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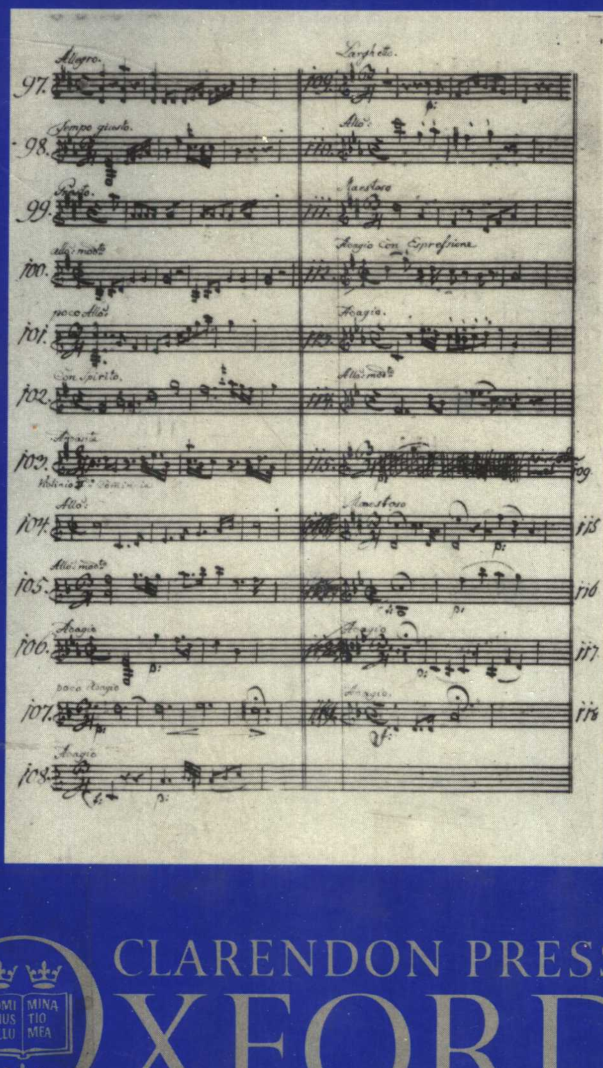
DAVID P. SCHROEDER

HAYDN AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Late Symphonies and their Audience



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AT the age of sixteen I had the fortunate experience of singing in the chorus in an amateur production of Haydn's *Creation*. This performance had important consequences for me since my decisions to study voice, focus on music as an undergraduate, and ultimately pursue a career in music all arose directly or indirectly from that youthful awakening. My fascination with Haydn has remained undiminished for over twenty-five years, and in that time I have received assistance, encouragement, and advice from numerous people. A study such as this, like the works of the composer it examines, does not originate in isolation, and I am very pleased to acknowledge those who have taken a personal interest in my project.

At King's College, Cambridge, I found Philip Radcliffe's infectious enthusiasm for Haydn a resource well worth tapping. Symphony numbers meant nothing to him, but when he knew the key and a few notes of a theme, he could play at the piano virtually any part of any Haydn symphony from memory. He was not a music scholar in the usual sense, and possibly for that reason had something very special to offer. I join many in mourning his loss and remembering him warmly.

Along the way I have had the benefit of suggestions from friends who have read preliminary studies or with whom I have simply enjoyed discussions. Special mention must go to Julian Rushton, Philip Downs, James Webster, Roy Howat, Walter Kemp, and Dennis Farrell. While I originally had only a vague sense that Shaftesbury belonged in this study, I owe my awareness of broader implications to suggestions made by M. H. Abrams. More recently, while spending a year at the University of California at Berkeley, Daniel Heartz was gracious enough to read the entire typescript. He was able to balance his numerous valuable suggestions for improvement with a spirit of warm encouragement.

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documents, but also lively discussion with Professors Klima and Troide.

