

## 1

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*Introduction*

The six 'Paris' Symphonies, Nos. 82–7, composed in 1785–6,<sup>1</sup> were the product of a prestigious foreign commission, and like most of Haydn's music from the mid 1780s onwards they received immediate and widespread circulation throughout Europe. The commission, by the directors of the *Concert de la Loge Olympique*, was probably mooted in 1784,<sup>2</sup> at the instigation of Claude-François-Marie Rigoley, Comte d'Ogny, and negotiated by le Chevalier Joseph-Boulogne de Saint-Georges. The Comte d'Ogny had been a co-founder of the prestigious new concert series in 1781, an important satellite of the masonic *Loge et Société Olympique*, the principal aim of which was 'to cultivate music, and to give excellent concerts to replace those of amateurs', that is, the famous earlier *Concert des amateurs*, disbanded in January 1781 for financial reasons.<sup>3</sup> The choice of Haydn for the commission of 1784 built on an existing tradition of performing Haydn's symphonies at the *Concert des amateurs*, and the high profile of the new commission is reflected in the extravagant fee paid to Haydn. This was later reported as 25 *louis d'or* per symphony, with a further 5 *louis d'or* for publication rights; even excluding publication rights, it was five times the fee paid to Mozart in 1778 by Le Gros and the *Concert spirituel* for his 'Paris' Symphony, K. 297. The relationship between Haydn, the Comte d'Ogny, and the *Concert de la Loge Olympique* was to bear further fruit in 1788–9 with the commission of Symphonies Nos. 90–2.<sup>4</sup>

The publication history of Symphonies Nos. 82–7 is also representative of the new international dimension to Haydn's career. The rapidity with which prints of the symphonies appeared in Paris, Vienna and London in 1787–8 is an important measure of the increasing demand for Haydn's works, and Haydn's dealings with the publishers of these symphonies mark, as it were, the emergence of the composer in the

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## Haydn: The 'Paris' Symphonies

marketplace. The authorised French print of the symphonies was the Imbault edition, which appeared in January 1788, and both the announcement of publication in the *Mercure de France* and the title page of the edition are headed 'From the Repertoire of the Loge Olympique' and have the claim to authority that they were 'engraved after the original scores belonging to the Loge Olympique'.<sup>5</sup> However, notwithstanding the fact that the rights to publication were purchased as part of the commission, Haydn also sold the works to Artaria in Vienna and Forster in London. The Artaria edition in fact appeared before the Imbault print, in December 1787, and extant correspondence from April and May of 1787 makes clear that Haydn promised Artaria sole rights in the works.<sup>6</sup> Haydn then wrote to Forster on 8 August 1787 offering 'six Quartets and six Symphonies, which I have not yet given to anyone' and asking a fee of 25 guineas for all twelve works.<sup>7</sup> Haydn's promise to Forster on 20 September 1787 that 'I shall not fail to send you the six Symphonies at the first opportunity'<sup>8</sup> was met by the dispatch of authentic manuscript copies of the symphonies (now British Library, Egerton 2379); thus Forster's edition of 1788 is the last of three authorised authentic editions, for each of which Haydn abstracted considerable fees while promising exclusive rights in the works. Maximising his personal gain from the symphonies, Haydn also sent copies of the symphonies gratis to Friedrich Wilhelm II, King of Prussia, and received a ring as a mark of the King's 'satisfaction and . . . favour'.<sup>9</sup>

Haydn was undoubtedly guilty of sharp practice, if not outright dishonesty, in his dealings with publishers over Symphonies Nos. 82–7. Similar or even more questionable dealings accompanied the commission or publication of other works in the 1780s. The most embarrassing to Haydn's reputation was undoubtedly his sale to Forster of two keyboard trios, Hob. XV:3–4, actually written by Pleyel, but duplicity was also involved in Haydn's dealings with Forster and Artaria over the publication of the Op. 50 string quartets, and Symphonies Nos. 90–2 were used to fulfil commissions to both the Comte d'Ogny and Prince Krafft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein.

