



Acoustics – see Performance Spaces

Aesthetics Haydn seems to have taken a broad view of music aesthetics. Evidence of his aesthetic preconceptions is to be found, for example, in his LONDON NOTEBOOKS, the contents of his library (MATERIAL CULTURE), and interviews with early biographer Griesinger, as well as the MUSICAL MATERIALS themselves. At root was the idea of good (melodic) invention and the ability to develop a theme in a logical and flowing manner. According to Griesinger, Haydn insisted that “fluent song” (*fließender Gesang*) was a prerequisite for good music, and he lamented contemporary composers’ lack of VOCAL training: “[Haydn] also criticized the fact that now so many musicians compose who have never learned how to sing. ‘Singing must almost be reckoned one of the lost arts; instead of song, people allow the instruments to dominate.’” The integrity of the “fluent song” itself was to be maintained and coherently worked out so that the resulting work would “remain in the heart” of the listener (Gotwals 61). Indeed the aesthetics of song can be considered to govern his musical output, vocal and instrumental works alike.

Central to Haydn’s aesthetics, and contemporaries’ reception of his music, is the concept of originality (see GENIUS). By his own account to Griesinger, IMPROVISATION (*phantasieren*) at the keyboard was a fundamental first step in his COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS: “I sat down, began to fantasize, according to whether my mood was sad or happy, serious or playful, [until] I had seized upon an idea” (Gotwals 61). He then sought to work out coherent musical ideas according to the “rules of art” (Bonds 136). Sisman notes that he distinguished the “rules” to which he referred from standard textbook compositional rules of the day, which he termed “artisan’s fetters.” These rules were to be understood, but not followed in a servile manner; rather, they were used strategically, broken when necessary, and manipulated to enhance a musical argument. Haydn’s contemporaries recognized novelty as a key component of the resulting composition. His champions saw in his works the spirit of genius along the lines described by Immanuel Kant in his *Critique of Judgment*: “Genius is the talent (natural endowment) which gives the rule to art” (Sisman 9).

Aestheticians of Haydn’s time such as Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant divided the field using two key categories: the SUBLIME and the BEAUTIFUL. To these, a third category, the ornamental (*niedlich*) or picturesque was often added, for example by commentators such as Carl Friedrich Michaelis and William Crotch. These aesthetic ideas, which were clearly ranked in terms of status (sublime as highest, ornamental as

low) were applied to Haydn's music by reviewers and biographers of the day. They heard sublime elements in Haydn's *The Creation*, Hob. XXI:2, for example. The "Representation/Idea of Chaos" leading to the Creation of Light, in particular, fuses text and music to suggest something beyond comprehension – the origins of the universe – invoking, as Webster (1997) points out, the incompressibility that was central to Immanuel Kant's idea of the sublime. In applying the idea of the sublime to *The Creation*, contemporaries such as Christoph Martin Wieland went so far as to imply that the work actually effects a fusion of the persona in the work and the author of the work, thus looking back to the ancient definitions of the sublime by pseudo-Longinus.

The dyad/triad of sublime and beautiful (and picturesque) were categories of reception that stabilized towards the end of Haydn's career, and certain works of Haydn seemed to represent these categories well. However, Haydn himself was working within a much more fluid field of aesthetics. The pastoral mode is also invoked in Haydn's music, for example. A prime example is *The Seasons*, Hob. XXI:3, where it is mixed with the sublime. Webster (2005b) describes how the pastoral is invoked not only through word-painting, instrument choice, and "genre" pieces of a bucolic nature. Aspects such as run-on movements and the repetition of large-scale modulations create a sense of the cyclic passage of pastoral time.