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Acknowledgement is given to the written work of other authors throughout in footnotes and other citations. While that type of recognition is normally sufficient, it must be noted that a study such as this is dependent on the availability of a large body of archival and editorial work. In this case, I have H. C. Robbins Landon to thank for the staggering amount which he has made accessible. All quotations in musical examples from Haydn's symphonies are taken from his edition (*Joseph Haydn: Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies*). For string quartet examples I have used the edition by Georg Feder and Sonja Gerlach in Joseph Haydn, *Werke*.

Some of the ideas which are used in this study have appeared elsewhere in print. I would like to acknowledge the publishers of the following three of my articles for permission to include passages or ideas here: 'Melodic Source Material and Haydn's Creative Process', *Musical Quarterly*, 68 (1982), 496–515; 'Haydn and Gellert: Parallells in Eighteenth-Century Music and Literature', *Current Musicology*, 35 (1983), 7–18; and 'Audience Reception and Haydn's London Symphonies', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 16 (1985), 57–72.

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D. P. S.

Abbreviations of Sources

Certain sources are cited frequently throughout, and citations for these, instead of being placed in footnotes, are identified in the text in parentheses with page numbers, volume numbers (if applicable), and the following abbreviations:

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Contents

Introduction

THE advent of an Austrian Enlightenment occurred much later than in most other nations, and until recently there has been no agreement on the very existence of such a phenomenon in the Habsburg empire. Scholarship of the last two decades has confirmed, however, that the existing social order was challenged by a new outlook on issues such as education, religion, and social justice.[1] Literature played a major role in the process since it was the most effective means of satirizing the old order or providing concrete demonstration of the new sense of morality. Haydn reached his own artistic mastery at the time of this intellectual and social ferment in Austria (c.1770–90), and it seems highly unlikely that the man who ultimately gained an international reputation as the greatest living composer would have been immune to these powerful forces.

Haydn's statements on such matters are infrequent and not direct, and therefore have the possibility of leading us in any one of a number of directions. For some observers, the essence of Haydn is to be found in the following statement made to his biographer Georg August Griesinger: 'I was set apart from the world, there was nobody in my vicinity to confuse and annoy me in my course, and so I had to be original' (*Not.* 17). Original, to be sure, he was, but the image of complete isolation evoked here is another matter. These remarks, of course, are a reflection of only one facet of his experience: during the months of each year that he spent in Vienna, his social commitments were fairly heavy, since he was much in demand at literary and musical salons. At these gatherings he came into contact with people such as Gottfried van Swieten, Franz Sales von Greiner, Johann Baptist von Alxinger, Aloys Blumauer, Michael Denis, Lorenz Leopold Haschka, Tobias Philipp Gebler, and Ignaz von Born, and through them he became acquainted with the dominant aesthetic and social trends of the time.

The purpose of this study is to attempt to show that Haydn was thoroughly committed to the goals of the Enlightenment, and like his literary compatriots, used his works to serve these goals. While this

[1] See, for example, Ernst Wangermann, 'Reform Catholicism and Political Radicalism in the Austrian Enlightenment', in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981), 127–40.

could be demonstrated in almost any type of composition at almost any point in his career, the focus here will be on works written between 1780 and 1795, and in particular the English Symphonies (which Haydn preferred to call them, rather than London Symphonies). The relationship of the artist and his audience is of critical importance if enlightened goals are being served, and these symphonies offer an extraordinary insight into the effect of this relationship on the works themselves.

The idea of examining Haydn's works in the context of the Enlightenment is by no means new, but there is, it must be acknowledged, resistance to this approach as well. Recent research involving Haydn's associations with literati, his attendance at literary salons, or his personal library has by no means convinced everyone that these activities or acquisitions had any effect on him worthy of notice. The enduring impression of Haydn, fostered by his own acquaintances, appears not to suggest a man well versed in literary, social, or political matters. Griesinger informs us that he was inarticulate, that 'anyone hearing him speak of his art would not have guessed at the great artist in him' (*Not.* 60). And further, Griesinger believed that Haydn 'did not himself know how he found within himself the ideas for [the products of his genius]'. Haydn's presence at the Greiner salon made no impression on Caroline Pichler, Greiner's daughter, who noted that both Mozart and Haydn had 'an ordinary cast of mind' and 'made flat jokes'. Furthermore, Adalbert Gyrowetz, observing Haydn at a musical salon, could say nothing more than that he laughed 'somewhat archly'.[2] Concerning Haydn's personal library, it could be argued that it served no purpose other than being decorative, or that the books were simply gifts from visitors as payments of respect. As for Haydn's involvement with a person such as Greiner, the lack of supporting evidence is an issue which must be addressed. Haydn refers to Greiner only twice in his correspondence, and in fact only to complain about Greiner's negligence in returning texts. The lack of convincing documentation, then, has confirmed for some scholars that any revision of the prevailing impression would be premature.