Haydn became in these years quite adept at deflecting personal blame, pleading mitigating circumstances, or promising future recompense when such deceptions were unveiled.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the rights and wrongs of Haydn's dealings with individuals, from the 1780s he effectively put in

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

---

## Introduction

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place an informal system of dual publication, whereby he benefited at least from two fees, usually from London and Vienna, for most new works produced. In so doing, Haydn took an innovatory stance in a world which traditionally favoured the publisher rather than the composer.

In the case of the 'Paris' Symphonies, although Haydn profited by sharp practice from three fees, he would have derived no benefit from the large number of prints of these symphonies which immediately followed the appearance of the first editions in Vienna, Paris and London. Even before the end of 1788, prints of orchestral parts by Hummel, Sieber, and Longman & Broderip had appeared, and in various guises the symphonies remained available in numerous new editions and reprints well into the nineteenth century. An important part of this dissemination, and a significant way in which the European musical public got to know the 'Paris' Symphonies, was in arrangements for chamber music groupings of various types. Again, this dissemination of the symphonies as domestic music happened with remarkable speed. In 1788 alone arrangements for keyboard trios and quartet (Boyé & Le Menu), for string quartet (Artaria),<sup>11</sup> and for keyboard and violin (Longman & Broderip)<sup>12</sup> had appeared and these heralded a host of similar arrangements which appeared regularly into the 1790s and beyond.<sup>13</sup>

The performance history of the 'Paris' Symphonies also reflects the new European context of Haydn's music in the 1780s. As argued below, in 1787–8 they were performed in Paris at the *Concert de la Loge Olympique* and the *Concert spirituel* and contributed to a peak of enthusiasm for Haydn's symphonies in Paris. It is also clear that these works were quickly introduced into the repertoires of public concerts in London: for instance, a re-issue of Symphony No. 82 by Longman & Broderip mentions performances at the Hanover Square Rooms in 1789.<sup>14</sup> The performance context in Paris and London would, of course, have been radically different from that at Eszterháza, and the orchestra involved would have been considerably larger than the Esterházy band or the normal court orchestra of the eighteenth century. While in the 1780s one of Joseph Le Gros's reforms of the *Concert spirituel* involved a reduction in the size of the orchestra, in 1787–8 there would still have been a contingent of approximately 56 players.<sup>15</sup> In 1786 the orchestra of the *Société Olympique* could call on a membership of up to 65 players (3222/4200/1/strings (14.14.7.10.4)), a mix of professional and

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[More information](#)

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### Haydn: The 'Paris' Symphonies

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amateurs but containing some of Paris's leading virtuosos.<sup>16</sup> It is clear that not all of the members would have been employed for every performance; certainly the clarinetists would not have been required for Haydn's 'Paris' Symphonies, and a system of rotation may have operated. None the less the first performances of the 'Paris' Symphonies would have been equal in scale to those of the later 'London' Symphonies by Salomon's band of about 60 players.

The 'Paris' Symphonies are fully representative of the late eighteenth-century Haydn cult, which acknowledged Haydn's status as a genius and saw an enhancement in the esteem of instrumental music in general and the German symphony in particular. It is one of the happy coincidences of the last decades of the eighteenth century that Haydn's mature symphonic style became the universal representation of the new status of the public symphony. In them the various demands of popular entertainment and the learned aesthetic theory of the Enlightenment tenuously found common ground, and in each work Haydn strikes a new and finely judged balance between a popular style and a progressive musical language.

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 2

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*Haydn's music and the  
Concert spirituel*

The emergence of Haydn as the dominant international symphonist in the last two decades of the eighteenth century is a major event in the history of eighteenth-century music. Haydn's two sojourns in London in the early 1790s have generally been seen as the principal exemplification of this phenomenon, and it has also been established that in the early decades of the nineteenth century Haydn's symphonies enjoyed enormous popularity with the Parisian concert-going public.<sup>1</sup> The rise in prominence of Haydn's symphonies in Paris in the 1780s has received less attention; and it is less well appreciated that in Paris Haydn's symphonies progressed from a relatively modest presence in public concerts in the late 1770s to dominate the Parisian symphonic repertoire to an unprecedented degree by the end of the 1780s.

