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Interpreting Sensibility in Haydn’s Keyboard Sonatas

Keri Hui

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculties of
King’s College London and Hong Kong University
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology

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For my grandparents

Abstract

In current musicology, sensibility, treated primarily as a human disposition in philosophical, moral, spiritual, physiological, aesthetic, and musical terms in the 18th-century, is often reduced into a musical style (*empfindsamer Stil*, "the sensitive style," or "the style of sensibility"), an aesthetic system associated mostly with C.P.E. Bach, an artistic period or a movement, and a topical label in topic theory. Noting that the 18th-century writers did not view sensibility in such ways, this dissertation, focusing on Haydn and his keyboard sonatas, begins in Chapter 1 by examining the different 18th-century writing on sensibility to delineate the various dimensions of sensibility. It then propounds additional ways in which sensibility can be studied musically today. The subsequent chapters explore a selection of Haydn's keyboard sonatas to observe how they reflect the different perceptions, treatments, and manifestations of sensibility in the composer's time. The examination of Hob. XVI: 46 in Chapter 2 sheds light on a self-forgetful and self-reflexive sensibility that improvises on the clavichord. Chapter 3 suggests the music of Hob. XVII: 20 reveals a spiritual dimension of sensibility that is simultaneously confessional, contemplative, and communal. The study of Hob. XVI: 35-39 in Chapter 4 highlights the Auenbrugger sisters' flexible sensibility that may unsettle gendered stereotypes and form's capacity to evince sensibility's reluctance to forget. Chapter 5 analyses Hob. XVI: 40 and 42 as a musical choreography of innocence and politeness, both feminine ideals in the culture of sensibility. Focusing on Hob. XVI: 50 and 52's first movements, Chapter 6 examines a satirical sensibility that ironically, despite sensibility's emphasis on taste and sympathy, is characterized by a crude and pitiless delight in jokes that ridicule bodily ugliness. Finally, examining Hob. 49 and 52's slow movements, Chapter 7 explores a romantic sensibility that finds its essence in anguish and yearning for the distant.

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PREFACE

> Dear Haydn, how I love you! But other pianists? They're rather lukewarm towards you. Which is a great shame. — Sviatoslav Richter (1971)[1]

> Papa Haydn has become one of the worst clichés in classical music. It degrades one of history's most innovative composers into a lovable but minor figure. Most piano students play Haydn's piano sonatas and one often hears some of them as overtures or introductions to piano recitals. The pianist plays a harmless little Haydn sonata at the beginning of the programme. Afterwards we can get down to the real business of the meatier keyboard music.
> — András Schiff (1999)[2]

Two years after Richter's passing in 1997, Schiff continued to lament about the mistreatment of Haydn and his music in the piano world. What the two great pianists felt decades ago resonated with my experiences as a student in music schools and conservatories. Schiff's remark particularly echoed with my observations in concerts and competitions. What A.P. Brown noticed in 1986, too, that the most frequently performed keyboard music by Haydn are Sonatas Hob. XVI: 20, 49, 50, 52, and the F-minor Variations XVII: 6, remains more or less the norm today.[3] Why have Haydn and his keyboard works been subject to indifference? Leon Botstein argued in 1997: "Haydn still fails to speak as directly to us as he might because Mozart and Beethoven continue to dominate our conception of him. The notion of Haydn as precursor lingers."[4] The 19th-century depictions of Haydn, Botstein observes, portray the composer as a "loyal servant of the aristocracy," "a peasant genius from a humble origin," "a bittersweet vehicle of nostalgia," and "a remembrance of things long past." Meanwhile, "interior depth" and "secret melancholy," both considered characters of the "romantic genius" associated with Mozart, are in Botstein's view absent from the traditional accounts of Haydn.[5]

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[1] M. Bruno Monsaingeon, *Sviatoslav Richter: Notebooks and Conversations*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 174.

[2] András Schiff, liner notes of *Joseph Haydn: Piano Sonatas*, Teldec Classics, 1999, CD.

[3] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 3.

[4] Leon Botstein, "The Demise of Philosophical Listening: Haydn in the Nineteenth Century," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman, 255-285 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 265.

[5] Ibid., 267-271.

Almost two decades later in 2015, Bryan Proksch remarked similarly that Robert Schumann's perception of Haydn as "a familiar friend of the house whom all greet with pleasure and with esteem but who has ceased to arouse any particular interest"[6] is a view that "continues to colour our view of the repertoire today."[7] In the same year, however, Alfred Brendel saw a hopeful prospect. Schumann's view, in his eyes, is disintegrating:

> Our picture of Haydn, as well, is in the process of disposing of its nineteenth-century varnish. The always-welcome friend of the house who has nothing new to tell (Schumann), the man who was still mainly seen as a stepping stone for Mozart and Beethoven by Hanslick or Adorno, is giving way to the figure of an explorer and adventurer, a grandmaster of surprise, a creator of his own musical universe who introduced the comical into absolute music.[8]

The fresh recognition of Haydn according to Brendel celebrates the composer's innovative and humorous character. Yet this perception of Haydn also comes with some limitations, for not only may the picture of a jolly Haydn perpetuate the popular myth in keyboard pedagogy that Haydn's keyboard compositions are primarily materials for young students to develop "elementary skills" or avoid "technical difficulties,"[9] music that elicits laughter may also be criticized for a lack of seriousness. Nancy November then, again in the same year of 2015, observed that modern scholars, perhaps concerned with this common impression of Haydn, have shown an increasing tendency to focus on the aesthetic idea of sublime. This tendency, she suggested, reveals "an attempt to bring Haydn up to the same plane as Mozart and Beethoven in today's understanding."[10] The attempt to study the sublime musically nevertheless has received pushback. Wye Jamison Allanbrook, for example, contends the efforts to back the sublime into the late 18th-century have made her "a little queasy" as she sees little evidence for the musical sublime in that period.[11]

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[6] See Paul Rosenfeld, *On Music and Musician* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 94.

[7] Bryan Proksch, *Reviving Haydn: New Appreciations in the Twentieth Century* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, University of Rochester Press, 2015), 8.

[8] Alfred Brendel, *Music, Sense, and Nonsense* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2017), 361.

[9] See Proksch, *Reviving Haydn*, 90.

[10] Nancy November "Beautiful Haydn," *HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 5/2 (2015): 4.

