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# **The Meaning of Joseph Haydn's Symphonies**

*Dedicated to the memory of H. C. Robbins Landon*

**Peter Naur**

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## **Introduction**

Es wäre sehr interessant, die Veranlassungen zu kennen, aus welchen Haydn seine Kompositionen dichtete, so wie die Empfindungen und Ideen, welche dabey seinem Gemüthe vorschwebten, und die er durch die Tonsprache auszudrücken strebte. Um es zu erfahren, hätte man ihm aber eines seiner Werke nach dem andern vorlegen müssen, und das fiel dem betagten Manne lästig. Er erzählte jedoch, dass er in seinen Symphonieen öfters - moralische Charaktere geschildert habe. In einer seiner ältesten, die er aber nicht genau anzugeben wusste, ist 'die Idee herrschend, wie Gott mit einem verstockten Sünder spricht, ihn bittet sich zu bessern, der Sünder aber in seinem Leichtsinne den Ermahnungen nicht Gehör giebt.'

Translation:

It would be very interesting to know the occasions from which Haydn created his compositions, as also the feelings and ideas, that meanwhile were before his mind, and which he endeavoured to express in the language of tones. However, in order to learn this one would have to place his works before him, one after the other, and that would be tedious to the old man. He did tell, however, that he in his symphonies most often described—moral character. In one of his oldest, which, however, he was not able to identify precisely, 'the idea governs how God speaks with a stubborn sinner, asking him to improve himself, but the sinner in his superficiality does not listen to the exhortations.'

So writes G. A. Griesinger in his *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* from 1810. The present study pursues the implications of this statement from Joseph Haydn, by suggesting extramusical meanings for a number of his symphonies.

A particular reason for assuming each symphony to have an extramusical meaning is the enormous, bewildering differences between the works. This difference already baffled Haydn's contemporary commentators, as quoted by Robbins Landon (1978-80).

Listening for the meaning of the individual symphonies seems to have been done only sporadically in the past. Robbins Landon very successfully finds rich documentation for asserting the meaning of Symphony No. 26, Lamentatione, to be that 'the first and second movements illustrate some drama played during the Holy Week' (1978-80, vol. 2, p. 291). Beyond that Robbins Landon suggests a clue to the mood of some individual movements of other symphonies.

The exploration described below was undertaken with the hope of discovering, in some way, such extramusical clues to at least some of the works that might help the listeners to a richer appreciation of the treasury of Haydn's symphonies.



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### Human utterance in the symphonies

This doubt sent me into listening to all of Haydn's symphonies, so as to locate a more convincing dialogue. This exploration turned out to be rewarding. Only a few of the movements, namely 4/2, 5/1, 11/1, 12/2, 15/1, 17/2, 21/1, 22/1, 28/2, 43/1, and 54/2, have some of the quality of human utterance and dialogue. But only just one of them, 28/2, qualifies as the God-sinner dialogue. This is the beginning of 28/2:



As this movement continues the violins in their low range present a sequence of earnest utterances, no two of them the same, each utterance being answered by the same kind of what Robbins Landon calls a 'spiky little answer'. What is particularly significant is the way Haydn achieves an appropriate tone of voice in the way the earnest utterances gradually expand in their eloquence. As the way Haydn will have God speaking to the unrepentant sinner this seems to me entirely convincing.

This finding was highly suggestive in my exploration of the symphonies. It made me listen to those few other movements that have the quality of human utterance, with close attention to the tone of voice of each of them. Thus I found:

4/2, Andante. Over a steady, syncopated accompaniment a sequence of personally expressive phrases develop themselves.

5/1, Adagio ma non troppo. An interchange between phrases in the strings and phrases in the horns. In their tone of voice the phrases are personally descriptive.

11/1, Adagio cantabile. This is a single voice, carried by long phrases in the violins, of rare eloquence. The tone of voice is one of pure, joyous rapture.

12/2, Adagio, is a dialogue. The two voices are similarly earnest. One voice speaks at length, *pianissimo*, timidly. This is answered by shorter phrases, *forte*, all strings in unison, sternly.

15/1, Adagio - Presto - Adagio. The two Adagio sections are the same music. They are dialogues between phrases in the violins and answers in the horns. Throughout the tone of voice is one of loving tenderness.

17/2, Andante ma non troppo, is one long, eloquent melodic line, as an expression of modesty and gratitude.

21/1, Adagio. The first three bars present in the violins a slow theme of sublime dignity and beauty, answered, in bars 4 to 6, 0:12 minutes (that is, 0 minutes, 12 seconds) into the movement, by a phrase in the two oboes. This is immediately repeated. The rest of the movement has expansions of the same music.

22/1, Adagio, dialogue between short phrases in the horns and the cors anglais, as shown in music above. The tone of voice is dry and factual.

43/2, Adagio, a single voice expressing reminiscence in long phrases.

54/2, Adagio assai: the full orchestra in long, slow phrases expressing humble gratitude.

In summary of this stage of the exploration: listening to those movements of the symphonies that have some of the character of human utterance has shown that Haydn in these movements displays a mastery of expressing a wide range of human concerns by musical tones of voice, and also conveys clearly the difference between human utterance and description of human character. This result of the listening suggests that a concentrated attention to each of these movements, aiming at finding an expression in extramusical terms of the message of each of them, might be a constructive way to unravelling the feelings and ideas that were Haydn's when he composed the music.

As the first step in this direction, I asked myself, what is the extramusical meaning of movement 11/1? As stated above the tone of voice is one of pure, joyous rapture. From this formulation, my train of associations was short: Pure, joyous rapture, that is religious fervour; joyous, religious fervour, that is Haydn himself! And then just one step further: perhaps this music is a portrait of Haydn himself? And further: perhaps the whole Symphony No. 11 is a self-portrait? Still further: perhaps other of the symphonies are also self-portraits?

### **Symphony No. 34: The Four Temperaments**

Before pursuing this idea further my attention was attracted by Symphony No. 34, dated c. 1765. As stated by Robbins Landon (1978-80) this has the distinction of being Haydn's first symphony in a minor key. It opens with an expansive Adagio in d minor, said by Robbins Landon to introduce suddenly 'into Haydn's already varied language that of tragedy'. As described by Robbins Landon the three remaining movements of the Symphony, in D major, are a fiery Allegro, a slow-moving Menuet with a leisurely Trio, and a racy (Presto assai) Finale, which sounds like a perpetuum mobile.

When I listened to the Symphony, while certainly finding Robbins Landon's description valid, I could not help feeling that something was amiss. For one thing, the description makes no sense of putting these four movements together to form one work. For another, I felt uneasy about describing 34/1, Adagio, as tragedy. The character of this movement is entirely different from any of those described above. In spite of its length—11 minutes—34/1 has no development, no drama, and it has not the quality of a personal utterance. When putting it into words I could not use tragedy. As I hear it, 34/1 describes a state of oppressive sadness, melancholy.

And this was what triggered my discovery: To me the word melancholy by association suggests a clue to the Symphony. Melancholy is one of the four humours that according to mediaeval medicine enter into forming a person's temperament. They are also known as the Four Temperaments. As stated in a modern dictionary they are: *melancholic*: gloomy; *choleric*: irascible, irritable, impatient, touchy; *phlegmatic*: not easily excited to action or display of emotions, cool, cold, dull, torpid; *sanguine*: cheerful, hopeful, buoyant, lively. (The Four Temperaments have inspired other composers; both Carl Nielsen and Paul Hindemith have works under this title).

An initial quick survey of the music of Haydn's Symphony No. 34 suggests that the Four Temperaments, when taken in the order given here, might fit the four movements. Let us examine this first impression in more detail.

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The melancholy of 34/1 has already been noted. 34/2, Allegro, starts with a theme of wide skips up and down, irascible, six half notes in bars 1 to 3:



Bars 4-5, 0:5 minutes into the movement, have the same theme in six quarter notes, and bars 6-7, at 0:10 minutes, the theme again, but in eighth. These repetitions in shorter notes express impatience. Come on, quicker, they say.

Bars 8-11 of 34/2, 0:14 minutes into the movement, present a one-bar theme, first twice repeated, in the time of four quarter notes, then once in the time of two and a half. This is followed by two phrases, both in the time of two quarter notes. These bars are then repeated, piano, in bars 12-15, at 0:21 minutes. All this again expresses impatience.

In bars 16-21 of 34/2, at 0:28 minutes, we hear the oboes play five times a short phrase, *piano*, each phrase being answered immediately by a short *forte* phrase in the horns and strings. This expresses touchiness, anger.

In bars 22-35 of 34/2, at 0:38 to 1:03 minutes, the music rises from *piano* to a climax on bars 32-35, at 1:00 minutes. The climax consists of the violins playing a downward seventh, first twice in the time of a half note, then three times in the time of a quarter notes. Again this expresses impatience.

The remaining sections of 34/2 continue to play on these impatient, angry, and touchy themes, to form an exciting description of the choleric temperament.

34/3, Menuetto moderato, opens with a short, lazy, falling scale run, and continues with a tired three-note motive: d-e-d:



This tired motive is found in bars 1-2, 5-6, 12-13, 13-14, 14-15, 15-16, and 17-18, at 0:01, 0:08, 0:35, 0:37, 0:38, and 0:40 minutes and when these sections are repeated. In the Trio both the *Ländler* theme in the oboes, at 1:22 minutes, and the way the accompaniment in the horns in bars 34-35 at 1:32 minutes slides lazily from syncopations into notes on the beat are entirely phlegmatic.

34/4, Presto assai, consists of flimsy triplet scale runs, perfectly sanguine, starting:



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The identification of The Four Temperaments as the extramusical subject of Symphony No. 34, considered by the evidence of the music itself to be incontestable, was a decisive result of the present exploration. It confirmed the importance, for discovering the meaning of the music, of listening to the character, the tone of voice, of each part of the music.

It further suggests that as conceived by Haydn *the several movements of each symphony share one common extramusical idea, which would be the idea of the symphony as a whole*. This extramusical idea might for example be a human situation of a certain kind, a 'moral character', or the character of a particular person. Thus as the approach to each symphony in the further explorations, we will be justified in starting from an identification of the character of any one movement of a symphony and then seek confirmations of that identification in the remaining movements, in the same way as in Symphony No. 34 the identification of one of the four temperaments in 34/1 was confirmed in the remaining movements.

### The fanfare, the syncopation, and the ornament fingerprints

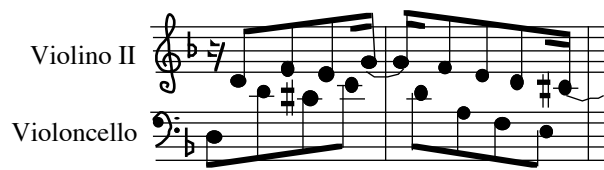
At this stage of my exploration I returned to the question: Is the whole Symphony No. 11 a self-portrait? This sent me listening to the remaining movements of Symphony No. 11.

In this listening my attention was particularly attracted by the two different 'fingerprints' that Robbins Landon points out occur in many of Haydn's works. I shall continue to refer to them as the *fanfare fingerprint* and the *syncopation fingerprint*. The fanfare fingerprint is a rhythmic figure of six tones, all the same. In music it looks like this:



It may be heard as played as a fanfare by four horns eight times right at the beginning of Symphony No. 31. The rhythm is the one marked by the syllables when speaking the phrase: cat kitty cat cat cow.

The syncopation fingerprint is music in which the bass moves steadily in equal beats while a voice above it moves in similar beats, but shifted half a beat in syncopation. It may be heard all through movement 4/2 as accompaniment, starting:



Violino II

Violoncello

Syncopation fingerprint: + *Joseph Haydn*

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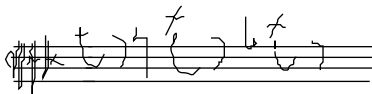
In 11/2, Allegro, the fanfare fingerprint occurs 9 times in bars 9 to 17 (at 0:06 to 0:13 and when repeated at 0:58 to 1:05 minutes), 18 times in bars 78 to 95 (at 2:00 to 2:18 minutes), and 4 times in bars 122 to 125 (at 2:39 to 2:43 minutes). The syncopation fingerprint occurs in bars 45 to 47, at 0:38 and in the repeat at 2:30 minutes, and in bars 149 to 151, at 3:02 minutes. It further forms the accompaniment of most of the Trio of 11/3 at 1:52 minutes. Again it is the main theme of 11/4, Finale - Presto.

Combining the suggestion that Symphony No. 11 is a self-portrait with the unusually numerous occurrences of the two fingerprints in this Symphony it occurred to me that the fingerprints might have a special, personal significance to Haydn, such that he would put them into his music only as a mark of his personal involvement in that music. I had noticed that the fingerprints occur nowhere in Symphony No. 34, discussed above. In my further exploration of the symphonies I found steadily more corroboration of this idea of the two fingerprints. I soon found evidence for a further refinement of it: the fanfare fingerprint is Haydn's musical expression of *laude deo* (praised be God); the syncopation fingerprint is his expression of *Joseph Haydn*. In the following notes their occurrences in movements will be marked with \* for the fanfare and + for the syncopation.

At a much later stage of my studies, years later, I realized that a third fingerprint described by Robbins Landon as 'a turn (with three auxiliary notes)', like the syncopation fingerprint stands for *Joseph Haydn*.

The turn fingerprint as used by Haydn raises questions of notation and execution that have puzzled editors and musicians. For example, Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Fifth Edition, in the article on Ornaments shows just one example from Haydn, with the note: 'Haydn, unaccented turn, misleadingly notated'. Plausibly this note is merely an expression of the editor's misunderstanding of what Haydn intended when he used his special notation.

So first about Haydn's notation as this may be gleaned from the texts of his Symphonies. One example of it may be seen in the autograph of Symphony No. 7, Le Midi, which is the earliest autograph of a Haydn symphony that has been preserved:



From Symphony 7, page 23b, in Haydn's autograph

This in the edition of the score edited by Robbins Landon is rendered as follows (with correction of the position of the sharp sign):



Symphony 7/2 Adagio, bar 42

Here the editor has rendered the skew cross written by Haydn above two of the notes by the ordinary turn symbol with a vertical stroke added. This sign is what is sometimes referred to as the Haydn-ornament.

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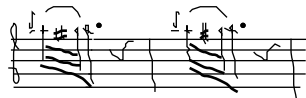
As to how the Haydn-ornament should be played there is evidence from Haydn himself in the music of his Symphony No. 74. This was the first of several symphonies that he sent to a publisher in London to be published there. It seems that he made care to include in this music an explanation for foreign musicians about how to play his special ornament. Thus in the modern edition of the score of the Symphony we find:



Symphony 74/1, violin 1, bars 65-67

Here the modern edition renders the Haydn-ornament by a symbol which is closer to Haydn's handwriting than the modified turn symbol shown in the example from Symphony 7/2 above. This example can be seen to be Haydn's instruction to foreign players, showing a fuller form first and then the abbreviation immediately after. The example shows clearly that the Haydn-ornament is an instruction to play three additional notes before the notes above which the ornament is written. These three notes should be played at the time of the note marked with the ornament, as a special accent upon that note. This is obvious from the example from Symphony 7/2 above, where the note is preceded by a pause. An ornament played thus is normally referred to as an accented turn.

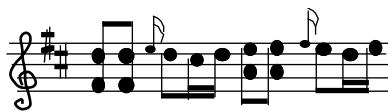
The above example from Symphony 74/1 shows how Haydn himself will write his ornament in two different ways. Yet another way to write it is found in another place of the autograph of Symphony No. 7:



From Symphony 7, page 31a, in Haydn's autograph

This shows the precise timing of the playing, the small notes being played on the beat, followed by the longer, main note.

Yet another way to write the ornament is found in 53/4 Version B, which is dominated by what is written in bar 2:



Symphony 53/4 version B, bar 2

A particularly significant example of Haydn's use of his ornament is found in Symphony 11/4:

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Symphony 11/4, bars 1-3, violin 1, violoncello

This example is instructive in that the ornament is played together with the syncopation fingerprint, suggesting that they both mean the same thing to Haydn, to wit, Haydn himself.

Robbins Landon in his Vol. 3, p. 509-10, gives examples of ornaments taken from the symphonies No.s 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, and the Sinfonia Concertante. Those from No.s 98 and 103 look like this:



Symphony 98/2



Symphony 103/2

As seen, that from No. 98 is expressed in terms of small, auxiliary notes, while the one from No. 103 is indicated by the turn symbol commonly employed in musical notation. That symbol is used to indicate a turn played after the note. The small notes, on the other hand, plausibly indicate a turn that has to be played on the beat, before the note itself. This suggests that the ornament indicated in Symphony 103 is not Haydn's special ornament, but the ordinary turn.

This is confirmed by the fact that Symphony 103/3 has the ornament written with three small notes before the main note, as indicated by their being written after the barline.



Symphony 103/3, bars 1-2, violino 1

This form of the ornament written after the barline is quite prominent in the minuets of Haydn's later symphonies, being found also in the Symphonies No.s 75, 84, and 102.

