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*articles*

# Aesthetics and Ideology in the Fin-de-Siècle Mozart Revival*

*By Leon Botstein*

> Back to Mozart? Why back? Why to Mozart? . . . If we observe the major works of music that have been written since the death of Wagner, we find that there is much to be praised, . . . but nevertheless one cannot suppress the feeling, however unclear, that in general terms, something is wrong and somewhere things are rotten in the development of music today. . . . None of the great masters is as far removed from us as Mozart. . . . The public . . . closes its eyes in wonderment when one speaks of him but remains distant when his works are played. It would behoove us first to find Mozart again before debating whether one can return to him. . . .
>
> The deep satisfaction for which we yearn is denied us by the newest music of today. . . . We are aroused, not satisfied; fired up but not warmed; entranced but not elevated. . . . Music has become hysterical like an unhappy woman who has been wrongly imprisoned for a long time. Music must become healthy again. . . .
>
> With our modern means of expression we must create once more in the spirit of Mozart: that would most likely be the right answer. If we truly look deeply into the wondrously translucent child-like eyes of Mozart's art, can we still speak of a "return?" I think the more truthful answer should be "Forward to Mozart!"[1]

These words were written around 1910 by Felix Weingartner (1863–1942), the eminent Austrian conductor and composer. Though he began his career under the spell of Liszt and Wagner, by the time he was called to succeed Gustav Mahler at the Imperial Opera in Vienna in 1907 he had established a reputation as both a reformer and a reactionary. His seminal 1895 essay on the art of conducting attacked the Wagnerian performance tradition and advocated in its place a cleaner, more historically sensitive style of performance of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century orchestral repertoire. This challenge to the Wagnerian performance tradition, particularly of the works of Beethoven, was but one symptom of a deeper mistrust during the fin de siècle of the aesthetic direction being taken by living composers, above all those who continued to take their inspiration from Wagner.[2]

Weingartner was responding to a fin-de-siècle "back to Mozart" movement that was not only reflective of this mistrust but also the culmination of more than a century of struggle over the soul and meaning of Mozart. As Weingartner's argument made plain, German musicians (or those who held up German music as the essence of high art music) were using the battle cry "back to Mozart" to signal a deep dissatisfaction with the state of musical culture. For them a new model and source of inspiration was needed as an antidote to the musical aesthetics associated with Wagner and his followers—Max von Schillings, Engelbert Humperdinck, Friedrich Klose, Hans Pfitzner, and Richard Strauss among them.[3] For all of its attractions, the verismo movement of the Italians Mascagni, Leoncavallo, and Puccini could not provide this remedy, since it was seen as a debasement of the "higher" qualities of musical culture.[4] Furthermore, when Weingartner published his essay in 1912, a form of modernism even newer than neo-Wagnerism—one that cultivated the apparently banal, ugly, and arbitrary (i.e., the music of Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schoenberg)—had made an appearance during the first decade of this century.[5]

Neo-Wagnerism seemed to dominate not only composers but the tastes of the audience. The challenge seemed to be to find a way to render the classical tradition forward-looking and not merely retrospective. From the perspective of adherents to the idea of "absolute" music, the possibilities and limits of music *qua* music remained unheeded in a vulgar and philistine aesthetic environment.[6] From the perspective of those calling for a Mozart revival, the writing of new music had become an undisciplined forum for the extravagant illustration of emotion and subjectivism. A composer himself, Weingartner believed that one could neither retreat by surrounding oneself with music from the past—even that of Mozart—nor utilize self-consciously a musical vocabulary rooted in the past. Although Mendelssohn had sparked the revival of interest in Bach in 1829 (which, in turn, nourished the development of historicist aesthetics), by the end of the nineteenth century Bach, despite a flourishing interest in his music, remained too austere a figure, too distant from modern life to be a standard-bearer of an alternative to neo-Wagnerism. Bach commanded awe but seemed excessively serious, religious, academic, and humorless. He had become an indispensable part of music education in the late nineteenth century, but the interest in him was as a historical figure, one who offered little potential as a real alternative to the seductive lure of Wagnerism. For Rudolf Louis, it was the spirit of Mozart that the new century required.[7]

Why did Mozart emerge as the ideal candidate for aesthetic renewal? Of the four canonic figures of Viennese musical classicism—Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven—Beethoven was easily the most significant figure

from the perspective of nineteenth-century composers and audiences. Although Beethoven dominated the classical repertoire in the concert hall and at home, among Wagnerian and anti-Wagnerian circles the image of Beethoven that had triumphed by 1900 was the one fashioned initially by Robert Schumann but augmented decisively by Wagner himself. Whereas Beethoven's music, particularly the chamber works, may have remained common ground for all camps, the reigning late-romantic image of the composer—one of an innovator, creator, and rebel, whose aesthetics, personality, and ambitions were readily perceptible in the orchestral music—dwarfed any conception of Beethoven as the symbol of musical classicism.[8] The Beethoven of the late nineteenth century fit all too neatly into the Wagnerian claim that Wagner's music and its relation to drama had been the logical, progressive, and historically valid consequence of Beethoven's art.

Gluck, meanwhile, seemed too much identified with the issues of opera, and Haydn, too removed from any impulse associated with nineteenth-century romanticism. Furthermore, unlike Bach, Mozart had not ever been forgotten. Although only a fraction of Mozart's non-operatic repertoire was in active use, all musicians, Wagnerian and non-Wagnerian alike, paid ritual homage to his greatness.[9] To all, including the general public, Mozart was a name to be revered, on a par with Shakespeare, Goethe, and, as Otto Jahn suggested in 1858, even Sophocles. *Don Giovanni, Figaro,* and *The Magic Flute* were standard repertory items, and excerpts from them were widely known. Therefore, if within contemporary music a true revival of classical aesthetics—defined as the logical alternative to Wagnerian ideas—could be achieved, by invoking Mozart the conceits of Wagner and his followers would not remain undisturbed. Such were the hopes of the advocates of a "back to Mozart" movement.

* * *

From the standpoint of the composers, critics, performers, and teachers at the end of the nineteenth century who sought to encourage a rediscovery and reappraisal of Mozart, the elevation of public taste was at stake; the defeat of a superficial and decadent modernism in new music would be a natural byproduct of the revival of the refined "classicism" that Mozart embodied. The problem was that, as Max Bruch put it in 1891, "in these days there are many who cherish Mozart in speech, but in their hearts remain completely distant from him and have lost all understanding for true musical beauty and organic form."[10]

Even among the neo-Wagnerians the revival of Mozart was not necessarily unwelcome. Wagner's warm praise of Mozart in his polemical writings countered any fin-de-siècle use of Mozart as a defense for a reactionary

historicist canon of classicism. As with Beethoven, Wagner himself had provided an alternate historical interpretation of Mozart consistent with the aesthetics of neo-Wagnerism. Further complicating the fin-de-siècle Mozart debate into which Weingartner entered in 1910 was the explicit if infuriating embrace of Mozart by avowed modernist composers such as Max Reger, Arnold Schoenberg, and Ferruccio Busoni. "I pray every day: God almighty, grant us a Mozart; we have such need of him," wrote Max Reger to Karl Straube in 1904.[11] Composers were turning to Mozart to find ways to free themselves from the restrictive terms of a late-nineteenth-century, neoromantic aesthetic debate that had pitted the innovations of Wagner and his followers against the so-called traditionalism of Brahms and other conservative nineteenth-century opponents of Wagner.[12]

Much like the role that the rediscovery of Biedermeier aesthetics played in the evolution of Viennese modernism in design and architecture at the beginning of the twentieth century, the re-evaluation of Mozart that began at the end of the nineteenth century was to be crucial to the "new" musical modernism of Reger, Busoni, and Schoenberg (especially after Schoenberg's expressionist period came to a close after 1913). The return to Mozart became the musical analogue of a fin-de-siècle credo of stylistic integrity that favored visual simplicity, directness, and a respect for ideas of structure and function, rather than the late-nineteenth-century penchant for decoration and aesthetic camouflage (i.e., the visual analogue of Wagnerism).[13] Adolf Loos's 1908 critique of ornament and decoration in modern life as corrupt and, in relation to aesthetic and ethical truths, analogous to crime (vis-à-vis ethics and law), can be compared to Reger's and Busoni's turn to Mozart and other pre-nineteenth-century models of classicism. Predictably, the example of Mozart continued to exert a powerful influence on the direction taken by twentieth-century musical neoclassicism in the 1920s in France and Germany, during the era of the Bauhaus and "Neue Sachlichkeit."

An example of Mozart's centrality in the aesthetic debates of the early twentieth century can be found in a leading Viennese textbook on music history. In the last edition (1915) of his widely used "compendium" of music history, Adolf Prosniz (who had taught elementary piano and obligatory courses in music history at the conservatory in Vienna from 1869–1900) wrote:

> There came an era of musical romanticism when Mozart's art was in retreat. His music was considered harmless and old fashioned against romanticism's raving, subjective musical language and its passionate life of sentiment. In our day, in which a tumultuous movement rages through our musical world—one of the poeticizing and the painterly

> push towards the superficial and the perverse (even including the celebration of real bacchanalias)—owing to the fatigue of nervous overstimulation, there is now a counter movement among circles of music lovers. It reflects the longing for the ennobling and pleasure-giving enjoyment of pure and beautiful music; for the classical calm of the true work of art. Therefore many voices have let themselves be heard with the slogan: Back to Mozart![14]

At the other end of the aesthetic divide from this reactionary characterization of Mozart stood two types of modern romanticism, that of Strauss, Mahler, Debussy, and that of a younger and less established generation, including Schoenberg and Franz Schreker.[15] Ironically, by 1915 both Strauss and Schoenberg were breaking new ground in their music, drawing considerable, although contrasting, inspiration from Mozart. For Schoenberg, Mozart's formal procedures in the chamber music and symphonies (later expanded by Brahms)—the use of variation and the techniques of transformation of melodic material—were exemplary for his own effort to design a contemporary grammar of music that could empower new music to communicate sensibilities and experiences that were uniquely and purely musical. Despite the decisive differences between Schoenberg's cultural politics and those of Prosniz, the redemption of the aesthetic power of purely musical means was at the core of their divergent critiques of contemporary musical life.[16]

In the case of Richard Strauss, Germany's most celebrated composer at the fin de siècle, the operatic Mozart became crucial as a model. As he prepared for a new production of *Così fan tutte* in Munich in 1910, Strauss encountered the comic subtlety, the humor, and the lightness of Mozart—in other words, an alternative to the Wagnerian definition of the dramatic. As Strauss later recalled in 1944, for him Mozart had "solved all problems before they were even raised; . . . in his work all phases ("the whole scale of expression of human sentiment") of the emotional life of human beings were transfigured, spiritualized, and freed of all the limits of realism."[17] Here Strauss implicitly contrasted the elaborate, nearly literary representational musical strategy of Wagner (i.e. "realist") with the clearly artificial aesthetic character of Mozart's music, which, ironically, better approached the profundity of human experience. Although one thinks first of *Der Rosenkavalier* (completed 1910) when considering Strauss's turn to Mozart, the two versions of *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912 and 1916) and the explicit effort in *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (1917) to write a sequel to *Die Zauberflöte* are the clearest examples of Strauss's mid-career appropriation of Mozart as a guide to a new aesthetic strategy.

Among the less reactionary fin-de-siècle proponents of a Mozart revival

were scholars and critics such as Guido Adler (1855–1941), Mahler's childhood friend and a seminal figure in the development of modern musicology. For Adler, a return to Mozart was justified by more than any need for a renewal of healthy musical aesthetics. Through an appreciation of Mozart's music, a set of crucial cultural and political ideas could be communicated. In a speech to secondary-school students held in the Musikverein of Vienna in honor of the 150th anniversary of Mozart's birth in 1906, Adler stressed four reasons why a new generation might well seek inspiration in Mozart:

1) Mozart's music rested on a love of all mankind, on an ethical universalism. Although Mozart had been a great German artist, his music transcended all national and religious barriers.

2) Mozart succeeded in reaching the hearts and minds of experts—those schooled in music—as well as the broader popular audience. He was, in a word, an artist who realized the democratic and egalitarian potentials of art.

3) Mozart utilized dissonance only out of necessity. The perfect integration of form and content made superfluous the modern habit of using the superficial and shocking aspects of chromaticism and extended tonality for their own sake.

4) Mozart realized the "only true manner" of rendering drama into music: He mirrored the human soul in sound.[18]

For Adler (and also Prosniz and Weingartner), there was also an aesthetic component to his position: at stake were the relation of so-called extramusical content to musical form and the idea that ultimately—despite Wagner—the only true content for music was music alone. The unique properties of music as opposed to those of words and images (to which music seemed, in modern times, to be subordinated) had to be reasserted against the use of music as illustrative of the extramusical, as in the famous tone poems of Richard Strauss or even the early symphonic narratives of Gustav Mahler, Adler's friend. Mozart, particularly in the operatic repertoire, displayed, with uncanny virtuosity, the seemingly unique autonomous power of music to speak to humanity on its own independent terms.

Precisely because Mozart stood for an independent, non-representational aesthetic divorced from mundane reality, his music seemed the ideal antidote to the stress, complexity, harshness, and emotional exaggeration of modern life—a welcome alternative in a world where music, presumably a universal language of art, had become merely another mir-

ror of a fragmented modernity. Art could therefore assist in rescuing the human soul from the inhuman and ugly facts of contemporary existence, which included the specter of decadence, excessive materialism, overconfidence in the notion of historical progress, and a heightened naturalism that tended towards the desire for extreme effects.[19]

The assertion of a dichotomy between the ideal, true nature of musical art (Mozart) and a fashionable, distinctly modern but ultimately deceptive technique of musical naturalism (Wagner) emerged in Vienna in the 1880s. The critic Theodor Helm (a passionate Bruckner enthusiast) described how the opponents of Wagner sought to exploit the fact that the applause at a performance of a Mozart work far exceeded that for Wagner's *Faust* Overture at a concert in Vienna, which took place in February 1883, twelve days after Wagner's death. Was it really a triumphant vote by the public for "nature" as opposed to "the unnatural" in music?[20] Or was it philistine anti-modern conservatism? Hugo Wolf, aware of a new tendency for the anti-Wagnerians to appropriate Mozart, devoted most of his 1886 review of the debut of a new production of the *The Marriage of Figaro,* organized to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the first performance, to quoting Wagner's lavish praise of Mozart.[21]

Not surprisingly, Eduard Hanslick took the occasion of the 1891 celebrations of Mozart's death to make the paradoxical and pessimistic observation that the performance of more of Mozart's music than had been heard for years in Vienna did not seem tedious. Yet although it had been a welcome balm—"a temporary return to a lost paradise" (by which Hanslick meant an era without Wagner and his followers)—an inevitable gap between Mozart and modernity would always remain. For Hanslick, music and life had evolved, perhaps unfortunately, beyond any "return" to Mozart. Hanslick, despite his conservative tastes, recognized that the nostalgic embrace of an excessively historicist aesthetic on the part of the audience would ultimately doom the future of any new music.[22]

During the 1891 celebrations commemorating the 100th anniversary of Mozart's death, a generation younger than Hanslick's sought both to avoid a conservative Mozart-Wagner dichotomy and to counter Hanslick's view of Mozart ultimately as stylistically dated and emotionally foreign to a modern audience that was capable of responding to greatness in Wagner. In the 1891 Salzburg ceremonies, the Viennese critic Robert Hirschfeld (1858–1914) was careful to cite Wagner repeatedly in his *Festrede.* Hirschfeld attempted to win over the Wagnerians to a reconsideration of Mozart by using Wagner as a basis for correcting Wagner's own limited view of Mozart; he suggested (delicately, to be sure) that Wagner's view of Mozart as having been historically superseded had been premature. Mozart, as Wagner knew so well, was the master of light in music. Hirschfeld extended the

image of enlightenment beyond its use as a metaphor to describe the character of Mozart's music. Mozart's mission had been "a harmonic one—to bind and unite." Mozart was to the history of music what Plato had been to philosophy, and the ethos of Mozart's art was the ideal synthesis of "wisdom, beauty, and strength." Despite the passage of time, the task for the modern age was to be able both to intuit and to understand Mozart in this manner. His music was akin to a metaphysical ideal, which, despite surface dissimilarities, Wagner's work itself mirrored in a thoroughly contemporary manner. Hirschfeld argued further that, as a result of Wagner's considerable success in raising the public's standard of taste, it was now (ca. 1891) possible to popularize Mozart's music and make it relevant without compromising it. By stressing Mozart's "German" character (by which Hirschfeld meant those qualities that Joseph Joachim described in 1898 as "the gift to assimilate, so that the material becomes universal ideal thought, intelligible to all nations"), Hirschfeld sought to amalgamate into one unified ethos Mozartean classicism, the idea of absolute music, the early romantic tradition of instrumental music, and Wagner. What eluded Hirschfeld was the ability to connect a return to Mozart with any constructive agenda for new music. In Hirschfeld's celebration of Mozart (in contrast to Hanslick's), one encounters an early example of how the cult of Mozart would be used later in the twentieth century as the basis of a regressive generalized critique of innovative musical modernism *after* Brahms, Wagner, and Bruckner.[23]

By the early twentieth century a reconciliation between popular musical taste, between Wagnerism and the capacity to appreciate the classical tradition exemplified by Mozart, had become at best a remote possibility. Too much of the fin-de-siècle Mozart revival had been explicitly targeted against the Wagnerian heritage. Furthermore, even Schoenberg (not to speak of Stravinsky) doubted that Wagner's popularity had actually enhanced the public's capacity to understand Mozart's musical genius. The generation of performing artists born after 1870 (which included pianist Arthur Schnabel [1882–1951] and violinist Carl Flesch [1873–1944], two key advocates of Mozart) knew that there had too long been a great gap between the "official" praise given Mozart in the standard narratives of music history and his actual place in the repertoire.[24] The task of commemorating Mozart as more than a historical artifact required an alliance with twentieth-century modernism in new music.

The demand for Mozart on the part of the audience in the mid- and late-nineteenth century had been weak indeed. During his entire career Gustav Mahler conducted (apart from the operas) only the last two symphonies and the Requiem. Between 1848 and 1910, only seven symphonies were in the repertoire of the Vienna Philharmonic, which also in-

cluded three serenades, two overtures, five piano concertos, two violin concertos, and a host of operatic excerpts. Mozart was no more evident in the concerts of the other major Viennese sponsor of concerts in the nineteenth century, the Society of the Friends of Music. In Vienna the only exceptions were 1891 and 1906, the anniversary years.[25]

From the perspective of an almost unbearable excess of "Mostly Mozart" in the late twentieth century, Bruch and Weingartner were perhaps accurate in their view that the essential greatness of Mozart seemed lost on the musical public. Concert performances of Mozart were comparatively limited, even though amateur readings of his music at home persisted. There was more extensive praise of Mozart spoken and taught than music heard. The accepted notion during the second half of the nineteenth century—that Mozart had been brilliant, elegant, and divine—did nothing to alter the perception that his music appeared mannered and dated. If Bach was seen primarily as the canonic composer of sacred music, Mozart remained certainly an indispensable icon of secular classicism within late-nineteenth-century musical education. But Beethoven, not Mozart, was (as Hanslick's views implied) the nineteenth century's pivotal source of emotional and aesthetic inspiration. Even Hirschfeld felt compelled to debunk the widespread idea that Mozart's music was neither deep nor reflective of sorrow and tragedy. In a startling concession to a primitive association of music and emotion, he countered by citing as evidence all the great Mozartean works written in a minor key.[26]

The nineteenth century's sense of its distance from Mozart is evident in the following remark from Frederick Delius, who recalled, "as a child I had only heard the music of Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and shall never forget the thrill I got when I first heard someone play the posthumous waltz of Chopin, which seemed as if an entirely new world had opened up to me."[27] This happened in the late 1860s and vindicated Franz Liszt's lament from 1841 that in music the achievement of great figures, particularly Mozart, in contrast to those in art (Michelangelo, Rubens, and Raphael), would be "ephemeral and fleeting."[28]

The estrangement from the power of Mozart among most nineteenth-century audiences did not escape a select group of musicians who saw in it a telling and dangerous limitation. In 1861, a year before Delius's birth, Clara Schumann, writing from Detmold, recounted the following experience to Joseph Joachim:

> One reason will make my stay unforgettable. I used the opportunity of having an orchestra around and learned the concertos by Mozart in G and A major. As I did so I both rejoiced and wept. For music to bring me to tears means that it must certainly be heavenly—the

> Adagio in the G major, which is heavenly pleasure, and both first movements, and in the A major, the last. What fresh life in all the instruments; what a wealth of feeling and humor! Had I only one individual around who would have rejoiced with me. To share such joy alone is quite difficult. How tragic it is that the public remains essentially unengaged faced with such music, and yet it needs nothing more than a natural capacity for feeling.[29]

This striking lack of popularity for and receptivity to Mozart's instrumental music in the late nineteenth century was clearly bound up with the cultural politics of new music. Despite Wagner's praise of Mozart (which was restricted primarily to his operas), the progressive movement associated with the "New German School" and Liszt and Wagner paid little more than lip service to Mozart. The circle emanating from Mendelssohn's Leipzig—particularly Carl Reinecke (1824–1910)—and those around Clara Schumann, Joachim, and Brahms (who edited the Mozart Requiem for the Breitkopf and Härtel edition of the complete works begun in 1877) provided the main source of support for keeping Mozart's works in active concert use. In 1891 Reinecke was moved by the failure of the Mozart piano concertos ever to be played to write a book advocating their "reawakening."[30]

For Brahms and Schumann, Mozart served as the guiding figure for a romanticism different from the one advocated by Liszt. The notion that Mozart had been a key figure in romanticism was fashioned first by Ludwig Tieck and E. T. A. Hoffmann. In Hoffmann's view, Mozart's romanticism offered a unique exit from the limits of musical classicism (Haydn and Gluck); he distilled classicism and integrated the need for a contemporary means of expression of the boundless (thereby setting the stage for Beethoven).[31] As the divisions within musical romanticism deepened in the 1850s and 1860s, the romantic dimension of Mozart became identified exclusively with the operas, particularly *Don Giovanni.*

Used as a contrast to Liszt and Wagner, Mozart came to represent moderation, restraint, economy, subtlety, purity, and elegance of a so-called purely musical sort. To Brahms and his allies the romanticism of the "New German School" was decidedly anti-Mozartean: formless, excessive, dependent on effects created through color and not form; tied to emotionalism and appeals to the extramusical. Later in the century composers such as Tchaikovsky found themselves caught in a nearly schizophrenic web between the Mozartean model and contemporary late-Romantic expressive sensibilities. In his explicitly "Mozartean" works, Tchaikovsky (opp. 33 and 61) often resorted to a coy but distinctly affectionate historicist veneer to give voice to his Mozartean side.

In the mid-century Mozart remained a limited presence among composers and amateurs in those genres rejected by Wagner and his followers, especially chamber music and solo piano music. For much of the musical public, Mozart became almost exclusively a dimension of *Hausmusik*. It was in the arenas of concert hall orchestral music and symphonic form as well as even in opera that Mozart suffered most during the mid- and late-nineteenth century. Only *Don Giovanni, Figaro,* and *The Magic Flute* remained in the regular repertoire, with *Don Giovanni* regarded as the greatest and most "modern" Mozart, along with the three last symphonies, the Requiem, the late string quartets and quintets, and the D-minor Piano Concerto.[32]

The fin-de-siècle call for a Mozart revival mirrored, however, social and cultural developments that went beyond the mere neglect of Mozart during the mid-century. With the expansion of the audience for music during the second half of the nineteenth century, a new pattern of tension between the audience and contemporary composers emerged, particularly after the death of Wagner. The evolution of conservative historicist aesthetic taste in music developed rapidly after Wagner. The fin-de-siècle slogan "Back to Mozart" among amateurs and concertgoers, as opposed to composers, became less a cry on behalf of one or another school of contemporary composition than a harbinger of how the taste for a canon of classicism and the repertoire of the past would be employed as a weapon against the seemingly radical surface of new music *per se.*

The audience and critical community of the later nineteenth century were the products of a new piano-based pattern of musical instruction that would redefine musical literacy in ways that made the assimilation of new music increasingly difficult. If the Bach revival before 1848 and the growing interest in music history influenced composers such as Mendelssohn and Brahms, the fin-de-siècle rediscovery of Mozart represented the use of the past by the audience not on behalf of the present but against it.[33]

The fin-de-siècle Mozart revival marked the beginning of a twentieth-century process of domination of the concert repertoire by the past to the exclusion of contemporary music. The intense cultivation of Mozart after 1900 coincided with the gradual marginalization of twentieth-century music first from the home, then the concert stage, and finally the radio and gramophone. In contrast to the worlds of art and literature, in music the near fanatical enthusiasm for past masters became the ground and justification for the avoidance or rejection of music written in one's own time, even by composers who invoked explicitly the example of Mozart.[34]

The debate surrounding the fin-de-siècle "return" to Mozart movement mirrored the divisions that had evolved within the reception of Mozart during the nineteenth century. It also set the stage for the direction that

twentieth-century Mozart reception would take. The Mozart we hear today and to whom we respond has been irrevocably mediated by the first 150 years of interpretation and categorization that followed Mozart's death.[35]

* * *

During the turn-of-the-century Mozart debate, one of the most common cliches about Mozart's personality was the idea that he had been a "naive" composer. As Richard Batka, the eminent Prague music critic, put it in 1909: "Mozart was a naive composer insofar as a great deal streamed into his creations directly from the unconscious."[36] This use of the concept "naive" derived from two interrelated sources: 1) the legend (and fact) that Mozart had been a "natural" genius whose achievement seemed effortless, and 2) the consistent application of Schiller's distinction (from 1796) between the naive and the sentimental in aesthetics to the case of Mozart. A late-nineteenth-century psychological fascination with the artist and the process of artistic creation—the links between intellect, imagination, and emotion—merged with a tradition of early-nineteenth-century aesthetic discourse.

Mozart's stature as a "classical" master in fact owed a great deal to the Schillerian framework. For Schiller, the "naive" artist was "natural." He experienced the unmediated harmony of nature, morality, and humanity in an inspired way that combined reason and imagination with moral and aesthetic perfection. This made the contemporary "naive" artist the modern equivalent of the luminaries of antiquity in his achievement of the exemplary, flawless, finite balance between nature and art characteristic of classical antiquity. In the nineteenth century Viennese classicism became for music the moral equivalent of antiquity in art and architecture.

The "sentimental" artist, in contrast, was forced in the making of art to confront the consequences of irrevocable historical change. Although the sentimental artist sustains a longing for a bygone era, of necessity he must develop skills of reflection and idealization. Because of historical progress, these abilities have become indispensable to the task of realizing through art the infinite aesthetic possibilities suggested by modern existence. In modern times, only Shakespeare and Goethe, Schiller argued, could be considered as possessing elements of the "naive" gift.[37]

This distinction was used in music during the nineteenth century to characterize the difference between Mozart and Beethoven. Beethoven seemed to engage modernity, to employ reflection, idealization, and a moral impetus concerning modernity in a manner that appealed to one's sense of the infinite, the imaginary, and the unknown. Beethoven was to classicism what Michelangelo had been to the Renaissance. In contrast, Mozart was compared repeatedly to Raphael and Plato.[38]

In a leading musical lexicon of 1857, Mozart was described as the most perfect embodiment of "musical beauty and musical-artistic completeness. If one wants to speak of a classical artistic ideal (in the sense of antiquity), and if one wants to contemplate its realization in a total unity including the reciprocal integration of form and content, then Mozart stands in first place, before all other composers."[39] Likewise in Saphir's famous *Conversations-Lexikon* from the mid-century, the by-then tiresome cliche that Mozart had been uniquely endowed with "genius of heavenly harmony" and had been the "olympian" recipient of the ideal ethereal spirit of the Promethean flame of "genius" was subject to satire filled with reminders of Mozart's "earthly" pursuits such as billiards and women.[40] Crucial to this view of Mozart as a unique classical model, as the naive, pure, and exceptional artist, was of course the widespread awareness of Mozart's unrivaled precocity and talent.

It was as if the facile labeling in the early nineteenth century of Mozart as the "naive" modern analogue to antique classicism functioned as a way of setting Mozart apart from contemporary music in order to avoid an invidious comparison. One might say that a sort of revenge on Mozart's greatness was taken by composers and critics in the several generations after the death of Beethoven. Since they realized that they lacked the incomparable facility and divine gift of Mozart, what better response than to enshrine him in a remote temple, all by himself, as an object apart. Robert Schumann repeatedly resorted to this rhetorical ploy. He distanced himself from Mozart by praising Mozart's "tranquillity, grace, ideality, and objectivity."

Schumann utilized a familiar linkage between Mozart's unique childhood achievement and his presumably lifelong naive, natural, and childlike character to enhance Mozart's status as the symbol of ideal (immortal as opposed to concrete mortal) classicism; as an almost deracinated, ethereal, and pure superhuman figure beyond comparison with ordinary humans. Schumann believed that Mozart had somehow developed into an "ideal" artist independent of sensual reality, unlike Beethoven or Haydn (or anyone else).[41] Schumann wrote in an epigram: "What a genius, what a child: O truly I tell you, if you don't become like him, you will never enter the heavenly sphere of art."[42] As Leon Plantinga noted, Schumann applied Winckelmann's categories about the greatness of ancient art to Mozart.[43]

By mid-century Mozart had come to symbolize pure music, naively created, heavenly in nature, perfect in form—the moral equivalent to Platonic philosophy. One music historian at the end of the century summarized this line of Mozart interpretation by calling Mozart's music a kind of "natural philosophy" bordering on the transcendence of subjectivity. It rendered into music a Platonic ideal of beauty. The notion that music was

essentially abstract and in the non-pejorative sense "artificial" in relation to nature made logical the notion that the Platonic ideal of beauty would be essentially musical. In 1898 Heinrich Köstlin summarized Mozart's achievement as residing in the fact that "his pathos was none other than beauty itself, as the classic master in the strictest sense of the word; as the embodied genius of music—of the beautiful in music in all its separateness from any ancillary purpose and meaning."[44]

Mozart emerged from this post-Beethovenian discourse as an artist in a class by himself. His music (particularly the instrumental works) readily became regarded as disconnected from everyday life. The nearly philosophical status of his music set it apart from the emotional and sensual experience of music—the perfect realization of the pure spirit of beauty.

Not surprisingly, Mozart easily became the symbol of the aesthetics of absolute music in the mid-nineteenth century, despite his operatic output. Although Brahms (who had played the D-minor Concerto, K. 466 at the Hamburg centennial festival in 1856) was frequently associated with this ideology, the emotional power of Mozart did not appear distant. To him Mozart's instrumental and vocal music was so direct and powerful that listening to it became nearly unbearable.[45] As Ludwig Wittgenstein noted with some irony in commenting on Franz Grillparzer's assertion that Mozart wrote only "beautiful" music, there was something "ungrateful" and "mischievous" about the way posterity in the mid-nineteenth century treated Mozart in the name of the concept of the beautiful. Wittgenstein reacted against the mid-nineteenth-century extraction of the word beautiful from its associations with the kind of emotional "distortion" we associate with grief and pathos, from the nineteenth-century pseudo-realist musical representational language of emotional states. Not only was the "extension" of the "range" of musical language after Mozart poorly construed, but Mozart was too neatly and inadequately understood.[46]

In contrast to this process of aesthetic distancing and idealization on the part of composers of the 1809–1810 generation was the early-Romantic line of interpretation of Mozart as the first romantic, as the acute observer and representer of emotion and the infinite character of human imagination. In this view (derived from E. T. A. Hoffmann) only a romantic and profound spirit rooted in modernity could genuinely appreciate Mozart. In the 1830s Joseph Eichendorff regarded the music of Mozart as quintessentially romantic, as evocative of the mysterious and mystical in the human spirit that could transform, through art, the finite into the infinite.[47]

Richard Wagner did the most to enhance this alternative nineteenth-century, anti-classical image of Mozart as a figure of romanticism. Using the precise language and rhetoric of the classicizing school, Wagner, in

*The Art Work of the Future* (1849) and *Opera and Drama* (1850), accepted the premises of Mozart's "naive" genius and the unique clarity and classical beauty of his work. But Wagner detected a romantic "unending sea of yearning." Mozart breathed not an idealized spirit of form, but for the first time "the passionate breath of the human voice" into music. Mozart had been guided by human love. The "endless" desire of the human heart was translated into the singing power of Mozart's melodic line.[48]

Wagner could deal more easily than Schumann or even Brahms with the formidable legacy of Mozart because he had abandoned the instrumental genres of Mozart. Liberated from any possible direct comparison except in the arena of opera, Wagner argued that Mozart remained trapped by the literary, operatic conventions of his time. Since Mozart lacked musically adequate poetic and dramatic texts, he started to use music in a genuinely dramatic manner only in his operatic overtures. The true dramatic power of music had been left unexploited, even though Mozart showed, through his use of music alone, the immanent power of music to express the essence within drama and poetry. By focusing on the operatic work, Wagner stressed the gestural and emotional rhetoric in Mozart's music rather than its abstract and formal attributes. His observations on Mozart's magical transformation of classical melodic practice into an individualized instrument of emotional expression implied the aesthetic and historical links between the continuous linear melodic strategy of his own writing and the legacy of Mozart.

Wagner's analysis and praise of Mozart also picked up on a third strand of argument within nineteenth-century Mozart criticism. This strand emphasized the political dimensions of Mozart's achievement. Particularly after the publication of Otto Jahn's massive Mozart biography, the image of Mozart as the first composer to fight the feudal system of aristocratic privilege became widespread. Jahn's four-volume biography and the growing familiarity with Mozart's letters helped to deepen the late-nineteenth-century portrait of Mozart. Jahn stressed Mozart's independence, his refusal in Paris and Salzburg to submit to authority. Mozart the Freemason came to the fore, as did Mozart's sympathy for egalitarian ideas and the popular audience (as opposed to aristocratic patrons). *The Magic Flute* became the *locus classicus* of this line of argument from the mid-nineteenth century until the writings of Adorno.[49]

Coincident with these claims was added the later-nineteenth-century appropriation of Mozart as a particularly German composer. Even Jahn took pains to point this out.[50] The most vociferous claimants were, of course, the Wagnerians. Houston Stewart Chamberlain was explicit on this score.[51] Mozart's apparent concern for the general public, as well as for the accessibility of his music and his independence of clerical and aristo-

cratic power, became important to polemicists who wished to use Mozart to counter the idea of concert music as primarily an esoteric high art, as the exclusive province of aristocrats and middle-class parvenus (who sought to achieve social standing through the display of refinement in aesthetic judgment). To these fin-de-siècle nationalists, Mozart's music mirrored not merely the social aspirations of a few but a popular national imagination later fully realized by Wagner. In Wagner, the German ideal of the spiritual audience-composer relationship, first hinted at by Mozart's operas, triumphed.

The nineteenth-century struggle over the political soul of Mozart continued into the early twentieth century. The two warring parties were the one claiming Mozart for a distinctly German sensibility and the other (exemplified by Adler, Hirschfeld, and Joachim, all, ironically, born as Jews) who regarded Mozart as the apostle of a cosmopolitan universalism. The political intersected with the aesthetic. The view of Mozart as an early romantic and the Germanocentric interpretation ran together. Likewise, the image of Mozart as the embodiment of absolute music fit neatly into the claim that his work mirrored the principles of universalism.[52] The final irony rests, of course, in the historical realization that the "cosmopolitan" view of Mozart's art among individuals such as Adler and Hirschfeld was itself a form of Germanocentrism. To these men (and to Arnold Schoenberg, Heinrich Schenker, and Paul Hindemith as well), the so-called purely musical and formal achievements of Mozart were concrete pieces of evidence of a transcendent universalism inherent in German culture. That unique universalism lent credibility to the idea that the musical creations of Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms formed the proper objective measures against which all compositional technique, in the strictest sense, might properly be judged.

This antimony would reach its macabre apotheosis in the Mozart Jubilee celebrated in Vienna by the Nazis in 1941, graced by enthusiastic participation of Strauss, Furtwängler, and members of the German musicological community.[53] The 1941 portrait painted in Vienna of the great German Aryan Mozart should be placed side by side with the claims of Kurt Weill and Arnold Schoenberg dating from the 1940s in America. In 1941 both emigré composers were writing music in the full conviction that they were the true legitimate heirs of Mozart.[54]

Looking back at the late-nineteenth-century debate about Mozart, one can argue that the linkage between Mozart and the aesthetics of cultural reaction triumphed over the connection between Mozart and aesthetic modernism in the twentieth century. The success of postmodernism in the late twentieth century has coincided with the most radical popularization of Mozart in history, a rage for Mozart that has

developed in tandem with the decline in audiences for new music. The connection between contemporary music and the example of Mozart sought by Reger, Busoni, Schoenberg, and Strauss in the early twentieth century has resulted in a vacuum in the late twentieth century; Mozart has now fully become part of a musical museum, separate from contemporary musical and cultural life. We argue less about the political significance of Mozart's art perhaps because it no longer seems to matter.