What is the bearing of these matters on Haydn's works? Griesinger tells us that 'his theoretical *raisonnements* were very simple: namely, a piece of music ought to have a fluent melody, coherent ideas, no superfluous ornaments, nothing overdone, no confusing accompaniment, and so forth' (*Not.* 60). Once again there is little or no documentary evidence to modify this over-simplified impression. The issue at stake here concerns the relationship of documentation and interpretation. If specific or sufficient documentation cannot be found to support a particular hypothesis, that position, some would argue, is necessarily relegated to the 'suspect' category. Surely the fact that a composer was

[2] See Joachim Hurwitz, 'Haydn and the Freemasons', *Haydn Yearbook*, 16 (1985), pp. 33–4.

not a prolific writer of letters, diaries, or other documents which would reveal his opinions does not mean that he did not have opinions. The specific issue of Haydn documentation, in fact, is presented to us by Charles Burney in a way that sheds some light on the matter. Upon receiving a copy of Burney's *A General History of Music* and the poem of welcome shortly after arriving in England, Haydn intended to write Burney a letter of thanks, but meeting Burney at a concert, 'he took the opportunity', Burney writes, 'of making *fine speeches* innumerable, *viva voce*, and by that means saved himself the trouble of writing a letter, as he told me he intended to do'. And, upon being taken home after the concert by Burney, Haydn 'repeated and added more *fine things* on my present, than he could have written in ten sheets of paper'.[3] We do not have the ten sheets of paper, but on the other hand we know that many fine things were said, *viva voce*. The reason for the lack of a written document is clearly not that Haydn had nothing to say.

In Haydn's case the presence or lack of documentation does not allow one to build a particularly strong case one way or the other. The issue here is less biographical than it is one of criticism. The question to be asked is, are literary or other enlightened influences apparent in Haydn's music? The only way to discover this is to examine the music itself, devising critical means which allow such influences to be perceived if indeed they exist. What Haydn does not say in words he is prepared to and capable of saying most eloquently in music. The question of literary influence, then, will not be settled on the basis of archival investigation, which is not to say that such investigation is not of great importance. In view of this, an interdisciplinary approach is called for, relying on means which are necessarily speculative. This study thus attempts to embrace cross-cultural issues, confident that 'speculation' is not a pejorative word and that criticism cannot occur without it.

The 1780s were special years for the Austrian Enlightenment, and this was an eventful decade for Haydn as well. In his various types of composition one can notice refinements or new approaches at this time which are in no small measure related to his increased involvement with enlightened thinkers as well as his more direct relationship with the new international audience. With at least one type of composition, the string quartet, he went so far in 1781 as to say that his newest set of six was written 'in a new and special way'. As for the larger, outside audience, Haydn had been conscious of it all along since his works were disseminated through publication and performance. However, this audience remained indefinite and indefinable for him until the 1780s, when he began to receive commissions from specific concert societies.

The new audience which Haydn encountered in Paris and elsewhere

[3] MS Letter to Latrobe, dated 3 Mar. 1791, in the Osborn Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

was becoming an increasingly important force. The same audience had already taken hold of the theatre, and works for the theatre had undergone significant changes in response to the new taste. A type of reciprocal relationship came into being between writers and their public as far as social values were concerned: the works reflected the moral values of this public, and the audience had its values reinforced by the works. It is possible to see Haydn's awareness of and interaction with this audience growing, and between 1784 and 1795 it was largely through the symphony that his relationship with the public was cultivated. With the commission for the Paris Symphonies, he finally was able to gain full control over what should reach the audience, and in England, for the first time, he came face to face with his new public. The Paris Symphonies, commissioned by a Masonic concert society at precisely the time of Haydn's own initiation, offered heightened musical refinement and sophistication which challenged the listener in a new way. The primary task of this study is to define these symphonic procedures and place them in the context of Haydn's relationship with his new audience.