The indication is that Haydn in some of his symphonies wrote his ornament with a special symbol, to save labor. It seems that he did this as long as he had his personal control over the execution, particularly in his earlier symphonies.

In summary, in music scripts of Haydn's Symphonies ornaments are found of five forms:

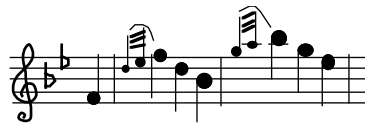
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Five script forms of Haydn's ornament, here indicated by the sign ≠

It will here be assumed that these five forms all indicate the same thing, namely a accented turn of three notes played on the beat before the main note, acting like a strong accent on that note. It will further be assumed that the presence of such an ornament indicates Haydn's personal involvement in the music, like the syncopation fingerprint.

As an additional indication that Haydn conceived this particular ornament as referring to himself it may be noted that in 98/3, which is similar in character to 75/3, 84/3, and 102/3, Haydn wrote the ornament as follows:



Symphony 98/3 Menuetto Allegro

But as discussed below, in 98/3 Haydn referred, not to himself, but to Mozart.

In the following the presence in the music of Haydn's ornament, written in any of the five ways, will be indicated by the sign ≠.

### Salve Regina Symphonies

And then, early in the first phase of my studies, listening to the opening of Symphony No. 1/1, I asked myself, what does this music say?



Symphony 1/1, opening: *Salve Regina*

No sooner did I formulate this question before my answer was there: This music says Hail! It is an ovation. And what does it hail? It lands in bars 6 to 9 in firm assertions of the fanfare fingerprint.

What does Haydn want to hail, which he marks out so emphatically with his fanfare? In view of Haydn's well known strong religious orientation (described by Griesinger as quoted in the section on self-portraits below) the answer must be that his hail is directed to some aspect of God. More particularly, the idea lies close at hand that what Haydn hails here is the Holy Virgin.

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Haydn's special affinity for the Holy Virgin was displayed in his lifelong fascination with the *Salve Regina* poem. In one of Haydn's very earliest attempts at composition, mentioned in the biographical notes by Dies and dating from his time as choir-boy at St. Stephen's in Vienna when he was from 7 to 16 years old, he was trying a setting of *Salve Regina* for twelve voices. A major achievement of his early manhood was his *Salve Regina* in E, Hob. XXIIIb:1, written in 1756, just before he wrote his first symphonies. His *Salve Regina* from 1771 is a major contribution of his maturity.

Continuing from this idea it occurred to me that the music of Haydn's Symphony No. 1/1 might be a symphonic setting of the first stanza of the *Salve Regina* poem:

*Salve Regina, mater misericordiae! Hail to thee, Queen, mother of mercy!*

Continuing along this line of inquiry, I asked myself whether perhaps other parts of the *Salve Regina* poem might be found in other of the symphonies. Therefore I listened to each of the symphonies, with this idea in mind.

As the result of this inquiry my attention was drawn to Symphonies No.s 2 in C, 9 in C, 18 in G, 19 in D, 32 in C, and 37 in C, all known from Robbins Landon's researches to be among the very first symphonies Haydn wrote around 1759. In each of these symphonies one may notice, first of all, the all pervading seriousness in their tone of voice, their tone of reverent devotion. In addition, they all have Haydn's fanfare fingerprint. In view of our identification of Symphony No. 1/1 above, the idea presents itself that these symphonies might be settings of other parts of the *Salve Regina* poem.

Repeated listening to these symphonies with constant regard to the text of *Salve Regina* then yielded plentiful evidence, presented below, that it makes sense to consider these symphonies together to form a setting of the poem in the following manner:

### Symphony No. 1 D

1/1 Presto*	Salve Regina, mater misericordiae!	Hail to thee, Queen, mother of mercy!
1/2 Andante+	Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve!	Our life, our consolation, and our hope, hail to thee!

### 1/3 Finale - Presto\*

### Symphony No. 37 C

37/1 Presto*+	Ad te clamamus	To thee we cry, we,
37/2 Menuet* e trio	exules filii Evae.	the banished children
37/3 Andante		of Eve
37/4 Presto		

### Symphony No. 19 D

19/1 Allegro molto*	Ad te suspiramus,	To thee we sigh,
19/2 Andante+	gementes et flentes,	sorrowing and weeping,
19/3 Presto	in hac lacrimarum valle.	in this vale of tears.

### Symphony No. 18 G

18/1 Andante moderato*	Eja ergo, advocata nostra,	Oh thou, our advocate,
18/2 Allegro molto*+≠	illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte	turn upon us thine eyes so full of mercy.
18/3 Tempo di Menuet*		

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### Symphony No. 9 C

9/1 Allegro molto*+≠	Et Jesum,	And Jesus,
9/2 Andante	benedictum fructum	the blessed fruit
	ventris tui	of thy womb,
9/3 Menuetto - Trio	nobis post hoc	show to us after our exile!
	exilium ostende!	

### Symphony No. 2 C

2/1 Allegro*+	Jesum ostende nobis!	Show Jesus to us!
2/2 Andante		
2/3 Finale - Presto		

### Symphony No. 32 C

32/1 Allegro molto*	O clemens,	Oh compassionate,
32/2 Minuet* - Trio	o pia,	Oh pious,
32/3 Adagio ma non troppo	o dulcis	Oh sweet
32/4 Presto	virgo Maria!	virgin Mary!

Here \* indicates the occurrence of Haydn's fanfare fingerprint, + the occurrence of his syncopation fingerprint, and ≠ the occurrence of the ornament.

This interpretation of the symphonies finds support in numerous details of the music as follows. Overall common features of all 7 Symphonies: no music in a personal tone of voice (as is found in the contemporary works such as Symphonies No.s 17, 15, 4, and 5). The only long themes are in 9/2 in the flutes and 9/3. The syncopation fingerprint occurs in the Symphonies that express text in which 'we' or 'us' occurs, not in No. 32.

1/1 expresses 'Salve Regina' as shown in the quotation on page 11. 1/2 expresses 'mater misericordia! Vita, dulcendo, et spes nostra' by gentle, singing music, interspersed with intense phrases. The tone of voice is one of gentle piety. The 'nostra' includes Haydn himself, as expressed by his syncopation fingerprint in bars 12-13, at 0:24 minutes, and elsewhere. 1/3 again expresses 'Salve Regina' by just one energetic theme in three eighths.

37/1 expresses 'To thee we cry' by the theme of two semiquavers and three quavers presented in bars 1-2, which in numerous variations forms the main substance of the music. The 'we' here includes Haydn himself, as expressed by his syncopation fingerprint in bars 5-8, at 0:04 minutes, and elsewhere. 37/2 and 37/3, both in c minor, express 'we, the banished children of Eve' movingly in forlorn phrases, including what Robbins Landon has described so well when, in talking of 37/3, he mentions 'A passage of haunting beauty and so typical, even now, of Haydn: bars 15 (at 0:37 minutes) (2nd half) ff., long dominant pedal point (bass line, repeated semiquavers), violins tentatively thrusting their phrases at us.'

19/1 expresses 'this vale of tears' through the omnipresent falling scale, semiquaver phrases, signifying rolling tears. 19/2, in d minor, with the prominent accompaniment of Haydn's syncopation fingerprint, has 'we sigh, sorrowing and weeping' expressed in the short opening figure and in *forte* sighing phrases. In 19/3,

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Presto, distress is expressed by the falling phrase, *forte*, coming first in bar 5, at 0:04 minutes, after the *piano* opening.

The appeal of 'Oh thou, our advocate', is expressed in 18/1 in three times repeated phrases of *forte* followed by *piano* in bars 20-22 and 57-59 at 0:50 and 3:51 minutes, and similarly in 18/3 bars 33-36 and 43-48 at 1:35, 1:50, 2:28 and 3:03 minutes. The inclusion of Haydn himself in 'our' is expressed in his syncopation fingerprint in 18/1 bars 9-12 at 0:20 minutes and elsewhere. Both 18/1 and 18/3 from bar 29 at 1:29 minutes have the sweetness and appeal of '... so full of mercy'.

'Turn upon us thine eyes' is expressed in 18/2. First the pair of eyes is presented in bars 1-2 by an extremely lively phrase which is repeated in bars 3-4 at 0:03 minutes. This is immediately followed in bar 5 at 0:06 minutes by the fanfare fingerprint, also given twice. Then follows, in bars 6-7 at 0:10 minutes, a phrase more like a lingering gaze, repeated in bars 8-9 at 0:13 minutes one tone lower. And so the movement continues with phrases that are immediately repeated, like pairs of eyes. In bar 23 at 0:39 minutes we have the syncopation fingerprint showing that Haydn himself is among the 'us'.

In 9/1 the birth of Jesus is expressed in the opening rush up to the strong assertion of the fanfare fingerprint in bars 20-23 at 0:16 and repeated at 1:00 minutes. Immediately following, in bars 24-25 at 0:20 and repeated at 1:03 minutes, comes a figure of a rising triad which may be taken to represent 'ostende' ('show'). This figure is played twice and then in bars 28-30, at 0:24 and repeated at 1:07 minutes, played in a modified form which includes the syncopation fingerprint. This fingerprint comes again in bars 56-57 at 1:32 minutes. All this indicates that the 'nobis' (us) in 'ostende nobis' includes Haydn himself. Jesus is described in the mild sweetness of the melodies in 9/2 and 9/3. In the part for flutes in 9/2 there is nothing soloistic or personal, made explicit by Haydn by the use of two flutes mostly in unison, rather than just one flute.

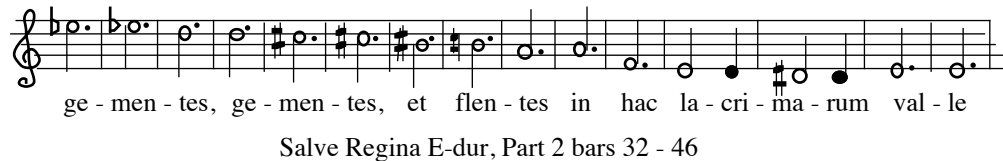
2/1 opens with a rising figure, 'ostende' ('show'). This figure appears in much of the music of the movement. It has several soft, devoted passages, and in bars 34-38 and 146-52 at 0:34 and 2:29 minutes the fanfare fingerprint in a soft form. 2/2, with the sweet childishness of its musical figures, is a devoted tribute to the child Jesus, as shown to us.

No. 32 fully qualifies as the final tribute to the Holy Virgin. 32/1 opens with a noble, friendly theme, repeated at 0:59 minutes. From bar 19 at 0:16 and 1:15 minutes a second long theme adds richness to the character. The third theme, from bar 46 at 0:38 and 1:37 minutes rises from soft intimacy to magnificent assertions of the fanfare fingerprint in bar 61 at 0:54 and 1:53 minutes. The menuet theme of 32/2 is firm, friendly, dependable. The trio, at 1:24 minutes is pure compassion. 32/3 is a long, beautiful, touching expression of the piety of Virgin Mary. Finally the theme of 32/4 presents 'virgo Maria' as the compassionate listener, each phrase *forte* immediately continued by a phrase *piano*, as in listening.

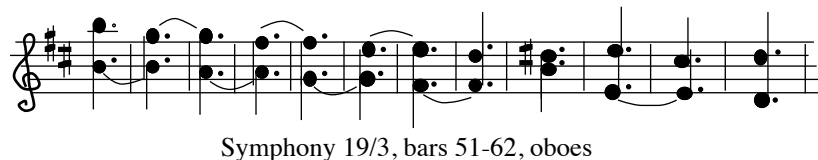
Confirmations of these interpretations of the Salve Regina Symphonies may be found in the music of Haydn's two settings of Salve Regina: Hob. XXIII b:1 E major

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of 1756, and Hob. XXIII b:2 g minor of 1771, as follows. The text 'Ad te clamamus' is accompanied in the g minor work Adagio bars 55-61 by sixteenth figures rapidly changing dynamics between *f* and *p*, quite similar to those of symphony 37/3 bars 35-42. The text 'Ad nos converte' is accompanied in the g minor work Allegro bars 18-27 and 60-62 by figures jumping up and down rapidly, quite similar to those of symphony 18/2 bars 1-4, 27-28 and elsewhere. The text 'gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle' is set to music in the E major work thus:



and in the g minor work Adagio bars 69-75 and 83-89 by slowly moving, one in a bar, lines, quite similar to Symphony 19/3 bars 51-62.



## The Four Seasons

In several of the remaining very early symphonies the music has a non-devotional, impersonal, descriptive tone of voice. At this stage of my exploration it occurred to me that some of them might describe the four seasons, and so I examined all of the symphonies in which I had so far not heard any particular message, listening for characters suggesting one of the four seasons. This search was successful:

Symphony No. 10 in D, Autumn: 10/1, Allegro, opens with stormy music, leading first from bar 8 at 0:12 and 1:13 minutes and then in bar 22 at 0:35 and 1:36 minutes into rapid downward scales suggesting the falling leaves. A new theme, piano, starts with two downward triad phrases, followed immediately by another theme of two bars, the first being a downward skip of a sixth, the theme being immediately repeated. This leads in bars 32 to 36 at 0:50 and 1:52 minutes to a sequence of rapid downward scale motions. All this suggests an autumnal storm in the forest. 10/2, Andante, depicts a quiet scene of autumnal sadness, all downward melodic motions, the leaves are falling. 10/3, Finale - Presto, has a recurrent, fine theme with several downward scale motions. The interludes have soft passages suggesting the rich colors of autumn.

Symphony No. 33 in C, Winter: 33/1, Vivace, has several themes having strong contrasts, suggesting the severity of winter. 33/2, Andante, has no themes. It moves slowly, in long held phrases, *piano*, with an occasional sigh, *forte*: It suggests a frozen, wintry landscape. 33/3, Minuet, has themes made out of large skips up and down, like a frozen world. 33/3, Trio, by contrast, slides along, *pianissimo*, with no themes at all, like wintry mist. 33/4, Finale - Allegro, is made out of short, contrasting

themes, like crystals of ice.

### **Peter Naur:... Joseph Haydn's Symphonies page 16**

Symphony 'A' in B flat, Spring: The sound of the Symphony, with prominent high horns, has the freshness of spring. Both 'A'/1, Allegro, and 'A'/3, Allegro molto, start from short rising phrases and are all made up from quick short phrases, suggesting the budding life of spring. 'A'/2, Andante, presents a pretty tune, like a flower of spring.

Symphony No. 20 in C, Summer: The orchestral sound in 20/1, 20/3, and 20/4 is bright throughout, with trumpets. All movements by their richly developed themes convey the fertility of summer. 20/1, Allegro molto, has three well developed themes. 20/2, Andante cantabile, for strings only, has a long, beautifully developed theme, like a ripe flower. 20/3, Minuet and Trio, has themes that cover the full dynamic range from *forte* to *piano*, conveying the fullness of summer. 20/4, Presto, is in ABA form. The A section has a theme that continues to develop itself, with ever further new parts, over 87 bars. The B section, in g minor, from bar 88 at 1:00 minutes, similarly, has a theme of 66 bars. From bar 154 at 1:49 minutes the first theme is repeated in its full length.

From this stage of my exploration I listened to each of the remaining symphonies many times, always asking myself what might be the meaning of each work. I listened for clues to the meaning of several kinds. A clue might originally be suggested by the tone of voice in one movement. Or it might be suggested by a characteristic of the music found in several of the movements. The presence of Haydn's fingerprints was always suggestive. At the same time I kept my mind open to meanings of any kind.

By this process the symphonies one by one gradually revealed a meaning to me, as reported below. In presenting the results of my exploration the Symphonies have been grouped as follows:

Group	Symphonies No.s
Salve Regina Symphonies	1, 2, 9, 18, 19, 32, 37
The Four Seasons	10, 33, 'A', 20
Self-portraits	4, 11, 12, 15, 17, 21, 27, 29, 42, 52, 53, 54, 61, 66, (74), 75, 76, 88, 89, 93, 96, 97, 103
Portraits of others	3, 5, 13, 24, 25, 36, 39, 41, 46, 50, 55, 68, 69, 72, (77), (79), (84), 85, 98, 102
Le Matin, Le Midi, Le Soir	6, 7, 8
Landscape and nature	'B', 14, 38, 40, 57, 81, 83
Types and fates of men	22, 23, 28, 34, 35, 43, 51, 56, 58, 59, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, (78), 80, 86, 87, 91, 94, 100, 101
Polzelli Symphonies	74, 77, 78, 79, 84
Church Symphonies	16, 26, 30, 31, 44, 47, 48, 49, 82, 90, 92, 95, 99, 104

In the description of each group below the works have been ordered by the chronology established by Robbins Landon.

