

## HAYDN STUDIES

The advances in Haydn scholarship made in the past forty years or so, and in particular in very recent times, would have been unthinkable to earlier generations, who honoured the composer more in word than in deed. *Haydn Studies* deals with many new aspects of a composer who is perennially fresh, concentrating principally on matters of reception, style and aesthetics and presenting many striking new readings of the composer's work. Haydn has never played a major role in accounts of cultural history and has never achieved the emblematic status accorded to composers such as Beethoven, Debussy and Stravinsky, in spite of his radical creative agenda: this volume attempts therefore to broaden the base of our understanding of the composer.

W. DEAN SUTCLIFFE is a Fellow of St Catharine's College, Cambridge. He is author of *Haydn: String Quartets, Op. 50* in the series Cambridge Music Handbooks.



# Haydn Studies

EDITED BY W. DEAN SUTCLIFFE



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# Contents

*Preface* [vii]

*Editor's note* [xiii]

- 1 The consequences of presumed innocence: the nineteenth-century reception of Joseph Haydn [1]  
LEON BOTSTEIN
  - 2 Haydn's sacred vocal music and the aesthetics of salvation [35]  
JAMES WEBSTER
  - 3 Sentiment and sensibility in *La vera costanza* [70]  
JESSICA WALDOFF
  - 4 Haydn as Romantic:  
a chemical experiment with instrumental music [120]  
DANIEL K. L. CHUA
  - 5 Haydn's 'Cours complet de la composition'  
and the *Sturm und Drang* [152]  
MARK EVAN BONDS
  - 6 Haydn's reversals: style change, gesture  
and the implication-realization model [177]  
MICHAEL SPITZER
  - 7 Haydn's symphonies between *Sturm und Drang*  
and 'Classical style': art and entertainment [218]  
JAMES WEBSTER
  - 8 The Haydn piano trio:  
textual facts and textural principles [246]  
W. DEAN SUTCLIFFE
  - 9 Papa Doc's recap caper: Haydn and temporal dyslexia [291]  
GEORGE EDWARDS
  - 10 Haydn: the musicians' musician [321]  
ROBIN HOLLOWAY
- Index* [335]



## Preface

The advances in Haydn scholarship that have been made in the past forty years or so would have been unthinkable to earlier generations, who honoured the composer rather more in word than in deed. The composer has once more become what he became in his lifetime, a big player on the musical stage – especially in the last ten to twenty years – and the industry surrounding his works shows no signs of a slump. Because of the late start suffered by Haydn in musicological terms, a sense of evangelizing zeal still surrounds much of the scholarly and performing activity on his behalf, informed by a confidence that the composer is ‘on the up’. However, for all the advances made in our knowledge of Haydn, the balance of this progress has been rather uneven. Not surprisingly, most attention has been devoted to all the musicological problems surrounding such a vast and widely dispersed creative output – matters of authenticity, chronology, documentation, performance practice, and the establishment of reliable and scholarly editions. On the other hand, in hermeneutic terms, the Haydn industry is still young, perhaps in obedience to the old unwritten law of musical research that demanded a full tally of ‘facts’ before proper aesthetic interpretation could begin. This may be somewhat unfair, since work that answers this need has begun to appear in more than isolation, but there is no doubt that the general thrust of Haydn research has been highly positivistic. When some of this work has crossed the line into aesthetics, the results have often been disappointing, strikingly below the level of thought evident elsewhere. The result is that our perception of Haydn as a creative figure is quite undeveloped compared with the historical and aesthetic resonance that has accrued to all other comparably great composers. Certainly no major composer can have inspired less fanciful prose.

Accordingly, the chapters that make up this volume deal principally with matters of reception, style and aesthetics. Every contribution represents a quite fresh approach to an existing area of research or opens up new territory – in the very spirit of the composer himself. The first chapter treats

a topic that has but rarely been touched on, and yet the image of Haydn today still has much to do with that created for him by the nineteenth century. Certainly compared with the extensive literature on the reception of Mozart and Beethoven during the Romantic era, Haydn has been scantily dealt with, this in itself proof of how tenacious the nineteenth century's imagery and priorities have been. It is just this imagery, as articulated by Leon Botstein, that has dictated the lack of fanciful prose. For all the comparatively bullish state of the Haydn industry – the marked increase in high-level scholarly thought about the composer and the growing exposure of many of his works in performance and recording – there is no doubt that the composer is a long way from being embraced by the wider musical public at the level which is his due. For this wider musical public the image of Haydn continues to be somewhat mundane and flat. There is another unwritten law, one more particular to Haydn, that seems to stipulate that one doesn't claim too much for the composer. Haydn is too rarely understood as the revolutionary he was; many 'insiders' know him to be an incomparably original composer and thinker about (or in) music, but this is far from being the public perception. This state of affairs, whose roots lie again in the ideology of nineteenth-century musical thought, was articulated not so long ago by Geoffrey Wheatcroft, when he described Haydn, without too much licence, as the composer 'who[m] concert promoters have always regarded as box office death, even if true musicians have a passion for him almost beyond any other composer'.<sup>1</sup>

Personal experience bears out the force of Wheatcroft's remarks. Among these 'true musicians', a large proportion of the Haydn devotees I have encountered have been composers. The mere mention of the composer's name has often been enough to prompt the most enthusiastic of testimonials. And yet, consistent with the previous unwritten law, this Haydn worship has always had an underground character – something passed on by word of mouth rather than practised in public. This testifies to some lingering nineteenth-century associations. Haydn must seem too slight a figure to place at the pinnacle of musical art; the traditional imagery would not allow him to be profound enough in thought or comprehensive enough

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Wheatcroft, 'Profile (Schiff's Unfashionable Talent)', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 September 1988, p. 14.



in range to occupy such a position. And so he remains something of a secret addiction.

Those who have declared their allegiance in one form or other have been of the most diverse creative proclivities, going well beyond those who might be thought to share common artistic concerns. Take the seemingly surprising example of John Williams, the maestro of film composers; for Williams, Haydn ‘occupies pride of place’ in his ‘pantheon’ of composing gods.<sup>2</sup> Two composers have been enlisted here to express themselves publicly on the subject. In Chapter 9 George Edwards investigates a neglected field – Haydn’s recapitulations – and evokes the sheer technical command and resource that fascinates so many composers in particular. Chapter 10, by Robin Holloway, explores the significance and stature of the composer in the broadest terms. As has already been outlined, Haydn has never played a major role in accounts of cultural history, has never achieved the emblematic status accorded to such composers as Beethoven, Debussy and Stravinsky, although his creative agenda can be said to have been finally just as radical. This chapter sets the seal on the attempt of this book to broaden the base of our understanding of the composer.

Another legacy of the nineteenth century (which must be starting to assume demonic proportions for the reader) has been the strong emphasis on instrumental music as the core of the Viennese Classical style. The sacred music of the Classical era has altogether received little consideration, swept aside by the ‘rise’ of the sonata, symphony and other ‘abstract’ instrumental forms; the fact that religious vocal works preoccupied Haydn extensively during the last part of his career sits uncomfortably with the tendency to give most weight to his instrumental music. In Chapter 2 James Webster reconsiders some of the sacred vocal music, with particular attention to rhetoric, and offers a new governing idea, that of ‘salvation’, in the attempt to give Haydn’s work in the field a stronger aesthetic profile. Chapter 3 continues the treatment of neglected vocal genres. Although literature on Haydn operas has increased modestly of late, what has been largely missing thus far is any attempt to provide readings of individual operas as artistic wholes. Jessica Waldoff undertakes this for *La vera*

<sup>2</sup> Edward Seckerson, ‘Interview (He knows the score)’, *The Independent* (weekend supplement), 25 May 1996, p. 3.

*costanza*. Ultimately, it can only be by focusing on particular works that any progress can be made in putting Haydn's operatic achievement on a firm footing. In the attempt to achieve this by giving Haydn a part to play in the intellectual history of the eighteenth century, the chapter shares an emphasis with many other essays in this volume, one that has not been apparent in the treatment of Haydn until rather recently.

Chapter 4 also represents an attempt to ground Haydn firmly in the intellectual history of his time, not just as a passive representative but as an active agent in creating a new understanding of the art of music. The 'aesthetic optimism' with which Daniel Chua concludes his discussion might be reinforced by recollecting Haydn's celebrated letter to the music lovers of Bergen, on the occasion of their performance of *The Creation*: 'There are so few happy and contented peoples here below; grief and sorrow are always their lot; perhaps your labours will once be a source from which the care-worn, or the man burdened with affairs, can derive a few moments' rest and refreshment'.<sup>3</sup> Chua's optimism, though, is rather different from that normally associated with the figure of Papa Haydn. Received critical opinion has in fact only allowed for one time of aesthetic pessimism in the composer's career: in Chapter 5 Mark Evan Bonds argues for a reassessment of this *Sturm und Drang* period, primarily on technical rather than intellectual grounds. From this treatment it might almost appear that the technical features of the *Sturm und Drang* were appropriated or invented precisely so that they could function as obstacles, placed by the composer in his way so as to force a rethinking of technical habits and thereby in effect entailing a 'cours complet de la composition'. But this technical self-consciousness, as Robin Holloway reminds us, is one of Haydn's defining characteristics. In the following chapter Michael Spitzer deals with the notion of *Sturm und Drang* from a different standpoint and then argues for the continuity of the composer's approach between this and the 'lighter' *galant* style that followed. James Webster then reviews the symphonies written in these years of 'entertainment', in which Haydn was supposedly devoting his greatest artistic efforts to opera. If the *Sturm und Drang* label has given rise to many misunderstandings, so has the notion of a lighter style associated with the

<sup>3</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works V: Haydn: The Late Years 1801–1809* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 233.

later 1770s and beyond. The problematic image of 'entertainment' encapsulates our difficulties in dealing with some of the basic premises of Viennese Classicism, both in Haydn's and others' hands. No one can fail to notice the accessibility of the prevalent idiom, its sociability of tone, the amiability of much of its diction. While historically Mozart has been able to be rescued from any sense of superficiality that might be associated with such attributes, Haydn (as Leon Botstein explains) has not always been so fortunate. Our still largely Romantic sense of the role and function of music has tended to make the comic, amiable and social suspect in their own right, unless they are 'deepened' in some demonstrable way. We readily assume that profundity is to be equated with the overtly serious in tone or the melancholy; it is harder for us to accept that what may be modest or inviting or sociable is just as valid a tone of artistic voice as that which presents itself more earnestly.<sup>4</sup> Melancholia turns us inward to reflect on ourselves as individuals; comedy involves laughter which is generally shared, reminding us of our similarities with others and our position in a social community. Rather than being perceived as intrinsically inadequate, the language of comedy and amiability that Haydn did so much to imprint on his time should be heard for the novelty it was, historically speaking, and for the strength of its conviction.