Critics and admirers alike noted Haydn's use and mixing of the sublime, beautiful, and ornamental in his instrumental music. Brown observes that London reviewers of Haydn's later symphonies, and the scholar William Crotch, found that the sublime and ornamental featured alike in these works, although Crotch did complain that the ornamental style predominated. London reviewers found Haydn's use of the sublime, in particular, to be praiseworthy in works like *Symphony in E \flat major, No. 103* ("Drumroll"). Other commentators of Haydn's day, especially north German critics, were not so enthusiastic about Haydn's "mixture." They found the serious elements in his chamber music to be problematically intermixed with wit, as did the Reverend Thomas Twining:

[Haydn's] Quartetts spoil me for almost all other music of the kind. There are, in them too, some very fine, serious Cantables; – yet now & then in the midst of them, he takes a freak up to the top of the finger-board – & then, (to my ear, at least) the charm is dissolved – trick, caprice, & the difficulté vaincue, take place of expression & pathos. – It seems to me as if no Composer, or player cou'd be in earnest, in *altissimo*: – it is not the {climb-at/climate} for it (Ribeiro 400).

Earnestness and melancholy are within the scope of Haydn's aesthetics; indeed they are crucial to an understanding of his various modes of musical HUMOR. However, from the nineteenth-century onwards commentators on his works have tended to emphasize wit, jollity, and mirth, downplaying or ignoring the more serious and deeply felt aspects of his compositions. In part this was due to an ignorance of the full breadth of his vocal music in the nineteenth-century; but it was also due to a misunderstanding, or partial understanding, of the range of expression in his instrumental music. Eighteenth-century listeners

recognized the serious and melancholy aspects of Haydn's aesthetics. (See also [RECEPTION](#).)

NANCY NOVEMBER

FURTHER READING

Bonds (1997); Brown (1996); Gotwals; Griesinger; Ribeiro (1991); Sisman (1997); Webster (1997, 2005a, 2005b).

Aging Haydn was seventy-seven years and two months old when he died on May 31, 1809 – older than many, if not most of the Great Composers. He had always enjoyed reasonably good health and had a positive, largely uncomplaining outlook on life. Soon after completing *The Creation* in 1798 he started to comment about waning energy levels and, later, he repeatedly observed that composing *The Seasons* had been an unprecedentedly tiring exercise. Only one major work, the *Harmoniemesse*, was to follow, and by 1805 he had given up composing entirely. As his biographer Dies recorded in several accounts of his visits to the housebound composer, Haydn was now an old man, sometimes tired, often in pain with swollen legs, and more willing to talk about the past than the present. His condition was neatly summed up by a new visiting card that he used from about 1805. It quoted the opening of an earlier part-song “Der Greis”: “Hin ist alle meine Kraft, Alt und schwach bin ich [Gone is all my strength, old and weak am I].”

Haydn lived long enough to experience many of the emerging characteristics of composer [MEMORIALIZATION](#), nourishing a clear and proud sense of artistic legacy that sat alongside his habitual modesty. He willingly co-operated with biographers such as Griesinger and Dies, with [PUBLISHERS](#) like Pleyel and Breitkopf & Härtel who wished to produce orderly and authoritative [EDITIONS](#) of his music, and in his will he even left a sum of money to maintain a monument that had been erected in his honor in his birthplace, Rohrau (see [RECEPTION](#)).

While these actions are unambiguous in their motivation, establishing aged qualities in the music that was composed in the last phase of his life is more complex. A conference in Cologne in the anniversary year of 2009 included considerations of lateness as style and idea (Konrad, Miller, and Webster) as well as legacy writing and canon formation (Raab and Gruber; the full conference report is contained in *Haydn-Studien* volume 10). Significantly, the terms “late style” or “third-period style” are hardly ever encountered in Haydn scholarship. There are a few works, or portions of works, that deal with mortality, but they do not amount to a consistent stylistic trait. As well as “Der Greis,” there is a second part-song, “Betrachtung des Todes,” that deals – rather inscrutably it has to be said – with the prospect of death. A much more eloquent contemplation, followed by a picture of the life thereafter, occurs at the end of “Winter” in *The Seasons*, Simon’s aria “Erblicke hier, betörter Mensch” (“Behold, deluded man”) and the chorus “Dann bricht der grosse Morgen an” (“Then comes the dawn of that great morn”). But the expressive sensibility of these movements derives from the Catholic [CHURCH](#) music of a life-long believer, rather than from any newly found sense of personal quietude.

