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## **Joseph Haydn's symphonies—a lost tradition An analysis of recorded performances**

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### **Historical notes on the performance of Haydn's symphonies**

This discussion is concerned with recorded performances of Joseph Haydn's 106 symphonies. As background this introduction shall present some features of the way these symphonies have been performed during the two centuries that have elapsed since Haydn's time. This development is a peculiar case in which a great achievement of a composer, which has enjoyed enormous reputation both during and after the composer's lifetime, and which has paved the way for the most outstanding achievements in orchestral music of several generations of composers, in the time after the life of the composer has first been distorted and forgotten, and then has been revived in a distorted form.

Haydn wrote his 106 symphonies during the years 1759 to 1795. The first some 80 of them he wrote in the years 1759 to 1775, mainly for use at the Eszterháza court where he was employed as music director, with the main task to write and perform operas. However, Haydn's music already from about 1765 achieved such wide reputation that within a few years it was published and played all over Europe. As one result Haydn around 1780 received commissions from Paris for 9 new symphonies, no.s 82-87 and 90-92. From 1790 Haydn was invited to London with the task to compose and perform further 12 symphonies, no.s 93-104. Haydn's two visits to London, from 1791 to 95, became a unique triumph for the composer, with culminations in the performances of his new symphonies.

The contemporary musicians admired Haydn's works highly. Both Haydn's young friend Mozart and his pupil Beethoven were directly indebted to Haydn's music, not the least his symphonies. Already from around the year 1800, ten years before Haydn's death, the European music communities recognized Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, as the three great masters of classical music.

During the following decennials Haydn's last some 20 symphonies remained very popular all over Europe, but gradually the interest in them waned. This had several reasons. One was simply that they were played too often. Another was a changed taste that developed together with

romanticism. Thus the sound of Haydn's orchestra, often with prominent high trumpets, was found too shrill, it lacked Mozart's sweetness, and his melodic phrases, often surprising and drastic, were found inadmissible, too offensive. As a result the symphonies were published in distorted editions. This had harmful consequences for the performances. Thus Robbins Landon (Vol. 3, Haydn in England, p. 501) writes:

'The first movements of Haydn's symphonies are often taken at far too quick a pace nowadays; and the same objection was raised again and again by the London correspondent of the *Harmonicon* in the 1820s and early 1830s. But the bad texts were and are partly responsible for this faulty speeding. If we observe what Haydn wrote at the beginning of the 'Vivace assai' in No. 94/I, a too quick tempo is out of the question:'



The 'hairpin' marks of the first violin will be unplayable if the movement is taken at the tempo used by Arturo Toscanini at the end of his life (and preserved on a R. C. A. Victor recording); and in fact the 'hairpin' was not on Toscanini's score and was thus ignored. The usual editions vary between nothing and the significant



– a phrase which would of course allow the adoption of a much quicker tempo; there are other variations in the old editions, but they all conspire to falsify this deliberately time-restricting 'hairpin'. It is this kind of nineteenth-century tradition which has coloured most musicians', and the public's idea of Haydn's style. The ramifications of these false texts have indeed gone far beyond the wrong notes, wrong dynamic marks, wrong phrasing and wrong orchestration—though the sum total of those is awesome enough; they have contributed to create a picture of Haydn with the crooked made straight and the rough places plain'.

Robbins Landon's present argument points to an important issue in the interpretation of Haydn's scores: to what rhythmic unit does the tempo indicated in the signature apply? In relation to movement 94/1, the question is, does the tempo 'Vivace assai' apply to the quavers, of which there are six in each bar, or to the dotted crotchets, of which there are two in each bar? This sort of question will be discussed below, separately for Minuets and movements having signatures Andante and Adagio.

As a result of this development, the music texts that were used at the first recordings of some of the last symphonies, from about 1935, conducted by, among others, Bruno Walther, Arturo Toscanini, and Thomas Beecham, were a distortion of Haydn's scores.

During the same period, from about year 1800, Haydn's early 80 symphonies were virtually unknown. They existed mainly in manuscripts, mostly scattered in libraries of religious institutions in Austria-Hungary. Not until 1905 did the Austrian music scholar Eusebius von Mandyczewski publish a catalog of 104 symphonies, which established the numbering of the works that has been used since. This catalog was followed by an effort to produce a printed edition of Haydn's works. By this effort the Symphonies no.s 1 to 40 were published, but then had to cease owing to lack of funds. Thus Donald Francis Tovey (1935) gave his notes on some of Haydn's symphonies the heading: *Haydn the Inaccessible*.

An understanding that there was something wrong with the editions of Haydn's symphonies that were used for the performances emerged around 1930 with the publication of new editions of the last 12 symphonies, by Ernst Praetorius. These editions brought hitherto unknown parts for clarinets, trumpets, and timpani, to light. This inspired the American H. C. Robbins Landon to embark on a thorough investigation of all accessible manuscripts of Haydn's London Symphonies, no.s 93-104, which he could publish in 1954. In his report he could establish that the editions of the symphonies that were in general use for performances had a long series of serious distortions of Haydn's original music texts.

Robbins Landon directly continued his investigations of the old manuscripts, and within a few years he became the editor of the first reliable edition ever of the music texts of all Haydn's 106 symphonies.

From 1939 the interest in Haydn's symphonies had been aroused also in other ways. The Danish musicologist Jens Peter Larsen in his thesis from 1939 accounted for the music manuscripts from Haydn's own hand, with special attention to elimination of the numerous publications that had falsely been published under Haydn's name.

At the same time much attention was attracted by a series of concerts arranged by the New Friends of Music in New York, where they presented a number of Haydn's early symphonies, many of them for the first time since around 1770.

In parallel with Robbins Landon's establishing the texts of the early symphonies, recordings of them were undertaken in several places: The Haydn Society, Boston-Vienna, 1949-51, 20 symphonies. Vienna State Opera Orchestra, conducted by Max Goberman, 1960-2: 45 symphonies.

And so the ground was prepared for the first recording of all the symphonies, on LPs. This was performed by Philharmonia Hungarica under the direction of Antal Dorati and published by Decca in London during the years 1971-74.

The present writer immediately acquired Dorati's recordings and thereby became familiar with the works. This made me want to play them, and from 1992 I have once a year with my music friends given a concert with some of the symphonies. And so, when in 2002 I had to choose the program of our next concert I felt urged to understand the works better, to understand what made them so different from each other. I then noticed that Haydn himself to his friend and biographer G. A. Griesinger has told that he in his symphonies most often has described moral character. Haydn mentioned as example that in one of his early symphonies the idea is expressed that God speaks to a stubborn sinner, urging him to improve himself, but that the sinner in his superficiality does not listen to the exhortations.

This pronouncement from Haydn himself became to me the clue to a close study of the symphonies, with a view to finding out what was Haydn's meaning with each of them. This study, which built upon concentrated listening to the recording of every single movement many times, continued over many months. But it was successful. One by one the symphonies yielded to my question about its meaning. Thus I soon found that God and the stubborn sinner appear in Symphony no. 28, 2. movement. This movement presents a sequence of earnest utterances, no two of them the same, each utterance being answered by a row of flippant pips.

As the result I was in July 2004 in an article able to present what I had found was Haydn's meaning with each of the first 82 symphonies. Thus I found that 12 of them are self-portraits, while many others of them are what I have called church symphonies, which clearly present subjects from the catholic liturgy. Thus seven of the earliest symphonies belong together and are a symphonic presentation of the old Latin poem to *Virgin Mary Salve Regina (Hail to thee, Queen)*.

My efforts to understand Haydn's meaning of each of the symphonies have only to a slight degree been supported by what musicologists have written about these works. My endeavor conflicts with the dominating music aesthetic views. According to these views one has to distinguish between absolute music, which has no subject, and program music. Program music is regarded as something inferior. Classical symphonies rate highly, they are absolute music, they have no subject. Such a symphony has four movements. The first is in sonata form, with a first subject, a second subject, and a development. The second movement is slow. The third one is a minuet. The fourth is a quick finale.

It is ignored that this description fails to account for Haydn's symphonies. The claim that the first movements of these symphonies has a first subject and a second subject is for most of them entirely misleading. As an example, the 1. movement of his Symphony no. 4, one of his self-portraits, begins with a series of short themes, each of which may be heard to describe one of his personal traits, thus his lively musical inventiveness, his modesty, his praise of God, and his joy in women.

It may be mentioned that the widely shared aversion among musicologists against program music was not shared by the great Haydn scholar, Robbins Landon. When in 2002 I had sent him the first draft of my article on the symphonies he answered: "It was very kind of you to send your excellent article on Haydn's early symphonies. It was high time that a competent scholar devoted his attention to this problem, and I congratulate you on your perspicacity."

In the summer of 2010 I decided to complete my studies of the meaning of Haydn's symphonies, by including the latest 23 works. In these studies I included, in addition to Dorati's recordings, also a more recent recording of the symphonies from the years 1987 to 2001 made by the Austro-Hungarian Haydn Orchestra conducted by Adam Fischer. During these studies I became gradually more attentive to the way the symphonies are played in the two recordings. This gave me the impetus to the study of the recorded performances of Haydn's symphonies described below.

### The recordings examined

The present discussion will predominantly be concerned with three sets of recordings of the complete set of Haydn's 106 symphonies. These are:

1) Recordings of performances by the Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal **Dorati**. They were originally issued on LP records during the years 1970-74, later reissued in CD format.

These recordings generally present excellent orchestral playing, with a uniformly beautiful string sound, recorded with excellent balance between the instruments.

2) Recordings of performances by the Austro-Hungarian Haydn Orchestra conducted by Adam **Fischer**. There were 14 recording sessions, over the years 1987 to 2001: Session 1987: Symphonies no.s 101, 103. Session 1988: Symphonies no.s 45, 94, 96, 100, 102. Session 1989 April: Symphonies no.s 6-8, 22, 24. Session 1989 June: Symphonies no.s 27, 93, 95, 97-99, 104. Session 1990: Symphonies no.s 1-5, 9-12, 25, 88, 90, 92. Session 1991: Symphonies no.s 13-20, 40, 83, 85, 89, 91. Session 1992: Symphonies no.s 82, 86. Session 1994: Symphonies no.s 42-44, 51-52, 84, 87. Session 1995: Symphonies no.s 41, 46-50, 53-54. Session 1996: Symphonies no.s 55-61, 63. Session 1997: Symphonies no.s 62, 64-71, 73. Session 1998: Symphonies no.s 72, 74-81. Session 2000: Symphonies no.s A, B, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29. Session 2001: Symphonies no.s 30-39.

In these recordings the orchestral playing is uniformly of excellent quality. However, the quality of the recordings differs greatly, depending on the recording session. Particularly poor recordings were made in the last session, in 2001, of the symphonies no.s 30-39. In some of the recordings in this session the brass and timpani dominate, so as to produce a very ugly, brutal sound. Other reservations concerning these recordings: in many movements Haydn's score has been changed so as to have a solo violin play the part written by Haydn for the first violin group, distorting the orchestral sound.

3) Recordings of the complete set of 106 symphonies issued by Naxos, of performances by 7 different orchestras and 6 conductors:

Nicolaus Esterházy Sinfonia • Béla **Drahos**: 20 symphonies no.s 27, 28, 31, 64, 66-73, 84, 89-91, 93, 95, 97, 98. Time of recording 1993-2000.

Swedish Chamber Orchestra • Béla **Drahos**: 6 symphonies no.s 50-53, 86, 87. Time of recording 2000.

Sinfonia Finlandia Jyväskylä • Patrick **Gallois**: 12 symphonies no.s 1-5, 9-12, 25, 42, 65. Time of recording 2004-2007.

Toronto Camerata • Kevin **Mallon**: 11 symphonies no.s 14-21, 62, A, B. Time of recording 2004-2008.

Cologne Chamber Orchestra • Helmut **Müller-Brühl**: 24 symphonies no.s 13, 32-34, 36-41, 43, 45-47, 54, 56-59, 74-76, 80-81, 99. Time of recording 1995-2002.

Northern Chamber Orchestra • Nicholas **Ward**: 18 symphonies no.s 6-8, 22-24, 56, 29-30, 35, 49, 55, 60, 61, 63, 77-79. Time of recording 1992-1993.  
 Capella Istropolitana • Barry **Wordsworth**: 15 symphonies no.s 44, 45, 48, 82, 83, 85, 88, 92, 94, 96, 100-104. Time of recording 1988-1990.

4) Additionally other selected recordings of some of the symphonies have been examined:

New York Philharmonic • Arturo **Toscanini**: Symphony no. 101. Time of recording 1945.  
 London Symphony Orchestra • Josef **Krips**: Symphony no. 92. Time of recording 1953.  
 Royal Philharmonic Orchestra • Thomas **Beecham**: 12 symphonies no.s 93-104. Time of recording c. 1958.  
 Fritz Reiner Orchestra • Fritz **Reiner**: Symphonies no.s 95, 101. Time of recording before 1963.  
 The Little Orchestra of London • Leslie **Jones**: 5 symphonies no.s 13, 29, 64, 100, 103. Time of recording 1965.  
 New York Philharmonic • Leonard **Bernstein**: 6 symphonies no.s 82-87. Time of recording 1965.  
 Symphony Orchestra of Radio Zagreb • Antonio **Janigro**: 6 symphonies no.s 44-49. Time of recording 1965.  
 Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra • Hans **Rosbaud**: Symphonies no.s 92, 104. Time of recording 1966.  
 Austrian Broadcast Symphony Orchestra • Milan **Horvat**: Symphonies no.s 73, 92. Time of recording 1977.  
 L'Estro Armonico • Derek **Solomons**: 13 symphonies no.s 26, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 67, 68. Time of recording 1983.  
 Dutch Chamber Orchestra • Horia **Andreescu**: Symphony no. 22. Time of recording 1984.  
 Collegium Musicum Copenhagen • Horia **Andreescu**: Symphony no. 102. Time of recording 1985.  
 USSR Ministry of Culture Symphony Orchestra • Gennadi **Rozhdestvensky**: Symphony no. 45. Time of recording 1987.  
 The Academy of Ancient Music • Christopher **Hogwood**: Symphonies no.s 23, 28, 29. Time of video recording 1991.  
 Royal Philharmonic Orchestra • Stefan **Sanderling**: Symphonies no.s 44, 45. Time of recording 1995.

### **Playing Haydn's symphonies so as to have them speak his message**

In the present discussion of the recorded performances of Haydn's symphonies the core concern is to determine how far these performances succeed in conveying to the listener the message or meaning that Haydn had in mind when he composed the works. The basic assumption is that if performed properly from Haydn's scores his symphonies to the sensitive listener will speak these meanings. And conversely, that if played according to a distorted view of his scores the music will fail to speak properly. So I wish to demonstrate, on the basis of the available recordings, that performances that present his scores faithfully speak his message clearly, while performances according to a distorted view of his scores fail to speak his message.

In other words, the focus of interest in the present study has been on what Haydn intended his music to express, a matter that has been pursued in detail in an earlier study by the present writer: *The Meaning of Joseph Haydn's Symphonies*.

As a preliminary of the study I shall first discuss relevant issues of Haydn's music presented by three twentieth century scholars, Donald Francis Tovey (1935), H. C. Robbins Landon (1976-80), and Charles Rosen (1976), with special regard to the attention they give to extramusical issues of the symphonies. I shall also discuss some issues of the way to interpret the music texts originally written by Haydn in terms of the orchestral musicians' handling of their instruments, with special attention to tempos and articulations.

### Tovey and Robbins Landon on Symphony No. 98

Tovey (1935) has notes on eleven of Haydn's last symphonies, nos 88, 92, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, and 104. In these notes he is mostly concerned with what is called the form of the music, such as what is called sonata form, and with pointing out that what is said in most accounts of such matters by other authors is misleading and false. Only occasionally he touches on what the music expresses, such as saying about Symphony No. 88 that 'the minuet is cheerful, with a quiet joke on the drums', and about the theme of the finale of that Symphony that 'Haydn never produced a more exquisitely bred kitten'. He repeatedly says things like, concerning No. 94, that 'no music expresses high spirits more efficiently than Haydn's', and about movement 95/1 (Symphony 95, 1. movement) 'the heavenliness of Haydn's cheerful recapitulation'.

