



GROVEMUSIC

The New Grove

Haydn

James Webster & Georg Feder

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Laura Macy
London, 2001

THE NEW GROVE®

HAYDN

James Webster and Georg Feder



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Abbreviations

General

- A – alto
Acc. – accompaniment, accompanied by
addl – additional
ad lib – ad libitum
AMS – American Musicological Society
anon. – anonymous
appx(s) – appendix(es)
attrib. – attribution(s), attributed to;
 ascription(s), ascribed to
Aug – August
aut. – autumn
b – born
b – bass
B – bass [voice]
bap. – baptized
bc – basso continuo
bn – bassoon
Bs – Benedictus
c – circa
cant(s). – cantata(s)
cf – confer [compare]
chap(s). – chapter(s)
cl – clarinet
conc(s). – concerto(s)
CT – Connecticut
d – died
DC – District of Columbia
db – double bass
dbn – double bassoon
Dec – December
ded(s). – dedication(s), dedicated to
dg – *dramma giocoso*
diss. – dissertation
edn(s) – edition(s)
eng – English
facs. – facsimile
Feb – February
fig(s). – figure(s) [illustration(s)]
fl – flute
frag(s). – fragment(s)
Ger. – German
Gl – Gloria
grad(s) – gradual(s)
gui – guitar
hn – horn
hp – harp
hpd – harpsichord
ibid. – *ibidem* [in the same place]
IN – Indiana
inc. – incomplete
incid – incidental
incl. – includes, including
insts – instruments
int(s) – intermezzo(s), *introit(s)*
It. – Italian
Jan – January
Jb – *Jahrbuch* [yearbook]
Jg – *Jahrgang* [year of publication/
 volume]
jr – junior
kbd – keyboard
Ky – Kyrie
lib(s) – libretto(s)
MA – Massachusetts
MS(S) – manuscript(s)
movt(s) – movement(s)
NC – North Carolina
n.d. – no date of publication
NJ – New Jersey
no(s). – number(s)
Nov – November
ob – *opera buffa*, oboe
obbl – obbligato
oc – *opéra comique* [genre]
Oct – October
off(s) – offertory (offertories)
op(s) – opera(s)
op(p). – opus, opera [plural of opus]
orat(s) – oratorio(s)
orch – orchestra(tion), orchestral
org – organ
orig. – original(ly)
os – *opera seria*
ov(s). – overture(s)
p(p). – page(s)
perc – percussion
perf(s). – performance(s), performed (by)
pic – piccolo
Ps(s) – Psalm(s)
pt(s) – part(s)
pubd – published
pubn(s) – publication(s)
qt(s) – quartet(s)
qnt – quintet
R – photographic reprint [edition of
 score or early printed source]
recit(s) – recitative(s)
repr. – reprinted
rev(s). – revision(s), revised (by/for)
RISM – Répertoire International des
 Sources Musicales
S – soprano
Sept – September
ser. – series
Spl – Singspiel
str – string(s)
sum. – summer
suppl(s). – supplement(s),
 supplementary
sym(s). – symphony, symphonies
T – tenor
timp – timpani
trpt – trumpet
trans. – translation
trbn – trombone
transcr(s). – transcription(s), transcribed
 by/for
U. – University
unpubd – unpublished
v – voice
va – viola
vc – cello
vle – violone
vn – violin
vv – voices
WI – Wisconsin