As some are dismissive of a witty Haydn while the idea of a sublime Haydn is often dismissed, sensibility emerges as a subject that has been gaining momentum in Haydn scholarship. Sensibility needs not worry about being deemed silly or unsophisticated because it denotes a depth of feeling. At the same time, as a notion discussed widely in the 18th century in philosophical, moral, spiritual, aesthetic, physiological, and musical realms, its richness is supported with contemporary evidence.

Noting that studies on Haydn and sensibility at the moment center mostly on operas, English canzonettas, and chamber music, this dissertation concentrates on Haydn's keyboard sonatas. Yet a more fundamental problem must be tackled in order to conduct such a research: although the 18th-century writers treated sensibility primarily as a human disposition that is simultaneously philosophical, moral, spiritual, aesthetic, and physiological, sensibility or *Empfindsamkeit* in current musicology has often been compressed into a musical style (*empfindsamer Stil*, "the sensitive style," or "the style of sensibility") and an aesthetic principle associated mostly with C.P.E. Bach. It has also been regarded as an artistic period or movement. In topic theory, it is treated as a topic with ambiguous definition and is often reduced into a few figures such as the sigh.

Hoping to expand the ways in which sensibility can be more comprehensively studied and integrated into musicology, Chapter 1 questions the use of sensibility as a stylistic, periodized, and topical term. It then scrutinizes how the 18th-century writers understood sensibility while proposing other means through which sensibility can be approached musically today. Chapters 2 to 7 then examine a selection of Haydn's keyboard sonatas to demonstrate the ways to engage with the various dimensions of sensibility in music, at least in the context of Haydn, are many. The sonatas covered include Hob. XVI: 46 in A-flat major (Chapter 2), Hob. XVI: 20 in C minor (Chapter 3), Hob. XVI: 35-39 (Chapter 4), Hob. XVI: 40-42 (Chapter 5), and Hob. XVI: 49-52 (Chapters 6 and 7). Chapter 2 examines a self-forgetful and self-reflexive sensibility that improvises on the clavichord with the fantasia aesthetic and rhetoric which include the toccata topic. Chapter 3 focuses on a confessional, contemplative, and communal sensibility rooted in religious melancholy while framing the clavichord as a spiritual technology of the self that embodies the inward and relational aesthetic of sensibility. Chapter 4 explores the Auenbrugger sisters' sensibility that may unsettle gendered expectations and examines, by focusing on form, sensibility's reluctance to forget. Chapter 5 sheds light on the feminine ideals of innocence and politeness as part of the 18th-century culture of sensibility. Chapter 6 examines a satirical sensibility that, in ridiculing bodily deformity, contradicts sensibility's exaltation of sympathy and taste. Finally, Chapter 7 interrogates a romantic sensibility that is marked by the feeling of anguish and yearning enkindled by the experience of personal, temporal, and spatial distance.

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[11] See Wye Jamison Allanbrook, "Is the Sublime a Musical Topos?" *Eighteenth-Century Music* 27/2 (2010): 263-279.

A month before he passed away, Haydn wrote on April 7, 1808 to the Messieurs of Société académique des Enfants d'Apollon in Paris: "…though old age indeed numbs the faculties, it does not diminish my sensibility."[12] As Haydn had so proudly claimed his sensibility even until his last days, this dissertation strives, with an attuned sensibility, to hear Haydn's keyboard sonatas as both products of the sensibility of his time and living musical entities that may continue to appeal to the sensibility of today.

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[12] H.C. Robbins Landon, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Haydn* (Fair Lawn, N.J.: Essential Books, 1959), 245.

CHAPTER 1

MAKING SENSE OF SENSIBILITY: ON SENSIBILITY'S NATURE AND ROLES

In current musicology, "sensibility" arguably appears most frequently as a stylistic term. The "style" of C.P.E. Bach and sometimes his contemporaries is often called *empfindsamer Stil* ("the sensitive style" or "the style of sensibility"). Sometimes used to label a period or an aesthetic principle, sensibility or *Empfindsamkeit* is also often invoked as a musical topic. Such approaches are not without problems, however, especially since the 18th-century composers never categorized sensibility as a musical style. Troubled by the view that *Empfindsamkeit* is primarily a music-stylistic category in the 18th century, Darrell Berg and Georgia J. Cowart have asserted that sensibility is first and foremost a quality of the beholder or the listener.[13] With similar sentiments, Wolfgang Hirschmann advocates treating sensibility as a human disposition rather than a musical style.[14] Matthew Head has recently reconsidered the question of whether sensibility is a style or a topic and suggests also, in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (2016), that sensibility should be viewed as a matter of responsiveness.[15] Both Hirschmann and Head have criticized *New Grove*'s classification of sensibility as a period and an aesthetic.[16]

As the struggle on defining *empfindsamer Stil* and *Empfindsamkeit* continues, scholars realize that to define sensibility with a set of musical materials is to limit it. To treat sensibility as a fluid topic with an open universe then appears to be a solution, yet this approach has only helped turn sensibility into just another synonym for expression. But if anything that seems expressive can be considered an element of sensibility, then, as Emily Dolan and Head question in the context of Haydn: "Isn't all Haydn's music 'expressive,' we might ask, and therefore doesn't sensibility explain everything and nothing?"[17] Sensibility, of course, is not the same as expression or expressiveness, for it fundamentally refers to one's capability to feel or to become affected rather than to express.[18] One may be full of sensibility and yet does not know how to express his or her inner feelings. That is not to say sensibility cannot be signified; a sigh, for example, is a "fragmented symptom" of a sensitive body that signifies one's sensibility. More precisely speaking, however, the sensibility that it reveals concerns depth rather than quickness. Moreover, while the sigh is a signifier of sensibility, it itself is not "sensibility." To think "sensibility" somehow has a unifying sound is to oversimplify the 18th-century's kaleidoscopic understanding of sensibility as well as each composer's particularity.

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[13] See, for example, Darrell Berg, "The Keyboard Sonatas of C.P.E. Bach: An Expression of the Mannerist Principle," PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975 and Georgia J. Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought," *Acta Musicologica* 56/2 (1984): 251-266.

[14] See Wolfgang Hirschmann, "Empfindsamkeit," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG) Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik,* Sachteil 2, 1765-1771 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995).