Tovey's writings about Haydn's Symphony No. 98 are exceptional by giving more explicit attention to what the music says. Tovey is aware of the extramusical facts that this Symphony was written in the months prior to its first performance in London on 1792 March 2. Mozart died on 1791 December 5, an event that was a profound shock to Haydn. And so when Tovey writes about Symphony No. 98 he touches what he feels the music says, writing first:

'The Haydnesque animal spirits are moderated though not suppressed in the first movement by highly intellectual themes developed in ways which, though not actually more thoughtful, seem more learned than usual. ... in the present symphony all the surprises are in matters of harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic interest; and not even the Great Bassoon Joke has time to intrude. The first two phrases of the severely solemn and dark introduction show at once the kind of surprise we are now to have as a means of educating our sense of what to expect in music. ... The sceptred pall of the introduction has gone sweeping by, and solemn tragedy is now perhaps forgotten, in spite of the theme's remaining the same. But the high spirits are occupied in things of the mind; ... The slow movement is one of Haydn's broadest and gravest utterances. It might almost be called his Requiem for Mozart, the news of whose death had so deeply shocked him during his London visit. Nowhere in the latest works of Haydn or the earlier works of Beethoven can we find such accurate modelling of forms upon Mozart, as distinguished from mere reminiscences of phrase and style. Reminiscences are there also, and, as is usual with reminiscences, are looser in style than their originals—but only, in the present case, to achieve a point of their own by way of compensation. The style is more severe than the kind of Mozart-music that Haydn is thinking of. The main figure of the first theme is a devout phrase which Haydn afterwards used in his last great work, *The Seasons*, in the prayer 'Sei nur gnädig', which develops into a positive quotation from Mozart's Requiem.'



Later Tovey continues his notes on Symphony No. 98:

'With the minuet and finale, Haydn's high spirits return in spate. The minuet needs no quotation, but the finale has some unique features. Its main theme is of a type which Haydn first struck in a string quartet of his middle period (op. 33 no. 2, in E flat). He wagered that the ladies at court never could wait till a piece of music was finished; and he won his wager by making his finale a little rondo on a tune easily broken into two-bar phrases, so that towards the end he need only stretch out the 'pauses between the clauses' until conversation must inevitably intervene.

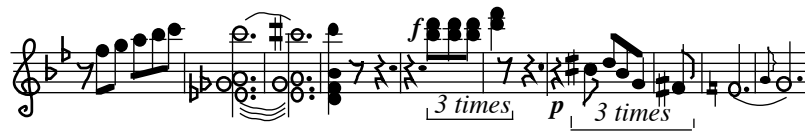
His present theme is more highly organized—



but it and the second subject—



lend themselves to a style of quizzical iteration with unexpected, or, more subtly, with flatly obvious conclusions—for example—



Symphony 98/4 bars 111-123

In spoken language I have seen the contemporary counterpart of this style in some published and more unpublished letters of Mozart; and the method is identifiable in English with the old joke about the piece of church music in which the choir's main occupation was 'to catch this flee, to catch this flee, to catch this fleeting breath'. ... In the development a solo violin emerges with bars 111-112 in a remote key, and the range of modulations is wider than my widest digression. But the most special surprise in the whole symphony is the coda, where Haydn changes the tempo to *più moderato*. The main beats of the rhythm remain thus enlarged to the end; and of course all the energy has, for the moment, dropped out of the main theme, which becomes very demure when you can count its six quavers. But perhaps you forgot that they can now divide into semiquavers faster than anything yet heard in this symphony. And so the coda rushes away in a torrent—

*Più moderato*



Symphony 98/4 bars 335-36

and when the main theme finally returns, a glorious afterthought, pencilled by Haydn into the completed score ... maintains the new flow to the end ... The gentleman at the pianoforte must often have been strongly tempted to "gag", especially when he was the composer; and on this occasion Haydn's gag becomes a vital part of the composition'.

In Robbins Landon's notes on Symphony no. 98 (Vol. 3, Haydn in England, p. 532) we find:

'No doubt the brass and timpani in B flat lend to this work a heaviness and weight which accord well with the serious atmosphere of the Symphony as a whole. ... In keeping with the spirit of the work, the Adagio introduction begins in B flat minor ... Tovey, in his brilliant essay on this Symphony, thought that the great slow movement (Adagio), the main theme of which is inspired by "God save the King", was Haydn's lament on the death of Mozart; ... there are aspects of this beautiful Adagio in No. 98 which might be construed as a tribute to the composer of the "Jupiter" Symphony and especially its Andante.'

About the finale of Symphony no. 98 Robbins Landon writes:

'... the totally unexpected pleasure of a series of solo violin passages for Mr. Salomon. ... It must have been thought, that historic night of 2. March 1792, that Haydn had now reached the end of his limitless invention, and the end of the Symphony. But, no doubt to the utter incredulity of the London public, Dr. Haydn now proceeded to display his talents on the fortepiano.'

Concerning these notes on Haydn's Symphony no. 98 it is remarkable that the association to Mozart comes merely from Tovey's recognition of the quotation from Mozart's music, not from any recognition of what Haydn says with his music. Thus it is significant that while Tovey calls the second movement of Haydn's symphony a requiem, Robbins Landon calls it a lament. By the dictionary a requiem is a special mass for repose of souls of the dead, while a lament is a passionate expression of grief. Thus a requiem is not an expression by anyone in particular, while a lament is an expression of someone's grief. In order to determine whether Haydn's movement 98/2 is a requiem or a lament we have to listen to it and ask ourselves: does this music sound like a mass for the repose of souls of the dead or an expression of grief? The answer is obvious from merely the first six bars of the movement, those quoted by Tovey as 98/2 bars 1-6 above. Here we have in bars 5-6 a cry of anguish. This cry includes in bar 6 Haydn's ornament. To anyone with ears to listen and a mind to perceive, it must be obvious that these six bars represent, first Mozart and then Haydn's grief.

About Tovey's and Robbins Landon's comments on Symphony No. 98 it is further remarkable that none of them suggests any relation between the requiem or lament of movement 2 and the rest of the Symphony, even when Tovey has mentioned 'the severely solemn and dark introduction' and Robbins Landon writes of 'the serious atmosphere of the Symphony as a whole. ... In keeping with the spirit of the work, the Adagio introduction begins in B flat minor'.

And so when talking about the main theme of the finale, 98/4 bars 1-8, Tovey fails to note its splendor. He can only see it as a possible vehicle of a joke. About the music coming after the

splendid theme of the opening, Tovey describes it mysteriously as in ‘a style of quizzical iteration with unexpected, or, more subtly, with flatly obvious conclusions’. In plain language, except for 12 bars this music consists of crude phrases made mostly from scales. The exceptional 12 bars, which Tovey does not even notice, is a fine theme in the oboe:



Symphony 98/4 bars 64-75

And so both Tovey and Robbins Landon are completely deaf to what the fourth movement speaks about. They do not notice that the first part of the movement is a picture of Mozart, represented by the first splendid theme, as he is triumphant in a crude world. That world also includes Haydn himself, shown in the oboe theme, which has Haydn’s ornament. They do not notice that the splendid theme in the second part of the movement gets presented by the solo violin in a lonely, broken form. Except for the fine oboe theme, which comes again, the surrounding orchestral sound is crude, in utter contrast to the solo violin. In what Tovey calls the coda, in tempo più moderato, that orchestral sound consists mostly just of crude falling scales as quoted by Tovey. This crude music is what comes again as the very end of the symphony, after the solo on the fortepiano. It does not occur to Tovey and Robbins Landon that the music of this movement is a picture of the development of Mozart, from his earlier years of triumph to his last years of illness and poverty.

Symphony 98/4 bars 365-75

Neither do they hear the final solo on the fortepiano, bars 365-75, which sounds like a shimmering halo around Mozart’s theme, to be Haydn’s final heartbroken farewell to his dead friend. Tovey and Robbins Landon could only hear this music as expressions of ‘Haydnesque animal spirits’, ‘Haydn’s high spirits’, ‘old jokes’, and ‘Haydn’s gag’.

The present explanation of Symphony 98, particularly the final piano solo, as Haydn’s tribute to Mozart, is strongly supported by what Haydn’s friend Griesinger wrote in his book about Haydn from 1810:

“Where Mozart is, Haydn cannot present himself!” he [Haydn] wrote, when he was invited to Prag to the coronation of Emperor Leopold II at the same time as Mozart, and deeply moved with tearful eyes he repeated: “The loss of Mozart is irreplaceable; his piano playing I shall not forget as long as I live; it went to the heart!”.

### Charles Rosen on Haydn’s symphonies

Charles Rosen in his book titled ‘The Classical Style’ on pages 94-96, 146, and 345-46, presents a long series of claims related to Haydn’s symphonies. As will be presented in more detail below, from the point of view of the present writer these claims are entirely problematic, partly unclear, partly meaningless or false, and as concerns the proper way to perform Haydn’s symphonies grossly misleading. What makes them problematic is to a large extent the all pervading talk of ‘the classical style’ and of ‘language’. This talk is a mystification, as displayed for example in the statement on p. 146: ‘A style is a way of exploiting and controlling the resources of a language.’



What or where are the language and its resources referred to here, and who exploits them? No one can tell.

On p. 94 Rosen claims that

'In the late eighteenth century all extramusical considerations, mathematical or symbolic, have become completely subordinate, and the whole effect, sensuous, intellectual, and passionate, arises from the music alone. This is not to say that extramusical considerations play no role in the classical style, but they do not play a determining role.'

As far as Haydn's symphonies are concerned this statement is obviously false, as is clear from Haydn's statement to Griesinger that his symphonies represent 'moral character'. The falsity is concretely striking in relation to Haydn's Symphony No. 45, *Farewell*, mentioned particularly by Rosen, which obviously is a reflexion of a conflict between Haydn's musicians and Prince Esterházy.

A particularly obnoxious statement concerning what he calls the classical style is made by Rosen on page 96:

'This style was, in its origins, basically a comic one. I do not mean that sentiments of the deepest and most tragic emotion could not be expressed by it, but the pacing of classical rhythm is the pacing of comic opera, its phrasing is the phrasing of dance music, and its large structures are these phrases dramatized'.

This statement makes no sense, it is made without any justification whatever. Tragic emotion cannot be expressed in a comic style, of course not. The statement refers to notions, 'pacing of classical rhythm' and 'its phrasing [the phrasing of the classical style]', that are nowhere explained. And the statement is supported by no evidence that it is valid for Haydn's music. On the contrary, Haydn's earliest experience of music was as a choir boy at St. Stephan's in Vienna and his early vocal works consist prominently of religious music, e.g. *Missa Rorate coeli desuper* from 1748 and *Salve Regina* in E major from 1758. Prominent among Haydn's earliest symphonies from about 1759 is the set of seven symphonies No.s 1, 37, 19, 18, 2, 9, 32, a setting of the religious *Salve Regina* poem, all this with no trace of comic opera.

However, Rosen's senseless claim is in line with Tovey's repeated talk of Haydn's 'high spirits' and 'old jokes'. The claim is quoted with approval by Robbins Landon and seems to be adhered to by many performers of Haydn's symphonies, who spoil the performances of many movements by playing them in fast tempos and monotonous short-tone articulations suitable for comic opera, as will be documented in detail by the recorded performances described below.

On page 146 Rosen writes of certain symphonies that Haydn wrote around 1768-72, described by others under the title *Sturm und Drang* symphonies, claiming that they are 'in a style that Haydn almost at once abandoned', and further saying that

'None of these works gives a clear indication of the direction that Haydn was to take, and one might imagine the history of music to be very different if only he had explored the path suggested in some of them'.

This way of describing Haydn's composing of symphonies is misguided. The characteristics found in the so-called *Sturm und Drang* symphonies are found also in some of Haydn's symphonies from as early as 1759 and as late as 1792. Claiming that Haydn was engaged on 'exploring certain paths' is just nonsense.

Rosen's lengthy talk of style merely creates confusion. All the characteristics of Haydn's symphonies that Rosen claims to relate to a style adopted by Haydn, may be seen to relate to a subject chosen by Haydn. Thus about Symphony no. 26, *Lamentatione*, Robbins Landon (Vol. 2, Haydn at Eszterháza, p. 291) has found evidence that 'the first and second movements illustrate some drama played during the Holy Week'. As suggested in the present writer's study *The Meaning of Joseph Haydn's Symphonies* the passionate character of what has been called the *Sturm und Drang* symphonies plausibly is explained by their belonging, together with no. 26, to an Easter cycle. Symphony no. 45 *Farewell*, mentioned above, is well known to have been written by Haydn on the occasion of the musicians of his orchestra longing to go back to their families after a long season of service at Eszterháza. It seems obvious that the tense feeling expressed in the Symphony is homesickness. The music of Symphony 19 has been found by the present writer to express a passage in the *Salve Regina* poem saying: 'To thee we sigh, sorrowing and weeping'. This is confirmed in Haydn's setting of *Salve Regina* in E major from 1756, where the music for the

passage is quite similar to music in Symphony no. 19. Symphony no. 34 has been found by the present writer to represent *The Four Temperaments*. This identification is obvious from the character of the music of its four movements.

Rosen on pages 345-46 says that

‘Haydn turned the introduction into a dramatic gesture. ... The slow introductions of the *London* Symphonies (eleven out of the twelve begin with one - the Symphony no. 95 is the only exception, and it is also the only one in the minor mode, which guarantees its seriousness even without the added weight of an introduction) are more elaborate, but none of them overstep the limits of being only a stepping-stone to a movement of more pronounced character’.

All this is contradicted by an analysis of the extramusical meaning of these symphonies, as found by the present writer. By these analyses the opening of every one of these symphonies is not just ‘a stepping-stone to a movement of more pronounced character’, it is an integral part of the presentation of the extramusical meaning of the entire symphony. This is seen in the introduction to Symphony No. 98, discussed above. Such introductions appeared in some of Haydn’s symphonies from all periods, the earliest example being Symphony No. 15 from 1759.

Seen in this way No. 95 is not exceptional. It presents the subject of the Symphony, *The Ten Commandments*, in its first two bars, saying: ‘Thou shall!’.



Symphony 95/1 bar 1-2

Concerning this opening Robbins Landon in his notes on No. 95 says that ‘The beginning is so impressive that no curtain-raising adagio was needed’. But on the meaning of this opening he says that ‘Those of the London audience who knew their earlier Haydn, and in particular the previous C minor Symphony No. 78, will have realized that these first five notes were designed for large-scale contrapuntal elaboration.’ Thus, again, Robbins Landon is deaf to the message of the music.

On page 147 Rosen considers Haydn’s early success entirely in terms of ‘its fierce dramatic power’. This is an entirely distorted view of Haydn’s early music, even that of the works from 1768-72 singled out. In Symphony No. 45, *Farewell*, there is plenty of expression, but no fierce dramatic power.

In summary, Rosen’s talk of a mysterious style, or styles, that were influential in what Haydn wrote is misguided. Rather what influenced Haydn were concrete aspects of his situation. Thus when Haydn wrote a symphony he had in mind a subject, this he has said himself. He also assumed an orchestra of a certain size and a situation of performance. These circumstances changed in the course of his career, from the Eszterháza court to the concerts in Paris, and later in London. These circumstances explain the changes of the overall features of his works that may be observed.

### **Orchestral playing in the recorded performances**

In the present studies it has been found that in many respects the recorded performances do faithfully reproduce Haydn’s scores. This holds in particular for the intonation and rhythmic precision of the playing, which in practically all of the recorded performances are of high quality. With respect to the instrumental sounds the recorded performances undoubtedly are somewhat different from the sounds that Haydn had in mind, since most of the recorded performances are played on modern instruments different from such instruments that Haydn knew. However, these differences do not greatly influence the way the music speaks.

### **Interpreting Haydn’s articulations**

The main issues in the playing of Haydn’s symphonies that do influence the way the music speaks are the *tempo* at which each movement is played, the *articulations* of the tones, and the *dynamic*

level of the phrases. How these matters are handled in the recordings are the major issues of the detailed discussions below. In the present section the question of the articulations will be discussed.

The articulations are a matter of the way each tone is played, such as whether it is held sounding for the duration indicated in the music, or it is played shorter so as to leave a duration of silence before the attack on the next following tone, so-called *staccato*, or it is held its full time so as to continue without break into the following tone, so-called *legato*. As written by Haydn in his scores the most important sign of articulation is a dot placed over or under each note that should be played short.