Bibliographic

- 19CM – 19th Century Music
 ActM – Acta musicologica
 AMw – Archiv für Musikwissenschaft
 AMZ – Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung
 (1798–1848, 1863–5, 1866–82)
 AnM – Anuario musical
 AnMc, AnMc – Analecta musicologica
 BeJb – Beethoven-Jahrbuch
 BMw – Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft
 CMc – Current Musicology
 EMc – Early Music
 FAM – Fontes artis musicae
 GerberNL – E.L. Gerber: Neues
 historisch-biographisches Lexikon der
 Tonkünstler
 GfMKB – Gesellschaft für Musikforschung:
 Kongress-Bericht [1950–]
 IMSCR – International Musicological
 Society: Congress Report [1930–]
 ImusSCR – International Musical Society:
 Congress Report [II–IV, 1906–11]
 JAMS – Journal of the American
 Musicological Society
 JbMP – Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek
 Peters
 JM – Journal of Musicology
 JMR – Journal of Musicological Research
 JMT – Journal of Music Theory
 JRMA – Journal of the Royal Musical
 Association
 KJb – Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch
 Mf – Die Musikforschung
 MGG1 – Die Musik in Geschichte und
 Gegenwart
 MJb – Mozart-Jahrbuch [Salzburg,
 1950–]
 ML – Music & Letters
 MQ – Musical Quarterly
 MR – Music Review
 MT – Musical Times
 NbeJb – Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch
 NewmanSCE – W.S. Newman: The
 Sonata in the Classical Era (Chapel
 Hill, NC, 1963, 3/1983)
 NOHM – The New Oxford History of
 Music (Oxford, 1954–90)
 ÖMz – Österreichische Musikzeitung
 PRMA – Proceedings of the Royal Musical
 Association
 RBM – Revue belge de musicologie
 RdM – Revue de musicologie
 SIMG – Sammelbände der Internationalen
 Musik-Gesellschaft
 SMH – Studia musicologica Academiae
 scientiarum hungaricae
 SMw – Studia zur Musikwissenschaft
 ZfM – Zeitschrift für Musik
 ZMw – Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft
 ZT – Zeneudományi tanulmányok

Library sigla

- A-EI – Austria, Eisenstadt,
 Burgländisches Landesmuseum
 A-HE – Austria, Heiligenkreuz,
 Zisterzienserkloster
 A-SEI – Austria, Seitenstretten,
 Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv
 A-Sm – Austria, Salzburg,
 Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum,
 Bibliotheca Mozartiana
 A-ST – Austria, Stams,
 Zisterzienserstift, Musikarchiv
 A-Wgm – Austria, Vienna, Gesellschaft
 der Musikfreunde
 A-Wn – Austria, Vienna,
 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
 Musiksammlung
 A-Wst – Austria, Vienna, Stadt-
 und Landesbibliothek,
 Musiksammlung
 CZ-Bm – Czech Republic, Brno,
 Moravské Zemské Muzeum,
 Oddělení Dějin, Hudby
 CZ-KRa – Czech Republic, Kroměříž,
 Státní y Zámek a Zahrady,
 Historicko-Umělecké Fondy,
 Hudební Archív
 CZ-Pnm – Czech Republic, Prague,
 Národní Muzeum
 D-Bib – Germany, Berlin,
 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
 Preussischer Kulturbesitz
 D-HR – Germany, Harburg (nr
 Donauwörth), Fürstlich Oettingen-
 Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek Schloss
 Harburg
 D-Lem – Germany, Leipzig, Leipziger
 Städtische Bibliotheken,
 Musikbibliothek
 D-TI – Germany, Tübingen,
 Schwäbisches Landesmusikarchiv
 H-Bn – Hungary, Budapest, Országos
 Széchényi Könyvtár
 H-Gé – Hungary, Győr, Káptalan
 Magánlevéltár Kottatára
 J-Tn – Japan, Tokyo, Nanki Ongaku
 Bunko
 PL-Kj – Kraków, Uniwersytet
 Jagielloński, Biblioteka Jagiellońska

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Joseph Haydn began his career in the traditional patronage system of the late Austrian Baroque, and ended as a 'free' artist within the burgeoning Romanticism of the early 19th century. Famous as early as the mid-1760s, by the 1780s he had become the most celebrated composer of his time, and from the 1790s until his death was a culture-hero throughout Europe. Since the early 19th century he has been venerated as the first of the three 'Viennese Classics' (Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven). He excelled in every musical genre; during the first half of his career his vocal works were as famous as his instrumental ones, although after his death the reception of his music focussed on the latter (except for *The Creation*). He is familiarly known as the 'father of the symphony' and could with greater justice be thus regarded for the string quartet; no other composer approaches his combination of productivity, quality and historical importance in these genres. In the 20th century he was understood primarily as an 'absolute' musician (exhibiting wit, originality of form, motivic saturation and a 'modernist' tendency to problematize music rather than merely to compose it), but earnestness, depth of feeling and referential tendencies are equally important to his art.

1. CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH 1732–c1749

Documentary information on Haydn's life and musical activity before his employ by the Esterházy court in 1761 is scanty. The primary sources comprise an autobiographical letter of 1776 and brief biographies published just after his death by (in order of general reliability) Georg August Griesinger, Albert Christoph Dies, Giuseppe Carpani and Nicolas Etienne Framery, supplemented by parish registers, musical archives, dated autographs and the like. Franz Joseph Haydn (neither he nor his contemporaries used the name Franz) was born on 31 March 1732 in Rohrau, Lower Austria, into a family of primarily South German stock, albeit in an area of considerable ethnic diversity in which Croats and Hungarians were also prominent. His immediate ancestors were not peasants (as legend has it), but artisans and tradespeople. His grandfather and his father, Mathias (1699–1763), were master wheelwrights; Mathias also functioned as *Marktrichter* (magistrate) of the 'market village' (as Haydn called it)

Rohrau, near Bruck an der Leitha. Rohrau was a possession of Count Karl Anton Harrach (1692–1758); his grandson Karl Leonhard (1765–1831) erected a monument to Haydn in the castle garden in 1793. Haydn's mother, Anna Maria Koller (1707–54), had before her marriage in 1728 been a cook at the Harrach castle.

Mathias Haydn was 'a great lover of music by nature' (this phrase in Haydn's laconic account has occasionally been taken as applying to Harrach, but it is his father who was meant), who 'played the harp without reading a note of music'; his mother sang the melodies. Indeed all three of their surviving male children became professional musicians, two of them famous composers. (Joseph was the second of 12 children, Michael, 1737–1806, the sixth. The eleventh, Johann Evangelist, 1743–1805, was a tenor in a church choir and later at the Esterházy court.) Dies says of Haydn's father that 'all the children had to join in his concerts, to learn the songs, and to develop their singing voice', adding that he also organized concerts among the neighbours.

Haydn's talent became evident early on. 'As a boy of five I sang all [my father's] simple easy pieces correctly'; according to Griesinger he still remembered these melodies in old age. 'Almighty God ... granted me so much facility, especially in music, that when I was only six I boldly sang masses down from the choirloft, and could also get around on the harpsichord and violin'. In 1737 or 1738 Johann Mathias Franck, a cousin of Mathias Haydn's by marriage and a school principal in the nearby town of Hainburg (Mathias's birthplace), heard Haydn sing in the family circle; Griesinger and Dies also have him pretending to be playing a violin by scraping a stick against his arm. Franck was so impressed by Haydn's voice and musical accuracy that he suggested that he come to live with him, 'so that there I could learn the rudiments of music along with other juvenile necessities'. It being clear that his abilities could not be developed in Rohrau, his parents agreed, whether in the hope that he might amount to something as a musician or the belief that musical and educational accomplishments might be useful in what they (especially his mother) imagined as his true calling, that of a priest.

Franck was not only a school principal but the choir director of a Hainburg church; presumably he oversaw Haydn's education personally. The latter was scarcely an autodidact, as myth used to have it. Griesinger writes:

He received instruction in reading and writing, in the catechism, in singing, and on almost all the string and wind instruments, and even on the timpani: 'I will be grateful to this man even in the grave',

Haydn often said, 'that he taught me so much, even though in the process I received more beatings than food'.

Such exaggerations aside, he doubtless made rapid progress; his account of mass singing and harpsichord and violin studies 'in my sixth year' implies that these took place in Hainburg. As Griesinger says, his schooling was not musical alone; this was also the case when he was a choirboy in Vienna, where his non-musical studies, though 'scanty', included Latin, religion, arithmetic and writing.

In 1739 or 1740 ('in my 7th year'; Griesinger and Dies: in his eighth year) Haydn was recruited to serve as choirboy at the Stephansdom in Vienna: 'Kapellmeister Reutter, on a trip through Hainburg, heard my thin but pleasant voice from a distance, and at once accepted me into the *Capell Hauss*' (choir school). Georg Reutter the younger, Kapellmeister at the Stephansdom since 1738 (later Hofkapellmeister), was travelling through the provinces in search of new talent; in Hainburg the parish priest, an old friend, suggested that Haydn might be a suitable candidate. According to several accounts Haydn did not know how to trill but, after Reutter demonstrated, triumphantly got it right on his third attempt, thus sealing his acceptance. For the next ten years, 'I sang soprano both at St Stephan's and at court to great applause'. At the choir school, 'I was taught the art of singing, the harpsichord and the violin by very good masters'; in singing these included Adam Gegenbauer and the tenor Ignaz Finsterbusch (both *d* 1753). To be sure, there was apparently little formal training in theory or composition, although the singing included *solfeggio* and the harpsichord instruction probably entailed figured bass. But in their enthusiasm for the notion that Haydn's development amounted to 'making something out of nothing' (Dies, allegedly quoting Haydn), most accounts again exaggerate this supposed lack of instruction. 'Haydn recalled having had only two lessons [in theory] from the worthy Reutter', writes Griesinger, but if he could recall two, he might have had more. In any case, 'Reutter encouraged him to make whatever variations he liked on the motets and Salves that he had to sing in church, and this discipline soon led him to ideas of his own, which Reutter corrected'; this scarcely implies outright neglect.