[15] See Matthew Head, "Fantasia and Sensibility," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, 259-278 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) and also Head, "Empfindsamkeit," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia*, ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 97-100 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

[16] See Hirschmann, "Empfindsamkeit," 1769 and Head, "Fantasia and Sensibility," 264.

To prepare the upcoming studies of Haydn and sensibility, this chapter both highlights existing arguments and proposes new ones that question the idea of classifying sensibility as a musical style or a topical label. It then examines how sensibility was understood in the 18th-century as 1) moral or spiritual sympathy, 2) physiological or nervous sensitivity, 3) the source of good taste, 4) reason's antagonist or partner, 5) musical perceptivity of the listener and the performer, and 6) an artistic goal. It then propounds ways in which these facets of sensibility can be further studied today as 1) Haydn's personality or persona, 2) a musically signified quality, 3) a culture, and 4) a force that drove the "Enlightenment" and extended unto what is often termed or periodized as "Romanticism."

"Fraught with Problems": Sensibility as Musical Style

According to *New Grove*, *Empfindsamkeit* as a "musical aesthetic associated with north Germany during the middle of the 18th century" is embodied in "*empfindsamer Stil*." As a "reaction" to the strict or learned style,

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[17] Emily Dolan and Head, "Ideas. Haydn and Ideas; Or, The Idea of Haydn," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia,* ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 152-165 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 158.

[18] Among the most substantial works on sensibility are Gerhard Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: J. B. Meltzer, 1975-1981); Janet Todd, *Sensibility, An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986); John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London and New York: Routledge: 1993); Ann Jessie van Sant, *Eighteenth-century Sensibility and the Novel: The Senses in Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Literary Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Empfindsamkeit achieves "an intimate, sensitive, and subjective expression," provokes "gentle tears of melancholy," and is sometimes known as "galant" but without lavish decoration and embellishments.[19] Kofi V. Agawu argues *empfindsamer Stil* showcases the "serious side" of the galant style.[20] William S. Newman characterizes *empfindsamer Stil* as a style that expresses a "*Sturm und Drang* spirit" and an "intensification and exaggeration of the [galant style], sometimes carried to extremes of eccentricity."[21] Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's music according to Newman is characterized by the *empfindsam* style — "a deeply intimate, sensitive, subjective style, full of sentiment without a trace of sentimentality" that has an extreme effect like an "almost nervous volatility, like that of the mercurial facial expressions made by a highly sensitive actor."[22]

Yet a discomfort with viewing sensibility as a stylistic term is also widely felt as the disclaimer "so-called" is often added when the term is invoked. David Schulenberg remarks on "the so-called *empfindsamer Stil*": "While it has never been clear precisely what makes a piece '*empfindsam*,' important elements are probably a more or less homophonic texture and a gently expressive melodic line broken up by rests into many small motives, including the sigh."[23] David A. Sheldon writes, "The so-called *empfindsamer Stil*... was the same pleasing and refined co-existence of head, heart, and senses found in much of rococo poetry."[24] Frederich Blume argues the "Early Classic" style which tends from the 1740s into the 1770s consists of "the so-called style galant and style of sensibility (*Empfindsamkeit*)."[25] The bafflement caused by the stylistic use of sensibility leads A.P. Brown to conclude that the label *Empfindamkeit* often does nothing but confuses:

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[19] See Bruce Alan Brown and Daniel Heartz, "Empfindsamkeit," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, vol. 8, 190-92 (London: Macmillan, 2001).

[20] V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing With Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classical Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 31.

[21] See William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* [1963], 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), 122-23. See also A.P. Brown, "Approaching Musical Classicism: Understanding Styles and Style Change in Eighteenth-Century Instrumental Music," *College Music Symposium* 20/1 (1980): 11.

[22] Ibid., 397-98.

[23] David Schulenberg, "Carl Phillip Emmanuel Bach," in *Eighteenth-century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert Marshall, 191-229 (London: Routledge, 2003), 193.

[24] David A. Sheldon, "The Galant Style Revisited and Re-Evaluated," *Acta Musicologica* 47/2 (1975): 260.

[25] Frederich Blume, *Classic and Romantic Music: A Comprehensive Survey* (London: Faber, 1970), 30.

> Particularly disconcerting in these textbook scenarios is the use of numerous labels to explain the activities during the interstice as well as after 1780: *galant*, *rococo*, *Sturm und Drang*, *Empfindsamkeit*, post-baroque, pre-classic, high classic, late classic, and pre-romantic or even, for example, pre-classic *galant*. At best some of these terms are merely left unexplained…Although it has no real separate bibliography of its own, the term *Empfindsamkeit* has also been a major source of confusion.[26]

Brown then suggests *Empfindsamkeit* "must be used sparingly in contexts less constrained by chronological development" and that if *Empfindsamkeit* remains categorized as an aesthetic movement, it should "probably be limited to keyboard music (clavichord) and small chamber works with obligatory keyboard from North and Central Germany particularly in some of the works of Emanuel Bach."[27] But this approach, when mixed with views that see *Empfindsamkeit* as a style, can also result in inconsistent conclusions about the relationship between sensibility and Haydn's keyboard sonatas. For example, Laurence Libin who refers to *Empfindamkeit* as an intellectual, clavichord-oriented movement has argued *Empfindsamkeit*'s impacts are evident in a group of Haydn's sonatas composed in the same period: "Some of Haydn's clavier sonatas of the mid-1770s and 1780s adumbrate the full-fledged piano idiom, which arose in the wake of an intellectual movement, *Empfindsamkeit*, that rejuvenated the clavichord in German-speaking lands." Libin observes rightly that C.P.E Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (1753), which Haydn had studied, "identifies idiomatic effects for the clavichord, among them *Bebung*" and that the clavichord's capacity for intense affects as outlined by Bach "undoubtedly appealed to Haydn, whose *empfindsamer* solos from the late 1760s and early 1770s sound to perfection on a good clavichord."[28] Yet, the idea that several sonatas of Haydn were largely shaped by the clavichord-oriented *Empfindsamkeit* (and *Versuch*) seems to clash with the view of Newman, who regards sensibility as both an aesthetic and a style, that Hob. XVI: 20 is the only keyboard sonata by Haydn that "exhibits the *empfindsam* style sufficiently to be quoted."[29] Indeed, framing *Empfindsamkeit* as a movement problematizes how one may determine whether a specific sonata is truly in "the style of *Empfindsamkeit*." Conflicting opinions often appear and Laszlo Somfai, contrary to Newman, asserts that while Haydn's Hob. XVI: 20 should be classified as a "*concert-style sonata*," Hob. XVI:18 in B-flat major and Hob. XVI: 44 in G minor is each a lyrical "*chamber sonata* (*im Kammerstil*)" that is "akin to a noble branch of the *empfindsmer Stil* of the age."[30]

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[26] A.P. Brown, "Approaching Musical Classicism," 9-10.

