “presided at the piano-forte” during the orchestral pieces. See Landon III, 255.

6 The Viennese hammer, attached to the key, is “pulled up” by the escapement, “brushing” the string in a slightly curved motion. English hammers, on the other hand, are “pushed up” by a hopper and “hit” the string in a straighter fashion. My narrative suggests that Haydn searches for a known (Viennese) physical feeling that the new (English) mechanics do not readily produce. See Bart van Oort, *The English Classical Piano Style and its Influence on Haydn and Beethoven* (DMA diss., Cornell University, 1993), 20.

7 Visual clues were considered essential in eighteenth-century performance. On a musician who is able to successfully transport himself in every affect, C. P. E. Bach adds, in this order: “One sees and hears it from him” (Man sieht

und hört es ihm an.) See Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, facsimile by Bärenreiter (Kassel, 1994), 122. (The English translation by Mitchell unfortunately combines “seeing” and “hearing” into one neutral “perceiving.” See C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell [New York: Norton, 1949], 152.)

8 Like the ones that open the big Eb sonata, Hob. XVI: 52, or the trio in C major Hob. XV: 27, also dedicated to Therese Jansen.

9 In his *Selbstbiographie* Václav Tomaschek tells us that Dussek was the first pianist to turn the instrument sideways on the stage, “because he wanted to show his handsome profile to the audience.” See Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 65, and Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Dover, 1990), 239. In my narrative I suggest that, beyond the realm of anecdote, this custom is inherent to the English piano school and its more developed context of public performance. In Vienna, the lid of a keyboard would either remain closed (in the chamber) or altogether removed (in the theater), the audience gathering around the instrument or sitting at the extension of its tail (where the sound of the instrument projects best). For fascinating organological evidence, see Alfons Huber, “Deckelstützen und Schalldeckel an Hammerklavieren,” in Friedemann Hellwig (ed.), *Studia Organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987), 229–50.

10 The moment when the recapitulation remains in the home key instead of modulating to the dominant (as the exposition did before).

11 I am quoting the title page of the first print by Caulfield (1800). Jansen had kept the manuscript in her possession, unpublished, for at least five years. Two other distinguished pianist-composers dedicated sonatas to her: Clementi his three sonatas Op. 33 (1794) and Dussek his Op. 13 (with violin, 1790) and Op. 43 (1800).

12 For a compelling deconstruction of the concept of a “work,” see Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

13 The concert, featuring among others the Marie Esterházy sonatas Hob. XVI: 40–42, took place in UCLA’s Schoenberg Hall, on February 28, 2001.

14 See Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* (Berlin:

Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752; facsimile by Bärenreiter [Kassel], 1997), chap. XV, §5. 15 Expressed most clearly by Quantz, chap. XIII, §9.

16 My recipe for removing the cadenza would read as follows. Continue the Alberti pulsations in the left hand and the melodic meanderings in the right for a little while longer, in analogy with the A section; replace the brutally final diminished-seventh chord by a luscious Neapolitan subdominant; connect with the closing material of mm. 37–39; do not end the right hand with a 7–8 suspension quite yet but replace it by a less final 4–3.

17 László Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn: Instruments and Performance Practice, Genres, and Styles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 167.

18 Somfai calls them “court-style” sonatas. *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn*, 175.

19 For the Italian text, see *JHW* series 18, vol. II, vii. For an English translation, see A. Peter Brown, *Joseph Haydn’s Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 21.

20 The print was set in type rather than engraved on plates. In September 1773 Empress Maria Theresa had visited Eszterháza, which may have prompted the idea of a formal edition of keyboard sonatas, dedicated to the Prince. See Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn*, 167.