It was surely not on Haydn's own that 'he also came to know Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) and Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725). With tireless exertion Haydn sought to understand Fux's theory; he worked his way through the entire treatise'. However, although both Griesinger and Dies mention Fux in the context of the choir school, Haydn's study of him would more plausibly have taken place

during the 1750s. In any case, his copy of *Gradus* is heavily annotated in Latin; he made it the basis of his own teaching of composition, as did Mozart. Another activity entrusted to competent older choirboys was the instruction of their younger colleagues in musical fundamentals; among those whom Haydn taught was his brother Michael, who joined him there about 1745. Most important, for ten full years, at a highly impressionable age, Haydn rehearsed and sang in performances of the greatest art-music then being produced in Catholic Europe, amid the pomp and splendour of the cathedral and court of an imperial capital. This experience will have fundamentally shaped his musical intellect even without formal training in composition.

But this life could not last; his voice broke. A characteristic anecdote adds insult to injury by relating that after one performance Maria Theresa said that he sang 'like a crow', while rewarding Michael for his beautiful singing. Griesinger states that Reutter had earlier suggested that Haydn might become a castrato, but his father refused permission (although this seems potentially inconsistent with his parents' original hope that he become a priest). Be this as it may, soon after his voice broke he was dismissed from the choir school. Haydn wrote that he remained there 'until into my 18th year' (i.e. April 1749 to March 1750); Griesinger's estimate, 'in his sixteenth year', is generally thought to be too early. Carl Ferdinand Pohl, who had access to many documents now lost but gives no source in this instance, writes: 'We find Haydn on the street; it was a damp November evening in 1749'. Pathos aside (year and atmosphere derive from Framery), the date is consistent with Haydn's statement.

2. VIENNA, c1750–61

Haydn's account of his freelance 1750s narrates a classic 'rags to riches' story:

When my voice finally broke, for eight whole years I was forced to eke out a wretched existence by teaching young people. Many geniuses are ruined by this miserable [need to earn their] daily bread, because they lack time to study. This could well have happened to me; I would never have achieved what little I have done, had I not carried on with my zeal for composition during the night. I composed diligently, but not quite correctly, until I finally had the good fortune to learn the true fundamentals of composition from the famous Porpora (who was in Vienna at the time). Finally, owing to a recommendation from the late [Baron] von Fürnberg

(who was especially generous to me), I was appointed as director with Count Morzin, and from there as Kapellmeister with his highness Prince [Esterházy].

This period comprises three stages, of which the first two overlap without clear division. During the 'lean years', about 1749 to the mid-1750s, Haydn was a freelance musician, teacher and budding composer. Even then, however, he was reaping professional and social advantage from contact with figures such as Porpora and Metastasio. Beginning around 1753, and increasingly after 1755, his compositional activity expanded, as his reputation and access to patronage grew. His first regular appointment, as director of music for Count Morzin, began probably in 1757 and lasted until the winter of 1760–61 or the spring of 1761.

Haydn's first lodgings (according to Framery) were offered by Johann Michael Spangler, a tenor (later *regens chori*) at the Michaelerkirche, in a garret with his wife and infant son (*b* February 1749). This solution obviously could be no more than temporary, especially as Spangler's wife was soon pregnant with their second child, Maria Magdalena (*b* 4 September 1750). (In 1768 Haydn engaged Maria Magdalena Spangler as a soprano at the Esterházy court, where among other roles she created Vespina in *L'infedeltà delusa* and Rezia in *L'incontro improvviso*; she was also the first Sara in *Il ritorno di Tobia*.) Another good deed was done him by Johann Wilhelm Buchholz, a lacemaker, whose granddaughter was remembered in Haydn's will 'because her grandfather lent me 150 gulden without interest in my youth and great need'; the amount was close to a year's salary for an ordinary musician at a minor court. It was perhaps in the following spring (1750) that he journeyed to the huge Benedictine pilgrimage church in Mariazell (Styria). Griesinger relates that he took with him 'several motets which he had composed and asked the *regens chori* there for permission to put out the parts in the church and sing them', and continues with an anecdote according to which Haydn the next day got his way by trickery. If 'motet' means a liturgical work other than a mass, it can only have been his first *Lauda Sion* hymns, HXXIIIc:5; another possibility is the *Missa brevis* in F. In any case this pilgrimage was important to Haydn; later he composed both the *Missa Cellensis* (HXXII:5) and the 'Mariazellermesse' (HXXII:8) with Mariazell in mind.