[27] Ibid., 11.

[28] Laurence Libin, "The Instruments," in *Eighteenth-century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert Marshall, 1-32 (Abington: Routledge, 2003), 2.

As Raymond Monelle observes, both *Empfindsamkeit* and its associate *Sturm und Drang* ultimately "receive no support whatever from contemporaries."[31] In Berg's finding which has been highlighted by Head, the closest term related to *Empfindsamkeit* in 18th-century musical writing is *empfindsame Wiese*, a phrase Johann Freidrich Reichardt used to describe sentimental tunes that display slight melancholy.[32] Cowart notes that while C.P.E. Bach had never used the term *Empfindsamkeit* himself, *Empfindsamkeit* and its related terms were more widely associated with the man of good taste, the Italian style, the music of J.C. Bach, the mixture of German and Italian traits, and even the performance of bassoon players.[33] She thus concludes that to view *Empfindsamkeit* as a stylistic label is "fraught with problems."[34]

Empfindsamkeit as a style is conventionally associated with C.P.E. Bach, yet while one may of course describe a melody or music written by C.P.E. Bach as *empfindsam* and praise him as a composer full of sensibility, to force a style out of this quality seems rather problematic. One fundamental problem lies in the presumed inseparability of the composer and the emotive quality. While "style" in musical studies today mostly refers to the manner in which a person composes or performs (one may speak of, for example, "the style of Scarlatti" or "the style of Vladmir Horowitz"), rarely would the style of a single composer or a performer be designated with a label that also carries an inseparable emotive connotation. The concept of *empfindsmer Stil*, however, frames C.P.E. Bach as the "owner" who claims the quality of sensibility or sensitivity. Simply imagine the absurdity of highlighting a commonly acknowledged aspect of Haydn, humor, while imposing on him a label called "the humorous style." As Charles Rosen argues (even though he has listed *Empfindsamkeit* as one of the "principal stylistic possibilities of Europe"),[35] styles cannot be defined in terms of emotive or expressive characters:

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[29] Newman, *Sonata in the Classic Era*, 123.

[30] Laszlo Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn: Instruments and Performance Practice, Genres and Styles*, trans. Charlotte Greenspan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 175.

[31] Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 27.

[32] Quoted in Head, "Fantasia and Sensibility," 268. Originally from Berg, "Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach und die 'empfindsame Weise,'" in *Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 95.

[33] Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility," 265-66.

[34] Ibid., 261.

> It is a gross and common error to define a style by specifically expressive characteristics, isolating the "elegant" painting of the 16th-century as Mannerist, calling the classical style Apollonian, the Romantic enthusiastic or morbid. Just in so far as a style is a way of using a language, musical, pictorial, or literary, is it capable of the widest range of expression, and a work by Mozart may be as morbid, as elegant, or as turbulent in its own terms as one by Chopin or Wagner.[36]

To speak of C.P.E. Bach's style as *empfindsamer Stil* then may seem redundant. "The style of Haydn or Hardy or Holbein does not proclaim itself to the casual listener or reader or museum-goer, and is seldom to be recognized by following explicit instructions," writes Nelson Goodman, "styles are normally accessible only to the knowing eye or ear, the tuned sensibility, the informed and inquisitive mind."[37] What refines a listener's familiarity with a composer, then, is perhaps not so much a fanciful label but a more cultivated sensibility.

Views that consider *Empfindsamkeit* a label for C.P.E. Bach's music, an artistic period or movement, and a musical style also suggest the implausibility for sensibility to be classified as a musical topic. After all, few would attempt to turn matters like "the style of Haydn," "the Classic style," or "the humorous style" into musical topics. The problematic effects of sensibility being treated as a topic also show themselves readily in various ways. While *Empfindsamkeit* in topic theory is usually confined to music in slow tempi and minor keys, it is also frequently equated to gestures such as the sigh and the appoggiatura. But sensibility in this sense then remains not so much as a "style"; instead, it seems to fall under the category of "figure."[38] Sometimes *Empfindsamkeit* also becomes obscured in its definition when it is lumped together with *fantasia*, another topic closely related to C.P.E. Bach. Topically, *Empfindsamkeit* has been defined by Leonard Ratner as an "intimate personal style" which consists of "rapid changes in mood, broken figures, interrupted continuity, elaborate ornamentation, pregnant pauses, shifting uncertain, often dissonant harmony."[39] *Fantasia*, on the other hand, is marked by "elaborate figuration, shifting harmonies, chromatic conjunct bass lines, sudden contrasts, full textures or disembodied melodic figures — in short, a sense of improvisation and loose structural links between figures and phrases."[40] The close resemblance of the two definitions nevertheless has only led to ambiguity. While the "disruptive harmonic, rhythmic, and dynamic changes" in Ratner's *Empfindsamkeit* complement his ideal of *fantasia*, "broken rhetoric and interrupted continuity," considered the mark of "the sensibility style" by Agawu, also resembles the aesthetic of *fantasia*.[41] As Melanie Lowe points out, too, Ratner's definition of the fantasia style, "vague and conflicted," is often jumbled with *ombra*.[42]

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[35] Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London: Faber, 1971), 44.
[36] Ibid., 21.
[37] Nelson Goodman, "The Status of Style," *Critical Inquiry* 1/4 (1975): 810.

These ambiguous similarities prompt a tendency to lump *Empfindsamkeit* and *fantasia* together in musicology. Observing that Ratner's *Empfindsamkeit* refers primarily to "C.P.E. Bach's keyboard style,"[43] Eloise Anne Boisjoli writes recently on the *Adagio* "Fantasia" from Haydn's String Quartet Op. 76 No. 6:

> [This movement] clearly evokes the solo keyboard style of C.P.E. Bach and the mid-century, north German *Empfindsamkeit*. The movement possesses fantasy-like elements, including elaborate figuration, shifting harmonies, chromatic bass lines, and "disembodied" melodic lines. The movement also features interruptions of continuity, ornamentation, "pregnant" pauses, dissonances, and sudden shifts among key areas, often using enharmonic spellings.[44]

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[38] According to Leonard Ratner, "a topic can be a style, a type, a figure, a process or a plan of actions." See Leonard Ratner, "Topical Content in Mozart's Sonatas," *Early Music* 9/1 (1991): 615.