AMATEURS

Challenging, even intellectually indulgent, complexity is often regarded as a third-period characteristic, as in Bach's *Art of Fugue* or Beethoven's late quartets and piano sonatas. The closest Haydn came to that outlook was in his last, unfinished quartet, Op. 103 in D minor. The composer was unable to find a four-movement context for the HARMONIC reach of the *Andante* and the thematic terseness of the *Menuet*, an intellectual challenge that creeping old age could not meet. The frustration of this process is well attested, as in the wording on Haydn's visiting card and, more particularly, Griesinger's reported comment that he sometimes had good ideas for composition but lacked the ability to develop them or even to remember them. Perhaps, there was, too, an underlying sense that this most engaging and inventive of composers did not want to live up to the challenge if it resulted only in cerebral abstraction.

Physical infirmity in the last five years or so of Haydn's life meant that any admirer had to make the journey to the Viennese suburb of Gumpendorf to pay their respects, and the visits of people as varied as his two biographers, Griesinger and Dies, Mozart's widow Constanze, younger COMPOSERS such as Cherubini and Weber, musical colleagues from the Esterházy COURT and a soldier from the occupying French forces all had the feeling of a pilgrimage. That sense of a settled, revered status that contrasted with, but ultimately transcended, physical and mental decline was put on public display in the celebrated performance of Haydn's *Creation* in the large hall of the university on March 27, 1808, a few days before the composer's seventy-sixth birthday. Seated in an armchair Haydn was carried into the packed hall, greeted by Beethoven, Gyrowetz, Hummel, and Salieri, presented with a three-verse adulatory poem, the sound of trumpet and timpani fanfares and shouts of "Vivat" and "Long live Haydn." Fearing that the occasion might be too much for him, the composer left at the end of Part 1, once more carried in his armchair and with the sound of unending applause ringing in his ears.

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FURTHER READING

Gruber (2013); Jones (2004); Konrad (2013); Miller (2013); Raab (2013); Webster (2013).

Amateurs Amateurs participated in music for recreational rather than vocational purposes, as an entertaining and self-improving pastime rather than a means of livelihood. But beyond the basic commonality of their non-professional status, amateurs were a diverse group. They were Haydn's patrons or DEDICATEES, the recipients of manuscript copies, or the anonymous consumers of his printed music. Some were highly skilled on an instrument, others less so. While amateurs were active mainly in domestic settings, the music they played ranged across public and private genres, light and serious styles. Rather than the intended audience for a specific subset of compositions, amateurs represent a lens through which one can view Haydn's entire oeuvre.

The multiplicity of Haydn's amateurs is reflected in the variety of terms for non-professional musicians current in his milieu. For gentleman, these included "Kenner," "Liebhaber," "Dilettant," and "Kunstfreunde." For women, any specification of GENDER – such as "für das schöne Geschlecht" (for the fair sex) or "à l'usage des dammes" (for the use of ladies) – signaled amateur status. Each term had different shades of meaning, and even shifts in

meaning during Haydn's lifetime. The Dilettant was typically counterpoised to the Virtuoso, being characterized by his less rigorous training and lower skill level. Kunstfreunden, or "friends of art," embraced professional and non-professional musicians, on the basis of a shared devotion to ideals of BEAUTY. The terms "Kenner" and "Liebhaber" described music consumers while simultaneously distinguishing those consumers from a more general public (see Sisman). Though often translated as "connoisseurs" and "amateurs," the terms in fact described two levels of amateur engagement, and might be better rendered as "knowers" and "lovers." The Liebhaber was thought to have a "natural" appreciation for music – an intuitive sense of musical judgment based on feeling and pleasure, uncorrupted or unrefined (depending on one's point of view) by knowledge of the rules. The Kenner occupied a midpoint between the artist and the Liebhaber, having more musical training and knowledge than the Liebhaber, but applying this to the appreciation rather than to the production of works of art. As Riley has observed, the term "Liebhaber" was increasingly applied to listeners as opposed to amateur performers in the late eighteenth century, reflecting the expanding AUDIENCE (and widening skill gap) that came with the rise of public concerts (416).

