

The Cambridge Companion to Haydn

This Companion provides an accessible and up-to-date introduction to the musical work and cultural world of Joseph Haydn. Readers will gain an understanding of the changing social, cultural, and political spheres in which Haydn studied, worked, and nurtured his creative talent. Distinguished contributors provide chapters on Haydn and his contemporaries, his audiences and aesthetics, his working environments in Eisenstadt and Eszterháza, and humor and exoticism in Haydn's oeuvre. Chapters on the reception of his music explore keyboard performance practices, Haydn's posthumous reputation, sound recordings and images of his symphonies. The book also surveys the major genres in which Haydn wrote, including symphonies, string quartets, keyboard sonatas and trios, sacred music, miscellaneous vocal genres, and operas composed for Eszterháza and London.

The Cambridge Companion to

HAYDN

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EDITED BY
Caryl Clark



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for
Lou, Tess, and Reid

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- Elaine Sisman** is the Anne Parsons Bender Professor of Music and chair of the Music Department at Columbia University. The author of *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (1993), *Mozart: The "Jupiter" Symphony* (1993), and editor of *Haydn and His World* (1997), she has written numerous shorter studies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music, as well as the article on "Variations" in the revised *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. She serves on the board of directors of the Joseph Haydn-Institut in Cologne, the Akademie für Mozartforschung in Salzburg, and the American Brahms Society, and is President of the American Musicological Society.
- James Webster** is the Goldwin Smith Professor of Music at Cornell University. He is the author of *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (1991), and co-editor of *Haydn Studies* (1981) and *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna* (1997). He has published widely on Haydn (including the Haydn article in the revised edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*), Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms, and on analysis, editorial and performance practice, and the historiography of music. His book in progress is *The Music of Mozart's Operas: Analysis in Context*.

Preface and acknowledgments

Joseph Haydn: accomplished composer, businessman, gentleman. That's the man we see on the front cover of this volume. No steely-eyed, brooding stare as with many a Beethoven image; no rambunctious, youthful or, alternatively, despondent Mozart; no dreamy-eyed Gluck gazing rapturously to heaven in the act of inspired composition. And definitely not "Papa Haydn"! For his gentrified English audience in 1792 Thomas Hardy painted a portrait of Haydn in the grand style. Seated in a plush upholstered chair surrounded by elegant drapery, a "classicized" and "anglicized" Haydn is depicted here, his humble agrarian roots long forgotten in the wake of his successes in a new and vibrant economy. Upwardly mobile London understood the trappings of success represented by the portrait and its symbols of the self-made man – the right (working) hand clasping a hardbound published score, the middle finger inserted between the pages of the volume as if to mark the site of success or to signal the imminence of music-making or its contemplative study. Hairline concealed by a prim wig, accentuating a wide brow, the revered and learned composer, having recently received an honorary doctorate from Oxford University, gazes out at his public – an audience versed in the rhetoric of self-determination and eagerly participating in aesthetic debates. There is no harsh judgment on the part of either subject or viewer here, and certainly no hint of the dismissal that history would soon deliver.

The triumphant moment recorded by Hardy's portrait did not repeat itself in Haydn's continental home. In the far-flung regions of eastern Austria, including Rohrau and Eisenstadt, and into western Hungary where Eszterháza was situated, the image of the successful composer and businessman was eclipsed by that of Papa Haydn, a moniker applied to the musical steward at the Esterházy court and ably transferred onto the aging master lauded throughout Europe who spent his last days in a small cottage in the Viennese suburb of Gumpendorf during the Napoleonic campaign. Use of the epithet peaked after the composer, and the *ancien régime* in whose shadow he had labored, passed away. Caricatured as a man of innocence from a long-ago time, Haydn was repackaged for nineteenth-century consumption. The composer's very gradual path towards compositional maturity and late fame grafted readily onto that patronizing image, which perpetuated a simplistic and deterministic approach to later studies of the man and his music.

Overcoming the sentimentalism, dilettantism, and propagandizing power of the Papa Haydn myth has been a welcome corrective. Modern studies of the composer and his oeuvre would be unthinkable without the explosion of the myth. Retracing the multiple referents associated with Papa Haydn, as James Garrett demonstrates in this volume, opens up further complexities. It recognizes the power of language, charts the cultural factors of reception by accounting for variety and diversity in that reception, and illuminates the forces that shaped and were shaped by the Papa Haydn myth itself. Changes in scholarly concern reveal different ways in which Haydn and

his music have been studied in different eras and locations, creating a diversity of cross-cultural representations.