[39] Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), 22.

[40] Ibid., 24.

[41] Agawu, *Playing With Signs*, 137.

[42] Melanie Lowe, "Teaching Topics with Haydn (alongside that Other Guy)," *HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 6/2 (2016): 7-8.

[43] Eloise Anne Boisjoli, "Haydn's Aesthetics of Sensibility: Interpretations of Sentimental Figures, Topics, Mode, and Affect in the String Quartet Slow Movements," PhD. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2018, 5.

[44] Ibid., 12.

Whether one agrees this slow movement displays "the solo keyboard style of C.P.E. Bach" or not, this commentary exhibits the common proclivity to mix *Empfindsamkeit* and *fantasia* together. The first half of Boisjoli's exposition draws directly from Ratner's descriptions of *fantasia*; the second, Ratner's *Empfindsamkeit*. To indicate "the solo keyboard style of C.P.E. Bach," Boisjoli has proposed a new label called "*empfindsamer* keyboard style" to replace Ratner's *Empfindsamkeit*.[45]

An Oversimplified and Fractured Hearing: Sensibility as Topic

Another fundamental issue about condensing sensibility into a topic concerns the oversimplified and fractured listening that it may produce. As Ana Stefanovic's recent critique on Agawu's topical analysis of the "introduction" of the first movement of Beethoven's "Pathétique" sonata shows, reducing something like "sensibility" into a few musical features may often, in addition to problematizing the discourse of style, lead to a neglect of the larger framework and flow of the composition. Agawu in his analysis regards sensibility, cadenza, and French overture as the three central topics found in the opening measures of *Pathetic* while asserting that "the broken rhetoric of the opening measures, together with the emphasis on diminished-seventh harmony, recalls C.P.E. Bach specifically, or the sensibility style in general."[46] Stefanovic, however, questions why the appearance of a diminished seventh is first associated with *empfindsamer Stil* and then *Sturm und Drang*. How, she asks, does one decide whether a dissonance or a diminished seventh belongs to "the style of sensibility?[47] In other words, should all dissonance and diminished seventh be considered *Empfindsamkeit*?

She further argues dotted rhythm and slow tempo alone are not sufficient to indicate French overture.[48] Just as the ternary meter does not signify Sarabande by itself, she writes, dotted rhythm does not always signify French overture. Schiff similarly avoids describing simplistically the dotted rhythm as one of

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[45] Ibid., 32.

[46] Agawu, *Playing With Signs*, 42.

[47] Ana Stefanovic, "Once More on Musical Topics and Style Analysis: A Critical Examination of Agawu's Analysis of the Introduction to Beethoven's *Pathetic* Sonata," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie* 7/3 (2010): 312.

[48] Ibid., 318.

"French overture" but argues this gesture can be traced back to J.S. Bach's *Grave adagio* from "Sinfonia" in the C-minor Partita, BWV 826.[49] A similar view is held by David Fuller who has not only opposed equating dotted rhythm alone to French overture and but also argued the opening *Grave* material in Bach's Sinfonia may instead be a "conscious reference to Italianism."[50] Against a fractured and incoherent listening, Schiff too refuses to treat the scale gestures Agawu calls "cadenza" as cadenza-like materials of virtuosity.[51] This same concern about preserving a consistent listening also leads Schiff to reject hearing the *Grave* opening as "introduction." Observing that the "introduction" material of "Pathétique," unlike the introduction in Beethoven's Op. 111 which never returns, comes back over and over in different keys, Schiff treats this *Grave* material as "first theme material" and follows Rudolf Serkin's practice to repeat this so-called "introduction" after the end of the exposition.[52]

Stefanovic concludes, therefore, that when one hears musical elements as isolated signs and overlooks that a work itself exemplifies style metonymically with a complex unity, "the syntagmatic whole is denied not only coherence of meaning, but also meaning itself."[53] "Content cannot be reached by isolating elements" and, she argues, when separate stylistic features carry questionable sign status, their ability to bear meaning become "practically nil."[54] She then, in a Goodmanian fashion, explains the impracticality of turning a "style" into a topic:

> The fundamental problem of the concept of "topic" lies in the fact that none of the authors concerned with it has expressed clearly enough that the referent field of the "topic" is the style. And style is, if we go back to Goodman, "a complex property that can be divided into many stylistic properties." For a property to be stylistic it must, according to Goodman, represent a "property of the functioning of the works as a symbol… Style has to do only

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[49] See Schiff, *Piano Sonata in C minor, Opus 13 ('Pathétique')*, from "The Lectures," *The Guardian*, 2006, MP3, at http://download.guardian.co.uk/sys-audio/Arts/Culture/2006/11/09/pathetique.mp3.

[50] See also David Fuller, "The 'Dotted Style' in Bach, Handel, and Scarlatti," in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, tercentenary essays,* ed. Peter Williams, 99-117 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 115-16.

[51] Agawu states, "The soloistic display on the last beat of measure 4 may be heard as a mini-cadenza, and therefore as an allusion to the concerto style… Then follows the cadenza leading to a final resolution on the downbeat of measure 11." See Agawu, *Playing With Signs*, 42-44.

[52] Schiff, *Piano Sonata in C minor, Opus 13 ('Pathétique')*.

[53] Stefanovic, "Once More on Musical Topics," 318.

[54] Ibid., 322.

> with symbolic functioning of work as such." In that sense "literal signature is no feature of style."[55]

Goodman's "symbolic functioning" concerns "reference."[56] Holding style concerns only with the symbolic functioning of work, Goodman argues that "while style embraces features of the several sorts described, such features are not always stylistic."[57] (Likewise, "although a style is metaphorically a signature, a literal signature is no feature of style,"[58] for while style may reveal the authorship of a music, a literal signature itself bears no stylistic indication even though it may specify the author of the work.) Similarly, then, even if a "style of sensibility" may feature dissonance, dissonance itself is not always stylistic of sensibility. If one reduces any element as simple as a diminished seventh chord into a stylistic property for *Empfindsamkeit*, then virtually any music, as long as it features this type of dissonance, can be pressurized into an agenda of sensibility.