* * *

What remains from the fin-de-siècle Mozart revival is, of course, its aesthetic influence on twentieth-century neoclassicism and modernism, particularly within the tradition of the Second Viennese School. Despite the fantastic commercial popularity that Mozart's music now enjoys, from the historian's perspective the turn to Mozart in the early twentieth century constituted an effort to revive the claims among many musicians on behalf of a model of purely musical hearing and listening. A premium on form and procedures of musical development within works of music—on structural devices overtly detached from the sort of extramusical illustration associated with Wagner—became a hallmark of much twentieth-century concert music. The turn away from the associative musical strategies of late Romanticism helped make much of twentieth-century music less accessible and therefore less popular. Wagnerism held the key to the mass audience. Therefore, from the vantage point of the late twentieth century, the rediscovery of Mozart during the early 1900s helped lead, on the one hand, to the most extreme deification and dissemination of Mozart and his music within the museum of music, and, on the other (albeit indirectly, through the medium of modernist advocates of theories of absolute music) to the relative marginalization of contemporary music and musical modernism in our own time.

*NOTES*

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[1] "Zurück zu Mozart? Warum zurück? Warum zu Mozart? . . . Betrachten wir die etwa seit Wagners Tod geschriebenen Hauptwerke der Musik, so läßt sich sehr viel zu ihrem Lobe sagen; . . . Trotzdem läßt sich ein mehr oder weniger deutliches Gefühl nicht bannen, daß in der Gesamtentwicklung, welche die Tonkunst in unseren Tagen genommen hat, etwas nicht stimme, daß irgendwo etwas faul sei. . . .

Keiner der großen Meister ist uns so ferne gerückt wie Mozart. . . . Das Publikum . . . schlägt bewundernd die Augen auf, wenn von ihm die Rede ist, bleibt aber fern, wenn seine Werke aufgeführt werden. Vor allem gälte es, Mozart selbst wieder aufzufinden, bevor man erwägen könnte, ob man zu ihm zurückkehren kann. . . .

Die tiefe Befriedigung, nach der wir uns unentwegt sehnen, sie ist uns hier nicht gegönnt. . . . Wir werden gereizt, nicht befriedigt, erhitzt, nicht erwärmt, geschleift, nicht erhoben. . . .

Sie [die Musik] ist hysterisch geworden wie eine unglückliche Frau, die man unverschuldet in langer Kerkerhaft gehalten hat. Sie muß wieder gesunden. . . .

Mit unseren modernen Ausdrucksmitteln im Geiste Mozarts zu schaffen, das wäre vielleicht das Richtige. Sehen wir aber Mozarts Kunst recht tief in die wunderbaren hellen Kinderaugen! Darf da noch von einem "Zurück" die Rede sein? Ich glaube, es muß viel wahrhaftiger lauten: 'Vorwärts zu Mozart!'" Feliz Weingartner, "Zurück zu Mozart?" in *Akkorde: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1912), 108–12.

[2] Weingartner's views are contemporary with those of the theorist Heinrich Schenker (1868–1935), who advocated a more historically faithful performance practice located in the establishment of an authentic text, which eliminated the printed overlay of interpretive habits accumulated over time.

[3] See the excellent contemporary assessment of the fin-de-siècle malaise, together with a thorough review of contemporary composition, in Rudolf Louis, *Die deutsche Musik der Neuzeit* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1912).

[4] On this point, see, for example, the comments in Walter Niemann, *Die Musik seit Richard Wagner* (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1913), 98.

[5] The modifiers in this sentence mirror the vocabulary and views of Weingartner in his essay "Originalität," in *Akkorde,* 173–83.

[6] See Niemann, *Die Musik seit Richard Wagner,* 41, 62, 65, and particularly 287–88.

[7] Louis, *Die deutsche Musik der Neuzeit,* 262–65.

[8] Beyond Wagner's famous Beethoven essay from 1870, see Klaus Kropfinger, *Wagner and Beethoven: Richard Wagner's Reception of Beethoven,* trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), which describes the character and significance of Wagner's view of Beethoven. For a less subtle but nevertheless useful book, in which the impact of Wagner's view of Beethoven on the fin de siècle can be gleaned, see Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven: A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 252–305.

[9] In Rudolf Louis's book, for example, Haydn is mentioned once, in passing, whereas Mozart is discussed extensively. Furthermore, in the concert and stage repertory, Mozart held a more prominent place than Haydn circa 1900 in German-speaking urban centers.

[10] "In diesen Tagen Viele mit dem Munde Mozart preisen, die ihm im Herzen ganz fernstehen und jedes Verständnis für wahre musikalische Schönheit und organische Form verloren haben." Letter of 29 November 1891 from Bruch to Joseph Joachim, in *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), 3:404.

[11] "Ich bete jeden Tag: Gott der Allmächtige möchte uns einen Mozart senden; der tut uns so bitter Not." Max Reger, *Briefe eines deutschen Meisters,* ed. Else von Hase-Koehler (Leipzig: Koehler, 1938), 123.

[12] See Busoni's "Mozart Aphorismen" from 1906 in Ferruccio Busoni, *Wesen und Einheit der Musik* (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1956), 143–45; his references to Mozart in letters dated 1 June 1908 and 12 October 1910 in Ferruccio Busoni, *Selected Letters,* ed. Antony Beaumont (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 89, 114; and also the references to Mozart in Arnold Schoenberg's 1911 *Harmonielehre.*

[13] See Mara Reissberger and Peter Haiko, "'Alles ist einfach und glatt'." Zur Dialektik der Ornamentlosigkeit," in *Moderne Vergangenheit: 1800–1900 [Ausstellung] Kunstlerhaus Wien, 21. Mai bis 9. August 1981* (Vienna: Das Kunstlerhaus, 1981), 13–19.

[14] "Es kam die Zeit der musikalischen Romantik, und vor ihrer schwärmerischen, subjektiven Tonsprache, ihrem leidenschaftlichen Stimmungsleben zog sich die Kunst Mozarts, die nun als altmodisch und harmlos galt, zurück. In unseren Tagen, in denen eine gärende

Bewegung die Musikwelt durchwühlt, das Poetisierende, das Malerische an die Oberfläche drängt, selbst die Unnatur wahre Orgien feiert, macht sich, der nervösen Überreizung müde, in den Kreisen der Musikfreunde eine Gegenströmung bemerkbar. Es ist die Sehnsucht nach dem erhebenden, beglückenden Genuß reiner und schöner Musik, nach der klassischen Ruhe des Kunstwerkes, und so lassen sich zahlreiche Stimmen vernehmen mit dem Rufe: Zurück zu Mozart!" Adolf Prosniz, *Compendium der Musikgeschichte 1750–1830: für Schulen und Konservatorien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1915), 157.

[15] In 1908 Schreker, influenced in part by the back-to-Mozart discussion, composed a ballet for orchestra entitled "Rokoko," which ignored the visual and dramatic elements of the stage. See R. S. Hoffmann, *Franz Schreker* (Vienna: Universal, 1921), 99–102.

[16] For a comparison see Schoenberg's polemical articles written between 1909 and 1911 collected in Arnold Schoenberg, *Stil und Gedanke: Aufsätze zur Musik,* ed. Ivan Vojyech (Reutlingen: S. Fischer Verlag, 1976), 157–73.

[17] "Ist es gleich richtig, daß er derjenige ist, der gleichsam alle 'Probleme' bereits gelöst hat, bevor sie nur aufgestellt werden, . . . so enthält sein Werk, wenn auch verklärt, vergeistigt und von Realität befreit, alle Phasen des menschlichen Empfindungslebens. Seine nicht-dramatischen Schöpfungen [durchlaufen] die ganze Skala des Ausdrucks menschlichen Empfindens." *Richard Strauss, Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1949), 91.

[18] Guido Adler, "Mozart. Festrede bei der Mozart-Feier für die Mittelschulen Wiens," April 18, 1906, in: Adler Archive. The University of Georgia Library, Athens, Georgia.

[19] One among the many sources for this view of modernity and the need to use musical classicism and Mozart as antidotes is found in the eleventh edition of Bernhard Kothe's *Abriß der allgemeinen Musikgeschichte,* ed. Rudolph Procházka (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart, 1919), 365; and Karl Storck's *Geschichte der Musik* (Stuttgart: Muth'sche Verlagshandlung, 1910), 782–84.

[20] Theodor Helm, *Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Musikleben: Erinnerungen eines Musikkritikers* (Vienna: Im Verlages der Herausgebers, 1977), 1:169–70.

[21] Hugo Wolf, *Musikalische Kritiken* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911/1983), 274–76.

[22] Eduard Hanslick, "Die Mozart Feier," in *Fünf Jahre Musik* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für deutsche Litteratur, 1896), 149–60.

[23] Robert Hirschfeld, *Festrede zur Mozart-Centenarfeier 1891 zu Salzburg* (Salzburg: H. Kerber, 1891); for the Joachim quote see his letter to his nephew (in English) from 1898 in Joseph Joachim, *Briefe,* III:482.

[24] See Artur Schnabel, *My Life and Music* (New York: Dover, 1988), 27; and Carl Flesch *Memoirs,* trans. and ed. Hans Keller and C. F. Flesch (New York: Da Capo, 1979), 27, 59, and 174.

[25] See Knud Martner, *Gustav Mahler im Konzertsaal: eine Dokumentation seiner Konzerttätigkeit, 1870–1911* (Copenhagen: K. Martner, 1985); Richard von Perger, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen ununterbrochenen Bestandes der philharmonischen Konzerte in Wien 1860–1910* (Vienna: C. Fromme, 1910); and Robert Hirschfeld and Richard von Perger, *Geschichte der k.k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (Vienna, 1912).

[26] As the narrative in Storck suggested, it was Beethoven's work that truly divided the past from the present; it was the "most powerful boundary stone in the whole history of music." Mozart, by contrast, represented, apart from pure genius, the essentially "immortal . . . most sunfilled beauty [and] . . . eternal youthfulness" (552–55).

[27] Lionel Carley, *Delius. A Life in Letters 1862–1908* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 379.

[28] Franz Liszt, *An Artist's Journey,* ed. Charles Suttoni (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 195.

[29] "Der Aufenthalt in Detmold wird mir um Eins unvergeßlich sein. Ich benutzte dort die Gelegenheit des Orchesters und lernte die Concerte in G dur und A dur von Mozart kennen.

Gejubelt und geweint habe ich dabei. Bis mir die Thränen bei der Musik kommen, da muß sie schon herrlich sein—das Adagio im G dur Concert, welche Himmelswonne ist das, und die ersten Sätze, und im A dur der letzte Satz, welch frisches Leben in all den Instrumenten, was ein Reichthum an Gemüth und Humor! Hätte ich nur Einen noch gehabt, der mit mir gejubelt hätte—solche Freude allein tragen, ist auch schwer. Wie betrübt ist es, daß das Publicum bei solcher Musik beinah theilnahmlos bleibt, und es brauchte doch weiter nichts als natürliches Empfinden." Letter of 10 February 1861 in Joseph Joachim, *Breife,* 2:129. The reference is to K. 453 and, most likely, K. 488.

[30] See Carl Reinecke, *Zur Wiederbelebung der Mozart'schen Clavier-Concerte* (Leipzig: Gebrüder Reinecke, 1891). Busoni also pursued this point.

[31] David Charlton, ed., *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 261.

[32] The best sources for this general assessment are the collections of reviews by Theodor Helm, Eduard Hanslick, the collection of the reviews of Wilhelm Kienzl (*Im Konzert* [Berlin: Allgemeiner Verlag für deutsche Literatur, 1908]), and the program listings for the musical calendars of Vienna and Berlin.

[33] See Leon Botstein, "Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience," *19th-Century Music* 16 (1992): 129–45.

[34] This is a distillation of the critical position articulated by Theodor W. Adorno—itself a subject of needed scrutiny, but polemically appropriate in this context. See the essays "Anmerkungen zum deutschen Musikleben (1967)," in *Impromptus* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1968), 9–28; and "Über die musikalische Verwendung des Radios" from "Der getreute Korrepetitor" (1963), in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976), 15:369–402, both of which extend the argument Adorno put forth in his 1938 essay "Über den Fetischcharakter in der Musik und die Regression des Hörens" (reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 14.), whose arguments apply more closely to the fin-de-siècle habits of listening.

[35] See Thomas Seedorf, *Studien zur kompositorischen Mozart-Rezeption im frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1990), 1–36.

[36] "Mozart war ein naiver Komponist, insofern sehr viel aus dem Unbewußten in sein Schaffen einströmte." Richard Batka, *Geschichte der Musik* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1909), 177.

[37] See Friedrich von Schiller, "Über naive und sentimenalische Dichtung" (1796), in *Gesammelte Werke,* vol. 4 (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1966).

[38] See, for example, Anonín Dvořák's views of Mozart as "sunshine" and his comparison of Mozart to Raphael in Othar Šourek, ed., *Antonín Dvořák: Letters and Reminiscences* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1955), 139–41.

[39] "Er die wunderwürdigste musikalische Organization repräsentiert, welche je dagewesen ist, und daß Keiner, weder vor noch nach ihm, die Idee der musikalischen Schönheit und musikalisch-künstlerischen Vollkommenheit so verkörpert hat, wie er. Wenn in der Musik vom klassischen Kunstideal (im antiken Sinne) die Rede ist, und wenn die Verwirklichung dieses Ideals in der vollkommenen Übereinstimmung und wechselseitigen Durchdringung von Inhalt und Form zu suchen ist, so steht Mozart allen Tondichtern voran." Eduard Bernsdorf, *Neues Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst* (Dresden: Schaefer's Verlag, 1855–56), 2:1039.

[40] *M. G. Saphir's Konversations-Lexikon für Geist, Witz und Humor,* 2nd ed. (Berlin: Gnadenfeld u. Comp., 1889), 2:94–107.

[41] Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften,* 5th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1914), 2:213.

[42] "'Solch' ein Genius, solch ein Kind?'—O wahrlich, ich sag' euch, / Werdet ihr so nicht, ihr kommt nie in den Himmel der Kunst." Ibid., 278. For a closer examination of the childlike attributes of Mozart, see Maynard Solomon, "Mozart: The Myth of the Eternal Child," *19th-Century Music* 15 (1991): 95–106.

[43] Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 92, 105.

[44] "Sein Pathos kein anderes war wie das der Schönheit, als der Klassiker im engsten Sinne, als der verkörperte Genius der Musik, des musikalisch Schönen in seiner Abgezogenheit von jeder Nebenabsicht und jeder Nebenbedeutung." Heinrich Köstlin, *Die Geschichte der Musik im Umriß,* 6th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1910), 433. It is ironic that the two major nineteenth-century biographies—by G. N. von Nissen (who married Mozart's widow) from 1828 and by Otto Jahn from 1856—contained a far more differentiated picture of the composer, despite a veneer of idealization. Jahn even questioned the quality of the early work and posited stages of development in Mozart's style. Nissen managed to integrate the romantic view of Mozart's human character with the usual rhetoric of genius and normative aesthetics.

[45] See Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1921), I/i:239, 255, and III/i:87.

[46] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1980), 55.

[47] Gernot Gruber, *Mozart und die Nachwelt* (Munich: Piper, 1987), 97.

[48] Richard Wagner, *Prose Works,* trans. W. A. Ellis (New York: Broude, 1966), 1:121, and 2:34–41, 81–82.

[49] T. W. Adorno, *Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1968), 31.

[50] See, for example, Otto Jahn, *W. A. Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel 1858), 3:300, 405.

[51] *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1909), 1:557.

[52] See, for example, Emil Naumann, *Illustrierte Muskigeschichte* (Berlin and Stuttgart: Spemann, 1885), 2:726–95.

[53] See Gert Kerschbaumer, "Mozart schweigt," in *Die Zeit* 43 (October 18, 1991).

[54] See Kurt Weill's 1925 commentaries on Mozart's *Magic Flute* and *The Abduction from the Seraglio* in Kurt Weill, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975), 141–44, and the references to Mozart in Schoenberg's great essay "Brahms the Progressive" from 1947, in *Style and Idea,* ed. Leonard Stein (London: Faber and Faber, 1975).

# *The Creation* and *The Seasons:* Some Allusions, Quotations, and Models from Handel to Mendelssohn*

*By A. Peter Brown*

The reception of Haydn's late oratorios—*The Seven Last Words, The Creation,* and *The Seasons*—provides a special tale of public acclaim and rapid dissemination. These works were heard throughout Europe soon after their premieres, and in Vienna they became repertoire pieces at the twice-yearly benefit concerts of the Tonkünstler Societät; up through the 1830 season *The Seven Last Words* was rendered six times, *The Creation* eighteen times, and *The Seasons* fifteen times. Only Handel could rival Haydn's popularity in this genre; during the period from 1798 to 1830 his works achieved ten performances, including ones of *Judas Maccabaeus, Samson, Solomon, Alexander's Feast, Jephtha,* and the *Messiah.*[1] Moreover, the reservations of the musical press of Germany and England concerning the literary quality of the librettos and Haydn's exploitation of text painting did nothing to overshadow the universal view that these oratorios represented the capstone of more than a half century of compositional activity by the most revered European composer of the 1790s.[2]

These works drew on a series of precedents in the form of models, quotations, and allusions; in turn, they also provided the next generation of composers with a fund of models, quotations, and allusions. No composer in the German-speaking lands could not be familiar with these frequently performed and studied Haydn oratorios, which were some of the first works to achieve canonicity. Along with their popularity, there is also the genre's idiomatic reliance on descriptive, characteristic music, which made it a logical, easily recognizable source for others to borrow from and allude to. My approach will be to cite and, in some cases, explicate traditions and compositions that affected Haydn, as well as to identify some resemblances found in Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, and Mendelssohn. In Tovey's terms, I view nearly all of my parallels to be "real" rather than "casual," since in every case the quoter knew the quoted material and had absorbed and adapted it in his own fashion.[3]

* * *

Topical predecessors to *The Creation* and *The Seasons* do not exist. Howard Smither has noted two librettos that include brief accounts from Genesis—*The Omnipotence* (1774) and *The Redemption* (1786)—that were adapted to Handel's music in a pastiche by the English composer and organist

Samuel Arnold.[4] Yet though *The Creation*'s libretto falls within the Biblical tradition of the oratorio, *The Seasons,* except for its choruses of praise, is hardly Biblical; it is for the most part an unabashedly secular piece, with its hunting, drinking, spinning, and *Märchen* choruses. If *The Creation* represents the genesis of all things, *The Seasons* is an apt continuation of its topic; it depicts not only the yearly cycle but also the stages of life itself. Even though the subjects set a precedent for the oratorio genre, the topics themselves deal with accepted narratives that contain common experiences of humankind.

In contrast to the librettos' topical singularity, Haydn's music draws on models from the *opera seria* and *Singspiel* for the arias and solo vocal ensembles. When he spoke of the differences between *The Creation* and *The Seasons* with the *bon mot* "In *The Creation* angels speak and tell of God, but in *The Seasons* it is only Simon talking,"[5] Haydn was making a point that goes beyond the text itself to the musical characterization. The angels—Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel—sing in the high style of *opera seria,* and the country folk such as Simon, Jane, and Lucas often in the lower style of the *Singspiel.* Adam and Eve vacillate between high and low styles, forming a link with their descendants in *The Seasons.*

The archangel Gabriel's arias hark back to two ubiquitous styles of the *opera seria.* "Nun beut die Flur das frische Grün/With verdure clad the fields appear" (No. 9) is a compound-meter pastoral piece. Though its form can be viewed as a modified da capo, its central part acts more like a development in its excursions to distant keys. Haydn re-invigorated the siciliano not only in this piece but also in the late piano trios, string quartets, and the trumpet concerto. The bird aria "Auf starken Fittiche schwinget/On mighty pens uplifted soars" (No. 16) recalls the past in its topic, ritornello frame, and in local realizations of the text. It features the ubiquitous nightingale, who does not mourn, for this was before the Fall.

Raphael's arias also take idioms from operatic traditions. "Rollend in schäumenden Wellen/Rolling in foaming billows" (No. 7) begins as a storm/rage aria and then turns to the calm of pastoral contentment. "Nun scheint in vollem Glanze/Now heav'n in all her glory shown" (No. 22) is an air of triumph packed with "Rex tremendae majestatis" *topoi,* among them fanfares, dotted rhythms, rushing scales, and tutti sonorities. Uriel, the lowest angel in the musical hierarchy, is accorded but one self-standing aria, perhaps the most subtle in *The Creation:* "Mit Würd und Hoheit angetan/In native worth and honour clad" (No. 24).

Mortals are given simpler idioms: Adam and Eve use strophic and rondo forms in *contredanse* style, which also occur in *The Seasons,* particularly in Simon's plowing song (No. 4), the *Freudenlied* (No. 8), the duet "Ihr Schönen aus der Stadt/Ye ladies fine and fair" (No. 25), the cavatina

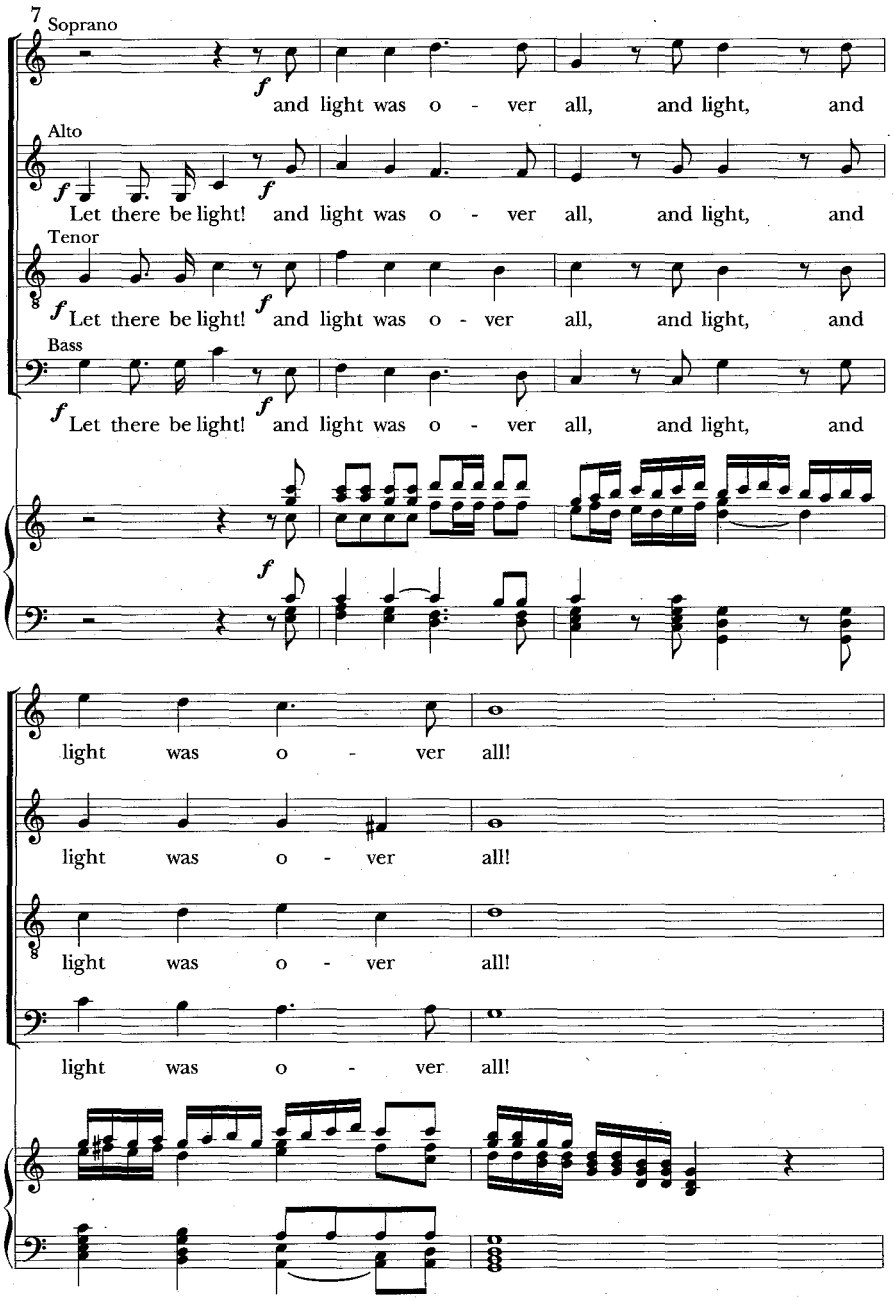
"Licht und Leben/Light and life" (No. 34), and Jane's song with chorus "Ein Mädchen, das auf Ehre hielt/An honest country girl there was" (No. 40). Yet, having established a predominant character for the solo numbers of *The Seasons,* Haydn also introduces pieces in more elevated styles: the brazenly baroque concertante aria "Seht auf die breiten Wiesen hin/Behold the wide extended meads" (No. 27) uses the bassoon, a popular obbligato instrument during the era of Charles VI.[6] The Wanderer's aria (No. 36), with its bipartite form and closing vocal virtuosity, and the Cavatina portraying the drought (No. 34), with its Largo tempo and rich chromatic inflections, are also of loftier expression.

Precedents for the orchestral pieces also exist. For "The Representation of Chaos," which opens *The Creation,* there existed a parallel in Rebel's choreographed symphony *Les élémens* (1737) and Rameau's ballet héroique *Zaïs* (1748); the latter was a part of the Esterházy music library.[7] Vivaldi's concertos in Opus 8 were also an accessible forerunner of the instrumental pieces in *The Seasons.* But though all these were certainly predecessors, they were hardly Haydn's models.

In the literature on Haydn's oratorios it is not Rebel or Rameau or Vivaldi who are invoked, but Handel, with particular reference to his grand choral style. Haydn admitted to being overwhelmed by the gigantic forces at the annual Westminster Abbey Handel Festivals, and he supposedly told Carpani that these encounters "struck him as if he had been put back to the beginning of his studies and had known nothing up to that moment."[8] To be sure, Haydn had composed in the grand choral style as early as the 1760s (in the *Missa Cellensis,* also known as the *St. Cecilia Mass*), and fine examples are also found in the two 1784 choruses for *Il Ritorno di Tobia,* "Svanisce in un momento" and "Ah gran Dio."[9] Perhaps the most notable aspect of Haydn's adaptation of the Handelian rhetoric is the variety of textures that attain climaxes with coordinated textual exclamations and musical hammerstrokes. Yet compared to Handel's, Haydn's textures are more sustained and his polyphony often more complex. Apart from this general similarity, I find only two direct Handelian models, both in *The Creation.*

The first is the famous appearance of light (example 1). A similar passage occurs in "O first created beam" (No. 16) from Handel's *Samson,* which Haydn probably encountered during the celebration of his Oxford doctorate in early July 1791. If not, van Swieten must have called his attention to this passage. The parallels of the text, key, texture, and sonority are striking. Yet whereas Handel states his text two times, thereby diluting its effect, Haydn was told by van Swieten that it should be heard but once. Though van Swieten's suggestions have frequently been disparaged, here the Baron made a contribution to Haydn's most famous musical

**Example 1.** Handel, *Samson*, Act 1, Scene 2.



gesture, in which Handel's rhetoric of repetition was replaced by deep dramatic contrasts.[10] It seems that Haydn was fully cognizant of the moment of this passage; according to Haydn's friend Frederik Samuel Silverstolpe,

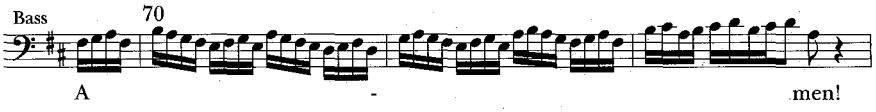
> No one, not even Baron van Swieten, had seen the page of the score wherein the birth of light is described. That was the only passage of the work which Haydn had kept hidden. I think I see his face even now, as this part sounded in the orchestra. Haydn had the expression of someone who is thinking of biting his lips, either to hide his embarrassment [*Verlegenheit*] or to conceal a secret. And in that moment when light broke out for the first time, one would have said that rays darted from the composer's burning eyes. The enchantment of the electrified Viennese was so general that the orchestra could not proceed for some minutes.[11]

"Stimmt an die Saiten/Awake the Harp" (No. 11), uses Handel's choral model, which has been most fully described by Howard Smither,[12] but this chorus also concludes as the bass part becomes melismatic with an allusion to the end of Handel's coronation anthem "Zadok the Priest" (*HWV* 258), which Haydn heard at Westminster Abbey in May 1791 (example 2). Otherwise, Haydn's adaptation of Handel is an intensified one, with introductory choral and orchestral hammerstrokes, a central fugal section whose contrapuntal artifices outclass Handel's, and a conclusion whose energy Handel never exceeded. When the style of the beginning is about to return, Haydn prepares for it as only an experienced master of late eighteenth-century symphonic form would: after the fermata the tonic's reprise is articulated as a dramatic event.[13]

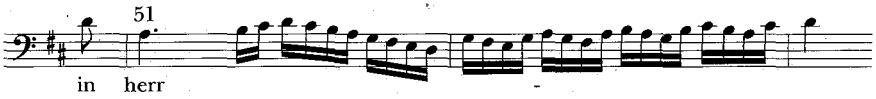
Haydn's choruses often call for soloists, a comparatively rare combination in Handel. Yet such scoring was commonly heard in the Viennese Mass as well as the English verse anthem, the latter of which Haydn would have known not only from the Anglican service but also through the repeated publication of Boyce's famous collection, *Cathedral Music.*[14]

If the libretto for *The Creation* had been meant for Handel and had he set it, no doubt many, if not all, of the choruses would have been separate and closed structures. Haydn, however, seems almost consciously to have avoided the small-scale units upon which Handel usually built his wonderful edifices, preferring a continuity from solo to ensemble numbers to choruses. In *The Creation* this manner of organization becomes evident after the appearance of light, where the characteristic style of the storm recurs in Nos. 3, 4, and 7 and then resolves to the serenity of a scene by the brook. The tendency to gather pieces together is much more preva-

**Example 2a.** Handel, "Zadok, the Priest."




**Example 2b.** *The Creation,* No. 11.




lent in *The Seasons,* which Karl Friedrich Zelter viewed as a series of pictures; an even more apt metaphor might be of connected panels of pictures, like a triptych. One of the most massive of these structures comes at the beginning of "Summer," with its sequence of daybreak, sunrise, and song of praise. Similar pictorial gatherings occur in the storm scene, where the musical depiction is adumbrated before the storm chorus actually begins; in "Autumn's" hunting triptych, in which birds, rabbits, and stags are pursued according to proper eighteenth-century custom, down to correct signals from the horns for this most noble sport;[15] and the winter scene with a preparatory bone-chilled wanderer's aria, a central spinning chorus in the warmth of the community house, and Jane's concluding tale. Such expanded scenes have no precedent in Handel and probably find their ancestry in reform and post-reform operas such as Gluck's *Alceste* (1767) and Mozart's *Idomeneo* (1781).

* * *

Other allusions, quotations, and models derive from Mozart. The general ambience found in part three of *The Creation* as well as in several numbers of *The Seasons* is reminiscent of the *Singspiel* style as found in *Die Zauberflöte.* Indeed, Haydn's Adam and Eve along with Simon, Lucas, and Jane are characters rooted in the style of Pamina and Tamino and Papagena and Papageno. Although these general spiritual affinities are difficult to define, there are numerous other examples that provide more concrete evidence of this kinship.

In the recitative for Adam and Eve (No. 29), Adam sings:

| | |
|---|---|
| Nun ist die erste Pflicht erfüllt, | Our duty we performed now |
| dem Schöpfer haben wir gedankt. | in off'ring up to God our thanks. |
| Nun folge mir, | Now follow me, dear partner |
| Gefährtin meines Lebens! | of my life! |

Each of these statements is followed by a one-measure quotation from "Vollendet ist das große Werk/Achieved is the Glorious Work" (No. 26). A similar practice of recalling after some time a set number within a recitative occurs in *Le nozze di Figaro:* Figaro's first-act cavatina "Se vuol ballare" returns in both its *contredanse* and minuet sections after the Countess's "Porgi, amor" at the beginning of Act II. In both instances the quotation provides a deepened meaning to the reference: in *The Creation* it reinforces humanity as God's supreme achievement.

Haydn knew *Figaro* intimately; in August of 1790 he was planning a production at Esterháza. The parts were ordered from Vienna, and Pietro Travaglia's designs for costumes and sets were ready by August 8; from this and other evidence Landon believes a trial reading for the upcoming season might have occurred in August. With the death of Nikolaus Esterházy on September 28, however, the orchestra and opera troupe were summarily dismissed, since the new prince had no musical interests. Hence Mozart's *Figaro* was never heard under Haydn's direction.[16]

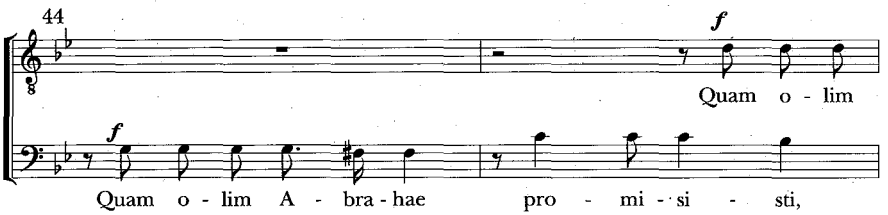
*The Seasons* contains at least three Mozart quotations or allusions. In the "Bittgesang" (No. 6) a slow opening section is followed by a triple fugue: one subject is new, a second derives from the slow opening, and a third is a triple-meter version of the music to the lines "Quam olim Abrahae" from Mozart's Requiem (example 3). Perhaps the two texts are meant as a kind of trope, since both have to do with planting and harvest. Most fascinating is the material that precedes the fugue (example 4): the hymn-like theme also occurs in altered form at the beginning of the earlier Adagio of Symphony No. 98; here it is followed by what Tovey and others have viewed as a recall of the slow movement of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony.[17] The Adagio of Haydn's Symphony No. 98, first heard in March 1792, has been designated as his earliest musical tribute to Mozart.[18] The "Bittgesang" could be considered another such tribute.

A direct reference to *Die Zauberflöte* (example 5) occurs in the aftermath of "Summer's" storm (No. 20), where the text "Und ladet uns zur sanften Ruh/Inviting us to soft repose" is accompanied by music from Sarastro's strophic aria with chorus "O Isis und Osiris" (No. 10) with the following texts:

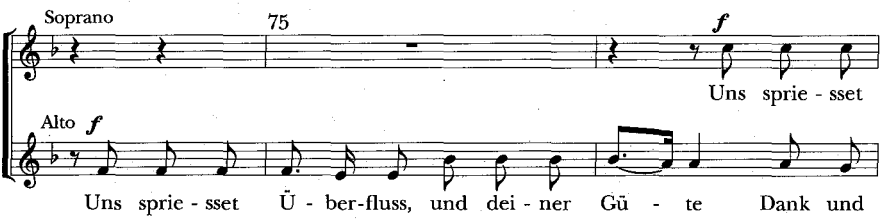
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Vs. 1* | Stärkt mit Geduld | Strengthen them with |
| | sie in Gefahr. | patience when in danger. |
| *Vs. 2* | Nehmt sie in | Take them into |
| | euren Wohnsitz auf. | your dwelling place. |

Here Haydn's example parallels Mozart's in color and melodic material. Though taken from a different setting, both verses of the Mozart can be

**Example 3a.** Mozart, Requiem, "Domine Jesu."




**Example 3b.** *The Seasons,* No. 6.




**Example 4.** Sources for the "Bittgesang" in Mozart and Haydn.

Haydn, Symphony No. 98/ii ← Mozart, Symphony K. 550/ii

↓

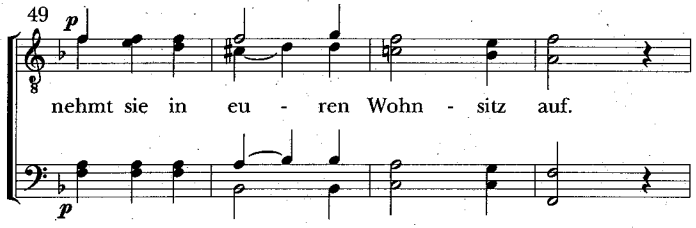
Haydn, *The Seasons,* "Bittgesang" (No.6) ← Mozart, Requiem, K. 626

seen again as a kind of trope to the storm's calm aftermath, an invitation to a refuge from a hostile world.