According to Pohl, it was in the spring or summer of 1750 that Haydn occupied his most frequently described early lodgings: a 'miserable little garret without a stove' (Griesinger) in the so-called Michaelerhaus, attached to the Michaelerkirche. At this time 'his entire life was devoted to giving lessons, the study of his art, and performing. He played in serenades

and in orchestras for pay, and devoted himself diligently to composition, for “when I sat at my old, worm-eaten clavier, I envied no king his good fortune”. Here occurred the first of many strokes of luck through which, in addition to his genius and unremitting labour, he gradually improved his professional lot. Griesinger writes:

In the same house ... lived as well the famous poet Metastasio. He was raising one Fräulein Martinez; Haydn was engaged to give her lessons in singing and on the clavier, in return for which he received free board for three years. At Metastasio's he also made the acquaintance of the ageing Kapellmeister Porpora. Porpora was teaching singing to the mistress of the Venetian ambassador, Correr; however, because he was too proper and too fond of his ease to accompany at the piano himself, he delegated this task to our Giuseppe. ‘There was no lack of *Ass*, *Blockhead*, *Rascal* and pokes in the ribs, but I willingly put up with it all, for I profited immensely from Porpora in singing, composition and Italian.’ In the summer Correr travelled with the lady to the popular bathing resort Mannersdorf ... ; Porpora went as well ... and took Haydn with him. For three months Haydn served there as Porpora's valet; he ate at Correr's officers' table, and was paid six ducats [approx. 25 gulden] a month. From time to time he was required to accompany Porpora on the clavier at one Prince von Hildburghausen's, in the presence of Gluck, Wagenseil and other famous masters; the approval of these connoisseurs was especially encouraging to him.

Access to such personages – whose overlapping relations were as much social as artistic – was essential for an aspiring young musician. ‘Fräulein Martinez’ was the composer and singer Marianne von Martínez. At the court of Joseph Friedrich, Prince of Sachsen-Hildburghausen (1702–87), Haydn could also have encountered Dittersdorf (whom he certainly knew by the mid-1750s) and Giuseppe Bonno, later Hofkapellmeister.

All these events took place during the first half of the 1750s. Haydn's instruction of Martínez began in either 1751 or 1752; presumably his three years with Metastasio were between 1751 and 1754. Porpora arrived in Vienna from Dresden in 1752 or early 1753; Haydn might well have met him in March 1753, when Metastasio was considering him as composer of his new opera *L'isola disabitata* (which in the event he assigned to Bonno; Haydn himself set this libretto in 1779). Given the mastery shown in Haydn's music by about 1756, 1753 or 1754 are the latest plausible dates for his having ‘learnt the true fundamentals of composition’ from Porpora, whose expert knowledge of singing and Italian – ‘singing’ in this context implies Italian opera and oratorio – was also of great importance; Haydn became fluent in Italian and the italianate singing style. In addition, it may

well have been at Porpora's instigation that he systematically worked through Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (the only work mentioned by any source that offers 'true fundamentals'). Another important musical encounter was Haydn's discovery of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, but this is unlikely to have taken place as early as about 1750, as the biographers claim. Dies portrays Haydn asking for 'a good theoretical textbook'; this can refer only to the second volume of Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*. However, it appeared far too late (1762) to serve the function Dies attributes to it; even Bach's first volume (1753) was apparently not sold in Vienna until the 1760s. Moreover, unlike Fux or Mattheson, neither volume figures in Haydn's library catalogue (1804) or his estate. Indeed Griesinger speaks more plausibly of compositions:

About this time [his move to the Michaelerhaus] Haydn came upon the first six sonatas of Emanuel Bach; 'I did not leave my clavier until I had played them through, and whoever knows me thoroughly must discover that I owe a great deal to Emanuel Bach, that I understood him and studied him with diligence. Emanuel Bach once paid me a compliment on that score himself.'