As a concrete example, these are the first ten bars of movement 101/2 (i.e. Symphony no. 101, movement 2), the well known ticking clock movement. This appears in Haydn's score as follows:

**Andante**

The musical score shows the first ten bars of the 'ticking clock' movement. The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The time signature is 2/4. The score is for Violino 1, Violino 2, Violoncello e Basso, and 2 Fagotti. Bars 1-5 show the initial 'ticking' pattern with staccato articulation (dots over notes) in the strings and bassoon. Bars 6-10 show a change in articulation, with the strings and bassoon playing more legato. The score includes fingerings (1-5) and dynamic markings (pizz.) for the strings.

Symphony 101/2, The Clock, bars 1-10

Here there are dots over the bassoon (Fagotti) notes in bars 1-5, and none in bars 6-10. In the violin 2 and bass parts there are dots in bars 1 and 2, and none in bars 3-9. If played as written by Haydn this will produce a change of the accompaniment from the ticking of the first bars by a gradual change into a singing sound, a most striking illustration of the theme of the symphony: *Time and life*.

This beautiful effect is completely missed in the six different recorded performances conducted by Dorati, Fischer, Wordsworth, Toscanini, Beecham, and Reiner. In every one of these the theme is played in exactly the same way from bars 2 and 6. Since the first 10 bars of the movements are repeated, the theme is heard in the recordings played in exactly the same way four times in immediate sequence right at the beginning of the movement. Surely Haydn did not want such monotony.

That Haydn in this movement wanted the accompaniment to the theme to change from staccato into legato is confirmed in several places later in the movement. Thus we find in bars 64-67:

Violino 1

Flauto

Oboe

Fagotto

Symphony 101/2, bars 64-67

and in bars 98-100:

**Andante**

Violino 1

Violino 2

Violoncello e Basso

Symphony 101/2, The Clock, bars 98-100

In the six recorded performances the accompaniment in bars 64-67 is played properly as written by Haydn. In bars 98-100 all the quavers in the violin 2 and bass parts are played short, thus missing Haydn's change.

These changes in the articulations in the accompaniments contribute to the rich variety of Haydn's orchestral sound.

Movement 101/2 also displays the importance of the tempo for the way the music is experienced. This is further described below.

As further confirmation that Haydn intended the articulations that he wrote in the first bars of movement 101/2 it may be noted that the change of articulations in the accompaniment of the first theme of a movement found here is found similarly in several other movements, such as 52/2 and 95/2 shown in the figures below. In each of these movements the accompaniment in the first bars is written with dots. In the following bars of movement 52/2 the notes have no articulation signs, while in 95/2 the notes are slurred, achieving a similar change of the sound. However, this fine effect is heard only in the performances of 95/2, while in 52/2 the effect in all the performances is spoilt by the playing of all of the bass notes short.

**Andante**

Symphony 52/2 bars 1-6

**Andante**

Symphony 95/2, bars 1-4

Yet another confirmation that Haydn intended the articulation dots exactly as he indicated them is found in movement 40/2 Andante più tosto Allegretto, for strings only. Here Haydn in the first bar of the two violin parts writes *sempre piano*. In the viola and cello parts of the same bars he writes *sempre staccato e piano*. Accordingly in the following 108 bars, the viola and cello parts have no articulation dots, while in the two violin parts some notes are dotted and some are not.

### **The *play-it-in-the-same-way-syndrome***

The neglects of Haydn's articulation signs in the modern performances of movements 101/2 and 52/2 shown above are only instances of a general pattern, pervading the modern performances of the symphonies, which I shall call the *play-it-in-the-same-way-syndrome*. An explicit expression of this syndrome may for example be found in the *Revisionsbericht* (report of revisions) placed at the beginning of the Eulenburg study score of Haydn's Symphony No. 102 by its editor Ernst Praetorius, dated 1934 September 1. In the report on the 1st movement this says, in translation from the German:

'Bars 43 and the following have in the 1. violins always only the first half of the bar annotated:



I assume that here and in similar cases the second half of the bar should be played in the same way, e. g. in bars 50 and 51 where everywhere only the first two pairs of quavers are provided with slurs.'

Expressions of the *play-it-in-the-same-way-syndrome* are also found in many places of the published scores where the editor has inserted [*sim.*], meaning that the editor suggests that the indication *simile* (Italian for *in the same way*) should be added to the score.

The *play-it-in-the-same-way-syndrome* is entirely unreasonable, however, for reasons both of the notation and of the musical expression. For one thing, if Haydn in the above example wanted the second half of the bar to be played in the same way as the first half, why should he not write this in his score? His scores show in numerous places how he has written the same articulation signs over all the notes in long series of bars of similar notes, e. g. in bars 17-19 of the same movement, 102/1. Or he might use the normal way for the composer to indicate that a certain notation should be understood to apply in the following bars, by writing *sempre*. This Haydn does in movement 40/2 where in a bar having dots over the notes he writes *sempre staccato e piano*.

The *play-it-in-the-same-way-syndrome* is also contradicted by the way Haydn in many places of his scores writes the same musical phrase with different instrumentations. Take for example again the ticking clock of movement 101/2 already quoted above. This theme comes 6 times within the movement, at bars 2, 6, 25, 64, 87, and 99. In every one of these places the accompaniment is different from that of any other place. The differences concern the use of instruments, flute and/or viola, and the articulations. Clearly Haydn wanted to have variety. This is further considered below under *flexible bass*.

Other confirmations that Haydn wanted the articulations to be played as he wrote them are found in a number of movements where complicated patterns of dots are found in exactly the same way in several places, thus in A/2, B/3, 1/2, 4/2, 14/2, 15/3, 22/1, 32/3, 37/3, 38/2, 39/2, 40/2, and others. These patterns may be seen to be essential to clarifying the thematic components. As example, the figure shows the first bars of Symphony 1/2. This shows a complicated pattern of the use of dots over the quaver notes in the violin parts. In bar 1 violin 1 has dots over the four notes while violin 2 has none. In bar 3 both violin parts have dots over the first three of their notes. This pattern of dots is found in exactly the same way in bars 29-31 where the music is transposed down one fifth. By these articulations the music sounds rich and songlike, not at all ‘dancelike’ as Robbins Landon (Vol. 1, Haydn: the Early Years, p. 284) suggests it should.

**Andante**

Symphony 1/2, bars 1-3

In the three recorded performances of this movement described below there is no trace of Haydn’s use of dots over the notes. All the quaver notes, not only in the two violin parts but in the viola and bass parts as well, are played short, as though the notes had all been provided with a dot. In bars 1 and 3 all four parts together play short, dry chords. It sounds like the steps in a march.

### **Walking bass**

Other deviations in the performances from the articulations written by Haydn come about from the musicians’ playing the bass parts as what is called a *walking bass*. A walking bass is a bass played entirely in short notes. This may be indicated by the composer by his adding dots or short strokes to each of the notes.

Concerning the playing of walking bass parts Robbins Landon (Vol. 2, Haydn: the Early Years, p. 571) in his notes on movement 29/2 makes some highly surprising remarks:

‘An interesting and very characteristic passage is the long series of syncopations at the end of both main sections (bars 29ff, 79ff) and in the middle as well (bars 55ff). The bass line ‘walks’ along with the main rhythm while

the violins are one quaver ‘off’ (behind). Here we have another Haydnesque fingerprint of his style in the 1760s and 1770s, and the bass line is often marked with tall staccato strokes to show that it must stay on the beat and accent the main rhythm.’

These remarks are surprising first by their restriction to Haydn’s ‘style in the 1760s and 1770s’. As a matter of fact, this fingerprint is found in Haydn symphonies from all periods, such as the early symphonies No.s 1, 37, 18, 19, 2, 17, 15, and 4, as well as in the late symphonies No.s 96, 93, 97, 101, 102, 103, and 104. The fingerprint is what the present writer has called the *syncopation fingerprint* and has found to be Haydn’s expression of *Joseph Haydn*. Robbins Landon’s remarks are still more surprising by his statement that ‘the bass line is often marked with tall staccato strokes to show that it must stay on the beat and accent the main rhythm.’ This statement suggests that a bass line necessarily has to be marked with tall staccato strokes in order stay on the beat! It further suggests that any bass line must accent the main rhythm! This would imply that Haydn would never want the bass line to sing. All this would imply that Robbins Landon suggests that as far as the bass lines are concerned musicians should not distinguish between notes provided with staccato strokes and notes without strokes, that is that they should ignore Haydn’s explicit notation! This is written by Robbins Landon who has spent years of his life in reconstructing Haydn’s original scores in all details!

The deplorable fact is that as far as can be inferred from the recorded performances of Haydn’s symphonies all musicians agree that bass lines should be played as walking basses! Thus the ‘walking bass’ manner of playing is found in the performances even when not indicated in Haydn’s score, in particular in many of Haydn’s movements where there are dots on the bass notes in first few bars and none in the following bars. This manner achieves variety in the orchestral sound by the way the listener’s attention is first attracted to the dotted bass line and then after a few bars becomes directed to the parts above. If played as written by Haydn this produces a fresh variety to the orchestral sound. I shall call this technique a *flexible bass*. It is found in the scores of movements A/2, B/1, 2/2, 3/1, 4/2, 11/1, 13/2, 14/2, 15/3, 18/1, 18/2, 20/2, 21/4, 22/1, 24/2, 26/1, 28/1, 28/2, 30/2, 32/2, 36/2, 37/2, 37/3, 38/2, 39/2, 43/2, and several more.

In summary, the articulation signs appearing in Haydn’s scores all suggest that they are there as a result of his deliberate intent, as contributions to the clarity and expressive richness of his music. The general effect of the ‘play-it-in-the-same-way-syndrome’ and the ‘walking bass’ manner is that the music tends to become more uniform, the variety of the overall sound of Haydn’s orchestra is reduced, the music becomes monotonous, dull, without expression. As will be indicated below in the descriptions of the recorded performances of the individual movements, such features are very prominent in the recorded performances.

## Tempos

The tempo at which Haydn’s music is played is very important to the expression of the music as this is experienced by the listener. The tempo of a movement of a Haydn symphony as intended by Haydn is expressed by the composer in the signature of each movement in terms of a set of Italian terms, *Presto*, *Allegro*, *Allegretto*, *Andante*, *Adagio*, in some cases with an additional qualification, such as *moderato*. Each of these terms indicates the rate at which a certain regular beat of the musical sound has to proceed. In Haydn’s time the proper beat rates were transmitted among the musicians as part of the tradition. Beginning around 1810 a numerical rate, the number of beats per minute, so called metronome settings denoted M. M. (abbreviation of Mälzel Metronome), came into use, and so it became meaningful to express a tempo indication, say *Andante*, in terms of the metronome setting. This form will be used extensively in what follows.

The tempos present major problems of the performances of Haydn’s symphonies since the terms used by Haydn in the signatures to the movements are interpreted very freely by the conductors.

As to Haydn's own notion of the proper tempo, we have some evidence concerning Minuets in a report written by Johan Fredrik Berwald, born in 1787, who with his father visited Vienna in 1799 and on March 20 had the opportunity to visit and talk to Haydn. Berwald later in his memoirs, *Anteckningar utur mitt lif*, wrote:

‘The old man [Haydn] was very cheerful and invited us into his study, spoke a great deal about music, especially about it in Sweden, and finally asked if his symphonies were played there. My father said yes, and added that they were much loved. Haydn wanted to know how quickly they took his so-called minuets. My father sung one in the tempo they were taken at Stockholm. He [Haydn] said it was not his intention to have them played so quickly, for the double basses would not be able to play at such a tempo unless the gentlemen in Sweden were virtuosi of the first order. My father said, that was by no means the case. ‘Then they will ruin my minuets, of which I flatter myself to be the inventor as far as this style is concerned’, answered Haydn, ‘for these minuets are a cross between minuets for dancing and prestos’.

The too fast tempos in first movements of modern performances have been noted by Robbins Landon as quoted above. He notes that the modern fast tempos are practically possible in performances only by corruptions of the ‘hairpins’ in Haydn's scores.

### Haydn's tempo in Menuets

Haydn's 106 symphonies include 98 movements that have the signature Menuet 3/4 or Tempo di minueto 3/4. This can only mean that to Haydn such a tempo was a given thing, the same from one work to other.

A central question is: What is the proper tempo when Haydn titles a movement Menuet? The most significant piece of evidence available is Beethoven's 8. symphony, 3. movement. Beethoven writes: Tempo di Menuetto, crotchet note M. M. 126.

The signatures applied by Haydn are as follows:

#### Time-signature 3/4

**Menuet (Minuet):** 3/3, 5/3, 6/3, 7/3, 8/3, 11/3, 13/3, 15/2, 20/3, 21/3, 22/3, 23/3, 24/3, 25/2, 26/3, 31/3, 32/2, 33/3, 36/3, 37/2, 39/3, 40/3, 41/3, 43/3, 47/3, 49/3, 50/3, 51/3, 53/3, 55/3, 56/3, 57/3, 59/3, 63(version 2)/3, 65/3, 66/3, 67/3, 68/2, 69/3, 71/3, 72/3, 82/3, 87/3, 90/3, 95/3, 103/3

**Tempo di Menuet:** 4/3, 18/3

**Tempo di Menuet piu tosto Allegretto:** 30/3

**Menuet Allegretto:** B/2, 9/3, 14/3, 29/3, 42/3, 44/2, 45/3, 46/3, 48/3, 52/3, 54/3, 61/3, 62/3, 63 version 1/3, 64/3, 70/3, 73/3, 74/3, 75/3, 76/3, 78/3, 79/3, 81/3, 83/3, 84/3, 85/3, 86/3, 88/3, 89/3, 92/3, 96/3, 97/3, 99/3, 101/3

**Menuet moderato:** 34/3, 80/3, 100/3

**Menuet un poco Allegretto:** 35/3, 58/3, 91/3

**Menuet Allegro:** 38/3, 77/3, 93/3, 98/3, 102/3, 104/3

**Menuet Allegro molto:** 28/3, 94/3

**Menuet Non troppo presto:** 60/3

### Overviews of tempos of recorded Menuets

Below the tempos of the Menuet movements, as played in recorded performances, are displayed and discussed. In the Display 1 movements that are played in the same tempo are shown in the same line as the M. M. figure shown in the leftmost column. For example, in Display 1 the line indicating M. M. 104 in the leftmost column shows that this is the tempo of Dorati's recordings of movement 56/3, and the tempo of Fischer's recording of movement 15/2.

Display 1 shows only such movements that are signed Menuet without further qualifications. The display shows that Dorati and Gallois play Menuets in tempos that lie in a comfortable range from M. M. 100 to 138, i. e. at tempos that traditionally are proper for Menuets. The remaining conductors, Fischer, Drahos, Mallon, Müller-Brühl, Ward, and Wordsworth, mostly play the Menuets at substantially faster tempos. The case of Fischer is particularly remarkable. In the tempos of this conductor there happened a shift upward beginning in year 1994.