### **Self-portraits**

As background of the following account of what is taken to be self-portraits, here are some notes on Haydn's character, as presented by Griesinger (1810, p. 96ff, translated from the German):

In his youth and maturity Haydn was fond of spiced dishes, and always rose early; from his seventieth year he adhered strictly to a life style which in his experience had proved itself the most bearable. ... At any talk of his diet he would usually add: "I am of no more use to the world, I must let myself be served and nursed as a child: it is time that God called me!" -

Haydn spoke in a broad Austrian dialect, and his conversation was amply provided with those comic and naïve expressions that are specifically Austrian.

... Haydn was very *religiously* minded, and faithfully devoted to the belief in which he grew up. He was most vividly convinced that all human destiny is guided by God's hand, that God judges good and evil, that all talent comes from above. All his scores begin with the words: In nomine Domini, and end with: Laus Deo or Soli Deo gloria. "When the composing does not come along, I heard him say, I go up and down in the room, with the rosary in the hand, pray a few Ave, and then the ideas come to me again." In the religion he also found the most powerful consolation for his bodily weakness; he was in the last years wholly conversant with his death and prepared himself for it every day. Without pondering on the issues of belief he adopted what and how the Catholic Church preached, and that gave him peace. ... [p. 100] A proposal for a Will, written in his own hand in 1809, begins as follows: In the name of the Holy Trinity. The uncertainty when it will please my creator in His boundless mercy to claim me from the temporal, has moved me, still at complete sanity, to declare my last Will over my slight remaining property. My soul I deliver to my creator; my body shall be buried after Roman Catholic custom in consecrated ground of first class. But one must not from these passages assume intolerant attitudes. Haydn left anyone at his convictions, and saw them all as brothers. Altogether his devotion was not of the gloomy, always sin-conscious kind, but glad, trusting, and this is also the character of his church music. His patriarchal pious mind is particularly expressed in The Creation, and therefore this composition would succeed him better than a hundred other masters. "Not until I had reached into half of my composition, I felt that they were right; I was also never so pious as during the time when I worked on The Creation; daily I fell on my knees and prayed to God that he would grant me the power to the happy execution of this work." ... [p. 101-02]

A natural adjunct of Haydn's religiousness was his *modesty*; to him his talent was not his own work, but a generous gift from Heaven, for which he thought he had to be grateful.

Once he had a visit of the pianist ... from P. You are Haydn, the great Haydn, he started with theatrical gestures; one should kneel before you! one should approach you only as a being of a higher kind! - Oh, my dear mr. ..., answered

Haydn, do not talk so with me; look at me as a man upon whom God has bestowed a talent and a good heart; that is as high as my assumptions reach. - Do you know what bothers me? continued ..., when he had looked around in the room. You should live in a magnificent palace, your garden should be ten times as large, you should have six horses before your carriage, live in the world of the great. - "All this, answered Haydn, does not suit my wishes; in my youth I had hard times, and already then I made an effort to earn so much so as in my old days to have no subsistence worries. Thanks to God this has been achieved; I have my convenient house, three or four dishes for lunch, a good glass of wine, I can dress in fine cloth, and when I want to go a hire carriage is good enough; I have had intercourse with emperors, kings, and many great personages, and have been said many flattering words by them: but I will not have intimate relations with such persons, I will rather consort with people of my own class.

Of his lowly origin, his poor relatives, some of whom were shoemakers, peasants and other common workers, Haydn was so little ashamed that he would often himself speak of them. About his own works he said: "Sunt mala mixta bonis; they are good and bad children, and here and there a changeling has slipped in."

No one could be more inclined to give justice to the merit of others than Haydn. From Emanuel Bach, he would declare loudly, he had learned most of what he knew; likewise he would speak of Gluck, of Händel, and of his earlier teachers with thankful tribute. "Where Mozart is, Haydn cannot present himself!" he 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!" ... [p. 104]

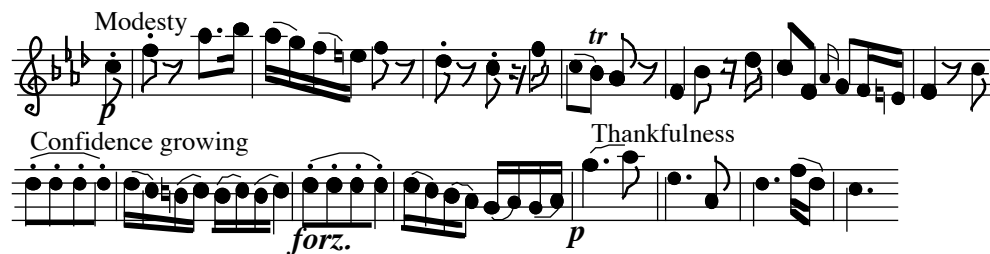
Even with his modesty, Haydn was aware of his own worth. "I know, he would say, that God has granted me a gift, and I recognize it gratefully; I also think I have done my duty to it, and have been useful to the world through my works; may others do the same!" At another occasion he said: "when a master has produced one or two excellent works, his fame is well grounded; his Creation will stand, and the Seasons will stand there as well." ... [p. 105] He also told me that once in the presence of K. and Mozart one of his new quartets was performed in which certain bold transitions occurred. "That sounds strange, said K. to Mozart, would you have written that?" Hardly, answered Mozart; but do you know why? because neither you nor I would ever hit on this idea. ... [p. 105-07]

That which the British call *humour* was a main trait in Haydn's character. He would easily and preferably discover the comical side of anything, and whoever had spent even just one hour with him must become aware that the spirit of the Austrian national gaiety breathed in him. In his compositions this spirit is quite pronounced, and particularly his Allegros and Rondeaux are often entirely oriented towards provoking the listener by frivolous turns of phrase, so as to turn the apparently serious into the highest degree of comicality, and so to move him

to playful gaiety. In this way the Farewell Symphony, which was mentioned above, is a musical joke throughout.

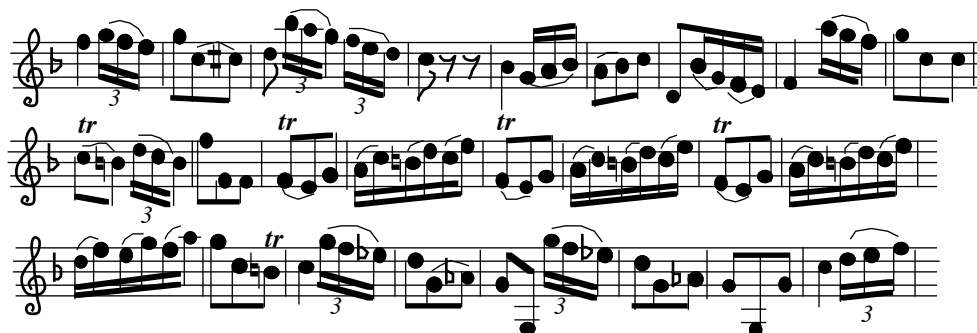
Even corporal suffering would only rarely entirely discourage Haydn's gay spirit, and when one found him to begin with discontented, and took leave from him with a heavy heart, he would at least as the final greeting cry: "many greeting to all pretty women!" or some such droll phrase in contrast to his state. To women he always had something gallant to say; it amused the old man to play the lovesick role with them, and then he would add "that is already part of my profession!" ... [p. 108]

Symphony No. 17 in F, c. 1760, is the earliest self-portrait. 17/1, Allegro+, starts in the first four bars with a joyful theme, which then immediately is given again, *piano*, an octave lower, modestly. The movement continues to develop into new delights, singing along in ever new ideas, but the tone of voice remains throughout one of modesty, brought out by the recurrent *piano* passages. In the middle of it, bars 26-28, comes Haydn's syncopation fingerprint. This music is a portrait of himself. 17/2, Andante, ma non troppo, is an extended, eloquent melodic line in an intimate tone of voice. It starts timidly expressing itself in short tones. Then in bar 9 the tones grow longer, gaining confidence, until in bar 13 the melody sings, in tones full of gratitude.



Symphony 17/2: Andante non troppo

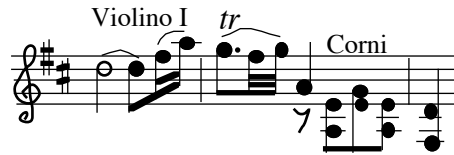
This music is an eloquent expression of Haydn's personal development. 17/3, Finale Allegro molto, spins out a long lively theme, with ever more delightful and humorous extensions, displaying Haydn's inventiveness, and at the same time pictures our man as of a friendly, merry temper:



Symphony 17/3: Finale, Allegro

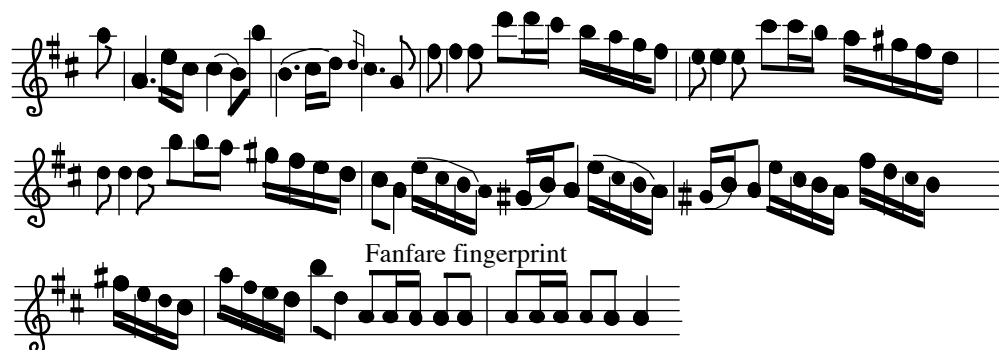
This symphony is a self-portrait: Modest Gratitude.

Symphony No. 15 in D, c. 1760, starts with 15/1, of a unique structure: Adagio\*+ - Presto\* - Adagio\*+ repeated. The Adagio is a kind of dialogue between the strings and the horns:



As a whole this is brilliantly active and inventive. It opens in the first four bars, repeated at 1:04 minutes, with a splendid, self-confident phrase. However, this is immediately followed, in bars 5-7, of a softer version of bars 3-4, as an expression of modesty. The theme is then continued in bars 7-11 with a brilliant and humorous development of the opening active phrase. As a whole these opening 11 bars present one side of Haydn's personality, as brilliantly resourceful and humorous, but modest.

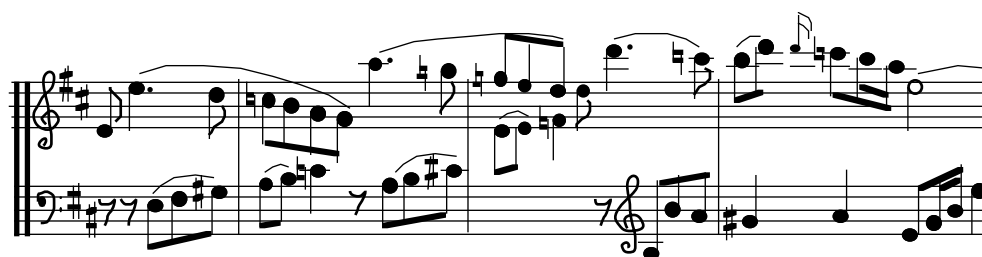
From bar 12 at 0:19 and 1:24 minutes a new phrase comes in:



Symphony 4/1, bars 12 -20 at 19 and 84 seconds

It opens in bars 12-13 with a twice repeated phrase starting with a falling octave, as a gesture of reverent respect. It continues in bars 14-18 at 0:24 and 1:29 minutes with a gradual rise, coming to a climax in bars 19-20 at 0:34 and 1:39 minutes with the fanfare fingerprint twice repeated. The whole of the passage in bars 12-20 is an expression of Haydn's reverend hail to God.

Bars 23-31 at 0:39 and 1:44 minutes bring in a third theme, in two voices:

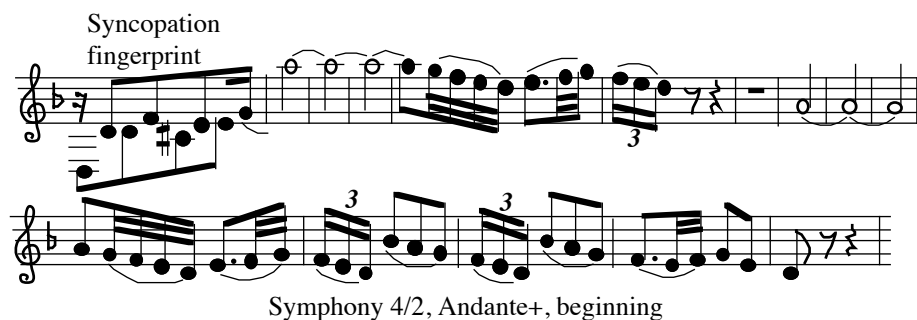


Symphony 4/1, bars 23 to 26 at 39 and 104 seconds

The tone of voice is as the tenderness of two lovers, thus Haydn presenting a third side of himself, his joy in women.

The first part of the movement is rounded off, in bars 32-37, with the opening phrase of bar 1 alternating with the syncopation fingerprint in bars 33-34 at 0:57 and 2:03 minutes, as Haydn's signature under the music.

4/2, Andante+, is one continued, eloquent theme of 82 bars, over the constant accompaniment throughout the movement of the syncopation fingerprint. Over this accompaniment long drawn, rapturous phrases, in a personally intimate tone of voice, like a heart overflowing with thankfulness, float along. In the opening we hear a phrase of four bars which is immediately repeated one octave lower, modestly:



This is unlike any other music, a sublime expression of Haydn's creative genius.

4/3, Tempo di Menuetto $\neq$ , opens in bars 1-8 with a fine, confident theme. In bars 9-17 at 0:10 minutes this theme is immediately given in a soft, modest version. The remaining part of the movement continues to enrich this menuetto theme with ever new melodic phrases into 52 bars. Haydn's ornament comes in bars 45, 47, 107, and 109, at 0:56, 0:59, 2:04, 2:07, 3:21, 3:23, 5:01, and 5:03 minutes.

Conclusion: Symphony No. 4 is a self-portrait: Thankfulness.

Symphony No. 11 in E flat, c. 1760: Many features of this symphony were described above in the section on the Fanfare and the Syncopation Fingerprints on pages 5 and 8. 11/1, Adagio cantabile, is a song of joy in the Highest, expressed in phrases of the utmost sweetness and gentleness, enhanced by the addition of horn tones to the strings. In 11/2, Allegro\*+, the opening modest theme leads to 9 statements of the fanfare fingerprint, in bars 9 to 17 at 0:06 minutes. This is the music that by development forms the movement, throughout in a tone of joyous enthusiasm. 11/3, Minuet+, expands a theme full of confidence and gratitude by ever new phrases in bars 1-24. After 7 bars *forte* come two bars *piano* at 0:10 and 0:28 minutes, as a modest comment. 11/3, Trio at 1:51 minutes, has the syncopation fingerprint as the steady accompaniment under a gentle, modest theme. The music of 11/4, Finale-Presto+ $\neq$ , is made from the opening, in which the syncopation fingerprint followed by the ornament is developed from the initial *piano*, into a climatic expression of thrilling joy, *forte*, in bars 16 to 28 at 0:13 and 0:51 minutes. I conclude that Symphony No. 11 is a self-portrait: Joy in God.

Symphony No. 27 in G, c. 1760, is a self-portrait. 27/1, Allegro molto+ $\neq$ , describes Haydn's character in three themes. The one from bar 1, at 0:00 and 1:09 minutes, has broad-minded, warm dignity. The second from bar 18 at 0:28 and 1:38 minutes, opening with the ornament and incorporating the syncopation fingerprint, shows his lightness of manner. The third from bar 28 at 0:44 and 1:55 minutes his gentle kindness. In 27/2 we meet our man as the wooer, singing a serenade. 27/3 presents him as the leader, with firmness and gentle helpfulness side by side. Conclusion: Symphony No. 27 is a self-portrait: The Friend.

Symphony No. 12 in E, c. 1763: The meaning of this Symphony as a self-portrait of Haydn as The Confessor is suggested by the dialogue of 12/2, Adagio≠. Here both voices sound in the strings, with similarly reverend tones of voice. One voice speaks at length, *pianissimo*, timidly. It has Haydn's ornament in bars 10, 19, 29, and 55, at 0:37, 1:15, 2:29, 3:07, 3:50, and 5:37 minutes. This is answered by shorter phrases, *forte*, *tutti archi unisoni*, sternly. In this dialogue it seems that Haydn describes the confessional. We witness the confessor, timidly acknowledging his or her sins, and the priest responding with suitable rebuke. The whole Symphony is sin-conscious. The tone of voice in 12/1, Allegro+, is subdued, pensive, throughout. The opening theme, *piano*, repeated at 1:09 minutes, hesitant. Long passages from bars 38, 65, and 131, at 0:40, 1:50, 2:19, 3:34, 4:07, and 5:22 minutes, are brooding. At the climax at bar 93f, at 4:32 minutes, just before the return of the first theme, we hear Haydn's syncopation fingerprint. Again 12/3, Presto≠, is intensely serious, concentrated around the motion of the opening theme. It has the ornament repeatedly from bar 34 at 0:32 and 1:21 minutes and again from bar 110 at 2:30 and 3:39 minutes. I conclude that the confessor in 12/2 is Haydn himself. Symphony No. 12 is a self-portrait: The Confessor.