The picture of Haydn presented here is a richly complex one, the result of new or revamped theoretical and analytical approaches. Part I probes Haydn the man, his aesthetics, and his public through re-readings of canonic texts that deconstruct received opinion. Further contextualization stems from an understanding of the composer's musical milieu and his interactions with contemporaries, foregrounding the importance of a deeper appreciation of the different locations, languages, and cultures in which Haydn worked. Part II examines two modes of interpreting Haydn's music – one canonical, the other not. Humor (wit, jesting, *Laune*, whimsy, and so on), a trope in Haydn studies, is here applied to close readings of the late symphonies from the perspective of a music theorist. In the following chapter on exoticism, a musicologist explores how selected compositions confront societal anxieties concerning "difference" during the Enlightenment. An overview of a wide range of genres, large and small, instrumental and vocal, forms the core of Part III. Canonical works are explored alongside lesser-known ones, conveying the expansive range of Haydn's musical output during the second half of the eighteenth century and addressing some of their performative contexts. Part IV offers new interpretive angles, ranging from "negotiating" performance through differentiated (and gendered) readings of selected keyboard sonatas, to the changing contexts of symphonic performance and reception based on cultural orientation and technological mediation.

This book reflects an intense collaborative effort from start to finish. In the early stages, Elaine Sisman and James Webster offered valuable guidance. As the project progressed, several authors exchanged written work with one another and benefited from comments and advice offered in the spirit of scholarly exchange. Here the efforts of two contributors – Tom Beghin and Rebecca Green – were truly exemplary. Janette Tilley, a recent graduate of the University of Toronto now teaching at CUNY, prepared all the digitized musical examples with skill and care. In the fall of 2003, the graduate students in my Haydn seminar at the Faculty of Music, University of Toronto, were the first to read and comment on the earliest submissions; they enthusiastically embraced the task and offered astute critical observations. Thanks to Kate Galloway, Dana Hibbard, Eleanor Johnson, Herbert Pauls, Anna Rutledge, Charlene St.-Aubin, and Melissa Thornton for their dedication to this project. (Our rousing performance of Haydn's late part-songs, lubricated by lots of pre-Christmas cheer, will forever be etched in my memory.) Special thanks to Kate Galloway, who continued on as my research assistant, for assembling the bibliography and drafting the initial chronology, to Rosanne King for her indexing skills, and to proofreader Colin Eatock.

To Penny Souster, who first approached me about taking on this project, I offer my heartfelt gratitude. In guiding the book through the planning, review, and contract stage, she ensured a smooth transition to her colleague Victoria Cooper, whose unflinching support, along with that of her assistant Rebecca Jones, production editor Annie Lovett, and copyeditor Michael Downes, have proved invaluable. My ever supportive family – Lou, Tess, and Reid – know how much they are loved.

Toronto, November 2004

Chronology of Haydn's life and career

- 1732 born March 31 (?) in Rohrau, Lower Austria; baptized Franz Joseph on April 1. Known as Sepperl in childhood, he was the second of five children to survive infancy; his father, Mathias Haydn, was a wheelwright, magistrate, and amateur musician, and his mother, Anna Maria Koller, was a cook at the Harrach family castle in Rohrau.
- 1737 receives his first formal training while living with a distant cousin, Mathias Franck, in nearby Hainburg.
- 1739 recruited by Georg Reutter (1708–72), Kapellmeister (musical director) at St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, to join the choir school there; sings treble parts in regular and special services at church and at the Habsburg court, and receives some instruction in theory, composition, and on the violin and harpsichord.
- 1745 joined at St. Stephen's Cathedral choir school by his younger brother, Johann Michael (1737–1806).
- 1749 leaves the choir school at St. Stephen's Cathedral after his voice changes.
- 1750 moves into garret room in the Michaelerhaus (where Metastasio, Porpora, and Marianna von Martínez also lived), and works as an independent musician.
- 1750s compositions in the 1750s reflect an acquaintance with the music of his contemporaries in a wide range of genres; during the mid-1750s, Haydn worked at several churches as an occasional singer and violinist, and augmented his income performing in pick-up ensembles for special events at court and in the theater; later in the decade he becomes a close friend of fellow violinist and composer Carl Ditters (1739–99).
- 1751 writes music for his first stage work, *Der neue krumme Teufel*; comes in close contact with court poet Pietro Metastasio (1714–87).
- 1753 works as valet and keyboard accompanist for the Neapolitan opera composer and singing teacher Nicola Porpora, from whom he learns much about vocal composition and the Italian language.
- 1758 begins working as Kapellmeister to Count Morzin, who lived in Vienna during the winter, and in Lukavec, Bohemia in the summer; Haydn's earliest symphonies were written for the Morzin court.
- 1760 marries Maria Anna Aloysia Apollonia Keller, elder sister of Therese Keller, Haydn's first love.
- 1761 appointed to the position of Vice-Kapellmeister at the court of Prince Paul Anton Esterházy in Eisenstadt; assists Kapellmeister Gregor Joseph Werner (1693–1766) with church music, and is responsible for all secular music; works closely with violinist Luigi Tomasini, leader of the court