From c. 1762–78, Haydn's compositional energies focused – by contractual obligation – on one particular amateur: his employer, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy (see COURTS). Prince Nicolaus purchased a baryton in 1765, and thereafter sought from Haydn a regular supply of new pieces for him to play on the INSTRUMENT, which resembled a viola da gamba with an additional set of plucked strings. The result was 123 trios – most scored for baryton, viola and cello – as well as a handful of other chamber works for the instrument. The trios are relatively short three-movement works, with baryton parts suited to the prince's limited time and skills: most are in the open-string-friendly keys of D, G, and A major, and only two call for the advanced technique of bowing and plucking simultaneously. The baryton was an uncommon instrument, and the baryton trios remained in manuscript – gathered into sets bound in leather and gold – for the exclusive use of Prince Nicolaus.

Changes to the terms of Haydn's employment in 1779 freed Haydn from the obligation to compose solely at the discretion of the Prince, and allowed him both to compose for others and to have his works published. In fact, Haydn had already seen a number of compositions find an enthusiastic amateur market domestically and abroad, including the string quartets Opp. 9, 17, and 20, published in 1771, 1772, and 1774, respectively. But 1778 nonetheless marked a decisive transition point, when Haydn turned toward the public as a main audience for his chamber music. Aiding this turn was the Viennese publishing firm of Artaria, which entered the music business in 1778 and became Haydn's primary PUBLISHER in Austria.

Unlike contemporaries such as C. P. E. Bach, Haydn titled no works "à l'usage des dames" (or the like). Ladies were, however, the default players for his solo keyboard works, as well as for the keyboard parts in his chamber works. The title page to Artaria's 1785 edition of Haydn's keyboard trio Hob. XV:10 pictures a typical domestic music-making arrangement: a lady plays the keyboard, while gentlemen play the violin and cello (see SOCIABILITY, Figure 28).

 AMATEURS

Confirmation of these GENDER roles also comes from Haydn's dedications: all of Haydn's published keyboard sonatas were dedicated to ladies (with one exception: the first set, Hob.XVI:21–26, was dedicated to Prince Esterházy, likely because it was Haydn's first authorized publication). His string quartet publications, by contrast, all had male DEDICATEES. There are, however, exceptions to the identification of ladies with amateur status. Haydn dedicated several trios (Hob.XV:27–29, 31) and sonatas (Hob.XVI:50 in C major and XVI:52 in E♭ major) to Therese Jansen (later Bartolozzi), a piano teacher in LONDON. The professional-level bravura of these works points up the amateur features of Haydn's other keyboard compositions, such as the two-movement designs in the set dedicated to Princess Marie Esterházy (Hob.XVI:40–42), and the expressive subtleties of the set dedicated to salon-playing sisters Marianna and Katharina Auenbrugger (whom Haydn praised for their “insight into composition,” a comment discussed by Beghin; Hob.XVI:35–39, 20). (See RELATIONSHIPS AND FRIENDSHIPS; COMPOSERS AND MUSIC PROFESSIONALS.)

Haydn's song publications targeted amateur performers. He described his first set of lieder (Hob.XXVIa:1–12), published by Artaria in 1781, as featuring an “ease of vocal execution” (quoted in Komlós 2005, 166). For certain critics, these lieder were a disappointment: *Cramer's Magazin der Musik* criticized them as beneath Haydn, being made only for the amusement of “male and female amateurs [Liebhabern und Liebhaberinnen] of a certain kind” (Cramer 456). The lieder indeed proved appealing to music lovers of modest skill both in Austria and abroad: the songs were published in London in 1786, with English words. Haydn also wrote English-style songs (Canzonettas) for publication in London, contributing fourteen to the English domestic music-making scene (Hob.XXVIa:25–36, 41–42).