The social implications of a comedic language and the immense power it can generate were recently brought home to me in the context of an undergraduate exam in Cambridge. As part of a first-year aural paper, the students had to listen to the finale of Haydn's Symphony No. 90 in C major, three times in all, and write an essay on what they heard. This is one of those movements where the composer offers the listener numerous false endings, the confusion augmented by the fact that the real final ending is less emphatic than an earlier false one, and the whole made infinitely more teasing by the repeat indicated for the second half of the movement. Anticipating the usual knowing titters from the assembled undergraduates, I found that what ensued was much more striking than that. The first few false endings, followed by fermatas, witnessed a rustling of pens on

<sup>4</sup> For an excellent discussion of these issues in depth see Wye J. Allanbrook, 'Mozart's Tunes and the Comedy of Closure', in James M. Morris, ed., *On Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in association with the Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1994), pp. 169–86.

## PREFACE

papers, only for the listeners to find themselves conned, their musical instincts overturned. Each subsequent false ending saw a growing reluctance to begin the writing of the essay; when the movement finally did come to a close, it was followed by a long and delicious period of inactivity and silence. Clearly no student was going to make the first move and be embarrassed all over again. The atmosphere was electric with uncertainty. Eventually through the agony the comic premise could be glimpsed once more, as one could compare a personal response with that of one's neighbours and enjoy the shared confusion and surprise. If the students felt inadequate in the light of this performance, then so did I. What I thought had been grasped from a reading of the score fell well short of the artistic reality – an intensely imaginative dramatization of the listening experience. This was one of the most inspiring encounters I have had with Haydn. It is to be hoped that the arguments presented in this volume can do some justice to the power and importance of this great artist.

## **Editor's note**

The piano sonatas and trios are referred to according to the numbering of the Universal Edition (edited by Christa Landon) and the Doblinger edition (edited by H. C. Robbins Landon) respectively.

As a volume entitled 'Haydn Studies' is already in existence (the Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference held in Washington, D.C., in 1975, edited by Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Serwer and James Webster, and published by Norton in 1981), it is suggested that any references to the current volume should take the form of 'Cambridge Haydn Studies'.



# 1 The consequences of presumed innocence: the nineteenth-century reception of Joseph Haydn<sup>1</sup>

LEON BOTSTEIN

## 1 The Haydn paradox: from engaged affection to distant respect

The mystery that plagues the contemporary conception and reception of Haydn and his music has a long and remarkably unbroken history. Perhaps Haydn experienced the misfortune (an ironic one when one considers the frequency of premature deaths among his great contemporaries or near contemporaries) of living too long. Years before his death in 1809 he was considered so old that the French and English had already presumed him dead in 1805.<sup>2</sup> Many wrote condolence letters and a Requiem Mass was planned in Paris. Haydn's music was both familiar and venerated. Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850), writing in Vienna in 1846, reflected the perspective of the beginning of the nineteenth century in his *Geschichte der europaeisch-abendlaendischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik*. Haydn had 'elevated all of instrumental music to a never before anticipated level of perfection'. Haydn had a 'perfect knowledge of instrumental effects' and with Mozart (for whom Haydn was the 'example and ideal') created a 'new school which may be called the German or . . . the "Viennese" school'. Theirs was the 'golden age' of music. Most significantly, Haydn's instrumental works represented the standard of what was 'true beauty' in music.<sup>3</sup>

Lurking beneath Kiesewetter's praise of Haydn (and his discreet expressions of doubt about the novelties of Haydn's successors, including

<sup>1</sup> This essay is an expanded and revised form of my essay entitled 'The Demise of Philosophical Listening', in Elaine Sisman, ed., *Haydn and his World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 255–88. I am deeply indebted to the invaluable criticism and assistance of Elaine Sisman and Irene Zedlacher, and to the encouragement of Dean Sutcliffe and the writings of James Webster.

<sup>2</sup> Karl and Irene Geiringer, *Haydn: A Creative Life in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 182–3.

<sup>3</sup> 2nd edn (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1846), pp. 96, 98.

Beethoven), particularly in the notion of 'true beauty', was a not atypical late eighteenth-century engagement, on the part of connoisseurs of music, with the philosophical quest for a true, valid and therefore objective aesthetic experience and criterion of aesthetic apperception. The *locus classicus* of this concern is Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Judgement*, first published in 1790. Kant defined taste as the 'faculty for judging an object in reference to the imagination's *free conformity to law*'.<sup>4</sup> For Kant, the 'peculiar feature of a judgement of taste' was 'a subjective agreement of the imagination and understanding – without such an objective agreement as there is when the representation is referred to a definite concept of an object'. This notion of an 'agreement', or, as Paul Guyer has termed it, a 'harmony between imagination and understanding', had particular relevance for the perception and judgement of music in the eighteenth century. Kant expressed explicit caveats about music as an art form in terms of music's weaknesses *vis-à-vis* the 'culture' and 'expansion of the faculties' that 'concur in judgement'. Yet it is precisely instrumental music, absent from any claims to representation, narration and description, as in many Haydn quartets, trios, sonatas and symphonies, that provides the ideal case for the 'agreement' between imagination and judgement. Music becomes the perfect vehicle for the cultivation and display of taste. In turn, taste, that special merger of imagination and understanding, in the case of music lends 'rightful authority' to the person who possesses it over mere fashion and general opinion.

Kant argued that instrumental music can 'communicate universally', in part because of the necessity of music having a mathematical form. Music functions under rules that are essentially mathematical in their character, in view of the absence of aesthetical ideas in music that 'are concepts or determinate thoughts'. Music becomes an ideal example of aesthetic formalism. The mathematical character of music itself is not the cause of the enjoyment of music but is its 'indispensable condition', since it permits the unique 'animation of the mind' along with emotions and pleasures that harmonize understanding and imagination.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Trans. J. H. Bernard (New York: Hafner, 1951), p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173–4. I am indebted to Paul Guyer's excellent discussion of these issues in his *Kant and the Claims of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 79–96.



As will become apparent later on, this elegant and clear construct of what it meant genuinely to respond to, appreciate and judge music was not unique to Kant. Rather, Kant's formulation brought an elaborate and extensive eighteenth-century philosophical tradition of speculation on the character and impact of music to its conclusion. That tradition ran parallel with an eighteenth-century aristocratic sensibility that connoisseurship of music was a genuine display of distinction. With the passing of Kieseewetter's (and also Beethoven's) generation during the first three decades of the nineteenth century – a generation comprised of individuals born around 1770 who came to maturity before the end of the century – this decidedly refined notion of musical connoisseurship and taste, which involved a high order of rational mental functioning as well as a powerful imagination and capacity for discernment, had become anachronistic.

This is evident not only in the writings of philosophers but among writers on music. Friedrich Rochlitz (1769–1842), who belonged to Kieseewetter's generation, in his 1824 book directed at the lay public, *Für Freunde der Tonkunst*, took special pains to praise Haydn as the most original and the richest composer, even when compared with Beethoven, precisely on the grounds of Haydn's command of the formal game of altering rhythmic patterns, accents and combinations in instrumental music. Citing the quartets, Rochlitz underscored Haydn's appeal precisely to the intellect, the understanding and therefore to the joys of the imagination triggered by the spontaneous recognition of the inventiveness and ingenuity contained in the structural and formal procedures of music.<sup>6</sup> With the decline in the prestige of the many varying forms of philosophical listening, the expectation that the pleasure of music involved some sort of objective harmonizing of rational thinking and the capacity for personal subjective musings disappeared. As a consequence, Haydn's place in history and the repertory changed. A genuine respect for him remained, but Rochlitz's and Kieseewetter's form of affection and regard, particularly Kieseewetter's idea that Haydn's instrumental works were 'true beauty' concretely realized, vanished.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Rochlitz, 'Der Componist und der Gelehrte: Ein Gespräch', in *Für Freunde der Tonkunst*, IV, 3rd edn (Leipzig: Carl Cnobloch, 1868), pp. 254–6.

Compare, for example, Adolph Kullak's treatise *Die Aesthetik des Klavierspiels*, first published in 1860 and then, from 1876 on, reprinted in four editions well into the twentieth century. This book was arguably the most widely read and influential book on piano teaching and playing of the nineteenth century – the dominant enterprises of the musical profession and public of the age. Kullak repeats the view that came to pervade the nineteenth-century opinion of Haydn in the years after the death of Beethoven. According to Kullak, Mozart, and subsequently Beethoven, followed a 'path opened by Haydn'. But they achieved greater perfection. By that Kullak meant that Mozart and Beethoven realized a 'spiritual importance' inherent in music. Haydn failed to take the next logical step from his own remarkable innovations, which was a 'psychological' one. This would have led him to strive for a profundity that his music never achieved. Haydn's music lacked the 'inner seriousness', the 'dark and demonic' and the 'interior depth of mood' characteristic of Mozart and Beethoven.

Haydn's music was therefore 'untouched by the hardships of mature life'. His music was childlike, natural, full of joy, naïve, happy. Haydn's ideal of beauty had once been innovative in that it mirrored a new sense of freedom. It emerged out of Haydn's rejection of past constraints, including religious dogma, and a 'crystallized canon of old ideas'. Yet despite its novelty and natural 'freshness', Haydn failed to realize the immanent power of his own formal innovations and remained tied to a superficial notion of symmetry, proportion and evident harmony. The ambitions and virtues held in high regard by Kiesewetter had been transformed into evident limitations. Haydn's greatness, although uncontested, lay primarily in breaking the new ground on which Mozart and Beethoven could develop.<sup>7</sup>

As the nineteenth century progressed, despite the myriad of conflicts and quarrels about music and its character, Kullak's version of Haydn's place in music history and his conception of the virtues and shortcomings of Haydn's music not only became unexceptional, but it remained at once strikingly stable and uncontroversial. Perhaps the most dramatic and influential statement of the standard view of Haydn (from which Kullak doubtlessly drew) was contained in Franz Brendel's *Geschichte der Musik in*

<sup>7</sup> See Martin Gellrich's introduction to Kullak, *Die Aesthetik des Klavierspiels* (Regensburg: Con Brio, 1876; rpt 1994) and the text, p. 21; also the 4th edn, ed. Walter Niemann (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt Nachfolger, 1905), pp. 21–2.

*Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich*, first published in 1852. Brendel was nearly forty years younger than Kiesewetter and was a contemporary of Schumann and Mendelssohn. He became the editor in 1845 of Schumann's influential *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Brendel (a decade older than Kullak) began with the premise that Haydn was 'Mozart's predecessor'. Haydn opened up the 'modern age' and his work was 'the soil' from which Mozart came. Haydn was an example of how historical necessity worked through an individual. He emancipated musical art from tradition and authority. Instrumental music, which Haydn developed, marked the first incarnation of the freedom of the spirit through music in modernity.

Haydn, however, was a man of order and convention whose interior genius was limited by his exterior self-presentation and modesty. The outer forms of his being remained decisive in his creative work. Therefore his forms were left without 'being filled with a corresponding content'. His world view, when compared with that of Mozart and Beethoven, was the least developed and least diverse. His capacity to imagine love – the crucial source of musical inspiration – and the feminine was inferior to that of Mozart and Beethoven. Haydn's essential practicality limited his expressive capacity. He revealed a 'teasing retreat' from conflict in life. He was therefore the master of the joke and adept at conveying moods. Mozart commanded irony, and Beethoven, owing to the immense pain of his life, was the composer of profound humour.

If Beethoven could be compared to Schiller and Jean Paul and Mozart to Goethe, Haydn was closest to Wieland. Haydn mirrored purity, nature, innocence, childhood. In the end, he was capable of engaging love only as an abstract cosmic and universal idea, as the force uniting the opposing elements that create chaos. Mozart individualized love and rendered it a subjective experience. Unlike Beethoven, Haydn did not penetrate any of the contradictions of the world, least of all in love; contradictions are, at most, merely alluded to on the surface of his works.<sup>8</sup>

Little within this picture has changed since Brendel's time. In contemporary concert life, we notice many versions of annual 'Mostly Mozart' festivals and weekend-long 'Beethoven Experiences'. Two popular Hollywood films have been made on the lives of Mozart and Beethoven.

<sup>8</sup> Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Matthes, 1855), I, pp. 300–5, and II, pp. 28–51.

There is no 'Mostly Haydn' series being planned and no film under contract. Of the massive output of music Haydn left behind, only a small fraction appears regularly on modern concert programmes. When a Haydn work is programmed, it is rarely as the main event.

The Haydn 'problem' bequeathed by the last century to our own was perhaps best expressed during the first decade of the twentieth century in two anecdotes recounted by the legendary conductor Felix Weingartner. He described his encounter with Joseph Joachim when, in 1907, as part of the preparation for the upcoming centennial Haydn activities, they were both invited to sit on the advisory committee of the Breitkopf & Härtel complete Haydn edition. Weingartner had had little prior contact with Joachim, who was suspicious of Weingartner's Wagnerian and Lisztian sympathies. None the less, at the meetings Joachim (then a man of over seventy, who would die later that year) more than once took Weingartner's hand and asked, 'Truly, was not Haydn indeed a *great* man?'

That Joachim's affectionate question might well have been apt in the climate of a century ago can be gleaned from Weingartner's second anecdote. When the centennial Haydn celebrations took place in Vienna in 1909, he, as Mahler's successor at the Imperial Opera, was asked to programme something that could be part of the Haydn anniversary. Weingartner expressed his dismay that the Festival Committee failed to grasp the brilliance of his idea that a new production of Mozart's *Magic Flute* would be the ideal tribute. Not accepting the fact that Haydn was 'everything but a dramatic composer', they insisted on a Haydn opera. Weingartner's approach mirrored the nineteenth-century notion that Haydn's imposing significance and achievement were most evident in his role as the indispensable intermediary step to Mozart and Beethoven.<sup>9</sup>

## 2 The nineteenth-century consensus

The history of the critical and cultural reception of music remains inextricably bound to shifting conceptions within history of what, in the final analysis, constitutes the work of music. Indeed, continuities and major

<sup>9</sup> Felix Weingartner, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Zürich: Orel Füssli, 1929), II, pp. 70 and 202.

shifts in reigning attitudes about music alter the course of compositional ambitions; they also force a reconstruction of the narrative of music history.<sup>10</sup>

The starting-point for Haydn as a composer was the eighteenth-century strategy best articulated by Kant that might properly be termed 'philosophical listening'. However, the later part of the century, during Haydn's most celebrated and productive periods, witnessed the articulation of the early Romantic emphasis on music as an aesthetic experience in real time tied to the imagination and the nearly inarticulate inner self – a concept best described in the late eighteenth-century writings of such early Romantics as Jean Paul and Wackenroder. After Haydn's death, by the mid-nineteenth century – the era of Brendel and Kullak – a move beyond the early Romantic notions was well under way. Although 'music as experience' retained its prestige with particular composers and sectors of the public, later in the century the emphasis shifted to an allegiance to music as text, to the printed score, which became analogous to a book that might be sampled, read, studied and returned to at will. The character of this approach to music demanded of the listener and amateur a novel but commanding self-conscious awareness of history, tradition and precedent. An attitude towards music as a mirror of the historical moment, representative of the generation of Eduard Hanslick and Johannes Brahms, was not uppermost in the early Romantic enthusiasm for music.

Despite such shifts in fundamental expectations and norms of reception over the nineteenth century, the critical response to Haydn's music – whether understood as a performed event or as a text to be studied and re-read – did not change. The significant disputes during the nineteenth century involving musical taste and culture altered the view of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven, but not the understanding of Haydn. In the case of no other major composer was there so little evolution, so much consistency, so little genuine shift in aesthetic judgement and response.

<sup>10</sup> See Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); *Die Theorie der Rezeption: Rückschau auf ihre unerkannte Vorgeschichte* (Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1987); and Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), for the most recent and frequently cited introduction to the historical and philosophical issues.

Consider, for example, the contrast between the changes in the reception of Mozart's music and the stasis in attitudes towards Haydn. In the 1881 revision of his classic 1854 tract on music's inherent autonomy, *On the Beautiful in Music*, Eduard Hanslick used the change in Mozart reception, and thus in the representation of Viennese Classicism itself, as a way of strengthening the anti-Wagnerian argument that emotion could not serve as the essential content of music. Whereas a few generations earlier Mozart's symphonies had been seen as vehicles of 'vehement passion, bitter struggle and piercing agony' that contrasted with the 'tranquillity and wholesomeness of Haydn', the two composers had now become amalgamated as part of an 'Olympian Classicism'.<sup>11</sup> Mozart, once favoured by the early nineteenth-century Romantics, had become more like Haydn. By the end of the nineteenth century, this distanced image of Mozart was abandoned again, as witnessed by the Mozart revival of the *fin de siècle*.<sup>12</sup> But Haydn stayed in the same place.

Throughout the nineteenth century, no one sensed a need to challenge the predominant view of Haydn's music. The perception of Haydn as innocent, naïve, cheerful, healthy, supremely well-crafted but essentially entertaining and emotionally distant, if not irrelevant, displayed a tena-

<sup>11</sup> *Vom Musikalisch-Schoenen: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Dietmar Strauss (Mainz: Schott, 1990), pp. 31–3. The fact that Mozart's music permitted a variety of subjective responses that varied over time was evidence, according to Hanslick, that music was objective: that there was no inherent emotional meaning to the work of music itself. Implicit in this argument was Hanslick's criticism of modern Wagnerian emotionalists, who, as they relentlessly pursued contemporary musical fashion, either lost or never possessed the capacity to grasp the visceral intensity that Mozart might properly inspire. Hanslick may have been aware that during the mid-nineteenth century, particularly in France, Mozart's symphonic music was considered inferior to Haydn's and certainly subordinate in importance to Mozart's operas. Despite this Parisian preference for Haydn, Berlioz had little use for him, and could barely sit through a performance of one of his symphonies. See Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris 1834–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 84–93.

<sup>12</sup> See Gernot Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, trans. R. S. Furness (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994); also Heinrich Schenker, 'Ein Wort zur Mozartrenaissance' (reprinted from the *Neue Revue*, 1897), in *Heinrich Schenker als Essayist und Kritiker*, ed. Hellmut Federhofer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1990), pp. 252–6.

scious constancy after its first appearance in the age of early Romanticism. E. T. A. Hoffmann had set the stage with his claim that 'Haydn's compositions are dominated by a feeling of childlike optimism . . . a world of love, of bliss, of eternal youth . . . no suffering, no pain; only sweet, melancholy longing for the beloved vision.' In this sense Haydn becomes the basis upon which 'Mozart leads us deep into the realm of spirits.' And, of course, Beethoven 'sets in motion the machinery of awe, of fear, of terror, of pain and awakens the infinite yearning which is the essence of Romanticism.'<sup>13</sup> This interpretation was reinforced by Carpani's epistolary Haydn biography of 1812,<sup>14</sup> and from the evident restraint and caveats in Stendhal's version of Carpani a decade later.<sup>15</sup> These two writers compared Haydn to a master genre or landscape painter – to Claude Lorrain, the great seventeenth-century painter – whose canvases, despite their virtues, did not provide the beholder with an evident subjective viewpoint or the self-conscious opportunity to invent a passionate, interior response. By 1812 Haydn already seemed distanced and historical to a new generation. The isolated individual placed within the landscape and the outer world, the figure to be found or implied in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich, was absent from a conception of landscape painting associated with Haydn. While Beethoven would be routinely linked with Friedrich, Haydn would be compared instead with Tintoretto (as he was by Schumann)<sup>16</sup> or (stylistically) with David; he would not be compared with Delacroix. One explanation for this was offered by Adolf Bernhard Marx, who pointed to Haydn's relative monothematicism, as opposed to the greater dialectical tension of

<sup>13</sup> Cited from the essays on Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and Beethoven's instrumental music, in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, ed. David Charlton, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 97–8 and 237–8.