Symphony No. 21 in A, 1764, starts with 21/1, Adagio. The first three bars present in the violins a slow theme of sublime dignity and beauty. This is answered, in bars 4 to 6 at 0:12 minutes, by a beautiful phrase in the two oboes. This may suggest, at the first moment, that this may be a dialogue. However, from bar 7 at 0:24 minutes the violins repeat their slow theme, leading in bars 10 to 12 at 0:37 minutes to a new answer in the oboes. This is not a dialogue, it is music making. It continues from bar 13 at 0:49 minutes, unfolding the three-note theme of the first bar into longer and longer phrases, from bar 16 at 1:02 minutes a phrase of 6 bars, from bar 29 at 1:55 minutes a phrase of 13 bars. This is Haydn the music maker at work, a demonstration of his technique as he has described it to Griesinger (1810, p. 114):

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 ...'

21/2, Presto, is another display of the composers art: the construction of an expansive, exciting movement out of a minimum of musical phrases. In bar 30, at 0:43 and 1:47 minutes it brings Haydn's ornament four times. In 21/3, Menuet, the same technique is applied in writing a neat, stylish Menuet. Here each four-bar phrase of the theme, played *forte*, is immediately answered by a phrase played *piano*, modestly. The Trio at 1:28 minutes is gently contrasting. It has the ornament fingerprint in bar 47, at 2:00 and 2:28 minutes. 21/4, Finale - Allegro molto+, again uses the phrases of 21/2, to form an effective Finale. Haydn's syncopation and ornament fingerprints come forth right from the beginning of the movement and numerous times in what follows. Conclusion: Symphony No. 21 is a self-portrait: The Composer at Work.

Symphony 29 in E, 1765, is a portrait. In 29/1, Allegro ma non troppo, we meet our man, friendly, warm-hearted, light on his feet. In 29/2, Andante+, he walks along, whistling a folksy tune, a feather in his hat. He is a man of the people. And then in bar 30 at 1:04 and 2:38 minutes, discretely, the gait changes into syncopations, into Haydn's syncopation fingerprint: the man in the portrait is Haydn himself. The Menuet, 29/3, Allegretto, shows our man happily conforming to the strict form, by having it support a grand, noble theme. And yet, he has a gentle surprise in store for us for us: The Trio at 1:44 minutes has no tune at all, only long held tones in the horns, over the three-four rhythm in the strings, *piano*, like a chuckling laughter. The contrast to the surrounding Menuet is ravishing. The Finale, 29/4, Presto, shows our man in glorious, magnificent music, growing out a long theme, rich in its rhythmic variety. The growth is similarly rich in its harmonic variety. From the initial E major the dominant B major is reached at bar 42. But then at bar 54 at 0:45 and 1:50 minutes the color changes, lingering softly in minor keys, before the final glorious release in B major from bar 66 at 0:53 and 1:58 minutes. Conclusion: Symphony No. 29 is a self-portrait: The Man of the People.

Symphony No. 42 in D, 1771: A self-portrait. 42/1, Moderato e maestoso, describes our man as gentle and warm-hearted, with a tendency for slipping off into beautiful dreams. 42/2, Andantino e cantabile+, all beautifully melodious with rich orchestral sound, including the syncopation fingerprint at 2:18, 5:06, 6:15, 8:13, and 9:13 minutes, has him as steady and reliable. 42/3, Menuetto e Trio - Allegretto, is gently humorous. 42/4, Finale - Scherzando e presto, is a set of variation on a theme as light as a feather. The variations abound with humorous surprises. Conclusion: Symphony No. 42 is a self-portrait: The Dreamer.

Symphony No. 52 in c minor, 1771, opens with powerful, passionate theme that leads in bar 7, after 9 seconds, into a brief statement of the syncopation fingerprint, followed by a pause. This opening can be taken to set the program of the symphony to be Haydn's self-portrait of his moods and passions. It continues throughout the symphony with alternations between quiet and passionate phrases, some short, some long, that describe moods and passions.

Symphony No. 54 in G, 1774: 54/1, Adagio maestoso - Presto\*: After the solemn introduction the quiet theme in fagotto and horn of the Presto at 1:32 and 2:30 minutes, under the motto In Nomine Domini, includes in the strings a modification of the fanfare fingerprint as accompaniment:



Throughout the movement this music unfolds in splendid dignity, everywhere dominated by assertions of the fanfare fingerprint and its modification. As already stated above, 54/2, Adagio assai+, has the full orchestra develop long, slow phrases expressing humble gratitude. The syncopation fingerprint makes discrete entries in bars 35-37 and 102-04 at 2:37 and 8:01 minutes. 54/3, Menuet - Allegretto, expresses gratitude by four bars *piano* after the opening four bars of a noble theme, and again by the quiet nobility of the melody of the Trio at 2:12 minutes, played by the fagotto. 54/4, Finale - Presto+\*, very similarly opens with a beautiful theme in four bars, *forte*, which is immediately answered gratefully by two bars of *piano*. The theme has the syncopation fingerprint as accompaniment. This theme sets the tone of the whole movement. The fanfare fingerprint comes in the bass from bar 18 at 0:24 and 1:58 minutes. One may suggest that this Symphony is Haydn's thanks to the Highest for his recovery from a severe illness in 1770 (mentioned by Robbins Landon, vol. 2 p. 168). Conclusion: Symphony No. 54 is a self-portrait: Thanks to God from a Recovered.

Symphony No. 66 in B flat, c. 1775, can be taken as a beautiful expression of Haydn's Thoughtful Self-Confidence. This found in each of the four movements. 66/1, Allegro con brio, starts with a long development in three parts, in which confidence develops from a modest beginning into a glorious assertion in bars 31 to 38, at 0:48 and 2:27 minutes. But then, all of a sudden, thoughtful reflection sets in, leading to a hesitant pause in bars 42-43 at 1:08 and 2:42 minutes. Further quiet thoughtfulness follows in bars 44-50, *dolce e piano*, before the confident assertion is resumed from bar 51 at 1:24 and 3:03 minutes. In the second part of the movement the thoughtfulness is expressed at still greater length in bars 84-102 at 3:56 and 6:32 minutes. 66/2, Adagio, starts from modest confidence, which grows into a climax in bar 21 at 1:19 minutes. But then thoughtfulness sets in. This leads to quiet contemplation in bars 25-38 at 1:38 minutes. The second part of the movement has an expanded version of the same development. 61/3, Menuetto, presents in bars 1-4 a confident theme, *forte*, which is immediately answered by the same theme, *piano*, in bars 5-8. The second part again starts confidently, *forte*, in bars 9-18. But then reflection sets in, in bars 18-22, with thoughtful hesitation in bars 22-27 before the resumption of the confident theme from bar 27. 61/3, Trio, is quiet, thoughtful reflection, *pianissimo*, throughout. In 61/4, Finale - Scherzando e presto, the reflective mood is presented in the quiet opening theme, having two five-bar periods, and again in hesitations in bars 98 and 102 at 1:43 minutes. Haydn's syncopation fingerprint comes repeatedly in bars 200-38 at 3:15 minutes and leads into the fanfare fingerprint right at the end. The movement is only signed *Finis, laude deo* having already been stated in the music.

Symphony No. 53 in D, 1775-? The opening Largo maestoso starts with a short, magnificent phrase, immediately followed by a soft modest one. These two phrases are then immediately confirmed by repetition. 53/1 and 53/2 copiously present Haydn's syncopation fingerprint, while 53/4 is dominated by the Haydn-ornament.

53/1 also brings the fanfare fingerprint. All the themes are richly developed and full of character. All together this suggests that the Symphony is Haydn's self-portrait as the Eszterházy *Capellmeister*.

Symphony No. 61 in D, 1776. This work is one of Haydn's character self-portraits. 61/1, Vivace, describes Haydn's development from bustling childishness into ripe maturity, into a rich tapestry in which activity alternates with the gentleness and tenderness of maturity. It has the syncopation fingerprint in bars 104-12 at 4:37 minutes. 61/2, Adagio, describes the contemplative side of maturity, in beautiful, nostalgic music. It has the Haydn ornament in 7 places, the first in bar 37 at 2:00 minutes, and the syncopation fingerprint in bar 3 at 0:08 minutes several times from bar 67. 61/3, Menuet - Allegretto, describes the character of maturity, mostly bold and firm, but also with gentleness. It has Haydn's ornament in bars 19 and 21 and several times in the Trio, from bar 51. The Trio is all gentleness. 61/4, Prestissimo, presents the lively alertness of maturity.

Symphony No. 74 in E flat, c. 1780, is described on page 45 in the section on the Polzelli Symphonies.

Symphony No. 75 in D, 1779. The mood of this Symphony is profound seriousness. The fanfare fingerprint is prominent. It comes in 75/1, bars 132 and 157, at 5:14 and 5:52 minutes, and in 75/2, bars 37 and 45, at 3:03, 3:22, 3:42, and 4:07 minutes. Haydn's ornament comes in 75/2 in bar 25 at 1:51 and 2:11 minutes and in bar 33 at 2:36 and 2:58 minutes. It is a dominant feature in 75/3 Menuetto. The syncopation fingerprint comes in 75/4 in bars 137-41 at 2:52 minutes. 75/2 is an expression of profound piety. Altogether the suggestion is that the Symphony is Haydn's self-portrait as a Son of the Church.

Symphony No. 76 in E flat, c. 1780, is a self-portrait of the composer at work, like No. 21. Throughout the Symphony we are presented with motives that are immediately modified and extended. 76/1, Allegro+, starts and repeats at 1:48 minutes with a one-bar call to action, merely a fanfare on the E flat triad for the full orchestra, *forte*. In bars 2-3 at 0:03 and 1:51 minutes the violins, *piano*, present a three-note rhythm, which is immediately repeated and extended in bars 3-7. In bars 8 to 18 at 0:10 and 1:58 minutes the initial call to action is repeated and extended. Bars 19-25 at 0:24 and 2:13 minutes repeat bars 1-7. Bars 26-27 at 0:34 and 2:23 minutes present a new melodic motive of four notes, *pianissimo*, which is extended in bars 28-34. In bars 35-47 at 0:46 and 2:35 minutes the initial bars 1-7 are presented in an extended and modified form. Bars 48-55 at 1:04 and 2:53 minutes bring the three-note rhythm of bars 2-3 provided with accompanying sixteenth-note figures. Bars 56-65 at 1:15 and 3:03 minutes present the melodic motive of bars 26-27 in an extended form. From bar 66 at 1:28 and 3:17 minutes a further modified form of the initial call to action leads, in bars 73 and 76 at 1:37 and 3:26 minutes, to Haydn's syncopation fingerprint.

76/2, Adagio ma non troppo, demonstrates Haydn's technique as applied to three different kinds of music. The movement is arranged in an ABA'CA" form. In the A parts at 0:00 and 1:17 minutes the music is a graceful melodic theme of 4 bars which is developed by melodic extensions. The B part at 2:34 and 2:58 minutes has music of long held notes accompanied by semiquaver repeated chords. The C part at 5:28 minutes has music of demisemiquaver runs accompanied by semiquaver staccato repeated chords.

76/3, Menuet - Allegretto, and Trio show Haydn applying his technique to a number of different phrases, each just a few bars long, the music becoming a brilliant mosaic.

76/4, Allegro, ma non troppo, is a charming fantasy on the characteristic effect of a note having two short notes gliding up into it, a kind of double snap.

Symphony No. 88 in D, 1787. 88/1 opens with a slow introduction, like someone making a confession, in a serious, intimate tone of voice. 88/1 Allegro speaks of restless energy. 88/2 sings of a life of contemplation of beautiful music (bars 13-17 at 0:37 minutes bring Haydn's syncopation fingerprint). 88/3 Menuetto has Haydn's ornament as a dominating feature throughout and speaks of bold rectitude. 88/3 Trio speaks of open friendliness. 88/4 describes a life of incessant activity. All this suggests that the symphony is Haydn's intimate self-portrait.

Symphony No. 89 in F, 1787. 89/1 opens in a light and carefree mood which prevails throughout the Symphony. 89/1 at bars 28-30, at 0:48 and 2:30 minutes plays the syncopation fingerprint, and 89/3 at bars 48 and 52, at 2:09, 2:15, 2:40, and 2:45 minutes, brings Haydn's ornament. Much of the music is taken over from one of Haydn's concertos for 2 Lira. Altogether it seems clear that the Symphony can be taken to be a self-portrait: The Entertainer.

Symphony No. 93 in B flat, 1791, was probably written to Anna von Genzinger. Anna von Genzinger (1750-93), the wife of Dr Peter Leopold von Genzinger, was a friend of Haydn's since about 1789. She was sufficiently accomplished musically to be able to make arrangements of Haydn's music for the pianoforte that met his approval. During 1789 Haydn was a frequent guest at her musical gatherings in Vienna. While he was in London she helped him to have him sent music that he had forgotten to take along from Austria. He was undoubtedly in love with her.

Haydn in letters to her on 1790 March 14 and May 30 mentions a symphony he has promised to write to her. This was at a time when he to his own regret had had to return to Esterháza after an enjoyable time in Vienna. Plausibly this became Symphony no. 93, the first one performed in London, on 1792 February 17.

In making sense of Symphony no. 93 the first feature of it that has to be explained is a curious incident at the end of 93/2, bars 75-80, at 4:34 minutes. Here the beautiful, quiet music hesitates and comes to a stop on a grotesque grunt in the

bassoons, before taking up again with the quiet end of the movement. There can be no doubt that this incident in the music must refer to a concrete experience of Haydn's in his career.

It has further to be noted that the slow introduction of 93/1 after the opening chords alternates between a soft, gentle phrase that has the Haydn ornament, and louder, more pompous music. Further that 93/4 in bars 88 and 140, at 2:09 and 2:54 minutes, brings soft quotations of Haydn's syncopation fingerprint.

Taken together with the fact that the symphony was written for Anna von Genzinger these features suggest that the subject of the symphony is: Haydn and His Noble Patrons, and that the particular incident referred to in 93/2 was the one involving Countess Morzin, described below on page 30 in connection with Symphony No. 5. The softer phrases of the introduction would signify Haydn himself, while the louder music would signify his patrons. And so the Symphony continues with music that alternates between the two kinds of music. The two kinds are particularly clearly contrasted in 93/3 Trio at 1:58 minutes, which alternates between flourishes in the wind instruments and soft phrases in the strings.

Symphony No. 96 in D, 1791. The clue to the meaning of this symphony comes right at the beginning of 96/1 Adagio:



Symphony 96/1 bars 1-6: Thankfulness

This music can be experienced as a sublime expression of thankfulness. It states Haydn's ornament twice. The symphony was the first one Haydn wrote for London. Most likely it expresses Haydn's thankfulness to God for the opportunities given to him in being invited to London. All the themes and all the music, in all four movements, are friendly and gentle, full of gratitude. The fanfare fingerprint, Haydn's thanks to God, comes in 96/1 many times at 1:10, 3:28, 5:19, 6:11, 6:24, and 6:54, minutes. In 96/4 it comes near the conclusion of the symphony, four times at 3:13 minutes, immediately followed by the syncopation fingerprint, Haydn's own signature.

Symphony No. 97 in C, 1792, was the symphony Haydn wrote as the final one at his first visit to London. Accordingly it seems to celebrate the happy union of Haydn and the English public. This it does by consisting, in all movements, of soft, gentle and beautifully melodically rich passages, representing Haydn, alternating with louder passages of simpler music, representing the English public, the two kinds of music melting together in perfect accord. This is displayed right from the beginning where the exquisite, soft, slow introduction of 13 bars, played by the strings and the flute, continues without any break into the first 10 bars of the Vivace, which are based entirely on the C major triad, played in loud unison by the full orchestra. This interpretation is confirmed by the appearances of Haydn's fingerprints. The Haydn ornament comes in 97/1 in bars 2, 6, 10, and 12, at 0:05, 0:21, 0:37, and 0:45 minutes, and in 97/3 in bars 9 and 15, at 0:09, 0:21, 2:54, and 3:06 minutes. The

syncopation fingerprint makes a soft, discrete appearance in 97/2 bars 135-36, at 6:09 minutes. As a further confirmation, Haydn in 97/3 at the end of the trio, bars 108-16, at 2:28 minutes, marks a solo for violin in a soft passage: ‘Salomon solo ma piano’, thus including Salomon together with himself in facing the English public.

Symphony No. 103 in E flat, 1795, seems to be Haydn’s self-portrait, of the man approaching death after a rich life. The Adagio introduction opening with the drum roll is funeral music, presenting from bars 14 and 20, at 0:56 and 1:18 minutes, Haydn’s syncopation signature. The following Allegro con spirito brings the fanfare fingerprint repeatedly from bars 73 and 82, at 3:18, 3:37, 4:30, and 4:41 minutes. 103/2 is a reminder of the child, bringing a folk theme from the country of Haydn’s childhood.