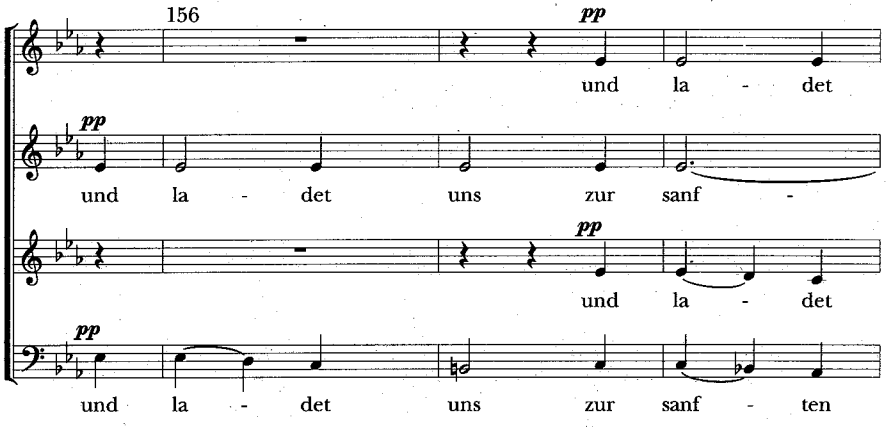
*The Seasons* also make reference to the slow movement of Mozart's G-Minor Symphony, K. 550: first, rather fleetingly at the end of the first chorus "Komm holder Lenz/Come gentle Spring" (No. 2) and then in the penultimate piece, Simon's aria (No. 42), whose text finds in the progression of the seasons a metaphor for the ages of life (example 6):

| | |
|---|---|
| Erblicke hier, betörter Mensch, | Misguided man, behold, |
| erblicke deines Lebens Bild. | behold the image of your life. |
| Verblühet ist dein kurzer Lenz, | Your brief Spring has faded, |
| erschöpfet deines Sommers Kraft. | your Summer strength is exhausted, |
| Schon welkt dein Herbst dem Alter zu, | your Autumn declines towards old age |
| schon naht der bleiche Winter sich, | and pale Winter approaches |
| und zeiget dir das offne Grab. | to show you the waiting grave. |

**Example 5a.** Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte,* No. 10.




**Example 5b.** *The Seasons,* No. 20.

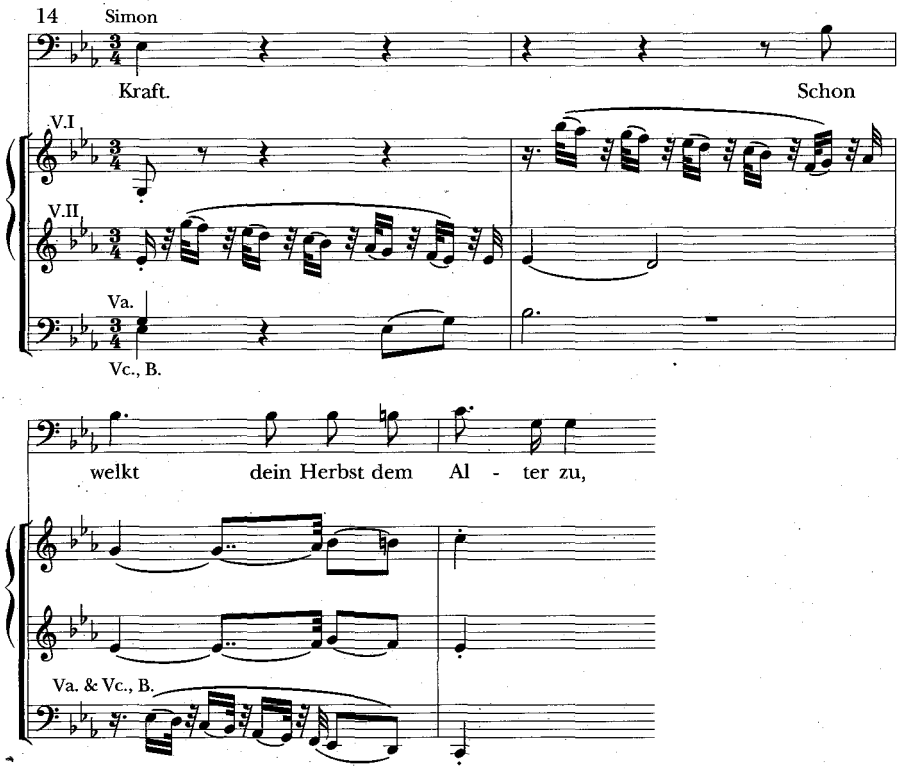



This quotation comes after a quiet undulating figure that had previously been associated with the storm scene and the "exhaustion" of summer's strength. The Mozart motif virtually saturates the lines about "autumn's decline" and the "pale of winter" culminating in a "waiting grave."[19]

Haydn uses these quotations from Mozart in scenes that are associated with death. Some of them mention mortality explicitly, as in the parts of *The Seasons* that borrow from the Requiem and the G-Minor Symphony (Nos. 6 and 42); others are more gentle, as with Sarastro's song and its new text on soft repose in No. 20. Haydn seems never to have completely recovered from Mozart's premature demise. Mozart's son and namesake told Mary and Vincent Novello in 1829 that he thought that Haydn is "his father's greatest admirer, and said he [Mozart's son] never saw [Haydn] as a child but [Haydn] wept."[20]

* * *

**Example 6.** *The Seasons,* No. 42.




At other times Haydn borrowed from himself, either from passages first heard in *The Creation* and then cited in *The Seasons* or from his other compositions.[21] Apart from the already mentioned quotation from Symphony No. 98, material reappears from the first two movements of the "Surprise" Symphony, No. 94. The end of the first movement's transition to the coda (mm. 206–12) represents *The Creation*'s "Hier schießt der gelenkige Tiger empor/In sudden leaps the flexible tiger appears" (No. 21).[22] The celebrated "Surprise" slow movement turns up in "Spring," although without the famous "Paukenschlag"; the movement's inclusion, according to Haydn, did not meet with the Baron van Swieten's approval:

> Swieten criticized the [first] aria in *The Seasons,* in which the peasant walks behind the plow and whistles the melody of the Andante with the Drum Stroke [Symphony No. 94]. He tried to persuade Haydn to pick out in place of it a song from a really popular opera and

> named two or three operas himself. This demand was truly insulting; Haydn felt so, and answered confidently, "I will change nothing! My Andante is as good and as well-known as any song from any opera."[23]

The consequent popularity of this number certainly resulted from the quotation as well as its delicate and transparent orchestration, which featured the "whistling" piccolo floating an octave above the otherwise reduced wind section.

Characteristic scenes from *The Creation* also reappear in *The Seasons.* Haydn composed three sunrises. In Symphony No. 6, "Le Matin" from the *Tageszeiten* series (1761), the first movement is Haydn's most overtly pastoral symphonic statement, with the sunrise portrayed by a rising embellished scale with crescendo in the slow introduction, the Rigi Ranz des Vaches (mm. 7–8) and the bird-song imitation (mm. 35–39) in the exposition, and the dark section in the development (mm. 58–65).[24] Like its 1761 predecessor, *The Creation*'s sunrise (No. 13) is in D major and based on a rising, but now pure diatonic scale. Moreover, this introduction is also a rhetorical reply to "Chaos"; although "Chaos" combines elements of the strict and improvisatory exordium, it fails to resolve its materials properly, is dominated by descending lines, and uses muted colors. By contrast, *The Creation*'s sunrise is a correct example of species counterpoint in a pure exordial idiom, with a diatonic scale as its subject and unadulterated timbres; its climax comes with a blazing fanfare as high noon sounds on $F\sharp'''$.[25] As has already been noted, *The Seasons*'s sunrise is part of an extended musical statement, but here the sunrise itself is both an introduction to the chorus of praise (No. 12) that concludes it, as well as the centerpiece of the entire scene. It is enhanced both rhythmically and coloristically by the now chromatic rise, the anacrusic rhythmic patterns, and the addition of voices. In *The Seasons* Haydn expanded his treatment of the orchestra beyond anything previously observed in *The Creation.*

Musical storms were a commonplace for Viennese audiences. Though they probably did not know Haydn's "La tempesta" from Symphony No. 8, "Le Soir," they would have encountered storms in at least three vocal settings: in the most popular opera of the 1780s, Paisiello's *Barber of Seville;*[26] in Haydn's 1784 choral addition to *Il Ritorno di Tobia,* "Svanisce un momento"; and perhaps Haydn's madrigal "The Storm," which may have been heard in the Imperial city as early as 1796.[27] In *The Creation* the storm style first appears in the early numbers of Part 1. In *The Seasons* Haydn constructs another large form, except now the storm proper is adumbrated and succeeded by storm motifs. Beginning with the "Shepherd's Song" (No. 17), the undulating, "fury-like" half-step motif signals the coming onslaught of nature. In the next *secco* recitative the distant thunder

intrudes with the quiet timpani roll, and then the storm descends with all its might, finally to recede on a fugue with a descending chromatic subject. The clouds then clear and life returns to normal as the soft repose of music and text is interrupted by the now subdued "fury" motif. If one imagines this first modern musical storm performed by an orchestra of approximately 125 instruments and a chorus of some eighty singers, as was the Viennese practice at the turn of the century, its dramatic effect must have been overwhelming.[28]

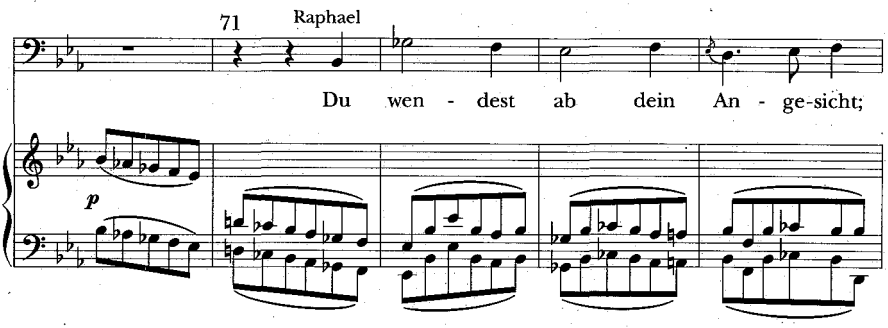
"Stimmt an die Saiten/Awake the Harp" (No. 11), a chorus of praise for the accomplishments of *The Creation*'s second day, finds its strongest parallel in "Ewiger, mächtiger, gütiger Gott/Endless, mighty, merciful God" (No. 9) of *The Seasons*. Here, the similarity resides in its emphasis on artifice: the subject is heard in various degrees of augmentation and stretto. Haydn told Andreas Streicher that this "one fugue [from *The Seasons*] alone cost him six weeks of work." Yet in both choruses the artifice of the fugues seems almost artless, since they unfold without pretension. Haydn also told Streicher that "nobody seemed to think anything of it,"[29] a sure indication of the measure of his success in creating an "artless" fugue.

One of *The Creation*'s most striking colors is contained in the Poco Adagio of "Vollendet ist das große Werk/Achieved is the Glorious Work" (No. 26); it begins with a trio for the Angels accompanied by a wind band of flute, oboe, two clarinets, two bassoons, contrabassoon, and two horns. This sound is recaptured in *The Seasons* in the Adagio section of No. 9 (mm. 13–37) and the Allegro of No. 20 (mm. 65–68). Like its source, both are in flat keys and triple meters. As the interlude progresses, the strings enter and the color and mode darken as Raphael sings of death's terror (example 7). A similar idea returns in Jane's and Lucas's duet (No. 25, mm. 209–27), where an Adagio interlude, also in a triple meter, accompanies the words "death alone these bonds can break." For yet a third time in *The Seasons* (No. 12) this interlude is recalled, once again with related texts:

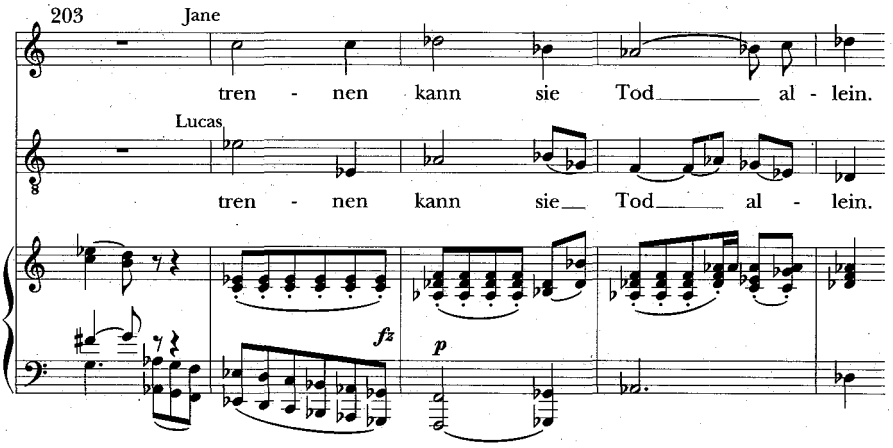
| *The Creation* (No. 26) | *The Seasons* (No. 12) |
|---|---|
| Verjüngt ist die Gestalt der Erd' an Reiz und Kraft. | Dir danken wir, was uns ergötzt. |
| Revived earth unfolds new force and new delights. | To thee we owe what brings delight. |

Another instance of parallel passages in music and text occurs in the trio with chorus "In holder Anmut steh'n/Most beautiful appear"

**Example 7a.** *The Creation,* No. 26.




**Example 7b.** *The Seasons,* No. 25.




(No. 19), where Gabriel interrupts Raphael's verse on "the immense Leviathan" with:

| | |
|---|---|
| Wie viel sind deiner | How many are thy |
| Werk', o Gott! | works, o God! |
| Wer fasset ihre Zahl? | Who may their numbers tell? |

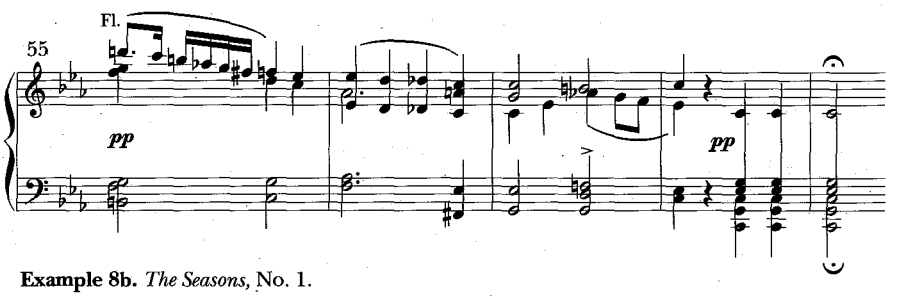
Haydn set these rhetorical questions with a variety of ambiguous harmonies (augmented sixths and diminished sevenths) that provide a musical equivalent for the suspense generated by the repetition of the word "Wer?" The resolution of these questions comes only with the tonic *fortissimo* hammerstrokes at the chorus's beginning. In *The Seasons,* summer's textual counterpart—another trio with chorus (No. 12)—portrays the famous sunrise. Here the interrogatory passage reads:

| | |
|---|---|
| Die Freuden, o wer | The raptures, o who |
| spricht sie aus? | speaks them out? |
| Die Segen, o wer | The blessings, o who |
| zählet sie? | numbers them? |

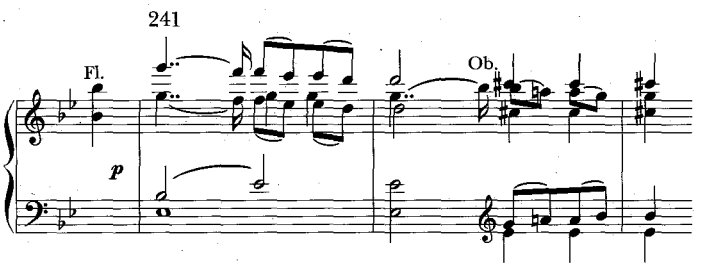
Again the questions with the repeated "Wer?" are set with the same harmonies, but more tersely; what previously took almost three-dozen measures of $\frac{2}{4}$ is now accomplished in eight bars of common time. But whereas *The Creation* extends the questions and immediately resolves them in both words and tones, *The Seasons* answers the questions textually, with the tonic-musical resolution delayed by a dozen measures.

Finally, some striking parallel closings occur in both oratorios (example 8). "Chaos" and the overture to "Spring" conclude with descending flute lines. A rising chromatic thrust concludes "Die Himmel erzählen/The heavens are telling" (No. 14), which, ironically, is paralleled in the Drinking Chorus (No. 31) in *The Seasons.* Both works also close with identical "Amen" cadences.

**Example 8a.** "The Representation of Chaos."




**Example 8b.** *The Seasons,* No. 1.




These parallels of character, scoring, and thematic material, often associated with parallel texts, may be of a larger significance. When Haydn was composing *The Seasons,* he was already considering working on a third oratorio, *The Last Judgment.*[30] Perhaps the topical progression of these three subjects—creation, life after Eden, last judgment—would also be

unified by musical means. Since *The Creation* and *The Seasons* form a musical and narrative diptych, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that a third such work would also hold telling parallels with its two predecessors. If this idea were correct, a cyclic set of oratorios would have to be added to Haydn's remarkable historical accomplishments.

* * *

The success of both oratorios may have been intimidating; they did not spawn any progeny with similar subjects save for one, *Le Genesi,* with a libretto by Giovanni Battista Rasi and music by Paolo Bonfichi, which was published in 1826. According to Howard Smither, Rasi's purpose was "of serving with the spirit of the industrious San Filippo Neri" and,

> revering . . . the precepts and models given by the masters Zeno and Metastasio. . . . I could not help but recognize at once how far removed that libretto [*The Creation*] was from them and therefore how much a subject so rich, sublime, and august had been betrayed and reviled; and how much, conversely, by adhering to the precepts and models of the above-mentioned masters, one could have treated it with dignity and regularity.
>
> I immediately called to mind this method; I looked at the copious classic sources where [the subject] occurs; I drew together information; and without delay I advanced with the work, beating quite a different path, much clearer and more secure (according to my persuasion).[31]

Illogical or not by Metastasian standards, the van Swieten/Haydn setting survived, whereas the Rasi/Bonfichi *Le Genesi,* like nearly all oratorios based on Viennese court models, died. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Haydn's music for *The Creation* and *The Seasons* could not be ignored. According to Maynard Solomon, Beethoven above all was haunted by Haydn's unprecedented success.[32]

Almost from the time of their first meeting, the Haydn/Beethoven relationship has been much discussed. During the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of different tales were in circulation, many of which cannot be traced to Beethoven and his circle. Beethoven's supposed comparison of *The Creation* to his ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus,* which has a near-word parallel in their German titles, *Schöpfung* and *Geschöpfe,* is one such anecdote,[33] as is the ridiculous nature of the comparison of Haydn's sublime oratorio to Beethoven's divertimento-like Septet Op. 20. Since both works were the best known of their respective composers, Beethoven could have found it disconcerting that his Septet

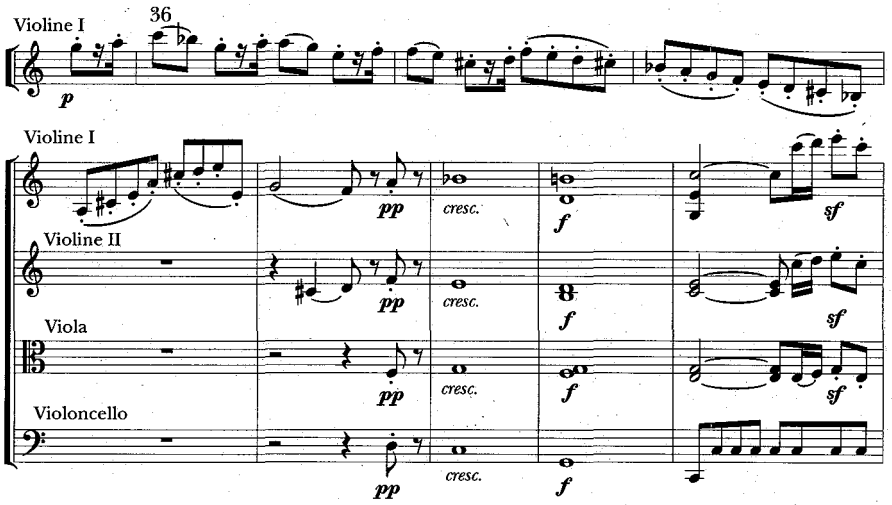
belonged to a less-than-sublime genre. Beethoven's ballet is also about a creation—so much so that Haydn's "Chaos" was inserted into Beethoven's score for some Milanese performances.[34] Whether these stories concerning the Haydn/Beethoven relationship are authentic or not, there is no question that Beethoven's debt to Haydn's oratorios ran deep; they provided him with a fund of allusions, quotations, and models, ranging from general concepts to local details.

The dramatic juxtaposition of "chaos and light," defined by contemporaneous lexicons as the ultimate darkness before light existed, is Beethoven's most conspicuous debt to Haydn's oratorios.[35] A similar gesture first occurs in the opening movement of his Fourth Symphony (1806). Its introductory Adagio is, in the best sense, a "Chaos" parody, which must have been apparent to any Viennese connoisseur. Both sound the minor sixth against the tonic. Both have like rhythmic motion in the opening measures. Both move to the Neapolitan; Haydn decisively, Beethoven tentatively. And both contrast "chaos" with "light." At the same time, Beethoven attempts to camouflage his model: Haydn begins *forte,* Beethoven *pianissimo;* Beethoven replaces Haydn's rising triplets with eighth notes separated by rests; Haydn also combines strict and improvisatory styles, whereas Beethoven uses but one tier of activity; and Haydn's light comes suddenly and broadly, Beethoven's with a brief crescendo and a sudden change to an Allegro tempo.

Van Swieten's conviction that "And there was light" must be stated only once Beethoven rejects not only within the context of his entire output, but also within individual works. He repeats, for example, the gesture several times in the Fifth Symphony's slow movement and finale (1807–8). In the slow movement "Chaos" is only hinted at before light appears in the *fortissimo* tutti section in the unexpected key of C major (m. 30) after a lengthy section in A flat and a tension-filled chromatic transition. The pitches C and A flat were the first two notes of "Chaos"; here, Beethoven expands them into an entire tonal strategy. Though the C-major interlude returns three times, Beethoven uses the "Chaos" to "Light" passage but twice. A similar gesture also appears during the famous transition to the finale and the retransition to the recapitulation; in both statements the resolution is again accomplished by a change of mode, scoring, and dynamics. In the transition/retransition, a chaos of sorts results from the conflict of rhythmic and melodic shapes; there are also the quiet background timpani at this moment, a recollection of both "Chaos" and "Von deiner Güt', O Herr/By thee with bliss, O bounteous Lord" (No. 28). From these and other passages, it is evident how Haydn was responsible for ushering in a new era in orchestral timpani writing, in which it acts coloristically and independently of the trumpets.[36]

One might also consider the introduction to the C-Major String Quartet Op. 59 no. 3 (1805–6), though it has a more ambiguous lineage (example 9); on the one hand, it belongs to the "Chaos/Light" tradition, with its modal and metrical juxtapositions as well as descending chromatic line. But Beethoven also carefully studied Mozart's six quartets dedicated to Haydn. The "Dissonant" Quartet, K. 465 begins with an introduction that could have served as Beethoven's model; some might even argue that Mozart's introduction provided the chief inspiration for both Haydn's "Chaos" and Beethoven's Op. 59 no. 3. Rhetorically, however, Mozart's Adagio is less extended, and its following Allegro lacks the dynamic and dramatic resolution found in Haydn's and Beethoven's versions. What was crucial for Beethoven was not the depiction of "Chaos" in isolation, but rather its juxtaposition with "Light."

**Example 9.** Beethoven, String Quartet Op. 59 no. 3, I.

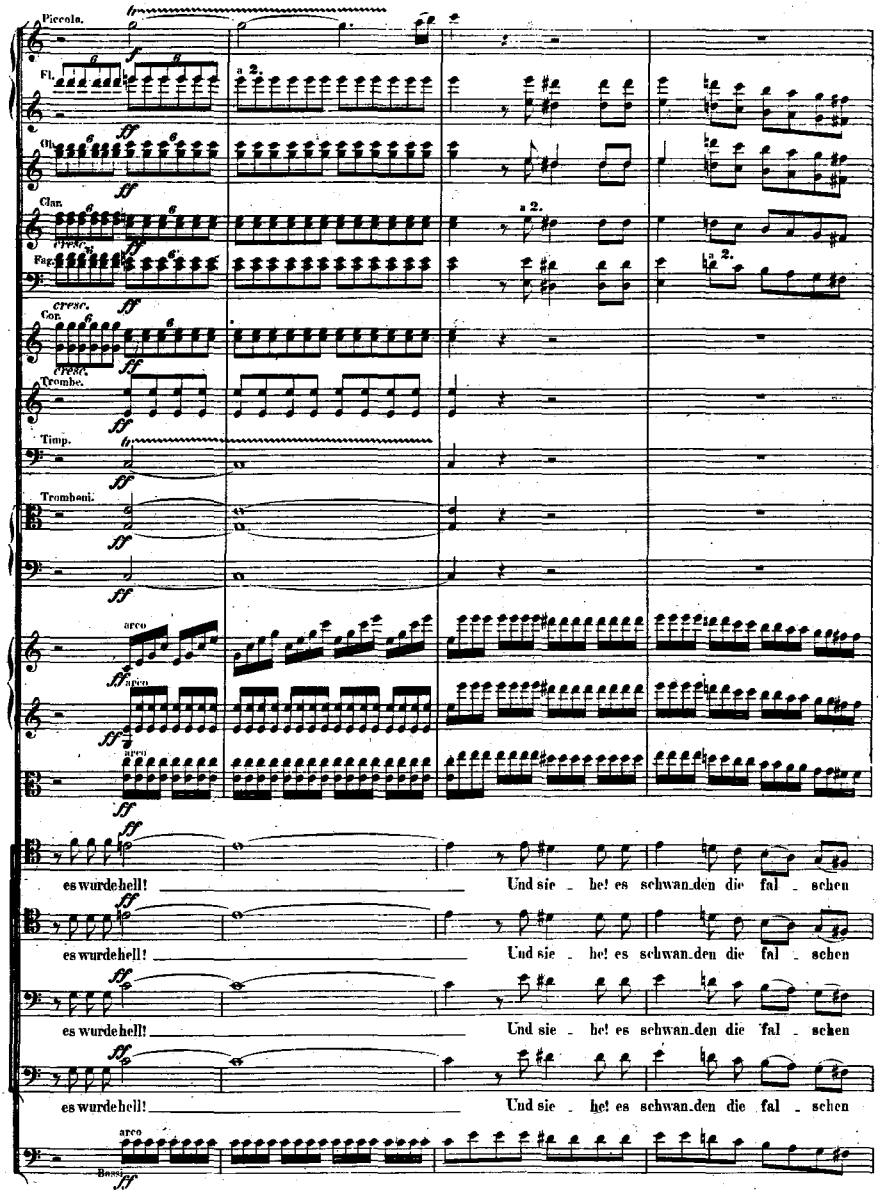



As late as 1811–12 Beethoven was still recalling the resonance of light's first appearance (example 10). In the chorus for male voices (No. 2) from *King Stephan,* Op. 117, the text reads:

Auf dunkelm Irrweg
in finstern Hainen
wandelten wir
am trüben Quell.
Da sahen wir plötzlich
ein Licht erscheinen,
es dämmerte, es wurde hell!

On the dark path
through the gloomy grove
we wandered next
to the cheerless stream.
Then we saw suddenly
a light appearing,
it dimmed, it brightened!

**Example 10.** Beethoven, *King Stephan,* No. 2, mm. 20–23.



The first pair of lines is set contrapuntally; the rest, as in Haydn's *Creation,* is choral recitative. The texts of the final phrases are identical, except that "Licht" becomes "hell." Even though Beethoven excludes sopranos and altos from his scoring, which provides an inappropriately rich, dark color, rather than Haydn's more effective brilliance, the model remains unmistakable.[37]

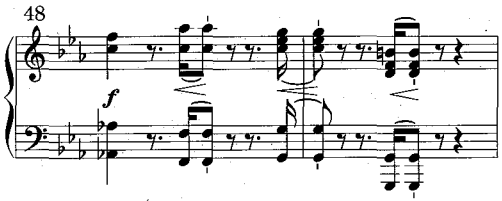
Beethoven was also attracted to passages in "Chaos" for other purposes. Particularly notable is an articulatory figure (example 11) that occurs in both the first movement of Haydn's String Quartet Op. 76 no. 2 (mm. 27, 30–31, 116–17, 123–24, 139–40) and in "Chaos" (mm. 26–29, 48–49); it reappears in Beethoven's Leonore Overture No. 3, Op. 72 (1805–6, mm. 168–75). There it follows the theme of Florestan's second-act aria with the text "In des Lebens Frühlingstagen/In the springtime of life," evidently an indication of the freedoms of the past in contrast to the confinement in the darkness/chaos of the present.

Though Beethoven had reservations about Haydn's use of tone/text painting, he did not hesitate to invoke the picturesque in his "Pastoral" Symphony, a "Sinfonia caracteristica," which he carefully qualified as "more an expression of feelings rather than painting." Such an apology to future critics was intended to avoid the barbs Haydn received concerning both oratorios, which were partially generated by his own negative feelings about the text of *The Seasons.*[38] To be sure, there have been efforts to relate Beethoven's "Pastoral" to obscure but similar symphonic works without any known Viennese tradition, such as Justin Heinrich Knecht's "Le Portrait musical de la nature," from which Beethoven took his movement titles. But he probably found these in Bossler's 1784 periodical, which advertised his own "Elector" Sonatas WoO 47.[39] In any case, one need not go beyond Vienna to find the desired reference points; both *The Creation* and *The Seasons* were treasure troves of pastoral styles.

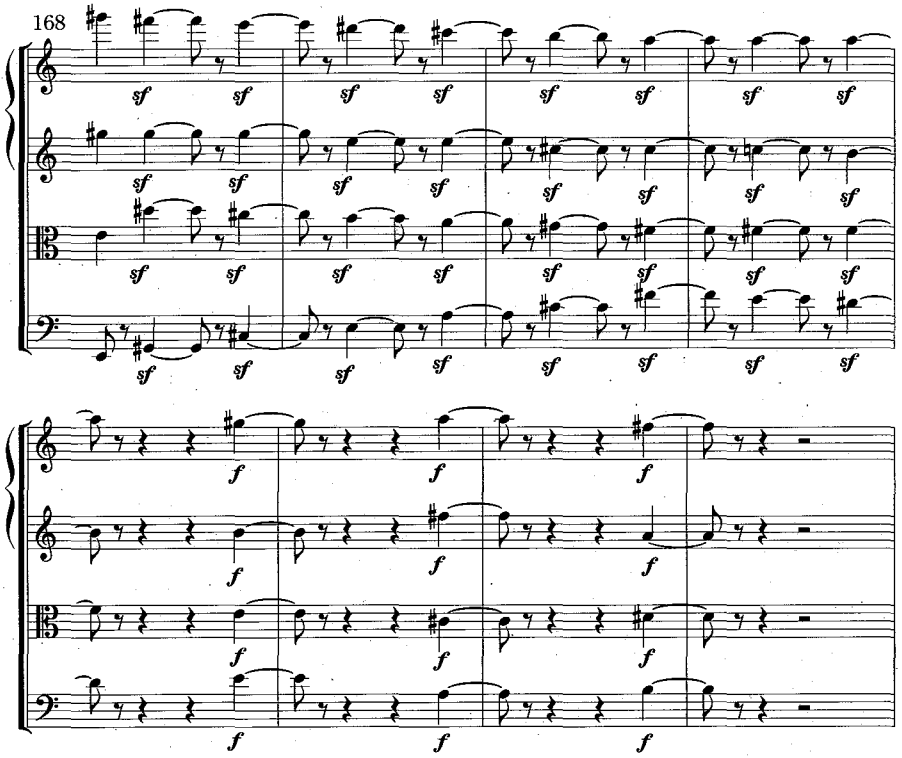
In both oratorios Haydn skillfully moves from stormy music to that of pastoral serenity. In *The Creation* this is realized in "Rollend in schäumenden Wellen/Rolling in foaming billows" (No. 7). Haydn described this piece with relish to Frederik Samuel Silverstolpe:

> There it was that he showed me the [D minor and] D major Aria from *The Creation* ["Rollend in schäumenden Wellen/Rolling in foaming billows"] which describes the sea moving and the waves breaking on the shores. "You see," he said in a joking tone, "you see how the notes run up and down like the waves: see there, too, the mountains that come from the depths of the sea? One has to have some amusement after one has been serious for so long."—But when we arrived at the pure stream, which creeps down the valley in a small trickle,

**Example 11a.** "The Representation of Chaos," strings.




**Example 11b.** Beethoven, Leonore Overture No. 3, strings.

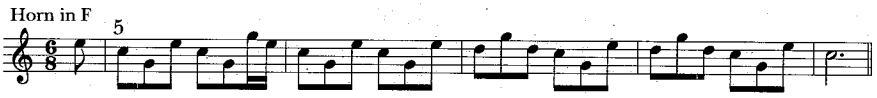



> ah! I was quite enthusiastic to see how even the quiet surface flowed. I could not forbear putting an affectionate hand on the old and venerable shoulder and giving it a gentle squeeze, who sat at the piano and sang with a simplicity that went straight to the heart.[40]

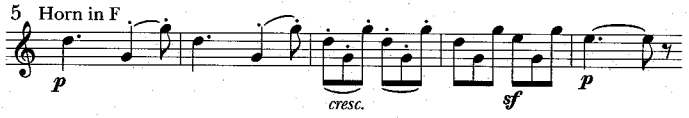
A less energetic contrast occurs in Uriel's aria "Mit Würd' und Hoheit angetan/In nature worth and honor clad" (No. 24). There a restrained martial style gives way to tenderly sensual text and music underlined by

solo cellos. Another such contrast, though far more powerful, occurs in *The Seasons;* this overpowering storm (No. 19) passes into a scene of wonderful serenity (No. 20) with a panoply of imitations of nature. Beethoven's similar gesture occurs in the transition from the fourth-movement storm to the shepherd's song of thanksgiving, which begins with a passage that strongly recalls Simon's aria "Der munt're Hirt versammelt nun die frohen Herden/The ready shepherd gathers his bleating flock" (No. 11; example 12). Beethoven's finale imitates it in key, meter, color, and initial harmonic immobility.[41]

**Example 12a.** *The Seasons,* No. 11.




**Example 12b.** Beethoven, Symphony No. 6, V.




More distant are the similarities of the Pastoral's scherzo "Happy gathering of the peasants" to Haydn's Drinking Chorus (No. 31), where the progress from song of praise to *Deutschetanz* to drunken fugue contains some of the same indications in Beethoven's scherzo. Too much alcohol presumably also affects the Sixth Symphony's music makers: in the opening phrase the bass enters late, the second phrase is in the wrong key, the secondary material is displaced by one beat, and the players disagree as to where the cadences ought to occur.[42]

Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony would have been considerably different without the existence of Haydn's pastoral oratorios. From this perspective, Beethoven's Sixth is essentially a grandly scaled execution of the eighteenth-century practice of the *ars combinatoria:* except for the first movement (and even here there is a general reference to the pastoral style), every other movement finds a parallel topic to Haydn's music (example 13).

An 1809 review of Beethoven's "Pastoral" also recognizes such a comparison with *The Seasons:*

> The light and totally characteristic merriment [in the movement] has its counterpart only in the jubilation of the grape-harvesters in Haydn's *The Seasons,* and the thundering storm, together with every-

**Example 13.** Pastoral Parallels between Beethoven's Sixth Symphony and Haydn's Oratorios.

| *Beethoven, Symphony No. 6,* *Mvmt. 2* | *Mvmt. 3* | *Mvmt. 4* | *Mvmt. 5* |
|---|---|---|---|
| "By the Brook" | "Peasants' Merrymaking" → | "The Storm" → | "Shepherds' Hymn" |
| *Haydn, The Creation* | | | |
| No. 16: "Bird Aria" | | Nos. 3, 4, 7: Storm → | Calm |
| | | No. 24: Active → | Less Active |
| *Haydn, The Seasons* | | | |
| No. 20: "Quail Aria" | No. 31: "Drinking Chorus" | No. 1: Storm → | No. 2: Calm |
| | | | No. 11: "Shepherd's Song" |
| | | No. 19: Storm → | No. 20: Calm |

> thing that usually accompanies such a storm, is so energetic and insistent—even with a rejection of the means usually used to achieve these effects—that one really has to be astonished at the richness of imagination and the art of the master. Incidentally, we cannot take it upon ourselves to justify all the harmonies which appear here, as in other parts of this work. The whole is fittingly and nicely concluded by an Allegretto ("Shepherd's Song. Happy and Thankful Feelings after the Storm"), although the preceding scenes actually render the effects of the last movement somewhat at a disadvantage. By comparison, Haydn was somewhat more fortunate in his evening scene after the storm in *The Seasons;* and Beethoven would have been, too, if he, like Haydn, had written this last movement much more simply, gently, and much less artificially.[43]

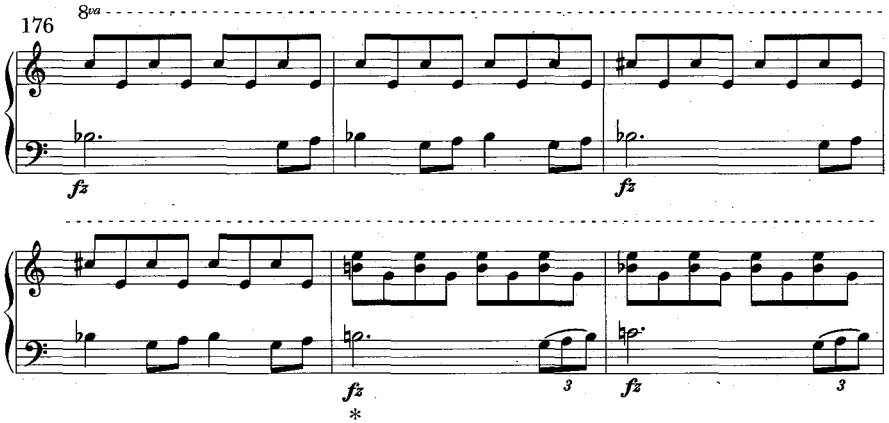
Though the transmission from Haydn to Beethoven may seem apparent, "Der Frühlings Morgen, Mittag und Abend: O Fantasia per il forte-piano" (1791)—a work by Mozart's pupil Franz Jacob Freystädtler—contains a number of passages that could be construed as having influenced both Haydn in the Spring Chorus (No. 2), the Shepherd's Song (No. 11), and the use of bird calls in *The Seasons* and also Beethoven in the parallel sections in the "Pastoral" Symphony.[44] Whether the path of influence was Freystädtler to Haydn to Beethoven, one that went more directly from Freystädtler both to Haydn and Beethoven, or some other configuration, cannot be ascertained. Nevertheless, though there is no doubt that Beethoven knew Haydn's oratorios well, the influence of Freystädtler rests only upon internal evidence.