#### The symphonic repertoire of the *Concert spirituel*, 1777–81

In tracing the increasing popularity of Haydn's symphonies in Paris the best indicator is the programming of the important concert series, the *Concert spirituel*, for which the most complete information exists.<sup>2</sup> The timescale under consideration is from 1777, when Haydn symphonies began to feature regularly at the *Concert spirituel*, to 1790, when the concert series came to a close. Thus the rise in popularity of Haydn's symphonies at the *Concert spirituel* takes place exactly within the directorship of Joseph Le Gros.

Haydn's symphonies were of course known in Paris before 1777. They were published in Paris, sporadically at first, from the mid 1760s and performed at the *Concert des amateurs*, and by some accounts a Haydn symphony was performed for the first time at a *Concert spirituel* in 1773.<sup>3</sup> If Brenet is correct in suggesting that the *Catalogue de la musique*

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Haydn: The 'Paris' Symphonies

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*du Comte d'Ogny* represents the repertoire of the *Concert des amateurs*, then performances of Haydn symphonies must have been plentiful at this concert series before its dissolution in January 1781, since 34 symphonies attributed to Haydn (some of them falsely) are listed in the first (thematic) part of the catalogue.<sup>4</sup> It may well be that Le Gros inherited a close relationship in symphonic repertoire between the *Concert spirituel* and the *Concert des amateurs*.<sup>5</sup> Symphonies by Haydn and Gossec performed at the *Concert spirituel* in 1777, Le Gros's first season as director, were described in the *Journal de Paris* as 'du répertoire des Amateurs'.<sup>6</sup> A Sieber publication of symphonies by Haydn (No. 56), Gossec, and J. C. Bach, advertised in 1778, contains the description 'Les simphonies ont été joué au Concert Spirituel et au Concert des Amateurs' on the title page.<sup>7</sup> The same overlapping in symphonic repertoire also continued in the later 1780s between the *Concert spirituel* and the *Concert de la Loge Olympique* as witnessed in the performances of the Haydn 'Paris' Symphonies at both series.

Performances of Haydn's symphonies at the *Concert spirituel* can therefore tell only part of the story. Nevertheless, the story they tell is an interesting one. In the first five years of Le Gros's directorship of the *Concert spirituel* two earlier sources of symphonies continued to be of importance, namely, the symphonies of Mannheim composers, particularly the second generation, and the symphonies of native French composers. The Mannheim composers had provided an important part of the *Concert spirituel* repertoire since the visit of Johann Stamitz to Paris in 1754.<sup>8</sup> Subsequently the second generation of Mannheim composers occupied a central position in the instrumental music performed at the *Concert spirituel*, furnishing a seemingly inexhaustible supply of concertos, *symphonies concertantes*, and symphonies which for many years appears to have dominated Parisian taste in these genres.

In the symphonic repertoire of the *Concert spirituel* the two most popular second-generation Mannheim composers were Cannabich and especially Toeschi. At least one Toeschi symphony was performed in each year between 1773 and 1786, with a further single performance in 1789. Although never achieving the spectacular success of other composers, Toeschi's symphonies remained none the less a stable part of the repertoire and indeed until the early 1780s were regarded as representative of a Mannheim style which set the standards for other compos-

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Bernard Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)


---

 Haydn's music and the *Concert spirituel*


---

ers, appreciated for their charm, their fluent melody, and above all their colourful orchestration.