### Portraits

Symphony No. 5 in A, c. 1760: As already noted on page 4 above, 5/1, Adagio ma non troppo, is a kind of dialogue:



The two voices distinguish themselves as shown in this opening as a softer, milder, more eloquent, feminine one played by the violins against a firmer, conciser, masculine one played by the horns. It may be noted that tone of voice here is descriptive, presenting feminine beauty and masculine firmness. This is quite different from the tone of voice of the opening of Symphony 15 presented above, where the phrases are like caresses, not descriptive. This pattern of two alternating characters is found throughout the remaining three movements of the Symphony. The mood throughout is one of beauty, nobility, and peace. All this suggests that Symphony No. 5 is a double portrait of a man and his wife. In 5/1 we meet them side by side, the wife as gentle music in the strings, the husband as phrases in the high horns. 5/2, Allegro, describes their relation in a kind of dialogue. It opens with the man’s utterance, firm and decided. In later passages we hear the wife expressing herself in extended, fanciful passages, each passage being answered by a brief assent from the husband.

From this suggestion it is not far to guess that Symphony No. 5 is a portrait of the Count and Countess Morzin, with whom Haydn was engaged as Music Director from 1759 to 60. In this capacity Haydn would give daily music lessons to the members of the family. About this activity Griesinger quotes Haydn’s own account of an incident that had obviously impressed him:

He [Haydn] liked to relate, in later years, how one day he was sitting at the harpsichord, and the beautiful Countess Morzin leaned over him in order to see the notes, when her neckerchief came undone. 'It was the first time I had seen such a sight; it confused me, my playing got stuck, my fingers stayed resting on the keys. - What is it, Haydn, what are you doing?' cried the Countess; most respectfully I answered: But, Countess, your grace, who would not here lose his composure?'

So I hear Haydn's Symphony No. 5 as a portrait of Count Morzin and his beautiful Countess. The particular incident seems to be described in Haydn's self-portrait in Symphony no. 93/2, described above on page 27.

Symphony No. 3 in G, c. 1760, seems to be a portrait of man of powerful intellect. In 3/1, Allegro, 3/3, Menuet, and 3/4, Finale - Alla breve, the thematic material is made out of several voices in counterpoint, 3/3 being a canon, and 3/4 being written in fugue. In 3/2, Andante moderato, we hear his pondering over serious issues. Perhaps this is a portrait of Count Morzin *père*, 1693-1763

Symphony No. 25 in C, c. 1761: 25/1 opens with an Adagio+ introduction, in an intimate, personal tone of voice, with beautiful music, as a portrait of a beloved elderly person. Throughout it builds upon the syncopation fingerprint. This suggests that the Symphony is Haydn's portrait of his father, Mathias Haydn, 1699-1763. 25/1, Allegro molto+, opens in bars 24-57 at 2:15 and 3:06 minutes with a splendid, powerful theme that continues into a continued sequence of different phrases, all of them active and powerful. A short, softer transition in bars 57-62 at 2:42 and 3:34 minutes retains the activity and leads to still further, powerful and active phrases in bars 63-85 at 2:49 and 3:39 minutes. The second part of the movement continues to play on these active phrases, including the syncopation fingerprint in bars 102-105 at 4:13 minutes. 25/2, Menuet, presents an active theme of great rhythmic variety. The Trio at 1:12 minutes has the oboes and the horns singing over pizzicato strings, as an echo of Haydn's father playing the harp to the singing in the family in Haydn's early childhood. 25/3, Presto+, opens and repeats at 0:35 minutes with two phrases, the first having four soft tones, the second a single rising arch of quick tones, *forte*. In the further development these phrases lead to an active passage in bars 15-28 at 0:12 and 0:45 minutes, dominated by the syncopation fingerprint. From bar 29 at 0:21 and 0:57 minutes still further active themes are presented, as a picture of a active man of fine character and spirit.

Symphony No. 36 in E flat, c. 1762: 36/1, Vivace\*, sounds like a portrait of princely person, of grandiose magnanimity. The fanfare fingerprint in bars 18 and 20 at 0:23 and 1:44 minutes and at bar 59 at 1:18 and 2:40 minutes indicate the grace of God. In 36/2, Adagio, the princely character is displayed in chamber music, with contributions from a solo violin and a solo cello. 36/3, Menuetto e Trio, and 36/4, Allegro, display a firm, but not inflexible character. Most likely the Symphony is a portrait of Prince Nicolaus Esterházy, who was a keen chamber music player on the baryton.

Symphony No. 13 in D, 1763: 13/1 is a fine Allegro molto displaying the orchestra with flute, four horns, and timpani, to its advantage. 13/2, Adagio cantabile, is a beautiful solo for cello. 13/3, Menuet e Trio, displays the flute prominently in the Trio. 13/4, Finale - Allegro molto, is a noble development for the full orchestra based upon a theme in two-part counterpoint. The Symphony has Haydn's syncopation fingerprint in both 13/1, bar 28 at 0:48 and 1:51 minutes, and 13/4. (The timpani part in 13/1, with several fanfare fingerprints, is not in Haydn's hand in the autograph). The meaning seems obvious: Symphony No. 13 is a portrait of Haydn amidst his friends, the musicians.

Symphony No. 72 in D, c. 1763, displays the orchestra prominently in all movements. 72/1, Allegro, makes a spectacular display of the four horns. 72/2, Andante, is a dialogue between a solo violin and the flute. In 72/3, Menuet e Trio, the Trio is scored for wind instruments alone. 72/4, Andante, is set of variations on a simple tune presented by the strings. The variations are given successively to the flute, a solo cello, a solo violin, the double bass, the two oboes, and the full orchestra. Obviously Symphony No. 72 is a portrait of the orchestra. (The recordings of Symphony No. 72 by the Philharmonia Hungarica and the Austro-Hungarian Haydn Orchestra both include the timpani part given in the Philharmonia score, and there marked as 'Only from Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Wien'. In this part the timpani play the fanfare fingerprint as pure accompaniment at 14 places in 72/1 and at 2 places in 72/3. This is wholly contradictory to Haydn's use of his fanfare fingerprint. Undoubtedly this unsatisfactory timpani part is unauthentic).

Symphony No. 24 in D, 1764, sounds like a portrait of a grandiose lady of a wilful and irascible temperament. In 24/1, Allegro, she sails forth. When countered she responds with a four times repeated outburst. In 24/2, Adagio, with solo flute, we see her in her magnificence. The theme of 24/3, Menuet, has her firm statement with a weak response twice repeated. 24/4, Finale - Allegro, consists of passages that rise gradually from whispered beginning into long sequences of repeated insistence.

Symphony No. 39 in g minor, c. 1766, sounds like a portrait of a person of nervous sensitivity. Throughout the Symphony the music displays this character. Right from the beginning of 39/1, Allegro assai, *piano*, the music has a nervous quality. It unexpectedly comes to a stop after four bars at 0:06 and 1:29 minutes. And then just as unexpectedly continues the nervous motion for another 6 bars and then stops again at 0:19 and 1:42 minutes. In 39/2, Andante, the gentle friendly mood, *piano*, is suddenly interrupted by angry bars 10 and 12 of *forte* at 0:15, 0:19, 1:09 and 1:12 minutes and in several later places. In 39/3, Menuet, the nervous motion of the theme gets further agitated by bars 15 and 16 marked *forz* at 0:29, 1:00, and 2:33 minutes. In the Trio the first two bars of *piano* are followed by sudden forte in bars 3 and 5 at 1:29, and 1:40 minutes. In 39/4, Finale - Allegro di molto, the nervous quality is displayed in large skips in the theme and in frequent alternations of bars of

*forte* and *piano*. The character displayed in the Symphony is such that one tends to associate with artists. Perhaps the Symphony is a portrait of the painter Johann Basilius Grundmann, who painted Haydn's portrait in 1762.

Symphony No. 41 in C, c. 1769, sounds like a portrait of an exalted being. Throughout the sound is brilliant, with trumpets. The tone is impersonal, reverent. 41/1, Allegro con spirito, presents the magnificent figure in music of great dignity. When the fanfare fingerprint is heard in bars 72, 74, and 76, it is clear that the figure is of divine nature. In 41/2, Un Poco Andante, the flute weaves a halo around the figure. 41/3, Menuetto e Trio, displays a gentle and friendly character. In 41/4, Finale - Presto, the figure is seen flying in the air. Perhaps the figure is the angel Raphael, presented by Haydn in his oratorio Il Ritorno di Tobia from 1775.

Symphony No. 46 in B, 1772, is a portrait of a warm-hearted, imaginative person. The very first music of 46/1, Vivace, shows his character by the range of expression between the first four tones, stern, *forte tutti unisoni*, and the following gentle phrase, *piano*, in the strings. 46/1 continues to unfold this pair of expressions by ever richer expansions of the gentle phrase. 46/2, Poco Adagio, is a rich fantasy over a theme having one bar of siciliano, *legato*, and one bar of sixteenths, *staccato*. 46/3, Menuet e Trio, shows our man in the glorious, ever expanding Menuet theme, and in the warm harmony and the gentle rhythm of the Trio. In 46/4, Finale - Presto e scherzando, embarks on an exciting adventurous tale, full of surprises, until it comes to a stop on a question mark. And then the Minuet theme comes back, gloriously expansive; don't worry, it says, it was just a tale. And yet? The Minuet stops; the tale begins again, but soon hesitates. A long tone in the deep horns sets in; and then again, quickly, the theme of the tale, and two final chords: a final joke.

Symphony No. 50 in C, 1773, is an official portrait of a person in high office. This is announced right from the pompous beginning, 50/1, Adagio e maestoso. Throughout the Symphony the music describes the person in flattering splendour, with blazing trumpets, without any personal touches. This character accords well with the recent understanding, reported by Robbins Landon, that this was the Symphony performed for the Empress Maria Theresa upon her visit to Eszterháza. Conclusion: Symphony No. 50 is a portrait: The Empress.

Symphony No. 55 in E flat, 1774, 'Schulmeister': According to a message from Haydn himself a fuller title is: Der verliebte Schulmeister, The Schoolmaster in Love. 55/1, Allegro di molto, describes his character in the opening, which has a short, strict phrase immediately followed by a gentle one. A second, extended theme is entirely gentle. 55/2, Adagio, ma semplice, is a set of variations. The theme, which is played by the violins, *staccato con sordini*, is wistful, as describing a person who is lost in fantasies of love. The theme of 55/3, Menuetto, again has a theme in two parts, the first strict, the second gentle. The Trio is wistful throughout. 55/4, Finale Presto, is a set of variations on a wistful theme, *piano*.

Symphony No. 68 in B flat, c. 1774, is a portrait of the Elegant Man. In 68/1, Vivace, we see him, in striped suit, vest, cane, and spats, all neatness. 68/2, Menuetto, presents the smoothness, and the Trio the neatness, of the Elegant Man. In 68/3, Adagio cantabile, he tells about his life in elegance. It has not excluded sentimental attachments and pain, but only elegantly restrained. 68/4, Finale Presto, shows how the different aspects of life may all be handled neatly and smoothly.

Symphony No. 69 in C, 1774, was titled 'Laudon' by Haydn himself. It is clearly a portrait of General Laudon, the Austrian Field-Marchal, to whom it is dedicated. Throughout the tone of voice is respectful and decorous. The opening phrase of 69/1, Vivace, has a military ring and also includes the fanfare fingerprint, indicating the grace of God. Later extended sections of the movement are gentle and warm. 69/2, Un poco adagio più tosto andante, breathes grateful respect. 69/3, Menuetto e Trio, has great dignity. 69/4, Presto, develops a theme of splendid, firm determination.

Symphonies No. 77 in B flat, c. 1781, No. 79 in F, c. 1783, and No. 84 in E flat, 1786, are described on pages 45-47 in the section on the Polzelli Symphonies.

Symphony No. 85 in B flat, 1785-86. When this symphony was first published in Paris in 1788 it was printed under the title: La Reine de France. It is further known that Queen Marie-Antoinette of France, when imprisoned in the Conciergerie in the summer of 1792, before being beheaded in the Guillotine on 1793 October 16, had the music of this symphony lying on her piano. The Queen, born in 1755, was the daughter of Empress Marie Theresa of Austria. Undoubtedly Haydn came to know her when the Empress and her whole family came to visit Eszterháza in 1773. It seems entirely plausible that Haydn, when writing symphonies for Paris, would write one celebrating Marie-Antoinette, and that he would communicate this attribution to the publisher in Paris. Further, it seems unlikely that the publisher would allow himself to use this designation without having first obtained the consent from Marie-Antoinette herself. Thus it seems virtual certain that the title was authentic with Haydn himself and had been communicated to the publisher, who must have obtained the consent from the Queen before the publication.

The attribution is confirmed by the music. 85/1 opens in pompous style, like a royal ceremony. Thereafter all the music mostly consists of pretty tunes, presented and varied with masterly skill. In 85/1 bar 229 at 6:34 minutes and in 85/2 bars 81-85 at 4:47 and 5:12 minutes, Haydn's ornament appears. It seems that Haydn here marks his personal relation to the Queen of France.

Symphony No. 98 in B flat, first performed in London on 1792 March 2, has been found by Donald Francis Tovey to have music in 98/2 that quotes Mozart's symphony no. 41. Altogether it seems that the symphony is Haydn's lament over the death of Mozart on 1791 December 5.

98/1 opens by a slow introduction with a short sad theme in B flat minor, played by the strings in unison. The same theme, played in B flat major, becomes the theme in the following Allegro. It may be taken to be the theme of Mozart. Immediately after being first presented, in bars 16-19, it is followed by a short phrase including Haydn's ornament, played twice, in bars 21 and 23, at 1:13 and 1:15 minutes.



Symphony 98/1 bars 16-24

This shows that the subject of the Symphony is Mozart and Haydn. The movement continues to present splendid developments of the Mozart theme. Bar 202 at 5:48 minutes brings the syncopation fingerprint. The fanfare fingerprint is played seven times, the first in bar 237 at 5:32 minutes.

98/2 opens with a short theme of sublime beauty. This is followed directly in bars 5-8 by a twice repeated phrase that sounds like a sigh of anguish. In bars 6 and 8 at 0:23 and 0:30 minutes it includes Haydn's ornament.



Symphony 98/2 bars 1-6

In the continuation Haydn quotes a heart-rending passage from Mozart's Symphony No. 41.

98/3 is a splendid Menuetto with a warmly lyrical Trio. As already mentioned above, the ornament played on the first beat in the bars 1 and 2 and in many later bars is *not* Haydn's ornament. This music is about Mozart, not about Haydn.

The final movement, 98/4, can be taken to describe Mozart's artistic life up to his death. It is dominated by the opening theme, a strong, self-confident statement which can be taken to represent Mozart. The first, repeated, part of the movement presents this theme splendidly. In bars 64-69, at 0:50 minutes, it includes a phrase twice playing Haydn's ornament. The phrase comes again at bar 266, at 5:35 minutes. This phrase indicates Haydn's place in Mozart's life.

However, from bar 148, at 3:56 minutes, the mood changes gradually into uncertainty and hesitation, in which a solo violin presents a lonely voice. At bar 327, at 6:25 minutes, the tempo slows down, and Mozart's theme becomes heavy and sad. At bar 364, at 7:46 minutes, the theme is finally played softly, accompanied by a halo of figurations played by the fortepiano. After this the Symphony comes to a quick and sad conclusion. At the first performance in London the fortepiano was played by Haydn himself, Haydn's final tribute to his dead friend whose piano playing he admired so highly.

Symphony No. 102 in B flat, written in London during 1794 and first performed in London on 1795 February 2, plausibly reflects Haydn's relation to Rebecca Schroeter. She was the widow of Johan Samuel Schroeter, pianist and composer, born c. 1752. Grove's Dictionary says: 'Schröter did not remain long before the public in consequence of his marriage with one of his pupils, a young lady of birth and fortune ... He died on Sunday, 2. Nov. 1788 ... His marriage was a clandestine one and brought him into collision with his wife's family ... She is the lady who took lessons from Haydn during his visit to London in 1790-91 and fell violently in love with him.' Haydn's biographer Dies writes that at his twenty-third visit to the composer, Haydn gave him one of the London notebooks. 'I opened it up and found a couple of dozen letters in the English language. Haydn smiled and said: "Letters from an English widow in London, who loved me; but she was, though already sixty years old, still a beautiful and charming woman and I would have married her very easily if I had been free at the time."'

The relation between Haydn and Rebecca Schroeter is documented in the 15 letters, dated 1792 February 8 to June 26. In their contents these letters are primarily Rebecca Schroeter's invitations to Haydn to come and dine with her, mixed with copious declarations of devotion and of her admiration for Haydn's music. Additionally they express her concern that Haydn does not overwork himself, and notes about her work in helping him by copying music.