<sup>14</sup> *Le Haydine, ovvero lettere su la via e le opere del celebre maestro Giuseppe Haydn* (Milan: C. Buccinelli, 1812).

<sup>15</sup> See the excellent introduction and edition by Richard N. Coe of Stendhal, *Lives of Haydn, Mozart and Metastasio* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1972). For a good but brief context for Stendhal see Robert Alter and Carol Cosman, *A Lion for Love: A Critical Biography of Stendhal* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

<sup>16</sup> Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher*, ed. Georg Eisman, I, 1827–1838 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), p. 281, took this comparison from Carpani, in Stendhal, *Lives of Haydn, Mozart and Metastasio*, p. 141.

contrasting themes in the sonata forms of Mozart and Beethoven later favoured by Romanticism.<sup>17</sup>

Critical comparisons of Haydn to a distant but honoured precursor such as Lorrain or Tintoretto allowed nineteenth-century composers and commentators to lavish praise on Haydn's technical command and his role in the development of instrumental music, particularly the sonata, quartet and symphony. Yet Haydn was condemned to a form of aesthetic and cultural irrelevance. Where the Bach revival led to a revaluation of Bach as a figure at once historical and contemporary, Haydn served throughout the nineteenth century as a merely historical one. He was the acknowledged master, the father of autonomous instrumental musical discourse. Meanwhile, his music was said to be bereft of profound emotional inspiration or narrative significance.

The search for meaning in Haydn did not get very far beyond formalism. Schopenhauer may have been inspired by Haydn's music to discover the possibilities of self-referential meaning, autonomy and significance in music, but he overlooked Haydn's overt attempts to convey extra-musical meaning. Johann Friedrich Herbart rejected altogether the significance of the text in *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, declaring, 'fortunately, [Haydn's] music needs no text; it is mere curiosity that impels us to know what he has tried to illustrate. His music is simply music, and it needs no meaning to make it beautiful.' An admirable but bloodless notion of formal perfection was conceded, but that was all.<sup>18</sup>

Haydn conceivably could have provided a rallying point for mid-century proponents of so-called absolute music, the ideal of purely musical meaning. Indeed, to them Haydn's consummate craftsmanship was preferable to fashion and philistinism. In comments made in 1839, Schumann hailed 'Alt Vater' Haydn as welcome relief from 'this chronically diseased era of music', in which one only rarely could be 'inwardly satisfied'. Haydn, whose music offered satisfaction because of its conservative integrity, provided relief from a painful awareness of inadequacy by being 'clear as sun-

<sup>17</sup> *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 5th edn (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1879), III, pp. 595–6. Thanks to Scott Burnham for the reference.

<sup>18</sup> Cited in Peter le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 454.



light . . . bereft of any sense of ennui with life, and inspiring nothing except for joy, love of life, and a childlike happiness about everything'. Still, Haydn's virtues did not connect to the sensibilities that led Schumann to embrace Thomas Moore's 'Lalla Rookh' as an inspiration for his *Das Paradies und die Peri*.<sup>19</sup> In 1841 Schumann displayed his more usual weariness with the old master, complaining that 'Haydn's music has always been played here often and one can no longer experience anything new with him. He is like an intimate friend of the family [*Hausfreund*] whom one meets always with respect and gladly. But a deeper relevance for today's world he does not possess.'<sup>20</sup>

Schumann's heirs – Hanslick and other anti-Wagnerians – struck the same note. Writing in November 1856, just two years after the completion of his magnum opus, Hanslick noted in a review of quartet concerts:

One began as usual with Haydn, the father of the quartet, a praiseworthy custom, so long as one does not neglect the sons in relation to the father. The representation of the old master with two works in a cycle of six evenings is entirely sufficient. In the first place, on account of nearly one hundred years of unrivalled attention, Haydn's quartets are so deeply rooted in our blood, not only on the part of amateurs but Haydn's successors as composers, that we feel, in the case of every one of these clear and cheerful musical works, that we are encountering an old friend. Furthermore, it was part of the historical character of the Haydn era that his quartets represented much more the common elements of a genre than a differentiated, sharply defined individuality. It is revealing that one always refers to 'a Haydn quartet' whereas one is precise with regard to the specific work one is talking about in the case of Beethoven. It is important for the hearer of Beethoven which of the series of Beethoven quartets he wishes to hear, because they are all distinctly individual, which is not the case with Haydn. The reasons do not lie exclusively with the fundamentally different personalities of the two masters. The manner of composition was entirely different in their respective times. Anyone who wrote more than one hundred symphonies and came close to that in terms of quartets, could not possibly invest in each of these works a distinct richness of individuality.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), I, p. 450. It is possible that Schumann, like others, sought to downplay Haydn as a model, particularly for this work, which can be heard as deriving from Haydn's achievements in the late oratorios. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 54.

Insofar as Beethoven wrote ten times less, he was able to put into a work ten times more.<sup>21</sup>

Familiarity, the saying goes, breeds contempt. Hanslick's views never changed. In 1891 he commented with some irony on Haydn's choral madrigal 'The Storm' that, since the world had experienced a wholly new set of storms in the hundred years since the work's composition, Haydn's representation of calm was more boring than comforting. In 1896 Hanslick seemed more intrigued by the revival of Gassmann than in hearing Haydn again.

The 'opposition' during the nineteenth century, the so-called New German School and the Wagnerians who dominated the end of the century, paid Haydn slightly different, but hardly more appreciative, compliments. Franz Liszt seems to have given no attention to Haydn at all, except for a passing interest in *The Creation* and by using a Haydn sonata to demonstrate how he could make a modern piano sound like a spinet.<sup>22</sup> In 1850 Hans von Bülow, during his early Wagnerian phase, spoke again of Haydn's 'childlike immediacy'. In 1856 Bülow followed Schumann's use of Haydn, defending him against the fake connoisseurship of the general public, which, seeing music as an aspect of affirmative cheerfulness, liked hearing Haydn too much and for the wrong reasons. In an essay on Wagner's *Faust* Overture in 1858, Bülow spelled out the right reasons for praising Haydn: his 'populist simplicity' and 'richness of motifs of high nobility'. Years later, in correspondence from the 1880s about concert programming, Bülow reiterated the familiar view of Haydn as rulemaker and precursor. His choice of a Haydn symphony on a programme that also featured the 'Jupiter' Symphony and the 'Eroica' was contingent on how it related to the Mozart and prepared the audience for the Beethoven.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Sämtliche Schriften: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Dietmar Strauss, I/3, *Aufsätze und Rezensionen 1855–1856* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 306–7.

<sup>22</sup> Haydn is totally absent from August Goellerich's diary of Liszt's piano master classes. See the English-language edition of Wilhelm Jerger's text in Richard Louis Zimdars, *The Piano Master Classes of Franz Liszt 1884–1886* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); and Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt, III, The Final Years 1861–1886* (New York: Knopf, 1996), p. 287.

<sup>23</sup> *Briefe*, VII, 1886–1894, ed. Marie von Bülow (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908), pp. 126, 129 and 420–1; and *Ausgewählte Schriften 1850–1892* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), p. 208.

For Richard Wagner, Haydn was the composer who stressed the dance and the populist roots of art music, another commonplace and oft-repeated idea (which competed with the notion of the childlike) in nineteenth-century historical narratives. Beethoven was the logical historical outgrowth, the composer who 'opened up the boundless faculties of instrumental music for expressing elemental storm and stress';<sup>24</sup> on the other hand, Haydn's craftsmanship lay in hiding 'contrapuntal ingenuity' in the 'rhythmic dance melody', so that 'the character of the dance peculiar to a dance ordained by the laws of freest Phantasy . . . the actual breath of Joyous human life' was illuminated. None the less, Beethoven was to Haydn 'as the born adult to the man in second childhood'. In Haydn's instrumental music, the demonic essence of music is 'playing with its fetters, with the childishness of a greybeard born.'<sup>25</sup>

For all the ink that has been spilled on the aesthetic controversies of the mid-nineteenth century regarding programme music and 'absolute' music, both camps viewed Haydn in much the same way. This commonality offers an opportunity to challenge the idea that the overt split in nineteenth-century aesthetic approaches was as stark as their proponents and subsequent defenders wanted posterity to think. Underlying the divide were shared notions of what constituted music of significance for the contemporary listener.

One might have thought that the respect Herbart and Hanslick paid to the purity of Haydn's music would have inspired a certain allegiance to Haydn's oeuvre on the part of the most committed anti-Wagnerians. Yet all that Clara Schumann and Joachim (in his youth) could seem to hear in Haydn was a foreshadowing of Beethoven, particularly in Haydn's Adagios, or an exotic cheerful folksiness in his closing rondos.<sup>26</sup> Clara

<sup>24</sup> 'The Art Work of the Future', in *Prose Works*, ed. William Ashton Ellis (New York: Broude, 1892/1966), I, pp. 120–1. For reasons of historical consistency I am using the standard Wagner translation.

<sup>25</sup> 'Beethoven', in *Prose Works*, V, p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> Joseph Joachim, *Briefe*, I, 1842–1857 (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1911), pp. 288, 295, 308; III, 1869–1907, p. 342. Also Johannes Brahms and Joseph Joachim, *Briefwechsel*, I (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908; Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1974), p. 221; *Clara Schumann–Johannes Brahms. Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), I, pp. 118–19.

Schumann's concert repertory contained only two sonatas for violin and piano and nothing more.<sup>27</sup> Brahms presents a more complex case. In his extensive library, amidst the manuscript and first-edition treasures, there is very little Haydn to be found, in contrast to the extensive collection of works by Beethoven, Mozart and Schubert. He did copy out a few works by Haydn, and he also varied the St Antoni Chorale, which he believed to be by Haydn. The Serenade, Op. 11, opens with a striking resemblance to Haydn's London Symphony, No. 104, and it has been argued that Haydn was crucial to Brahms's compositional struggle in the 1850s as he searched for models and sources that might differentiate himself from Schumann.<sup>28</sup> None the less, for both pro- and anti-Wagnerians, the underlying expectation remained the same: music was supposed to be capable of inspiring and commanding the interior of one's soul, and Haydn's music failed to do so, whereas Bach's and Mozart's, not to speak of Beethoven's, did.