Stefanovic then proposes that the opening measures of "Pathétique" do not include a mixture of references to stylistic, generic, and structural elements but present a single *dramatic* style that originates from Baroque music drama.[59] Yet, while Stefanovic accurately pinpoints a disjointed listening as a central problem of a topicalized treatment of sensibility, her proposal may also be questioned by some, for Beethoven did after all title his sonata as *Pathétique* — a label that denotes emotions evocative of suffering and pity. Naming is a type of denotation and thus a type of reference that gives the sonata meaning. To conserve coherence and at the same time account for the naming and the mood of *Pathétique*, then, one may turn to the discourse of rhetoric, a tool helpful to elucidate sensibility. Rhetoric stands against an isolated hearing, for its nature is relational. Put simply, rhetorical devices are linked to one another. For example, in the framework of classical rhetoric, *dispositio*, *elocutio, memoria, and pronuntiatio* can only be considered as such in relation to *invention*; each one cannot exist independently of each other. In *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), Johann Mattheson also speaks of introduction, report, discourse, corroboration, confutation, and conclusion (*Exordium, Narratio, Propositio, Confirmatio, Confutatio & Peroratio*) as six parts of rhetorical arrangement in music.[60] Regarding Beethoven's *Pathetique*, Elaine Sisman has provided a rhetorical analysis.[61]

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[55] Ibid. The Goodman quotes are from Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1978), 35; and Goodman, *Of Mind and Other Matters* (Cambridge/Mass., London: Harvard University, 1984), 134. See also Goodman, "The Status of Style," 807-808.

[56] The main modes of reference according to Goodman are "denotation" and "exemplification" but may also include "representation" and "expression." An artwork may be regarded as a system of symbols, for works such as paintings and musical sonatas are all made of symbols which are objects that refer to other objects. See Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968) and Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking.* An artwork itself can also be considered a symbol; Goodman stresses that "the most literal portrait and the most prosaic passage are as much symbols, and as 'highly symbolic,' as the most fancily and figurative." See Goodman, *Languages of Art*, xi.

[57] Goodman, "The Status of Style," 807.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Stefanovic, "Once More on Musical Topics," 323.

Having explored the larger rhetorical and aesthetic contexts of pathos, Sisman argues the title of *Pathetique* "enables us to perceive, in the elevated tone and sense of struggle of Beethoven's sonata, a complex pathos that embodies the rhetorical and aesthetic history of the term."[62] Unlike Schiff, Sisman hears the *Grave* functioning as an introduction with "an extraordinarily concentrated dose of pathos" and like Agawu, she regards the dotted rhythm as "the older, elevated French-overture topic."[63] Yet her analysis is rooted in the 18th-century understanding of what constitutes the *Pathetique* figuratively, musically, and philosophically. It surveys the writing of Sebastien de Brossard who, in *Dictionaire de Musique* (1705), identifies chromaticism, dissonances, and tempo as important dimensions of *Pathetique* as a quality "capable of moving, pity, compassion, anger, and other passions which agitate the heart of man." It also draws from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who not only defines "Pathetique" as a "genre of dramatic and theatrical music, which tends to paint and to arouse the grand passions and more particularly pain and sadness" but also asserts that "the true pathetique is in the impassioned Accent, which is not determined by rules; but which the genius discovers and the heart feels without Art being able in any manner to dictate its laws."[64]

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[60] Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* [1739], trans. Ernest Charles Harris (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 470.

[61] Elaine Sisman, "Pathos and the Pathétique: Rhetorical Stance in Beethoven's C-Minor Sonata, Op. 13," *Beethoven Forum* 3 (1994): 81-105. See especially 99-105.

[62] Ibid., 105.

[63] Ibid., 99.

[64] Ibid., 91. Sisman quotes from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionaire de Musique* (Paris : Duchesne, 1768; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968).

Reading musical features in a rhetorical framework prevents an "acontextual" hearing that lacks coherence. The question "what is art" — if we borrow from Goodman once again — may often be replaced by the question "when is art."[65] As Markus Lammenranta points out, then, "We can make similar remarks on symbols. Just as an object may be a work of art at certain times and not at others, so an object may be a symbol at certain times and not at others."[66] Goodman has suggested, too, that concerning expression and exemplification, the relationship between a symbol and what it symbolizes is never "absolute, universal, or immutable."[67] Thus, if a diminished seventh can indeed be considered a sign related to sensibility in some contexts, whether it may be judged as one cannot depend solely on its harmonic color. Given it is, in *Pathétique*, not an isolated harmonic feature but the entire work as a coherent piece that refers to a moving emotional experience, the role and function of a diminished seventh should be looked at as a relational member of the related symbolic scheme.

Moreover, if rhetoric was indeed the key to affective engagement between the musician and the listener in the culture of sensibility, then the effort to make dissonance somehow related to sensibility would make little sense unless it is situated and examined in a rhetorical context. Sisman's analysis demonstrates that the diminished seventh, when placed in a contextualized setting supported by contemporary writing, can be viewed persuasively as a property in *Pathetique* that intensifies, rhetorically, the music's expressiveness. Sisman ties this dissonance to Accent, the falling and rising directions as well as the rhetorical use of interrogations and repetition: "We notice first the pathetic accent — a diminished-seventh chord highlighting a falling half step — given a rising series of *interrogations*, intensified not only by repetition but also by the increasing number of accented diminished-seventh chords."[68] In short, while a scheme of sensibility may use features such as diminished seventh, a diminished seventh itself is neither sensibility nor a fixed topical sign of sensibility; a sensitive awareness of rhetoric and context, however, does allow the making of coherent meaning and listening.

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[65] Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking*, 66-67.
[66] Markus Lammenranta, "Goodman's Semiotic Theory of Art," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 22/3 (1992): 341.
[67] Goodman, *Languages of Art, 50.*
[68] Sisman, "Pathos and the Pathétique," 101.