"The Heavens are telling/Die Himmel erzählen" (*The Creation,* No. 14) concludes with a rising chromatic bass coupled with suspensions. Tovey quite rightly recognizes that Beethoven alludes to this passage in the coda of the Second Symphony's first movement (example 14):

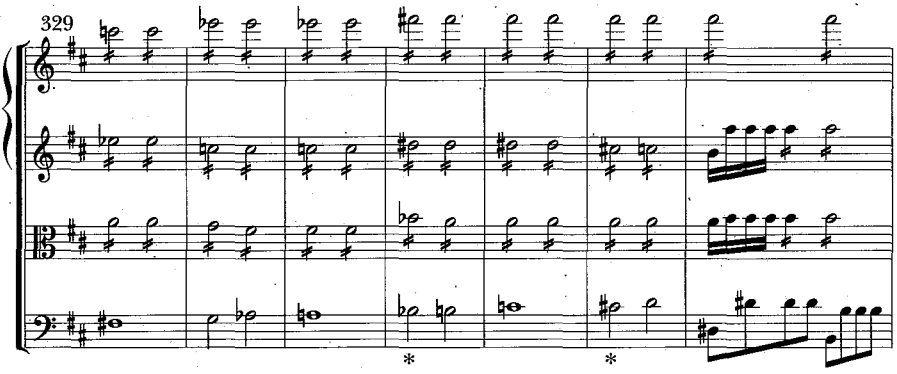
> The climax of the coda in the first movement of Beethoven's Second Symphony does not suffer from comparison with the end of "The Heavens are telling," because Beethoven no more misses Haydn's point than Virgil misses the point when he translates Homer; and Virgil's achievements in erecting a mass of Homeric and other lore into a monument to the glories of Rome is not essentially greater than Beethoven's in making a normal symphony capable of digesting a choral climax. And by this I do not mean the problem of the Ninth Symphony with its actual chorus, but the simpler and subtler questions of tonality and time-scale within the limits of absolute music.

Beethoven's harmonic range is wider, and while the second chord here marked with an asterisk corresponds exactly with that marked in [example 14], it is the remoter marked chord (a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord in E-flat minor or D-sharp minor) that, together with the rising bass, is inspired by Haydn.[45]

**Example 14a.** *The Creation,* No. 14.




**Example 14b.** Beethoven, Symphony No. 2, I.



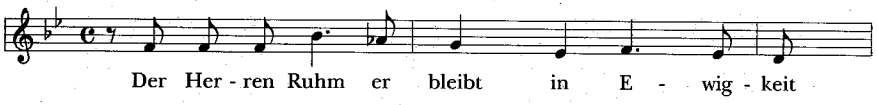

Haydn's most memorable orchestration is Raphael's accompanied recitative "Seid fruchtbar alle/Be fruitful all." In its first version, it was accompanied by a walking bass, then a keyboard continuo was added and then eliminated, after that two cellos were added, and last of all two violas. In its final setting the bass voice was accompanied by violas and cellos divisi, and bass without keyboard continuo.[46] This must have been Beethoven's model for the orchestration in the introduction to the canonic

quartet "Mir ist so wunderbar" (No. 3) from *Fidelio.*[47] Might it also have been the impetus for the rich sound of violas and cellos in the slow movements of the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies, which certainly created a favored timbre of the 1800s?

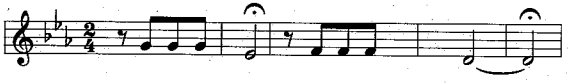
The duet for Adam and Eve with chorus "Von deiner Güt', o Herr/By thee with bliss O bounteous Lord" (No. 28) uses the chorus as a quiet reciting background to the broadly lyrical material of the two soloists. Such a disposition is also found in Pizzaro's agitato aria with chorus "Ha! welch ein Augenblick" (No. 7) from *Fidelio* and from the second-act finale "O Gott! welch ein Augenblick." Though other models may be possible, the Haydn example remains the most viable both chronologically, geographically, and topically in the *Fidelio* second-act finale.

"Singt dem Herren alle Stimmen/Sing the Lord, Ye voices all" (No. 32), the great chorus that concludes *The Creation,* may also have played a role in generating the Fifth Symphony's first movement. Its fugue subject is built around a series of descending thirds, the last two of which have the same shape and, in their first statement, even the same pitches as Beethoven's *P* theme (example 15). Later in the chorus, after a triple peroration on "Des Herren Ruhm/The Lord is great" (mm. 67–69), Haydn initiates a series of descending thirds (mm. 69–71), as does Beethoven (mm. 182–95). Also found in this chorus (mm. 55–58), "Der Herr ist groß/The Lord is great" (No. 19, mm. 133–35, etc.), and "Die Himmel erzählen/The Heavens are telling" (No. 14, mm. 105–9) are powerful hammerstrokes for brass and timpani, which make an especially potent reappearance in the Fifth Symphony's finale (mm. 132–36, 294–300, etc.).

**Example 15a.** *The Creation,* No. 32.



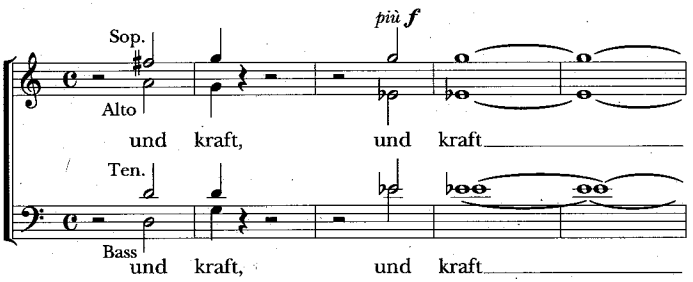

**Example 15b.** Beethoven, Symphony No. 5, I.



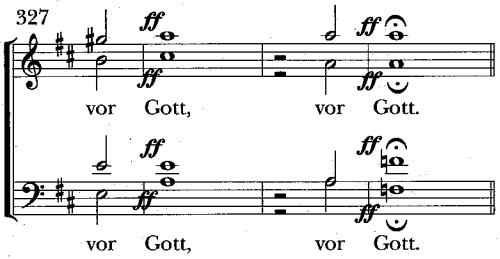
The great rhetorical harmonic shifts found in Beethoven's finale to the so-called Choral Fantasy, Op. 80 (1808, mm. 569ff., 588ff.) later duplicated in the finale of the Ninth Symphony (mm. 329–30), represent one of the climactic moments in early nineteenth-century European music (example 16). In the Choral Fantasy the text is "Wenn sich Liebe und Kraft vereinen/When love and power unite"; in the Ninth Symphony, in

turn, both music and text culminate on "vor Gott." Similar rhetorical shifts had already taken place in "So lohnet die Natur den Fleiß/So nature ever kind repays the toil of industry" from *The Seasons* (No. 23, mm. 192–208)—the first time on a fermata with a *sforzando* on the word "Fleiß/industry," the second with a doubling of the dynamics on "Alles/everything."[48] What Landon calls an "almost epic" Haydn chorus,[49] becomes at least in their Beethovenian rhetorical counterparts truly epic moments.

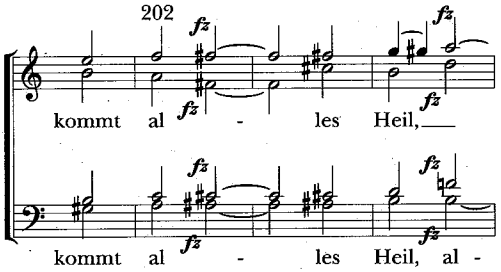
**Example 16a.** Beethoven, Choral Fantasy.




**Example 16b.** Beethoven, Symphony No. 9, IV.



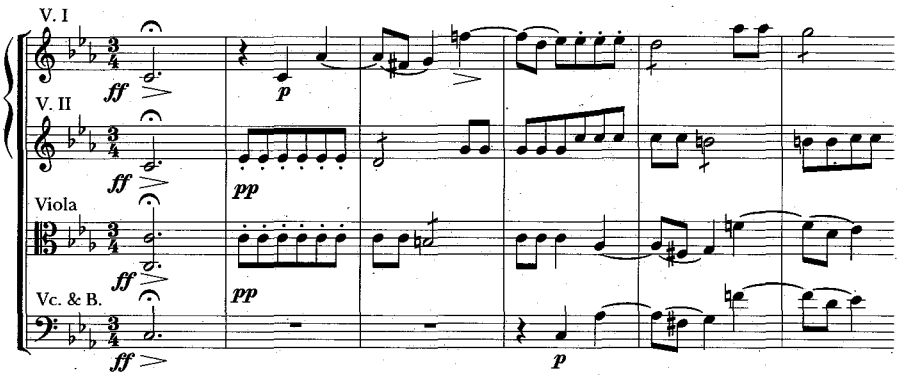

**Example 16c.** *The Seasons,* No. 23.




* * *

Franz Schubert, like his Viennese contemporary Beethoven, also must have known these works both from public concerts and the private performances in which he participated. Yet Schubert seems to have drawn only from *The Creation,* and his references to it tend to be rather oblique. One thoroughly convincing case, however, is the introduction to Schubert's "Tragic" Symphony, No. 4, D. 417 (1816) and its parallels with "Chaos" (example 17). Schubert begins with the orchestral octaves so common in introductions, but then proceeds with a descent from a melodic minor sixth, a distinguishing feature of Haydn's overture. The process is then repeated à la Mozart at the tritone.[50] Schubert's wind figures (mm. 6–8, 16–20) can also be heard as "Chaos" allusions (cf. mm. 55ff). The distant fanfares of Raphael's aria of triumph (No. 22), scored for trumpets and first and second horns, are also heard in the second movement (mm. 160–89ff) of the "Great" C-Major Symphony, D.944 (1825–28). Perhaps Schubert's "Gretchen am Spinnrade" also owes something to the Spinning Song with Chorus (No. 38) from *The Seasons,* though here we begin to confront the several earlier settings of this Goethe poem by Spohr, Zelter, and Moritz and the subgenre of the spinning song.[51]

**Example 17.** Schubert, Symphony No. 4, I, strings.




Carl Maria von Weber has been cited by Landon as having modeled the chorus from the opening scene of *Der Freischütz,* "Schau der Herr mich an als König," on the song with chorus "Ein Mädchen, das auf Ehre hielt/An honest country girl there was" (No. 40) from *The Seasons.*[52] But this is also problematical: Haydn's piece has been shown to have a long tradition in both French *opéra comique* as well as in the *Singspiel* and Lieder repertoires.[53] While it can be established that Weber knew *The Seasons,* the ambiguity of this chorus's background leaves in limbo any conclusion beyond citing the similarity of their refrains.[54]

No such ambiguity arises with the quotation that initiates Mendelssohn's Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Not only is it clear that Mendelssohn was familiar with Haydn's oratorios in his youth—his teacher Karl Friedrich Zelter wrote two of the most probing reviews of this music for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*[55]—but here in No. 42 Mendelssohn's subject parallels van Swieten's text:

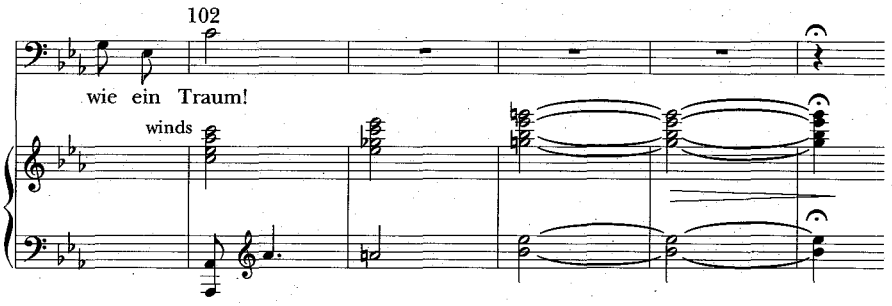
| | |
|---|---|
| Wo sind sie nun, | Where are they now, |
| die hoh'n Entwürfe, | your lofty plans, |
| die Hoffnungen von Glück, | your hopes of happiness, |
| die Sucht nach | your searching for |
| eitlem Ruhme, | vainglorious fame, |
| der Sorgen schwere Last? | the burden of your cares? |
| Wo sind sie nun, | Where are they now, |
| die Wonnetage, | the days of bliss |
| verschwelgt in Üppigkeit? | in wanton pleasures wasted? |
| Und wo die | And where are all those |
| frohen Nächte, | merry nights |
| im Taumel durchgewacht? | you spent in revelry? |
| Verschwunden sind | They've vanished |
| sie wie ein Traum. | like a dream. |
| Nur Tugend bleibt. | And only virtue endures. |

Van Swieten instructed Haydn that, "At the words 'wie ein Traum/like a dream' the instrumental accompaniment should disappear upwards." Haydn followed the text with three chords in the woodwinds, which became, if in simpler harmonic garb, Mendelssohn's famous invocation of a dream in midsummer (example 18). Perhaps Mendelssohn associated these lines, originally from Thomson and paraphrased by van Swieten, with the end of Shakespeare's play, which "vanishes like a dream," to be replaced by the world of reality. In *The Seasons* this becomes the realization that all the reveling of merry nights is spent as life enters wintery old age. In any case, Mendelssohn's motif became the prototype of the evocative timbres that characterize nineteenth-century orchestral writing—ones deriving not from Haydn the purveyor of what we commonly call Classicism, but from Haydn, the herald of musical Romanticism.

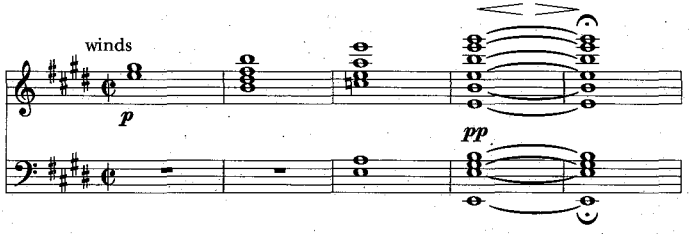
* * *

Our survey could no doubt continue further into the nineteenth and even the early twentieth centuries. But as time and location become more distant from the earliest performances of both oratorios, what might be called the secondary descendants of *The Creation* and *The Seasons* become among all those sunrises, storms, and spinning choruses less convincing.

**Example 18a.** *The Seasons,* No. 42.




**Example 18b** Mendelssohn, Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Op. 21.




Still, one might be tempted to cite the storm and spinning choruses from Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer,* the flickering light and sunrise at the end of Schoenberg's *Gurrelieder* as it culminates on a mighty C-major outburst, and the shimmering filigree in Ravel's sunrise from *Daphis et Chloe.* As Tovey has said: "Quite a long book might be written about the influence of Haydn's *Creation*" and, as has also been demonstrated here, *The Seasons* "on later music."[56]

As we have seen, Haydn drew from a musical rhetoric that was still in currency more than three decades after Handel's death. By unleashing his orchestral forces and expanding the constituent forms toward larger continuities, Haydn transformed the Handelian concept, and his Mozartean citations are both acts of homage and further commentary on Mozart's texts and his own. That these late oratorios had such an impact on Beethoven's orchestral and dramatic music is not surprising. For Beethoven, *The Creation* and *The Seasons* established a musical language that became so well known that the message of Haydn's music existed independent of its text. Hence, as has been argued, Beethoven rewrote Haydn's "Chaos to Light" several times over and, as has further been noted, Beethoven found other of Haydn's ideas suitable for emulation. If for this reason alone, these oratorios were to become a primary source of nineteenth-century musical gestures and styles as composers continued to find in *The Creation* and *The Seasons* worthy allusions, quotations, and models.

## *NOTES*

* This essay was presented in a shorter version at a symposium on Haydn's *The Creation* on November 23, 1991 at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill to honor Howard Smither on his retirement. I would like to thank Sandra Hyslop, Austin Caswell, Marianne Kielian-Gilbert, and Sheila and Peter Lindenbaum, who provided advice and assisted me in the preparation of this paper. The numbers used for *The Creation* come from Mandyczewski's edition (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1922) also used in my own edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) and for *The Seasons* from the C. F. Peters edition reprinted by Dover (New York, 1986).

[1] These figures are drawn from C. F. Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlaß des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät* (Vienna: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1871), 57–72.

[2] For an example of some of the criticism that the text drew, see note 38 below.

[3] See Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis,* vol. 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 183.

[4] Howard E. Smither, "The Other Creation: An Italian Response to Haydn," in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson,* ed. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990), 220.

[5] See Albert Christoph Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn* (Vienna: Camesinaische Buchhandlung, 1810), new ed. by Horst Seeger (Kassel: Bärenreiter, n.d.), 182, trans. in Vernon Gotwals, *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 188.

[6] Based on my own unpublished research on the operatic repertoire during the reign of Charles VI.

[7] See Janos Harich, "Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt," *Haydn Yearbook* 9 (1975): 78.

[8] Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Haydine* (Milan: Buccinelli, 1812), 162–63. Regarding the reliability of Carpani, see Gotwals, "The Earliest Biographies of Haydn," *Musical Quarterly* 45 (1959): 439–59.

[9] "Svanisce in un momento" also was well known in its contrafacta "Insanae et vanae curae."

[10] The librettos with van Swieten's annotations are published in Horst Walter, "Gottfried van Swietens handschriftliche Textbücher zu 'Schöpfung' und 'Jahreszeiten'," *Haydn-Studien* 1 (1967): 241–77; and H. C. Robbins Landon, ed., *The Creation and The Seasons: The Complete Authentic Word-Book* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985).

[11] C. G. Stellan Mörner, "Haydniana aus Schweden um 1800," *Haydn-Studien* 2 (1969): 28, as trans. in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle & Works,* vol. 4 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 318.

[12] See Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era, Protestant Germany and England,* vol. 2 of *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 175–356.

[13] Beethoven, as related by Czerny to Jahn, "picked up Handel's *Messiah* and said: 'Here is a different fellow!' and played the most interesting numbers and called our attention to several resemblances to Haydn's *Creation,* etc." See Alexander Wheelock Thayer and Elliot Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven,* vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 367. One resemblance with the *Messiah* is to be found in the cadence at the end of the second part of Handel's "The trumpet shall sound," which is approximated at the end of Haydn's accompanied recitative for Raphael "Und Gott schuf große Walfische/And God created great whales" (No. 17).

[14] *Cathedral Music,* collected by William Boyce, was first printed in three volumes (1760, 1768, and 1773).

[15] See Daniel Heartz, "The Hunting Chorus in Haydn's *Jahreszeiten* and the 'Airs de Chasse' in the Encyclopédie," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9 (1976): 523–39.

[16] H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 2, 733. See also Dénes Bartha and László Somfai, *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister* (Budapest: Verlag der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960), 366–68. Another set-number quotation was seemingly intended in *Le nozze di Figaro,* Act 4, Scene 11, where Cherubino appears singing one of his arias in a recitative. See Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Le Nozze di Figaro,* in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke,* Series II/5/16, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), vol. 1, xxi.

[17] Tovey, *Essays,* vol. 1, 153–54. A less viable connection can be made between the third-movement minuet of Symphony No. 29, K.201/186a and the introduction to "Autumn" (No. 24), which characterizes the farmer's pleasure at the rich harvest. Though the distinctiveness of the K. 201 minuet's rhythm and its counterpart in Haydn's introduction is striking, we have no other musical parallels nor any documentary evidence that Haydn might have known this work, which Mozart composed presumably in April 1774. Furthermore, Haydn's and Mozart's uses of this rhythm are strikingly different in character, so that at best one can cite a parallel, but not a conscious allusion or quotation.

[18] Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 3, 533–34.

[19] See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 5, 179–82.

[20] See Vincent and Mary Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage. Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the Year 1829* (London: Novello, 1955), 92.

[21] Georg Feder pursues some such parallels in "Similarities in the Works of Haydn," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on His Seventieth Birthday,* ed. H. C. Robbins Landon and Roger Chapman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 186–97.

[22] The audience was able to understand the text painting, which preceded the singers' presentation of the words, because the librettos, according to the *Eipeldauer-Briefe* of 1799, were distributed gratis. See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 4, 454.

[23] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn,* 180–81, trans. in Gotwals, *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits,* 187, and Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 5, 119.

[24] On the Rigi Ranz des Vaches, see A. Hyatt King, "Mountains, Music, and Musicians," *Musical Quarterly* 31 (1945): 403.

[25] See A. Peter Brown, "Haydn's 'Chaos': Genesis and Genre," *Musical Quarterly* 73 (1989): 58–59.

[26] According to Peter Branscombe, Paisiello's *Barber* was heard 61 times between 1783–1788. See his article, "Mozart and the Theater of His Time," in *The Mozart Compendium,* ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 368.

[27] See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 3, 83.

[28] See A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn's "The Creation": Reconstructing the Earliest Renditions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 2–7 and 20–43. Many of the same points also apply to *The Seasons.*

[29] See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 5, 148–49.

[30] See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 5, 69–70, 225–26, 236, and 404.

[31] Smither, "The Other Creation," 222.

[32] Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1977), especially 67–78 and passim. The most thorough stylistic discussion of Haydn and Beethoven is Georg Feder, "Stilelemente Haydns in Beethovens Werken," in *Bericht über den internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970,* ed. Carl Dahlhaus et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, [1971]), 65–70. See also Douglas Johnson, "1794–1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven's Early Development," in *Beethoven Studies,* vol. 3, ed. Alan Tyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1–28.

[33] See James Webster, "The Falling Out between Haydn and Beethoven," in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 24–25.

[34] According to Stendahl, productions of "Prometeo" choreographed in Milan by Salvatore Vigano inserted Haydn's "Chaos" into Beethoven's *Prometheus* Ballet, Op. 43. See Stendahl's *Haydn, Mozart, and Metastasio,* trans. Richard N. Coe (London: Calders & Boyars, 1972), 117.

[35] See Brown, "Chaos," 59.

[36] James Blades in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 18:835, s.v. "Timpani," remarks about the seven changes in tuning in *The Creation.* Some of the most adventurous timpani writing occurs in operas by Salieri; see David Charlton, "Salieri's Timpani," *Musical Times* 113 (1971): 961–62.

[37] Solomon also suggests in *Beethoven,* 211, that the women's chorus from *King Stephan* also owes something to *The Seasons.*

[38] For example, according to Georg August Griesinger, "Haydn often complained bitterly over the unpoetic text of *The Seasons,* and how hard it was for him to find inspiration to compose 'Heysasa, Hopsasa, es lebe der Wein es lebe das Fass, das ihn verwahrt! es lebe der Krug, woraus er fliesst!' and so on. [Long live wine! Long live the cask in which it's kept! Long live the pitcher from which it pours!] When he came to the place 'O Fleiss, o edler Fleiss, von dir kommt alles Heil!' [Industry, noble industry, from thee comes all prosperity!], he remarked that he had been an industrious man all his life, but that it had never occurred to him to set industry to music." As quoted from *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810), as trans. by Vernon Gotwals in *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits,* 40. Other similar comments can be found in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 5, 183 and 186–87.

[39] According to Solomon, *Beethoven,* 206.

[40] As translated in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 4, 256. Original in C. G. Stellan Mörner, "Haydniana," 26.

[41] Haydn used bird song in his Symphony No. 6, Gabriel's two arias in *The Creation* (Nos. 9 and 16), and No. 20 of *The Seasons,* in which the oboe imitates the quail. Among the bird calls in the "Pastoral" Symphony's coda of the "Scene by the Brook" is a quail imitation played with the same rhythm and instrument as in *The Seasons.* The second movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 6, according to Schindler, also integrates bird song into its texture before the coda, as does Haydn in *The Creation.* See Anton Felix Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him,* ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 145.

[42] Some readers might wish to connect the Beethoven with Mozart's "Ein musikalischer Spaß," K. 522. However, both the Haydn and Beethoven works have a pastoral context, whereas Mozart's jokes are strictly within a musical realm.

[43] As translated from the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 11 (April 12, 1809): col. 436.

[44] See Heinz Wolfgang Hamann, "Zu Beethovens Pastoral-Sinfonie," *Die Musikforschung* 14 (1961): 55–60.

[45] See Tovey, *Essays,* vol. 5, 133. The allusion was first cited by A. B. Marx in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen,* vol. 1, 3d. ed. (Berlin: Janke, 1875), 21–22.

[46] See A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn's The Creation,* 40–41.

[47] According to a paper by John Rice given at the Cardiff Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria, canonic pieces are to be found in operas by Salieri, leaving Mozart's example "E nel tuo mio bicchiero" in the Act-II finale to *Così fan tutte* no longer as a lone possible model. There are also canons in Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara* and *L'arbore di Diana.*

[48] Haydn's bitter complaints about this text were perhaps a partial result of its overtly propagandistic message in both Thomson's poem and van Swieten's adaptation. In the Vienna of 1801 these words contained a decidedly Josephine message for a post-Josephine era.

[49] See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 5, 103.

[50] See for example, the second movement of Mozart's Symphony in E flat, K. 543, mm. 30 and 96.

[51] The Spohr setting of "Gretchen am Spinnrade," Op. 52 No. 2 is found in Max Friedlaender, *Gedichte von Goethe in Kompositionen* No. 33 (Weimar: Goethe Gesellschaft, 1896) and dates from 1809. Zelter's setting appeared in 1810 and C. T. Moritz's version dates from ca. 1813.

[52] See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 5, 179.

[53] The background to this number is pursued in Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1902) and later by Marie E. His, "Zu Haydns 'Ein Mädchen, das auf Ehre hielt'," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12 (1911): 159–61, and Julian Tiersot, "Le Lied 'Ein Mädchen, das auf Ehre hielt' et ses prototypes français," ibid., 222–26.

[54] Carl Maria von Weber's critical writings mention both oratorios, but neither received a separate article. See Georg Kaiser, ed., *Sämtliche Schriften von Carl Maria von Weber* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1908). According to John Warrack (*Carl Maria von Weber* [New York: Macmillan, 1968], 298–99), Weber conducted *The Seasons* on June 6, 1823.

[55] "Die Schöpfung," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 4 (March 10, 1802): cols. 385–96, and "Die Jahreszeiten nach Thomson," ibid., 6 (May 2, 1804): cols. 513–29.

[56] Tovey, *Essays,* vol. 1, 133.

# Intertextual Play and Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata**

*By Caryl Clark*

Eighteenth-century Italian opera has long been recognized as an exceptionally flexible genre. Rarely performed the same way twice, opere buffe and serie were frequently altered both in text and music in order to modernize older works and bring them into line with the tastes of specific audiences, patrons, and occasions, as well as to make them conform to the specific tastes and limitations imposed by regional opera houses and resident troupes, including the demands and skills of individual singers.[1]

Joseph Haydn's entire opera repertory attests to the mutability of opera of the later eighteenth-century. At no time in his Esterházy career did he set a new libretto written exclusively for him; indeed, all twelve (surviving) opera texts that the composer set for Eszterháza had a prior life and were imported from outside locations via individuals and routes that, in the majority of cases, are untraceable.[2] A comparison between texts set by Haydn and those transmitted in earlier sources reveals numerous changes, large and small, some of which reflect important operatic practices in the period.

Multiple settings served a multitude of purposes, fulfilling important musical, social, political, and pedagogical needs. The appearance of beloved stories in different guises not only helped to satisfy the insatiable demands of opera audiences, but also provided a composer with the opportunity to demonstrate the diversity of his abilities—when setting the same text more than once—or to pit his compositional skills against those of a rival composer. For patrons and public alike, comparing multiple settings of a single text was a way of determining the merits and weaknesses of composers, singers, costume and scenery designers, and any others who helped bring the work to the stage.

The act of "recreating" also served a didactic function. For both beginners and established composers, reading, playing, copying, revising, and rewriting the scores (or selections) of others provided invaluable training. Through such activities composers learned how colleagues handled dramatically important moments, how they portrayed certain characters, what constituted the trademarks of a particular composer's style, and what procedures were customary in a given locality. More generally, study and revision were recognized methods of broadening one's knowledge of repertory, of learning new compositional techniques and, ultimately, of emulating or surpassing the work of an admired colleague.

It is with this historical and socio-cultural setting in mind that I approach Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata* (1780). Of all the operas Haydn composed for Eszterháza, only this one exists in an earlier setting appar-

ently known to the composer before he wrote his own version: *L'infedeltà fedele,* the Giambattista Lorenzi and Domenico Cimarosa collaboration, opened the Teatro del Fondo in Naples on July 20, 1779.[3] Although never performed at Eszterháza,[4] this opera served at least as a partial model for *La fedeltà premiata,* Haydn's setting of a revised version of the libretto composed for the inauguration of the new Esterházy opera house on February 25, 1781.[5] To focus on the similarities between these two works and the influence Cimarosa may have exercised on Haydn, however, puts excessive restrictions on the research agenda. Source studies, narrowly defined, risk the possibility of closing off potentially rewarding avenues of research by placing undue emphasis on the composition at the expense of reception in its broadest sense. Ultimately, no single source can adequately capture the full meaning of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata.* Rather, it is necessary to address this opera in relation to an entire range of works—in other words, through an intertextual approach.

* * *

Intertextuality has no beginning, only ring upon ring of overlapping circles. "Less a name for a work's relation to particular prior texts than an assertion of [its] participation in a discursive space," intertextuality is concerned with uncovering "the codes which are the potential formalizations of that space."[6] Any attempt to "contextualize" a work, be it literary, musical, or otherwise, within a broader frame of reference addresses the intertextual pursuit. In opposition to its historical forebear, source-influence studies, intertextuality shifts the emphasis from an author-oriented to a reader-oriented enterprise, leaving the reader (listener, critic, etc.) to establish the "intertextual identity, . . . the relationship between a focused text and its intertext."[7] Intertextual studies challenge the critic to explore the dialogue that a text shares with other texts:[8] What pre-texts exist? How are they appropriated, and what do they produce anew? What are the similarities, the disjunctions? What can we deduce about conventions, and about culture? It is also an enterprise that has increasingly held the attention of musicologists in the discipline's ongoing process of redefinition. As Don Randel has exhorted, our critical energies must "move in the direction of the listener: away from the process of composition and toward the process of hearing; away from the presumably autonomous text and outward to the network of texts that, acting through a reader or listener, gives any one text its meaning."[9]

For *La fedeltà premiata* the intertextual pursuit means recognizing that the opera shares a prescriptive practice, a "discursive space," with other operas of the period while at the same time assimilating recognizable works.[10] Of greatest significance here is its incorporation of elements of

the pastoral genre as articulated in Italian literature of the later sixteenth century, most notably in Giovanni Battista Guarini's tragicomedy *Il pastor fido* (1585), echoes of which are found in two Da Ponte librettos for the late-eighteenth-century Viennese stage: *L'arbore di Diana* (1787) and *Il pastor fido* (1789), set by Martín y Soler and Salieri respectively.[11] This broader intertextuality has probably been overlooked and undiscussed because of the known identity of *La fedeltà premiata*'s single most important source—*L'infedeltà fedele.* Though there is little doubt that Haydn was well-acquainted with Cimarosa's score and incorporated some of its structural features in his own work, Haydn's debt to Cimarosa is not great, especially when we consider distinctions between significant and coincidental melodic resemblance,[12] individual and normative responses, local preferences, and (unique to Haydn's score) music's role in underscoring character relationships and stage events.

Overshadowed by this known affiliation is the dialogue *La fedeltà premiata* develops with an unnamed, yet well-known, work for the stage: Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762). This dialogue, which manifests itself through a poetic, thematic, and musical troping of the "coro di furie" within *La fedeltà premiata*'s second-act finale,[13] evolves into more than a parody of seria within buffa. My analysis plays with the idea that, within the overarching pastoral context of Haydn's opera, an alternation of comic and serious allusions, each with its own signification, magnifies the tensions inherent in the tragicomic genre and in so doing prolongs and deepens the parody. This is no mere Gluckian interpolation; its presence introduces further levels of meaning. Within the context of a "buffo" finale, the resulting complex web of interconnections yields other ways of understanding later eighteenth-century operatic (and Haydnesque) dramaturgy.

* * *

Though Haydn's "dramma giocoso per musica" makes numerous changes to Lorenzi's "commedia per musica," the basic plot structure remains unchanged.[14] In Lorenzi's words,

> I endeavored to find a way of eschewing the usual popular, vulgar buffooneries . . . and have contented myself with moderate sallies of wit, sufficient to throw into suitable relief the tragic matter which I have introduced, and which hitherto has not been employed in musical comedies. [*Serio* and *giocoso* unite to create] an in-between entertainment, partaking discreetly of elements from both, so that everyone . . . [might] find a theatrical event corresponding to his taste.[15]

For all its claim to originality, Lorenzi's libretto exhibits the generic blend-

ing of tragedy and comedy that comes straight out of the pastoral tradition, in which the plight of the elevated characters is tempered by gentle, yet instructive, humor.

In the first scene of the opera Amaranta, the *prima buffa,* reads aloud an inscription on the Temple of Diana outlining the plot: "every year two faithful lovers will be sacrificed to the sea monster until a heroic soul offers his own life. Only then will peace return to the land of Cumae." Thus begins the search or, better still, the "hunt"—vividly presented in the "La chasse" overture (subsequently adapted as the closing movement of Symphony No. 73)—for the sacrificial victims to be offered to Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt and of chastity. Unlike other librettos where love intrigues predominate, this piece gives its *dramatis personae* ample justification for coy and fickle actions, since to be in love without the consent of the devious high priest Melibeo means certain disaster. The result is a dizzying oscillation between private professions and open denials of love; the *primo buffo,* Count Perrucchetto (Count Wig Maker), fancies a new woman with practically every change of head piece. Yet, as Lorenzi suggests in his preface, such comic incidents and characterizations function as diversions to the opera's primary task: the presentation of elevated characters in serious situations in which constancy and sacrifice are championed.[16]

The elevated thrust of the opera is nowhere more forceful than in the second-act finale, where Melibeo brings forth the sacrificial victims. Count Perrucchetto, his flirtatious behavior having finally caught up with him, is led out of a cave (an unequivocal sexual image) with the *prima seria* Celia (also known as Fillide) to be offered to the sea monster. Although only a victim of circumstance, Celia would rather go to her death having saved her true lover, Fileno, than openly declare her love for him, thereby betraying them as the true faithful couple. Since everyone, save for the scheming Melibeo, is touched emotionally by this impending sacrifice, all except the priest join in expressing their horror at the finale's conclusion.

The Cimarosa and Haydn second-act finales, 432 and 505 measures respectively, show a high correlation of textual segmentation or subdivision (tables 1 and 2). Each of Cimarosa's six sections corresponds to a change in poetic meter with the exception of the Larghetto instrumental procession which, oddly enough, rates a short seven-measure section all its own. Haydn's subdivisions, as on other occasions, are less bound to the poetry's metrical divisions and more responsive to other features of the text's internal structure as well as to extra-textual overtones. The sacrificial procession, for instance, is subsumed within section 3—the sixteen-measure instrumental introduction preceding Melibeo's entrance at "Queste due vittime" serving as the funeral dirge for Celia and Perrucchetto (see

**Table 1**

Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata,* Act II, Finale.

| sec | mm | tempo | meter | key | characters | no. of char. | text incipit | poetic meter | end harmony | closing technique |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1–40 | Adagio | 𝄴 | E♭ | Fil, Ner, Lin | 3 | Fil: (Quel silenzio, e quelli pianti) | 8 | I | trio |
| 2 | 41–134 | Presto | | G | same + Am | 4 | Am: Si vada . . . si soccorra | 7 | I | quartet |
| 3* | 135–169 | Adagio (Andante?) | 3/4 | c | Mel | 1 | Mel: Queste due, vittime | 5 | V . . . | |
| 4* | 170–214 | Presto | | E♭ | Am, Ner, Fil Lin | 4 | tutti: Ah qual terribile | 5 | V . . . | quartet (same words) |
| 5 | 215–347 | Allegro | 𝄵 | C | same + Cel, Per, Mel | 7 | Cel: Perfido Cielo ingrato | 7 | V . . . | quintet (same words) |
| 6* | 348–389 | Presto | 2/4 | E♭ | | 7 | Mel: Via si vada, che la Dea | 8 | V . . . | |
| 7* | 390–505 | Allegro assai | 3/4 | | | 7 | tutti: Che caso barbaro, e inaspettato | 5 + 5 | I | tutti |

* sections parodying chorus of the furies from Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*

**Table 2**

Cimarosa's *L'infedeltà fedele,* Act II, Finale.

| sec | mm | tempo | meter | key | characters | no. of char. | text incipit | poetic meter | end harmony | closing technique |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1–52 | ? (slow) | ¢ | E♭ | Fil, Vio, Ner, Vuz | 4 | Fil: (Quel silenzio, e quelli pianti) | 8 | V . . . (diff. words) | quartet |
| 2 | 53–157 | Allegro | c | | Am, Vio, Vuz, Fil, Ner | 5 | Am: Si vada . . . si soccorra | 7 | V . . . (diff. words) | quintet |
| 3 | 158–164 | Larghetto | ¢ | | same + Mel, Per, Cel | 8 | (instrumental procession) | | I | |
| 4 | 165–219 | Andante | 3/4 | G | Am, Mel, Vio Vuz, Per, Ner, Cel, Fil | 8 | Mel: Queste due, vittime | 5 | I | tutti |
| 5 | 220–344 | Allegro | c | G/F | | 8 | Cel: Perfido Cielo ingrato | 7 | I in F | sextet |
| 6 | 345–432 | Più stretto | | . . . E♭ | | 8 | Mel: Via si vada, che la Dea | 8 | | tutti (diff. words) |

figure 1, Haydn's finale text for sections 3 and 4 beginning at "Queste due, vittime"). But the fourth section, set in a dramatically increased tempo, begins at the tutti outburst "Ah qual terribile," even though the poetry continues the predominating *quinario sdrucciolo* (strong-weak-weak) meter.[17] Entirely new to Haydn's libretto are the six lines appended to the end of the finale (figure 1, section 7) which create a self-contained reflective tutti—an important addition not only for what it says but for what it provides. This Viennese-style tutti[18] depicts the inner turbulence of the characters' hearts and the raging storm around them, and simultaneously provides architectonic space for Haydn to bring the musical highlights of the finale into closer relationship with one another.[19]

**The Shaping Force of Silence**

Silence, or the failure of others to respond to questions posed by a character, is a hallmark of this finale text. Literally and figuratively, the voice which could betray one's true love is silenced. As characters are intentionally spurned, they in turn address the heavens, in the hope that their appeals will be heard there. For instance, immediately prior to the finale, Fileno arrives on stage in search of Celia. Twice he asks where Celia is, and after the ensuing silence, he launches the finale with the words "Quel silenzio," presaging the finale's main theme. Two more times he begs Nerina and Lindoro for a response, but without success. At the beginning of the second section Amaranta enters in a fluster as she ponders Perrucchetto's fate. Fileno again tries to learn of Celia's whereabouts and pleads to the heavens, "oh dio . . . parlate per pietà . . . cieli," so frustrated is he in his attempts to locate his beloved. Amaranta replies that she cannot say, and then all four characters bemoan the "stelle perfide" [perfidious stars] in a short quartet that closes section 2.