Their relation during Haydn's second stay in London in 1795 is not similarly documented, but at this time Haydn lodged at a few minutes' walking distance from where Rebecca Schroeter lived, making written communications unnecessary. That their relation remained very close is clear from the fact that some of the last compositions Haydn wrote in London, in the summer of 1795, the Three Trios Op. 73, are dedicated to Rebecca Schroeter.

That the music of Symphony No. 102 may be understood to relate to Rebecca Schroeter is suggested by the fact that the music of 102/2 is the same as that of the second movement of the third Trio Op. 73. 102/1 opens with a Largo, the first 10 bars of exquisite beauty, which sound like a picture of Rebecca Schroeter. They are followed by a quietly moving melody accompanied by Haydn's syncopation fingerprint, which may be taken to represent Haydn. The following Allegro vivace drives energetically forward and yet has time for several moments of contemplation. This may be a picture of the character of the lady. 102/2 Adagio alternates between passages rich in the Haydn ornament, representing Haydn, and more lively passages representing Rebecca Schroeter. In 102/3 the Menuetto dominated by the Haydn ornament represents Haydn, while the quietly flowing Trio represents Rebecca Schroeter. 102/4 Finale - Presto sounds like a picture of Haydn's brilliant work which is repeatedly applauded by Rebecca Schroeter.

### **Le Matin, Le Midi, Le Soir**

The titles of Symphonies No.s 6, 7, and 8, Le Matin, Le Midi, and Le Soir, 1761, are known to have been proposed to Haydn from his patron. Judging from the music of the Symphonies it seems plausible that what Prince Esterházy proposed was not merely the three words, but rather a more specific representation of them in some form, perhaps as pictorial allegories. As long as this source of Haydn's inspiration is unknown to us it is only possible to guess at the outline of the meaning of the very expressive music.

Symphony No. 6 in D, Le Matin: 6/1, Adagio - Allegro, starts in nature with the sunrise and continues with the sounds of birds and insects. 6/2, Adagio - Andante - Adagio, seems to describe a beautiful dream. With 6/3, Menuetto e Trio, and 6/4, Finale - Allegro, we are back to some scene in active life.

Symphony No. 7 in C, Le Midi: 7/1, Adagio - Allegro, seems to describe the grandeur of the midday Sun. 7/2, Recitativo Adagio - Allegro - Adagio - Adagio - Ferma (Cadenza) - Allegro - Adagio, presents some dramatic scene. 7/3, Menuetto e Trio, has a descriptive character. The Menuetto in bars 17-18 has the syncopation fingerprint. 7/4, Finale - Allegro, seems to describe some busy activity, perhaps the flight of birds and insects.

Symphony No. 8 in G, Le Soir: 8/1, Allegro molto, seems to describe the busy day activity as it comes to rest in the evening. 8/2, Andante, and 8/3, Menuetto e Trio, may describe beautiful natural scenes in the evening light. 8/4, La Tempesta Presto, describes a thunderstorm.

### **Landscape and nature**

Symphony 'B' in B flat, c. 1760: This is beautiful, impersonal, non-devotional, descriptive music. It might describe a landscape, in 'B'/1, Allegro molto, with bird life. In 'B'/2, Menuetto e Trio: Allegretto, we hear the calls of cattle and birds. 'B'/3, Andante, brings us into the quiet woods, among the majestic trees. In 'B'/4, Finale - Presto, we follow a stream as it winds through the landscape, with ripples and waterfalls.

Symphony No. 14 in A, c. 1762: This sounds like a description of a landscape. 14/1, Allegro molto, describes the landscape in its wide grandeur. In 14/2, Andante, we are in a beautiful spot in the shade. 14/3, Menuetto - Allegretto, presents the life of cattle (horns) and in the Trio a bird (oboe). 14/4, Finale - Allegro, describes the bird life, high in the air.

Symphony No. 40 in F, 1763, is a pastoral. 40/1, Allegro, describes the growth of plants and trees. 40/2, Andante, più tosto Allegretto, is the rippling of a brook. In 40/3, Menuet e Trio, we meet cattle and birds. 40/4, Finale - Fuga, describes the crawling life of animals.

Symphony No. 38 in C, Echo, c. 1767, takes us into the high mountains. In 38/1, Allegro di molto, the first theme describes the high peaks, the second theme the deep canyons, and the third the effort of climbing. 38/2, Andante, is a quiet scene at a ravine, with echoes. In 38/3, Menuet - Allegro, we meet the shepherd blowing his pipe. 38/4, Finale - Allegro di molto, is the high alp, again with the shepherd. (This interpretation does not contradict Robbins Landon's suggestion that the Symphony was written to display a new oboe player. It is entirely plausible that Haydn decided to write an Alp symphony in order to celebrate the musician).

Symphony No. 57 in D, 1774, is about rain. Both 57/1, Adagio - Allegro di molto, 57/2, Adagio, and 57/3, Menuet e Trio, Moderato, start with the sound of drops falling and develop from there into descriptions of various forms of rain. 57/4, Prestissimo, is a chilling picture of a fierce rainstorm.

Symphony No. 81 in G, c. 1783. The meaning of this Symphony is suggested in the first place by 81/2, which opens with a flute solo in a gentle, pastoral mood. It will then be found that in fact all the music in the Symphony has this character of fertile plant life, by which each idea gently leads to new creative phrases. This is Haydn's Pastoral Symphony.

Symphony No. 83 in g minor, 1785. The clue to this symphony is found in the curious passages in 83/2 in which prolonged pianissimo passages lead to sudden, extremely violent outbursts. Such transitions are matters, not of human feelings, but of natural phenomena. Thus the symphony may be understood to be about weather. 83/1 describes sustained rainstorm. 83/2 describes such weather in which periods of calm are interrupted by sudden violent bursts of wind. 83/3 describes quiet summer weather. 83/4 describes windy summer weather.

### **Types and fates of men**

Symphony No. 22 in E flat, 1764, 'Der Philosoph': 22/1, Adagio, has the philosopher, horns, in dialogue with his disciple, cors anglais. The philosopher expresses himself in a dry, didactic style, a triad up and down as shown above in a music example on page 3. A similar style prevails in the three remaining movements of the Symphony, 22/2, Presto, 22/3, Menuetto e Trio, and 22/4, Finale Presto.

Symphony No. 23 in G, 1764: This Symphony is peculiar. Movement 23/4, Finale Presto assai, is such that Robbins Landon wants to say nothing about it; he passes it by in complete silence. But if we listen to Symphony 23 as a whole we may discover the sense of it. 23/4 is merely the fourth stage of a development which is already indicated in the three previous movements. Symphony 23 describes the decay of a mind, madness. 23/1, Allegro, starts out with rich sound and fine themes. But soon a flaw in the flow of the theme sets in, a jerk, first four times in bars 10 to 13 at 0:24 and 1:43 minutes, and then nine times, in bars 25 to 33 at 0:46 and 2:05 minutes. For a while this seems to have no influence on the flow of the music. But in the middle of the movement, in bars 73-75 at 3:07 minutes, the jerk is heard again, like a knock on the door, three times. In 23/2, Andante, the interruption to the flow of the music comes as a recurrent commentary to the theme, as short scale runs in the

deep instruments. 23/3, both in the Menuet and the Trio, shows the mind reduced to mere mechanical repetition of the theme as a canon. The theme of the Menuet is a caricature of a dance. 23/4, Finale - Presto assai, shows the ultimate decay, merely short wild gestures interspersed with long series of senseless repetitions of the same figure. The end is emptiness. Conclusion: Symphony No. 23 describes Madness.

Symphony No. 28 in A, 1765: How does the suggestion that Symphony No. 28/2, Adagio, quoted in music on page 4 above, represents God speaking to an unrepentant sinner relate to the remaining three movements of Symphony 28? As noted by Robbins Landon, the opening of 28/1, Allegro di molto, sounds like music in six-eighth time. Not until bar 6 does it become clear that it is music in three fourth time. This is an expression in music of dishonesty. 28/3, Menuetto, starts with a shrill cry in the violins, which is a caricature of a minuet. Quite the same holds for the music of the Trio, even though it is soft, *pianissimo*. 28/4, Presto assai, is light, elegant music, but is not original with the Symphony. Thus Symphony No. 28 as a whole is a portrait of The Unrepentant Sinner.

Symphony No. 34 in d minor, c. 1765, describes The Four Temperaments, as discussed on page 5.

Symphony No. 35 in B flat, 1767, describes the Loner In the Crowd. In 35/1, Allegro di molto, the loner is presented by the quiet theme in bars 1-2 and again in bars 3-4, *piano*. We hear the crowd in bars 4-6, not as a theme but merely as *tutti* chords over the tone B flat in the horns. Then again the theme of the loner in bars 7-8, *piano*. The crowd comes in again in bars 9 to 16, which is a kind of cadenza for the full orchestra, *unisoni*, leading again to B flat in the horns in bar 16. In bars 17 to 24 the loner is with the crowd, first *forte*, then *piano*. And so the rest of 35/1 continues to present the theme of the loner against the *tutti unisoni* of the crowd. 35/2, Andante, describes the monotonous sadness of the loner, by a quiet theme that keeps being played in the same way. In 35/3, Menuet, Un Poco Allegretto, we hear the crowd in bars 1-7 in lively music, *forte*, and the loner in bars 7-10, subdued, *piano*. 35/3, Trio, presents the loner alone, by quietly spinning triplets in the violins. 35/4, Finale Presto, consists of alternations between presentations of the crowd by *forte* music without thematic distinction and the loner by *piano* passages with several distinct themes.

Symphony No. 59 in A, c. 1767, 'Feuer': Through Struggle to Fulfilment. 59/1, Presto, from the beginning shows the struggle, a series of active attempts that all fade out. 59/2, Andante o più tosto allegretto\*, with long melodic phrases in reverend tones of voice, shows the dream of the fulfilment. The fanfare fingerprint at the climax shows that the fulfilment is with God. 59/3, Menuet, displays active attempts, the Trio the feeling of frustration in the struggle. 59/4, Allegro assai, is the triumphant fulfilment.

Symphony No. 58 in F, c. 1769, is a portrait of the Contradictor, the person who always has to contradict the current issue. In 58/1, Allegro, the opening gentle, soft music soon gives way to passages in which the same theme is presented loudly, with excited accompaniment. 58/2, Andante, has the beautiful music supported by alternately quiet held cords and restless triplets. In 58/3, Menuet all zoppa e trio - un poco allegretto, the theme of the Menuet is syncopated in a manner which contradicts the Menuet rhythm. The Trio has no rhythm at all, only warm harmony. 58/4, Finale Presto, is a sequence of passages which contradict each other by their sudden changes of harmony and orchestral sound.

Symphony No. 43 in E flat, 'Merkur', c. 1770, is a portrait of unstable resignation after a life of suffering. 43/1, Allegro, is a sequence of statements of unsettled, unanswered questions, each leading to a passionate, outburst of pain. 43/2, Adagio, is reminiscence of long years of suffering. 43/3, Menuetto e Trio, shows the surface of resignation, hiding the pain. 43/4, Finale Allegro, once more brings out the unsettled questions. The end is a pained protest.

Symphony No. 51 in B flat, c. 1770: The idea of this Symphony is stated in the first 12 bars of 51/1, Vivace. Here the full orchestra, *forte*, opens with an energetic statement that comes to a full close after four bars. Immediately following the strings, *piano*, make a soft statement that comes to a full close after eight bars. The whole Symphony is made out, pedantically, in four and eight bar periods. 51/1 is a sequence of such periods, each period being made from one particular musical theme or figure. 51/2, Adagio, is constructed similarly. It starts with a solo in the high horn of 8 bars. Then comes a solo in the deep horn of 4 bars and then a solo in the oboe of 4 bars. 51/3, Menuetto, has two trios. The Menuetto and Trio 1 each have two periods of 8 bars. Trio 2 has one period of eight and one period of sixteen bars. 51/4, Finale - Allegro, is a rondo. Both the theme and each of the interludes have two periods of eight bars. Symphony No. 51 may be titled The Pedant.

Symphony No. 45 in F sharp minor, 1772: The last movement of this symphony, in which the members of the orchestra stop playing one by one and in the original performance walked out from their place in the orchestra, clearly suggests that the theme of the symphony is Homesickness. This is confirmed by the moods of the other movements.

Symphony No. 65 in A, c. 1772: The motto of this Symphony is Scatterbrain. Throughout the music is made from short sections of different character that just follow upon one another without having any mutual relation. 65/1, Vivace e con spirito, starts with a section A consisting of just three chords, *forte*. Section B is 8 bars of soft music, *legato*. Then comes A again, in double speed. Then comes section C, 7 bars of broken chords, *staccato*, in the bass. Section D follows: 4 bars of softness in the violins. Section E has 4 bars of duet between the oboes and the violins, *forte*.

Section F has 4 bars of imitations between the first and second violins. Section G has 5 bars of large skips up and down in the violins. Section H has 8 bars of soft, gliding phrases, first in the violins, then also with the oboes. Finally, to round off the first part of the movement, come 7 bars of final flourish. The second part of the movement starts in the first 7 bars with two new sections. The rest of the movement continues as a sequence of sections, using music taken from the sections in the first part, taken in the order B, G, H, A, H, A, C, D, E, F, G, H. 65/2, Andante, is again put together of sections of music of different character but no mutual relation. The sections making up the music mostly have 2 or 4 bars, changing in a random manner between *piano* and *forte*. 65/3, Menuetto e Trio, is scatterbrained rhythmically. The Menuetto starts off in the first 4 bars to present a theme with clear accents on the first of the three beats of the bars. But in the following bars the music unobtrusively slides into having accent, not on every third, but every fourth beat. The Trio starts having a three beat rhythm. But after three bars it just slides into a two beat rhythm. 65/4, Presto, starts with section A of 3 bars, a soft phrase for horns and violins. It is immediately repeated. Section B has 2 bars for the full orchestra, starting *forte*, changing to *piano*. This is repeated and followed again by A and then a variation of B. Section C is four bars of long chords in the oboes and strings. Section D has four bars of lively string music. And so the movement continues as a mosaic of short disconnected sections.

Symphony No. 64 in A, c. 1774, is titled 'Tempora mutantur'. As pointed out by Jonathan Foster in *Haydn Jahrbuch IX* the title is the beginning of an epigram by John Owen (c. 1565-1622):

*Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis; Quomodo? fit semper tempore peior homo.*

Translation by Thomas Harvey from 1677:

*The Times are Chang'd, and in them Chang'd are we:  
How? Man, as Times grow worse, grows worse, we see.*

Throughout Symphony No. 64 the subject is change. 64/1, Allegro con spirito, describes relentless change. Over the first 48 bars the lively, robust themes of the first three bars undergo a continuous series of astounding changes, until from bar 49 they emerge quite differently as a striking, nervous, chromatic theme. 64/2, Largo, is a sublimely eloquent expression of what seems to be: every moment of life is a step towards death. This expression is achieved by frequent pauses in slow flow of the music. In 64/3, Menuet - Allegretto, the theme has a nucleus of one bar which then comes in ever changed forms. The Trio similarly is made from a nucleus of two bars. 64/4, Finale Presto, is a rondo with a splendid theme of 12 bars. This theme comes back in unchanged form 5 times. Jonathan Foster shows that the epigram by John Owen can be fitted to this theme. It seems that Haydn's idea is that everything changes, except the text of the epigram. The meaning of Symphony No. 64: The inexorability of change.

Symphony No. 56 in C, 1774, is about Dream and Reality. In 56/1, Allegro di molto, reality in the form of passages of noisy, energetic music alternates with dream in the form of soft music, rich in melody and harmony. 56/2, Adagio, is a dream fantasy, as imaginative and beautiful as anything Haydn ever wrote. 56/3, Menuet, like 56/1 is an alternation of noisy energy and gentle softness. The Trio is a soft, dreamy solo for the oboe. In 56/4, Finale - Prestissimo, the same triplet figures appear alternately in loud and soft passages. Noisy reality wins at the end.

Symphony No. 67 in F, c. 1775, is about Activity and Contemplation. 67/1, Presto, opens with 24 bars of incessantly developing activity in the violins, *pianissimo*. It continues with 30 bars of stamping activity, *fortissimo*. Then comes contemplation, in the form of three quiet questions and answers. The second part of the movement begins with quiet contemplation, which after 20 bars leads to two questions and answers. The movement continues with alternations of active and contemplative music. 67/2, Adagio, is mostly quiet contemplation. In long stretches this rises gradually into firm resolve. However, at the very end we are back in the quiet mood. 67/3, Menuetto e Trio, has the activity in the Menuetto and contemplation in the eerie Trio, played by two solo violins. 67/4, Finale, has the activity in the opening and final Allegro-di-molto sections. Contemplation is presented in the middle Adagio-e-cantabile section, which starts very quietly as chamber music for two violins and a cello and only gradually expands in the sound of the full orchestra.