Amateurs played Haydn's symphonies, operas, and oratorios in domestic settings in the form of arrangements (see CIRCULATION). Easy versions of such large-scale compositions were the “DESIDERATA of the Amateurs in this science,” according to an English publication – Thompson's *Twelve Elegant and Familiar Canzonetts* (1788) – which supplied overtures, the slow movement from Symphony No. 47 and other selections in arrangements for keyboard with ad libitum accompaniment, made “as familiar [i.e. easy] as possible” (see Wheelock). While keyboard arrangements of large-scale works were common throughout EUROPE, arrangements for string quartet or quintet were Viennese specialties. As Thormählen has argued, these string arrangements did more than make public works available for private performance: they aimed to “inspire social interaction in and through art” and “went hand in hand with the belief in humans' innate senses of SOCIABILITY and of morality” – senses understood to be best trained through active, physical engagement with beauty (345–46). Arrangements thus highlighted what amateurs stood to gain from participating in musical performance, above and beyond the edification they might absorb through musical listening.

String quartets straddled the realms of professional and amateur. From the 1750s, “quartet parties” were popular in and around VIENNA; typically, these took place at the behest of noble amateurs, and featured at least one professional musician among the four players. The initial impetus for Haydn's compositions for string quartet has been credited to just such

a party: according to Haydn's biographer Griesinger, the Baron Fürnberg invited his pastor, his manager, Haydn, and the brother of composer J. G. Albrechtsberger to make music, and asked Haydn to compose "something that could be performed by these four amateurs [Kunstfreunden]." When Haydn published his Op. 33 quartets (1781), he sought to sell advance manuscript copies to those he described as "gentlemen amateurs and great connoisseurs and patrons of music" (*Heern Liebhaber und Grosse Kenner und Gönner der Tonkunst*). Both the high level of compositional artifice and the technical difficulty of the string quartets were widely noted. Fending off complaints about excessive difficulty, the *Wiener Zeitung* advertised the Op. 64 quartets (1790) as appealing to professionals and non-professionals alike: "the artist [Künstler] as well as the mere amateur [blosse Liebhaber] will be completely satisfied."

While verbal evidence is sometimes available to establish for whom Haydn composed certain works, and what musical capacities he expected those people to have, there is often little testimony to such matters beyond the compositions themselves. Because amateurs possessed a wide range of musical skill levels, and often crossed ranks with professionals, what can be deduced most reliably from musical works are types of PERFORMANCE SPACES – those suited to public or intimate style, more THEATRICAL or delicate expression. Potentially distinguishing music conceived especially for amateurs, however, are features that reflect a concern with the pleasure of the performers above that of listeners. The opening to the slow movement of Haydn's Piano Trio in B \flat major, Hob.XV:20, for instance, features the instruction "the left hand alone" in the piano part. As Hunter has noted, the effect could make little difference for a listening audience, but the peculiar one-handed moment can be enjoyed by the pianist and perhaps appreciated by her nearby companions.

Throughout his career, Haydn wrote of his musical patrons and public with kindness and respect. In this he differed from Mozart, who often expressed impatience or frustration with anyone below the level of a Kenner. Haydn's faith in the capabilities of amateurs is reflected in the permeable boundary between professional and non-professional participation in his music; and it shines through the trait for which he was celebrated by contemporaries – his "artful popularity" and "popular artistry."

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FURTHER READING

Bar-Yoshafat (2013); Beghin (2015a); Brown (1986a); Cramer (1783); Hunter (1997a); Komlós (1987, 2005); Riley (2003); Sisman (2005); Thormählen (2010); Webster (1974); Wheelock (1990).

Americas, The For generalist treatments of this topic we must hark all the way back to M. D. Herter Norton's "Haydn in America Before 1820" written in 1932 and Irving Lowen's "Haydn's Reputation and Popularity in the United States" written in 1979 – the latter itself an apparent stop-gap to what would otherwise have been a complete absence of discussion of Haydn in America at the giant Haydn festival-conference held, after all, in America (that is, Washington, DC) in 1975 (see RECEPTION and FESTIVALS). Thereafter the subject is touched upon

incidentally, within research on particular American subcultures. But the year 2011 saw a burst of interest, with a conference in Eisenstadt entitled “Joseph Haydn and Die Neue Welt: Musik- und kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven.” Some of the participants operate, at least in part, from the relatively new theoretical perspective of Transatlantic Studies, a key premise of which is to understand western-Atlantic manifestations of eastern-Atlantic cultural forms not as derivative, not as peripheral, but as central – as “authentic” expressions in and of themselves.