21 See *NG Haydn*, 22.

22 The boundaries of the cadenza are drawn clearly by the fermata and the six–four chord, on the one end (m. 47), and a double trill, on the other (m. 59), the resolution of which, in the high register, is left to be imagined. These clear signs have led James Webster to state that “there is only one written-out cadenza in Haydn’s authenticated keyboard sonatas” (in XVI: 39). The example of XVI: 23, as Webster would grant, is “cadenza-like,” however not a cadenza. This clash of critical nomenclature, on the one hand, and effect in performance, on the other, also separates our respective approaches to improvisation in Haydn’s keyboard music, at least for the time being. Whereas Webster distinguishes between “compositional,” “performative,” and “rhetorical improvisation,” I turn to rhetoric as an umbrella and deliberately seek to blur distinctions between performance and composition. This has crucial consequences. Webster, although sensitive to its complexities, still views a Haydn score as “res facta” and refers to it as a “finished work.” My stance, on the other hand, is outspokenly one of a performer, who (almost per definition, and

certainly in eighteenth-century terms) must challenge the notion of a finished work, including any set definitions of internal features. See both Webster’s “The rhetoric of improvisation in Haydn’s keyboard music” and my “Delivery, delivery, delivery! crowning the rhetorical process of Haydn’s keyboard sonatas,” in Beghin, Le Guin, and Goldberg (eds.), *Engaging Rhetoric*.

23 Webster mentions two more instances of written-out cadenzas in Haydn’s keyboard music: his piano trios Hob. XV: 5 (in G, 784) and 9 (in A, 1785), both published by Forster in London. Both are post-1774 and omit repeat signs as well.

24 Symphony Hob. I: 47 (in G, of 1772). Also Gerhard J. Winkler interprets “formal and technical tricks” of this kind as directly addressing the Prince. See his “Joseph Haydn’s ‘experimental studio’ in Esterháza,” *MQ* 80 (1996), 346.

25 On Clementi’s revolutionizing activities as pianist, piano composer, publisher, and manufacturer, see James Parakilas and Gretchen Wheelock in James Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 77–93.

26 This list excludes the “anno 1776” sonatas – published abroad without Haydn’s consent – and sonatas Hob. XVI: 34 (e) and 48 (C), published without dedication. Also excluded is Haydn’s re-dedication of Hob. XVI: 52, in the Viennese edition by Artaria to “Mademoiselle Madelaine de Kurzbek” in 1798, one year before Jansen herself had the piece published in London (by Longman, Clementi & Co). Madelaine, incidentally, was the daughter of Joseph von Kurzböck, Haydn’s very first publisher back in 1774. Mrs. Maria Hester Park (not to be confused with the professional pianist-composer and singer “Miss Maria Parke”) replaces Rebecca Schroeter as likely candidate for Hob. XVI:51. See Thomas Tolley, “Haydn, the engraver Thomas Park, and Maria Hester Park’s ‘little Sonat,’” *ML* 82 (2001), 421–31.

27 For other rhetorical readings of Haydn letters, see Elaine Sisman in *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 24 (of Haydn’s autobiographical letter), and Rebecca Green’s chapter in this volume.

28 Haydn speaks of wishes “today” and those of “yesterday” [*gestrichen*, Haydn’s version of *gestrigen*]. Through his mother Anna Maria (Koller) and his wife Maria Anna (Keller) Haydn must have been sensitized to these back-to-back namedays. This delightful fact has been

overlooked by Bartha and Landon, who date the letter August 15, Virgin Mary's Ascension Day. My corrected date also fits the other indication of time in Haydn's letter: "Thus those 8 days fled away," i.e., since the receipt of Genzinger's last letter, written on July 11. See *Briefe*, 248, n. 1, and Landon II, 747, n. 4. For saints and namedays: see Catholic Online, http://www.catholic.org/saints/f_day/, accessed 12/19/02.

29 Dietmar Schmitz, "La théorie de l'art épistolaire et de la conversation dans la tradition latine et néolatine," in Bernard Bray and Christoph Strosetzki (eds.), *Art de la lettre/Art de la conversation à l'époque classique en France* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1995), 17.

30 C. F. Gellert makes this point in his "Thoughts on a good German letter" (1742). See Bern Witte (ed.), *Christian Fürchtegott Gellert: Gesammelte Schriften* vol. IV (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 102–3.