- orchestra, and composes symphonic trilogy on the times of the day – “Le matin,” “Le midi,” and “Le soir” (nos. 6–8).
- 1762 death of Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who is succeeded by Prince Nicolaus “The Magnificent”; composes Concerto for Horn in D major. Gluck’s *Orfeo ed Euridice* premieres in Vienna.
- 1762–66 court moves between Eisenstadt and Vienna; renovations undertaken on an old hunting lodge located on the south shore of the Neusiedlersee – the future palace, Eszterháza.
- 1765 begins a thematic catalogue of his compositions, *Entwurf-Katalog* (“Draft catalogue”), which he supplemented regularly with additional entries until the late 1770s. Studies C. P. E. Bach’s *Versuch* (perhaps as early as 1763), affecting the improvisatory nature of his keyboard works (especially those with varied reprises).
- 1766 following the death of Werner, Haydn is promoted to Kapellmeister and assumes full responsibilities for the musical life of the court; Eszterháza becomes the summer home of Prince Nicolaus and the court; Haydn purchases a house in Eisenstadt as a home base.
- 1767 composes *Stabat mater*.
- 1768 the main opera house at Eszterháza is inaugurated with Haydn’s *Lo speziale*. In the late 1760s Haydn learns to play the baryton, the favorite instrument of Prince Nicolaus.
- 1771 unauthorized publication of Op. 20 string quartets; composes keyboard sonata in c minor, Hob. xvi: 20.
- 1772 composes the “Farewell” Symphony (no. 45).
- 1773 the marionette opera house at Eszterháza opens with Haydn’s *Philemon und Baucis*, a performance attended by Empress Maria Theresa and members of the Habsburg court.
- 1774 the first authorized publication of music by Haydn, keyboard sonatas Hob. XVI: 21–26 (dedicated to Prince Nicolaus) by Kurzböck in Vienna.
- 1775 oratorio *Il ritorno di Tobia* performed at the annual Lenten concert of the Tonkünstler-Societät in Vienna.
- 1776 beginning of a regular season of opera at Eszterháza, initiated by Gluck’s *Orfeo ed Euridice*. Haydn writes a short autobiographical sketch, which is published in an Austrian encyclopedia.
- 1778 sells his house in Eisenstadt; Artaria & Co. in Vienna expands into music publishing.
- 1779 on January 1 Haydn signs a new contract with Prince Nicolaus Esterházy allowing him to publish and sell his music and accept outside commissions without the consent of his patron. Fire destroys the Eszterháza opera house and many operatic scores are lost. Soprano Luigia Polzelli (1750–1831) is employed at court.
- 1780 upsurge in Haydn’s commercial activity; Artaria publishes set of six keyboard sonatas by Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, 35–39, dedicated to the virtuoso Auenbrugger sisters.