Sensibility as Moral or Spiritual Sympathy

If the 18th-century writers did not musically mold sensibility into a style, how then did they understand sensibility? In the moral realm, sensibility, which denotes one's capability to feel and to be moved, can be translated as sympathy. More precisely speaking, it is a "mutual sensibility" — as Samuel Johnson states in *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) — that makes sympathy.[69] In Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1755), Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt defines sensibility as a virtuous quality of the soul that contributes to common good:

> [Sensibility.] Delicate and tender disposition of the soul that makes it easily moved, touched. The sensibility of the soul, as the author of *les moeurs* accurately puts it, imparts a kind of wisdom about propriety, and it goes farther than the penetration of the mind alone. Exuberance may prompt sensitive souls to make mistakes that men of reason would never commit; but they gain so much through the abundance of goodness they generate. Sensible souls get more out of life than others; good and bad multiply to their benefit. Reflection can make a man of honor; but sensibility makes a man virtuous. Sensibility is the mother of humanity and of generosity; it increases worth, it helps the spirit, and it incites persuasion.[70]

Sympathy requires the existence of the other, for one cannot sympathize when there is no one to be sympathized with. This requirement of the other enables sensibility or sympathy to become a virtue, for virtue, in Voltaire's words, is "doing good to your neighbour": "I won't call him virtuous until he does something virtuous that's of benefits to others. As long as he lives alone he's neither benevolent nor malevolent: he's nothing to us."[71]

Many other contemporary philosophers also wrote extensively on sympathy as a moralistic virtue. "Sympathy of Affections" according to Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury in *Characteristics of Men, Manners,*

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[69] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language…* [1755], vol. 2, 6th ed. (London: W. Strahan 1778), 405.

[70] Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt, "Sensibility," *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. Christelle Gonthier (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2004), at http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.295. Originally published as "Sensibilité," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 15:52 (Paris, 1765).

[71] Voltaire, *A Pocket Philosophical Dictionary* [1764], trans. John Fletcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 146.

Opinions, Times (1711) is the means through which individuals in society join themselves to others by the force of nature.[72] John Gregory describes sympathy similarly as a "distinguishing principle of mankind . . . that which unites them into societies and attaches them to one another by sympathy and affection."[73] Adam Smith in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) argues the "virtuous" sympathizes with others with the "most exquisite sensibility."[74] Edmund Burke in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) defines sympathy as "the process by which we enter into the concerns of others; that we are moved as they are moved." He also describes it as "a sort of substitution, by which we are put into the place of another man, and affected in a good measure as he is affected."[75] Burke's late work *Reflection on the Revolution in France* (1790), however, in showing persistent attacks on the French Revolution and its supporters, had become in Chris Jones' words a text that "polarized the conservative and radical aspects of sensibility."[76]

David Hume, who discusses sympathy frequently in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739), considers sympathy the most extraordinary trait of humankind. "No quality of human nature is more remarkable, both in itself and in its consequence," he writes, "than that propensity we have to sympathize with others, and to receive by communication their inclination and sentiments, however different from, or even contrary to our own." He then explains the mechanism of sympathy:

> When any affection is infus'd by sympathy, it is at first known only by its effects, and by those external signs in the countenance and conversation, which convey an idea of it. This idea is presently converted into an impression, and acquires such a degree of force and vivacity, as to become the very passion itself, and produce an equal emotion.[77]

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[72] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* [1711], vol. 3, ed. Douglas den Uyl (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001), 84 and 146.

[73] John Gregory, *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man Compared with the Animal World*, 5th ed. (London: J. Dodsley, 1772), 86.

[74] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* [1759], ed. Ryan Patrick Hanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11.

[75] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* [1757], new ed. (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 2008), 41.

[76] Jone, *Radical Sensibility*, 90.

[77] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* [1739], vol. 2, ed. T.H. Green and T.H. Grose (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1874), 111.

He also argues sympathy is not limited to the present moment, for the power of imagination enables one to feel the pain and pleasure of those who are not "in being."[78] This view is shared by Smith:

> …it is by the imagination only that we can form any conceptions of what are his [the other's] sensations. By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves during all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him and thence form some idea of his sensations. His agonies, when they are thus brought home to ourselves, when we have thus adopted and made them our own, begin at last to affect us, and we then tremble and shudder at the thought of what he feels.[79]

Although Hume has highlighted sympathy's capacity to promote love and benevolence in *Treatise*,[80] he expands on this function of sympathy in *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), where he refers sympathy as a "delicate" quality that "touches the very heart."[81] He remarks,

> …no Qualities are most entitled to the general Good-will and Approbation of Mankind, than Beneficence and Humanity, Friendship and Gratitude, Natural Affection and Public Spirit, or whatever proceeds from a tender Sympathy with others, and a generous Concern for our Kind and Species.[82]

The 18th-century musical and literary writers were also familiar with sensibility as a moral quality. In *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1771-74), Johann George Sulzer approaches sensibility as a disposition that contributes to not only aesthetic but also moral judgment: "A person must possess a degree of sensibility… for good and for evil, since an insensible person may be as amoral as some droll animal."[83] To him, *Empfindung*, that is, sentiment, "possesses a psychological as well as a moral meaning, and both are encountered frequently in the theory of art."[84] The notion of sensibility also pervades 18th-century sentimental literature dominated by characters who display sympathy. In Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771), sensibility, as Brian Vickers puts it, is portrayed as "an ideal sensitivity to — and spontaneous display of virtuous feelings, especially those of pity, sympathy, benevolence, of the open heart as opposed to the prudent mind."[85] In Mackenzie's second novel, *The Man of the World* (1773), Bolton is described as a man of virtue with "an exquisite sensibility of heart."[86]

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[78] Ibid., 60.
[79] Smith, *Theory*, 11-12.
[80] Hume, *Treatise*, 60.
[81] Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (London: A. Millar, 1751), 91-92.
[82] Ibid., 25.
[83] Nancy Baker and Thomas Christensen, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 29.