31 Haydn owned a letter manual. But the model provided there for a "Nameday congratulatory letter directed to a woman" is much less ingenious and spontaneous. See *Der grätzerische Secretär* (Graz: Trötscher, 1800), 114. On Haydn's library, see Maria Hörwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's library: an attempt at a literary-historical reconstruction," trans. Kathrine Talbot, in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 395–462.

32 Herbert Freudenthal, *Das Feuer im deutschen Glauben und Brauch* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1931), 60–62. Thanks also to art historian Louise Rice.

33 Governesses in the highest circles of Austrian nobility were almost exclusively French. See Irene Hardach-Pinke, "Erziehung und Unterricht durch Gouvernanten," in Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz (eds.), *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung* vol. I (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1996), 409–27.

34 As suggested by Brown. No hard evidence exists, however. See his *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 135.

35 My transcription restores the value of E in m. 7 as a clear dotted quarter from the 1784 edition by Bossler. *JHW* editor Georg Feder, puzzled by the harmonic ambiguity, changed the E on the third eighth to A, the bass of a root-position dominant. In my reading, this editorial intervention destroys the subtle, natural, feminine flow of the opening period.

36 The latter case is complex for different reasons: von Genzinger, like Prince Esterházy, was a connoisseur as well as a keyboard player: she was a keen admirer of Haydn's symphonies,

which she arranged for keyboard. Hob. XVI: 49 is between a concert-style and a ladies' sonata. See Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn*, 179.

37 Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School 1740–1780* (New York and London: Norton, 1994), 313.

38 Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 16.

39 Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, chaps. 1 and 2.

40 For the correspondence discussed here, see Bartha, *Briefe*, 240–46.

41 But she would soon (in December) marry court violinist Johann Tost. See Landon II, 81.

42 Haydn had purchased a piano from Wenzel Schanz in 1788. Richard Maunder is "almost certain" that it was a square. See his *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 129.

43 The letter clearly reads: "at our Mademoiselle Nanette's" (*bey unser Mademoiselle Nanette*).

44 As per Walter's own words, in his petition (dated December 15, 1790) for the title of Imperial Instrument Maker. See John A. Rice, "Anton Walter, instrument maker to Leopold II," in *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 15 (1989), 49.

45 In particular, work by Alfons Huber, Michael Latham, and Richard Maunder.

46 I here react to Somfai, who writes about Capriccio Hob. XVII: 1 (in G, 1765), which has two "unusual" stretches, that it "may be played without arpeggiation only on a rare instrument such as one finds occasionally in a museum as a curiosity" (*The Keyboard Sonatas*, 17). A recent symposium and a lavish publication on the Austrian harpsichord has started to rectify this misperception. See Alfons Huber (ed.), *Das Österreichische Cembalo: 600 Jahre Cembalobau in Österreich* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2001).

47 The Viennese short octave (and Viennese production of harpsichords, for that matter) remained current for many years after. See Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna*, 47.

48 I am convinced that a revival of the Austrian harpsichord will shed new light on the emergence of an idiomatically Viennese keyboard style around 1750 and will prompt us to view the transition from (Viennese) harpsichord to (Viennese) piano as much more fluid than thus far acknowledged. My observations are based on trying out two surviving instruments: J. C. Pantzner (1747), in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, and J. Leydecker (1755), in the Steiermärkischen Landesmuseum Joanneum in Graz.

49 Using new technologies of “surround” recording and “wave field synthesis.”

50 This project is funded by the Fonds Québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. All instruments used are replicas, some of them built for the occasion; they include a clavichord, a Viennese harpsichord, a French double manual harpsichord, a South German square piano, an early Walter fortepiano, an English Longman, Clementi & Co. grand, and a Stodart square. Builders are Joris Potvlieghe, Martin Pühringer, Yves Beaupré, and Chris Maene.