As Haydn's public types of composition (the symphony in particular) were increasingly directed to the new audience, an understanding of the works in question becomes more dependent on an awareness of the audience and the composer's relationship with it. The audience, in fact, could have a significant bearing on the works composed for it. Particularly in a situation such as Haydn experienced in England, where he was in regular contact with individual members of the audience and he could observe audience reaction and read reviews, audience reception could play a key role in his compositional choices from one work to the next. New works could be influenced by the reception of existing works, or existing works could go through revisions in response to their initial reception. For no period was this more true than for the eighteenth century, as writers at this time placed the highest possible emphasis on both pleasing and teaching their audiences or readers. Haydn owned a copy of *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* by the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the most influential English writers of the century, in which Shaftesbury took the view that 'an author's art and labour are for his reader's sake alone' (*Char.* iii. 228). In the case of Haydn, who wrote of his operas as being 'calculated in accordance with the locality' (*Cor.* 73), it was said of him in England that he informed Salomon he would like to study the English taste before composing any symphonies so he could be assured of the approbation of the public.[4]

[4] Charlotte Papendiek, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journal of Mrs Papendiek*, ed. Mrs Vernon Delves Broughton (London, 1887), ii. p. 290. Also printed in *Chron.* iii. 51.

The symphonies written for Salomon's concerts provide an ideal opportunity to observe the relationship between reception and production. Haydn's relationships with people in England and his ability to observe audience reaction allowed him to calculate a very specific effect for each of the newly composed symphonies. The balance between popular features and intellectual challenge is different in each work, generally shifting towards the latter with each successive season. Having gained the approbation of the audience, he presented it with a musical process which required reflective listening and led to contemplation of matters not strictly musical. The more the listeners followed and engaged in this process, the further they were able to advance in the refinement or intelligibility which this process makes possible. Music had the potential, then, of achieving the same elevated moral goals as were commonly recognized in the eighteenth century as being the purpose of poetry, plays, and novels.

A full study of Haydn and the Enlightenment cannot be confined to the symphonies alone. Different types of composition can be interrelated as the composer discovers procedures in one which are applicable to others. While string quartets and symphonies have fundamental differences, they are also sufficiently similar for the quartets to have an important bearing on the symphonies. Opera and symphony are especially close to each other in the eighteenth century, being the primary secular, public types of composition which engage the interest of a listening audience through dramatic means. In opera one can see an important aspect of a composer's literary inclinations, and in the case of Haydn a shift from comic texts in the 1770s to serious ones in the early 1780s can be noted. In moving towards texts derived from Ariosto and Tasso, Haydn was following a course in opera not unlike that of his literary contemporaries such as Alxinger and Nicolay who wrote chivalrous epics or *Rittergedichte*. But upon reaching this point, Haydn abandoned opera. It seems most probable that he moved away from opera for his own artistic reasons rather than external circumstances or impositions. Both his operas and symphonies were beginning to find a much larger international audience, and Haydn may have decided that he could speak to that audience most effectively through the symphony. However, in 1795 he abandoned the symphony as well, and once again focused his energy on vocal music. It could be argued that Haydn's crowning achievements in relation to the Enlightenment were the masses and oratorios written after he had ceased to write symphonies. A fair assessment of these, however, would require a study much longer than this one is intended to be. The late symphonies are the focus of this study, and the rationale for inclusion of chapters on opera and string quartets arises from chronological relationships and the similarities of compositional procedures.