One slight reason may have been the extent to which Haydn's music was a crucial component of serious musical education, given that what we learn in school often emerges tainted by the brush of official approval. Familiarity with Haydn was an indispensable part of nineteenth-century self-cultivation (*Bildung*), and his work retained a visible place in concert life throughout the century. *The Seasons* and *The Creation* remained staples of the amateur choral tradition in German-speaking Europe.<sup>29</sup> A limited but none the less varied array of Haydn's symphonies – twenty-one, to be precise – was part of the Vienna Philharmonic repertory between 1860 and 1910.<sup>30</sup> A somewhat more generous selection, including excerpts from

<sup>27</sup> Claudia de Vries, *Die Pianistin Clara Wieck-Schumann* (Mainz: Schott, 1996), p. 366.

<sup>28</sup> Brahms made a copy of the slow movement of an early Haydn symphony, No. 16 in B flat major (1762), in about 1870 and copied it out for Joachim a year later. He also copied out a vocal pastorella attributed to Haydn, possibly in 1863, and chose the St Antoni Chorale as the theme of his orchestral variations, Op. 56b. See Margit L. McCorkle, *Johannes Brahms: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Munich: Henle, 1984), Anhang VI Nr. 4, Nos. 63, 67, 68, p. 723.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, notices of performances throughout German-speaking Europe in the Viennese *Neue Musikalische Presse* from the mid-1890s on, and in the *Neue Musik-Zeitung* published in Stuttgart and Leipzig from the same period.

<sup>30</sup> See Richard von Perger, *Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Philharmoniker* (Vienna: Carl Frome, 1910).

operas and choral works, marked the Leipzig Gewandhaus repertory during the same period. But even in Leipzig, Haydn stood behind Beethoven and Mozart. Owing in part to the influence of English taste, Haydn retained a stable place in the repertory of American symphony orchestras until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when performances of his music experienced some decline.

Friedrich Nietzsche wrote that 'to the extent that the temperament of genius [*Genialität*] can coexist with a thoroughly good man, Haydn possessed it. He goes to the very edge of the line which morality prescribes for the intellect; he just makes music that has "no past".'<sup>31</sup> Nietzsche, in his post-Wagnerian phase, put the collective nineteenth-century view in its most profound form. Haydn's achievement was as the figure in history who was universally credited with developing Classical forms and instrumental music, the artist whose normative achievement retrospectively transcended the historical. His music sounded as if it had no precursors and, in the sense of Nietzsche, successfully defied the nasty nineteenth-century habit of historicization.

At the same time, a residual sense of blandness and excessive respectability remained; insofar as conventional middle-class morality could ever be associated with the aesthetic realm, Haydn managed it. Nietzsche's formulation was his own gloss on the widely accepted link between innocence–childhood–purity and Haydn. His use of the word 'Genialität' is conscious, as is his use of 'Moralität'. As Nietzsche knew, both words overtly suggest parallel English terms, which carry different meanings explicitly relevant to Haydn's London years. The German use of geniality suggests both greatness and creativity, as well as the English meaning of an unobjectionable cheerfulness. Haydn as a 'personality' in the nineteenth-century sense was nowhere to be found: he had transcended the mundane and the purely human by writing himself out of his own music. He invented music as a formal, abstract enterprise without, however, developing its capacity to be profound and therefore transcend conventional morality.

Neither Wagnerians nor anti-Wagnerians seemed to need to delve beyond this position. Hearing Haydn as the composer without a past meant

<sup>31</sup> *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, Zweiter Band, in *Werke*, III, ed. Karl Schlechta (Munich: Hanser, 1954), pp. 934–5.

there was no historical persona to approach, and no need to 'undo' the way in which his music had been heard from the beginning of the century on, as had been the case with Bach, Mozart and Beethoven. In the mid-1880s, when Nietzsche penned his aphorism, Haydn had 'no past', in part because the reception of his music had never evolved.

Perhaps Haydn's most crucial formal contribution was that he had realized, as the historian Emil Naumann put it, 'the great natural law of organic development' in musical language and form in ways independent of non-musical narrative patterns. His music seemed as normative as it was unobjectionable; it was cheerful, wholesome, eminently healthy.<sup>32</sup> It prepared the way for other composers who would engage and capture the imagination. Ludwig Nohl, writing in 1866, allowed that Haydn, as the developer of the sonata, had set the stage for Mozart and Beethoven to invest the form with 'truly ennobled and grandiose pictures of humanity and life', thereby lifting it out of the realm of 'mere wordless play of sounds'. Nohl used practically the same language as Nietzsche would later use in describing Haydn's inspiration as 'genial' and his work as a 'source of pleasure and edification'.<sup>33</sup> In an era beset by controversy, hostility and a nearly obsessive reflection on originality, historical precedent and the nature and character of music, such ritual praise was damning indeed. Bach, Handel, Mozart and Beethoven were reheard, rethought, and actively fought over – but not Haydn.

This late nineteenth-century consensus regarding Haydn seemed so all-pervasive that it motivated Hermann Kretzschmar to weigh in with a long dissenting view, stressing the composer's profundity and emotional depth. In the introduction to his discussion of the Haydn symphonies in his classic guide to the concert repertory, *Führer durch den Konzertsaal*, he wrote: 'An astonishingly large number of music lovers and musicians, including names possessed of the most celebrated reputations, believe that they can honor "Papa" Haydn with a mixture of condescension by considering him "genial" and "childlike"'. To understand Haydn, Kretzschmar believed, one had to concentrate on how he transformed the mundane and rendered his material majestic and mythic. In Kretzschmar's view, Haydn

<sup>32</sup> *Deutsche Tondichter von Sebastian Bach bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: Oppenheim, 1882), p. 147.

<sup>33</sup> *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch* (Munich: Merhoff, 1866), pp. 150–1.

should be compared to Aeschylus and Sophocles.<sup>34</sup> Like the great Greek tragedians, he transformed the simple into the profound.

Kretzschmar's association of Haydn with Aeschylus and Sophocles was a rare perception. Though nineteenth-century music critics were obsessed with the relationship between formal procedures and narration and representation, the 'master' of form, Haydn, was excluded from the discussion. Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert were seen as using Haydn's strategies, and in the process achieving a narrative-through-music that appeared compelling. Meanwhile, the narrative in Haydn's music – either subjective (in the listener) or objective (in the music itself) – had no import. This view persisted despite the acceptance of programmatic titles for many symphonies.

Advocates of programme music in the nineteenth century cited Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony as a model and recognized an emotional content in Mozart. Yet Haydn's efforts at tone-painting and the profound philosophical content of many of his instrumental works produced no resonance. Richard Strauss had only a marginal interest in Haydn, though Mozart always rivalled Wagner as a source of inspiration for him. And even a Haydn defender such as Leopold Schmidt, the Berlin critic and enthusiastic Straussian, unconsciously ended up reinforcing the picture of Haydn's music as somehow sterile and distant. In his highly successful popular 1898 Haydn biography, Schmidt argued that Haydn should properly be seen more as a 'youthful revolutionary' than as 'an old man in a wig'. By this he meant that the example of Haydn's command of musical form might well have a larger influence on future generations than it seemed to exert on contemporary composers. Picking up on a similar theme struck fifty years earlier by Schumann, Schmidt lamented the contemporary circumstance in which music is 'freed from old traditions', yet strives in confused ways to 'unclear objectives'. As he put it, 'the pressure for originality, which is not based on historical evolution or transcendent creative talent, too quickly takes on the symptoms of the sickly. It is therefore desirable that so pure and fundamentally healthy an artistic spirit as Haydn's should function for a long time as a productive inspiration.' For Schmidt, Haydn understood that the point of all music was the spreading of joy: 'The naturalness of his

<sup>34</sup> Vol. I (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), p. 113.

musical inspiration and realization should remain a model for us'.<sup>35</sup> Once again Haydn was held up as the antidote to philistinism and excess (of the kind audible in Mahler). Schmidt's language linking Haydn to medicinal and moral purity is totally unlike the prose applied traditionally to Beethoven or Mozart. As with Nietzsche and Wagner, Schmidt's emphasis on health reveals the weakness of Haydn's position in the *fin de siècle*.

The many handbooks written for the musical public during the nineteenth century further confirm this impression. In the *New Musical Lexicon of Music* of 1857 Adolf Bernhard Marx and the editors once again stressed the affirmative qualities of Haydn. Though Marx also talked about Haydn's 'natural inwardness and profundity', he explicitly delimited, as did Hoffmann, Haydn's attribution of emotional and intellectual meaning, pointing out that even when Haydn deals with the sorrowful and the grim, he does so as a 'loving father', for whom balance and moderation are never lost.<sup>36</sup> Two lexica from the 1880s, one by August Reissman, the multi-volumed *Mendel Lexicon*, and the supplemental *Lexicon* to the Cologne *Neue Musikzeitung*, repeat these ideas, adding only that Haydn's historical role was primary as the father of instrumental music and the 'true creator of the sonata form'.<sup>37</sup> As Reissman put it, Haydn did not so much invent any new forms as bring 'order', by creating 'regulated organization' that resulted in the mature forms of instrumental music.

The situation in America was much the same. In his 1874 lectures entitled *History of Music* Frederic Louis Ritter, the influential Belgian-born American composer and conductor, began his treatment of Haydn by acknowledging the original eighteenth-century view that in Haydn, instruments 'sing like the inspired organs of an ideal sphere'. But he quickly

<sup>35</sup> *Joseph Haydn* (Berlin: 'Harmonie' Verlagsgesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst, 1898), p. 116. Schmidt's biography appeared in Heinrich Reimann's popular series *Berühmte Musiker: Lebens- und Charakterbilder nebst Einführung in die Werke der Meister*.

<sup>36</sup> See *Die Musik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und ihre Pflege: Methode der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873), p. 178.