**Display 1**

**Movements signed Menuet. Performance tempos of crotchets. Recordings conducted by Dorati, Fischer, Drahos, Gallois, Müller-Brühl, Ward, and Wordsworth.**

	lDorati	lFischer	lDrahos	lGallois	lMallon	lMüller- lBrühl	lWard	lWords- lworth	
		l+:after 1994							
M. M.									
100	l15/2,55/3								
104	l56/3	l15/2							
108	l6/3,20/3,37/2, l49/3,63/3			l25/2, l65/3		l56/3			
112	l5/3,11/3,23/3, 35/3,40/3, l50/3, 51/3,68/2,87/3	l7/3							
116	l7/3,13/3,22/3, 32/2, l53/3, 72/3,103/3	l6/3,8/3,11/3, l25/2, 55/3+				l32/2,37/2, l40/3,41/3			
120	l3/3,25/2,33/3, 41/3, l43/3, 66/3,71/3	l5/3,40/3, 56/3+ l90/3	l31/3	l11/3		l33/3	l7/3		
126	l8/3,21/3,47/3, l59/3,57/3,90/3	l3/3,13/3, 66/3+	l51/3,72/3				l6/3		
132	l22/3,24/3,103/3	l22/3,24/3, 37/2+, l41/3+,59/3+,63/3+, l71/3+,103/3	l66/3,67/3, l68/2, l69/3,71/3	l5/3	l15/2, l18/3	l39/3 l59/3			
138	l20/3,95/3	l20/3, 49/3+,51/3+, l69/3+,95/3	l50/3,87/3, l90/3	l3/3		l13/3,36/3	l8/3,22/3, l55/3	l103/3	
144		l47/3+,50/3+, l67/3+	l95/3				l23/3,24/3, l63/3		
152		l32/3+,33/3+,36/3+, l39/3+,43/3+	l53/3			l47/3			
160		l31/3+,53/3+,65/3+			l20/3,21/3		l26/3		
168		l21/3+,23/3+, l26/3+,68/3+				l43/3		l82/3	

Display 2 shows the tempos adopted in movements with signature Menuet, including modifications such as Menuet Allegretto and Menuet Allegro molto, in a different arrangement. In this display the tempos adopted by three or more conductors in performing the same movement are shown side by side. Each line shows the tempos adopted in the movement shown to the left. The display is divided into six sections. Each such section shows the tempos of the movements conducted by one of the six conductors of the Naxos recordings. The sections are ordered alphabetically by the name of the six conductors: Drahos, Gallois, Mallon, Müller-Brühl, Ward, Wordsworth. In each of the sections the movements are further ordered by their signature, Menuet, Menuet Allegretto, etc. as indicated to the left. The tempos adopted by the three or more conductors are shown by the letter D for Dorati, F for Fischer, \* for the conductor of the Naxos recording, Drahos, Gallois, Mallon, Müller-Brühl, Ward, or Wordsworth, and further letters for additional conductors as shown in the first line of each of the six sections. Thus the line of the first section showing the movement 31/3 to the left, shows that Haydn's signature of this movement is Menuet and that it is performed by Dorati at M. M. 132, by Fischer at M. M. 160, and by Drahos at M. M. 120.

The harmful effect on the understanding of the music of the fast tempos in Menuets is displayed in a number of cases, such as for example movement 34/3, shown in the section of Display 2 of Müller-Brühl. Symphony No. 34 is perhaps the Symphony in which Haydn's meaning with music emerges most clearly, that meaning being *The Four Temperaments*, presented in the characters of the four movements: 34/1: melancholy, 34/2: choleric, 34/3: phlegmatic, 34/4: sanguine. Movement 34/3 is quite particularly indicated by Haydn as 'Menuet moderato'. This is ignored by both Dorati and Fischer, who play at M. M. 126 and 144. Haydn's 'moderato' indication agrees well with the meaning of the movement, as displaying the phlegmatic temperament, and opening immediately with a lazy falling scale run, followed by a tired motive of three notes, d-e-d.



In the performances by Dorati and Fischer the character of the movement is anything but phlegmatic, running or (Fischer) rushing along energetically. In contrast, Müller-Brühl at M. M. 112 presents the phlegmatic temperament very well.

Another example is movement 80/3. This is signed Moderato in some of the text sources. With the heavy accents on each of the three crotchets in each of most bars, Haydn's music seems clearly to express the subject, toil, of the symphony. Fischer, playing at a tempo of M. M. 138, and Müller-Brühl at M. M. 170, reduced to M. M. 120 in the Trio, entirely fail to bring this out. Dorati, at M. M. 120 is rather better, but still too light.

Display 2 shows that Dorati observes Haydn's exceptionally fast Menuetto tempos, playing those signed Allegro at M. M. 132 or 138, at the high end of the range, and those signed Allegro molto he plays at 168. However, he fails to observe Haydn's moderato indications in movements 80/3, 100/3, and 34/3.

The Display shows that Adam Fischer in many cases plays Haydn's Menuets at an absurdly fast tempo. Indeed, as shown, of the 96 Menuets he plays fully 37 at a tempo of M. M. 144 or faster. Also he pays scanty attention to Haydn's additional tempo indications, with the single exception of movement 28/3 Allegro molto, which he plays at M. M. 184, faster than any other, except for the totally absurd case of 73/3 which he plays at M. M. 216.

## Display 2

### Tempos adopted by three or more conductors in playing the same Menuet movement, tempo of crotchets.

M. M.	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	208	:
	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	: 152	: 168	: 184	: 200	: 216	:
	D: Dorati, f: Fischer before 1994, F: Fischer from 1994, *: Drahos									
Menuet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
31/3	:	:	*	D	:	F	:	:	:	:
50/3	:	D	:	:	*	F	:	:	:	:
51/3	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:	:	:
53/3	:	:	D	:	:	*	F	:	:	:
66/3	:	:	:	D F	*	:	:	:	:	:
67/3	:	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:
68/2	:	D	:	:	*	:	F	:	:	:
69/3	:	:	:	*	D F	:	:	:	:	:
71/3	:	:	:	D	*F	:	:	:	:	:
72/3	:	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:	:
87/3	:	D	:	:	F*	:	:	:	:	:
90/3	:	:	F D	:	*	:	:	:	:	:
95/3	:	:	:	D f	*	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
52/3	D	:	:	:	*	F	:	:	:	:
64/3	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:	:
70/3	:	:	D	:	*F	:	:	:	:	:
73/3	:	:	:	D	:	:	:	:	:	*F
74/3	:	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
84/3	:	D	:	:	*	F	:	:	:	:
86/3	:	D	:	:	f	*	:	:	:	:
89/3	:	:	D	f	:	*	:	:	:	:
97/3	:	:	:	Df	*	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Un poco Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
91/3	:	D F	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegro molto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
28/3	:	:	:	:	:	*	D	F	:	:

M. M.	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	208	:
	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	: 152	: 168	: 184	: 200	: 216	:
D: Dorati, f: Fischer before 1994, F: Fischer from 1994, *: Gallois										:
Menuet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
3/3	:	:	D f	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
5/3	:	D	f	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
11/3	:	D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
25/2	:	*	f	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
65/3	:	*	:	D	:	F	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
9/3	:	:	D	f *	:	:	:	:	:	:
42/3	:	:	* D	:	:	F	:	:	:	:

---

M. M.	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	208	:
	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	: 152	: 168	: 184	: 200	: 216
D: Dorati, f: Fischer before 1994, F: Fischer from 1994, *: Mallon										:
Menuet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
15/2	D f	:	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
18/3	:	FD	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
20/3	D	:	:	f	:	*	:	:	:	:
21/3	:	:	D	:	:	F	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
B/2	:	:	D *	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
14/3	D	:	f *	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
62/3	:	:	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:

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M. M.	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	208	:
	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	: 152	: 168	: 184	: 200	: 216	:
D: Dorati, f: Fischer before 1994, F: Fischer from 1994, *: Müller-Brühl										:
Menuet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
13/3	:	D	f	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
32/2	:	*D	:	:	F	:	:	:	:	:
33/3	:	D	*	:	F	:	:	:	:	:
36/3	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:	:	:
37/2	D	*	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
39/3	:	:	:	* D	F	:	:	:	:	:
40/3	:	D *	f	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
41/3	:	*	D	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
43/3	:	:	D	:	F	*	:	:	:	:
47/3	:	:	D	:	F *	:	:	:	:	:
56/3	D *	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
59/3	:	:	D	* F	:	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
46/3	D	:	*	:	F	:	:	:	:	:
54/3	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:	:
57/3	:	*	F	D	:	:	:	:	:	:
74/3	:	* D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
75/3	:	*	D	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
76/3	:	*	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:
81/3	:	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:
99/3	:	:	:	D	:	f	:	*	:	:
Menuet Un poco Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
58/3	:	D	*F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet moderato	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
34/3	:	*	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:
80/3	:	:	D	F	:	*	:	:	:	:

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M. M.	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	208	:
	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	: 152	: 168	: 184	: 200	: 216
D: Dorati, f: Fischer before 1994, F: Fischer from 1994, *: Ward										:
Menuet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
6/3	:	D	f	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
7/3	:	:	f D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
8/3	:	:	f	D	*	:	:	:	:	:
22/3	:	:	D	:	f *	:	:	:	:	:
23/3	:	D	:	:	*	F	:	:	:	:
24/3	:	:	:	f D	*	:	:	:	:	:
26/3	:	:	:	D	:	* F	:	:	:	:
30/3	:	:	:	*D	F	:	:	:	:	:
49/3	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:	:	:
55/3	D	:	F	:	*	:	:	:	:	:
60/3	:	:	D	F	*	:	:	:	:	:
63/3	:	D	:	F	*	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
29/3	:	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:
61/3	:	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:	:
78/3	:	:	:	D F	:	*	:	:	:	:
79/3	:	:	D	:	*F	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Un poco Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
35/3	:	:	*D	:	:	F	:	:	:	:

---

M. M.	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	208	:
	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	: 152	: 168	: 184	: 200	: 216
D: Dorati, f: Fischer before 1994, F: Fischer from 1994, *: Wordsworth										:
Menuet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
82/3	:	:	:	DF	:	*	:	:	:	:
103/3	:	D	:	f *	:	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegretto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
44/2	:	*D	:	:	:	F	:	:	:	:
45/3	:	:	:	D	f *	:	:	:	:	:
48/3	:	:	D	*	:	F	:	:	:	:
83/3	:	:	D	f	*	:	:	:	:	:
85/3	:	D	f	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
88/3	:	D	:	f *	:	:	:	:	:	:
92/3	:	:	Df	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
96/3	:	:	f D	:	*	:	:	:	:	:
101/3	:	:	Df	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet moderato	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
100/3	:	F	D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegro	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
102/3	:	:	:	F *D	:	:	:	:	:	:
104/3	:	:	:	*DF	:	:	:	:	:	:
Menuet Allegro molto	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
94/3	:	:	:	:	:	F *D	:	:	:	:

### Haydn's tempo in Andante movements

A large number of the movements of Haydn's symphonies have as tempo indication Andante. As the first question, *what is the proper tempo when Haydn titles a movement Andante?*

The available genuine source of knowledge about the tempo in which Haydn intended each part of his music to be played is the signature he wrote at the beginning of each movement. This signature consists of a word or a phrase indicating the tempo, that is the rate of the regular beat, such as Andante or Adagio, and a time-signature indicating the way the duration of each bar is composed, such as 2/4 or 6/8. Thus for example the time-signature 6/8 tells that each bar consists of 6 quavers (i.e. eighth-notes).

However, it is not obvious from such a signature to what note duration the regular beat applies. For lack of this information the following notes shall present a number of plausible hypotheses related to Haydn's tempos. These hypotheses will then in the following investigations

be confronted with the notions about Haydn's music entertained by present day musicians, such as these notions are displayed in the recorded versions of Haydn's symphonies.

As to the tempo that Haydn would denote Andante the precise source closest to Haydn himself available to us is probably the score of Beethoven's 5. Symphony, 2. movement. Here Beethoven has written:

Andante con moto 3/8, quaver note M. M. 92 (i. e. 92 beats per minute).

By the addition con moto (with motion) Beethoven takes M. M. 92 to be on the fast side of Andante. It should further be noted that Beethoven in this movement has long melodic passages written in demisemiquaver notes.

As a supplementary source, take the tradition of European music making as this flourished around 1950, accessible in recordings. Take the arch Andante movement by Haydn, movement 101/2 of the Clock Symphony, which has the signature Andante 2/4. This is one of the best loved pieces of all of Haydn's glorious music, a piece that has retained its popularity uninterrupted since Haydn's time. As conducted by several of the greatest musicians of the time, this is the tempo of the quaver note of this Haydn Andante: Thomas Beecham: M. M. 72, Fritz Reiner: M. M. 69, Arturo Toscanini: M. M. 84. These figures reflect the well known fact that Toscanini tended towards fast tempos. Altogether it seems clear that the proper tempo of a Haydn Andante 2/4 is quaver around M. M. 70.

As a further supplementary indication, the second movement of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, also with long melodic passages written in demisemiquaver notes, has the signature Andante con moto 3/8. This is played in recorded performances by the conductors Bruno Walther and Riccardo Muti at quaver notes M. M. 72 and 88.

Here it should be noted that the beat is taken at the quavers, not the crotchets, even though the time-signature is 2/4, not 4/8. The form of the signature raises the question: in the case of other time-signatures, such as 3/8, 6/8, or 3/4, to what note duration (crotchet, quaver, or semiquaver, or other) does the beat rate given by the tempo apply? As background of an answer to this question, here is first a listing of the movements in Haydn's symphonies having particular Andante-signatures. The first listing shows the numbers of the movements having the word Andante in their signatures, grouped by the time-signature. In addition to the number of each movement, the listing shows by the symbol § that the shortest note value found in the movement is a demisemiquaver. In movements not marked § the shortest notes are semiquavers.

#### **Time-signature 2/4**

Andante 2/4: A/2, 1/2§, 2/2, 4/2§, 8/2§, 9/2§, 10/2, 14/2, 15/3, 16/2§, 19/2§, 23/2§, 29/2§, 30/2§, 33/2§, 35/2§, 37/3§, 39/2§, 53/2§, 58/2§, 60/2§, 70/2§, 73/2§, 90/2§, 91/2§, 94/2§, 101/2§, 104/2§.

Andante moderato 2/4: 3/2§, 18/1§, 50/2§.

Andante, ma non troppo 2/4: 17/2.

Andante più tosto allegretto 2/4: 40/2, 103/2§.

Un poco andante 2/4: 41/2§.

#### **Time-signature 3/8**

Andante 3/8: 52/2§, 65/2§.

Andante sostenuto 3/8: 77/2§.

Andante molto 3/8: 38/2§.

#### **Time-signature 6/8**

Andante 6/8: B/3, 72/2§, 81/2§, 84/2§, 96/2§.

Andante siciliano 6/8: 27/2.

Andante cantabile 6/8: 95/2§.

Andante con moto 6/8: 89/2.

#### **Time-signature 3/4**

Andante 3/4: 6/2, 83/2.

Andante o più tosto allegretto 3/4: 59/2.

### Time-signature $\text{♩}$

Andante cantabile  $\text{♩}$ : 20/2.

As the first issue, *it will here be assumed that the note duration corresponding to the tempo indication is the same for movements having the same time-signature*. This still leaves the question: what note duration does the tempo mark in movements having the time-signatures 2/4, 3/8, 6/8, 3/4, and  $\text{♩}$ ?

In the first instance a plausible answer to the main question would be that the tempo applies to the note value shown in the denominator of the time-signature, thus in time-signature 2/4 a crotchet, and in time-signatures 3/8 and 6/8 a quaver. However, this understanding would have the consequence that the demisemiquavers under a time-signature 2/4 would have to be played only half as long as those under the time-signatures 3/8 and 6/8.

Music written by Haydn in the three time-signatures is displayed explicitly in the music quotations of Andante movements shown in the section *Interpreting Haydn's articulations* above, with three quotations from movement 101/2 at 2/4, one from movement 52/2 at 3/8, and one from movement 95/2 at 6/8. These are quite similar as far as the occurrence of the various note durations in the four parts is concerned. They strongly suggest that as written by Haydn, in the movements that have the time-signatures 2/4, 3/8, and 6/8, the same note values should be played in the Andante tempo. In particular the music quotations suggest *that in these movements the Andante tempo applies to the quavers*. As a further support of this assumption it may be noted that Haydn might have written the signature Andante 2/4 instead as Andante 4/8, without any change to the note values. As a matter of fact, Haydn never writes an Andante time-signature as 4/8, while 2/4 is the most common one of all.

The movements having the time-signature 3/4 is a different case. In the three movements having this time-signature no demisemiquavers occur. It seems plausible that Haydn when writing in 3/4 was thinking in terms of the movement in minuets, which Haydn mostly wrote in the 3/4 time-signature. In these movements the beat is on the crotchets. *So it will here be assumed that in movements in Andante 3/4 the beat is on the crotchets*.

The signature Andante cantabile  $\text{♩}$  as used only in movement 20/2. This plausibly has the Andante beat on the crotchets, making the music similar to that of movement 2/2.

The phrase 'più tosto' is rendered in dictionaries by 'rather'. In the signatures *Andante o più tosto allegretto* and *Un poco Adagio più tosto andante* it plausibly indicates a change in the tempo from Andante into Allegretto and Adagio into Andante in the course of the movement. Such a change agrees well with the music in movement 59/2, where at bar 97 the mode changes from a minor into A major, with a brightening of the mood. In movement 103/2 the mode alternates between c minor and C major, with a corresponding alternation of the moods, which will be well supported by changes in the tempo.