15 Haydn and posterity: the long nineteenth century

1 Jens Peter Larsen, “Joseph Haydn – Eine Herausforderung an uns,” in Eva Badura-Skoda (ed.), *Internationaler Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien 1982* (Munich: Henle, 1986), 9–20 (9–10).

2 Adolf Sandberger, “Zur Einbürgerung der Kunst Josef Haydns in Deutschland,” *Neues Beethoven Jahrbuch* (1935), 5–25 (25). Leon Botstein, “The demise of philosophical listening: Haydn in the 19th Century,” in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 255–85, at 281. (A later version of this thought-provoking essay appeared as “The consequences of presumed innocence: the nineteenth-century reception of Joseph Haydn,” in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 1–34.)

3 Alfred Julius Becher, Review of Haydn’s *The Creation*, *Sonntagsblätter* 2 (1843), no. 47, as quoted in Clemens Höslinger, “Der überwundene Standpunkt: Joseph Haydn in der wiener Musikkritik des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte* 1/iii: *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1971), 133.

4 Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographischen Lexikons der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1790), vol. I, 610; compare, for example, Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, “Symphonie,” in Gustav Schilling (ed.), *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart: F. H. Köhler, 1835–42), vol. VI, 541–51.

5 Johann Karl Friedrich Triest, “Remarks on the development of the art of music in Germany in the eighteenth century,” trans. Susan Gillespie, in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, 373–74. See also Matthew Head, “Music with ‘no past?’ Archaeologies of Joseph Haydn and *The*

Creation,” *19th-Century Music* 23 (2000), 191–217.

6 Eduard Hanslick, “Gesellschaftsconcerte” (1861), *Aus dem Concertsaal: Kritiken und Schilderungen aus dem letzten 20 Jahren des wiener Musiklebens* (Vienna, 1870), 232.

7 Alfred Götz, *Trübners Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1939), III, 395–96.

8 E. T. A. Hoffmann, Review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony (1810), *Dichtungen und Schriften sowie Briefe und Tagebücher: Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Walter Harich, 15 vols. (Weimar, 1924), vol. XII, 130.

9 Ludwig Rellstab, “Theodor: Eine musikalische Skizze,” *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1824), 247–49, 255–58, 263–66, 271–75, 279–81 (263).

10 Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich. Von der ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (1852; 6th ed., Leipzig, 1878), 313.

11 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie, Nietzsche Werke*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin and New York, 1972), ser. III, I, 61 (§9).

12 Hans von Bülow, “Über Richard Wagners Faust-Overture” (1856), *Ausgewählte Schriften: 1850–1892*, ed. Marie von Bülow (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1911), 208, 214.

13 Franz Witt, “Eine Messe in C. von Joseph Haydn,” *Musica sacra* 3 (1870), 65–69, at 65, as quoted in Christoph Lickleder, *Choral und figurierte Kirchenmusik in der Sicht Franz Xaver Witts anhand der Fliegenden Blätter und der Musica sacra* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1988), 190; Opal Wheeler and Sybil Deucher, *Joseph Haydn: the Merry Little Peasant* (London, 1939).

14 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Der Wanderer und sein Schatten* (1880) (*Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, vol. II, pt. ii), *Nietzsche Werke*, ser. IV, III (Berlin, 1967), 253 (no. 151).

15 *Ibid.*, 253–4 (nos. 149 and 152).

16 Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, “Haydn’s Sonaten,” *Musikalische Charakterköpfe: Ein kunstgeschichtliches Skizzenbuch*, 2 vols. (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1862), vol. II, 304; Riehl, “Die göttlichen Philister,” *Musikalische Charakterköpfe*, I, 205–59.

17 Höslinger, “Der überwundene Standpunkt,” 119–22; Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, *Geschichte der europaeisch-abendlaendischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1846; repr. Walluf, 1972), 96–97.