The Herter Norton and Lowens studies are certainly ripe for historiographic critique. Both authors focus on how often Haydn was performed and how seriously he was taken. Herter Norton labels as “odd” the mixed programs that included Haydn symphony movements or songs alongside the likes of spoken recitations, glass harmonica performances, and military marches – and as “odd” (again) the settings for such performances, such as New York ice-cream purveyor Joseph Delacroix’s elegant Vaux Hall Gardens in 1797–99. She wonders how, under such circumstances, Haydn’s music could receive “proper” appreciation. Nevertheless, she concludes, Americans contributed their “full share of acceptance and appreciation, and may honestly say that Haydn has been taken for granted as part of our tradition ever since real musical activity came into the life of America” (337). Lowens is less sanguine: in America, he concludes, Haydn was not “appreciated at his true worth.” The frequency of Haydn’s name on concert programs raises what he calls a “delicate point”: only a limited number of works were heard; they were just much repeated. As for publication, the American record “is nothing about which we can boast” (6): PUBLISHERS supplied songs and piano pieces for the home; the symphonies and overtures heard on concert programs, on the other hand, were sent or brought from Europe or copied by hand. Ultimately, although their assessments are somewhat different, Herter Norton and Lowens both seem to wince, apologize, and occasionally defend.

Haydn and the Americas, then, is a topic well poised for fresh research. On the one hand, there is still much more to be said in answer to key old questions. What were Haydn’s perceptions of the “New World”? (See TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.) How was Haydn perceived across the Atlantic; how were his music and his reputation understood there, and to what ends? But meanwhile, the most exigent questions are, in a sense, new. What happens when we understand the places in question not as physical locations but as NETWORKS, as “geographies of ideas”? Transatlantic historians remind us that the Atlantic Ocean was, for many, a much wider physical than ideological divide. Families had branches on both sides; companies had agents on both sides; government officers could serve in one country despite having been born in another. The factual, place-based details of Haydn’s personal biography are not literally transatlantic, but the world in which his music was made meaningful – the Atlantic world in the age of revolution – was a transatlantic world, one at once diverse and closely knit.

We should start by considering the very term “New World.” Obviously, it is Eurocentric; less obviously, but no less true, it perpetuates the illusion that the Americas prior to European colonization were sparsely populated, uncivilized, untouched. The notion of “newness” was, and continues to be, integral to

a mythology, and one of the functions of that mythology is to obfuscate the genocide and erasure of culture that occurred. Depending on the topic and the aims of our research, the term “New World,” in scare quotes, may or may not have its place.

Haydn's Perceptions Haydn's perceptions of indigenous, imperial, colonial, and revolutionary activity across the Atlantic would have been developed by reading the newspaper, *Das Wienerische Diarium/Wiener Zeitung*, and several books in his possession, such as William Robertson's three-volume *History of America*, which he owned in a 1787 Viennese edition; William Guthrie and John Gray's *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*; and Joachim Heinrich Campe's *Erste Sammlung merkwürdiger Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend*, which summarized real travel accounts to a variety of remote places including the Americas. He also owned an account of Captain Cook's voyages and, as Tolley posits, was familiar with the family of one of its artistic illustrators. Zacharasiewicz provides an extensive account – and notes the ambiguity – of images of the “New World” that would have been familiar among Haydn's milieu, including those found in “Letters from an American Farmer” by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, in an adaptation of “Inkle and Yarico” by C. F. Gellert (one of Haydn's favorite authors), and in the writings of Thomas Jefferson and Jean-Jacques Rousseau on native Americans in particular. Van Boer describes the tumultuous picture painted in the LONDON press, particularly of American self-governance, during Haydn's sojourns there. Future scholarship can extend the efforts of these scholars by attending to the complexity of the representations, for they are at once sympathetic and blinkered.