PART I

Haydn and Enlightened Thought

I

Haydn and Shaftesbury
Music and Morality

HAYDN had been an active composer for three decades by the 1780s, and had thoroughly established his mastery in all facets of composition. The new level of sophistication and challenge apparent in his works at this time, therefore, appears to have implications beyond matters of craft. To suggest that these implications concern the Enlightenment, however, raises immediate problems and questions. One normally associates the Enlightenment with fields such as philosophy, politics, and literature. If music is to be added to the list—and instrumental music in particular—it becomes necessary to proceed with a critical framework which greatly expands what one normally thinks of as the province of a type of composition such as the symphony. One must also be clear in defining what the Enlightenment may have meant to a late eighteenth-century Austrian composer since this phenomenon was international and in some countries had lost much of its impetus by the time Haydn appears to have developed an interest in it. In order to attempt to answer some of these questions and lay the groundwork for responding to others, it is necessary to define as clearly as possible the nature of enlightened thinking which Haydn is likely to have encountered, and establish the sources of his familiarity with this body of thought.

Haydn and Literati

Traditionally, studies which attempt to place composers in a larger cultural context have been of a general nature, viewing the composer in relation to a *Zeitgeist*. This usually involves the comparison of notable contemporaries, but when considering Austria in the late eighteenth century, the usual approach leads to a pitfall. Austria was very much behind Germany in its philosophical and literary development as a result of the strict censorship which persisted until about 1780. Access to the works of Lessing, Wieland, Voltaire, and others had for the most part been restricted in Austria, and with the lifting of strict censorship, the Viennese literary appetite was for the earlier literature of the Enlightenment rather than the contemporary literature which pointed

towards romanticism.[1] Reading and discussion in the Viennese literary salons focused less on the *Sturm und Drang* works of Goethe or Klinger than on mid-century writers or contemporaries whose approaches gravitated towards earlier outlooks. Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–69) emerged as one of the favourites, and others in favour included Lessing, Gleim, Ramler, Jacobi, Hagedorn, and Lavater.[2]

That Haydn shared these preferences is evident in a number of ways. In the case of Gellert, Haydn went so far as to call him his hero. Lavater and Haydn knew each other well enough to exchange correspondence in which Haydn commented favourably on Lavater's works. As for the other writers, it is their works upon which Haydn drew most heavily when choosing texts for his solo songs and part songs, and it appears that in making these choices he relied on the advice of people such as Greiner, at whose literary salon he was an occasional guest. Many of the people with whom Haydn associated at the salons were also members of the Masonic lodge 'Zur wahren Eintracht', and since one of the goals of this lodge was to include leading representatives of all the sciences, arts, and letters, Haydn's membership was considered to be very desirable. Haydn himself had the highest regard for this lodge and its master Ignaz von Born, and enthusiastically presented himself for initiation early in 1785. This assembly was unique among Viennese lodges in that under Born's direction its emphasis was on fostering the goals of the Enlightenment in all areas of endeavour. While Haydn attended no meetings after his initiation, this does not suggest that his support for the principles and values held by these persons had diminished, since the lodge in fact was disbanded before another opportunity for attendance arose.

It will be argued in subsequent chapters which focus on Haydn's literary and Masonic connections that certain writers and Freemasons had a decisive effect on his thinking from the late seventies to the mid-eighties. Gellert and Born have been singled out as having had particularly strong influence on Haydn, and it is possible through these individuals to get to the source of the enlightened thinking which Haydn ultimately attempted to apply in his works. In the case of Born, one discovers that he was the inspiration for a book on Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), by the German writer Johann Georg Schlosser. Item 917 in the catalogue used for the public auction of Born's library after his death is as follows: Schlosser (J.) *über Schaftsbury von der Tugend an Hrn von Born*, Basel, 1785'.[3] Schlosser, whose first wife was the sister of Goethe, spent the years 1778

[1] See Roswitha Strommer, 'Wiener literarische Salons zur Zeit Joseph Haydns', in Herbert Zeman (ed.), *Joseph Haydn und die Literatur seiner Zeit* (Eisenstadt, 1976), 97–121.

[2] Ibid., p. 111.

[3] *Catalogus Bibliothecae Bornianae Publica Auctione Ventetur* (Vienna, 1791).