18 William Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* (London, 1831), 144 (see also Howard Irving, “William Crotch on *The Creation*,” *ML* 75 (1994), 548–60); François-Joseph Fétis, s.v. “Haydn,” *Biographie universelle*

- des musiciens et bibliographie générale de musique* (Brussels, 1839), vol. V, 83, 94.
- 19 Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst*, ed. Raimund Heuler (Paderborn, 1907), 33.
- 20 Adolf Bernhard Marx, "Andeutung des Standpunktes der Zeitung. (Als Epilog.)," *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1824), 444–48 (447); [Marx], "Etwas über die Symphonie und Beethovens Leistungen in diesem Fache," *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1824), 165–68, 173–76, 181–84 (168).
- 21 Marx, "Etwas über Joseph Haidn und seinen Standpunkt in der Kunstentwicklung," *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1824), 299–302, 327–29 (300, 329).
- 22 Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, ed. Heinrich Simon, 3 vols. (Leipzig, [1888]), vol. III, 78.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 87.
- 24 Eduard Hanslick, "Die Schöpfung. Oratorium von Jos. Haydn" (1848), *Sämtliche Schriften: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, Dietmar Strauß (Vienna: Böhlau, 1993), vol. I/i, 212; Hanslick, "Gesellschaftsconcerte," 231.
- 25 Hanslick, "An Wien's Musikfreunde vor der Aufführung des 'Elias'" (1847), *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. I/i, 122; Hanslick, "Concert des Wiener Chorregenten-Vereines" (1849), *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. I/ii, 48–49.
- 26 Hanslick, "Musikalische Briefe" (1856), *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. I/iii, 306–7.
- 27 Ignaz Franz von Mosel, "Die Tonkunst in Wien während der letzten fünf Decennien. Skizze," *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 3 (1843), 533–34, 601–3.
- 28 Johann Christian Lobe, "Fortschritt," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 50 (1848), 49–51, 65–69, 169–73, 337–41 (340).
- 29 Ernst Gottschald, "Ein Prophet des Stillstands und zwei Artikel der *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 29 (1848), 293–96, 298–300.
- 30 Franz Brendel, "Robert Schumann mit Rücksicht auf Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, und die Entwicklung der modernen Tonkunst überhaupt," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 22 (1845), 63–67, 81–83, 89–92, 113–15, 121–23, 145–47, 149–50 (65).
- 31 Bülow, "Zweite Symphonie-Soirée der königl. Capelle" (1850), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 9.
- 32 Hector Berlioz, Review of Haydn's Symphony no. 51 in G, *La Revue et Gazette musicale* 16 (1849), 35, as quoted in Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834–80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 86.
- 33 Richard Wagner, *Beethoven* (1870), *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1898), vol. IX, 88; Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1859; 5th ed., 1901), vol. I, 85.
- 34 Ernest Newman, *Gluck and the Opera* (London, 1895), 49, as quoted in Landon V, 425.
- 35 Brendel, *Geschichte*, 301, 310–11, 308.
- 36 Adolf Bernhard Marx, s.v. "Haydn, (Joseph)," in Schilling (ed.), *Encyclopädie*, vol. III, 518–26 (523).
- 37 Franz Brendel, "Haydn, Mozart, und Beethoven: Eine vergleichende Charakteristik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 28 (1848), 1–3, 13–15, 25–27, 37–39, 49–53 (2).
- 38 Brendel, *Geschichte*, 308, 314.
- 39 [Carl Kretschmann], "Romantik in der Musik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 29 (1848), 1–6, 9–11 (2).
- 40 Brendel, "Robert Schumann," 65.
- 41 Höslinger, "Der überwundene Standpunkt," 123–24; Sandberger, "Zur Einbürgerung," 25.
- 42 Botstein, "The consequences of presumed innocence," 10.
- 43 Hanslick, "Gesellschaftsconcerte," 231, 232, 233.
- 44 Emil Naumann, *Deutsche Tondichter von Sebastian Bach bis auf die Gegenwart* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1875), 398–99, 147–48.
- 45 Hermann Kretzschmar, *Führer durch den Concertsaal* (Leipzig, 1888), vol. I, 36; Leopold Schmidt, *Joseph Haydn* (Berlin, 1898), 116.
- 46 Anon. [Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl], "Das Volkslied in seinem Einfluß auf die gesammte Entwicklung der modernen Musik," *Die Gegenwart. Eine encyclopädische Darstellung der neuesten Zeitgeschichte für alle Stände* (Leipzig, 1849), vol. III, 667–86 (674).
- 47 Riehl, "Die göttlichen Philister," 221, 227.
- 48 Riehl, "Haydn's Sonaten," 334.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 310, 319, 327–8.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 302.
- 51 Guido Adler (ed.), *Haydn-Zentenarfeier. III. Kongress der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft Wien: Bericht* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1909), 36, 4, 46, 47, 41.
- 52 *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 531, 548–50 (the most comprehensive survey of the reception of Haydn's church music is Ulrich Tank, "Joseph Haydn's geistliche Musik in der Anschauung des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Georg Feder, Heinrich Hüschen, and Ulrich Tank (eds.), *Joseph Haydn: Tradition und Rezeption. Bericht über die Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Köln, 1982. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 144. Regensburg: Bosse, 1985: 215–62).
- 53 *Ibid.*, 529–30 (S. Levysohn, "Die Pflege der Haydn'schen Musik in Dänemark").