- 1781 Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata* opens the new opera house at Eszterháza; composes Op. 33 string quartets; first set of Lieder published by Artaria in Vienna. Haydn markets his music in England with Forster.
- 1782 composes the *Missa Cellensis* or Mariazell Mass, and publishes the six string quartets of Op. 33 with Artaria; begins professional relationship with publisher John Bland in London. Joseph Elssler, Haydn's first copyist, dies; he is succeeded by his son of the same name and subsequently by Johann Elssler, who became Haydn's principal copyist by the late 1780s.
- 1783 composes second cello concerto, in D major. Marriage of Princess Marie Hermenegild to future Prince Nicolaus II.
- 1784 *Armida*, Haydn's last opera for the court, is staged at Eszterháza to mark the completion of the estate; publishes second set of Lieder with Artaria. First known meeting between Haydn and Mozart takes place at a quartet party in Vienna; Haydn played first violin and Mozart played the viola. Carl Friedrich Cramer publishes first issue of his *Magazin der Musik*, in which he praises the works of Haydn.
- 1785 becomes a freemason in January and joins the lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht" (True Concord), which Mozart had joined the preceding year; plays string quartets in Vienna with Mozart and friends on February 12; in September Artaria publishes the six string quartets Mozart dedicated to Haydn.
- 1786 completes the "Paris" Symphonies (nos. 82–87) commissioned for the orchestra of the Concert de la Loge Olympique.
- 1787 declines invitation to compose an opera for Prague. Death of Christoph Willibald Gluck (b. 1714).
- 1788 purchases Schanz keyboard.
- 1789 begins regular contact with Maria Anna von Genzinger, a Viennese aristocrat and amateur pianist married to Prince Nicolaus's physician; composes solo cantata *Arianna a Naxos*. The King's Theatre in London burns down and royal privilege to present Italian opera is transferred to the Pantheon Theatre. The French Revolution begins July 14 with the storming of the Bastille.
- 1790 Prince Nicolaus Esterházy dies in September; his successor, Prince Anton, disbands the orchestra and opera troupe, leaving Haydn free to seek employment elsewhere; in December he accepts an offer from the German violinist and impresario Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815) to go to London; enroute he meets the young Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) at the electoral court in Bonn.
- 1791 arrives in London in early January; first set of "London" Symphonies (nos. 93–98) performed at Hanover Square Rooms with Salomon on violin and Haydn playing fortepiano; composes *L'anima del filosofo, ossia Orfeo ed Euridice*, but the production is halted during rehearsals; Symphony no. 92, the "Oxford," is performed when Haydn receives an honorary Doctor of Music degree from Oxford University in July. Publisher John Bland commissions Thomas Hardy to paint Haydn's

- portrait. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (b. 1756) dies in Vienna in December.
- 1792 leaves London in July; meets with Beethoven again on return trip.
- 1793 purchases house in the Viennese suburb of Gumpendorf; moves in permanently in 1796. Beethoven moves to Vienna and studies composition with Haydn.
- 1794 Prince Anton Esterházy dies in January and is succeeded by Prince Nicolaus II; Haydn already enroute to London for a second visit, arriving in February, accompanied by his copyist Johann Elssler. Publishing firm Corri & Dussek founded in London; they published two sets of canzonettas, the Opp. 71 and 74 string quartets, and arrangements of the “London” Symphonies for piano trio.
- 1795 composes Sonata in E \flat (Hob. XVI: 52) for Therese Janzen; departs London in August; reinstated as Esterházy Kapellmeister with minimal court duties; responsible for the eight wind instrumentalists of the *Harmonie* and small group of string players (primarily for performances at Eisenstadt).
- 1796 begins collaboration with Baron van Swieten, the imperial librarian and censor and leader of the Gesellschaft der Associirten, an association of noble patrons; Haydn composes Trumpet Concerto in E \flat , and the first of his final six masses for Prince Nicolaus II; Leipzig firm Breitkopf & Härtel becomes Haydn’s main publisher. British folksong arrangements commissioned by George Thomson.
- 1797 in January, Haydn granted free admission to all concerts of the Gesellschaft der Associirten, and on December 11 appointed “senior assessor” in perpetuity; the society sponsored the first performances of *The Creation* and *The Seasons*. Haydn made a life member of the Viennese Tonkünstler Societät. Composes the “Emperor’s Hymn,” which is the basis for a set of variations in the second movement of string quartet Op. 76 no. 3 and later the German national anthem.
- 1798 first private performance of the oratorio *The Creation (Die Schöpfung)* at the Schwarzenberg palace.
- 1799 first public performance of *The Creation* at the Burgtheater on March 19; oratorio performed again in December as a benefit for the Tonkünstler-Societät. Georg August Griesinger (1769–1845) has initial visit with Haydn as a representative for Breitkopf & Härtel; the publishing firm begins its *Oeuvres complètes de Joseph Haydn*.
- 1800 Haydn’s wife dies in Baden in March.
- 1801 completes oratorio *The Seasons (Die Jahreszeiten)* in collaboration with Baron van Swieten; private premiere on April 24 at the Schwarzenberg palace followed by the first public performance at the Redoutensaal on May 19; two quartets of Op. 77 dedicated to Prince Lobkowitz.
- 1802 completes last major composition, the *Harmoniemesse*, after which he ceases composing (leaving a third string quartet for Lobkowitz incomplete).
- 1803 last string quartet (Op. 103, incomplete).