### Overviews of tempos of recorded Andante movements

Displays 3 and 4 show the metronome tempos of Andante movements in modern recordings. In these displays, the metronome tempo is taken to apply to the quaver notes, except in movements marked by the sign § where the tempo applies to the crotchets.

Display 3 shows only movements having been given by Haydn the signature Andante without any qualifications. The movements performed in the same tempo are shown in the same line, the M. M. figure of the tempo shown to the left. Each column shows the tempos of the performances by one conductor.

Display 3 indicates that the large majority of the Andante movements are performed in the recordings at a much faster tempo than the tempo, M. M. 70, which in the above discussion has been found to be the normal in performances in Haydn's time.

The display shows the range of tempos adopted by each conductor. This range differs greatly among the conductors. The conductor applying the most uniform tempos is Gallois, whose tempos

range from M. M. 96 for movement 9/2 and M. M. 112 for movements 4/2. Thus the ratio of his tempos, 112 divided by 96, is 1.2, as shown in the bottom line of the display. At the other extreme we find Fischer, with M. M. 66 for movement 4/2 and M. M. 160 for movements A/2 and 35/2, a ratio of tempos of 160 divided by 66 = 2.4. The display also shows how Fischer's tempos generally increased in the recordings he made from year 1994 and onwards. This is indicated in the display by the sign +, which is added to the movement numbers of movements recorded by Fischer from 1994.

The display in the rightmost column shows some tempos adopted by Thomas Beecham and Fritz Reiner, recorded around 1960. The display shows in a striking manner how the tempos adopted in recordings made by eight different conductors beginning around 1970 are much faster than those adopted by Beecham and Reiner.

### Display 3.

**Movements signed Andante. Performance tempos of quavers or, when the movement is marked §, crotchets.**

	Dorati	Fischer	Drahos	Gallois	Mallon	Müller- Brühl	Ward	Words- worth	Beecham Reiner +
M. M.		+after 1994							
66		14/2							196/2
69									1101/2+
72	116/2								1101/2
76							18/2	1104/2	1103/2
									1104/2
80	133/2	116/2,101/2	184/2						195/2+
84		196/2				181/2		1103/2	
88	14/2,8/2, 9/2,15/3, 152/2,65/2,72/2,81/2	115/3						1101/2*	194/2
									195/2
92	137/3	19/2,58/2+,83/2§, 190/2,104/2	172/2		116/2	133/2			
96	135/2,58/2, 196/2,101/2,104/2	172/2+		19/2	115/3	139/2	130/2		
						158/2			
100	119/2,30/2,39/2	18/2,10/2, 19/2	152/2	11/2	114/2		129/2		
		133/2+,65/2+		165/2	119/2				
104	114/2,23/2,29/2, 73/2, 183/2§,84/2, 90/2	170/2+	190/2					183/2§	
								196/2	
108	1A/2,1/2,2/2	114/2,81/2+	170/2	12/2,10/2		137/3	123/2		
112	170/2	130/2+,37/3+, 173/2+,84/2,91/2		14/2					
116	1B/3,10/2,91/2	139/2+	173/2						
120	153/2	129/2+,94/2					135/2		
126	194/2	123/2+, 153/2+,60/2+	153/2				160/2		
			191/2						
132					1B/3			194/2	
138	160/2								
144		1B/3+							
152									
160		1A/2+,35/2+							
168									
176									
184									
192					1A/2				
* Accelerating to M. M. 104									
§ Crotchets									
Ratio: Fastest / Slowest tempo:									
	1.9	2.4	1.6	1.2	2.1	1.3	1.7	1.7	

Display 4 shows the tempos adopted in movements with signature Andante, including modifications such as Andante moderato and Andante con moto, in the same arrangement as Display 2. The Display shows that there is no clear relation between the tempos adopted by three or more different conductors when conducting the same movement. In some movements, such as 53/2 at M. M. 120-26, 89/2 at M. M. 112-16, 2/2 at M. M. 104-08, and 19/2 at M. M. 96-100, the three

conductors have adopted approximately the same tempo, but these tempos are all too fast. In most other movements there is a wide range of the tempos adopted by the three conductors, but no clear ordering among the conductors.

The display further shows that Haydn's tempo qualifications, such as 'moderato', are mostly ignored by the conductors.

A line at the bottom of each section as 'Counts' shows first the number of recorded movements having the M. M. figure up to 88, separately for movements conducted by Dorati, Fischer, and the conductor of the Naxos recordings, and then to the right the numbers of movements having the M. M. figure higher than 88. These counts shown that all the conductors play predominantly at unsatisfactory tempos higher than M. M. 88, worst for Gallois and Mallon who play not a single Andante movement at a satisfactory tempo.

Altogether these displays show that the eight conductors considered have adopted tempos of Haydn's Andante movements that have not the slightest relation to the tempo indicated by Haydn in the signatures.

#### Display 4

##### Tempos adopted by three or more conductors in playing the same Andante movement.

	M. M.	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	:
	:	69	:	76	:	84	:	92	:	100	:	108	:	116	:
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
	D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Drahos, B: Bernstein, S: Solomons. R: Reiner, C: Beecham														:
Andante 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
53/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D F*	:	:	:	:	:	:
70/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	F *	D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
73/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	F *	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
90/2	:	:	:	:	F	:	D*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
91/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	F D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante moderato 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
50/2	:	:	:	F D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 3/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
52/2	:	:	:	:	*	D	FS	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
72/2	:	:	:	:	D *	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
84/2	:	:	:	*	B ...	... B	D	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante con moto 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
89/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	DF *	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante siciliano 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
27/2	:	:	:	F	:	D	:	:	:	*	:	:	:	:	:
Andante cantabile 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
95/2	:	:	:	R F	C D	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Counts:		2 D, 3 F, 3 *		M.M. 88			10 D, 9 F, 9 *								

	M. M.	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	:
	:	69	:	76	:	84	:	92	:	100	:	108	:	116	:
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
	D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Gallois														:
Andante 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
1/2	:	:	:	:	:	*	F D:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
2/2	:	:	:	:	:	F	D*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
4/2	F	:	:	:	D	:	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
9/2	:	:	:	:	D F	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
10/2	:	:	:	:	:	F	:	*	D	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante moderato 2/4:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
3/2	:	:	:	:	:	F	:	D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 3/8:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
65/2	:	:	:	:	D	:	*F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Counts:		3 D, 1 F, 0 *		M.M. 88			4 D, 6 F, 7 *								



M. M.	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	:
:	69	76	84	92	:	100	108:	116	:	126:	138:	152	168	184:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Mallon					:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
A/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	:	:	:	F	:	*
14/2	:	:	:	:	:	*	D F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
15/3	:	:	:	DF	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
16/2	:	D	F	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
19/2	:	:	:	:	DF*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante moderato 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
18/1	:	:	:	:	D	F	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante ma non troppo 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
17/2	:	:	:	:	DF	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
B/3	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:
Andante cantabile $\phi$ (tempo by crotchets)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
20/2	:	:	:	:	:	F	D*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Counts:	2 D, 2 F, 0 *	M.M. 88				7 D, 7 F, 7 *								

	M. M.	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	:
	:	69	:	76	:	84	:	92	:	100	:	108	:	116	:
	:	126	:	138	:	152	:	168	:	184	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Müller-Brühl, S: Solomons	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
33/2	:	:	D	:	*	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
37/3	:	:	:	D	:	:	*	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
39/2	:	:	:	:	*	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
58/2	:	:	:	DF	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante più tosto Allegretto 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
40/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	F	D	:	*	:	:	:
Un poco andante 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
41/2	:	:	:	DF *S	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante molto 3/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
38/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	*	DS	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
81/2	:	:	:	*	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante più tosto Allegretto 3/4 (tempo by crotchets)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
59/2	:	:	:	D*	F	S	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Counts:	4 D, 1 F, 2 *		M.M. 88				5 D, 8 F, 7 *								

M. M.	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	:
:	69	76	84	92	100	108	116	126	138	152	168	184	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Ward, J: Jones, H: Hogwood														
Andante 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
8/2	:	*	:	D	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
23/2	:	:	:	:	D	*H	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
29/2	:	:	:	H	*J	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
30/2	:	:	:	*	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
35/2	:	:	:	:	D	:	:	*	:	:	F	:	:	:
60/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	*F	D	:	:	:	:	:
Andante sostenuto 3/8														
77/2	:	D	F*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 3/4 (tempo by crotchets)														
6/2	F	D	:	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Counts:	3 D, 2 F, 2 *			M.M. 88			5 D, 6 F, 6 *							

M. M.	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144	160	176	192	:
	: 69	: 76	: 84	: 92	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	: 152	: 168	: 184	:	:
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Wordsworth, B: Bernstein, J: Jones, C: Beecham.														:
Andante 2/4:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
94/2	:	:	:	C	:	:	F D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
101/2	:	C	: F	*	D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
104/2	:	:	C*	:	F D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante, più tosto Allegretto 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
103/2	:	C	: *	:	:	F D	:	:	J	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
96/2	C	:	: F	:	D	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Andante 3/4 (tempo by crotchets):	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
83/2	:	:	:	F	: B *D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Counts:	0 D, 2 F, 3 *		M.M. 88			6 D, 4 F, 3 *								

### Haydn's tempo in Adagio movements

What is the proper tempo when Haydn titles a movement Adagio? As a plausible indication of what Haydn understood to be the proper tempo of a movement signed Adagio I shall here take what is the common understanding among musicians of the tempo of movement 102/2 signed Adagio 3/4. This movement is also found in Haydn's Trio in f sharp minor, dedicated to Rebecca Schroeder. Tempo of quavers: Thomas Beecham M. M. 63; Adam Fischer: M. M. 63; Antal Dorati: M. M. 69; Barry Wordsworth: M. M. 69; Horia Andreescu: M. M. 63; Beaux Art Trio: M. M. 63. Thus it seems to be accepted among highly qualified musicians that the proper tempo for a Haydn movement signed Adagio 3/4 is around quaver M. M. 66.

The signatures applied by Haydn are as follows, where the sign § added to a movement number indicates that the movement includes passages in demisemiquavers:

#### Time-signature 2/4

Adagio 2/4: 26/2, 43/2§, 44/3§, 51/2§, 56/2§, 60/2§, 60/5§, 67/2§, 71/2§, 74/2§, 78/2

Adagio, ma non troppo 2/4: 5/1, 17/2, 76/2§

Adagio, ma semplice 2/4: 32/3, 55/2§

Adagio cantabile 2/4: 11/1, 68/3§, 74/2, 92/2§

Poco Adagio 2/4: 28/2§

Un poco Adagio, cantabile 2/4: 47/2§

#### Time-signature 3/8

Adagio 3/8: 45/2§

#### Time-signature 6/8

Adagio 6/8: 12/2§, 31/2§, 48/2§, 57/2§

Poco Adagio 6/8: 46/2

#### Time-signature ¢

Adagio ¢: 36/2§, 80/2§, 85/1§,

Adagio, ma non troppo ¢: 97/2

#### Time-signature c

Adagio c: 6/1, 7/1, 7/2§, 22/1§, 25/1§, 100/1§, 104/1§

Adagio e maestoso c: 50/1§

Adagio cantabile c: 13/2§

#### Time-signature 3/4

Adagio 3/4: 15/1§, 21/1§, 24/2§, 34/1, 49/1, 61/2, 66/2§, 73/1§, 86/1§, 87/2§, 88/1§, 90/1, 92/1, 93/1§, 96/1§, 97/1, 98/2§, 99/2§, 101/1, 102/2§, 103/1

Adagio cantabile 3/4: 79/2§, 94/1,

Adagio assai 3/4: 54/2

Poco Adagio 3/4: 75/2§

## Un poco Adagio più tosto Andante 3/4: 69/2

It will here be assumed that with the time-signatures 2/4, 3/8, 6/8, as well as 3/4 (unlike in Andante movements), the Adagio tempo, M. M. around 66, applies to the quavers.

**Overviews of tempos of recorded Adagio movements**

Display 5 shows the metronome tempos of Adagio movements in modern recordings, in a similar arrangement as in Displays 2 and 4. In this display, the metronome tempo is taken to apply to the quaver notes, except in movements marked by the sign § where the tempo applies to the crotchets.

It is evident from Display 5 that the Adagio movements in by far most of the recorded performances are played at a tempo much faster than M. M. 66.

**Display 5.****Tempos adopted by three or more conductors in playing the same Adagio movement.**

M. M.	44	48	52	56	60	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144
	: 46	: 50	: 54	: 58	: 63	: 69	: 76	: 84	: 92	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	:
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Drahos, B: Bernstein, S: Solomons. R: Reiner, C: Beecham															
Adagio 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
51/2	:	:	:	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
67/2	:	:	:	:	:	F	:	DS	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
71/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	*F	D	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
68/3	:	:	:	:	:	D	F	*	:	S	:	:	:	:	:
Poco Adagio 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
28/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	F*	:	:	:	:
Adagio 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
31/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	*	D	:	F	:	:	:
Adagio c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
98/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	F	*	:	C	:	:	D
Adagio ma non troppo c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
97/2	:	:	:	C	:	:	:	F...	F	:	*D	:	:	:	:
Adagio e maestoso c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
50/1	:	:	:	:	:	F	:	D	:	:	*	:	:	:	:
Adagio 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
66/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	F	:	D	:	*	:	:	:
73/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	F	:	*	:	:	:
86/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	*	B	:	D	F	:	:	:	:
87/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	B	*	D	:	F	:	:	:	:
90/1	:	:	:	*	:	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
93/1	:	:	:	:	F	C	:	*	D	:	:	:	:	:	:
97/1	:	:	:	:	*	F	C	:	D	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
98/2	:	:	:	:	:	F	*	C	:	D.....D	:	:	:	:	:
Un poco adagio più tosto andante 3/4, tempo of crotchets															
69/2	:	:	:	F*	:	:	:	D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

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M. M.	44	48	52	56	60	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144
	: 46	: 50	: 54	: 58	: 63	: 69	: 76	: 84	: 92	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	:
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Gallois															
Adagio ma non troppo 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
5/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
11/1	:	:	:	:	F	D	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
12/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	F	*	:	:	:	:
Adagio c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
25/1	:	:	:	:	:	F	:	:	D	:	:	:	:	:	*

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M. M.44	48	52	56	60	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144
: 46	: 50	: 54	: 58	: 63	: 69	: 76	: 84	: 92	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Mallon														
Adagio 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
15/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	DF	:	*	:	:	:	:
21/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	* F	:	:	:	:	:	:

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M. M.44	48	52	56	60	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144
: 46	: 50	: 54	: 58	: 63	: 69	: 76	: 84	: 92	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Müller-Brühl, C: Beecham, S: Solomons, J: Janigro														
Adagio 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
43/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	F	DS*	:	:	:	:	:	:
56/2	:	:	:	:	:	DF	S	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
74/2	:	:	:	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
Un poco adagio cantabile 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
47/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	J	*D	F	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio ma non troppo 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
32/3	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	F	*	:	:	:	:
76/2	:	:	:	:	*	:	D	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
57/2	:	:	:	:	*	D	:	F ...	F	:	:	:	:	:
Poco adagio 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
46/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	J	F	*	:	D	:	:
Adagio $\phi$ , tempo of crotchets	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
36/2§	:	:	:	:	:	D	*	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
80/2§	:	D	F	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
99/1§	:	:	:	:	:	D*CF.....	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
13/2	:	:	:	F	*	:	D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
34/1	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	F	:	*	:	:	:	:
57/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	*F	:	:	:	:
99/2	:	:	:	:	:	C	F	:	:	D	*	:	:	:
Poco adagio 3/4, (Andante con var.) tempo of crotchets	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
75/2§	:	:	*	:	D	:	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio assai 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
54/2	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	*	F	:	S	:	:	:

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M. M.44	48	52	56	60	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144
: 46	: 50	: 54	: 58	: 63	: 69	: 76	: 84	: 92	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Ward, J: Jones, S: Solomons, A: Andreescu														
Adagio 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
26/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	*FS	:	:	:	:	:	:
60/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	*	FD	:	S	:	:	:	:
60/5 di Lamentatione	:	:	:	:	:	DF	*	:	S	:	:	:	:	:
78/2	:	:	:	:	:	D	:	F	*	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio, ma semplice 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
55/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	FS*	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
6/1	:	:	:	:	F*D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
6/2	:	:	:	:	F*D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
7/1	:	:	:	:	D *	F	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
7/2	:	:	:	:	F	:	*	D	:	:	:	:	:	:
22/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D *	F	A	:	:	:
Adagio 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
24/2	:	:	:	:	:	F	*	D	:	:	:	:	:	:
49/1	:	:	:	:	J	:	:	D	:	F	*	:	:	:
61/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	*F	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
79/2	:	:	:	:	:	:	F	D	*	:	:	:	:	:

M. M.44	48	52	56	60	66	72	80	88	96	104	112	120	132	144
: 46	: 50	: 54	: 58	: 63	: 69	: 76	: 84	: 92	: 100	: 108	: 116	: 126	: 138	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
D: Dorati, F: Fischer, *: Wordsworth, T: Toscanini, C: Beecham, R: Reiner, J: Janigro,														
L: Leslie Jones, S: Rosbaud, K: Krips, H: Horvat, A: Sanderling, Z: Rozhdestvensky														
Adagio 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
44/3	:	:	J	:	F	*	D	A	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile 2/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
92/2	:	*	S F	:	HD	K.....	K	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio 3/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
45/2	:	:	:	:	ZJ	DF*	:	A	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio 6/8	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
48/2	:	:	:	:	*	J	F D	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
85/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	F	*	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio c	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
100/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	C	:	D	*L	F	:	:
104/1	:	:	:	F	D*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Adagio 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
88/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	D*	F	:	:	:	:	:	:
92/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	D F*	:	:	:	:	:	:
96/1	:	:	:	:	C	:	FD	*	:	:	:	:	:	:
101/1	:	:	T	:	D	R	:	FC*	:	:	:	:	:	:
102/2	:	:	:	:	CF	D*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
103/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	F	CL	:	*	:	:	:
Adagio cantabile 3/4	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
94/1	:	:	:	:	:	:	D	C*	:	F	:	:	:	:

### Appraisals of recorded performances of selected movements

The following appraisals of recorded performances include the movements that in most of Haydn's symphonies bring out Haydn's message of the symphony most clearly, the movements signed Andante or Adagio. For each symphony the meaning of it found in *The Meaning of Joseph Haydn's Symphonies* is given as a short heading.