Surprisingly, the response to Fileno's supplications comes not in the form of words, but in the form of sound and action, as given in the stage directions at the beginning of section 3 (figure 1): "Dopo breve suono di flebili istromenti vien Melibeo, che precede Celia e Perrucchetto vestiti di bianco e coronati di fiori" [After the brief sound of mournful instruments, Melibeo enters preceding Celia and Perrucchetto, who are clothed in white and crowned with flowers]. After this pastoral processional, Melibeo explains that Perrucchetto and Celia are the two lovers who will be offered to the sea monster; only now does Fileno learn what the others have known all along. The original Lorenzi libretto continues with six more lines in which Melibeo, feigning his displeasure, confirms that the punishment must be carried through, however horrible it may be. The others then reconcile themselves to this end. In Haydn's setting these lines are changed so that the presentation of the sacrificial victims so overwhelms

*Ama.* Salvate Perrucchetto . . .
*Lind.* Oibò, ſalvate quella . . .
*Fil.* Io mi confondo, oh Dio!
Che fu dell' Idol mio?
Parlate per pieta?
*Ner.* Fu Celia . . . Ahi duolo atroce!
*Ama.* Fu il Conte . . . Ahi non ho voce?
*Fil.* Cieli, che mai ſarà!
*Ner.* Già vengono i paſtori:
Le vittime ſon quà.

*Fil.*
*Ner.*
*Ama.* a 4 Avete, o ſtelle perfide,
Più ſtrali in queſto dì?
*Lind.*

(*Dopo brieve ſuono di flebili iſtromenti vien Melibeo, che precede Celia, e Perrucchetto veſtiti di bianco, e coronati di fiori e detti.*)

*Mel.* Queſte due, vittime,
Caſta Diana,
Che fide ardevano
Di occulto amor;
Ti offre la miſera
Gente Cumana,
Fra le ſue lagrime,
E il ſuo dolor.
*Fil.* Ah qual terribile
Funeſto oggetto!
*Ner.* Tremante, e gelido
a 4 Ho il cor nel petto!
*Ama.* Il ſangue arreſtaſi . . .
D' affanno ſentomi,
*Lind.* Oh Dio! . . mancar. *Cel.*

*Lind.* a 2 Ah ſe perdo l' Idol mio, (*ogn' un daſe.*
*Ner.* Mai più pace il core avrà.

*TUTTI.*

Che caſo barbaro, e inaſpettato!
Minaccia fulmini il Cielo irato!
Da fieri palpiti, da ſmanie orribili
Sento dividerſi in petto il cor!
I venti fremono; i tuoni ſtridono,
Chi può reſiſtere a tant' orror?

*Fine dell' Atto Secondo.*

**Figure 1.** Text of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata,* Act-II finale, sections 3–4, 7; facing German translation is excised. Reproduced, with permission, from **A-Wst** 108599 A.

everyone that together they address the deity with a "colpo di scena" beginning at the words "Ah qual terribile."

The victims themselves have so far remained silent. But when Celia and Perrucchetto try to initiate conversation, they are rebuffed. Celia at first curses "treacherous, ungrateful heaven" [perfido cielo ingrato] in her anger; later, as she turns to Fileno for pity, his reply to her to remain quiet cruelly returns the treatment accorded him at the opening of the finale. Similarly, Perrucchetto's entreaty to Amaranta is greeted with a demand for silence. Even as they all prepare to leave for the temple, Lindoro's feeble attempt to speak with Melibeo is stifled with the words "olà silenzio." Conversation, explanation, and communication are all thwarted.

In Lorenzi's libretto Perrucchetto, before being led away to the temple, makes a pass at Violetta, a passage excised in Haydn's libretto. In all, fifteen lines in Lorenzi's version are replaced in Haydn's by thirteen new lines echoing the theme of the original text—no more help is available for the victims—and emphasizing Perrucchetto's impending apoplexy. Even here the changes are in keeping with the prevailing theme of "silence." For instance, Nerina's effort to speak with Melibeo earns the reply, "più non t'ascolto" [I will not listen to you]. Indeed, the adaptations performed on Haydn's libretto here and elsewhere in this finale remain entirely in keeping with Lorenzi's original intentions by promoting a lack of communication between the characters. Only the text meter is altered in this latter section; whereas the Neapolitan libretto changes to *ottonario* (8-syllable) meter (without a change of section in the Cimarosa), Haydn's text continues in *settenario* (7-syllable) for the remainder of the section (section 5).

As everyone on stage moves towards the temple, Perrucchetto now joins Celia in cursing the stars for the cruel fate so unjustly brought upon them, while Amaranta and Fileno reply that heaven must punish such infidelity. Once again, direct conversation is avoided, with heaven acting as the intermediary. At this point Lorenzi's second act comes to an end, but in Haydn's version a tutti is appended to the libretto (figure 1). Heaven breaks its silence and explodes with lightning, thunder, and roaring winds as if to confirm that the preceding entreaties have indeed been heard, despite the failure of those who made them to hear each other. Justice will be done.[20]

The world of opera buffa seems very far away. Indeed, the plot's emphasis on sacrifice and wrongful death places this finale outside the sphere of the usual "buffo" finale. Only the comic relief provided by the increasingly deluded Count Perrucchetto lifts the slow-moving action out of its tragic descent. Yet this is precisely where the musical setting plays a decisive role in turning tragedy into comedy. Music, that most elusive of media, simultaneously mimics and mocks the stage events through parody of the seria style, creating a scintillating dialogue between two operas.

**Haydn's parody of *Orfeo***

With the entrance of the sacrificial victims clad in white (section 3; m. 135), a deft recomposition of Gluck's "coro di furie" from *Orfeo* initiates a parodistic musical mode.[21] *Orfeo,* especially well-known in operatic centers north of the Alps following its 1762 Viennese premiere and publication in Paris shortly thereafter, circulated widely in score and on stage, becoming one of the most famous works of the period.[22] Not surprisingly, *Orfeo* was the first work staged at Eszterháza following the institution of a regular opera season there in 1776.[23] The well acclaimed second act opens with the somber yet "terrible" chorus of the furies, a dramatic continuum of almost three-hundred measures set in *quinario sdrucciolo* meter—the same poetic meter Lorenzi introduces at "Queste due, vittime." This poetic meter, coupled with the reiterated rhythm | ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩. ♪ ♩ |, gained special significance as an intertextual operator; together they became an emblem of the horrible and ghastly, as they had done ever since the incantation of Medea's furies in Cavalli's *Giasone.*[24] A notable example of this phenomenon is found in Paisiello's *Socrate immaginario* (Naples, 1775), whose librettist is, probably, Lorenzi.[25] The suggestion that Tammaro, the pretended Socrates, seek "advice from demons in a grotto . . . allows for a marvelous parody of the scene in Gluck's *Orfeo*—seen in Naples the previous year [1774]—where Orpheus enters Hades."[26] And this is by no means an isolated example; as Mary Hunter notes, "references to the next world not infrequently conjure up memories of *Orfeo,*" both through direct textual quotation and musical allusion.[27]

In the sacrificial scene both Cimarosa and Haydn use the sarabande rhythm articulated by Gluck's furies.[28] But even though four of Lorenzi's original eight lines are *quinarii sdruccioli,* Cimarosa employs the Gluckian rhythm in the tutti line only, that is, at the two statements of "Ah chi resistere" (f. 458v and f. 459v).

| *Cimarosa's text* (II/4, continued) | | *Haydn's text* (II/4, beginning) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *à 3* | Ah qual terribile | *à 4* | Ah qual terribile |
| | Funesto oggetto! | | Funesto oggetto! |
| *à 2* | Ah che mmò l'anema | | Tremante, e gelido |
| | M'esce da pietto! | | Ho il cor nel petto! |
| *Mel.* | Il caso è orribile *(affettando* | | Il sangue arrestasi . . . |
| | Per verità. *dispiacere)* | | D'affanno sentomi, |
| *Tutti* | Ah chi resistere | | Oh Dio! . . . mancar. |
| | Chi mai potrà. | | |

*(translation follows)*

[Oh what a terrible,
disastrous thing!
Ah my soul is fleeing
from my breast!
The situation is terrible
in truth.
Ah who could ever resist this.]

[Oh what a terrible,
disastrous thing!
My heart trembles and
freezes in my breast!
My blood stops . . .
breathless, oh God . . .
I feel faint.]

And as table 2 indicates, neither statement occurs within the predominantly C-minor tonal area of Gluck's chorus. Parody depends upon much further referential treatment.

In contrast, all four of the *sdrucciolo* end-line accents in Haydn's new seven-line tutti are set to Gluck's rhythm. Indeed, the *Orfeo* rhythm permeates Haydn's setting. All of section 3, including the instrumental introduction and Melibeo's solo, is based on the motive, appropriately in C minor at an adagio (or andante) tempo; it evokes the rhythm, tonality, and austerity of Gluck's scene. More convincing is the tutti statement of the motive at the beginning of section 4, "Ah qual terribile." Here Haydn shuns the time-honored introduction of a "shock tutti"—which is probably the intent of Cimarosa's retention of the slow tempo—and continues the Gluckian reference. As in Gluck's chorus at "Chi mai dell'Erebo," Haydn's chorus, also set in C minor, begins homophonically before breaking into a four-part chorus. The double statements of the two-measure rhythmic motive in measures 182–85 and 201–4 of Haydn's setting also strengthen the parallel. By recalling *Orfeo*'s pitiless chorus of remorse and hopelessness, the sacrificial scene in *La fedeltà premiata* creates comedy out of tragedy.

Could this interpolation of Gluck's *Orfeo* rhythm within Haydn's sacrificial scene be the result of chance? Indeed, how many rhythmic options are there for this particular metrical and accentual construct? *Quinario sdrucciolo* is not a very common poetic meter,[29] occurring only two other times in Haydn's finales, in settings of texts by Carlo Goldoni.[30] But in Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata,* features of the plot and the musical setting combine to create a striking parallel; indeed, Lorenzi's text is altered to accommodate the strengthening of the bond. Cimarosa's reference to *Orfeo* is so limited that it might be attributed to pure chance, but Haydn's, on the other hand, is so extensive and so vivid that the likeness and resulting travesty are difficult to ignore. Later in Haydn's finale the music's parodistic intent is even more recognizable, its recurrence playing a vital structural role.

**Overt musical comedy**

After the serious nature of sections 3 and 4, section 5 (mm. 215–347)

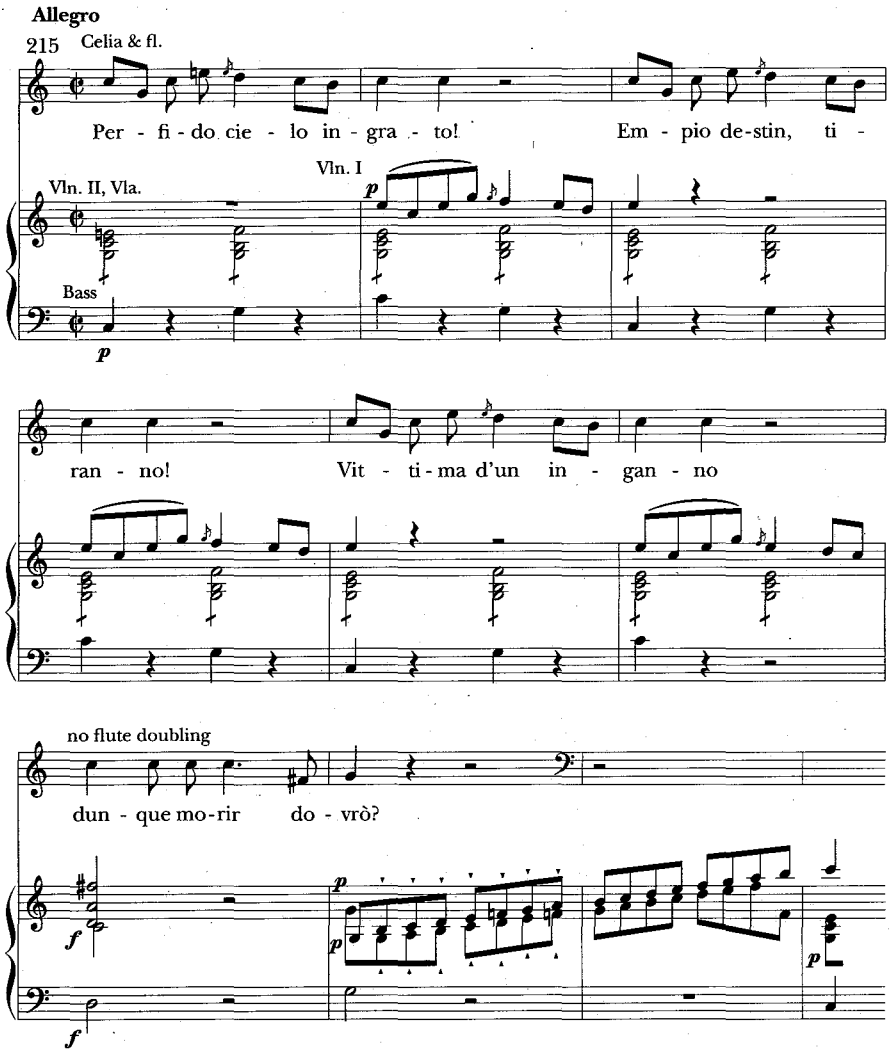
creates a welcome relief. Subtle and overt text painting abound, with the orchestra mocking the finale's theme of "thwarted conversation" by employing "instrumental" conversation. When Celia at last breaks her silence to plead for her life, the flute and first violin introduce a regular eight-measure conversational exchange to which an extra orchestral ninth measure is added, emphasizing that no one responds to her outburst (example 1). Similarly, the bassoon and violin converse over Perrucchetto's unanswered inquiry: is a high-born man dressed like a clown—"vestito da pagliaccio"—to be sacrificed to the sea monster? Despite the apparent sobriety of the dramatic situation, this is still a comic finale.

After the orchestra modulates to the dominant, Celia and Perrucchetto try speaking directly to Fileno and Amaranta respectively, but are mocked by flippant grace-note figures in the first violin (mm. 243ff) which accentuate the negative responses they receive. Further on, two more musical motives—a "mumbling" bass figure (m. 248) and a staccato "laughing" figure in the violins (mm. 249–50)[31]—taunt and ridicule Celia, who protests her innocence, and Perrucchetto, who compares himself to a sacrificial lamb (example 2). The violins again interject grace notes in midsection, where further attempts at conversation are stifled—when Nerina tries to address Melibeo, and when Lindoro attempts the same. And comedy reigns at section's end with the return of the aforementioned musical motives at Perrucchetto's words "Dunque la mia bellezza . . . in fumo sen'andrà? [must my beauty . . . go up in smoke?] (mm. 313ff; these lines are new in Haydn's setting).

At the end of section 5's closing quintet, G-minor Gypsy music or the "style hongrois"[32] accompanies the words "delira il meschinello, e pazzo in verità" [the poor fellow is delirious, he is truly mad]. This special "tinta" occurs at all levels of the musical construction, including key, pitch, rhythm, orchestration, and dynamics. The so-called "Gypsy scale," consisting of a harmonic minor scale with a raised fourth, thereby creating the characteristic half-step between the fourth and fifth scale degrees (G–A–B♭–C♯–D–E♭–F♯–G),[33] provides the main melodic material, and it is probably no accident that oboes and first violins are the instruments used to double the soprano vocal lines; violin and *tárogató,* a shawm-like double reed instrument, were common melody instruments in Hungarian Gypsy music during this period.[34] The orchestra further emphasizes the prominent C-sharp–D semitone (mm. 327ff) with its weak-beat szforzandos and "alla zoppa" or "limping" rhythm, and its chugging, drone-like bass accompaniment, used here to great effect in thirds (example 3).[35]

In retrospect we now see that the earlier violin grace notes were harbingers of the coming style, just as C-sharp and D were used to create the "mumbling" motive at its last appearance (mm. 312ff, in G minor); this

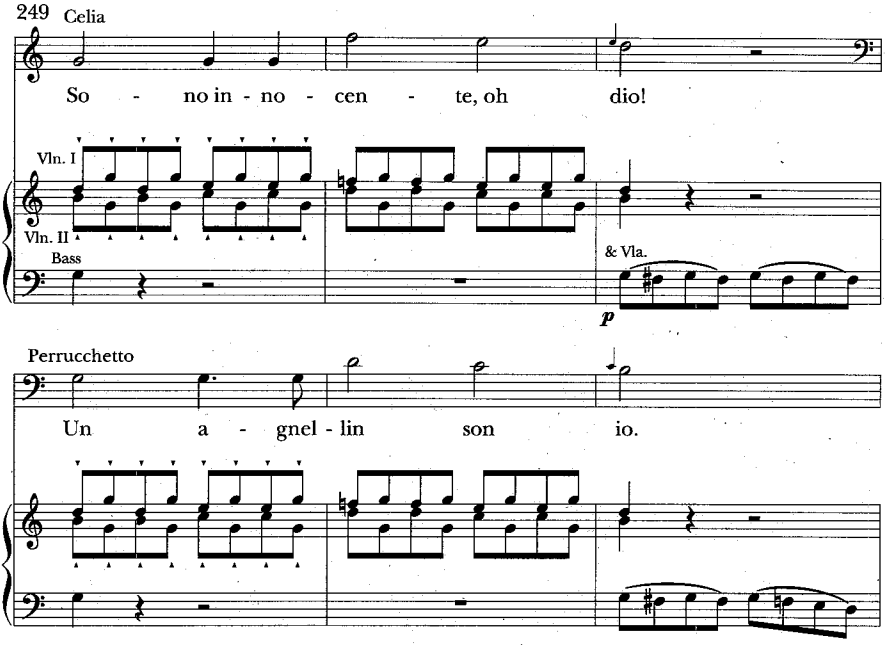
**Example 1.**



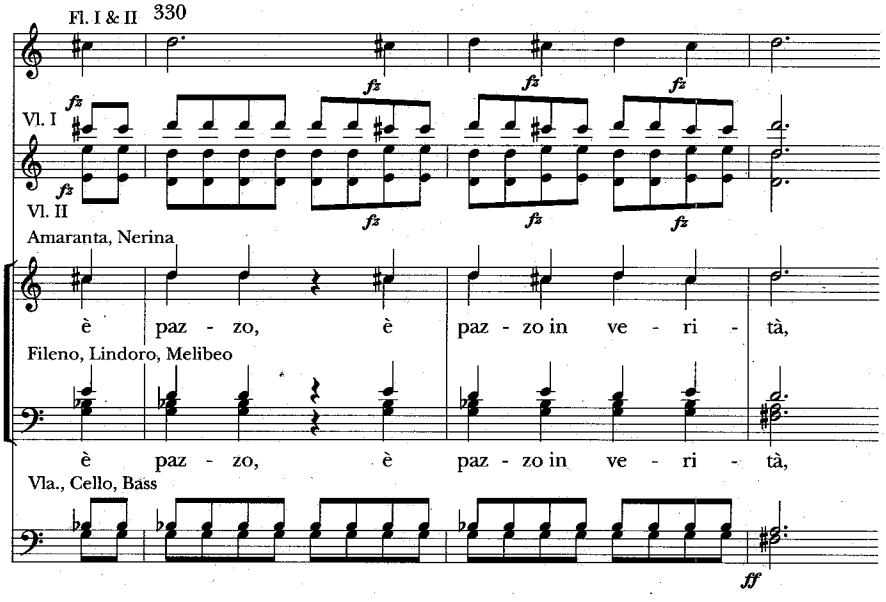

bass figure now becomes an expression of madness, and the exoticism of the "style hongrois" underscores Perrucchetto's demented state, his ultimate mental collapse in the face of death. Musical exoticism signifies the outcast, the madman whose behavior is socially and sexually deviant.

Throughout section 5 the orchestral accompaniment creates a backdrop of continuity against which the various motives are arrayed at the appropriate dramatic moments. Although it may appear that they betray

**Example 2.**




**Example 3.**



the solemnity of the drama, the primary aim of the motives and exotic elements is to mock the characters and their situations and to expose the travesty behind the events on stage. The coupling of the *prima seria* with the *primo buffo* is ludicrous, and by burlesquing this and the ensuing events, the buffo qualities of the finale emerge triumphant. Furthermore, the insertion of this overtly comic musical section between the initial *Orfeo* reference and its forthcoming recurrence serve to reinvigorate the comic intent underlying the parody.

**Parody's return**

The concluding two sections of Haydn's finale return musically to the world of serious opera. Here the most important events of the finale—the presentation and indictment of the sacrificial victims and the pitiful response this generates (begun in sections 3 and 4)—are recalled at the finale's end, driving home the parodistic intent. The extended text of Haydn's sections 6 and 7 allows for a greater degree of tonal planning and dramatic interconnectedness than is possible within the limitations imposed by Lorenzi's abbreviated conclusion. Indeed, sections 3 through 7 display a level of tonal coherence and procedural interaction subsequently found in Mozart's mature finales.

Musical summary is facilitated by the finale's tight and homogeneous action and by the repetition of metrical and accentual patterns used earlier in the text. In particular, the return of the *quinario sdrucciolo* patterns at the finale's conclusion considerably eases Haydn's task in drawing the musical relationships. Could it be that Haydn himself sometimes acted as his own librettist and that he wrote the closing tutti appended to this finale? Or does this example offer further evidence that Haydn worked closely with an (unknown) Esterházy librettist,[36] in this case designing a closing tutti with all the prerequisites necessary for him to reintroduce musical parody? Whatever the case may be, it cannot be denied that these poetic changes facilitate distinctly musical ambitions.

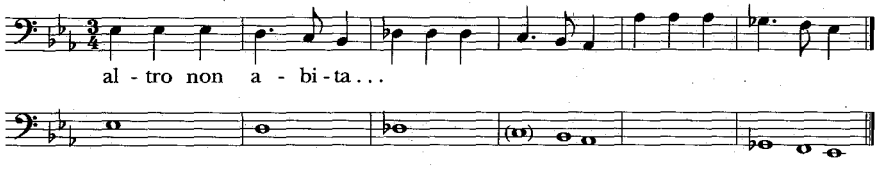
The short sixth section briefly recalls preceding events; it alludes to the key of C minor during a progression to the submediant in the bass lines of measure 360 and measure 366. The reference is slight but significant, since it accompanies Celia's and Perrucchetto's utterance of the word *crudeltà;* their cruel punishment was first pronounced in the fateful key of C minor. Section 6 then elides into the seventh and last section, which also harks back to the preceding C minor sections. The closing tutti begins with a unison statement of a variant of the "coro di furie" rhythm—stated first by the orchestra (mm. 390ff) and then twice by the vocalists (mm. 393ff). This is immediately followed by a homophonic choral setting of two lines of *quinario doppio* text, in which *sdrucciolo* accents predominate:

Da fieri *pal*pita, da smanie or*rib*ili
Sento di*vi*dersi in petto il cor!

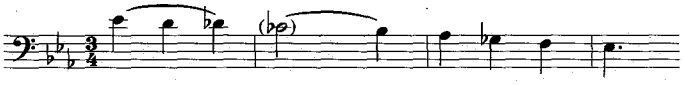
Gluck's "coro di furie" rhythm is quoted exactly (mm. 400ff), and the tonal motion to the first inversion of the submediant (or first inversion tonic in C minor) further recalls the earlier C-minor sections and the tonality of the *Orfeo* chorus itself.

Imitative choral statements, again cast in the *Orfeo* rhythm, are followed by yet another feature of Gluck's writing for the furies: chromaticism. Both before and after a rapid scale accent depicting the roar of the wind, slower descending scales reminiscent of Gluck's recurring bass lines are echoed (mm. 427–34 in B-flat minor, and mm. 483–90 in E-flat minor). In each of Gluck's chromatically descending lines, all notes save one correspond to Haydn's descent (example 4). Haydn's adaptations of choruses III and V resonate with Gluckian overtones; once again weeping and groaning are supplanted by the threshold of Hades. Ultimately Orfeo's musical pleas to win his beloved placate Gluck's angry furies, but not until Act III does Fileno's courageous offer of self-sacrifice for Celia similarly appease the goddess Diana. Like Orfeo, both Celia and Fileno have shown their willingness to risk death for love, and the opera's title assures us that their fidelity will be rewarded.

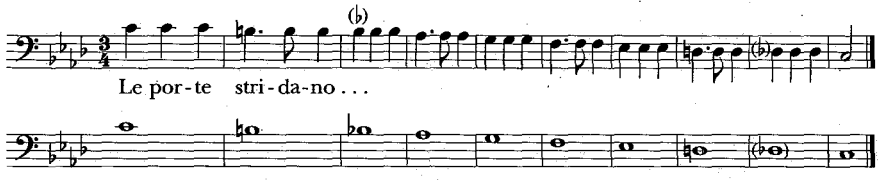
**Example 4a.** Gluck: Chorus III.




**Example 4b.** Haydn: Act II Finale.



**Example 4c.** Gluck: Chorus V.



*La fedeltà premiata*'s Gluckian parody represents a radical departure from Cimarosa's *L'infedeltà fedele.* Indeed, Haydn's setting reveals an entirely new understanding of the dramatic situation and of the power of music to become a tool of ridicule and mockery. That Haydn—without Cimarosa's example—bases the bulk of his second finale on parodistic interplay with *Orfeo* shows what little inspiration he derived from the Neapolitan score, and also how he tailor-made his finale for an operatically knowledgeable public, foremost among them Prince Nikolaus Esterházy himself. *La fedeltà premiata*'s parodistic features, undoubtedly partially responsible for the opera's Esterházy successes (only *Armida* [1783] surpassed it the number of performances[37]), also contributed to its cosmopolitanism and, therefore, its exportability. *La fedeltà premiata,* which opened at the Kärntnertortheater as *Die belohnte Treue* on December 18, 1784, was the first Haydn opera to be staged at a Viennese court theater.[38]

* * *

In the late eighteenth century, when English aestheticians linked genius with originality, "borrowing" sometimes conjured up notions of unoriginality and even plagiarism. It was a source of embarrassment for nineteenth-century Handel scholars, for instance, to discover the extent to which many of his works were indebted to those of others. In the wake of this undercover operation, researchers sought to understand such imitations in the light of earlier compositional practice, a time when modeling, transcribing, and reworking were commonplace. And modern criticism urges us yet again to reformulate our thinking. Rather than attribute Handel's economies to a lack of inspiration, John Roberts has recently explained the composer's borrowing practices to "a basic lack of facility in inventing original ideas." As he concludes,

> Some no doubt will resist these speculations as tending to diminish Handel's stature. I would argue that they do not. Like any artist, he deserves to be judged not by his methods, still less by his motives in employing them, but solely by the effects he achieves.[39]

In calling for a concentration on the "effects achieved," Roberts concedes that past scholarship has too often overlooked the critic's responsibility as "listener."

Haydn's effects in the second-act finale of *La fedeltà premiata* depend little on Cimarosa's *L'infedeltà fedele.* Directing the focus away from *La fedeltà premiata*'s primary source enables the critic to uncover the opera's broader referentiality—what else it absorbs, assimilates, transforms, and yields. In my reading of *La fedeltà premiata*'s second-act finale, Haydn's

achievement, though contingent upon its assimilation of Gluck's "coro di furie," rests more with the nature of the play between texts, what Mary Hunter describes as "the collage of connotations from which meaning can be inferred." Since "every level of meaning in opera buffa arises from the combination and recombination of textual, musical, and dramatic elements,"[40] the very density and increasing intensity of the stylistic, generic, poetic, and character allusions and references at work in this Haydn finale contribute to a multitude of meanings, within and beyond the boundaries of the work itself.

Internal and external resonances abound. The Gluckian parody reawakens within the listener the uncanny sense that, despite the current turmoil, "the furies will be subdued," that Melibeo will be overcome and the true lovers united. Its crossed communication also increases the tensions contained within the second-act finale's mispairing, miscommunication, wavering musical styles, and broader generic affiliations: having been silenced into submission like Orfeo and Euridice, Fileno and Celia receive only musical responses. Indeed, Haydn's setting empowers music's voice in a way reminiscent of *Orfeo*. À la Orfeo's lyre, the "style hongrois" temporarily interrupts the derivative chorus material, permitting a sectional presentation reminiscent of Gluck's setting; interruption replaces choral-solo alternation. When juxtaposed with the elevated style of the Gluckian adaptation, the "style hongrois" accompanying the Count's deteriorating mental faculties creates a clash of styles that is illustrative, socially coded, and parodistic. And as if the tension created by these extremes alone were not sufficient, the whole is subsumed within the context of the pastoral, itself noted for a duality of "sophisticated irony and surface innocence."[41] As a comic opera in the pastoral mode, *La fedeltà premiata* derives inner coherence and projects dramatic complicity by interpolating Gluck's chorus within its pastoral play of tragedy and comedy. Given the layers of meaning already unleashed by these intertextual networks, the implications of (and for) "La chasse" (including Symphony no. 73) introduce an excess bordering on irrationality and chaos.

The foregoing analysis tells us almost as much about the universality of Gluck's *Orfeo* as about the fertility of Haydn's operatic imagination and his involvement in a vigorous operatic tradition[42]—one in which he played an active role until composing his own opera on the Orfeo theme.[43] As an operatic composer, arranger, stage director, and conductor Haydn was anything but "cut off from the world [with] no one around to mislead and harass me, . . . forc[ing me] to become original."[44] This exploration of the "harassment" inflicted by Cimarosa's *L'infedeltà fedele* and Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* reveals a powerful intertextual playfulness which, while exposing the true artifice of Haydn's finale, enriches the meaning of *La fedeltà premiata*.

## *NOTES*

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[1] The "unfixed" nature of later eighteenth-century Italian opera with respect to singers is the subject of a recent dissertation by Patricia Lewy Gidwitz, "Vocal Profiles of Four Mozart Sopranos" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1991). See also her "'Ich bin die erste Sängerin': Vocal Profiles of Two Mozart Sopranos," *Early Music* 19 (1991): 565–79. In "Mozart and His Singers: Some Methodological Problems, with Special Reference to *La clemenza di Tito*," a paper delivered at the The Royal Musical Association's Mozart Bicentenary Conference in London, August 1991, John Rice discusses "the dangers and the possibilities awaiting scholars who try to understand Mozart's singers and the ways in which they affected Mozart's music."

[2] *Il mondo della luna* and *Orlando paladino* are two notable exceptions. The first of these, a revised version of Carlo Goldoni's libretto of the same title, probably reached Eszterháza via Guglielmo and Maria Jermoli, who sang in Gennaro Astarita's version for the Teatro di San Moisè in Venice in 1775. The couple is listed as singing the roles of Ecclitico and Lisetta in the printed libretto of Haydn's opera (1777), but they left Prince Nikolaus's employ prior to the first performance. Preface, *Il mondo della luna*, ed. Günter Thomas, *Joseph Haydn Werke* (*JHW*) XXV/7 (Munich: Henle, 1979–82), vii and ix. Nunziato Porta, the librettist who reworked his own and earlier versions of the Orlando story for Haydn's *Orlando paladino* (1782), was resident at Eszterháza after July 1781. Preface, *Orlando paladino*, ed. Karl Geiringer, *JHW* XXV/11 (1972–73), viii.

[3] Only Cimarosa's manuscript full score, not Lorenzi's libretto, is housed in the extensive Esterházy opera archives at the National Széchényi Library in Budapest (*H-Bn*, OE–102). *L'infedeltà fedele* is not mentioned among the known surviving Esterházy correspondence or house purchase receipts, but it appears as item no. 562 in Haydn's "Nachlassverzeichnis." See Dénes Bartha and László Somfai, *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister* (Budapest: Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960), p. 39, n. 14. Haydn also knew Francesco Puttini's and Pasquale Anfossi's *La vera costanza* (Rome 1776), although it is not known precisely when he became acquainted with it. Conclusive proof—the insertion of Anfossi's "Orfeo" scene for the Count within the second act of Haydn's *La vera costanza* (no. 28)—is found only in the 1785 source for Haydn's opera. Surviving sketch material shows that Haydn provided (or at least worked on) his own setting of this text, possibly for the opera's original 1778–79 version. Since Haydn's original *La vera costanza* autograph was apparently lost in the Eszterháza opera house fire of November 1779, the score had to be rewritten, and perhaps partially recomposed, before its 1785 revival.

[4] The manuscript itself bears none of the usual signs of Haydn's preparations: no red pencil additions or deletions, no paste-overs, no insertion arias in Haydn's hand. Neither is it cited in the opera performance lists. Nonetheless, the two operas have much in common, as Friedrich Lippmann documents in "Haydns *La fedeltà premiata* und Cimarosas *L'infedeltà fedele*," *Haydn-Studien* 5 (1982): 1–15. Lippmann concludes that, although "Haydn at no time copied from Cimarosa, . . . he sometimes used Cimarosa as a springboard in the sense of an 'ars inveniendi'" (p. 15).

[5] Delays in the construction of the new edifice, built to replace the one destroyed by fire in November 1779, pushed the opening date from autumn 1780 to February of the next year. In the spring of 1780, when work on the new opera house was well underway, plans were being made for the first production. H. C. Robbins Landon documents that, on April 6, 1780, Pietro Travaglia, the chief scene designer at Eszterháza, submitted a receipt for five changes of scenery corresponding to those required in *La fedeltà premiata*. See *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 428.

[6] Jonathan Culler, "Presupposition and Intertextuality," *Modern Language Notes* 91 (1976): 1382. Mary Hunter offers a sensitive and imaginative exploration of this theme with regard to later eighteenth-century opera in "Some Representations of *opera seria* in *opera buffa*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991): 89–108, laying the groundwork for the detailed individual study I present here.

[7] Owen Miller, "Intertextual Identity," in *Identity of the Literary Text*, ed. Mario J. Valdés and Owen Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 21.

[8] Culler, "Presupposition and Intertextuality," 1383.

[9] Don Michael Randel, "The Canons in the Musicological Toolbox," *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 16.

[10] Owen Miller urges one to "think of the [intertextual relationship] metaphorically as a form of citation in which a fragment of discourse is accommodated or assimilated by the focused text. Describing it in this way allows us to view the intertext as having two separate identities: a) as an independent text functioning in its own right, which may be unknown, forgotten or even lost; b) as an assimilated or accommodated version embedded in some way in the focused text" (p. 21).

[11] The similarities between *Il pastor fido* and *L'infedeltà fedele/La fedeltà premiata* are striking: they share an annual sacrifice to Diana, faithful shepherds, attempted suicide, a sacrificial procession, and overtones of the hunt. For discussions of the Soler and Salieri operas, see Dorothea Link, "The Da Ponte Operas of Vicente Martín y Soler" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1991), 96ff; and Ignaz von Mosel, "*Über das Leben und die Werke des Anton Salieri, k.k. Hofkapellmeisters* (Vienna, 1827), 132ff.

[12] See Jan La Rue, "Significant and Coincidental Resemblance between Classical Themes," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961): 224–34.

[13] Evidence that works by Gluck were known to Haydn is presented in the Preface to *Philemon und Baucis*, ed. Jürgen Braun, *JHW* XXIV/1 (Munich: Henle, 1971), viii; in Daniel Heartz, "Haydn's *Acide e Galatea* and the Imperial Wedding Operas of 1760 by Hasse and Gluck," in *Internationaler Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien 1982*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda (1986), 332–40; and his "Haydn und Gluck im Burgtheater um 1760: *Der neue krumme Teufel, Le Diable à Quatre*, und die Sinfonie 'Le Soir'," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Bayreuth 1981*, ed. Christoph-Helmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), 120–35.