Symphony No. 70 in D, c. 1777, describes Self-Confidence. In 70/1, Vivace con brio, the self-confidence is assertive, aggressive. 70/2, Specie d'un Canone in Contrapunto doppio, walks along steadily, sure on its feet. 70/3, Menuet - Allegretto, the self-confidence comes in repeated insistence. 70/4, Finale - Allegro con brio, is made out of a single assertive phrase of four repeated notes which is stated in numerous ways and comes as one of the themes in a fugue.

Symphony No. 71 in B flat, c. 1777, is about Pensiveness. This is made clear in the introductory Adagio of 71/1. This has three times a short firm phrase which is immediately confirmed by a soft, pensive one. 71/1, Allegro con brio, opens i bars 8-13 with a soft, gentle theme, which is immediately, in bars 13-28, followed by five comments of various characters. Bars 29-31 introduce a new theme, *forte*. This is repeated in bars 32-34. The third repetition of the theme from bar 35 is immediately followed, in bars 38-44, by three comments on its last phrase, leading through a long sequence of further quiet comments to a thoughtful rest on bar 58. The thoughtful comments develop into a quiet passage in bars 59 to 75. The movement continues all through with phrases that are immediately commented on. 71/2, Adagio, is a set of variations on a theme in which each phrase is confirmed in a pensive comment. In 71/3, Menuetto, the opening firm theme is immediately answered, in bars 5-6, by a soft, pensive comment. In the second part of the Menuetto the pensive comment

expands into 13 bars. 71/3, Trio, is pensive throughout. In the second part the result of the pensiveness is confirmed in a three times repeated firm affirmation. 71/4, Finale - Vivace, opens softly with a smoothly flowing theme of four bars entirely made up of phrases that immediately confirm each other. This theme as a whole is then again confirmed by being repeated, *forte*. And so the music continues all through the movement with phrases, some short, some long, that are immediately commented on in a pensive manner.

Symphony No. 62 in D, c. 1777, is about Daydreaming. Throughout the music comes in sections in each of which an idea is taken through a certain sequence of modifications, as in idle daydreaming. In 62/1, Allegro, a first idea is presented in bars 1-5 and then repeated in bars 6-10. Bars 11-14 present a new idea of four quavers, played eight times. From bar 15 an idea of three crotchets is played six times. This develops in bars 21-23 into a one-bar figure, which is played 5 times from bar 24. In bars 29-35 several similar ideas are played upon. A new idea of two bars comes in at bar 36 and is developed until bar 50. From bar 51 an idea of seven bars is presented twice in succession. In the beginning of the second part of the movement, in bars 69-100, an idea of four bars is presented successively in seven different tonalities. 62/2, Allegretto, in bars 1-27 is a fantasia over two motives, one of three quavers, the other of two dotted crotchets. In bars 28-34 an idea of two bars is played four times. In the second part of the movement these same ideas are played upon, with imaginative embellishments. 62/3, Menuet - Allegretto, presents a splendid, firm theme. In the second part the theme is prolonged with playful extensions. In 62/3, Trio, the theme opens with a striking, syncopated figure in the bassoon. The second part has further comments on this figure. 62/4, Finale - Allegro, opens with a firm theme of 3 bars played twice. Much of the movement plays on this theme, or the first two bars of it. Bars 21-28 introduces a similar theme of two bars, played three times. Bar 54 introduces a very different figure of three snaps, which is played through to the end of the first part of the movement.

Symphony No. 78 in c minor, c. 1781, is an expression of Unrequited Love. It is described on page 46 in the section on the Polzelli Symphonies.

Symphony No. 80 in d minor, c. 1781, is about Toil. 80/1, Allegro spiritoso, opens with heavy music, slowly rising in the bass, like the dragging of a load upwards along an irregular slope. This continues for 56 bars, with only brief pauses for catching breath. Only then there is a brief relaxation, a gentle waltz playing for 8 bars. The second part begins with the relaxed waltz, only hesitantly returning to the heavy toil. 80/2, Adagio, describes the exhausting effort of concentration. All along the music comes in short phrases of concentration interspersed with moments of collection of forces. 80/3, Minuetto (Moderato), walks along with heavy steps. In the Trio a monotonous oboe describes the blazing sun on the brow of the tired walker. 80/4, Finale - Presto, is dominated by the monotonous syncopated rhythm, which is like the effort of pulling a rope.

Symphony No. 87 in A, 1785. The subject of this symphony is Joy and Beauty. 87/1 is like a shout of joy. 87/2 is Beauty throughout. In 87/3 the Menuet is Joy and the Trio is Beauty. In 87/4 Joy and Beauty are combined.

Symphony No. 86 in D, 1786. 86/1 opens with very friendly music which, however, in bar 8 changes into violent hammering on the same tone. Again the Allegro spiritoso starts out with four bars of soft, gentle music, which then changes into a long passage of repeated hammering three times on the same tone. 86/2 is described by Robbins Landon when he asks: 'Who is to describe its brooding emotional state interrupted several times by tutti sections of frightening intensity?' All this suggests that the theme of the symphony is Friend and Foe. 86/3 is all friendliness, while 86/4 is continued violence all through.

Symphony No. 91 in E flat, 1788. The subject of this symphony is Male and Female. The Largo opening of 91/1 starts by four bars of a firm, male character, which is followed by seven bars of softer, female character. Then the initial four bars of firm music is repeated and again followed by five bars of a female character. The following Allegro assai opens with fifteen bars of soft, caressing music, immediately followed by twenty one bars of strong firm music. And so throughout the symphony there is a continued alternation between music of the two characters. The contrast is brought out particularly strikingly in 91/1 bar 86 at 2:25 and 4:28 minutes, where four bars of fortissimo music in B flat are followed without transition by soft music in D flat, and similarly at bar 226 at 7:20 minutes. 91/4 from bar 92, at 3:06 minutes, in a passage of male music, presents Haydn's signature, the syncopation fingerprint.

Symphony No. 94 in G, The Surprise, 1791. This symphony is about country life. This is suggested by Haydn's use of the tune of 94/2 in his oratorio The Seasons as the tune whistled by the farmer when going to work in spring. 94/1 opens with an Adagio cantabile which can be heard as a picture of a peaceful country landscape. Accordingly the following Vivace assai moves along fresh and gentle.

Symphony No. 100 in G, Military, 1794, is about Peace and War. 100/1 starts in the introductory Adagio peacefully, and then changes the mood into the tension of war. The following Allegro describes the military campaign. 100/2 and 100/3 describe the life of the soldier, with its training and parades, and finally, in 100/4, the experience of war.

Symphony No. 101 in D, The Clock, 1794. This work is about Life and Time. The Adagio opening strikes a pathetic note: Life towards Death. The Allegro is Life rushing on hectically. In 101/2 Time ticks on inexorably while Life carries on, sometimes joyously, sometimes sadly. The menuetto of 101/3 is about Life's pathetic moments, while in the Trio Time again ticks on under Life's peaceful moments. In 101/4 Life rushes on, also stating the *laude deo* fanfare discretely: Life is a gift from God.

## Polzelli Symphonies

The Symphonies No.s 74, 77, 78, 79, and 84, have characters suggesting that they all reflect Haydn's relation to Luigia Polzelli. Luigia Polzelli, born in Naples in 1750, was a singer who together with her husband, the violinist Antonio Polzelli, was engaged to the troupe at Eszterháza in March 1779. Luigia Polzelli became Haydn's mistress and her second child, Alois Anton Nikolaus, born in 1783, was regarded in the family as being Haydn's son. The Polzellis remained in the princely service until the troupe was disbanded in 1790. Thereafter they went to Vienna, where Antonio soon died. Luigia then went to Italy where she sang at the theatres in Piacenza and Cremona. The first child of the Polzellis, Pietro, born in Italy in 1777, became a favourite of Haydn's. In 1792 he came to live with Haydn in Vienna, where he was a violinist in Schikaneder's Theater auf der Wieden, until he died in 1796.

First hand documentation of Haydn's relation with Luigia Polzelli is retained in several letters he wrote to her. In a letter from London, 4th August 1791, Haydn writes to Vienna (original in *Italian*, in the personally intimate *Tu*-form, translation as in Robbins Landon, vol. 3 p. 95): 'Dear Polzelli! ... As far as your husband is concerned, I tell you that Providence has done well to liberate you from this heavy yoke, and for him too, it is better to be in another world than to remain useless in this one. The poor man has suffered enough. Dear Polzelli, perhaps, perhaps the time will come, which we both so often dreamt of, when four eyes shall be closed. Two are closed, but the other two - enough of this, it shall be as God wills. ...'

In a letter from London, 14th January 1792, Haydn writes to Piacenza (reproduced in facsimile in Robbins Landon, vol. 3, *pl.* 27, *Italian*, *Tu*-form, translation as on p. 122): 'My dearest Polzelli! This very moment I received your letter, and hasten to answer it. I am relieved that you are in good health, and that you have found a position in a little theatre ... I wish you every possible success, in particular a good rôle and a good teacher, who takes the same pains with you as did your Haydn. You write that you would like to send your dear Pietro to me; do so, for I shall embrace him with all my heart; he is always welcome, and I shall treat him as if he were my own son. I shall take him with me to Vienna. ... I am quite well, but am almost always in an 'English humour', that is, depressed, and perhaps I shall never again regain the good humour that I used to have when I was with you. Oh! my dear Polzelli: you are always in my heart, and I shall never, never forget you. I shall do my very best to see you, if not this year, then certainly the next, along with your son. I hope that you won't forget me, and that you will write to me if you get married again, for I would like to know the name of him who is fortunate enough to have you. ...'

In a letter from London, 13th June 1792, Haydn writes to Bologna (*Italian*, *Tu*-form, translation as in Robbins Landon, vol. 3 p. 175): 'My dear Polzelli - I received your letter with the false news about my wife ... I shall write you soon, to tell you when your Pietro should leave ... My dear Polzelli, I hope to see you next year ... and I hope, as God is my witness, always to be the same to you as I have been. I love you and will always be your faithful Giuseppe Haydn.'

In a letter from Vienna of 22nd October 1792, Pietro Polzelli and Haydn write to Bologna (*Italian*, Pietro in '*Lei*' form, Haydn in '*Tu*', translation as in Robbins Landon, vol. 3 p. 199): 'Dearest Mother! ... il Sigre Maes. Haydn has found a place for me in his own house, so as to have more time to be able to teach me everything ... Your most obedient son, Pietro Polcelli [*spelled thus*]'. [Haydn's postscript:] Dear Polzelli, Your son has been very well received by my wife ...'

There is no evidence that Haydn ever met Luigia Polzelli in the later years. In his Last Will of 1809 Haydn bequeathed Luigia Polzelli an annuity for life.

Symphony No. 74 in E flat, c. 1780, may be titled: Happily in Love. The music is happy throughout, alternating between joyful spirits and moments of tenderness. In many places the happiness is expressed in a strong phrase that immediately is followed by a gentle confirmation. 74/1, Vivace assai, opens with three rising chords, *forte*, and continues in bars 3-7 with a twice repeated phrase, *piano*, as a tender confirmation of the happy opening. From bar 8 this opening comes again, but with the tender phrase supplemented with a spirited figure. The high spirits take over completely in bars 21-33, to be followed, in bars 34-44 with an extended form of the tender phrase. 74/2, Adagio cantabile+, is a tender serenade. It has Haydn's syncopation fingerprint in bars 76 and 88. In 74/3, Menuetto, the happy feelings express themselves in the snaps, and in 74/3, Trio, in the gay solo for the fagotto. 74/4, Finale - Allegro assai, the happiness is expressed in the themes that continue to spin out in gentle, joyful phrases. It seems plausible that this Symphony describes Haydn's feelings at meeting Luigia Polzelli.

Symphony No. 77 in B flat, c. 1781, has a light, feminine character, and it lies close at hand to hear it as Haydn's portrait of his mistress, the singer Luigia Polzelli, forming a pair with Haydn's self-portrait, No. 74. Throughout the music has the character of the music that Haydn is known to have written especially to be sung by Polzelli, e.g. the part of Lisetta in the opera *La Vera Constanza*, of which Robbins Landon says: 'She had a kind of soubrette voice, and Haydn wrote very characteristic music for her—light, ironic, charming.' (Robbins Landon, Vol. 2, p. 649). 77/1, Vivace, opens with a lively, gentle theme that continues to develop into 40 bars. The second theme, from bar 41, is again light, with a gently ironic twist. In the second part of the movement both themes are richly unfolded. 77/2, Andante sostenuto, consists entirely of a long, warm, songlike theme, which continues to develop with ever new delightful turns and twists. 77/3, Menuetto, opens with a gentle theme in the violins accompanied by regular staccato ticks in the winds. In the second part the ticks of the accompaniment come irregularly, as an ironic comment. The Trio is all charming gentleness. 77/4, Finale - Allegro spiritoso, is dominated by the opening long, gently active theme, which in the course of the movement is given a number of spirited and ironic developments.

Symphony No. 78 in c minor, c. 1781, is an expression of Unrequited Love. Plausibly it is a portrait of Antonio Polzelli, the husband of Luigia Polzelli, Haydn's mistress, who is portrayed in Symphony No. 77. Throughout the music of No. 78 has the contrast of passionate appeal and frustration over the failing response. 78/1, Vivace, opens with a three-bar, passionately appealing, unison gesture, *forte*, which is immediately answered by five bars of noncommittal gentleness, *piano*. This is immediately followed, in bars 9-47, by a passionate extension of the opening gesture. The response to this, in bars 48-54, again is entirely noncommittal, *pianissimo*. This leads, in bars 55-75, to a lengthy expression of despair, concluding the first part of the movement. The second part, bars 76-192, is dominated by further extensions of the passionate and despairing music, relieved only by a short return in bars 163-170 to the noncommittal response. 78/2, Adagio, opens in bars 1-13 with a series of sighs answered by light, noncommittal responses. Bars 14 and 16 sound like a prisoner desperately shaking the iron bars of his cage. The responses in bars 15 and 17-20 again are noncommittal, *piano*. The whole movement has expansions of that same music. 78/3, Menuetto - Allegretto, in bars 1-20 has one passionate appeal after the other, on and on, at first *forte*, then in bars 8-12 *piano*, and then again *forte*. The response in bars 21-24 consists merely of four totally noncommittal chords. The music then returns to further appeals. 78/3, Trio, has further appeals, less passionate, more argumentative. Of response there is none. 78/4, Finale - Presto, expresses a valiant effort to live with the unhappy situation. It opens with a short active phrase, *piano*, which is immediately confirmed in a similar phrase, *forte*, as if saying: Pull yourself together. In an interlude in major in bars 40-64 there is an attempt to look at the situation more lightly. However, this is followed from bar 64 with a repetition of the grim opening. From bar 96 the opening phrase is three times stated quietly as an appeal, and three times answered by silence. This releases in bars 108-147 a long cry of despair. In bars 208-220 the appeal is made more insistently, in new ways, and again answered by silences. The symphony ends in bars 221-241 with a final cry of despair. Haydn has signed it 'Fine'. There is no 'laude deo' signature.

Symphony No. 79 in F, c. 1783, is light, charming, and innocent, throughout, and it lies close at hand to hear it as a tribute to young children from a loving father, in other words, as Haydn's portrait of Luigia Polzelli's two sons, born 1777 and 1783. This character of the music has been noted by Robbins Landon, who says that 'The purity and beauty of the slow movement have a certain innocence ...'. 79/1, Allegro con spirito, immediately sets the tone of the whole movement as a picture of a young child by the opening gentle and lively theme, given to violins and fagotto. In bars 50-51 it has Haydn's syncopation fingerprint, indicating his fatherly involvement. 79/2, Adagio cantabile, in bars 1-60 is entirely peaceful innocence, as a sleeping child. From bar 60 the tempo indication changes to un poco allegro, and the music sounds like a child's lively tottering around. 79/3, Menuetto - Allegretto, is made from short phrases, *forte*, that are immediately followed by shorter responses, *piano*, which

sounds like an adult's loving talk with a child. 79/3, Trio, is just a charming, innocent tune. 79/4, Finale - Vivace, is lively and charming music, as a picture of a child playing around on a fresh, sunny morning in spring.

Symphony No. 84 in E flat, 1786. The exquisitely tender and beautiful opening and the lightness, grace, and charm, of all the music suggest that this symphony is a portrait of a lady. Haydn's syncopation and turn fingerprints make a discrete entry in 84/3 Trio. It all suggests that the Symphony like No. 77 is portrait of Luigia Polzelli.