<sup>37</sup> The lexica are August Reissman and Hermann Mendel, eds., *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon* (Berlin: Oppenheim, 1880); Eduard Bernsdorf, ed., *Neues Universal Lexicon der Tonkunst* (Dresden: Schaefer, 1857); P. J. Tonger, *Conversations-Lexicon der Tonkunst*, Beilage der Neuen Musikzeitung (Cologne: Hassel, n. d.).



descended into the nineteenth-century pattern. Haydn is credited with creating the modern symphony and string quartet, but the dominant impression his music makes is of a 'whole emotional world' of 'childlike naïveté, unrestrained joy, good-natured humor'. Haydn was capable of 'a healthy humor . . . touching pathos and unreserved joy, all the more tender and naïve feelings' but his music was 'seldom darkened by deep passion'.<sup>38</sup>

The impediment that nineteenth-century attitudes posed for an ambitious re-evaluation of Haydn was not entirely lost on the scholars who gathered in Vienna in 1909 to celebrate the Haydn centenary. The stultifying insistence on the formal and foundational merits of his work to the exclusion of any larger meaning or significance, however, was countered in a disappointing manner. Feverish nationalisms and political rivalries were raging on the Continent in the years just before World War I. One might have wished for a serious reinterpretation that would have asserted a new relevance for Haydn in such a context. Instead, the 1909 conclave made a virtue out of the seeming absence of controversy regarding Haydn's music and its historical position. Alexander Mackenzie exclaimed that he was proud to honour the memory of Haydn as the father of all 'cosmopolitan musicians. . . . The childlike simplicity of Haydn's music still delights us all', he noted, as he called for a 'closer union and more perfect harmony between musicians of all countries'.<sup>39</sup> Guido Adler's opening speech to the congress celebrated Haydn's connection with populism, his roots in folk music and his unique place in connecting Viennese Classicism to the immanent and essential universalism of music.

As the twentieth century progressed, nineteenth-century notions of

<sup>38</sup> *History of Music: In the Form of Lectures*, 2nd series (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1874), pp. 172 and 181.

<sup>39</sup> See Guido Adler, ed., *Haydn-Zentenarfeier. Bericht III. Kongress der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft Wien 25–29 Mai* (Vienna: Artaria, 1909), pp. 41, 45, 52–3. This view is strikingly reminiscent of Joachim's letter to his nephew Harold in 1898, in which he remarked, in response to Henry Hadow's view of Haydn, that he 'lifts the material into a higher sphere and has the German gift to assimilate so that it becomes a universal, ideal thought, intelligible to all nations'. To Joachim's credit, he argued that the slow movements of Haydn were equal in their depth and religiosity to those of Bach and Beethoven, but in making this claim he knew that his view was distinctly a minority one. Joachim, *Briefe*, III, pp. 481–2.

Haydn continued to be influential, despite the post-World War I context of neoclassicism.<sup>40</sup> How can one interpret, for example, the fact that in Arnold Schoenberg's 1911 *Theory of Harmony* there is barely a mention of Haydn and, in contrast to Mozart, not a single Haydn musical example is used?<sup>41</sup> An intense new musicological interest, sparked by the first modern complete edition of Haydn's works,<sup>42</sup> sought to untangle a dense growth of authenticity problems and at the same time dust off works by Haydn not performed since the eighteenth century. Writing in 1951, John H. Mueller noted that this effort at a revival in the early twentieth century could be explained in part because Haydn's symphonies spoke 'directly to the twentieth-century era', because they 'are possessed of the utmost lucidity and elegance . . . and an integrity absolutely unmarred by any affectation, exaggeration, or bombast' and offer 'scintillating relief from the congested orchestration of the late Romantics.'<sup>43</sup> In fact, Mueller was only partially correct: the twentieth century has seen not one Haydn revival, but at least three. The first, early in the twentieth century, occurred precisely in reaction against late Romanticism, but was overshadowed by an even greater resurgence of interest in Mozart. The second, after the Second World War, was sparked by another attempt at a new edition and the first modern performances of many works, often organized by H. C. Robbins Landon. And during the third, in the twenty-odd years since the Haydn festival-conference in Washington in 1975 (followed by the Haydn Year 1982, his 250th birthday), the musicological era met the early performance era in ways that sought to reclaim Haydn as a composer of passion and intensity to match Haydn the composer of elegance and refinement. But there is a long way to go: Haydn still fails to speak as directly to us as he might, because Mozart

<sup>40</sup> Scott Messing, *Neo-Classicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> Schoenberg's pedagogical writings later in his career give somewhat more space to Haydn, but Mozart and Beethoven overwhelm Haydn as representatives of Classical procedures in composition. See *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, ed. Gerald Strang and Leonard Stein (New York: St Martin's Press, 1970).

<sup>42</sup> This edition, by Mandyczewski and others (Leipzig), was begun belatedly in 1907 (compared to the series of *Gesamtausgaben* of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven and others begun decades earlier, in some cases already in the 1850s) and broke off in the 1930s after the publication of only a small portion of Haydn's works.

<sup>43</sup> *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1951), p. 212.

and Beethoven continue to dominate our conception of him. The notion of Haydn as precursor lingers.

Why, then, did the nineteenth century consistently define Haydn's compositional mastery in terms of simplicity, humour, cheerfulness, geniality, folksiness, order, all implying an absence of passion and a lack of emotional, narrative and psychic relevance?

### **3 Four aspects of paradoxical innocence: Haydn's deification into irrelevance**

The explanation for the respectful but bland deification of Haydn in the nineteenth century – as a composer of more crucial historical significance than continuing aesthetic and cultural valence – possesses four dimensions of increasing complexity. First is what might be called the 'touchstone' approach: the use of Haydn as a stable and neutral measure of cultural criticism. Second are the rituals of nineteenth-century biography that made Haydn both an unfortunate victim of the *ancien régime* and a populist figure, and therefore easier to set to the side. Third is the larger subject of nineteenth-century attitudes toward the aesthetics of the eighteenth century, which reveals the diminishment of one of its great achievements and pleasures, that which might be called philosophical listening. Finally comes the transformation of late eighteenth-century views on music-making and musical communication, in which we see a new ideology of connoisseurship that reflected the need to create a normative and hierarchical Classicism in response to the enormous increase in the size of music's audience. These dimensions of Haydn reception will be taken up in turn.

#### ***Haydn as touchstone***

Haydn served as a constant instrument of cultural self-criticism for nineteenth-century figures from Schumann to Schmidt. Unlike Bach, Handel, Mozart and Beethoven, however, Haydn was not appropriated as a source of inspiration and emulation. Precisely because he was not an object of contemporaneity, he and his music could function as a clear-cut contrast. As we have seen, Haydn was effectively and reflexively used as a symbol of cultural criticism because, as Hanslick pointed out, he was considered a

neutral and nearly unobjectionable part of standard musical education. One passed through Haydn on the way to musical maturity just the way music history passed through Haydn on the way to Mozart and Beethoven. Taking the wrong turn – a descent into philistinism – meant failing to learn the lessons of history.

The comparative neutrality of Haydn within the nineteenth-century construct of the Classical canon, his availability as a symbol of cultural criticism and contrast, is perhaps best highlighted by one of the recurring peculiarities of nineteenth-century Haydn scholarship: the emphasis placed on the change in Haydn's music after his encounter with Mozart. Gustav Hoecker and Leopold Schmidt were unequivocal in their view that the most lasting part of Haydn's repertory, particularly the later symphonies and oratorios, reflected Mozartian influence. This was one way in which Haydn's place in the repertory continued to be justified.<sup>44</sup> Another way to earn Haydn a place of honour was to argue for his relation to Beethoven. In this way, Haydn's role as touchstone revealed him to be an influence that was already completely absorbed.

### ***Biographical assumptions***

The issue of greatest concern to nineteenth-century biographers was that Haydn had not been a free artist but the servant of the aristocracy. This point may be painfully obvious, but unfortunately it is poorly understood. Nineteenth-century biographies of Mozart focused on his rebellion against the Archbishop of Salzburg, as well as on his conflict with his father and the presumed snubbing of Mozart by the Viennese aristocracy. These biographical episodes gave Mozart the aspect of a neglected Romantic genius whose frustrations lent his music an interior depth and secret melancholy. Such depths seemed absent from the consistently public and overt meanings of Haydn. There seemed to be an inner Mozart, but commentators either refused or failed to find significant subtexts in Haydn, a man who wore the Esterházy livery with apparent willingness. As Wagner put it, Haydn's greatest achievements were his late works, written independently of Esterházy but under foreign patronage, whereas Mozart never 'arrived at

<sup>44</sup> See Gustav Hoecker, *Das Grosse Dreigestirn: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (Glogau: Flemming, c. 1898), p. 130.

comfort: his loveliest works were written between the elation of one hour and the anguish of the next'.<sup>45</sup>

It turns out that Haydn's private life and the dynamics between personal happiness and the writing of music were far more interesting and complicated than any nineteenth-century biographer was willing to emphasize. Although both Haydn and Mozart married on the rebound, so to speak – that is, to the sisters of the women with whom they really were in love – the commonplaces of Haydn's life story, as seen by the nineteenth century, make no allowance for the image of Haydn the artist as abandoned, lonely, troubled or psychically complex (even if Carpani, for one, was explicit on the matter of Haydn's unhappy marriage). His poignant comment of 1790 to his friend Marianne von Genzinger on the restrictions to which he had to submit – 'it is indeed sad always to be a slave' – was not assimilated into a more complicated picture of Haydn's psyche.<sup>46</sup> The absence of a powerful nineteenth-century biographer of the stature of Otto Jahn (Mozart) or Alexander Wheelock Thayer (Beethoven) further reinforced the popular stereotypes about Haydn and helped set him apart. Carl Ferdinand Pohl's death in 1887 meant that the two volumes of his important biography of Haydn (1875–82) brought Haydn up only to the end of the Eszterháza years in 1790; the third volume, dealing with the most popular and well-known works, had to wait until Hugo Botstiber completed the book in 1927.

But issues of Haydn's employment and the quantity of music he wrote remained uppermost in nineteenth-century attitudes. There seemed to be something socially deferential and perhaps even superficial about Haydn's music. Obeisance to formalities and manners, to the public aspect of music as entertainment for aristocrats, was first derided by the generation of composers who came of age after the fall of Napoleon. Berlioz was typical in assuming that Haydn's music was composed as the occasion demanded, not as the composer might have wished, and that its inner spirit was not the result of any subjective search for self-expression. The historian and aesthetician Heinrich Köstlin, in his 1874 history of music, delighted in

<sup>45</sup> 'Beethoven', *Prose Works*, V, p. 88.