[The concert of 15 August 1779] began with a symphony by Signor Toeschi. Although this piece was known already, the orchestra's performance has so to speak rejuvenated it. No other symphonist writes better than this composer. It is true that his works have a familiar air about them which sometimes approaches monotony when one compares them [with one another]; but each individual one presents a most charming picture. All his subjects, full of grace and nobility, are sustained and varied by a brilliant imagination and exquisite taste. What sets him apart from the majority of the other symphonists is above all the art of engaging the instruments in dialogue with each other, and of presenting them one after another, without ever damaging the expression or the transparency of the melody.<sup>9</sup>

Of the native French 'school', symphonies by Chartrain, Guénin, Navoigille, Leduc, Capron, Janson, Froment, Davaux, Candeille and others were performed regularly at the *Concert spirituel* until the early 1780s and maintained an occasional presence thereafter. Barry Brook has documented the flourishing of a French symphonic school, in the 1770s and early 1780s at least, reflected in the fact that 150 native symphonies were produced between 1768 and 1777, and 100 in the period 1778–89.<sup>10</sup> Gossec, who was in so many ways a seminal figure in French music in the second half of the eighteenth century,<sup>11</sup> was also the leading French symphonist. His symphonies were in the repertoire of the *Concert des amateurs* and the *Concert de la Loge Olympique*.<sup>12</sup> Although after an initial performance in 1757<sup>13</sup> they do not appear to feature prominently in the *Concert spirituel* until the mid 1770s, his symphonies enjoyed a sustained popularity on a par with leading foreign symphonists and were a core part of the symphonic repertoire in the early years of Le Gros's directorship.

In the first five years of Le Gros's directorship Mannheim and native French symphonies continued to be represented strongly. However, Le Gros also introduced new symphonies by three foreign composers, Haydn, Mozart, and Sterkel, in the years 1777–8. The biographical details of Mozart's unhappy visit to Paris in 1778 are well documented.<sup>14</sup> One of the major products of this visit was his 'Paris' Symphony (K. 297/300a), and its enthusiastic reception at the *Concert spirituel* on 18

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Bernard Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Haydn: The 'Paris' Symphonies

June 1778 was reported by Mozart in a letter to his father.<sup>15</sup> However, Mozart's trip to Paris was only a qualified success, and, whatever the reasons, it is in any case clear that with a total of only fifteen performances of his symphonies in the period 1778–89<sup>16</sup> he did not become the darling of the French audiences.

It is also at least partly the case that Mozart's symphonies could not compete with the huge popularity which Sterkel's symphonies enjoyed in the *Concert spirituel* in the period 1777–82. Of the three foreign composers introduced to the concert audiences by Le Gros in 1777–8 it is initially Sterkel who enjoyed the widest popularity: in the the years 1777–82 there were 47 performances of Sterkel symphonies at the *Concert spirituel*, making his symphonies by a long way the most widely performed. Reviews of symphonies are a rarity in the eighteenth-century Parisian press, but a passing comment in the *Mercure de France* in 1779 reinforces the statistical dominance of Sterkel's symphonies of the *Concert spirituel* at this time and again hints at the reservations which reviewers held concerning Mozart's symphonies:

The director of this Spectacle [the *Concert spirituel* of 23 May 1779], always concerned to vary the pleasures of the public, divided his concert into two parts, prefaced by two symphonies for large orchestra, one composed by Slerkel [Sterkel], whose picturesque style and beautiful harmonic effects are well known; the other by Amédeo Mozartz. Perhaps it is as learned and as majestic as the first; but it did not excite the same interest.<sup>17</sup>

Between 1777 and 1781 Haydn's symphonies also became established in Le Gros's repertoire, receiving from one to five performances in each year but, initially, in no way challenging Sterkel's dominance of the symphonic repertoire in the *Concert spirituel*. His music is mentioned relatively frequently in concert reports in the *Mercure de France* for the first time in 1778–9. For the most part the reviewers note the generally positive reaction to a Haydn symphony,<sup>18</sup> or the merits of a particular performance, or of the choice of programme.<sup>19</sup> Occasionally reservations were expressed concerning the difficulty of Haydn's music, particularly it seems his finales:

The concert performed at the Château des Tuileries on Ascension Day began with a new symphony by Hayden. The first movement, of sombre



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 Bernard Harrison  
 Excerpt  
[More information](#)

### Haydn's music and the *Concert spirituel*

character, seemed very expressive; the second, although imitating the old French style, still gave pleasure; the third did not have the same success, because of the incoherence of its ideas.<sup>20</sup>