[14] This generic designation in the 1780 (1781) Haydn libretto, printed in Italian with facing German translation, is altered to "dramma pastorale giocoso" in the Italian-only libretto printed for the opera's 1782 Esterházy revival. Preface to *La fedeltà premiata*, ed. Günter Thomas, *JHW* XXV/10 (Munich: Henle, 1968), vii–viii. In "Haydns *La fedeltà premiata* und Cimarosas *L'infedeltà fedele*," Lippmann enumerates the following changes made by Haydn's unknown librettist: a reduction of the original cast from nine to eight characters; the conflation of the role of Viola, the peasant in love with Vuzzachio, with that of the "Ninfa volubile in amore" Nerina; the change of Vuzzachio's name to Lindoro; the absence of paternity between the high priest Melibeo and Nerina; the excision of Neapolitan dialect and Amaranta's French phrases; and the insertion of several less-comic aria texts for Lindoro and Count Perrucchetto.

[15] Preface to the printed libretto *L'infedeltà fedele*, Naples 1779. English trans. in Andrew Porter, "Haydn and *La fedeltà premiata*," *Musical Times* 112 (1971): 333. For the original Italian see the *JHW, Kritischer Bericht*, 14.

[16] Virtues such as honesty, faithfulness, and clemency must have been especially poignant for Haydn, who was participating in a real-life drama of inconstancy; by late 1780 his love affair with the mezzo-soprano Luigia Polzelli was well under way.

[17] This is a five-syllable line containing two internal accents, the second of which occurs on the antepenultimate syllable. Tim Carter provides a brief explanation of versification in Italian librettos in *W. A. Mozart: Le nozze di Figaro,* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 76.

[18] John Platoff describes how librettists working in Vienna in the 1780s constructed finale texts in successive "cycles" of active and expressive passages, corresponding to dialogue and tutti, to which the composer responded with different styles of music. He codifies the Viennese repertory's conventional use of active and expressive passages and indicates the importance of the poetic text in providing cues for sectionalization. See "Music and Drama in the *opera buffa* Finale: Mozart and His Contemporaries in Vienna, 1781–1790" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1984), summarized in "Musical and Dramatic Structure in the Opera Buffa Finale," *The Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989): 191–230.

[19] In the absence of a closing tutti in Lorenzi's libretto, Cimarosa fashions a tutti-like musical close based on text repetition.

[20] In the next act Fileno announces that, rather than see Celia devoured, he will offer himself as the single sacrificial victim, a noble act worthy of a Metastasian hero. Moved by Fileno's devotion, Diana arrives magically amid thunder and lightning to save Fileno. Diana unites Celia with Fileno, and Amaranta with Count Perrucchetto, taking the wicked Melibeo as her victim for having contrived events to his own benefit.

[21] Others have noted the Gluckian overtones in this finale, but the phenomenon has never been discussed in detail. Landon states "we sense the presence of Gluck's *Orfeo* behind the score," but he fails to elaborate. See *Chronicle and Works,* vol. 2, 543. Lippmann notes only the rhythmic parallel between the *Orfeo* chorus and Haydn's finale, to be discussed shortly. See "Haydns *La fedeltà premiata* und Cimarosas *L'infedeltà fedele,*" p. 13, n. 17.

[22] It was not by chance that the score of *Orfeo* was first published in Paris (1764) rather than Vienna; Gluck's reform operas were already in line with French taste. The French version, *Orphée,* opened in Paris in 1774 and was published shortly thereafter. See Patricia Howard, ed., *C. F. von Gluck: Orfeo,* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 67–68.

[23] No performances of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* are mentioned by Bartha and Somfai, but more recent research indicates that the opera was performed at Eszterháza under Haydn's direction. In János Hárich, "Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt," *Haydn Yearbook* 9 (1975), *Orfeo* is listed by Haydn as item no. 6 in his "Spezificatione di tutti le Opere" of 1784 (p. 89), but Hárich states that the score was probably destroyed in the opera house fire of 1779 (p. 93). Ulrich Tank lists the cast, performance dates (March 23 and 24, April 13, 18, 21, 26 and 28, and May 2, 9, 17, 24 and 30, 1776), and related performance documents for *Orfeo ed Euridice* in "Studien zur Esterhazyschen Hofmusik von etwa 1620 bis 1790," *Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 101 (1981): 456.

[24] Wolfgang Osthoff, "Die opera buffa," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedankschrift Leo Schrade,* vol. 1 (Berlin: Franke, 1973), 702.

[25] Lorenzi's authorship is the subject of some dispute. Domenico de' Paoli claims Ferdinando Galiani is the librettist. See his introduction to the modern edition of the libretto, *Socrate immaginario; commedia per musica di Ferdinando Galiani* (Urbino: Istituti d'Arte per la Decorazione del Libro in Urbino, 1959), 7–20. See also Vanda Monaco, *Giambattista Lorenzi e la commedia per musica* (Naples: A. Berisio 1968), 89–121. Michael Robinson, in turn, suggests that both Galiani and Lorenzi collaborated on the work: the former "conceived the plot, while Lorenzi put it into verse." *Giovanni Paisiello: A Thematic Catalogue of His Works,* vol. 1, *Dramatic Works,* Thematic Catalogues Series, No. 15 (New York: Pendragon, 1991), 218.

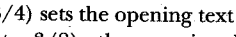
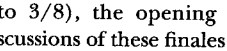
[26] Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 199. See also Paul Horsley, "Dittersdorf and the Finale in Late-Eighteenth-Century German Comic

Opera." (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1988), 128. In "Die opera buffa" Osthoff remarks that the parallel and parody is remarkable (pp. 701–2). During the particular scene in question, Act II scene 10, the pretended Socrates, Tammaro, is forced to drink hemlock—in reality a sleeping potion—a death by coercion not unlike that facing Celia and Count Perrucchetto in *L'infedeltà fedele/La fedeltà premiata.*

[27] Hunter, "Some Representations of *opera seria* in *opera buffa,* 95. She cites two examples, one each from Petrosellini's and Paisiello's *Le due contesse* and Porta's and Righini's *Il convitato di pietra* (pp. 95–98). Bruce A. Brown discusses an interesting example from the Badini/Guglielmi collaboration *Le pazzie d'Orlando* (London, 1771), in which Angelica sings "Che farò senza Euridice?" in the second-act finale. See "*Le pazzie d'Orlando, Orlando paladino* and the Uses of Parody," *Italica* 64 (1987): 588–89.

[28] Lippmann, "Haydns *La fedeltà premiata* und Cimarosas *L'infedeltà fedele,*" p. 13, n. 17.

[29] Friedrich Lippmann provides a few examples in "Der italienische Vers und der musikalische Rhythmus: zum Verhältnis von Vers und Musik in der italienischen Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts, mit einem Rückblick auf die 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Analecta musicologica* 12 (1973): 294–95. The only *quinario sdrucciolo* example of a finale is taken from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* II, scena ultima; here, following the libertine's fiery descent to hell, a vocal quartet enters with the words "Ah dov'è il perfido?" (mm. 605ff) though it is not set in Gluck's two-measure rhythm.

[30] In each case the opening text is set to a rhythmic variant of the *Orfeo* rhythm, with further occurrences within the section itself. The very short fourth section of *Lo speziale* II (Allegro 3/4) sets the opening text "Voglio rileggere" as  and in *Le pescatrici* I/2 (Presto 3/8), the opening line "Oh che gran spirito" is set as  . Further discussions of these finales are found in chapter 3 of my dissertation, "The *opera buffa* Finales of Joseph Haydn" (Cornell University, 1991).

[31] These descriptions are coined by Stephen E. Paul in "Wit and Humour in the Operas of Haydn," *Internationaler Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien 1982,* ed. Eva Badura-Skoda (Munich: Henle, 1986), 400.

[32] Others have noted this special musical coloring, including Landon, *Chronicle and Works,* vol. 2, 543; and Smith, "Haydn and *La fedeltà premiata,*" 570. This music accompanies Perrucchetto's madness, not Fileno's, as Smith states.

[33] Contained within this scale are, as Jonathan Bellman notes, "identical modal fourths" (i.e., A–D, D–G); they are built on "the same series of intervals, semitone-augmented second-semitone." See "Toward a Lexicon for the 'Style hongrois'," *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 235. "Gypsy music was widely assumed to conform to this scale, but almost every student of the subject agrees that it didn't, [and] that major and minor scales also frequently occurred" (p. 234).

[34] Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the 'Style hongrois'," 224; and related articles in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music,* ed. Don Randel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

[35] These features are discussed by Bellman in "Toward a Lexicon for the 'Style hongrois'" (p. 232). In noting that the drone bass is also a feature of the Turkish style, Bellman remarks that, in Haydn's day, "Turkish music was already commonly understood to suggest exoticism; Gypsy music was gaining this connotation, and a mixture of the two different styles to signify exoticism would have been understood by Haydn's audience, who wouldn't have been troubled by the mixture of musical elements" as in, for example the Gypsy rondo (*all'ongarese*) third movement of Haydn's keyboard trio Hob. XV/25 (p. 219).

[36] Although Haydn never set a libretto written exclusively for him, the texts were invariably reworked, particularly to meet the requirements and capabilities of the current Esterházy opera troupe and, presumably, the tastes of Prince Nikolaus. Speculations as to who made

these changes vary according to the period of operatic production since poets are rarely acknowledged by name in the Haydn librettos printed for Eszterháza: for example, Carl Friberth is cited as the librettist for *L'incontro improvviso* (1775), a revised translation of the Gluck/Dancourt opéra-comique *La rencontre imprévue* (Vienna, 1764); and Nunziato Porta is named in *Orlando paladino* (1782). If textual changes were indeed made at Eszterháza and not another, earlier location, who made the alterations to all the works staged at Eszterháza—especially after the initiation of a regular opera season there in the spring of 1776—between Friberth's departure in 1776 and Porta's arrival five years later? H. C. Robbins Landon and David Wyn Jones (perhaps on the evidence provided in Anton Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien: Verzeichnis ihrer Erstaufführungen in der Zeit von 1629 bis zur Gegenwart* [Graz: Herman Böhlaus, 1955], 104) claim that Pietro Travaglia, the Eszterháza set designer, made textual emendations to *La vera costanza* (1778/85). See *Haydn: His Life and Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 123.

In my dissertation I speculate that Haydn himself may have been responsible for some of the changes, as in the case of the added couplet for Celia in the Act I finale of *La fedeltà premiata*, which enables the composer "to reinforce musically the secret love (known only to the audience) between the *parti serie*." (See "The *opera buffa* Finales of Joseph Haydn," 243.)

[37] *La fedeltà premiata* received 36 performances at Eszterháza between 1781 and 1784.

[38] Otto Erich Deutsch, "Das Repertoire der höfischen Oper, der Hof- und der Staatsoper, Chronologischer Teil," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 24 (1969): 401; and H. C. Robbins Landon, "Haydns Oper *La fedeltà premiata:* eine neue authentische Quelle," *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation: Franz Grasberger zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Günter Brosche (Tutzing: Schneider, 1975), 213–32. *Die belohnte Treue* was also performed at the new Erdödy Theater in Pressburg in June of 1785. See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 672. In "Haydn's Overtures and their Adaptations as Concert Orchestral Works" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1985), Stephen C. Fisher questions Landon's hypothesis that Haydn was involved with the opera's 1784 German-language adaptation for Vienna (pp. 278–79).

[39] John H. Roberts, "Why did Handel Borrow?" in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), 88 and 91.

[40] Hunter, "Some Representations of *opera seria* in *opera buffa*," 89.

[41] Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (London: Faber, 1971), 162.

[42] I address other aspects of Haydn-the-dramatist in "Haydn and Mozart as Composers of Opera," in *Studies in Music* (Proceedings of the Mozart Bicentenary Conferences held at the University of Western Ontario, November 1990 and January 1991), forthcoming.

[43] *L'anima del filosofo, ossia Orfeo ed Euridice*, written for Haydn's 1791 visit to London, was never performed. Curtis Price examines the events leading to the opera's cancellation in "Italian Opera and Arson in Late Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989): 55–107.

[44] In Georg August Griesinger's *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig, 1810) the full statement reads: "(ich war) von Welt abgesondert, Niemand in meiner Nähe konnte mich an mir selbst irre machen und quälen, und so mußte ich original werden" (p. 25).

# Nature and Convention: *The Marriage of Figaro*[*]

## Human Nature in the Unnatural Garden: *Figaro* as Pastoral[†]

*By Wye J. Allanbrook*

The genre named pastoral had a long and rich history before the eighteenth century: it was invented by the Sicilian poet Theocritus for the sophisticated court of Alexandria, inherited and transformed by Virgil in his Eclogues, and finally reshaped by Renaissance poets into a fictive world of extraordinary evocative power—Andrew Marvell's "green thought in a green shade." By the eighteenth century, however, it had clearly fallen into disrepute, witness this satirical "Recipe for a Pastoral Elegy," that appeared anonymously in the *London Magazine* in 1738:

> Take *Damon* and *Thyrsis,* both which Virgil will lend you with all his Heart, put them in a Cave together; be sure it be garnish'd well with Cypress, and don't forget a murmuring Stream, which may help you to a Rhyme or Simile upon Occasion. Let them lament *Daphnis* or *Pastorella;* or take any other Name, which you think will run off smoothly in your Verse. . . . Blast an old Oak or two, wither your Flowers *secundum Artem,* season it with Prodigies *quantum sufficit,* and 'twill make an excellent *Elegy.*[1]

Critics of the pastoral complained of the inherent artificiality of the genre and its tendency to false idealization: country life is not simple, nor are shepherds natural philosophers. In the pastoral at its most trivial, ennui led the sophisticate to dabble in these arrant falsifications, one notorious example being, in Mozart's own lifetime, the mock dairy farm of Marie Antoinette, *le Petit Trianon,* where aristocrats dressed as milkmaids indulged themselves in sentimental fantasies of rusticity. The French nobles even exalted the humble instruments of rustic music, decking the simple bagpipe or musette out in velvets and silks, and taking private lessons on it in order to excel in court pastoral entertainments.

Thus it is not immediately obvious what connection the pastoral could have with *Le mariage de Figaro,* Beaumarchais's witty Parisian's challenge to the *ancien régime;* that work seems to be one with the very eighteenth-century temper that rejected the pastoral as a hollow masquerade. In fact, if there is a desire for escape in the play, it would seem to be back to the city, away from the tyranny of the rural. When we view city life through

Figaro's eyes in his celebrated Act-V monologue about social injustice, the city seems the expansive arena of possibility—the seedbed of the cleverness and resource that will finally put things right in the country. Why, then, a pastoral?

It may help to remember that da Ponte and Mozart cut Figaro's biting monologue entirely from their libretto. Works often suffer a sea change in the transformation from stage play to opera, and this one is no exception. The monologue is occasioned by a plot turn that leaves Figaro with the false conviction that his beloved Susanna is about to betray him with the Count, making him a cuckold on the very day of his marriage. In the original, Figaro's doubts about Susanna merely served as a springboard for a lengthy tirade about his scrambles to survive in a social system that prizes rank above wits. The deletion of the monologue leaves him to focus instead on unrequited love, an appropriately pastoral subject. He gives vent to an angry diatribe against women, delivered at the very moment when the three women in Figaro's life—his newly disclosed mother Marcellina, his bride Susanna, and the Countess her mistress—have banded together to perform the task that Figaro himself had after great fanfare failed to accomplish: to discomfit the Count in his efforts to bed Susanna. The women have shown themselves united, capable, and determined; Figaro's anger is misdirected and futile. In the course of the transformation from play to libretto the emphasis has shifted from Figaro to the women and to their union of mutual affection and respect. Here in the last act of the opera Figaro has momentarily fallen from grace, and it will be up to Susanna to show him the way back.

This shift of subject matter—from the public to the private, from a preoccupation with issues of social injustice to one with issues of the human heart—makes the pastoral sound more plausible as a ruling metaphor for the opera. Furthermore, Beaumarchais's play already contained a significant suggestion of the pastoral on which to build: in its last act the Aguas Frescas garden with its spreading chestnuts (turned into pines in da Ponte's libretto) figures importantly; it provides a quasi-magic retreat like Shakespeare's Forest of Arden in *As You Like It,* where couples are shuffled and reshuffled until they find their proper order and relation. This green and twilight shelter offers a toehold for the notion of the pastoral; da Ponte and Mozart acted on the suggestion to create a psychological garden, a fictive enclosure that is contained by, yet transcends, the workaday world of the opera. Literary critics have written persuasively of Renaissance poets' use of the pastoral as a "second world," a "green world," where they constructed a counterfactual, alternative cosmos, a model for the world as it should or could be.[2] Although the green world is only a

feigned world, and return from it to the enclosing world is always inevitable, things can happen in this unnatural world that could never take place in the so-called natural one. Although Shakespeare was aware of the limitations of his artificial Eden—not all of his shepherds are courtly innocents—it was there that he resolved enmities and fashioned appropriate marriages. The very "unnaturalness" of the pastoral world—in it one makes no distinction between the lowly and the exalted, the noble and the shepherd—allows human relations to flourish in a manner that is "natural" in another sense, natural if one believes that there ever existed a State of Nature in which human beings could form their most important bonds innocent of the "unnatural" distinctions of rank and class. In Mozart's opera the "green world" offers a withdrawing place to Susanna and the Countess where their friendship may flourish despite their social inequality; this friendship in turn offers to other characters in the opera a paradigm of natural human affection that transforms their behavior, at least for a moment, at the end of the long Mad Day.

This is the way I see the transformation that da Ponte and Mozart worked on Beaumarchais's *The Marriage of Figaro* to turn it into their own version, a version we could call, to solemnize the change, *The Marrying of Figaro.* Poet and composer each had at hand a thesaurus of conventional references with which to implement the change: da Ponte the whole panoply of the Italian poetic tradition and Mozart a set of characteristic musical styles that could be called "country music." These two modes of discourse penetrate the opera gradually, appearing at first to be a chance precipitate from the workaday world; their frequency and conjunction intensify, however, as the opera moves toward the twilight zone of the fourth act and the mysteries of the garden.

Lorenzo da Ponte was a well educated man; in the process of revising the play he introduced into it copious references to the myths of Roman antiquity, to the tropes of Italian pastoral poets like Tasso and Ariosto, and to the language of Dante. For example, da Ponte has Figaro call the page Cherubino a "little Narcissus, little Adonis of love"; later, in his anger at Susanna, Figaro pictures himself as one of the most famous cuckolds in literature, Vulcan surprising his wife Venus in the toils of love with Mars. In the fourth act Marcellina, newly reconciled to Susanna as the fiancée of the son she herself almost married, sings to the jealous Figaro of the amity in which the beasts of the field live with their significant others—if the lion will not lie down with the lamb, as in the Biblical pastoral, at least he keeps peace with the lioness; Marcellina's words, it has been pointed out, are a near-quotation from Ariosto.[3] Instead of the ballad Beaumarchais provided Cherubino, da Ponte has the boy sing a text reminiscent of a sonnet by Dante about the special intelligence of love possessed by women:

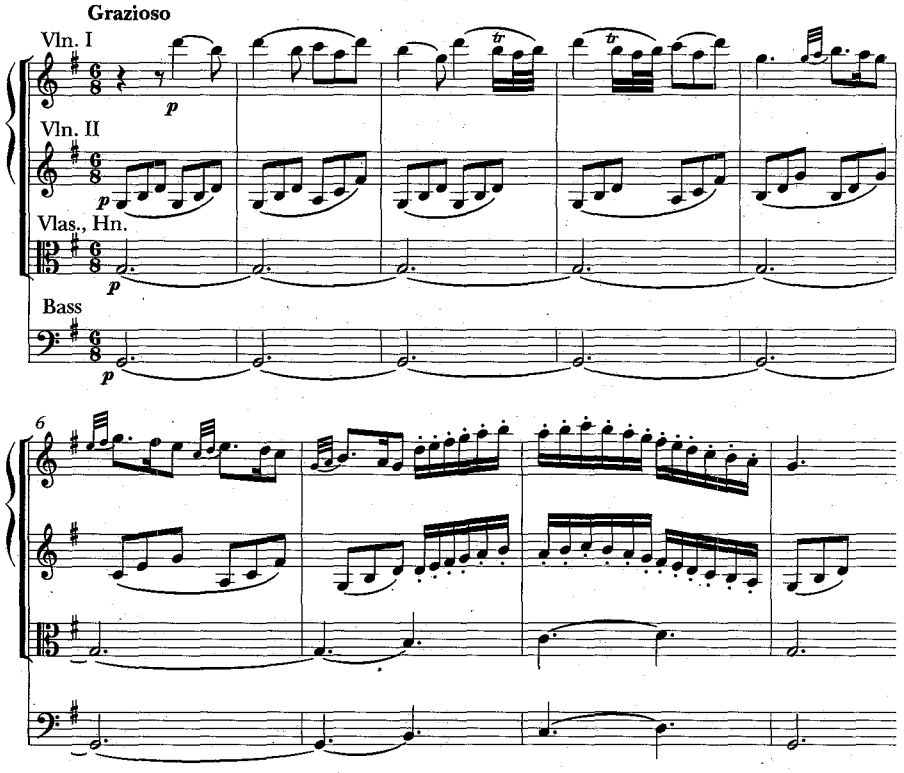
Voi che sapete
Che cosa è amor,
Donne, vedete
Si l'ho nel cor.[4]

I think in fact that da Ponte turns this anomalous, androgynous, ubiquitous adolescent into a figure for Eros, the presiding deity of the green world, and through him points up the centrality of the women in the opera and their gift of grace—but this is a theme for another occasion.[5]

As for Mozart's "country music," he inherited the court's own notion of the country, which included conventional musical "tag-lines" whose sounds transported one directly into a rural setting. I have already mentioned the bagpipe or musette, with its drone bass, and skirling solo in the treble; it represented the ultimate, unmediated country sound. A musical meter that often accompanied the musette was 6/8, a lilting rhythm consisting of groups of three beats bound into pairs; the feet move quickly to the triple pulse, the upper body more slowly to the duple. Eighteenth-century musicians believed that these 6/8 patterns reflected the actual dances of shepherds, and recognized a faster and slower version, the *pastorale* and the *siciliano,* wistfully considered true artifacts of the Arcadian *temps perdu.*[6] These gentle bucolic rhythms, which saturate the music of the last acts of *Le nozze di Figaro,* appear together with the drone in the peasant choruses of Acts I and III of *Figaro* in order to set the scene; here, for example, is the orchestral introduction to the second chorus (example 1).

In the third and fourth acts, as the twilight deepens and the aura of the "green world" increasingly dominates the opera, the rhythms of the 6/8 *pastorale* emerge as thematic, and a private drama is acted out in the interstices of the public world. The main action of the last two acts is to humble the Count, and it is played out in the full glare of publicity, ending with his apology to the Countess in front of the assembled *dramatis personae.* This action is set in martial duple rhythms, rather than the lilting Arcadian triple. But the private drama ends in a reconciliation also, one that to my mind is more genuine, namely, the reconciliation between Susanna and Figaro. To chart its course across the grain of the original play, da Ponte made the cuts and interpolations I have mentioned, and Mozart set five pieces in the gentle rhythms of the *pastorale*—the greatest concentration of a given characteristic musical style I know of in the operas. These pieces are the duet between Susanna and the Countess in Act III, when they compose a note to the Count about a rendezvous in the garden, the peasant chorus cited above, Barbarina's mock-tragic aria that opens Act IV and fortuitously triggers Figaro's jealousy, Susanna's "Deh, vieni," and the actual moment of reconcilation between Susanna and Figaro near the end of the fourth-act finale.[7]

**Example 1.** "Ricevete, oh padrone" (Wind doublings omitted).




* * *

Three of the pastorale numbers are particularly significant; they trace out the beginning, middle, and end of this private drama: the so-called letter duet, "Deh, vieni," and the moment in that finale when Susanna and Figaro, quickly reconciled, tease the Count with the image of their concord. I will close by taking a closer look at these three pieces.

The letter duet, "Che soave zefiretto," marks the moment when the two women finally resolve to take matters into their own hands. The Countess dictates to Susanna a letter for the Count that suggests a rendezvous, ostensibly with Susanna, that evening in the garden. The Countess intends to go instead, disguised as Susanna. She deliberately chooses a bucolic text for her note, a scrap of a song lyric: "What a gentle little zephyr will sigh this evening beneath the pines of the grove." This is the text in its entirety:

CONTESSA: Canzonetta sull'aria:

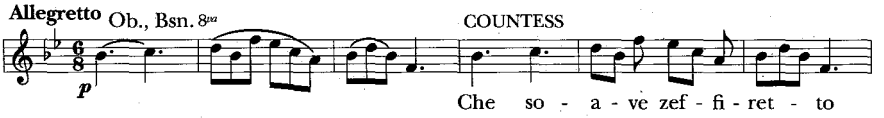
"Che soave zeffiretto
Questa sera spirerà
Sotto i pini del boschetto."

Ei già il resto capirà.

SUSANNA: Certo, certo il capirà.[8]

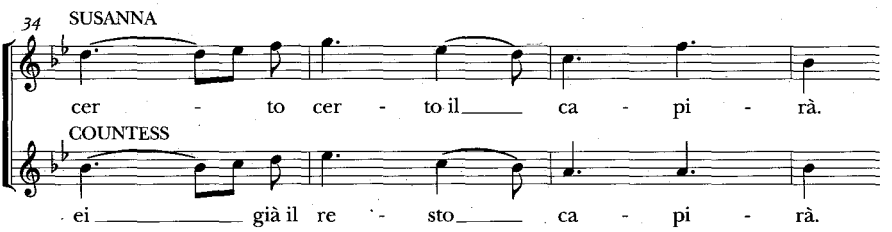
The duet is the image of an act of concentration: the two women completely unself-conscious in their attention to their task. The orchestra organizes the beginning, the Countess taking her cue from the melody first offered by the winds (example 2).

**Example 2.** "Che soave zeffiretto."




Susanna repeats each fragment of the text reflectively, to assure them both it is penned correctly, once even asking for a confirming repetition. When the note is completed, the Countess says, "Now he'll understand the rest," and Susanna answers, "Certainly." Singing together for the first time, in parallel thirds, they bring the section to a close (example 3).

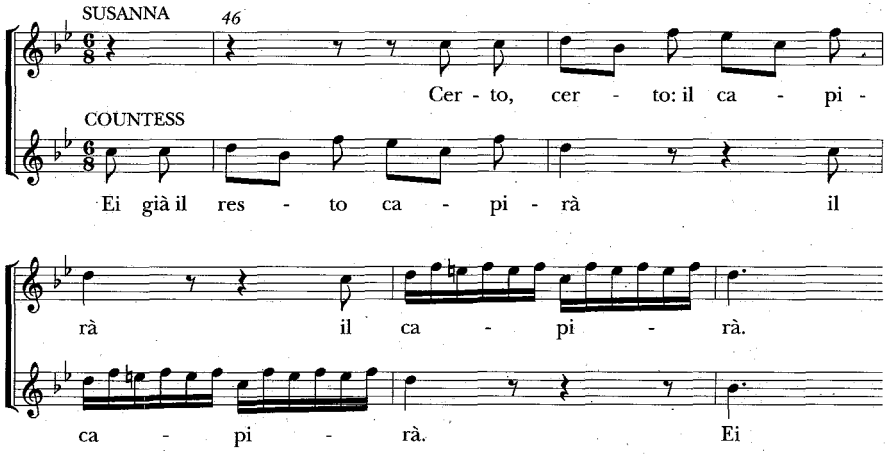
**Example 3.**




Now the Countess leans over Susanna's shoulder (note the disregard of the appropriate postures for mistress and maidservant; their exchange of costumes in the fourth-act finale has the same equalizing effect). They reread the text together, each taking a phrase, orchestra and voices overlapping. The original music is also repeated, but cunningly truncated so that the rereading of the note takes about one third the time of its dictation. The remaining time is given to extended cadences on that suggestive phrase "He'll understand the rest" (il capirà), Susanna first imitating the

Countess at a measure's distance. When they ornament the phrase with a measured trill on quicker note values, the effect of the echo is breathtaking (example 4).

**Example 4.**



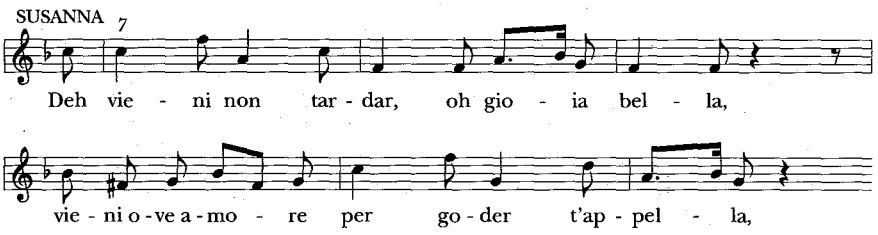

All in all, at the close *il capirà* is heard twelve times. It is worth noting, by the way, how well *dramatic* and what one might call purely *musical* values work together here: the somewhat diffuse beginning—the hesitant composing of the note—leads to a strong structural downbeat on the first set of cadences; on repetition the contraction of the beginning material—the reviewing of the note—makes way for the much expanded cadential section, on that meaningful phrase, "He'll understand."

The duet is the eye of the opera's storm, showing the two women calm and secure in their friendship, meeting in the classless, timeless meadow figured by the pastoral. Their mutual trust and affection are all the more remarkable because the moment is objectively a humiliating one for the Countess: she is reduced to plotting with her servant to win back her husband. Their gentle but emphatic assertion of the phrase "He'll understand" is emblematic of their unity, and its repetition forces the casual phrase to significance. They rightly understand, and in this duet tacitly acknowledge to one another, that the understanding the Count will come to—both the trivial one about the rendezvous, and the deeper one, about the power of human affection—has been brought about by their own deep mutual understanding. That understanding is inviolable, and this duet with its interwoven garlands of female voices offers us an enduring image of it.

The second *pastorale,* Susanna's famous "Deh, vieni," is a serenade ostensibly intended for the Count, in truth directed to Figaro, and ultimately—if this is not too fanciful—dedicated to all lovers who are willing to receive the grace of the green world; it is finally a celebration of the pastoral mode. The aria is on the surface rendered by Susanna in retaliation for Figaro's mistrust of her. She pretends to sing with tremulous expectation of her tryst with the Count, knowing full well the effect her words will have on Figaro. The text of the introductory *recitativo accompagnato* is a sensuous invitation, firmly committed to the pathetic fallacy of the pastoral: "Oh, how it seems that this pleasant place, the earth and sky, responds to the fires of love! how the night supports my secrets!" ("Oh come par che all'amoroso foco / L'amenità del loco / La terra e il ciel risponda! / Come la notte i furti miei seconda!") Later the breeze "teases," the flowers "laugh"—the lover's version of the "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks" that the good Duke finds in Shakespeare's Forest of Arden. But the pathetic fallacy also works in reverse: just as natural elements in the magic garden take on human habits, humans merge naturally with the landscape. Susanna seems to be a nymph or dryad, a local deity murmuring incantatory promises. She lures her lover into the garden by offering to crown his forehead with roses—to make him one with the pastoral landscape as well.

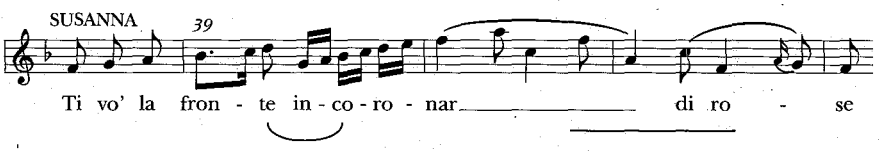
The rhythms of the piece are the gentle legato 6/8 of the *pastorale,* with the occasional dotted figure. Its languorous eleven-syllable lines are strummed out on pizzicato strings as if on a guitar; the piece is, after all, as much a performance as Cherubino's "Voi che sapete," which also has a guitar-like accompaniment. The front-stressed dactyllic feet, organized into three-measure phrases, are hypnotic and enervating (example 5).

**Example 5.** "Deh vieni non tardar."




The regular cadences of the poetry predominate over harmonic events to the extent that they seem more like idle inflections than an intentional trajectory: the tonic is slipped back into place almost offhandedly at the end of a phrase. It takes the giant iamb of Susanna's "cadenza" ("Ti vo la fronte incoronar di rose") to prevail against these swooning rhythms and bring the aria to a cadence (example 6).

**Example 6.**




The sensual invitation of "Deh, vieni" is direct and immediate, but the dramatic situation allows Susanna to cloak her passion in sport, avoiding dull sentiment. Her punishment for Figaro is also a loving gesture to him, if he should be clever enough to recognize it—an invitation to shake off his heavy anger and join her in the twilit and uncorrupted garden. To his credit, he will understand this invitation in retrospect, when all disguises are removed; the *pastorale* is the couple's true nuptial song, and he will finally need no prompting to join Susanna in it. Now, however, he is left in a trancelike state between trust and suspicion, intensely moved by her beauty and grace, but stung to the quick by what he supposes to be her intentions.

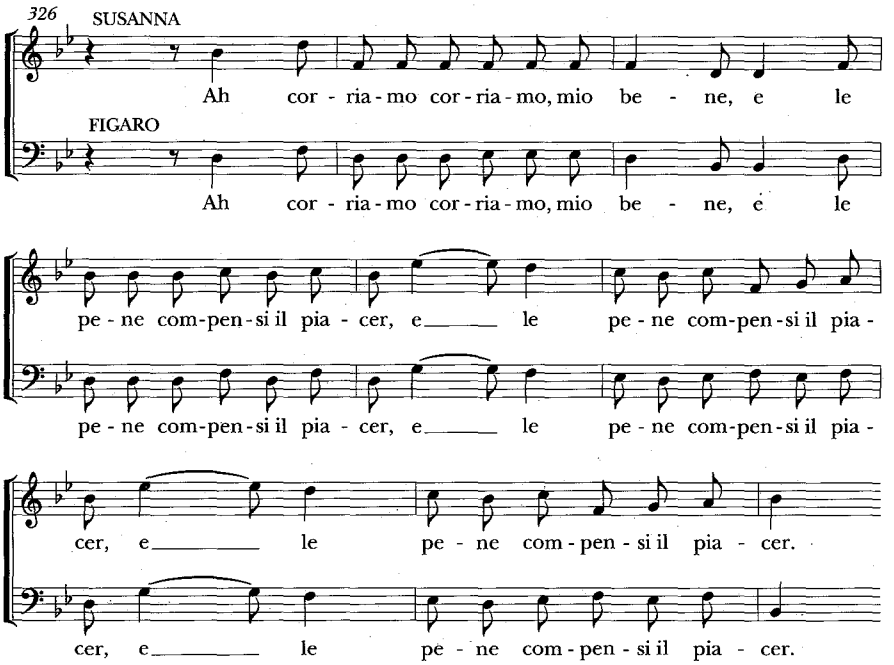
The last *pastorale,* in which Susanna and Figaro are reconciled, is embedded in the fourth-act finale as part of the on-going action; it is perhaps the shortest reconciliation scene in opera, the theme of reconciliation being a natural invitation for an opera composer to indulge himself in extended harmonies. The movement is over in just under two minutes, and the couple is actually *alone* for less than half that time. For the Count stumbles in on them in their brief moment of private harmony, and they repeat it again for his benefit, this time with Susanna pretending to be the Countess responding to Figaro's amorous overtures. The imbroglio is here at its most taut, involving multiple cases of mistaken identity due to the characters' disguises and the cover of the pastoral twilight. Figaro recognizes Susanna dressed as the Countess when just for a moment she forgets to speak in her disguised voice; overjoyed, he cannot resist teasing his beloved by pretending to make love to her in her guise as the Countess. He accepts Susanna's angry slaps with dizzy rapture, and then in 6/8 *pastorale* rhythms confesses that he knew who she was all along: "I recognized the voice that I adore," he says, "and that I carry always engraved on my heart." ("Io conobbi la voce che adoro / E che impressa ognor serbo nel cor.") Moved by the figure of his beloved, he is immediately drawn back into the pastoral orbit. Susanna needs no time to contemplate the new development; she joins him in the close harmonies of true love, and they sing an eight-measure phrase to the text:

> Pace, pace, mio dolce tesoro,
> Pace, pace, mio tenero amor.[9]

That constitutes their time alone.

The Count enters, and they decide to continue the masquerade for him, confirming their decision with the harmonious eight-measure phrase that just constituted their brief reconciliation. Watching Figaro make love to the woman he supposes is the Countess provokes the Count to an angry outburst. Delighted with their mischief, the couple departs arm in arm, singing that same blissful strain for a third time. Their parting words are both a further irritant for the enraged Count and the proper sentiment to put the period to their reconciliation: "Corriamo, corriamo, mio bene . . ." "Let us hurry off, my love, and let pleasure make up for our pains" (example 7).

**Example 7.** Act-IV finale.




This pastoral duet is in one sense the end of the opera. Of course the opera cannot in fact end with Figaro making love to Susanna disguised as the Countess in order to humiliate the Count—that would strain the sense of fitness in the most modern among us. And there *is* one more reconciliation to come, that of the Countess with the Count, which occurs in the last moments of the opera and occasions its jubilant close. The hushed and hymn-like music of the second reconciliation is justly celebrated, but its public solemnity has always caused me to question whether on the

Count's part we are witnessing behavior straight from the heart. In contrast we have this extraordinarily modest private moment, embedded in the midst of imbroglio, when two human beings who know each other through and through are reconciled just as they courted one another, with passion, but under the guise of play; they have no need of public ceremonies and protestations of fidelity. Only two *enduring* relationships are portrayed in *Le nozze di Figaro:* that between Susanna and the Countess, and that between Susanna and Figaro. The imaginary garden of the pastoral exists to protect the first one, and to help bring the second to fullness. The very unreality of this green world is a guarantee of its possibility: it is merely a state of mind, called into being by a tacit understanding and defined by a nostalgic and otherworldly musical gesture. Its shelter is substantial precisely because it can coexist with the harsher realities of the daylight world. I like to think that Mozart took the same delight as Shakespeare in the sometimes dizzying paradoxes intendant on the words "nature" and "natural." In the conventional garden, where the poets' delight is to have rendered nature unnatural, human nature can discover—or is it rediscover?—the dim traces of its most natural bonds.