**Symphony A: Spring.** A/2 Andante is said by Robbins Landon to play like a gavotte. It is played by Dorati at M. M. 108 as a monotonous march. Played by Fischer at M. M. 160 and Mallon at M. M. 192, it is made into an absurd race. If played as a proper Andante at M. M. 70, with the notes

played long or short as indicated by Haydn, it becomes fresh spring music with beautiful singing parts, richly varied in instrumentation, rhythm, harmony, and articulation.

**Symphony B: Landscape.** B/3 Andante, is played by Dorati at M. M. 116, by Fischer at M. M. 144 and by Mallon at M. M. 132. In either performance it sounds hurried, bland. Played as a proper Andante at M. M. 70, with close attention to its articulations, its rich counterpoint sings along gently and beautifully.

**Symphony No. 1: Salve Regina: Hail to thee, Queen, mother of mercy.** 1/2 Andante: Dorati, Fischer, and Gallois, at their brisk tempos around M. M. 104 and their walking bass articulations equally fail to render the gentleness of this tribute to Virgin Mary.

**Symphony No. 2: Salve Regina: Show Jesus to us.** 2/2 Andante, is played by Fischer, Dorati, and Gallois, very similarly at a brisk tempo of around M. M. 108. In this way the figures in the violins sound impatient rather than childish. All three conductors ignore Haydn's articulations in the bass part, partly imposing the thumping bass style. Gallois in some places avoids the thumping bass by inserting legatos.

**Symphony No. 3: Portrait of Count Morzin père.** 3/2 Andante moderato. In this movement Haydn has made the length of quavers clear by writing the short ones as semiquavers followed by semiquaver rests.

**Andante moderato**

Symphony 3/2, bars 1-5

In this way the contrast between the playing in bars 1-2 and that in bars 3-5 is explicitly clear in the score. It is played by Dorati with quavers at M. M. 108, by Fischer at M. M. 100, and by Gallois at M. M. 116. In each recording most of the quaver notes on the beat are played short, like the sixteenths followed by pauses written in bars 1 and 2, i. e. even such explicit distinctions in Haydn's notation are ignored. In this way the differences between the articulation of the music in bars 1 and 2 and that in bars 3-6 are smoothed out. This smoothing away of differences in the music continues through the whole movement. As a result the movement as a whole in the recordings sounds hurried and monotonous. The *fortes* played on single quaver notes make no sense. Played at the proper tempo, around M. M. 72, with the notes given their lengths as written by Haydn, the movement sounds like a continued alternation between moments of decision and moments of contemplation, all expressed by Haydn in splendid counterpoint, gravely beautiful. A fine portrait of a man both active and thoughtful.

**Symphony No. 4: Self-portrait: Modesty, thankfulness.** 4/2 Andante: This movement displays the absurdity and the destructive effect of the 'play-in-the-same-way' syndrome in a striking manner. The opening of the movement is as shown in the figure. By the 'play-in-the-same-way' syndrome the musicians will immediately say that in 4/2 the dots in bars 1 to 4 of the viola and bass parts should also apply in the following bars 5, 6, etc.

Haydn's score here shows the absurdity of this idea. Indeed, if this were Haydn's wish, why did he change his notation from dotted to undotted and from undotted to dotted at bars 5, 37, 39, 75, 77, 81, and 82?

Andante  
*sempre piano*

Symphony 4/2, bars 1 - 6

The score shows the viola and the bass to play a continued pattern of quavers on the beat, and above it, in the violins 2, a continued sequence of syncopated quavers. This accompaniment continues throughout the 88 bars of the movement. It is formed from Haydn's personal syncopation fingerprint, saying *Joseph Haydn*. Over this continued accompanying pattern the violins 1 develop eloquent phrases, some long, some short. Haydn has marked the violin 1 part *sempre piano*. The other three parts are marked *pp*, that is *pianissimo*. Haydn's notation shows clearly that Haydn wants the lower three voices to play a soft accompaniment to the violin 1 part. The articulations, the dots over the notes in the first four bars, are precisely the same in the viola and the bass. The whole pattern shows how Haydn has the accompaniment in the first bars attract the listeners attention, and then, when the violins 1 begin their expressive phrase in bar 5, to withdraw so as to form with the violins 2 just an accompanying murmur.

Symphony 4/2, bars 32 - 39

Later, from bar 32 to 39 Haydn has the accompaniment change character, as shown in the figure. First, in bars 33 to 36, he puts legato bows in the bass line. These will effect a further withdrawal of the attention from the bass line. This then prepares the drastic change into dotted notes in bars 37 and 38, before the return to undotted notes from bar 39. The pattern of legato and dotted notes in bars 33 to 38 is found in exactly the same way in bars 71 to 76, confirming that this expresses Haydn's intentions. As a whole, these patterns of articulations in the accompanying parts may be seen to form a strong support of the top line in the violins 1, and thereby they contribute greatly to the expressive richness of Haydn's music. Clearly these articulations, and none others, are what is intended by Haydn. As a whole the movement as written by Haydn is a sublime expression of his thankfulness and modesty, expressed in a masterly way in his score.

This movement is played very differently in the recorded performances. Dorati with quavers at M. M. 88 makes the violin phrases sound hurried. They are played with beautiful sound from the violins, but with slow crescendos and decrescendos imposed upon them, contradicting Haydn's modest *sempre piano* indication. Dorati has the bass line continue with dotted notes in bars 5 and

following. Later in many places he imposes slurs upon them. All of Haydn's patterns of changes from dotted into undotted notes are ignored. Altogether Dorati's performance presents Haydn's moving statement in a weak, trivialized form.

Fischer has an excellent Andante tempo with quavers at M. M. 66. At this tempo he shapes the great phrases in the violins beautifully, as pure magic. But his accompaniment is entirely fouled up. He has the syncopations in second violins intrude upon the first violin line instead of having them go together with the bass line as clearly indicated they should in the first bar where they are by themselves. He has the violas and bass continue playing with heavy dots most of the way, producing monotony, and thus altogether failing to support the phrases in the first violins properly. The overall impression is a meaningless conflict between the strong statements in the violins 1 and the partly monotonous and partly intrusive lower parts.

Gallois with quavers at M. M. 112 makes the line in the violins 1 hurried and trivial. He ignores Haydn's indications in the lower voices and has these voices intrude upon the top line. Altogether he turns the movement into confusion.

**Symphony No. 5: Portrait of Count and Countess Morzin.** 5/1 Adagio ma non troppo: The three performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Gallois, at M. M. 88, 96, and 92, all miss the friendly charm of this double portrait of Count Morzin and his beautiful wife by their too fast tempos and their coarse walking bass manners. Gallois wisely allows his horns to lower their very high parts by an octave, and so gets the horn phrases without strain.

**Symphony No. 6: Le Matin.** 6/1 Adagio, and 6/2 Adagio: A rare case where Dorati, Fischer, and Ward, agree on the proper tempo, around M. M. 66. All three present the Sun rise splendidly. 6/2 Andante: Ward at crotchets M. M. 100 and a dry bass fails to support the solos properly. Fischer and particularly Dorati at M. M. 69 and 76 achieve a splendid rich orchestral sound under the violin and cello soloists.

**Symphony No. 7: Le Midi.** 7/1 Adagio, and 7/2 Adagio: Again Dorati, Fischer, and Ward, agree on the proper tempo, around M. M. 63-80. They all present these noon day perspectives beautifully.

**Symphony No. 8: Le Soir.** 8/2 Andante: The walking bass manner does not make itself felt in this movement, which has few bass quavers. Ward at M. M. 76 achieves a more intense feeling of evening peace than Dorati at M. M. 88 or Fischer at M. M. 100.

**Symphony No. 9: Salve Regina: Jesus, the blessed fruit of thy womb.** 9/2 Andante: The three performances, by Dorati, Fischer, and Gallois, at M. M. 88, 92, and 96, are quite similar. They all skip along, light and gay. They express no trace of wonder at the sight of the child Jesus.

**Symphony No. 10: Autumn.** 10/2 Andante: Dorati, Fischer, and Gallois, at M. M. 116, 100, and 108, similarly hurry this autumnal scene, making it impatient rather than contemplative.

**Symphony No. 11: Self portrait: Joy in God.** 11/1 Adagio cantabile, is played in a similar manner by Dorati and Fischer, both at a very satisfactory tempo of quavers at M. M. 63. The song in violins 1 and 2 is played beautifully, particularly by Dorati. However, Haydn's subtle accompaniment is coarsened throughout, by the walking bass manner. Around bars 27-29 this seems too bad to the conductors, who both modify Haydn's score by adding slurs in the viola and bass parts. Gallois at a hasty M. M. 80, with the walking bass manner, misses the character.

**Symphony No. 12: Self portrait: The confessor.** 12/2 Adagio: None of the three performances of this movement come anywhere near to conveying the piety of Haydn's confessions and the seriousness of the confessant's responses. Dorati at M. M. 88 makes the movement dramatic rather than serious by imposing dynamic contrasts. Gallois, at M. M. 104, is quick and brutal. Fischer at M. M. 96 gives the movement a concertante character, even inserting free cadenzas at the end.

**Symphony No. 13: Haydn's friends, the musicians.** 13/2 Adagio cantabile: This is a great solo for violoncello. Dorati at M. M. 80 hurries the music. He has good soloist, but plays a dry accompaniment. Müller-Brühl at M. M. 69 has a magnificent soloist, but plays a totally monotonous, dry accompaniment. Fischer at M. M. 66 has a very good soloist, and plays a wonderfully rich and sensitive accompaniment. Jones at M. M. 50 has a good soloist and plays an adequate accompaniment.



**Symphony No. 14: Landscape.** 14/2 Andante, is played in the same way by Dorati, Fischer, and Mallon, in tempos of M. M. 104, 108, and 100. Haydn's elaborate articulations are ignored. The result is utter monotony. Played at M. M. 70, with articulations as written by Haydn, the music describes the rich variety of a cosy spot in the country.

**Symphony No. 15: Self portrait: The Lover.** 15/1 Adagio: Mallon at M. M. 104 misses the tenderness of this music. Dorati and Fischer, both at M. M. 88, catch the bliss of the lovers' embrace beautifully, only slightly on the hasty side, Fischer having a particularly glorious string sound. 15/3 Andante: The three performances of this movement, by Dorati, Fischer, and Mallon, at M. M. 88, 88, and 96, are very similar. By the too fast tempos and the thumping bass, ignoring Haydn's clear articulation indications, they all miss the friendly intimacy of this movement, that presents the lovers' smalltalk, the main motif being as a gentle caress. In the performances the distinctions in Haydn's score, both of articulations and dynamics, ranging from *pp* to *ff*, are all smoothed over so to be hardly noticable. The result is bland uniformity.

**Symphony No. 16: Church symphony: The Holy Virgin.** 16/2 Andante (moderato, in some sources): The performance by Dorati, at M. M. 72 half suggests how impressively devotional this music would be if taken seriously at a proper Andante moderato. Fischer at M. M. 80 and Mallon at M. M. 92 just run it off.

**Symphony No. 17: Self-portrait: Thankfulness.** 17/2 Andante ma non troppo: The three performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Mallon, by their too fast tempos at M. M. 92, 92, and 100, and by their monotonous walking basses, equally fail to render the profound thankfulness of this music.

**Symphony No. 18: Salve Regina: Oh thou, our advacate, turn upon us thine eyes so full of mercy.** 18/1 Andante moderato, is ruined in the performances by both Dorati and Fischer, and Mallon, by the much too fast tempos of M. M. 92, 100, and 112. The movement has recurrent explosions in forte or fortissimo, contradicting the light manner adopted. If played at a proper Andante moderato, around M. M. 60 to the quaver, the movement can be heard as a beautiful representation of the fervent prayer of the Salve Regina poem.

**Symphony No. 19: Salve Regina: To thee we sigh, sorrowing and weeping, in this vale of tears.** 19/2 Andante. About this movement Robbins Landon writes:

'One's admiration for the formal and motivic efficiency of the opening Allegro molto (again with impeccable use of small motifs) is only equalled by one's delight in the finely wrought Andante. Here we find great rhythmic variety, including several bars of those typically Haydensque syncopations in the top line over a steady quaver bass line, marked, one is sure, by tall staccato marks in the autograph (these were later watered down to normal staccati, but their purpose is as much to accent as to be played short: bar 33ff).'

The passages mentioned by Robbins Landon appear in three places, bars 12-16, 33-36, and 48-52. The first such passage looks like this:

**Andante**

Symphony 19/2, bars 12-16

It is remarkable that Robbins Landon in talking about these passages only mentions the syncopations, while failing to notice the forte and the persistent dissonances. As a matter of fact, in

the passages Haydn's syncopation fingerprint, his sign of *Joseph Haydn*, is screamed out, in bar after bar, by dissonances in the complete string orchestra. And so Robbins Landon equally fails to make sense of why Haydn put such unusual music into his symphony. These passages are a confirmation that the Symphony is Haydn's presentation of the text of the Salve Regina poem saying *To thee we sigh, sorrowing and weeping*, in this vale of tears. In the recorded performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Mallon, this character is entirely missed. In these performances the music trots along fresh and gaily, all three at a brisk tempo of quaver M. M. 100. In the three central passages mentioned above Dorati plays each of them, not forte as written by Haydn, but as a gradual crescendo up to mezzo forte. Fischer starts each of them forte and then quickly has them decrease to piano. Mallon starts each them with a soft mezzo forte immediately followed by a decrescendo. Either performance is a complete failure to have the music express the pain of Haydn's subject.

**Symphony No. 20: Summer.** 20/2 Andante cantabile: Dorati, Fischer, and Mallon, by their fast tempos at half notes at M. M. 100-104, equally fail to do full justice to this charming picture of a summer flower.

**Symphony No. 21: Self-portrait: The composer at work.** 21/1 Adagio: Griesinger in his book about his conversations with Haydn (1810, p. 114) wrote:

'Haydn always created his works at the clavier. "I sat down, let my fantasy have a free rein, accordingly as my mood was sad or joyous, serious or light. When I had brought forth an idea, my entire endeavor was directed towards working it out and supporting it according to the rules of the art. In this way I tried to proceed ..."'