<sup>46</sup> Letter of 27 June 1790, in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works II: Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 745.

recounting that Haydn, in order to write music, first had to dress in a socially acceptable manner and become 'salonfähig' (fit for the salon).<sup>47</sup> Haydn's status suffered from nineteenth-century aesthetic reactions to the French Revolution, especially the effort to transform the sensibility for music into a middle-class achievement reflective of individuality rather than a mark of aristocratic cultivation and manners. On the other hand, late Haydn appealed to subsequent generations of listeners, and not only because the music appeared to conform to an evolutionary scheme of increasing differentiation and complexity – the late Haydn was also the Haydn emancipated, if not from his wig, at least from the Esterházy livery. Nevertheless, the embrace of this late music by the English could not compete with the Romantic image of Mozart as misunderstood by the Viennese court and aristocracy. Likewise, despite the facts, Beethoven's eccentricities and apparent overt challenges to social conventions fitted the Romantic prejudices, as did the myth of Schubert's extreme poverty and obscurity.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Wagnerian prejudice against success in one's own time, particularly with a philistine, self-satisfied public, also militated against a reconsideration of Haydn. The obvious contrast, of course, was Beethoven, who was seen as the ambiguous, striving, emotionally expressive Romantic artist cast adrift by society, in constant conflict with the philistines around him. His stature grew in the later nineteenth century with the notion that his late music, unlike Haydn's, had experienced opposition and bewilderment in its time, only to be accepted by later generations. The nineteenth century could take credit for truly understanding Beethoven. As for Haydn, given his success in his own time, his music could not be considered incomprehensible or opaque and thus progressive.

One element in Haydn's biography held unusual attraction for nineteenth-century attitudes, however: his origins. This was his status, unique within the Classical pantheon, as a simple 'man of the people', a quality seen as being exemplified by *The Seasons*. In the 1930s Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz developed a path-breaking theory on the origins and function of the different types of artists' biographies. Taking their interpretative lead, we

<sup>47</sup> *Geschichte der Musik im Umriss* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), pp. 416–18.

can see that the accepted version of Haydn's life story fits a familiar biographical pattern for artists that dates back to Classical antiquity. Haydn's story is that of the extraordinary talent fortuitously discovered, despite his humble origins: here was a simple peasant genius who, after an early rescue from his village by a perceptive relative (leading to the choir school at St Stephen's in Vienna), just happened to live in the same building in Vienna as the famous Italian composer-conductor Nicola Porpora. Porpora recognized the greatness of the young man and gave him his first opportunity. Like the great painters of the Renaissance discovered by chance, Haydn overcame the obstacles created by the poverty and obscurity of his birth.<sup>48</sup>

This story held tremendous appeal for a nineteenth century nostalgic for simpler times, before industrialization and urbanization. Mozart, Beethoven and C. P. E. Bach all had fathers who were musicians themselves, so they fell into the less attractive and certainly more mundane pattern of the musician as artisan who is trained in the father's workshop. The fact that Haydn's ancestors were of no social significance and had no connection to anything artistic added an aura to his achievement. He was therefore credited with a unique capacity to speak to ordinary people. His use of the dance and the simple tune lent him a lasting connection to an illiterate, uneducated populace; he remained, rhetorically, a symbol of inspiration for the lower classes. Félix Clément, the music historian and composer writing in the 1860s, identified, among other virtues, Haydn's remarkable discipline and capacity for and devotion to work as part of his idealized image: an example that contrasted sharply with the self-indulgent modern pseudo-artistic personality.<sup>49</sup>

This helps to explain recurrent references by nineteenth-century critics to the folk roots of Haydn's music and his use of apparently

<sup>48</sup> See *Die Legende vom Künstler: Ein geschichtlicher Versuch* (Vienna: Krystallverlag, 1934; Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1995). The tradition of biography for the great visual artists was well developed, owing to the work of Vasari. In response to the growing audience for music, it was only in the nineteenth century that a comparable popular and general formula for composers came into being. It is ironic that Haydn had a partial unexpected benefit from the new industry of musician biographies that took its cue from the visual arts.

<sup>49</sup> *Les Musiciens célèbres depuis le seizième siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 2nd edn (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1873), p. 121.

Hungarian, Croatian and Austro-German folk material.<sup>50</sup> The dance rhythms and vitality of his music were readily associated with glorified memories of a fast-vanishing village and rural culture. Haydn's many dances for courtly consumption had no place in this account, but his acknowledged capacity for wit was incorporated into the general line of argument. By the 1820s the urban, middle-class artist and his audience had begun to romanticize the rural world as a place of cheerfulness, happiness, innocence and vitality: precisely the terms associated with Haydn's music. The misreading of Rousseau and the distinction between nature and civilization assisted in the nineteenth-century reception of Haydn as, ironically, the least artificial and the most natural of all composers.

*The Seasons* helped to make this point for the nineteenth century. In a great work of music, Haydn managed to ennoble the simple people, the ordinary landscape and daily life. This populist affinity, which was not evident in *The Creation*, made *The Seasons* a potent symbol.<sup>51</sup> Since naturalness, however attractive, was no longer accessible to artists trapped in the lonely spaces of the nineteenth-century urban European world, Haydn became a bittersweet vehicle of nostalgia and a remembrance of things long past.<sup>52</sup> This point was underscored by the sustained popularity of *The Seasons* in the programmes of choral societies.

### ***The demise of philosophical music***

Partly because of this 'simple peasant' myth, it has been assumed that Haydn, unlike Beethoven or most subsequent composers, was poorly educated and had very little interest in matters literary or philosophical.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Laurence Berman, *The Musical Image: A Theory of Content* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1993), pp. 182–5.

<sup>51</sup> See H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works V: Haydn: The Late Years: 1801–1809* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

<sup>52</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that in this context that runs from E. T. A. Hoffman to Hanslick, there is a curious absence of sympathy for Haydn's religious music. It seemed too mundane and earthbound; see Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, pp. 370–1.

<sup>53</sup> See László Somfai, *Joseph Haydn: His Life in Contemporary Pictures* (New York: Taplinger, 1969); and, in contrast, 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).



Mozart's letters reveal an individual with a profound and reflective intelligence. Beethoven's intellectual ambitions were never doubted and were confirmed by his library. Though Haydn's music, particularly his operas, amply satisfies a search for a connection between music and ideas, his ambiguous legacy as an opera composer and the absence of a compelling written record of the order of the Mozart letters have helped to obscure his view of music and musical meaning.

However, as recent scholars have made clear, Haydn was engaged with the relationship between aesthetics and ethics, and the intersection between art and morality, even beyond his statement that he had often 'tried to portray moral characters in his symphonies'.<sup>54</sup> The conception of a piece of instrumental music as making a philosophical argument recognizable and significant from the point of view of the listener was not part of the Romantic complex of listening habits, but it was integral to Haydn's work from the 1760s and 1770s on and particularly to his late instrumental music, the work most familiar in the nineteenth century.

Haydn's achievement lay in the creation of music that fulfils, perhaps as closely as any, an eighteenth-century theoretical view of what music should be as an art form, especially in contrast to painting. Insofar as music was not about any form of imitation or, as Adam Smith put it, the 'reflective disposition of another person', it was abstract – in effect, the closest equivalent to pure thought and self-reflection. Smith argued that instrumental music was 'a complete and regular system', that it filled up 'completely the whole capacity of the mind so as to leave no part of its attention vacant for thinking of anything else. . . . The mind in reality enjoys . . . a very high intellectual pleasure, not unlike that which it derives from the contemplation of a great system in any other science.'<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Haydn's remark to his biographer Griesinger, from the latter's *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810), in Vernon Gotwals, trans., *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 62. See David P. Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and their Audience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Elaine R. Sisman, 'Haydn's Theater Symphonies', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990), 292–352; and Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony*.

<sup>55</sup> *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, ed. W. P. D. Wightman and J. C. Bryce (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 171–3.

The sense of total engagement that results in a welcome and satisfactory emotional and aesthetic conclusion aptly characterizes the response to Haydn's music in London.<sup>56</sup> It fits Edmund Burke's notion of the sublime as 'astonishment', with gradations including awe and terror. The power of the sublime was that it 'entirely filled the mind' with its object. By virtue of its temporality, its creation of tension through sound, and the impact of vibrations on the body, music created the possibility of 'a succession of great parts', a vehicle that could instil emotionally a sense of vastness and greatness and thus create the 'artificial infinite'. Music can 'anticipate our reasonings, and hurries us on by an irresistible force'.<sup>57</sup> This is a virtual description of the role of expectation and memory in listening to Haydn's late symphonies. Haydn's music satisfied the expectation put forward by Christian Gottfried Körner, who applied to music his friend Schiller's idea of an aesthetic education. Körner argued that to achieve a sense of beauty through music, the ear had to be trained. If music was to achieve its goals as an instrument of beauty and ultimately ethical ennoblement, the listener needed to have an understanding capable of discriminating form within the sounds of instrumental music. This required explicit instruction. Precisely because music 'forgoes the advantages of the other arts' and in effect 'gives us nothing to think about', whatever meaning we are able to find in it is of a high order, since it is created freely by us, the listeners. Music, when given form, shapes its own visceral emotional power into self-sufficiency, permitting the composer and listener to invest music with order, clarity and wide-ranging meaning.<sup>58</sup>

Music as an art was the taming of the acknowledged emotional power of hearing and sound. The eighteenth century placed a premium not only on form but on the symbolic achievement of resolution within the musical

<sup>56</sup> See Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 92–156.

<sup>57</sup> *On the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: private print, 1812; facsimile print, Charlottesville: Ibis Publishing, n. d.), pp. 202, 234–5. It should be noted that the use of Adam Smith and Edmund Burke in this discussion is explicitly justified by the fact that Haydn read Smith and Burke; copies of the relevant works by both authors were in his library. See Sisman, *Haydn and his World*, pp. 420–1 of the Appendix.