*NOTES*

* The following three articles are adapted from papers first delivered at a session of a symposium entitled "Mozart's Nature, Mozart's World," held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 28 February–3 March 1991. The authors wish to acknowledge the Westfield Center for Early Keyboard Studies and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for their generous sponsorship of this conference.

† Some of the matters discussed here are taken up at greater length in my book *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: "Le nozze di Figaro" and "Don Giovanni"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), *passim.*

1 Quoted in *The Pastoral Mode: A Casebook,* ed. Bryan Loughrey (London: Macmillan, 1984), 66.

2 See especially Harry Berger Jr., "The Renaissance Imagination: Second World and Green World," *Second World and Green World: Studies in Renaissance Fiction-Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3–40.

3 See Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study,* 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 110, n. 1.

4 "Ladies, you who know what love is, see if I have it in my heart."

5 See *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart,* 96–99, 109–12.

6 It is not clear that the *pastorale* was ever strictly a dance, but rather a musical style, one documented from the early seventeenth century (see "Pastorale," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie [London: Macmillan, 1980], 14:290–96). Some later eighteenth-century writers, however, liked to think of it as the music to which shepherds once had danced; see, for example, Johann George Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste,* 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1786-87), 3:60, and Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Klavierschule,* trans. Raymond H. Haggh (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 395. Koch does not accept that notion, defining the pastorale simply as "a piece . . . that expresses the song of the idealized world of shepherds" ("ein Tonstück, . . . wodurch der Gesang der idealischen Hirtenwelt ausgedrückt werden soll"). Heinrich Christoph Koch, "Pastorale," *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frank-

furt am Main, 1802; reprint, New York: Georg Olms, 1985), col. 1142. For a further discussion of the *pastorale*, and the other dance types in compound duple meter, see Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 40–45.

[7] There are, by the way, other collaterally pastoral pieces in Act IV—Marcellina's Ariostan aria, and Basilio's anti-pastoral that follows, wherein the basest character in the opera counterstates Marcellina's peaceable animals with a cartoon of the Forest of Arden scourged by a ravening lion. Figaro stages another anti-pastoral in the finale to the fourth act, when with grim sarcasm he styles himself as Vulcan the hunter; hunters disturb the ecology of the pastoral, and are not traditionally welcome there, as Figaro must learn. Briefly da Ponte has Figaro ally himself with those who mock the pastoral world, in order to underline his momentary alienation from the women, its natural residents.

[8] COUNTESS: A little song on this tune:

"What a gentle little zephyr / Will sigh this evening / Beneath the pines of the grove." The rest he'll understand.

SUSANNA: Of course he'll understand.

[9] "Peace, peace, my sweet treasure, / Peace, peace, my gentle love."

# Landscapes, Gardens, and Gothic Settings in the *Opere Buffe* of Mozart and His Italian Contemporaries

*By Mary Hunter*

"Nature"—the partial subject of this conference—is an infinitely capacious and flexible term. I have chosen to focus on representations of the natural environment in opere buffe contemporary with Mozart, to consider some of their cultural and dramatic meanings, and to ask how Mozart's use of these representations compares with that of his contemporaries—Piccinni, Paisiello, Guglielmi, Gazzaniga, Anfossi, Sarti, and Righini—all of whom had works performed in Vienna during Mozart's period of residence there.[1] Although one could talk at length about images of nature in the texts of these works or the depiction of certain classes of people as closer to nature, my subject here is stage sets, which provide the environment for the action and which seem not to have been considered in any great detail.[2] My sources are the written stage directions in the librettos of about sixty operas contemporary with Mozart, most of them performed in Vienna between approximately 1770 and 1790. Although a few reproductions of opera buffa backdrops from this period are available,[3] the pictorial record of opera buffa is extremely thin, and the librettos themselves typically include no visual information about staging or costumes. The relevance of verbal stage descriptions to understanding opera buffa is that librettos were generally available to the audience; the scene descriptions literally "at hand" would thus have formed a framework for understanding, and possibly a counterpoint to, the actual stage picture.[4] My reliance on librettos rather than visual imagery is also connected to my interest in considering the dramatic implications of certain types of settings rather than their actual appearance.

The most common stage sets in opera buffa are the room (*camera*) or hall (*sala*) and the town square or street, all furnished with practicable entrances, exits, and sometimes props. Nevertheless, many scenes in opera buffa take place in outdoor settings that invoke nature in some way or other. They can be divided into three broad categories: the landscape, the garden, and the Gothic environment, each of which has characteristic dramatic implications. Less common outdoor settings, such as the seashore or the copse or forest can be assimilated into these broader categories, depending on both the details of the description and the dramatic use to which the setting is put. The wood (*bosco*) for example, may be either *delizioso* (delightful), connecting it with the garden, or *oscuro* (dark) or *folto* (thick), connecting it with the more threatening Gothic set.

The landscape setting typically suggests a large expanse of countryside

(a *vasta campagna*); it is very often used at the beginning of a work to convey the extent of the area of the action or its larger context. The military encampment is a case in point:

> Dittersdorf (librettist unknown), *Il finto pazzo,* I,1: Countryside with various military tents and on the right-hand side a pavilion for the Captain.[5]

The landscape is also frequently used to delineate the social distinctions or oppositions that underlie the action, either between the country and the city or between the aristocracy and the peasants, as the following examples illustrate:

> Bertati/Bianchi, *La villanella rapita,* I,1: Countryside, with [the peasant] Biagio's house, which has a practicable door. Hill in the distance, and a river that traverses the landscape. On one side of the river, part of the city nearby.[6]
>
> Zini/Guglielmi, *La villanella ingentilita,* I,1: Village in the area of Urbino, on the shores of the Adriatic, with the noble palace of the Pappamosca brothers on one side, and the rustic little house of Viola on the other, and a hill, at whose foot, among dense trees, is part of an ancient tower.[7]
>
> Bertati/Sarti, *I finti eredi,* I,1: Charming countryside with pretty hills in the distance. On one side can be seen the palace of the fiefdom, and on the other, rustic houses. At a little distance there is a waterfall and a meandering river. Some shepherds scattered here and there, with grazing herds. In front, a bower with benches inside and in the middle a little table with teacups, etc.[8]
>
> Livigni/Cimarosa, *Giannina e Bernardone,* I,1: Pretty suburb of the city of Gaeta, with a view of many villas and of a fortress in the distance. On one side, [the peasant] Bernardone's house, with a well close by. On the other side, [the bailiff] Masino's house next to a little villa.[9]

Landscape settings have rather general relations to action, and do not suggest or presuppose particular sorts of behavior or relationships. Especially when such a setting opens an opera, however, it serves to evoke a sort of harmony between the inhabitants of the scene and the natural order that may be played out in the opening ensemble, and that evokes the "golden age" whose restoration is, according to Northrop Frye, the aim of all comedy.[10] Mozart's Da Ponte operas open with no such "landscape" settings, and indeed, apart from the street scene in the second act

of *Don Giovanni,* include no landscapes at all. This may be simple happenstance, but particularly as it relates to the openings of operas, it seems to reflect Mozart's predilection (quite often noticed by Mozart scholars) for starting an opera more or less *in medias res,* without a reflective ensemble setting the scene.[11] The localized and specific settings of the bedroom or the cafe (the openings of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Così fan tutte,* respectively) are much more apt to plunge us into the action than the harmonious "wide-angle" landscape. The opening of *Don Giovanni* (in the garden of the Commendatore's house, with Leporello singing a self-introductory solo) is as close as Mozart gets in his mature opere buffe to the static introduction. However, both *La finta semplice* (1768) and *La finta giardiniera* (1774–75) have choral introductions, albeit sung in garden settings rather than in landscapes.

The landscape is also used at other points in these operas. Although it often functions simply to envelop the action in a particular atmosphere, it can also have a practical purpose, as in Nunziato Porta's and Giuseppe Sarti's *I contratempi* (I,3), where the topography of the scene allows for the hero to be robbed by villains emerging from a cave as he is coming down a hill:

> Practicable mountain, at the foot of which is a practicable grotto.[12]

In other situations, particularly in finales, the landscape allows the characters to emerge from different places and converge in a dramatically plausible location.

The garden is perhaps the most common "naturalistic" stage set in the repertory. Often the stage directions simply say "garden" or "charming garden," or "garden of the Marchese's palace," and it is probably safe to assume that in most cases a theater's generic garden backdrop and wings would be rolled out to serve. Sometimes, however, the directions are more detailed, as in the second act of *Così fan tutte:* "Garden on the seashore, with grassy seats and two little stone tables. Barge decorated with flowers, and with a band of musicians."[13] Other examples of garden settings follow:

> Bertati/Anfossi, *Isabella e Rodrigo,* opening: The scene represents a charming garden, in which various single plants are distributed in beautiful order. At the right a few buildings can be seen, which form part of the Commander's palace, which has a practicable portico.[14]

> Palomba/Paisiello, *Le gare generose,* II,8: Noble garden irrigated by several streams in which there are pots with fruits, and American plants. On the horizon there are mountains neatly covered with little houses, which begin to form part of the city of Boston in the distance.[15]

Badini/Guglielmi, *Il disertore,* I,4: Garden in Rosetta's house. View of the palace of the duchess, protectress of Alessio and lady of the manor.[16]

Goldoni/Piccinni, *La buona figliuola,* opening: Charming garden, decorated with various flowers, with a view of the Marchese's palace.[17]

A number of characteristics unite these settings and contribute to their signification in the genre. They are all places enclosed in some way—by the walls of the buildings to which they belong or by bowery structures. The sense of enclosure is often reinforced by a projection of stasis—benches or knolls on which the characters can rest are often provided, for example. The garden settings all indicate fertility, either directly, in being hung with fruit, or indirectly, in (for example) having the seats or benches formed of grass or other vegetation. They may also suggest the garden's relativity, despite its apparent enclosedness or isolation; in the stage directions that say more than simply "garden," another place, often with some significance in the drama, is suggested. Thus in *Così fan tutte* the "garden on the sea-shore" reminds us of the supposed journey of the two lovers. In *La buona figliuola,* the presence of the Marchese's palace reminds us of the "good girl" Cecchina's apparently lowly station in the household, and of the Marchese's interest in her. However unrealistic the view of Boston may have been in *Le gare generose* it reminded the audience of the "foreign" environment in which the eloped hero and heroine of the plot find themselves. Finally, in *Il disertore* the view of the duchess's house reminds the lovers Rosetta and Alessio of the patron who has instigated the major trick of the plot. Thus in all these garden settings, "nature" in the sense of the outdoors, of fertility and growth, is not only bound up with the idea of "nurture" or cultivation, but is also entwined with the idea of "artifice," both in the sense of non-natural physical elements on stage (buildings, benches, etc.) and in the sense of the mechanical contrivances of the plot.

The connection of nature with artifice by means of the garden is a long-standing paradigm in Western imagery. The many images of a carefully pruned Garden of Eden, the ubiquitous gardens in the fifteenth century Burgundian Books of Hours, and (closer to our present subject) the rococo scenes of Fragonard and Watteau, to take just a very few of the garden images embedded in Western high culture, all portray a natural world that is both carefully tended and artfully confined.[18] The garden settings of opera buffa—including those of Mozart—display all these characteristics. And not only the designs, but the activity most characteristic of such settings in opera buffa, which is to say amorous activity, is also inex-

tricably associated with these visual images of gardens.[19] The garden in this sense of trained nature is the perfect place for the love characteristically celebrated by opera buffa, which, like the garden, is built on impulses grounded in nature but shaped and trained by social norms and expectations, particularly regarding class. Opere buffe all end with weddings, and many of them are love-matches, but the primary thrust of the genre is towards the celebration of love that stays in its place. Noblemen do not marry commoners unless they turn out to have been noblewomen abandoned at birth or in disguise for other reasons, and servants and peasants do not marry upper class women. True and "natural" love always turns out to be socially appropriate.

There are six garden settings in Mozart's Da Ponte operas: two in *Don Giovanni,* three in *Così fan tutte,* and just one in *Le nozze di Figaro.* In each opera "the garden" means something different, but in each it is used consistently, significantly, and in ways that an eighteenth-century audience would have recognized. In *Don Giovanni,* the first garden setting—the opening of the opera—uses the traditional association of gardens with love, but turns the convention on its head with the assault on Donna Anna. The second garden setting, close to the end of Act I, includes the truly pastoral moment of reconciliation between Zerlina and Masetto, which culminates in the aria "Batti, batti, bel Masetto," but also sets up the Don's attempted rape of Zerlina, thus connecting it to the opening garden scene and the assault on Donna Anna. In *Così fan tutte* all three garden settings open with same-sex duets invoking or reflecting on love from different perspectives. The second scene of the first act shows the sisters naively (as it turns out) contemplating the beauties of their lovers' images. The first-act finale begins with a disillusioned echo of the first duet—"Ah che tutta in un momento / si cangiò la sorte mia," and the fourth scene of the second act begins with the men's attempt at simultaneous seduction, "Secondate, aurette amiche." The symmetrical use of garden settings is consonant with the much-celebrated symmetry of the work as a whole, but the significance of the garden in opera buffa as a place embodying an inextricable entwining of nature and artifice also mirrors an important theme of the work, which is the complicated relation between social expectations (artifice) and feelings (nature). In *Le nozze di Figaro,* which is the only one of the three to include only one garden setting, this setting is, as Wye Allanbrook points out in the article immediately preceding this one, the place where love overcomes intrigue, where the beginnings of self-knowledge are suggested, and where resolution is finally achieved. In *Figaro* the garden suggests the larger dimension of the "pastoral," as not only a place where nature is trained into conformity with human desires, but also a "green world" in whose shadows real human relationships can

be established and made fast. That the garden appears only once in the work, and only at the end, suggests its capacity to suit both the execution of the intricate mechanics of this finale and the expression of apparently natural and deeply felt passions.

My final category of naturalistic setting in opera buffa is the "Gothic" environment, which has close relations to the sublime, particularly as conceived by Edmund Burke. Some examples follow:

> Zini/Guglielmi, *La villanella ingentilita,* II,14: Part of a dark and gloomy valley with a river and a bridge over it. Grotto on one side.[20]
>
> Petrosellini/Piccinni, and Anfossi, *L'incognita perseguitata,* II,5: Remote place with ancient ruins.[21]
>
> Anelli/Cimarosa, *I due supposti conti,* I,11: Dilapidated buildings with various caves and hiding places, and a stairway in the distance.[22]
>
> Livigni/Paisiello, *La Frascatana,* II,10: Copse dense with trees, with a practicable tower, whose door is locked with a huge chain. Next to the tower, the mouth of a cave covered with grass: on the opposite side a little dilapidated house with no door and no window—everything belonging to Don Fabrizio. Nighttime.[23]
>
> ?Petrosellini/Mozart, *La finta giardiniera,* II,15: Mountainous and deserted place with ancient, partly ruined aqueducts, among which there is a dark cave (practicable). Sandrina, fearful and trembling; various people who have left her there are precipitously fleeing from her.[24]

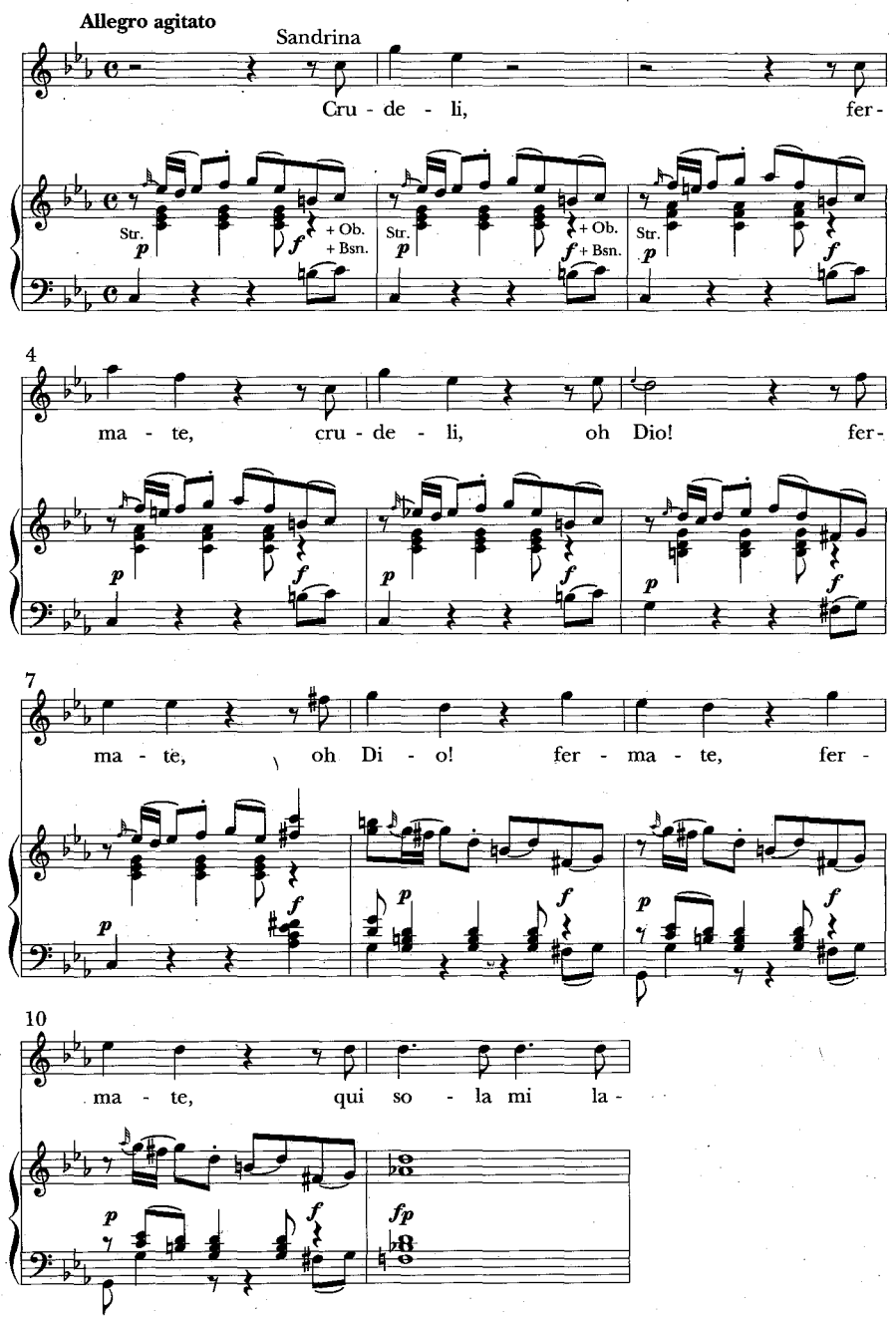
What all of these settings have in common is a sense of isolation and ruin; perhaps a sense that nature has overtaken and overgrown the well-intentioned artifices of humankind. Unlike the garden scenes, there is no other point of reference, no view beyond the enclosure. In this respect these settings realize at least one aspect of Edmund Burke's "sublime"; that is, its capacity to fill the mind, or to blot out everything else. The enclosures in these sets tend to be flawed, with dilapidated walls evoking the inevitable and natural processes of rot and ruin. In this respect they echo the surroundings of the famous scene in Richardson's novel *Pamela* in which the heroine tries to run away from her imprisonment and repeated attempted seductions but is unable to climb over the garden wall because the stones are loose and she trips and hurts her ankle.[25] The themes of this moment are also reflected in the operatic settings of this

sort of moment; one of their most remarkable features is the consistency with which they are used. They almost all occur towards the end of second acts, and they all involve solitary characters (usually female) in a state of desperation. The one exception to this is in Cimarosa's *Le due supposti conti* (see above), a parody scene in which the plot's buffoon has lost his way. Another possible exception is the cemetery scene in *Don Giovanni,* whose placement toward the end of the second act is quite conventional, but whose action is unique. (The only comparable scenes of which I am aware occur in other versions of the Don Giovanni story.) As a rule, however, the typical Gothic scene involves a solitary female character and the setting both depicts the hostile aspects of nature and, as in the Gothic novel, implies a sexual threat. The woman is always discovered and eventually, if not immediately, united with the right man.

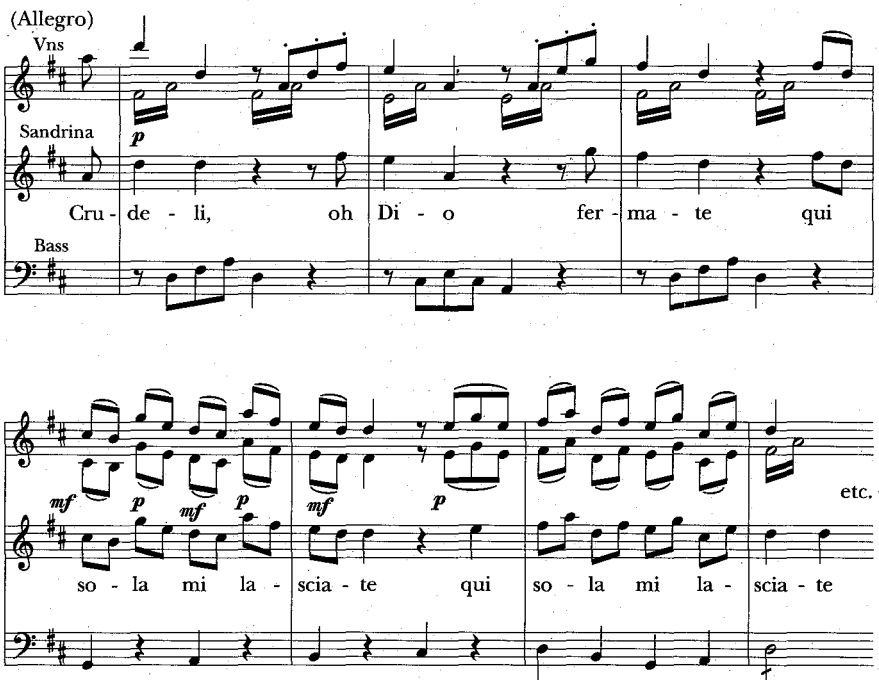
One example of the conventional deployment of this naturalistic setting occurs in (?)Petrosellini's *La finta giardiniera,* set first by Pasquale Anfossi in 1773, and then by the young Mozart a year later (first performed in 1775). The scene involves the heroine, the "supposed gardener-girl" Sandrina (really the Marchesa Violante), after she has unwillingly revealed her true identity as the supposedly murdered lover of the Count, who is now engaged to Arminda, the niece of the local mayor. She is also loved by both Nardo (the gardener) and the mayor himself—these attentions make other women very jealous of her. As if this were not enough, she is then dragged by Arminda's henchmen to the setting described above. The desolate environment mirrors Sandrina's inner tumult, and Mozart set the text to stormy C-minor music. The scene as a whole is largely through-composed (example 1). Anfossi's setting is much less dramatic; it remains in the major mode, moves very quickly from a declamatory style to a prettier melodic line, and the scene as a whole is a series of discrete numbers (example 2).[26]

That this sort of scene does not occur in Mozart's Da Ponte operas may be chance—there are, after all, only three, and they cannot use every convention of the genre. It may also be the case that such scenes were less fashionable in opera in the 1780s than they were in the 1770s—though in fact the full enthusiasm for the Gothic in Italy does not seem to have begun until the 1790s.[27] The absence of such a scene in the Da Ponte operas may also be related to the composer's and librettist's interest in a more complicated projection of character than is allowed by the solo scene of desperation, which inevitably ends in rescue and restitution. In fact, in general, as Abert notes,[28] Da Ponte and Mozart tend to avoid the unrelievedly sentimental in their character-depiction—the Gothic as used by Mozart's contemporaries being in this sense simply an accessory to the sentimental.

**Example 1.** Mozart, *La finta giardiniera,* Act II, scene 15: "Crudeli, fermate"



**Example 2.** Anfossi, *La finta giardiniera,* Act II, scene 15: "Crudeli, fermate," vocal opening




Mozart and Da Ponte, then, avoided both the wide angle of the landscape and the narrow dramatic focus of the Gothic set. Ideologically, if not visually, the garden is the naturalistic setting that most strongly emphasizes human effort and that operates on the most human scale. This contrasts both with the Gothic set, which is designed to dwarf a human figure, and the landscape, which is designed to accommodate a whole society. Mozart and Da Ponte draw on the conventional resonances of the garden in multifarious and dramatically meaningful ways. In a larger sense, however, the garden, with its ability simultaneously to evoke nature and artifice, energetic fertility and orderliness, freedom and convention, is a rich and apposite metaphor for all of Mozart's opera buffa masterpieces.

*NOTES*

[1] See the following essay by John Platoff for a description of Mozart's musical place among his Italian contemporaries.

[2] Honorable exceptions include the work of Matyas Horányi, *The Magnificence of Eszterháza,* tr. András Deák (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), who reproduces some designs and sketches by Pietro Travaglia, and Julian Rushton, *W. A. Mozart: Don Giovanni,* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[3] See the sketches from Pietro Travaglia's notebook included in Horányi, and a mere

two plates in Helmuth Christian Wolff, *Die Geschichte der Musik in Bildern: Oper* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag, n.d.). These plates, which include one from Paisiello's *La molinara,* are also reproduced elsewhere. The pictorial holdings of the Theatersammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek are remarkably thin in designs explicitly related to opera buffa of this period; there are a few farmyard designs by Lorenzo Sacchetti and a bourgeois room ostensibly by Joseph Platzer. None of these is published. The Venetian paintings and engravings of Pietro Longhi are relevant especially to indoor settings, and the architectural fantasies of Canaletto may also be helpful with respect to certain outdoor sets.

[4] See Marvin Carlson, "The Status of Stage Directions," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 24 (1991): 27–48 for a discussion of the relation of stage directions both to authorial intention and to the performed reality of a stage work.

[5] Campagna con diverse Tende militari, a mano destra un Padiglione per il Capitano. (Eszterháza 1776 libretto)

[6] Campagna, dov'è situata la Casa di Biagio con Sottoportico pratticabile [sic]. Colline in prospetto, e fiume, che attraversa la Campagna. Da un lato di là dal fiume parte della città in poca distanza. (Vienna 1785 libretto)

[7] Villaggio nella vicinanza di Urbino in riva all'Adriatico con nobile Palazzo de' Fratelli di Pappamosca da un lato dall'altro rustica casina di Viola, e Collina, al di cui falde si scopre tra'folti Alberi parte di antica Torre. (Naples 1779 libretto)

[8] Campagna deliziosa con vaghe colline in prospetto, da una parte si scopre il Palazzo della Giurisdizione, e dall'altra case rusticali. In qualche distanza scorgesi una cascata d'acqua, e un fiume, che va serpeggiando. Varj Pastori sparsi qua e la, con armenti, che stanno pascolando. Innanzi un Pergoletto con banchi all'intorno, e in mezzo tavolino, sopra cui sono alcune tazze, tettiere &c. (Vienna 1786 libretto)

[9] Borgo delizioso della Città di Gaeta, con veduta di molte Ville, e di una Fortezza in lontano. Da una parte, Casa di Bernardone, con un Pozzo in vicinanza della medesima: dall'altra, Casa di Masino accanto di una Villetta. (Vienna 1784 libretto)

[10] Northrop Frye, "The Mythos of Spring: Comedy," in *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 163–86.

[11] See Stefan Kunze "Per una descrizione tipologica della *Introduzione* nell'Opera buffa del Settecento e particolarmente nei Drammi giocosi di Carlo Goldoni e Baldassare Galuppi," in *Galuppiana 1985: studi e ricerche. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venice 28–30 October 1985),* ed. Maria Teresa Muraro and Franco Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 165–78.

[12] Montuosa praticabile, a' piedi della quale una grotta praticabile. (Vienna 1784 libretto)

[13] Giardino alla riva del mare con sedili d'erba, e due tavolini di pietra. Barca ornata di fiori, con banda di stromenti. (Taken from the 1790 libretto, exemplar in the Stadtbibliothek, Vienna.)

[14] La scena rappresenta un delizioso Giardino, in cui si vedono disposte in bell'ordine varie piante isolate. Alla dritta vi si scorgono alcune fabbriche, le quali formano una parte del Palazzo del Commendatore, con Loggia praticabile. (Vienna 1777 libretto)

[15] Nobil giardino irrigato da più ruscelli in cui si vedono vasi con frutti, e piante americane. In orizonte del quale si coprono monti cospersi di bell'ordine di Capanne, che vengono a formar parte della città di Boston in lontananza. (Vienna 1786 libretto)

[16] Giardino interno nel casino di Rosetta. Vista del palazzo della Duchessa Protettrice d'Alessio, e Signora del Villaggio. (London 1770 libretto)

[17] Giardino delizioso, adorno di vari fiori, con veduta del Palazzo del Marchese. (From vol. 11 of *Tutte le opere di Carlo Goldoni,* ed. G. Ortolani [Milan: Mondadori, 1952], 515.)

[18] Georgina Masson, *Italian Gardens* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1987) includes photographs and contemporary drawings of gardens on which these stage sets might

have relied. Jean de Cayeux, *Hubert Robert et les jardins* (Paris: Herscher, 1987), discusses both paintings and garden designs by this artist; many of these include ruins, caverns, and grottoes characteristic of the gothic stage sets described below.

[19] See, for example, Paul F. Watson, *The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1979), and Roberta S. Favis, "The Garden of Love in Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish and German Engravings" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974).

[20] Parte di cupa, ed oscura Valle con Fiumicello, e Ponte su di esso. Grotta da un lato. (Naples 1779 libretto)

[21] Luogo remoto di antichi ruini. (Venice 1764 libretto [Piccinni setting] and Milan 1773 libretto [Anfossi setting]).

[22] Fabbriche dirute con varie caverne, e nascondigli con scala in prospetto. (Milan 1784 libretto)

[23] Bosco folto d'alberi; con Torre alta praticabile da un lato, con porta che si serra con grosso catenaccio; accanto a detta Torre, bocca di un sotteraneo coperta di erbe; dalla parte opposta Casetta diroccata senza porte, e senza finestre tutto appartenente a Don Fabrizio. Notte. (Vienna 1775 libretto)

[24] Luogo deserto ed alpestre di antichi acquedotti in parte rovinati, fra quali vi è una grotta oscura praticabile. Sandrina timorosa e tremante, nell'atto che si vedono precipitosamente fuggire diverse persone, che l'anno ivi lasciata. (*NMA* edition of *La finta giardiniera*) The Florence 1775 libretto of the Anfossi setting merely refers to a "ruined place" for this scene.

Rudolf Angermüller, "Wer war der Librettist von *La finta giardiniera?*" *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1976/77 (1978): 1–8, attributes the libretto to Giuseppe Petrosellini; most previous writers credited Raniero Calzabigi and Marco Coltellini with authorship.

[25] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1929), 230–34. First pub. 1740. This episode occurs on day 28 of Pamela's captivity.

[26] See Volker Mattern, *Das dramma giocoso: La finta giardiniera. Ein Vergleich der Vertonungen von Pasquale Anfossi und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Heidelberg: Laaber Verlag, 1989), 142 for a description of the differences in continuity between the two scenes, and also their relation to the immediately preceding numbers.

[27] Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1765) was the first gothic novel proper. It was translated into Italian "before 1797," but may not have been available in Italy in the early 1770s, when most of the operas with these scenes were written. The novels of Ann Radcliffe and others also arrived in Italy in the 1790s. Giulio Natali (*Storia letteraria d'italia: il Settecento* [Milan: Vallardi, 1960; 1st ed., 1929], 595–97) mentions the mid-century interest in Thomas Gray's and Edward Young's relatively lugubrious elegies, and these, with the indubitably well-known *Pamela* could very well have provided a literary context for these scenes in opera buffa.

[28] Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), 2:534.

## Mozart and His Rivals: Opera in Vienna

*By John Platoff*

In 1991, two-hundred years after his death, Mozart is commonly recognized as one of the greatest composers in the history of music; he is a figure of unquestioned stature who dominates our view of the landscape of eighteenth-century music and, in particular, eighteenth-century opera. But the historical evidence makes clear that Mozart's own contemporaries saw him quite differently. In his own time, Mozart was not the single, preeminent musical figure often imagined today, but instead just one of a number of young composers striving for success in the highly competitive musical world of Josephine Vienna. Thus, our modern portrait of him as an extraordinary and singular genius was, for the most part, not shared by his contemporaries.

In Mozart's lifetime much more than today, the most important and respected musical genre was opera, and this was as true in Vienna as in other major European cities. There were no full-time professional orchestras, standing chamber-music groups, or regular concert series, and in fact for most of the year there were no public concerts in Vienna at all, at least not in the modern understanding of the term.[1] Though concerts were given in private salons and ballrooms—some of them quite large—operas and spoken plays held the stages of the court theaters for nearly the entire year. It was only during Lent, when operatic performances were considered to be inappropriate, that the theaters were available for musicians wishing to give concerts for their own benefit. In his early years in Vienna Mozart gave a number of such concerts, for which he wrote many of his finest piano concertos. He also performed in the concerts of many other musicians, and became widely known to and valued by Viennese audiences—but primarily as a keyboard virtuoso and secondarily as an instrumental composer. By no means did this acclaim transfer to the realm of operatic composition.

When Mozart settled in Vienna in 1781 the operas he heard at the principal court theater, the Burgtheater, were in German; three years earlier, in 1778, Joseph II had founded a National Singspiel company in the hopes of creating a true German opera to match the better-established tradition of German spoken drama. But Joseph's experiment ran into a number of problems, chief among them a lack of good-quality operas to perform. Some of the operas were newly commissioned from composers such as Ignaz Umlauf, Josef Barta, Maximilian Ulbrich, and a host of lesser figures. Antonio Salieri, though an Italian, was also prevailed upon to write a work, *Die Rauchfangkehrer* ("The Chimney-Sweep," 1781). The vast

majority of the Singspiel's repertory, however, was drawn from foreign imports that were performed in German translation, including French opéras-comiques by Gluck and Grétry as well as Italian opere buffe by Pietro Guglielmi, Pasquale Anfossi, and other composers. The newly arrived Mozart wrote *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782) for the company, and it became one of the most successful and popular works in the German repertory. It also, incidentally, carried Mozart's name throughout German-speaking Europe; even up to the time of Mozart's death in 1791 it remained his best-known operatic work in northern Europe.[2]

But notwithstanding the reception given *Die Entführung,* German opera increasingly failed to attract Viennese audiences. As a result, Joseph abandoned the project in 1783 and ordered that an Italian opera company be assembled to give performances in the Burgtheater. For the remainder of the decade, opera at the Burgtheater would mean Italian opera buffa. It was buffa rather than seria by the personal preference—and specific order—of the Emperor. Whereas most European monarchs saw the opera as a manifestation of their personal glory and grandeur, and opera seria as a way of conveying their own excellence, Joseph simply found it "boring, unnatural, and above all [for this frugal monarch] expensive."[3]

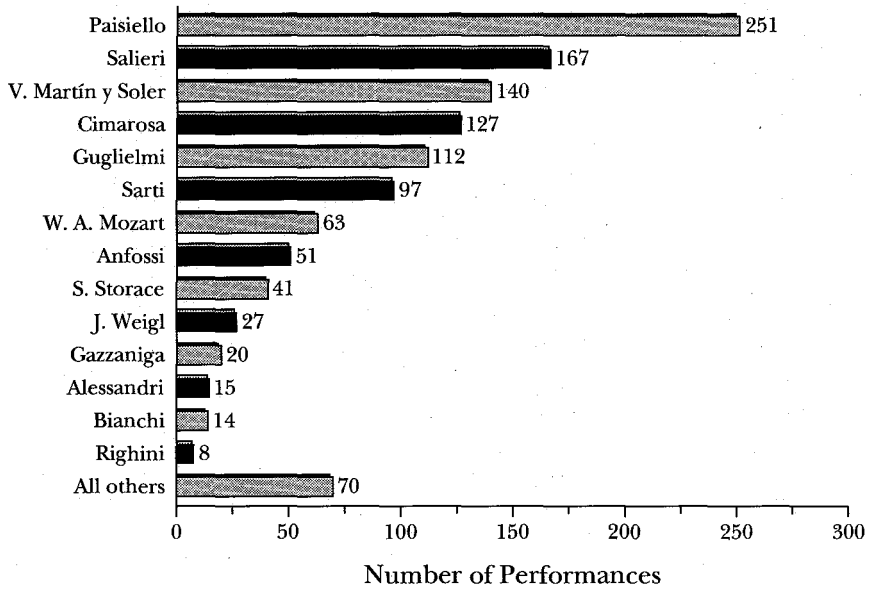
This did not mean, of course, that opera in German vanished from the city. German operas appeared from time to time at the second court theater, the Kärntnertortheater, and regularly at a number of smaller theaters in or just outside Vienna. But the repertory of these theaters depended largely on the most popular Italian works, which were simply translated into German. So even if the language in the smaller theaters was German, the music was Italian.