In movement 21/1 we have Haydn's demonstration of this technique. It starts with a three-bar quiet and beautiful phrase in the violins, followed immediately by a contrasting three-bar phrase in the oboes. The rest of the movement consists in continued developments of these two phrases. In the performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Mallon, all at a brisk tempo around M. M. 88, much of Haydn's continued working out of his ideas is smoothed over so as to produce monotony. Thus Haydn's varied articulations disappear, prominently in bars 27-32 where all the repeated quavers in the accompaniments are played in the same way, contradicting Haydn's notation.

Symphony 21/1, bars 27-32

**Symphony No. 22: The Philosopher.** 22/1 Adagio: This movement is a bad victim of the play it in the same way syndrome. Haydn writes the bass as eight quavers in most of the bars. In the first bar and in bar 40 he has dots over the eight notes, and under the first he writes *piano staccato*. But he does *not* write *piano staccato sempre*. Even so in the four performances, by Dorati, Fischer, Andreescu, and Ward, the bass in all bars plays short notes, thump, thump, ... In each performance the conductor tries to alleviate the monotony by rushing the tempo, playing around M. M. 100-116, and by imposing dynamic changes not indicated by Haydn, but the result in either performance is utter boredom, without any trace of the beauty of the polyphony written into the music by Haydn.

**Symphony No. 23: Madness.** 23/2 Andante: The four performances by Dorati, Fischer, Ward, and Hogwood, at M. M. 104, 126, 108, and 108, equally fail to render this sad picture of madness,

playing it too fast, as a merry piece, with monotonous short-tone articulations, distorting Haydn's dynamics, which is piano throughout, except for a sudden burst of forte in bar 54.

**Symphony No. 24: Portrait of grandiose lady.** 24/2 Adagio: The three performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Mallon, at M. M. 92, 76, and 84, are very satisfactory, each having an excellent flute soloist. The ultimate preference must go to Fischer, at the moderate tempo.

**Symphony No. 25: Portrait of Haydn's father.** 25/1 Adagio: Gallois plays this introduction to Haydn's portrait of his father at an absurdly fast rate of M. M. 138. Dorati at M. M. 84 hurries the music, in the short note style. Fischer at M. M. 69 presents the portrait beautifully.

**Symphony No. 26: Lamentatione.** 26/2 Adagio: This Chorale is very badly mistreated in the recorded performances by Dorati, Fischer, Ward, and Solomons. The bass in most bars moves in steady quavers. None of these quavers is dotted. Even so they are played in the performances as short notes, thump, thump, ... monotonously. It is ignored that in long passages the bass line *is* the chorale. As if to slip away from the boredom the four performances speed along at a tempo around M. M. 80. There is no singing quality in these performances.

**Symphony No. 27: Self-portrait: The friend.** 27/2 Andante siciliano, a lover's serenade, by Fischer at M. M. 84 is rendered beautifully, by Dorati at M. M. 96 is still seductive, but by Drahos at M. M. 132 is just hurried and matter of fact.

**Symphony No. 28: The unrepentant sinner.** 28/2 Poco Adagio, plausibly is where Haydn has God speak to a sinner. At the tempos adopted by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, quavers at M. M. 92, 104, and 104, with the quavers in the bass played mostly short, the sinner's response sounds silly and merry rather than irresponsible, and God's exhortations sound peaceful rather than stern. Played properly at quavers around 60 and the bass notes played at their lengths the music becomes more meaningful, including God's brief loss of patience at the sudden forte in bars 68-69.

**Symphony No. 29: Self-portrait: The man of the people.** 29/2 Andante: This movement has already been discussed in the section on Walking Bass above. The five recordings of this movement, Dorati at M. M. 104, Ward at M. M. 100, Fischer at M. M. 120, Hogwood at M. M. 92, and Jones at M. M. 100, are an apotheosis of the monotonous walking bass manner, particularly bad in Dorati's version. Of the many quavers in the bass line not a single one is dotted by Haydn, and yet every one is played, in all four recordings, with a short stroke. The absurdity of this manner is particularly striking in the long passages in this movement where the upper part is moving in syncopated quavers, playing the Joseph Haydn fingerprint. This upper part is played properly, as ordinary quavers, in complete contrast to the quavers in the thumping bass below. If the movement is played at a proper tempo of M. M. 70, with all notes as written by Haydn, the movement comes out as a richly varied, friendly portrait of Haydn himself.

**Symphony No. 30: Alleluja.** 30/2 Andante: The three recordings of this movement, Dorati at M. M. 100, Ward at M. M. 96, and Fischer at M. M. 112, is yet another case of neglect of Haydn's explicit articulations. The result is dry, flimsy, monotonous performances. The only exception to this state of affairs is the flute player in Ward's orchestra who lets his beautiful tone sound as prescribed by Haydn.

**Symphony No. 31: Hornsignal (praised be God).** 31/2 Adagio: Drahos at M. M. 88 makes this music beautifully poetic. Dorati at M. M. 100 makes it matter of fact. Fischer at M. M. 112 races along.

**Symphony No. 32: Salve Regina: Oh compassionate, oh pious, oh sweet virgin Mary.** 32/3 Adagio, *ma non troppo*, is a striking demonstration of the importance of Haydn's tempo and articulations. The theme of the movement, played in the first two bars in viola and bass, in bars 3-4 in violino 1, and in bars 5-6 in violino 2, in its first bar has four quavers of which the last three are dotted. Played at tempo M. M. 60, with all notes played at their proper durations, the movement exudes profound, joyous piety. In this way it is a worthy tribute to compassionate, pious, sweet virgin Mary. It is played by Dorati beginning at quaver M. M. 84, by Fischer at M. M. 96, and by Müller-Brühl at M. M. 104, by Dorati and Fischer with impatient accelerations along the movement. Quavers in the bass line are played indifferently short, whether dotted or not, producing

tedious monotony. Fischer has the first violin part played by a solo violin, contrary to Haydn's score. As a meditation these hasty performances are complete failures.

**Adagio ma non troppo**

Symphony 32/3, bars 1-7

**Symphony No. 33: Winter.** 33/2 Andante: Dorati at M. M. 80 successfully achieves the chill of a winter day, in spite of some too-short bass notes. Müller-Brühl at M. M. 92 and still more Fischer at M. M. 100 just make the music impatient.

**Symphony No. 34: The four temperaments.** 34/1 Adagio: Fischer and Müller-Brühl at M. M. 92 and 108 are entirely too hasty. Dorati at M. M. 80 has a better tempo but imposes dynamics so as to make the movement pathetic rather than melancholy, e. g. misses the long chilling passages of pianissimo.

**Symphony No. 35: The loner in the crowd.** 35/2 Andante presents a person in a state of chronic tension, sad and frustrated. This is to some extent brought out by Dorati at M. M. 96. Ward and Solomons, both at M. M. 120, and, even more, Fischer at M. M. 160 just make the music hurried, bland, and empty.

**Symphony No. 36: Portrait of Prince Nicolaus Esterházy.** 36/2 Adagio: This is a double concerto for violin and cello. In the performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Müller-Brühl, at M. M. 76, 88, and 80 to the crotchets, it appears equally hurried and dry.

**Symphony No. 37: Salve Regina: To thee we cry, we, the banished children of Eve.** 37/3 Andante: None of the recordings of this movement, Dorati at M. M. 92, Müller-Brühl at M. M. 108, and Fischer at M. M. 112, come anywhere near to conveying the urgent appeal of this music, all three imposing the dull walking-bass manner, and Fischer in addition inserting arbitrary accents.

**Symphony No. 38: Echo in the high mountains.** 38/2 Andante molto: This movement is a particularly bad case of the neglect of Haydn's articulations. The movement, for strings alone, might be taken to be a demonstration of the musical effects that may be achieved by the use of different articulations in the four voices. It consists of a number of passages, each of a few bar's length, each passage being characterized by a particular pattern of rhythms and articulations in the four voices. If played at a proper Andante molto tempo, say at M. M. 70 to the quaver, with Haydn's articulations strictly observed, the movement comes as a richly varied mosaic of different sonorities, as a mountain pastoral with echoes. As played by both Dorati, Fischer, Müller-Brühl, and Solomons, at M. M. 116, 126, 108, and 116, with viola and bass playing in a hurried, monotonous, mechanical manner, all bass notes short, the movement comes as a monotonous caricature.

**Symphony No. 39: Portrait of artist.** 39/2 Andante: In all four recordings this is rendered in the monotonous walking-bass manner, Müller-Brühl at M. M. 96, Solomons at M. M. 104, Dorati at M. M. 100, and Fischer at M. M. 116. No personal character is rendered by these performances.

**Symphony No. 40: Pastoral.** 40/2 Andante più tosto Allegretto: Dorati, Fischer, and Müller-Brühl, at M. M. 132, 126, and 152, at their fast tempos and staccato manners equally fail to make sense of this curious picture of a rippling brook.

**Symphony No. 41: Portrait of the archangel Raphael.** 41/2, Un poco Andante: The four performances, Dorati, Fischer, Müller-Brühl, and Solomons, at M. M. 88, 88, 92, and 92, present this movement in quite similar ways, hasty, with monotonous dry bass tones, the fantastic flute figurations entirely prosaic.

**Symphony No. 43: Portrait of unstable resignation.** 43/2 Adagio: If played properly this movement is a beautiful picture of sad resignation. The performances by Fischer, Dorati, Müller-Brühl, and Solomons are rare cases where Haydn's articulations at the beginning of the movement are observed, with properly long tones played in the accompaniment. However, at their tempos, all around M. M. 84, the movement becomes not sad but merely short of breath. The *forzando* at bar 12, a cry of anguish, is underplayed, and the figures of shorter notes from bar 12 become not exasperated but merely hasty.

**Symphony No. 44: Trauer.** 44/3 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, Sanderling, and Wordsworth, at M. M. 76, 66, 80, and 72, incredibly make this into a light, merry piece. Only Janigro, at M. M. 56, releases the profound sadness, beautifully.

**Symphony No. 45: Farewell.** 45/2 Adagio: Even with their walking bass manners the five recordings of this movement, by Dorati, Fischer, Wordsworth, Janigro, and Rozhdenshtvensky, at tempos around M. M. 69-76, render this picture of impatient homesickness beautifully. Sanderling at M. M. 96 just runs along.

**Symphony No. 46: Portrait of warm-hearted imaginative person.** 46/2 Adagio: The performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Müller-Brühl, at M. M. 120, 100, and 108, are hasty. Only that by Janigro, at M. M. 88, achieves the poise of Haydn's music

**Symphony No. 47: Church symphony.** 47/2, Un poco adagio cantabile: Fischer, Dorati, and Müller-Brühl, at M. M. 100, 92, and 92, make the music hasty, impatient. Janigro at M. M. 80 achieves serene piety.

**Symphony No. 48: Church symphony.** 48/2 Adagio: While still slightly on the hasty side, Wordsworth and Janigro, at M. M. 69 and 72, come close to realizing the profound piety of this music. Fischer and Dorati with their haste at M. M. 76 and 80 miss most of the piety.

**Symphony No. 49: Church symphony.** 49/1 Adagio: In this passionate movement Fischer and Ward, at M. M. 108 and 116, go forward pleasantly, oblivious of passion. Dorati at M. M. 88 is very different, presenting a powerful performance, but still with undue haste in the eloquent semiquaver passages. Only with Janigro, at M. M. 80 down to 69, Haydn's music is given its full due, in a shattering performance.

**Symphony No. 50: Portrait of the Empress Maria Theresia.** 50/1 Adagio e maestoso: Drahos rushing along at M. M. 96 misses the proper expression. Dorati and Fischer at M. M. 76 and 69 have proper tempos, but by playing all the notes short fail to achieve the maestoso. 50/2 Andante moderato: In the performance by Fischer at M. M. 80 this movement proceeds in quiet solemnity, as fits Haydn's portrait of the Empress Maria Theresia. The performances by Dorati and Drahos, at M. M. 84 and 92, make the music impatient.

**Symphony No. 51: The pedant.** 51/2 Adagio: The three performances, by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 69, 80, and 72, play with the same dry bass, producing monotony.

**Symphony No. 52: Self-portrait: moods and passions.** 52/2 Andante: None of the four recordings by Dorati, Fischer, Drahos, and Solomons, at M. M. 88, 96, 100, and 100, convey the brooding passion of this music. All four alike smoothe the contrasts, shorten the heavy notes, put decrescendos on them, play in too fast tempo. Fischer in particular makes much of the music just light and friendly.

**Symphony No. 53: Self-portrait: The Esterházy Capellmeister.** 53/2 Andante: All three conductors, Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, race along at around M. M. 120. It all becomes uniformly light and pretty, Haydn's articulations are ignored, and as the consequence the variations get no

distinctive character. Fischer in some places distorts Haydn's score by having the 1st violin part played by a solo violin.

**Symphony No. 54: Self-portrait: Thanks to God from a recovered.** 54/2 Adagio: This is Haydn's thanks to God after recovery from a severe illness. Dorati at M. M. 76 presents it movingly, as an expression of deep, humble gratitude. Fischer, Müller-Brühl, and Solomons, at M. M. 100, 92, and 112, hurry the music, Fischer and Solomons making it into a display of solo violins, totally failing the expression.

**Symphony No. 55: The schoolmaster in love.** 55/2 Adagio, *ma semplice*: This is an example of how in some of the movements the quick tempos and the walking bass style of playing support each other mutually. The point is that the walking bass style in many movements becomes absurd at the tempo prescribed by Haydn. As this movement is played by both Dorati, Fischer, Solomons, and Ward, with all quavers short, it would be absurd at a proper Adagio tempo. And so they play it at M. M. 84 to 92, that is at a quick Andante tempo. The result is a queer expressionless tripping along. Played with all notes at their length as written by Haydn, at M. M. 60, the movement becomes thoughtful, as the school teacher in love.

**Symphony No. 56: Dream and reality.** 56/2 Adagio: This beautiful dream fantasy as played by Dorati, Fischer, and Müller-Brühl, at M. M. 72, 76, and 80, becomes slightly hasty in many places, the dynamic contrasts being underplayed, and so much of the effect is lost.

**Symphony No. 57: Rain.** 57/1 Adagio: Fischer and Müller-Brühl both at M. M. 108 are hasty. Dorati at M. M. 92 achieves a convincing quiet before the rain storm. 57/2 Adagio: Dorati at M. M. 76 and more particularly Müller-Brühl at M. M. 69 produce a very convincing dripping rain. Fischer runs along at M. M. 84, accelerating to 96, and thereby spoils the effect.

**Symphony No. 58: The contradictor.** 58/2 Andante, consists of several striking themes, mostly of two bars' length, that are played in sequence, with different articulations written in the four instruments. It has no development of the themes and the dynamics is piano except for bars 57 to 60 in forte. Clearly Haydn's idea is to display different instrumental articulations when applied to the same themes. This is only partially realized in the recordings by Dorati, Fischer, and Müller-Brühl, to a large extent because Haydn's clearly written articulations in the viola and bass are mostly ignored, all quavers being played short. At the brisk tempo adopted in all recordings, M. M. 96, 92, and 96, the differences in the articulations tend to be blurred. Dorati imposes an enormous crescendo up to the forte in bar 57, which is pointless since the music has no development. The result in all three recordings is dull monotony.

**Symphony No. 59: Through struggle to fulfilment.** 59/2 Andante o più tosto Allegretto: Fischer, Müller-Brühl, and Solomons, at crotchets M. M. 104, 92, and 112, by their fast tempos, brisk manners, and walking basses, merely produce monotony. Dorati at M. M. 84 achieves a fine, gradual development from hesitation into confidence.

**Symphony No. 60: Il distratto.** 60/1 Adagio: This introduction to a potpourri of theatre music is played very well by Dorati, Fischer, and Ward, at M. M. 84, 76, and 84. Solomons at M. M. 108 is too hasty. 60/2 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, and Ward, at M. M. 76, 76, and 84, gives the pleasant dream and its sudden awakening charmingly. Solomons at M. M. 96 is hasty and excited. 60/2 Andante: Dorati, Fischer, and Ward, at M. M. 138, 126, and 126, equally miss the wistful charm of this music.

**Symphony No. 61: Self-portrait: from youth into maturity.** 61/2 Adagio: This is performed very similarly by Dorati, Fischer, and Ward, at M. M. 112, 120, and 120. In this fast tempo the music becomes perfunctory. It misses Haydn's mature sadness, nostalgia, and quiet contemplation.