<sup>58</sup> 'Über Charakterdarstellung in der Musik', in *Aesthetische Schriften*, ed. Joseph P. Bauke (Marbach: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1964), pp. 24–8, 45–8.

experience. Resolution meant the reconciling of the disparate and conflicting elements of an emotional experience, as mirrored by contrasts in the music. The sublime and the beautiful could be achieved through a formal structure that was designed around music's 'regaining the home tonic', as Körner put it. In his later symphonies, Haydn revealed what David P. Schroeder has described as the capacity not only to 'persuade' but to engage the listener in a unique and powerful emotional narrative that finally becomes a philosophical and cognitive experience.<sup>59</sup>

The much-talked-about link in eighteenth-century philosophy between truth and beauty rested in part on the capacity of the perceiver to recognize and respond to intrinsic structural parallels between truth and beauty. As Zelter wrote to Goethe in 1826, Haydn's works 'are the ideal language of truth . . . they might be exceeded but never surpassed. His genius is nothing less than the expression of a soul born free, clear, and innocent.'<sup>60</sup> If the discovery of clear, consistent and complete laws lay beneath the differentiated and imperfect appearance of nature as understood by Newton and Locke, then the perception of beauty in music composed, as well as music perceived by the listener, required the working-out and recognition of the musical argument. That argument, in turn, had to reflect laws analogous to those of the mind and the physical universe. The praise lavished on Locke and Newton for revealing the laws of nature and human understanding framed the objective for instrumental music. A Haydn symphony therefore became a philosophical argument whose command of the sense of beauty and the sublime, the rational and the emotional, mirrored back to the listener through total engagement in the moment of hearing (associationist connections with the extra-musical included, as in Haydn's 'The Storm') the fundamental coincidence of truthfulness and rationality in the world and in the mind.

For the eighteenth-century connoisseur, hearing a Haydn symphony was a way not *into* subjectivity, but a way to *transcend* subjectivity. Music's abstract language permitted the experience of the sublime and the beautiful that issued from the recognition of moral truth inherent in all parts of

<sup>59</sup> See *Haydn and the Enlightenment*. See also the essay by Mark Evan Bonds, 'The Symphony as Pindaric Ode', in Sisman, *Haydn and his World*, pp. 131–53.

<sup>60</sup> *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, II, 1799–1827, ed. Max Hecker (Frankfurt: Insel, 1987), p. 473.

the universe. The English audience that heard Haydn's symphonies in the late eighteenth century had known how to appreciate his quite religiously based ambition to realize in music a medium for philosophical and moral contemplation. As Burke and Smith recognized, such an ambition demanded music's access to both the sensual and the intellectual, the emotional and the rational, the sublime and the beautiful. It is a tribute to the symmetry of history that Kant's synthesis of these issues in *The Critique of Judgement* first appeared and was read widely in the same decade during which Haydn wrote his greatest works.

The nineteenth century, in contrast, had lost fundamental sympathy for this rational philosophical project. As a result, it found the music of Haydn cold, lacking in the human qualities most often linked to the perception of subjectivity. Mozart and Beethoven, never identified in the same way as part of the eighteenth-century rage for music as a philosophical system, did not suffer the same fate. As the nineteenth century evolved, it took its cue from Herder's perception that the indeterminate and darker nature of music deprived it of its immediate function as a symbolic system of morality. For the Romantics, the boundlessness of music was connected to a non-rational act of imagination conceived as the subjective transformation of experience; they posited an ontology and ultimately a cultural conception of music radically different from the assumptions under which Haydn worked. The underlying culture now rejected the idea of music as a complete philosophical system; and so the genuine pleasure afforded by the philosophical contemplation of music, at which Haydn excelled, became a lost habit. Both the music of Haydn and the idea of reason behind it suffered in the nineteenth-century dichotomy between emotion and reason, the rational and irrational, and the collapse of the eighteenth-century philosophical psychology of rationality and enlightenment.

***The ideology of connoisseurship and the need for a normative Classicism***

If nineteenth-century music critics were keenly aware of Haydn's presumed status as a servant composing on demand at the behest of the aristocracy, they were equally conscious of the transformation of the audience and the public role of music in their own time. Because they assumed that the sensibility towards music resided within the perceiver as well as the

creator, they considered the consciousness of the listener crucial. As the century developed, the evolution of a refined musical consciousness was soon linked to the ideal of *Bildung*, or self-cultivation, as once exemplified exclusively by the cultivated aristocrat.<sup>61</sup> Although the aristocrat as employer was easily vilified, the aristocrat as connoisseur became idealized. *Bildung* emerged as an ambivalent category of middle-class self-assertion, ambition and insecurity.

The formation of the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna during the Napoleonic era represented an unusual alliance between the high aristocracy and an elite middle class. In Vienna the Society became the basis of an ever-expanding world of participants in musical life who took on roles as amateurs, patrons and listeners. The explosion of the choral movement in the 1840s and 1850s mirrored the further growth of public musical life in German-speaking Europe. Musical culture on the Continent, especially in Paris and Vienna during the 1830s and 1840s, generally approximated to the scale of public musical life that Haydn encountered in London in the early 1790s. Before 1848, during the period of restoration, this new musical public constituted a mix of an old aristocracy and an urban middle class. Within the new non-aristocratic public, music benefited from its heritage as a form of aristocratic entertainment. Arno Mayer has argued that the values of the old regime were never entirely displaced during the nineteenth century, despite the radical political and economic changes (and Marxist ideas about cultural formation).<sup>62</sup> Music constitutes a powerful case in point. Self-cultivation, as an ideal of middle-class education, involved approximating and appropriating the connoisseurship that was historically associated with Nicolaus Esterházy. The discerning listener assumed through culture the pose and manner of the eighteenth-century aristocrat.

This nineteenth-century ideology of connoisseurship depended on the creation of a normative Classical past, one historically linked to an era of aristocratic privilege in which music was a narrowly distributed and highly

<sup>61</sup> See Kevin Barry, *Language, Music and the Sign: A Study in Aesthetics, Poetics and Poetic Practice from Collins to Coleridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1–27.

<sup>62</sup> *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).

refined social instrument and ritual. At the same time, a set of new expectations was placed on the music of the present. These new expectations, which we usually identify as characteristic of Romanticism, defined new music as emerging from Beethoven, the composer who extended the normative procedures of a Classicism associated with a closed circle of aristocrats into a language accessible to the educated individual, irrespective of social origins.

From the beginning of the Romantic era, an uneasy tension existed between the demand that music be understood as an independent, abstract form of communication and the thought that music possessed a deep relationship to some psychological geography of human expressiveness and inner reflection. Music-making and listening became analogous to the experience of reading alone. Precisely because of this analogy to reading, music had to connect with the subjective imagination in a way that reflected itself in so-called non-musical meanings, either of narration or representation.

This was true of instrumental music as much as vocal. Beethoven was clearly a composer of drama and rhetoric, in which the gestures of instrumental music in relation to extra-musical meaning seemed profound but unstable.<sup>63</sup> The widely held Wagnerian perception that Mozart's genius lay in his operas and vocal music led to the idea that his instrumental music also had a vocal and therefore human cast to it. Because of this, its line and structure were susceptible to Romantic listening: one could hear in Mozart an interior narrative. In Haydn, on the other hand, there seemed to be only the playfulness of sound. That Haydn was a composer of drama and rhetoric was a view that lay in the past – and future.

The perception of the absence of extra-musical profundity in Haydn's instrumental music, despite its acknowledged exemplary virtuosity in techniques of musical elaboration, transformation and variation, has remained almost second-nature throughout the history of Haydn reception. Here biography and social history intersect. Being cheerful and telling jokes that result from the virtuosic manipulation of self-consciously simple

<sup>63</sup> See George Barth, *The Pianist as Orator* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); and Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).

building-blocks did not satisfy the expectation of inner boundlessness. However, it did seem to fit the desire for entertainment associated with a discredited historical elite – and to satisfy a later generation’s sense of its sophisticated musical and aesthetic judgement. Understanding Haydn was considered a mark of cultivation, a prior condition to being able to discern truth in one’s own time. Since Beethoven had to be saved from philistine reductionism, it was critical that he be evaluated not just in emotional terms, but through a recognition of his greatness in purely musical terms – that is, in relation to the procedures established by Haydn. Just as Haydn was understood as a necessary precursor to Beethovenian Romanticism, the individual in the cultivation of his own taste had to recapitulate the encounter with Haydn, and therefore the formal language of music that lay beneath any attempt at expressiveness. Thus elevated into the model of pure formalism, Haydn could not help but fail to capture the imagination of the new kind of listener.

Meanwhile, Haydn’s great oratorios remained beloved as works in which amateurs could participate. Despite the greatness of the music contained in them, the extra-musical aspects of *The Creation* and *The Seasons* seemed mere surface phenomena that did not disturb the formal integrity of the compositional method. The same was alleged with respect to the symphonies with descriptive titles. The moments of illustration in which Haydn indulged were no longer controversial, but obvious; and whatever deeper extra-musical intent Haydn wished to convey was no longer interesting or audible.<sup>64</sup> Joachim singled out Haydn’s Adagios because they sounded the most like Mozart and Beethoven. Slow movements in Haydn seemed most susceptible to the highly prized habits of subjective appropriation. The outer movements of the sonatas, quartets and symphonies appeared as cheerful formal exercises that established the essential normative rules of future musical games and communication. Haydn had become the law-giver of Classicism.

The cultural conservatives of the 1840s and 1850s failed to realize that, in rescuing the formal part of the eighteenth-century musical tradi-

<sup>64</sup> See the telling analysis of Haydn’s programme music (in which only the *Seven Last Words of Christ* is taken seriously) in Friedrich Niecks, *Programme Music in the Last Four Centuries* (London: Novello, 1906), pp. 73–8.

tion, they were abandoning the philosophical ambitions from which it had sprung. In order to rethink Haydn, the stubborn veneer of nineteenth-century habits of reception, which have extended well into this century, must be dissolved and scraped away. When we try to understand Haydn from the perspective of the eighteenth century rather than the nineteenth, we rapidly realize that Haydn's music carried for its listeners and contemporaries gravity, philosophical depth, passion and complex beauty. His formal achievements, celebrated as such by nineteenth-century criticism, engendered in his own lifetime precisely that emotionally intense response later generations considered somehow missing.<sup>65</sup> And this means, of course, that formal achievements – as Haydn himself did not fail to point out – were never only what Haydn was about.

<sup>65</sup> Compare the enthusiastic and perceptive reaction by the painter Philipp Otto Runge (1777–1810) to the symbolism of the *The Seasons*, quoted in Le Huray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, p. 522.