16 The kitten and the tiger: Tovey's Haydn

- 1 E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Beethoven's instrumental music" (1813), and Richard Wagner, "The music of the future" (1850), translations unattrib., rpt. in Oliver Strunk (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History: The Romantic Era* (New York: Norton, 1965), 36–37, 150–51.
- 2 *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1879), vol. I, 719. From 1863 to 1866 Pohl lived in London, working at the British Museum on his book *Mozart und Haydn in London* (note the reverse chronology of the names); in 1866 he became archivist and librarian to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde [Society of the Friends of Music] in Vienna.
- 3 Harold C. Schonberg, *The Lives of the Great Composers*, 2 vols. (1970, rpt. London: Futura, 1975), vol. I, 67.
- 4 Landon; Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Norton, 1971); Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 5 Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Symphonies and Other Orchestral Works*, new ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 369.
- 6 Tovey, *Symphonies*, 346.
- 7 Tovey, *Symphonies*, 374.
- 8 *Grove* (1st ed.), vol. I, 719.
- 9 From T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the individual talent," in David Richter (ed.), *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Bedford Books, 1998), 500.
- 10 Tovey, *Symphonies*, 375.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 341.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 358.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 338.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 338.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 347.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 346.
- 17 From section 49 of *The Critique of Judgment*, "On the powers of the mind which constitute genius," quoted in the translation by Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987).
- 18 Tovey, *Symphonies*, 363–64.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 357–58.
- 20 *Grove* (1st ed.), vol. I, 719.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 One freedom imitating another: see Jacques Derrida, "Economimesis," in Julian Wolfreys (ed.), *The Derrida Reader: Writing Performances* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 263–93.
- 23 Tovey, *Symphonies*, 338.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 342.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 355.

26 *Ibid.*, 338.27 *Ibid.*, 357.28 Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795), trans. Reginald Snell (New York: Ungar, 1965).29 Tovey, *Symphonies*, 344.30 *Ibid.*, 360.31 *Ibid.*, 368.32 "The Tyger," from *Songs of Experience* (1794); text from *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 24.33 From *The Dunciad: Book I*, ll.11–12, 15–16, in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 721.34 From "Ode: Intimations of Immortality," ll. 145–47 and epigraph, in *Wordsworth: Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, rev. Ernest de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 461 and 460.**17 Recorded performances: a symphonic study**