Yet even at this early stage, some special qualities of Haydn's symphonies are identified ('noble and intense, always graceful, always varied, the genius of this composer seems in effect inexhaustible');<sup>21</sup> and the general context of any reservations is one of increasing familiarity and acceptance of Haydn's symphonies in the repertoire:

As an ouverture a new symphony by Hayden was performed, in which grand effects are rarer than in most others by the same author. Above all the individuality of the last movement was applauded.<sup>22</sup>

In the first years of Le Gros's directorship, then, the regular programming of symphonies by Haydn and Mozart was a significant feature of the *Concert spirituel*. In these years, however, Mannheim and French symphonies continued in their prominent position, and the symphonies of Sterkel enjoyed a spectacular popularity which, in numbers of performances, overshadowed the symphonies of all other composers. Within a few years this situation was to alter radically, and one of the most significant landmarks in the history of Haydn reception in Paris occurred in 1781, with the performance for the first time at the *Concert spirituel* of Haydn's *Stabat Mater*, his first truly popular success.

### 'Les deux Stabats'

In 1781 Haydn's *Stabat Mater* of 1767 received four performances and quickly became an established part of *Concert spirituel* repertoire. We know from Haydn's letter of 27 May 1781 to the publisher Artaria that Le Gros had corresponded with Haydn concerning the *Stabat Mater* and reported the success of the work at the *Concert spirituel*:

Now something from Paris. Monsieur Le Gros, *Directeur* of the Concert Spirituel, wrote me the most flattering things about my *Stabat Mater*, which was performed there four times with the greatest applause; the gentlemen asked permission to have it engraved. They made me an offer to engrave all my future works on the most favourable terms for myself, and were most surprised that I was so singularly successful in my vocal compositions.<sup>23</sup>

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978-0-521-47743-7 - Haydn: The 'Paris' Symphonies

Bernard Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Haydn: The 'Paris' Symphonies

The popularity of Haydn's *Stabat Mater* is all the more striking when one considers the local tradition into which it was so readily absorbed. The first review of Haydn's *Stabat Mater* explains the programming innovation of Joseph Le Gros in presenting three different settings of the *Stabat Mater* sequence in the April concerts of 1781:

What particularly excited the curiosity of the amateurs of music was the happy idea, conceived by the Director of the *Concert spirituel*, of performing concurrently with the *Stabat* of the famous Pergolèze two motets, still unknown here, composed on the same *prose* by Signor Hayden and Père Vito, a Portuguese.<sup>24</sup>

It should be understood that, in the context of French music in the second half of the eighteenth century, to juxtapose any work with the *Stabat Mater* of Pergolesi was to invoke a standard of criticism which involved more than a mere matter of relative musical competence. Pergolesi's opera *La serva padrona* had been a *cause célèbre* in the great *Querelle des Bouffons* of the 1750s and came to represent more than an operatic style: it embodied, long after the heated debates of the 1750s, aesthetic and ideological stances which remained central to Enlightenment debates concerning music.<sup>25</sup> The counterpart to the status of *La serva padrona* as a touchstone of taste in the opera house was the role of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* in public concerts and in particular the *Concert spirituel*. It became an established convention of the *Concert spirituel* to perform it at least once during the Lenten season, almost always on Good Friday. At the height of the *Querelle des Bouffons* in 1753 it was performed six times at the *Concert spirituel*. In subsequent years it was absent from the repertoire only in the years 1758–62 and was performed at least once in 33 of the 38 years from 1753 to 1790 and in 28 consecutive years from 1763 to 1790.<sup>26</sup> In all, this work received at least 82 performances, in part or in full, at the *Concert spirituel*,<sup>27</sup> remaining, according to press reports, as popular with Parisian audiences in the 1780s as it was in the mid eighteenth century and representing one of the most striking instances of the overlapping of 'learned' and 'popular' taste in eighteenth-century France. To reviewers it remained a 'sublime' work which embodied the key values of French Enlightenment music aesthetics, a work which 'unites great expression and a great simplicity'.<sup>28</sup> For audiences, even in the 1780s, the omission of an expected performance of