**Symphony No. 65: Scatterbrain.** 65/2 Andante: Galois at M. M. 100 renders Haydn's curious scatterbrain music very well. Dorati at M. M. 88 and more Fischer at M. M. 100 make it short of breath.

**Symphony No. 66: Self-portrait: thoughtful self-confidence.** 66/2 Adagio: At the fast tempos adopted by Dorati and Drahos, at M. M. 92 and 104, this Adagio becomes hasty, mechanical, meaningless. Fischer at M. M. 84 manages to have some of the underlying thoughtful passion of the music come out. The notation is one of the many confirmations that Haydn meant the dot-notation

that he wrote. After dots in bars 25-30 he omits them in bars 31-32, and again after dots in bars 76-81 he omits dots in 82.

**Symphony No. 67: Activity and contemplation.** 67/2 Adagio: Drahos and Solomons at M. M. 80 and 76 smooth the contrasts between the passages of contemplation and activity. Dorati at M. M. 76, and even more Fischer at M. M. 69 achieve more convincing contrasts.

**Symphony No. 68: The elegant man.** 68/3 Adagio cantabile: This movement is a victim of the 'play it in the same way syndrome': in bars 1-68 every semiquaver in the viola and bass parts is dotted. Then in bars 69-74 the notes are undotted. From 79-124 they are again dotted. Typically the editor in bar 69 adds: [sim.], indicating that he suggests that the dots in the previous bars should also be applied in the following bars. Even so Dorati at M. M. 66 achieves a fine portrait of the elegant man. With Fischer and Drahos, both at M. M. 72, a slight unbecoming impatience comes into the music. Fischer distorts Haydn's score, having the violin part from bar 83 played solo. Solomons at M. M. 92 has entirely lost the character behind.

**Symphony No. 69: Portrait of Field-Marchal Laudon.** 69/2, Un poco adagio più tosto andante: This movement in the Symphony dedicated by Haydn to Field-Marchal Laudon is contemplative. It may be taken to represent the Field-Marchal gathering his wits and courage before battle, the first part, Adagio, probing, the second part, Andante, determined. All this is lost in the performances, played much too fast and monotonously by Fischer and Drahos at M. M. 108 and by Dorati at M. M. 152.

**Symphony No. 70: Self-confidence.** 70/2 Andante: The three performances of this movement, by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 112, 104, and 108, are all too breezy. They convey nothing of the self-confidence which exudes from this great canon if played at the tempo assigned to it by Haydn.

**Symphony No. 71: Pensiveness.** 71/2 Adagio: Fischer and Drahos, both at M. M. 76, by their moderate tempos go half way to expressing the thoughtfulness of this music, failing, however to give proper weight to the many forte accents and having a too light bass line. Dorati at M. M. 84 is altogether too light.

**Symphony No. 72: Portrait of the orchestra.** 72/2 Andante: None of the three performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 88, 96, and 92, pay any attention to Haydn's articulations in the accompaniment to the beautiful flute and violin solos in this movement, and thereby at the moderately fast tempos adopted achieve monotony.

**Symphony No. 73: La chasse.** 73/1 Adagio: The performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 84, 88, and 108, by their fast tempos equally fail to give proper weight to this ceremonial opening. 73/2 Andante: The modern edition of this movement is one of the examples of the editor's inserting spurious [sim.] indications in the score and thereby contributing to monotony. All four performances by Dorati, Fischer, Drahos, and Horvat, at M. M. 104, 112, 112, and 108, hurry the music, and have the bass play in short notes throughout. The short bass notes are particularly aggressive in Fischer's performance.

**Symphony No. 74: Self-portrait: Happily in love.** 74/2 Adagio cantabile. This movement may be taken to be the school example of the destructive effect of the play it in the same way syndrome applied to Haydn's articulations. The score has for long stretches, including the first 20 bars, an accompaniment of sixteenth notes in the violoncello. These sixteenth notes are provided by Haydn with an elaborate pattern of dots and slurs. In the performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Müller-Brühl, at M. M. 72, 88, and 76, Haydn's articulations are mostly ignored. The bass is played mostly in short strokes, and at the tempos taken the music sounds hurried and monotonous. This produces a very prosaic picture of Haydn's love dream.

**Symphony No. 75: Self-portrait: The son of the church.** 75/2, Poco Adagio, in some sources: Andante con variazioni: Müller-Brühl at M. M. 116 brings out the profound seriousness of the music very well. Dorati at M. M. 132 takes it more lightly. Fischer at M. M. 152 and more actually makes it lively.

**Symphony No. 76: Self-portrait: The composer at work.** 76/2 Adagio ma non troppo: This demonstration of Haydn's technique of composition is performed in much the same way by Dorati,

Fischer, and Müller-Brühl, at M. M. 80, 88, and 69. Fischer changes Haydn's orchestration by having the violin 1 part played by a solo violin most of the time. All three performances are subject to the play it in the same way syndrome, supported by the editor's [sim.] note in bar 30, making the bass line far more uniform (and dull) than written by Haydn.

**Symphony No. 77: Portrait of Luigia Polzelli.** 77/2 Andante sostenuto: Fischer and Word, both at M. M. 84, miss the charm of this picture of La Polzelli, by their undue haste and by putting drama into it. Dorati at M. M. 76, while still on the fast side, conveys the gentleness throughout.

**Symphony No. 78: The cuckold.** 78/2 Adagio: Ward at M. M. 88 just races along. Fischer at M. M. 84 is hectic. Only Dorati at M. M. 72 gives a touching picture of the cuckold's sadness and despair.

**Symphony No. 79: Luigia Polzelli's children.** 79/2 Adagio cantabile: At the fast tempo adopted by Ward, M. M. 96, the music sounds merely quaint. At the tempos adopted by Dorati and Fischer, M. M. 88 and 84, one may perhaps hear some of the charming innocence which is in the music if played at a proper adagio tempo.

**Symphony No. 80: Toil.** 80/2 Adagio: Dorati and Fischer at M. M. 52 and 54 of crotchets present a convincing picture of toil. Müller-Brühl at M. M. 69 is merely hasty.

**Symphony No. 81: Pastoral.** 81/2 Andante: Dorati at M. M. 88-96, and still more Müller-Brühl at M. M. 84-92, convey the gentle pastoral mood of the music beautifully. Fischer at M. M. 108 makes the music prosaic. He makes the third variation into a solo for violin.

**Symphony No. 83: Weather.** 83/2 Andante: The four performances of this movement by Dorati, Fischer, Wordsworth, and Bernstein, at M. M. 104, 92, 104, and 100, with their fast tempos and their friendly, light manner in the beginning, all miss the brooding character that comes before the fierce outbursts of storm. Perhaps they are misguided by the silly nickname of the symphony, 'The Hen'.

**Symphony No. 84: Portrait of Luigia Polzelli.** 84/2 Andante: The exquisite tenderness of this portrait of La Polzelli is rendered beautifully by Drahos, with quavers at M. M. 80. Bernstein, at M. M. 84 accelerating into 100, Dorati, at M. M. 104, and still more Fischer, at M. M. 112, make the music prosaic, matter of fact. These recordings may be taken to be the school example of how fast tempos in an Andante movement will spoil the effect.

**Symphony No. 85: La Reine de France.** 85/1 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, Bernstein, and Wordsworth, at M. M. 80, 88, 84, and 96, with their fast tempos miss the pomp of this introduction to the symphony about the Queen of France.

**Symphony No. 86: Friend and Foe.** 86/1 Adagio: Drahos and Bernstein, at M. M. 72 and 80, make the confrontation of Friend and Foe very effective. Dorati and Fischer, at M. M. 96 and 104, hurry the music and lose the effectiveness.

**Symphony No. 87: Joy and Beauty.** 87/2 Adagio: Bernstein and Drahos, at M. M. 76 and 80, realize the beauty of this music very well. Dorati and Fischer, at M. M. 84 and 92, hurry the music.

**Symphony No. 88: Intimate self-portrait.** 88/1 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, and Wordsworth, at M. M. 80, 84, and 80, in their haste fail to convey the serious honesty of Haydn's confession.

**Symphony No. 89: Self-portrait: the entertainer.** 89/2 Andante con moto: This is light entertainment, masterly orchestrated. The three performances, by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 112, 112, and 116, render it quite pleasantly, although at the fast tempos adopted some of the subtleties of Haydn's orchestration get lost.

**Symphony No. 90: The Holy Trinity.** 90/1 Adagio: The three performances of this introduction, by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 63, 69, and 56, similarly convey the solemnness of this music representing the Holy Trinity. 90/2 Andante: This is a serious movement. The three performances, by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 104, 92, and 104, by their quick tempos fail to render the seriousness.

**Symphony No. 91: Male and female.** 91/2 Andante: The performances by Dorati, Fischer, and Drahos, at M. M. 116, 116, and 126, are very much alike and in their hasty tempos entirely miss the charm of these variations. That charm to a large extent depends on Haydn's elaborate articulations, which in the performances are replaced by monotony.



**Symphony No. 92: The Virgin Mary.** 92/1 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, and Wordsworth, at M. M. 88, 92, and 92, by their hasty manners equally fail to convey the solemnness of this introduction to the celebration of the Virgin Mary. 92/2 Adagio cantabile: This glorious movement is played at good tempos by Drahos, Fischer, and Rosbaud, at M. M. 54, 58, and 56. Dorati and Horvat, both at M. M. 63, and Krips at M. M. 69 accelerating to 80, are hasty. But all six performances are spoilt by the way the many cries of hail to Virgin Mary are played in a staccato, brutal manner.

**Symphony No. 93: Haydn and his noble patrons.** 93/1 Adagio: This is Haydn's introduction to the symphony in which he celebrates his noble patrons. It played with due pathos, beautifully, by Fischer and Beecham, at M. M. 60 and 66. The performances by Drahos and Dorati, at M. M. 80 and 84, make it more ordinary.

**Symphony No. 94: Country life.** 94/1 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, Beecham, and Wordsworth, at M. M. 80, 92, 84, and 84, all present a charming and peaceful picture of rustic life. 94/2 Andante: This ever popular surprise movement is rendered by Fischer, Dorati, and Wordsworth, in hurried versions around M. M. 120-132. None of these performances achieves the rustic solidity and gentleness of Beecham's performance at M. M. 88.

**Symphony No. 95: The Ten Commandments.** 95/2 Andante cantabile: Of the five recordings of this movement only that by Reiner, at M. M. 80, conveys the profound piety of the music. Those by Dorati, Beecham, Drahos, and Fischer, at M. M. 92, 88, 104, and 84, all go along too lightly, making the powerful forte passages meaningless.

**Symphony No. 96: Haydn's thankfulness for London.** 96/1 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, and Wordsworth, at M. M. 86, 84, and 96, are hasty. Only Beecham, at M. M. 69, conveys the thankfulness of this introduction of Haydn's thanks to God for coming to England properly. 96/2 Andante: This movement, an expression of Haydn's thankfulness to God for the invitation to come to England, is a school example of the importance of tempo for the expression of the music. Beecham at M. M. 66 makes it soaringly beautiful. Fischer at M. M. 84 is half way there. Dorati and Wordsworth at M. M. 96 and 104 make the music merely hasty, impatient, without expression.

**Symphony No. 97: Haydn and the English public.** 97/1 Adagio: This introduction presents Haydn before the English public. Drahos and Fischer present it beautifully at M. M. 60 and 66. Beecham and Dorati, at M. M. 72 and 84, make it hurried. 97/2 Adagio ma non troppo: Beecham at crotchet M. M. 28 makes these variations into a funeral march. This agrees badly with the light, friendly character of most of the music. It is a unique case of a too slow tempo. Dorati and Drahos, both at crotchet around M. M. 48, miss some of the friendliness. Fischer at crotchet around M. M. 40 makes it a charming flight into fairy land and back.

**Symphony No. 98: Lament over Mozart.** 98/1 Adagio: This is the introduction to Haydn's lament over Mozart's death. In the performances by Fischer, Drahos, and Beecham, at M. M. 92, 96, and 108, it comes out as proper funeral music. Dorati, at M. M. 138, is much too hasty. 98/2 Adagio cantabile: The four recordings of this great movement are very different. Dorati starts at M. M. 84 and accelerates into M. M. 96, distorting Haydn's dynamics, and makes the music dramatic. Drahos and Beecham at M. M. 72 and 76 underplay Haydn's dynamics, weaken the pathetic statements. Only Fischer at M. M. 66, by careful attention to Haydn's score realizes the music as Haydn's lament over the death of Mozart in a profoundly moving performance.

**Symphony No. 99: Joy in God.** 99/1 Adagio: The four performers Dorati, Fischer, Müller-Brühl, and Beecham, all achieve a beautiful expression of joy in God at a tempo of M. M. 76. However, Fischer midway suddenly changes to M. M. 96. 99/2 Adagio: Dorati and Müller-Brühl at M. M. 104 and 112 are entirely too hasty in this music. Their tempos conflict strangely with the Adagio tempos adopted by themselves in movement 99/1. Fischer at M. M. 84 and even more Beecham at M. M. 80 achieve a sublime expression of pious joy in God.

**Symphony No. 100: Peace and war.** 100/1 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, Wordsworth, Beecham, and Jones, at M. M. 108, 120, 112, 92, and 112, by their fast tempos equally fail to convey the pathos of peace interrupted by war presented by Haydn in this introduction.

**Symphony No. 101: Life and time.** 101/1 Adagio: Fischer, Beecham, and Wordsworth, all at M. M. 88, by their forward moving tempos drain this slow introduction of its meaning. Only Dorati and

Reiner, at M. M. 60 and 69, and even more Toscanini at M. M. 54, convey its ominous character. 101/2 Andante: The performances of this great movement by Dorati, Fischer, Wordsworth, and Toscanini, at M. M. 96, 80-88, 88-100, and 92, are spoiled by the fast tempos and too light manners, thus failing to convey the 'time and life' meaning of the music. Beecham starts at M. M. 69 but accelerates into 80, thus failing to achieve the grandeur of Reiner's performance at a steady M. M. 69. All of the performances suffer from walking bass monotony, described above in the discussion of articulations.

**Symphony No. 102: Haydn and Rebecca Schroeter.** 102/2 Adagio: This great movement, a testimonial to Haydn's loving relation to Rebecca Schroeter, receives glorious performances by Beecham and Fischer, both at M. M. 63. Dorati and Wordsworth, both at M. M. 69, spoil some of the serenity by slight hastiness, Dorati also by uncalled for dynamics, for example in bar 44.

**Symphony No. 103: Towards death.** 103/1 Adagio: The opening drum roll of this funeral music is curiously made into a dramatic gesture by Dorati. Dorati, Fischer, Beecham and Jones all start the funeral march at due tempos of M. M. 80, 84, 88, and 88, but only Beecham holds the motion back, while the other performers impose accelerandos, that weaken the effect. Wordsworth at M. M. 104 is just hasty. 103/2 Andante, *più tosto Allegretto*: Sadness in facing death, while trusting in God, that is the meaning of this movement. It is rendered beautifully by Wordsworth at M. M. 84-90, and even more so by Beecham at M. M. 76-88. Dorati, Fischer, and Jones, at M. M. 108, 104, and 132, make the movement meaningless.

**Symphony No. 104: Thanks to God.** 104/1 Adagio: Dorati, Fischer, and Wordsworth, at M. M. 66, 60, and 66, all convey this introduction to Haydn's final thanks to God beautifully. 104/2 Andante: Fischer at M. M. 92 and Dorati at M. M. 96 give impatient performances, Fischer even accelerating into M. M. 108 at the dramatic climax. Wordsworth and Rosbaud, at M. M. 76 and 80, give truly beautiful performances of this Haydn's ultimate thanks to God.

## Conclusion

The present study is not a buyer's guide. The performances of Haydn's 106 symphonies by 22 different conductors present a complicated picture of qualities and defects, far too complicated to be summarized in any recommendation to potential buyers. The only overall conclusion of the study is that as a whole the available recordings of the works suffer from enormous defects, mostly of too fast tempos and monotonous walking bass articulations. The study should be taken to be an invitation to new performers to take up Haydn's symphonies such as he has written them, avoiding the defects of the presently available recordings. The field is wide open.

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