Although it is unclear which of Bach's sonatas Griesinger meant by 'the first six', there is no doubt of his influence on Haydn as a composer. Again, however, Haydn's style does not reflect that influence until the 1760s.

An important early personal contact was with Joseph Felix von Kurz, a well-known comic actor (under the stage-name Bernardon) and minor impresario active at the Kärntnertortheater, for whom Haydn supplied music to *Der (neue) krumme Teufel*, a comedy of the 'Hanswurst' type. It was apparently given its première in the 1751–2 season and revived in May 1753, with considerable success. Neither libretto nor music of this, his earliest stage work, survives; a libretto does survive for a later version of c1759, often called *Der neue krumme Teufel*, but, again, there is no music. It has been speculated that many anonymous numbers in contemporary Viennese collections of theatrical songs stem from this work or others that Haydn might have composed, although document is lacking.

Haydn's lot improved substantially in the mid-1750s, as Griesinger describes:

At first Haydn received only two gulden a month for giving lessons, but gradually the price rose to five gulden, so that he was able to look about

for more suitable quarters. While he was living in the Seilerstätte, all his few possessions were stolen ... Haydn soon saw his loss made good by the generosity of good friends ... [he] recovered through a stay of two months with Baron Fürnberg, which cost him nothing.

A 150% increase in fees implies a rise not only in Haydn's economic status but his professional reputation – and therefore increased access to patronage. The most important figure was Baron Carl Joseph Fürnberg (1720–67), who employed him as music master to his children (he lived near the Seilerstätte), commissioned his first string quartets and eventually recommended him to Morzin. Important as well was the elder Countess Maria Christine Thun, who (according to Framery) took singing and keyboard lessons from Haydn.

His freelance activities continued apace. Griesinger writes:

In this period Haydn was also leader of the orchestra in the convent of the Barmherzige Brüder ... at 60 gulden a year. Here he had to be in the church at eight o'clock in the morning on Sundays and feast days, at ten o'clock he played the organ in what was then the chapel of Count Haugwitz, and at eleven o'clock he sang at St Stephan's. He was paid 17 kreutzer for each service. In the evenings Haydn often went 'gassatim' with his musical comrades, when one of his compositions was usually performed, and he recalled having composed a quintet [possibly HII:2] for that purpose in 1753.

(Both Griesinger and Dies supply the obligatory comic anecdotes involving Haydn and Dittersdorf.) From 1754 to 1756 Haydn performed as a singer in the Hofkapelle during Lent (one gulden per service, not 17 kreutzer), and in the 1755–6 season as an orchestral violinist for balls during Carnival (four gulden per evening). In the Hofkapelle he sang both concerted and *a cappella* works, including Palestrina's *Stabat mater* and the Allegri *Miserere*. He worked for the Barmherziger Brüder (in the second district) c1755–8, and for Count Haugwitz probably c1756–7 at the 'Theresienkapelle' in the Bohemian chancellery in the Wipplingerstrasse. According to an account by a Prussian prisoner of war, he participated in chamber-music parties arranged by Count Harrach at Rohrau. Of Haydn's many students during these years, Martínez has already been mentioned; another of more than marginal importance was Robert Kimmerling, later *regens chori* at Melk.

Although a sizeable number of Haydn's works originated during the 1750s, documented dates are few. Both the very early *Missa brevis* in F and the first *Lauda Sion* exhibit technical faults, implying that he composed them before learning the 'true fundamentals' (i.e. before c1753–4); such

faults are found in no other surviving genuine works. Griesinger writes: 'In addition to performing and teaching, Haydn was indefatigable in composing. Many of his easy clavier sonatas, trios and so on belong to this period, and he generally took into consideration the needs and capacities of his pupils'. Numerous tiny keyboard sonatas and 'concertini' indeed survive, although some authorities argue that the smallest sonatas are not necessarily the earliest or least accomplished, and the concertini appear to date from about 1760; possibly some keyboard trios antedate 1755 as well, although none are so short or simple. In any case Haydn's compositional activity increased exponentially in the mid-1750s. The quintet-divertimento HII:2 survives in a later source dated 1754, and many of his ensemble divertimentos probably date from before 1761. Of the ten or so pre-1780 keyboard trios and the 21 or so string trios, the earliest also may date from the mid-1750s, although others are from the early 1760s. Late in life Haydn dated the autographs of the Organ Concerto in C (HXVIII:1) and the *Salve regina* in E (HXXIIIb:1) '1756'.