Haydn had at least two personal contacts with men born in the Americas. In England, he was friendly with Pennsylvania-born John Antes, who was a Moravian clergyman (uncle of Christian LaTrobe, mentioned below), instrument builder, inventor of a pedal-operated music stand, and composer. Antes's three trios, although written during a period of missionary service in Egypt, are considered the earliest known chamber music written by an American. He is also known to have sent a set of string quartets, written around the same time (but now missing), to Benjamin Franklin. Antes was described on the title page of the trios as a “Dilettante Americano” but their “Americanness” as experienced by Haydn would have had a truly transatlantic flavor. As Crews observes, “here we have an American-born missionary in Egypt sending copies of his quartets to an American diplomat in France, quartets which he had written for an English nobleman and his associates in India! This makes his dedication of the *Three Trios* to the Swedish ambassador in Constantinople almost an anti-climax” (13).

Haydn's first personal contact was with Venezuelan revolutionary General Francisco de Miranda, who in October of 1785 arrived at ESZTERHÁZA in the middle of his European tour, on the heels of eighteen months in the United States. Miranda records in his diary (October 26–28, 1785) that he spent two days with Haydn touring the palace and gardens. “I spoke a lot about music with Haydn,” he reports, but given what we know from other sources about Miranda's interactions, we can assume that non-musical topics were also raised by the admiring but garrulous guest. Miranda's aim in the United States had been to learn everything

he could in order eventually to lead his own emancipation project in Spanish America. According to President John Adams, Miranda had more personal connections with Americans, and a more comprehensive grasp of key events and even minor details of the WAR, than any American officer or statesman; his “constant topic was the independence of Spanish America, her immense wealth, inexhaustible resources, innumerable population, impatiences [sic] under the Spanish yoke, and disposition to throw off the dominion of Spain” (Racine 64). Miranda was on a public-relations mission, and he liked to drop names. In conversation with Haydn he could likely have referred to his acquaintance with George Washington (whom he did not like), Thomas Paine, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson, or his regular discussion “symposium” with Samuel Adams and Alexander Hamilton, or his love of Philadelphia and of public libraries, or his baffled aversion to the austerity of the Quakers. Very likely he took the opportunity to paint a dim picture of free enquiry in his South American home: there could be no intellectuals in New Spain, he had recently claimed to another host, “for Geniuses dare not read nor think nor speak, for fear of the Inquisition, wh[ich] keeps out all books lest it sh[ould] effect sedition” (Racine 54).

The export of EUROPEAN values is the topic of one of Haydn’s operas: *L’isola disabitata*, in which, as Sisman argues, the two heroines embody “Old World” and “New World” outlooks and, together with their rescuers, metaphorically enact a colonial encounter. Did Haydn perhaps write music that expressed revolutionary ideals? Polzonetti argues that *Il mondo della luna* transposed the “discovery” of the Americas to the heavenly realm; in the opera, utopia stands as a metaphor for revolution. More generally, several scholars have helped to build a sense of how Haydn and his contemporaries perceived the “New World” by describing other operas of the period. Rice reveals Haydn’s heavy editorial involvement with the opera *Montezuma*, originally by Niccolò Zingarelli, which was performed at Eszterháza in 1785. Mikusi considers two operas inspired by Marmontel’s “Les Incas ou La destruction de l’empire du Pérou”: *Idalide* (which Haydn produced in 1786) and *Cora*; he finds that both portray “EXOTIC” Peru in opposition to “civilized” European culture. Pratl identifies documents held in the Esterházy ARCHIVES pertaining to sets and costumes of the “New World” operas. (See also THEATER.)

Perceptions of Haydn Like other Austrians, Haydn may have been interested in American colonization and revolution because America’s British rulers were Hanoverians – that is, loyal to the Habsburg monarchy, which ruled Austria. And perhaps his interest was further motivated by concern with his reputation and legacy abroad. In any case, it could be said that Haydn knew less about America than America knew about him, for he was known there in many ways – and to many different ends.

Haydn was a familiar name to the Moravians, descendants of Hussites (Bohemian forerunners of Protestant reformers) who established religious communities in the American states as well as Greenland, Canada, Jamaica, the West Indies, and Suriname. Theirs was an anti-rational faith that prized music for its power to move listeners directly and emotionally in every facet of life – not just worship but also labor, leisure, and school. Consequently, their