- 1 See José Bowen, "Finding the music in musicology: performance history and musical works," in N. Cook and M. Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 424–51.
- 2 Rick Altman, *Sound Theory/Sound Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 40.
- 3 W. R. A., Review of Haydn, "Military" Symphony, Knappertsbusch conducting the Berlin Grand Symphony Orchestra, *The Gramophone* (July, 1933), 58.
- 4 W. R. A., Review of Haydn, Symphony no. 8, Stiedry conducting the Orchestra of New Friends of Music, *The Gramophone* (January, 1940), 290.
- 5 A. R., Review of Haydn, Symphonies nos. 21 and 42, Litschauer conducting the Vienna Chamber Orchestra, *The Gramophone* (July, 1952), 54.
- 6 For instance, on his 1950 recording of Symphony no. 93 for Columbia, Beecham instructed the strings to play pizzicato instead of arco at the end of the third-movement trio.
- 7 John W. Barker, Review of Haydn, The "Salomon" Symphonies, Set I (nos. 93–98); Symphony no. 40, Sir Thomas Beecham conducting the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra; *American Record Guide* (July/August, 1981), 18.
- 8 John Butt, *Playing With History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 166.
- 9 R. F., Review of Haydn, Symphonies nos. 1–2, *Lo speciale* Overture, Max Goberman conducting the Vienna State Opera Orchestra; Symphony no. 3, Goberman conducting the New York Sinfonietta, *The Gramophone* (May, 1969), 1560.

- 10 S. S., Review of Haydn, Symphonies nos. 57–64, Antal Doráti conducting the Philharmonia Hungarica, *The Gramophone* (January, 1971), 1150.
- 11 John Wiser, Review of Haydn, Symphonies nos. 1–5, 6–8, 76–78, Roy Goodman conducting The Hanover Band, *Fanfare* (March/April 1992), 211.
- 12 David Hurwitz, Review of Haydn, Symphonies nos. 100 and 103, Sir Charles Mackerras conducting the Orchestra of St. Luke's, *Fanfare* (March/April, 1992), 213.
- 13 Toscanini's recordings, however, show his reputation for fast and steady tempos to be somewhat exaggerated. See Bowen, "Can a symphony change? Establishing methodology for the historical study of performance styles," in *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1998), 160–72; and Bowen, "Tempo, duration, flexibility: techniques in the analysis of performance," *JMR* 16 (1996), 111–56.
- 14 The "maximum tempo" is the highest tempo reached during the performance of a single movement.
- 15 See, for example, Robert T. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 234.
- 16 See Webster, "On the absence of keyboard continuo in Haydn's symphonies," *Early Music* 18 (1990), 599–608.
- 17 Irmgard Leux-Henschen, *Joseph Martin Kraus in seinen Briefen* (Stockholm: Edition Reimers, 1978), 105.
- 18 See Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition and Rockliff, 1955), 118.
- 19 Matthew Rye, Compact disc liner notes to Roy Goodman and The Hanover Band's recording of Haydn's Symphonies nos. 45–47 (London: Hyperion Records, 1991), 4.
- 20 All of the players may have performed only during a program's choral centerpiece and not during the orchestral works.
- 21 Adam Fischer, Compact disc liner notes to Fischer and the Austro-Hungarian Orchestra's recording of Haydn's complete symphonies, (Brilliant Classics, 2001), 11.
- 22 J. W. B., "Yet another series by the intrepid LRM," *American Record Guide* 28/9 (May, 1962), 731.
- 23 J. B., Review of Haydn Symphonies nos. 1, 37, 18, 2, 15, 4, and 10, Solomons conducting L'Estro Armonico, *Fanfare* (Jan/Feb 1982), 114.
- 24 Fischer, Notes to complete Haydn symphonies, 11.
- 25 Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 90.
- 26 See Taruskin, *Text and Act*; Laurence Dreyfus, "Early music defended against its devotees: a theory of historical performance in the twentieth century," *MQ* 69 (1983), 297–322.
- 27 Antony Hodgson, "Christopher Hogwood: a new Haydn symphony AAM recording project," *Hi-Fi News and Record Review* (March 1990), 95.
- 28 Philip, *Early Recordings*, 230.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 230.
- 30 Walter Benjamin, "The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction," in *Illuminations* (1936; London: Fontana Press, 1992), 222.