### Church Symphonies

The Symphonies No.s 16, 26, 30, 31, 44, 47, 48, 49, 82, 90, 92, 95, 99, and 104, have characters suggesting that they describe aspects of the Catholic Church. That this may be so has been demonstrated for No. 26, Lamentatione, and No. 30, Alleluja, by Robbins Landon, who has found the source of the actual church music used by Haydn. The tone of voice throughout these Symphonies is one of reverent devotion. Further characteristics of the other Symphonies suggesting their relation to the Church service are as follows:

Symphony No. 16 in B flat, c. 1760: 16/1, Allegro, has a hymn-like theme, played with counter parts, similarly as 30/1. In 16/2, Andante, the tone of voice is one of respectful adoration throughout. 16/3, Finale Presto, is an energetic assertion of the fanfare fingerprint. Plausibly the symphony celebrates the Holy Virgin.

Symphony No. 31 in D, 1765, 'Hornsignal', is a praise to God, *laude deo*. This is clear from the very first moment of 31/1, Allegro, when the horns intone the fanfare fingerprint. Throughout the Symphony the tone of voice is one of reverent devotion. This holds in particular about the whole of 31/2, Adagio, and of the theme of the variations in 31/4, Finale Moderato molto. In the solo variations there is no trace of personal display. Rising scales in the flute in 31/1 undoubtedly signify the Holy Ghost. The Symphony ends as it began, with the fanfare fingerprint.

Symphonies No.s 44 'Trauer', 47, 48 'Maria Theresia', and 49 'La Passione', have passionate and tragic characters suggesting that taken together in some order they represent the events of the Holy Week, in other words that they together form an Easter Passion.

Symphony No. 44 in e minor, c. 1768, 'Trauer': The tone of voice throughout this Symphony is one of reverence. The opening of 44/1, Allegro con brio, sounds



like a provocative question with a meek answer. Perhaps this is Pilate asking: Are you the king of the Jews? and Jesus answering: You said it.

Symphony No. 48 in C, c. 1768: 48/1, Allegro, has the fanfare fingerprint in bars 5 and 6, after the introductory flourish. Perhaps this opening describes the Resurrection.

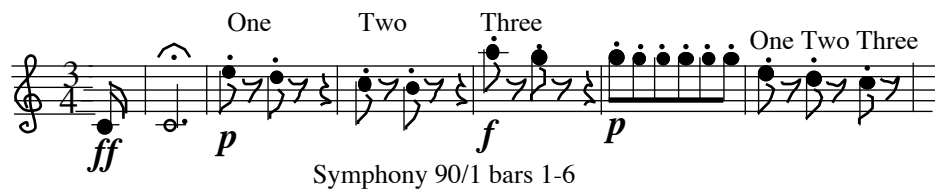
Symphony No. 47 G, 1772: The tone of voice throughout this Symphony is one of reverence. 47/1, Allegro, sounds like a meditation on some part of the liturgy, which might be a word given in the opening horn theme. 47/2, Un poco adagio, cantabile, is similar to 16/2, variations on a solemn theme.

Symphony No. 82 in C, 1786. The meaning of this symphony is suggested by the opening:



This has three distinct parts, of which the third consists of strong, repeated statements of the fanfare fingerprint, *laude deo*. The number three is further suggested by bars 2, 3, and 4. Altogether this suggests that the symphony represent the Holy Trinity: Father, Son, Holy Spirit: in bars 1-4 a powerful phrase: the Holy Spirit; in bars 5-8 a soft, gentle theme: the Son; in bars 8-20 a strong, ten times repeated statement of the fanfare fingerprint: the Father.

Symphony No. 90 in C, 1789. The symphony opens in 90/1 bars 2-4 with a statement of the number Three:

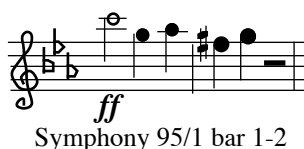


In bar 6 Three is again stated in the second bar of what is the main theme of the movement, which is stated again many times in the Allegro assai, in particular in imitation in 90/1 bars 130-9 at 4:39 minutes. The symphony in 90/3 and 90/4 has numerous statements of the fanfare fingerprint. All this suggests that the symphony celebrates the Trinity. 90/2 having solo for flute seems to celebrate the Holy Spirit. 90/3 having three statements of the fanfare fingerprint would celebrate the Son, and 90/4 with 32 such statements would celebrate the Father.

Symphonies 82 and 90 have many features in common, supporting the suggestion that they represent the same idea: They are both in C major; 82/1 and 90/1 both have well developed second themes played by the flute; 82/2 and 90/2 both consist of a quiet theme in F major with four variations that alternate between F major and f minor; 82/3 and 90/3 both have steadily marching menuetto themes, and both have a trio played by the oboe; 82/4 and 90/4, both in 2/4, both have the same kind of lively opening theme, consisting of a phrase played twice, and both have repeated first parts.

Symphony No. 92 G, Oxford, 1789. Virgin Mary. The symphony opens with a soft and exquisitely beautiful slow introduction. 92/2 similarly is soaringly beautiful. 92/1, 92/2, and 92/4, have prominent presentations of the fanfare fingerprint. All told it seems obvious that the symphony is Haydn's celebration of the Virgin Mary.

Symphony No. 95 in c minor, 1791: The symphony opens, without any preamble, with a powerful, brief, imperative phrase, as saying: Thou Shall!



95/4 consists essentially in two long crescendi toward powerful statements of the fanfare fingerprint. This suggests that the symphony is about the Ten Commandments. This is confirmed in a brief passage in 95/1, at the beginning of the second section of the movement, bars 62-74, at 3:49 minutes. In this passage the imperative phrase by close imitations comes to be stated just ten times. Again, at the climax of 95/4, bars 153-64, at 2:56 minutes, the fanfare fingerprint appears ten times.

Symphony No. 99 in E flat, 1793, is about joy. Joy is expressed in every one of its themes and parts, joy in any number of ways, some serenely beautiful, some intimate, some bubbling over. 99/2 at bar 82-4, at 6:15 minutes, has a three times repeated statement of the fanfare fingerprint: the theme of the Symphony is: Joy in God.

Symphony No. 104 in D, 1795, is clearly Haydn's final thanks to God. The main theme of 104/1 prominently includes Haydn's syncopation fingerprint.

The image shows musical notation for Violin 1 and Violin 2 in D major (two sharps) for bars 17-24 of Symphony No. 104. The Violin 1 part features a syncopation fingerprint, which is a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The Violin 2 part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The syncopation fingerprint is specifically labeled above the Violin 1 staff.

### Chronological survey

The results of the exploration are given in the survey on pages 50-52, which lists the Symphonies in the chronological order established by Robbins Landon. Where no autograph year is given no dated autograph has been preserved. The ordering in many of its details is merely conjectural. In particular the position of Symphony No. 9, which might seem to contradict the interpretation of this work as part of the Salve Regina cycle, is uncertain. It would not contradict the evidence of the manuscripts if this Symphony were interchanged with either 'B', No. 16, or No. 17.

Symphony No.	Autograph year	Fingerprints: * Fanfare, + Syncopation, ≠ Ornament	Meaning found in the exploration
1		*+	Salve Regina 1
37		*+	Salve Regina 2
18		*+≠	Salve Regina 4
19		*+	Salve Regina 3
2		*+	Salve Regina 6
'B'			Landscape
16		*	Church Symphony
17		+	Self-portrait: Modest Gratitude
15		*+≠	Self-portrait: The Lover
4		*+≠	Self-portrait: Thankfulness
10			The Four Seasons: Autumn
32		*	Salve Regina 7
5			Portrait: Count Morzin and Countess
11		*+	Self-portrait: Joy in God
33			The Four Seasons: Winter
27		+≠	Self-portrait: The Friend
'A'			The Four Seasons: Spring
3			Portrait: Powerful Intellect
20			The Four Seasons: Summer
6	Le Matin		
7	1761 Le Midi	+≠	
8	Le Soir		
9		*+≠	Salve Regina 5
25		+	Portrait of Father
14			Landscape with Cattle
36		*	Portrait of Prince Esterházy
12	1763	+≠	Self-portrait: The Confessor
13	1763	+	Portrait: Haydn With His Musicians
40	1763		Landscape: Pastoral
72			Portrait of the Orchestra

Symphony No.	Autograph year	Fingerprints:	
	Title	* Fanfare, + Syncopation, ≠ Ornament	Meaning found in the exploration
21	1764	+	Self-portrait: The Composer
22	1764 Philosoph		Portrait: Philosopher and Disciple
23	1764		Madness
24	1764		Portrait: Grandiose Lady
30	1765 Alleluja	*	Church Symphony
29	1765	+	Self-portrait: The Man of the People
31	1765 Hornsignal	*	Church Symphony: Laude Deo
28	1765		The Unrepentant Sinner
34			The Four Temperaments
39			Portrait: Artist
35	1767		The Loner in the Crowd
59	Feuer	*	Through Struggle to Fulfilment
38			Landscape: Alps
49	1768 La Passione		Church Symphony
58			The Contradictor
26	Lamentatione		Church Symphony
41			Portrait: Archangel Raphael
48	Maria Theresa *		Church Symphony
44	Trauer		Church Symphony
52		+≠	Self-portrait: Moods and passions
43	Merkur		Resignation
42	1771	+	Self-portrait: The Dreamer
51			The Pedant
45	1772 Abschied		Homesickness
46	1772		Portrait: Warm-hearted, Imaginative
47	1772		Church Symphony
65			Scatterbrain
50	1773		Portrait: The Empress
64	Tempora mutantur		The Inexorability of Change
54	1774	*+	Self-portrait: Thanks to God for Recovery
55	1774 Schulmeister		Portrait: The Schoolmaster in Love
56	1774		Dream and Reality
57	1774		Rain
60	Il Distratto		
68			The Elegant Man
66		*+≠	Self-portrait: Thoughtful Self-Confidence
69	Laudon		Portrait of Field-Marshal Laudon
67			Activity and Contemplation
61	1776	+≠	Character self-portrait

Symphony No.	Autograph year	Fingerprints:	Meaning found in the exploration
	Title	* Fanfare, + Syncopation, ≠ Ornament	
53	1777 L'impériale	*+≠	Self-portrait: The <i>Capellmeister</i>
63	La Roxelane		
70			Self-Confidence
75		*+≠	Self-portrait: The Son of the Church
71			Pensiveness
62			Daydreaming
74		+	Self-portrait: Happily in Love
73	La Chasse		
76		+	Self-portrait: The Composer at Work
77			Portrait of Luigia Polzelli
78		+≠	Unrequited Love (Antonio Polzelli)
79		+	Portrait of Luigia Polzelli's sons
81			Pastoral
80			Toil
87			Joy and Beauty
85	La Reine	≠	Portrait of Queen Marie-Antoinette
83	La Poule		Weather
84	1786	+≠	Portrait of Luigia Polzelli
86	1786		Friend and Foe
82	1786 L'ours	*	Church Symphony: Father, Son, Holy Spirit
88	1787 Letter V	+≠	Intimate self-portrait
89	1787	+	Self-portrait: The Entertainer
91	1788	+	Male and Female
90	1789	*	Church Symphony: The Holy Trinity
92	1789 Oxford	*	Church Symphony: Virgin Mary
96	1791	*+	Self-portrait: Thanks to God
95	1791	*	Church Symphony: The Ten Commandments
93	1791	*+	Haydn and His Noble Patrons
94	1791 The Surprise		Country life
98	1792?	*+≠	Haydn and Mozart
97	1792	+≠	Haydn and the English public
99	1793	*	Church Symphony: Joy in God
100	1794 Military		Peace and war
101	1794 The clock	*+	Life and time
102	1794	+≠	Haydn and Rebecca Schroeter
103	1795 Drum roll	*+≠	Self-portrait: Approaching death
104	1795	*+	Haydn's final thanks to God

### **The plausibility of the interpretations**

As reported above, the interpretations of the individual Symphonies suggested have been found mainly through attentive listening to the music. The present section will present some additional considerations that have influenced the exploration and that support the plausibility of the interpretations found.

As one circumstance it should be noted that the designation *sinfonia* was used quite commonly by Haydn and his contemporaries to denote an instrumental piece having an extramusical meaning. Such pieces denoted *sinfonia* were commonly inserted in operas and oratorios and were used to express some of the mood of the human situation described in the work. A well known example is the *Pastoral Symphony* in Handel's *Messiah*.

Similarly the instrumental overtures of operas were often denoted *sinfonia*. For example, Haydn's overture to his opera *L'isola disabitata* was first published in 1783 under the title *Sei Sinfonie a grand Orchestra*. This overture is in four sections: Largo - Vivace assai - Allegretto - Vivace. It clearly describes the development of the mood of the characters of the opera, from pained depression to jubilant relief.

Again what Haydn called a *sinfonia*, when played during his visit in London was announced as an *Overture*.

In this context it may also be mentioned that the similarity of Haydn's symphonies with preludes to dramas has been noted by Robbins Landon, who suggests that Symphonies No.s 9 and 25 may have been such overtures (a suggestion which is not supported by the present investigation, however).

It may further be noted that the use of instrumental compositions to describe extramusical themes was a lively tradition in Haydn's environment. As just one illustration may be mentioned that Haydn's immediate predecessor as *Kapellmeister* at Eisenstadt, Gregorius Josephus Werner, in 1748 published a *Neuer und sehr curios musicalischer Instrumental-Calender*, which was a set of 12 suites of instrumental pieces, one suite of four or five pieces for each month. Each of these many pieces has a title indicating an extramusical theme of the music, e.g. Hope for a Happy New Year, The Wedding of Father Brown, Lent, Springtime, Changeable April Weather, The Gardener, The Nightingale, An Earthquake, The Loafer, A Thunder-shower, The Cooper, The Hunt, and Sleep or a Nocturne.

The plausibility of the kinds of meanings found here rests, most of all, on the way a large number of specific details of the works, many of them highly idiosyncratic, have been given explanations that are coherent with each other.

For some of the groups of works the plausibility can be further argued from Haydn's position as princely music master. Haydn's position was similar to that of the painters who were employed by Prince Esterházy. Haydn started writing symphonies only after he entered the service of Count Morzin at the age of 27. In this capacity he wrote about 19 symphonies in one year. It seems fairly obvious that Haydn's production of symphonies was directly related to his employment, as was his later production of large quantities of music for the baryton, including 126 trios, which were directly commissioned by Prince Esterházy for his own use as a player of the baryton.

For a princely *Capellmeister* what could be more plausible than that he would write music portraying his princely patrons, in addition to portraits of other persons attached to the court, including self-portraits? Just as the painter of the court would do the same thing in painting. As shown by reproductions in (Robbins Landon, 1978-80) the princely painter Johann Basilius Grundmann painted a portrait of Haydn in 1762, and the princely painter Ludwig Guttenbrunn painted a self-portrait. Thus as interpreted here, Haydn's symphonies are closely analogous to the paintings of a master such as Rembrandt.

The plausibility of the interpretation of the *Salve Regina* Symphonies may be argued from the fact that, as reported by Griesinger, Symphony No. 1 was the work that impressed Prince Paul Anton Esterházy so much that he engaged Haydn to his service as *Kapellmeister*. Now, as reported in detail by Robbins Landon, the Esterházy family were staunch Catholics, particularly devoted to the Virgin Mary. Paul used to call himself 'The lowliest servant of Our Dear Lady'. Thus it seems entirely in character that he would be particularly impressed by a symphony by Haydn celebrating The Virgin Mary.

The detection of an intimately personal character of certain of the symphonies is strongly confirmed by the appearance of the personal symphonies 74, 77, and 79, at the time when Haydn formed his liaison with Luigia Polzelli.

To an argument that the meanings here found, if valid, would have been known all along it may be answered that very little of the circumstances around the original performances of Haydn's symphonies have been retained in the historical records. Practically nothing has been recorded about when and where they were performed. Even a special event, the performance of a symphony before the Empress Maria Teresa, is very incompletely recorded. Traditionally it has been thought to have been Symphony No. 48, which accordingly has been nicknamed Maria Theresia. However, Robbins Landon's researches indicate that No. 48, which was written in 1769, could not have been written expressly for the Empress's visit in 1773. He finds that the symphony played before the Empress was No. 50. This accords well with the character of the music, as a portrait of the Empress, found in the present investigation.

It may be noted that the present interpretations disagree with the idea of a crisis in Haydn's artistic development widely publicized under the heading *Sturm und Drang*. The *Sturm und Drang* idea has already been found by Robbins Landon to be historically unsound; Haydn's so-called *Sturm und Drang* symphonies were written before the literary movement of *Sturm und Drang* arose. Also there is no evidence that Haydn had any interest in or contact with contemporary literary activity. In the present interpretations the passionate character of some of the symphonies from around 1768 is explained by their belonging to a symphonic Easter cycle.

**A letter from H. C. Robbins Landon**

Foncoussières, F - 81800 Rabastens, 28 May 2002

Dear Mr. Naur, 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. Too bad that the Haydn Yearbook no longer exists, it would have been the ideal place to print it. Anyway, I hope you soon find a suitable place to launch the article. Sincerely, H. C. Robbins Landon

The dedication to the memory of H. C. Robbins Landon has been approved by Marie-Noëlle Raynal-Bechetoille.

**Literature**

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