Beginning in April 1783, then, the repertory at the Burgtheater consisted entirely of Italian opera buffa, performed by a company of singers recruited from Italy. The newly appointed poet to the Italian theater was Lorenzo Da Ponte; the director of the company, Antonio Salieri. With such Italian appointees, it should be no surprise to find that the works of Italian composers were performed, to the substantial exclusion of operas by non-Italians. And despite Mozart's success with *Die Entführung,* he was by no means among the leading composers of Italian opera.

Table 1 sets forth all opera buffa performances at the Burgtheater between 1783 and 1792, showing the total number of performances of all operas by each composer.[4] These include both pieces commissioned for the Viennese theater—about one-third of the repertory—and works first performed in other cities and later imported for the Viennese company. Any composer who had two or more operas performed is listed by name. It can be readily seen that Italians dominate the list; only four non-Italians (whose names are given with first initials) appear at all.[5] The first of these, Vicente

Martín y Soler, was in essence identified with the Italian style, though he was a Spaniard. The other two non-Italians aside from Mozart were Stephen Storace, an Englishman of Italian descent, and Joseph Weigl, a young Viennese composer who was Salieri's student and later assistant music director at the Burgtheater. Storace's two opera commissions stemmed in large part from the prestige of his sister Nancy, who was the leading female singer of the opera company and a great favorite of the emperor and the public alike. Weigl naturally benefited from his association with Salieri as well as his father's position as a cellist in the Burgtheater orchestra.

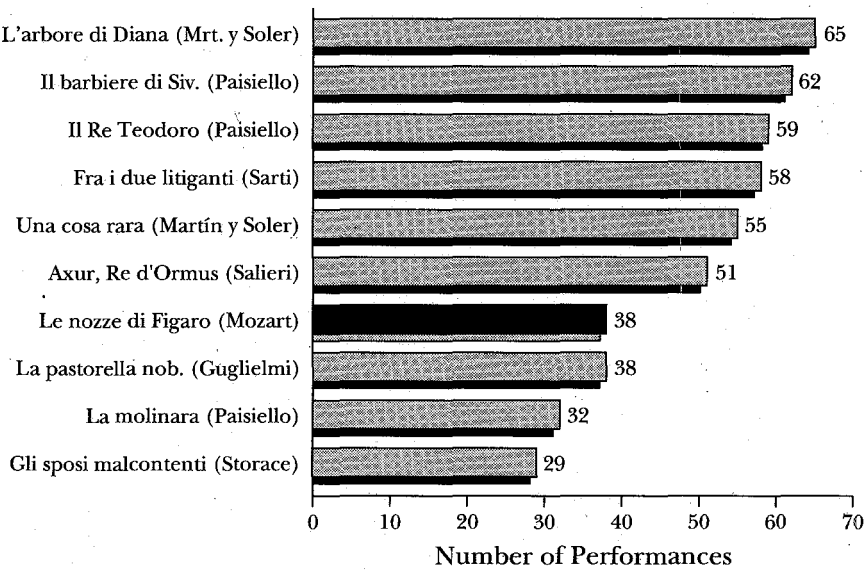
**Table 1.** Opera Performances in Vienna, 1783–92.




Giovanni Paisiello, at this time the leading European figure in Italian opera, was by a wide margin the most popular opera composer in Vienna. His dominance is even more impressive when we consider that he visited the city for less than a year and wrote only one opera, *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (1784), for the Burgtheater—all the other Paisiello works performed had been written for other cities. Salieri, who as the director of the court opera had considerable opportunity to promote his own works, is a distant second. Mozart certainly achieved respectable success, especially by the standards of other non-Italian composers, but he was not in any way a dominant figure. In fact, he was considerably less successful than his so-called rival Salieri.[6]

Table 2, which shows the most popular operas at the Burgtheater along with their total number of performances, makes much the same point. The top five operas include two by Martín y Soler and two by Paisiello, along with Giuseppe Sarti's acclaimed *Fra i due litiganti.* Mozart, in turn, is represented by only one work, *Le nozze di Figaro,* and it was only a moderate success. In fact, the table actually overstates the work's impact: when *Figaro* appeared in May 1786, it played just nine times before being put aside. It was rapidly forgotten, largely because of the overwhelming popularity of Martín's *Una cosa rara,* which opened in November of that year. The remaining twenty-nine performances of *Figaro* came only later, when the opera was revived in 1789–91.

**Table 2.** Most Popular Operas in Vienna, 1783–92.




Mozart's two other mature opere buffe, *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte,* were still less successful in Vienna, at least during Mozart's own lifetime. *Don Giovanni* was commissioned by Pasquale Bondini, the impresario of the opera company in Prague, who hoped to recreate with a new opera the enormous success that *Figaro* had achieved in that city. After its Prague premiere in 1787 *Don Giovanni* was first performed at the Burgtheater in Vienna in May 1788; there it received a respectable total of fifteen performances that season, but was then dropped from the repertory. With *Così fan tutte* Mozart suffered a singular misfortune: the death of Joseph II

closed the Viennese theaters for a two-month period of mourning only days after the opera's first performance in January 1790. That it had already been given five times in sixteen days suggested a strongly favorable audience reaction. But when the theaters re-opened, *Così* was performed only five more times in the following season; then it, too, was put aside.

None of this suggests that Mozart was not recognized as a leading musical figure in Vienna; he did not live an obscure life there, unknown to the musical community. But his reputation rested more on his instrumental compositions and his performing skills. In March 1784 alone, for example, he played in nineteen concerts, according to a letter Mozart wrote to his father at the time.[7] The popularity suggested by this large number may be confirmed by various newspaper and journal accounts, including this one from Cramer's *Magazin der Musik*, published in Hamburg, reporting on a performance held in Vienna in March 1783:

> To-night the famous Herr Chevalier *Mozart* held a musical concert in the National Theatre, at which pieces of his already highly admired composition were performed. The concert was honoured with an exceptionally large concourse, and the two new concertos and other fantasies which Herr M. played on the fortepiano were received with the loudest applause. Our Monarch [Joseph II], who, against his habit, attended the whole of the concert, as well as the entire audience, accorded him such unanimous applause as has never been heard of here.[8]

The issue then is not Mozart's lack of recognition, but the area in which his fame lay. It is clear that his success as a pianist and as a composer of instrumental music did not translate into opportunities to write operas for the court theater—especially given the Italian clique that dominated the Burgtheater from 1783 on. At the very moment of the successful concert to which the above review refers, the Italian opera company was rehearsing for its first performances. Yet it was three full years before an opera buffa by Mozart—*Le nozze di Figaro*—was produced. It was the thirty-second opera put into production by the Italian company; operas by fourteen other composers had already been heard before that of Mozart.

This background is important for the insight it gives us into the musical relationship between Mozart's opere buffe and those of his contemporaries—a relationship that is much closer than commonly supposed. Between his arrival in Vienna and the premiere of *Figaro* five years later, Mozart went to the opera constantly. He studied the works of his rivals, read librettos, looked at operatic scores from other cities, and in every way immersed himself in the currents of operatic style. When his chance came,

Mozart surely had in mind the aim of outdoing the Italians at their own game. In February 1784, when he was at work on an *opera buffa* called *L'oca del Cairo* (which he subsequently abandoned), Mozart wrote a letter to his father that included the following striking sentence: "I guarantee that in all the operas which are to be performed until mine is finished, not a single idea will resemble one of mine."[9] These words could only have been written by someone who had been listening very carefully to what other composers were doing, and who saw himself in competition with them.

Actually, Mozart's claim is exaggerated. There are many features of his operatic music that may be found as well in the operas of Salieri, Paisiello, Martín y Soler, and his other rivals. He employed many of the same conventional melodic gestures, cadence figures, and accompaniments, the same comic styles for buffo characters (like Dr. Bartolo) and the same lyric approach for serious ones (like the Countess). Today, of course, the operas of Mozart's rivals are virtually never heard; if they were, it would be clear that much of what we think of as 'Mozartean' is actually the general operatic style of the period.[10]

How far, then, do these similarities go? Was Mozart truly no different, no better than his contemporaries? Did he merely draw upon the same conventions in the same ways as the Italian composers with whom he had to compete? Obviously not. But the differences are more subtle than one might expect; they have to do with Mozart's ability to make more out of a conventional situation or number: to give it more dramatic realism, to find a particularly appropriate melody, to use the orchestra more inventively. Today's audiences, and indeed audiences since the early days of the nineteenth century, value these traits far more than did those of Mozart's own time. And we therefore give him a place of honor among opera composers that he did not hold in his own time. For the most part, though, Mozart did not shatter the conventional boundaries of opera buffa. He worked within them, producing operas that were superior—to us at least—because of his superior musical talents and a masterful dramatic sense.

In short, to his contemporaries Mozart was no colossus overshadowing the musical landscape of Vienna. Nor, for that matter, was he a lonely genius, composing his operas in solitude and isolation. Because we no longer hear the operas of his contemporaries, it is hard for modern audiences to appreciate the close relationships between his operas and those of Paisiello, Martín y Soler, and others. But Mozart, for all his enormous talents, was very much a musician of his time, and a balanced assessment of his operatic achievement can come only from an understanding of the common style he shared with his rivals.

## *NOTES*

[1] As Mary Sue Morrow has written, the "absence of regular concert series and concert societies" in Vienna is particularly striking in comparison with the situation in many other cities. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, for instance, was not established until 1812. Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1989), xv–xvii.

[2] For a list of over 40 first performances during Mozart's lifetime, see Thomas Bauman, *W. A. Mozart: "Die Entführung aus dem Serail,"* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 103–4.

[3] Daniel Heartz, *Mozart's Operas,* ed. Thomas Bauman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 73.

[4] The performance totals in Tables 1 and 2 are drawn from information in Otto Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne: von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tode Kaiser Leopolds II (1792)* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1970). In a paper entitled "Mozart Reception in Vienna, 1787–1791" (presented at the Mozart Bicentenary Conference of the Royal Musical Association, London, August 1991; the Proceedings of the Conference are in press), Dexter Edge showed that a careful study of box-office receipts for each opera performed at the Burgtheater—receipts which he has uncovered in the Viennese court archives—would provide a more precise gauge of the popularity of any given work. The general standing of composers suggested by Table 1, however, is unlikely to be substantially altered.

[5] I have borrowed this method of indicating non-Italian composers from Michael F. Robinson, "Mozart and the Opera Buffa Tradition," in Tim Carter, *W. A. Mozart: "Le nozze di Figaro,"* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 12.

[6] It is difficult to assess the seriousness or importance to Mozart's career of this "rivalry," beyond dismissing once again as nonsense the claim that Salieri poisoned Mozart, a long-discredited tale. Clearly Mozart and his family believed that Salieri and others sought to prevent *Figaro* from succeeding (see Leopold's letter of 28 April 1786), and there are other references in the family's correspondence to Salieri's intrigues. On the other hand, Salieri conducted a substantial amount of Mozart's music on a number of occasions when he would scarcely have needed to, had he not thought highly of it; these included the three coronation ceremonies for Leopold II (Frankfurt, 1790 and Prague, 1791) and Francis II (Frankfurt, 1792): see H. C. Robbins Landon, *1791: Mozart's Last Year* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), 103–4. The two composers remained cordial to the end of Mozart's life; in October, 1791 Mozart took Salieri to a performance of *Die Zauberflöte* at which Salieri spoke graciously and approvingly of the music (Mozart's letter to Constanze, 14 October 1791).

[7] See the letter of 3 March 1784, in *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen,* ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (New York: Bärenreiter, 1963), 3:303–4.

[8] Quoted from Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography,* trans. Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe, and Jeremy Noble (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), 215.

[9] 10 February 1784; Bauer, 3:300–1.

[10] For a demonstration of this point as it applies to the buffa aria, see John Platoff, "The Buffa Aria in Mozart's Vienna," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990): 99–120. The interested listener might also pursue the question by listening to the 1985 recording of Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Adám Fischer and the Hungarian State Orchestra (Hungaroton SLPD 12525–27). The stylistic resemblances between this work and Mozart's opere buffe are unmistakable.

*review*

**James Webster. *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music.* Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis, ed. Ian D. Bent.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. xix, 402 pp.

The somewhat disjointed title of James Webster's new study, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music,* accurately indicates the main topics of the book but not the close-knit and original arguments that bring them together. Even with regard to the central subject alone—the means by which Haydn integrated his multimovement pieces—this volume is greatly to be recommended. Whereas attention has long been given to the unifying forces operating in works by Beethoven, this aspect of Haydn's music acquires totally new meaning through Webster's keen-witted investigation.

Each of the book's three major sections has its own well-defined subject matter. Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony, No. 45, provides the first focal point (pp. 13–119), because in it Webster sees an unrivaled embodiment of the structural techniques that are his main interest. Then in the book's second part (pp. 123–334) the discussion widens to show the pervasive effects of such techniques in many of Haydn's instrumental compositions. Finally, in a "Historiographical Conclusion" (pp. 335–73) the implications of the earlier findings move Webster to reassess the standard view concerning both the maturation of Haydn's genius and the foundations of the concept "Classical style."

The section on the "Farewell" Symphony portrays the piece essentially in terms of an advance through time toward complete serenity and of countervailing means by which repose is withheld. Webster's discussion rests in part on ideas like "instability" and "through-composition"—notions vague in themselves that nevertheless gain an effective significance when exemplified in his analysis. The progressivity that draws the movements into one all-embracing musical discourse is found to manifest itself on a number of levels. That is, in Webster's view large-scale factors such as the arrangement of the controlling keys and an opening movement of heightened instability work to the same end as do all manner of transitory details, be they structural disjunctions and weak cadences or rhythmic and phrasing patterns that thwart expectations or patently lack fulfillment.

Furthermore, in tracing the fundamental tonal layout Webster points out specific harmonic potentialities that finally come to fruition. His picture shows the symphony traversing the same course twice; what the first three movements do in a partial or distorted way the concluding Presto and Adagio accomplish to perfection. (To speak of perfection here is scarcely an exaggeration, given Webster's emphatic commendation of the work. He believes that "there has never been a more stunning triumph of long-range musical planning" [p. 112].)

After a close look at the music, Webster takes up the symphony's programmatic elements. Exploiting the absence of any verbal program designed to accompany the work in the fashion of many later compositions, and wishing perhaps to emphasize the symphony's expressiveness, he proposes a programmatic interpretation of his own (pp. 116–19). A few excerpts from it can at once reveal its core and suggest its complexity.

> "My narrative will focus on . . . my interpretation of feelings I attribute to the 'persona' I find in the work."
>
> "The 'persona' comprises Haydn's musicians (taken collectively)."
>
> "[The musicians'] yearning for home is symbolized by the parallel major."
>
> "The Farewell Symphony, then, deals with the idea (not the 'depiction'!) of the musicians' journey home from the wilderness of F-sharp minor to their safe and comfortable family hearths in Eisenstadt—represented, however, by the unimaginably distant key of F-sharp major."
>
> "The musicians [at one point in the first movement] are still searching for rest, for the major mode; but by now are *in extremis*, lost in the barren wastes."
>
> "In the minuet, we are vouchsafed our first vision of our real goal, F-sharp major as a tonic."

This story of an imagined journey home makes good sense, though in the telling it shifts joltingly between different levels of the discourse—the region of the specifically musical and that of musical symbolism (especially with respect to individual keys and key relationships), also the musicians' feelings, the musicians' notions, and events imagined by the musicians, and, finally, our feelings. Both music lovers and scholars should take seriously such excursions of fantasy and ponder the poetic validity of this and other programmatic interpretations. (In these matters "think before laughing" is a worthy motto, useful, for instance, when one comes upon a conjecture by the nineteenth-century composer-critic William Henry Fry that the "Eroica" Symphony's Scherzo represents dancing on the grave of the hero.[1])

Webster stresses the exceptional features, the inventiveness, of the "Farewell" Symphony, relying on them as musical-expressive correlatives to elements in his narrative program. He downplays, however, some oddities connected with the origins of the work. *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony* begins by trying to find the truths within the legends that surround the symphony's birth, and in this regard Georg August Griesinger's report of Haydn's account is judged to be generally trustworthy. Griesinger mentions two rare circumstances, for he tells of a piece whose overt purpose was to elicit a particular decision from one person, and of a petition that includes both music and pantomime (the word is Griesinger's); ordinarily only sacred works formulate pleas and incorporate gesture and stance. Webster has described what is universal about the "Farewell" Symphony and documented how much it relates to other programmatically tinged music of the late eighteenth century, but in certain respects the symphony remains a curiosity. It was, in an entirely positive sense, occasional music, and yet the occasion has become folded into the piece itself, so that every performance is partly a reenactment. Here, as in a piece of performance art, extramusical traits force themselves on the listener as witness. Perhaps because of these unique features, this singular symphony is highly susceptible to trivialization and possibly to aggrandizement. One can only regret that Webster does not address the questions in aesthetics and reception history that this whole situation opens up.

Part II of *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony* brings a new perspective, with Webster's thoughts on musical integration and progressivity now taking in all of Haydn's instrumental music. In these pages Webster reaches out to coordinate and classify, describe and dissect dozens of works on the basis of the individual characteristics they share. The means that foster instability and through-composition are discussed and exemplified, as are the tonal and thematic techniques and the *attacca* links that effect multimovement continuity. Also, extramusical implications and associations are shown to be a strong shaping force in many compositions. In short, Part II retraces and expands upon the ideas that guided the analysis of the "Farewell" Symphony.

Webster seems to have Haydn's complete oeuvre at his fingertips and all the relevant primary and secondary literature as well. A piece may find itself merely entered in one of several tables or, at the other extreme, it may be the object of a twenty-page analysis. Little-known and early works are treated with the same businesslike respect as old favorites are. Sometimes Webster's references to individual Haydn compositions come so thick and fast that the book becomes less a work to be read through than annotations to be lived with.

While structural and formal concerns control the overall organization

of Part II, tangential conclusions touching chronology and genre arise again and again. For instance, the attention-getting move V/vi–I located at the end of the development and start of the reprise was exploited by Haydn as early as ca. 1770 and may soon have become "a convention in its own right" (p. 143). Then, in the piano sonatas and trios the run-on connections of movements, from slow movement to fast, involve certain keys to the inexplicable neglect of others (pp. 187–89). Through countless bits of such knowledge the reader learns new ways to approach Haydn's works.

In the long chapter that concludes Part II, Webster documents the individuality of a dozen carefully selected works. Their contrasting genres (six symphonies, four string quartets, a keyboard sonata, and a piano trio) and a wide chronological span (ca. 1761–95) complement the essential structural variety for which they were chosen. Webster fits his analytical methods directly to the distinctive integrative techniques found in each piece, though superficial similarities, for instance, the presence of fugal finales in the two C-major quartets op. 20, no. 2, and op. 54, no. 2, are sometimes used to set off a work's unique features. These discussions will teach scholars and amateurs alike to put aside their preconceptions regarding customary formal designs, the conventions of genre, and such stylistic dichotomies as that which separates the learned from the galant. In short, Webster demands a tireless attention to musical particularities.

Yet Part II also contains several small essays on large topics—"The 'Finale Problem'," "Thematicism," and "Extramusicality in Haydn's Aesthetics,"—for Webster obviously wishes the fine points in his work to be understood in their richest intellectual context. Early in the book he writes, "no composition . . . exists in a vacuum. A comprehensive study of the "Farewell" Symphony leads directly to fundamental problems of both analysis and theory, and the historiography of eighteenth-century music" (p. 6). Fifteen or twenty years ago a scholar who had a monograph on the "Farewell" Symphony under way might have felt impelled to report on a few contingent historical or biographical topics, but today's musicologist tends rather to expand his or her work by addressing methodological issues. Where music historians even in the recent past might unself-consciously have used quite primitive theoretical tools, Webster not only commands complex analytical means but goes on to assess their value and gauge their proper domain. Besides examining theoretical and historiographical questions, he ventures short forays into narratology and deconstruction. But, conversant though he is with what may crudely be called the new musicology, Webster does not pursue his methodological investigations at the expense of his principal subject matter. Indeed, on the whole *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony* achieves the balance, precision, and clarity found in the best classical musicology.

At the same time, Webster's study represents an act of advocacy; he wants to change minds about the ways in which Haydn's music is put together and about Haydn as a Classical composer. Of course, advocacy and considered argument can go hand in hand, as they do in Webster's analytical treatment of the "Farewell" Symphony. Here the author undertakes to balance and control several different kinds of analysis and also to gain the reader's acceptance of some hard-won conclusions.

Among the theorists who provide Webster's models is none who was, even roughly, a Haydn contemporary. Later in the book a wealth of information proves the wisdom of including eighteenth-century musical aesthetics in a full understanding of the "Farewell" Symphony, so readers may wonder about the absence of eighteenth-century theory. They may ask, what if anything could have been gained by applying to this composition of 1772 the highly developed theories of phrasing and form devised by Joseph Riepel and Heinrich Christoph Koch; or, more broadly, what is the difference between the status of yesterday's music theory and that of yesterday's aesthetics? Whereas the first question has a purely pragmatic frame of reference, the second, more probing inquiry seeks to determine if theory, unlike art and philosophy, develops progressively—that is, if good theories are as a rule displaced by better ones. A few pages on these questions by so thoughtful a writer as Webster could have enlightened readers generally and explicated his position. In Part II Webster declares, "any viable historical study entails a synthesis of ideas from the period under investigation with others from the historian's own time" (p. 174). But for Webster a technical analysis of music may have no inherent historical dimension.

Webster's meticulous sifting of each movement in turn produces countless insights concerning the harmonic progressions, rhythm and phrasing, instrumentation, and handling of conventional forms, but his analysis concentrates on two elements above all. Melodic content is seen as an amalgam of motivic particles. The harmonic organization, for its part, is translated into multilevel sketches of the structural voice-leading. Webster purposely follows divergent methods in the hope of enriching his analytical explanations. The density of detail is fearsome at times but, Webster says, "there is no other way to do justice to Haydn's art" (p. 4).

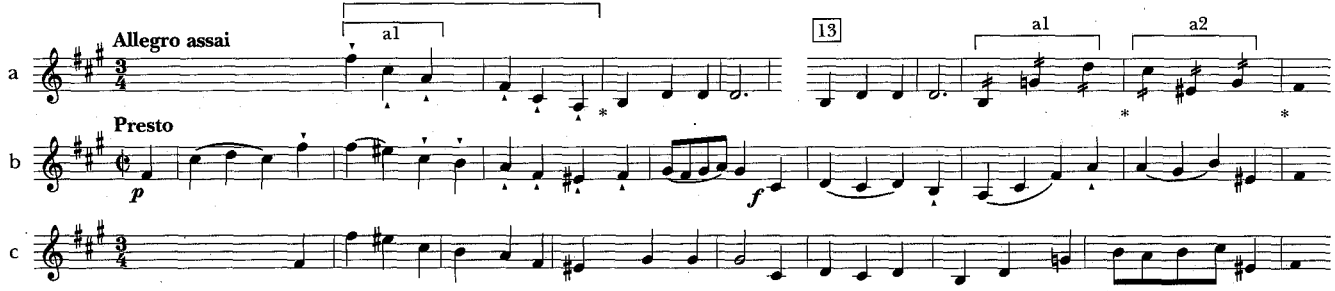
In search of motives, Webster microscopically examines the melodies of the symphony, identifying the particles, whose interrelations throughout the whole piece are mirrored in their labeling. For example, each member of the group called *a* (*a1*, *a2*, etc.) comprises arpeggiation or one chordal skip. The theories of Arnold Schoenberg loom behind Webster's practice at this point in his attribution of changing motive forms to the technique of developing variation. Having his analysis of motives accord strictly with Schoenbergian methods is not, however, a primary concern of

Webster's, for he thinks that both the term *developing variation* "and the concepts associated with it are problematical" (pp. 20–24). Nor does he use the distinction between developing variation and motivic variant that Schoenberg propounds.[2] Quite aside from this and despite the care with which Webster performs his motivic analysis, objections to his work in this area could arise from three or four different angles.

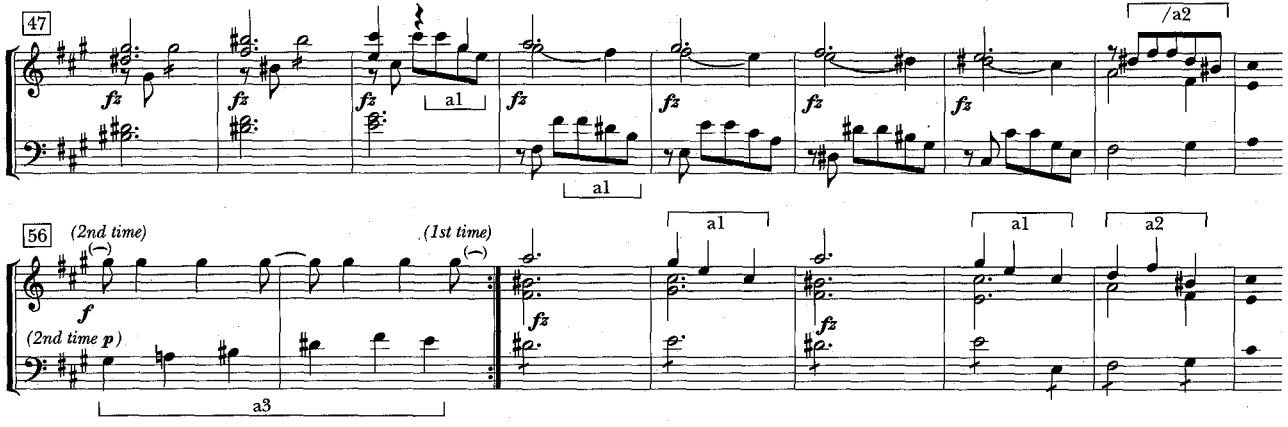
One shortcoming arises from the tireless dedication with which Webster treats melody as motive, for with it goes a neglect of other attributes of melody. For instance, the contour, the generalized shape, of melody draws little notice, as can be seen in Webster's comparison of the main theme of the Presto with the opening theme of the first movement. He surveys the themes' constituents (harmony, texture, phrasing, etc.) and concludes: "Given the return to the tonic minor and the very fast tempo, it would be difficult to imagine a stronger contrast" (p. 75). But the melodic contours of the themes are at times alike, as can be suggested by example 1, in which example 1c is a parodistic confecting of ingredients from the two melodies, example 1a and example 1b. The likeness between the Haydn melodies cannot be properly explained in a point-by-point survey, for all their fragmentary similarities. That Webster cares little for such *ad hoc* observations is evidenced in his censure of an earlier writer on Haydn's symphonies: "many of Marx's proposed relationships [between themes] are dubious on their merits. His thematic transformations often depend on imprecise or factitious criteria: contour, vaguely defined; transpositions which alter the tonal function of ostensibly related pitches; melodic patterns which violate the respective harmonic or rhythmic context, and deny the very groupings of notes that must be the basis of any actual relationship" (p. 201).[3] Inadequate argumentation or the cumbersomeness of the argument required to explain a relationship is, however, insufficient grounds for rejecting its actuality. In this matter, personal inclinations and immediate impressions also have a part to play. (This last sentence all but repeats one of Webster's; after posing several questions about thematic relationships and derivations indicated in his "Farewell" analysis, he says, "there seem to be no guidelines for answering [such questions], save individual taste and experience" [p. 204].)

With respect to a motive's origin a second limitation in Webster's methods can be defined. Systematically he locates the source of nearly every motive, except for the first few, in an earlier motive or motives from which it in part derives and that it develops. To find a motive being generated elsewhere is out of bounds. Experientially, however, a melodic motive may originate in a harmonic progression rather than in earlier motives. Webster's handling of measures 56–59 in the first movement (example 2b) is relevant here. The two-bar bass fragment labeled *a3* is traced to the

**Example 1.**




**Example 2.**



symphony's opening motive (*a3* is an essentially triadic unit, rising where *a1* falls; example 1a).[4] But measures 56–57, following closely upon measures 47–49 (example 2a), redeploy in a linear form that which is expressed in the part-writing of the earlier measures. This harmonic-melodic connection, the birth of a motive from a web of harmonic tissue, can gain no place in Webster's analysis, though the chord progressions that ensue, in measures 50–55 and 60–65 respectively, have extensive melodic and harmonic resemblance. (Webster notes the likeness between mm. 54–55 and 64–65.)

At one point Webster urges readers to question the particulars of his motivic analysis on its own terms, and an appropriate opportunity to do so arises quite early in it. The sticking point concerns the issue of where to locate the first appearance of stepwise motives—a matter of some moment, because Webster considers the gradual normalization of conjunct motion to be an essential part of the symphony's progressivity. Motives defined by triadic skips (the aforementioned *a* family) are said to preponderate for quite some time in the first movement, stepwise motives entering initially only in measure 44 (measures 48ff in example 2a). Webster says that in the main theme, measures 1–16, "stepwise connections hardly occur" (p. 39). It is true that conjunct motion joins only six pairs of notes (around eighteen percent of the melodic moves) in the theme. But five of the pairs consistently have the same position and the same function: they bridge over the barlines, they come with changes of harmony, and necessarily they link the disjunct motives (see the pairs indicated by asterisks in example 1a). With an eye to Schoenberg's practice one can term them motivic, too. Consequently, the music of measures 44ff will have a new function, that of presenting rhythmic enlargements of a motive introduced earlier.

Such tinkering as this rests on a general acceptance of Webster's analysis of motives, and so to some extent does another, broader criticism. Dedicated Schoenbergians among readers of *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony* will miss a quest for the generative musical idea or an attempt to identify the *Grundgestalt;* they may feel that Webster's motivic analysis sits on a one-legged stool. Webster is very much aware of the full scope of Schoenberg's theories, and he briefly discusses the notion of an "all-pervasive *Grundgestalt*" (p. 195), which he calls a "mystical concept" (p. 145). But as was said above, he deliberately fights shy of trying to bring all elements of the composition into one theoretical universe.

For his guide to studying fundamental harmonic structures Webster selects Heinrich Schenker. *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony* assumes that its readers can grasp Schenkerian graphs and follow appraisals of 3-lines versus 5-lines. Where Webster uses some of Schoenberg's thinking to examine the symphony's surface in the form of its melodies, he uses

Schenker's theories mainly to explicate long-range pitch connections and subsurface voice-leading. Not surprisingly, given Webster's focus on progressivity, little is said about foreground in Schenkerian terms, and contrapuntal details get short shrift. As though to signal his freedom from any fixed allegiance to Schenker, Webster repeatedly describes 6/3 chords as first inversion triads even when a series of them rises in parallel motion. And after laying out his first orthodox Schenkerian graph, he remarks that it "underplays [the] registral and instrumental complexities" of the music it outlines (p. 33). Later in the book (p. 169), Webster will state as a principle that it is not "useful" to observe "orthodox Schenkerian notions of voice-leading" in the middleground when graphing music that "'problematizes' tonality and form." (His example at this point is Haydn's Symphony No. 92, first movement.)

Webster's shifts in analytical positions (Schenker's and Schoenberg's being only the most prominent among them) are skillfully calculated to serve the book's first aim: to persuade readers that the "Farewell" Symphony is a uniquely well-integrated work. Webster's methods resemble those of an adept lawyer who, in addressing the court, brings up conflicting legal philosophies and independent chains of precedents that work, nevertheless, to support the same decision. Not every judge—nor every reader—will find such mixed arguments acceptable, but all should be cheered by their total lack of zealotry.

Naturally, when Webster deals less systematically with the "Farewell" Symphony, he still aims to win others to his point of view. His reading of the piece sees it as moving toward "an apotheosis of ethereality" (p. 110), so he tries to impart a sense of all that has been left behind in achieving this goal. The first movement, in heightened contrast to the closing Adagio, is "unstable throughout" and has components that lack coherence, are ambiguous, or again are "weak and problematical" (p. 30). In a more metaphorical vein different elements of this "huge" movement (p. 57) are described thus: certain motives are "slashing" (p. 30), as is even a single note (p. 33); something is "brutally undercut by an unexpected eruption" (p. 36), while something else adopts an "even wilder form" (p. 39). When the reader gets to discussions of "a climax of violence" (p. 45) and of "the most savage passage in this entire savage movement" (p. 49), he or she may suspect the presence of rhetorical overkill. Webster feels that both Mendelssohn and Schumann missed the mark in their gentle comments on the "Farewell" Symphony, but by writing in such terms as the above, a twentieth-century author also puts himself at odds with the expressive intentions of eighteenth-century art. A musical work as deformed as the words of Webster indicate could in its own day have only repelled composer, patron, instrumentalists, and audience alike.

Turning away at last from Part I of Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony, for contrast one should look at the book's "Historiographical Conclusion." Its aim is not to increase knowledge about Haydn's music piece by piece but on the basis of this knowledge to dislodge certain large ideas from the Haydn literature. Webster's discussion focuses first on the evolutionist interpretations of Haydn's musical output, in which experimentation and immaturity are putative components as late as the 1780s, and then on the notion of a Classical style or period as commonly understood. Even as fine a critic as Charles Rosen is judged to have been hampered by holding these ideas. Perhaps Webster is correct in concluding that Rosen slights the value of the pre-1780 compositions, but Webster's respect for Haydn's genius is so great that it nearly disqualifies him as a disinterested party in the evaluation of the composer's music. He is persuaded that "in principle, all his [Haydn's] works are mature. The qualification 'in principle' acknowledges that a few are not in every respect above criticism. They occur only in limited and as it were excusable categories . . . , including 'occasional' works, those composed in extreme haste and, admittedly, very early ones as well" (p. 366). Yet all of Haydn's pieces were also experimental in the sense that "experimentation was a fundamental aspect of his musical personality" (p. 365). If these pronouncements are right, then finding faults in Haydn's music is almost an act of lese majesty.

Throughout the book Webster has demonstrated the advantages of studying specific facets of Haydn's musical thinking without taking chronology as a primary guide and without expectations as to its development. In the Conclusion he summarizes what other scholars have said about the stages of Haydn's career and suggests his own periodization. His suggestions, unlike those advanced by others, are free of any evolutionist bent. And discarding the idea of Haydn's maturation over the long term weakens the need for what Webster calls the "pre-Classical ghetto" (p. 356). As for the Classical period or style, he sees it as having been created *ex post facto* to accord with larger, ideological positions.

Webster uses two principal methods by which to discredit earlier scholarship on Haydn and the Classical period. On the one hand, he questions the evolutionist presuppositions pervading the narratives, the stories, that scholars would have their data tell. On the other hand, having discerned evolutionism as well as perfectionism, conservatism, and normative aesthetics in the notion of a Viennese Classical period, he documents these tendencies through citations especially from the writings of Austrian and German scholars beginning with Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1834). Provocatively, Webster summarizes the history of the concept "Classical period" in openly evolutionist terms—an ironic maneuver that may be seen in the following sentences: "This complex of ideas . . . completed the

conceptual prerequisites for the later concept 'Vienna Classical School.' Only the term 'Classical' itself was missing; indeed, it remained latent for the rest of the century. . . . It was thus left to Guido Adler and his student Wilhelm Fischer, in the first two decades of this century, to establish the term and concept 'Vienna Classical School/Period'" (p. 351).

The book's closing pages return to its main subject, Haydn's achievements in the area of through-composition, or rather make a clever point that stems from this subject: in view of Haydn's accomplishments, reconsidering the significance of Beethoven's integrative procedures is demanded. Webster presents a bold case, declaring, "the notion that Beethoven invented this type of cyclic integration [the kind found, for example, in the "Farewell" Symphony and Haydn's Symphony No. 46], or that it did not play a part in earlier music, cannot withstand scrutiny" (p. 368). Even the structural radicalism of the younger composer's C-minor symphony is found not to have outdone that of the "Farewell."

So elaborate a book as Webster's will have made difficult demands on the publisher. Cambridge University Press has been exceedingly generous with musical illustrations, though continual recourse to scores is required. The documentation, that is, the bibliography and the citation of sources, is exemplary overall. Nevertheless, some references—for instance, "Keller (as cited above)" (p. 197, n. 40) and "An unpublished study of mine on irony in Haydn dates from 1977" (p. 125, n. 7)—serve little purpose. The footnotes appear *as* footnotes, and for the sake of this kindness the publisher should be permitted more typos and other flubs than the present reviewer has spotted. One query for the copy editor comes to mind: should not a greater effort have been made to eliminate those enigmatic quotation marks by which writers are allowed to disavow the very words they have chosen?

The words that Webster chooses include some currently favored ones, like the verbs *to foreground, marginalize, problematize, relativize, privilege,* and *disprivilege.* They represent ideas that will date the book as surely as the acceptance of evolutionism and organicism dated earlier musicological publications. Yet its contents will come to be seen as not merely reflecting today's thinking but as having marked out new paths for the study of eighteenth-century music. Original in its arguments, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* will be met with some skepticism, but to all its readers it offers an extraordinary measure of instruction and information.

—*Christopher Hatch*

## *NOTES*

[1] *The Musical World and Times* 8 (January–April, 1854): 30; Fry suggests a "fandango danced on a tomb-slab."

[2] Arnold Schoenberg in his *Fundamentals of Musical Composition,* ed. Gerald Strang and Leonard Stein (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 8, differentiates between "developing variation" and what "are better termed *variants,*" namely, "changes of subordinate meaning, which have no special consequences"; they "have only the local effect of an embellishment."

[3] Webster is referring here to a study by Karl Marx, "Über thematische Beziehungen in Haydns Londoner Symphonien," *Haydn-Studien* 4 (1976–80): 1–19.

[4] The brackets in example 1a and examples 2a and b are taken from Webster, but only those designating motives of the *a* group have been included.