The precise dates of the final two stages of Haydn's early 'progress' – Fürnberg and Morzin – also remain uncertain. Griesinger writes:

The following, purely coincidental circumstance led him to try his hand at the composition of quartets. A certain Baron Fürnberg had an estate in Weinzierl, several stages from Vienna; from time to time he invited his parish priest, his estate manager, and Albrechtsberger (a brother of the well-known contrapuntist) in order to have a little music. Fürnberg asked Haydn to compose something that could be played by these four friends of the art. Haydn, who was then 18, accepted the proposal, and so originated his first quartet [incipit of HIII:1], which, immediately upon its appearance, received such uncommon applause as to encourage him to continue in this genre.

Griesinger's statement that Haydn composed his first quartet at 18, although roughly supported by Dies and Carpani, is far too early. All the circumstantial details, as well as the sheer mastery of Haydn's early quartets, suggest rather the Seilerstätte period, i.e. about 1755–7. Whether HIII:1 was actually Haydn's first quartet, or whether he (or Griesinger) named it simply because it occupied first position in Pleyel's famous edition (1801) and therefore in his own thematic catalogue, cannot be determined. In any case Haydn had not yet adopted the 'opus' format; there are, simply, ten early quartets, of which HIII:1–4, 6 (op.1 nos.1–4, 6) and HII:6 ('op.0') are probably the earliest, HIII:10, 12 (op.2 nos.4, 6) perhaps in the middle, and HIII:7–8 (op.2 nos.1–2) probably the latest, perhaps even 1759–60.

Regarding Haydn's employ by Count Karl Joseph Franz Morzin (1717–83), Griesinger states:

In the year 1759 Haydn was engaged as music director to Count Morzin in Vienna at a salary of 200 gulden, free lodging and board at the officers' table. Here he was finally able to enjoy the happiness of a care-free existence; he was quite contented. The winters were spent in Vienna, the summers in Bohemia [at Dolní Lukavice, usually referred to as Lukavec] As music director in the service of Count Morzin Haydn composed his first symphony [incipit of no.1].

Although Dies agrees regarding the date ('about 27'), Haydn's earliest symphony cannot be as late as 1759: a manuscript source for no.37 is dated 1758 (Carpani's date), implying a date of composition in that year or, more likely, at least a year earlier. Moreover, Haydn himself in old age organized a list of his symphonies according to ten-year periods: 1757–67, 1767–77 etc.; '1757' is so precise that he must have believed that it was the actual year of his first symphony – or, perhaps, of his appointment with Morzin. (The list also appears to confirm Griesinger's identification of the symphony we know as 'no.1' as the earliest.) Finally, if one accepts 1749 as the date of Haydn's dismissal from the Stephansdom and takes literally his 'eight whole years' of 'wretched existence', 1757 is implied as end-point; but the most likely marker of the latter, again, was his appointment with Morzin. Be all this as it may, the free-spending Count Morzin soon had to dissolve his little musical establishment. Although the early biographers again disagree as to the date, Haydn's marriage certificate (26 November 1760) refers to him as 'Music Director with Count v. Morzin', so he probably moved from Morzin to Esterházy without meaningful interruption. Haydn's compositions during the Morzin years include about 15 symphonies; keyboard sonatas (including HXVI:6, probably not later than 1760), trios, divertimentos (including HXIV:11, 1760) and concertos; string trios; partitas for wind-band (including HII:15,1760) and possibly the quartets op.2 nos.1–2.

On 26 November 1760 Haydn was married to Maria Anna Aloysia Apollonia Keller (bap. 9 Feb 1729; *d* 20 March 1800); the marriage contract, in which he pledged 1000 gulden as a matching sum to her dowry (a common custom), is dated 9 November. The bride was the daughter of the wigmaker Johann Peter Keller, who is said variously to have assisted him in his years of poverty or employed him as a music teacher. The early biographers relate that in the mid-1750s Haydn had fallen in love with her younger sister Therese (*b* 1733), who however was compelled by her devout