- 1805 Albert Christoph Dies (1755–1822) meets Haydn; Johann Elsser prepares comprehensive thematic catalogue of Haydn’s works (known as *Haydn-Verzeichniss*). Luigi Cherubini writes “Chant sur la mort de Joseph Haydn” when rumors of his death circulated in France and Britain; it was first performed in 1810, nine months after Haydn’s death.
- 1806 Haydn housebound from this point onwards.
- 1808 makes his last public appearance on March 27 at a performance of *The Creation* conducted by Antonio Salieri at Vienna’s old university.
- 1809 while Vienna under siege by the invading French armies, Haydn dies on May 31 at his home; burial the next day in the cemetery at Gumpendorf; large memorial service in Vienna on June 15.
- 1810 Griesinger publishes his *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*; Dies publishes his *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn*.
- 1812 Giuseppe Carpani (1752–1822) publishes his account of the late Haydn in a series of letters entitled “Le Haydine.”
- 1815 Handel & Haydn Society founded in Boston and dedicated to the performance of oratorios.
- 1818 Handel & Haydn Society presents the first performance of *The Creation* in America.
- 1820 Haydn’s body (minus the head) moved to a tomb in the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt.
- 1830 Father Heinrich Wondratsch (1793–1881) of the Göttweig Benedictine Abby near Krems completes a thematic catalogue of the library’s holdings of Haydn’s music entitled the *Göttweig Catalogue*.
- 1855 Brahms first hears *The Creation*.
- 1873 Brahms composes *Variations on a Theme of Haydn* (theme falsely attributed to Haydn).
- 1875 Carl Ferdinand Pohl publishes first volume of Haydn biography (dealing with period up to 1766).
- 1882 second volume of Pohl’s biography (dealing with years 1766–90) appears, coinciding with the 150th anniversary of the composer’s birth.
- 1887 Haydn’s biographer C. F. Pohl dies.
- 1895 adaptation of *Lo speciale* as *Der Apotheker* performed in Dresden (first modern revival of an opera by Haydn).
- 1904 Haydn’s house in Gumpendorf opens as a museum.
- 1907 Breitkopf & Härtel begins a collected edition of Haydn’s works.
- 1909 special centennial celebrations of Haydn’s death in Vienna in May.
- 1927 Hugo Botstiber completes third volume of Pohl’s biography of Haydn.
- 1932 bicentennial celebrations of Haydn’s birth.
- 1935 museum founded in Haydn’s house in Eisenstadt.
- 1949 Haydn Society founded by H. C. Robbins Landon.
- 1950 Haydn Society issues first complete recording of *L’anima del filosofo*, conducted by Hans Swarowsky.
- 1951 first staged performance of *L’anima del filosofo*, in Florence, conducted by Erich Kleiber, and featuring Maria Callas as Eurydice.

- 1954 Haydn's head reunited with the rest of his remains in the crypt at the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt.
- 1955 Joseph Haydn-Institut established in Cologne to edit the first historical-critical complete edition *Joseph Haydn Werke* (1958–).
- 1957 Anthony van Hoboken provides first comprehensive bibliographic account of Haydn's instrumental music and standardizes the composition numbers; catalogue of vocal works completed in 1971; supplement issued in 1978.
- 1962 H. C. Robbins Landon founds journal *Haydn Yearbook*.
- 1965 periodical *Haydn-Studien* founded and published by Henle Verlag.
- 1973 conductor Antal Doráti finishes recording the first complete set of Haydn symphonies with the Philharmonia Hungarica (Decca).
- 1984 Vienna and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde inaugurate an annual festival devoted to Haydn known as *Haydn-Tage*.
- 1989 Eisenstadt begins mounting regular concerts devoted to Haydn.
- 1993 Haydn Stiftung founded in Eisenstadt, adjacent to the Haydn museum. (www.haydnfestival.at)

Abbreviations of frequently cited sources

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Journals

- HS *Haydn-Studien*
HYB *Haydn Yearbook*
JAMS *Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JM *Journal of Musicology*
JMR *Journal of Musicological Research*
ML *Music and Letters*
MQ *Musical Quarterly*

xx Abbreviations

MR *Music Review*
MT *Musical Times*

Others

EK *Entwurf-Katalog*
Hob. [+ number] *Hoboken catalogue number*
HV *Haydn Verzeichnis*
JHW *Joseph Haydn Werke*