The pioneering figures of sentimental novels, however, were Samuel Richardson and Laurence Sterne. Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) established a typical plot line that other contemporary authors sought to imitate; it even resulted in the operatic "Pamela industry" (which Chapter 5 shall discuss more in depth).[87] Sophie von La Roche's *The History of Lady Sophia Sternheim* (1771), the first sentimental novel written by a female author in Germany, follows Richardson's storyline by tracing the life of the heroine Sophia. In this novel which inspired Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774), Sophia has been mistreated by Lord Derby in a false marriage. She nevertheless still chooses to advance women's education with benevolence and is eventually rewarded with a marriage to the handsome Lord Seymour. As Head puts it, "With this heroine, who sings and accompanies herself on the lute, improvises, and plays extensively from memory, La Roche struck a resounding chord in the culture of sensibility." La Roche's novel, "as the product of (or some ideal of) female nature, was felt to offer glimpses of her heroine's invisible interiority, and of the operations of her heart and mind."[88]

For Richardson and Sterne, sensibility or sympathy is not merely a moral but also a spiritual disposition. In the postscript to *Clarissa* (1748), Richardson likens the novel to a more effective pulpit, claiming it is a work in which he expounds "the great doctrines of Christianity under the fashionable guise of an amusement" in an age "given up to diversion and entertainment."[89] For Sterne, sensibility, to quote Maximillian E. Novak, is "a mixture of the physiological and the spiritual, of those feelings in love and charity in the human nervous system that seem to correspond to God's contact with mankind, elevating it to the force underlying human love and charity."[90] In a sermon titled "St. Peter's Character," Sterne describes Peter as an apostle who, "with all the real and unaffected humility," possessed "a quick sensibility and promptness of nature" that led him to "an unreserved discovery of the opinions and prejudices of his heart."[91] Peter's "tenderness and sensibility of his soul," he adds, was what brought the disciple to repentance.[92] In another sermon titled "Philanthropy Recommended" where he discusses the Good Samaritan of Luke 10:25-37, he also exhorts his audience to pursue a sympathetic love for humanity: "I think there needs no stronger argument to prove how universally and deeply the seeds of this virtue of compassion are planted in the heart of man than in the pleasure we take in such representations of it."[93]

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[84] Ibid., 27.

[85] See Brian Vickers, "Introduction" to Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling* [1771] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 9.

[86] Mackenzie, *The Man of the World* [1773], in *The Works of Henry Mackenzie*, vol. 2 (Glasgow: W. Falconer, 1818), 181.

[87] See Jessica Waldoff, *Recognition in Mozart's Operas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 105.

[88] Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 1.

Sterne views his own sensibility also as a spiritual gift; in a letter dated September 1767 about *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768), he writes: "My Sentimental Journey will, I dare say, convince you that my feelings are from the heart, and that that heart is not of the worst of molds — praised be God for my sensibility!"[94] Like Richardson, Sterne considers his goal of novel writing ultimately a religious one. The aim of *Sentimental Journey*, he states, is to "teach us to love the world and our fellow creatures better than we do — so it runs most upon those gentler passions and affections, which aid so much to it."[95]

This benevolence also appears, in the name of sensibility, in *Cecilia; Or, Memoir of an Heiress* (1782), a novel written by Fanny Burney, the daughter of the famous 18th-century music historian Charles Burney. Fanny describes the young Cecilia:

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[89] Samuel Richardson, *Letters and passages restored from the original manuscripts of the history of Clarissa. To which is subjoined, a collection of such of the moral and instructive sentiments, ... as are presumed to be of general use ... Published for the sake of doing justice to the purchasers of the two first editions of that work [pt: 8]* (London: S. Richardson, 1751), 197.
[90] Maximillian E. Novak, *Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 157.
[91] Laurence Sterne, *The Work of Laurence Sterne* (London: Henry G. Bohn,1849), 664.
[92] Ibid., 666.
[93] Ibid, 366.
[94] Sterne, *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Lewis Perry Curtis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 395-96.
[95] Ibid., 401.

> …her form was elegant, her heart was liberal; her countenance announced the intelligence of her mind, her complexion varied with every emotion of her soul, and her eyes, the heralds of her speech, now beamed with understanding and now glistened with sensibility.[96]

During a "tender and affectionate" meeting with Mrs. Harrel, "the sensibility of Cecilia's heart flowed from her eyes."[97] Her sympathetic sensibility moved her to many charitable acts:

> Many and various, then, soothing to her spirit and grateful to her sensibility, were the scenes which her fancy delineated; now she supported an orphan, now softened the sorrows of a widow, now snatched from iniquity the feeble trembler at poverty, and now rescued from shame the proud struggler with disgrace.[98]

Outside the fictional world, Fanny has also eulogized the sensibility of several women of her time. According to her, Mary Delany — a friend of Handel, Johnathan Swift, and William Hogarth who, at the age of seventy-two, became a prolific botanical artist whose arts of cut-paper flower collages remain celebrated today in the British Museum[99]— still had an unimpaired "primitive sensibility" that made her sympathize intimately with "the difficulties or misfortunes of all with whom she was connected" despite her old age.[100] She also praises her younger sister Susanna Phillips, the third daughter of Charles and Esther, as a woman of "exquisite sensibility." Despite having "nearly withered" in a sickly state in 1799, Susanna's "touching sensibility for every species of attention and all her unalterable loveliness of disposition" allowed her to give comfort for her own sufferings.[101]

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[96] Fanny Burney, *Cecilia; Or, Memoir of an Heiress*, vol. 1 (London: T. Payne and Son, and T. Cadell, 1782), 5.
[97] Ibid., 32.
[98] Ibid., 93.
[99] For a biography of Delany and an account of her work, see Molly Peacock, *The Paper Garden: An Artist Begins Her Life's Work at 72* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011).
[100] Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 3 (London: Edward Moxon, 1832), 73.
[101] Ibid., 289.

Charles Burney's kind words about the poet and librettist Pietro Metastasio, who had not only provided free room and board to the young Haydn for three years in exchange for voice and clavier lessons for his protégée Marianne von Martinez but also introduced the composer to Nicola Porpora,[102] also reveal that sensibility, by the end of the 18th century, was considered a virtue that made one praiseworthy in the historical record. In *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio* (1796), Burney describes Metastasio as one "whose writings evince him to have been all tenderness, gratitude, and disinterested sensibility."[103] When his patron Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina died in 1718, Metastasio mourned "with the deepest affliction" and the beneficent will of his master did not "diminish his grief or dry his tears."[104] Burney remarks on a letter Metastasio wrote to a friend in Rome that the poet "expressed his sensibility" in an "affectionate manner."[105] "His benevolence and sensibility have never been called in question by his countrymen," Burney writes, "who, on the contrary, have extolled these qualities in him, even more than his genius for poetry."[106]

Sensibility as Physiological or Nervous Sensitivity

Sensibility approached through moral or spiritual lens was understood as a quality of the human soul. Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* speaks that "a man's body and his mind…are exactly like a jerkin, and a jerkin's lining."[107] Knowing the body may obfuscate the mind and disrupts the two's sympathetic synchronization, Tristram confesses his admiration for the Pythagoreans who are able to "get out of the body" to "think well." As Arthur H. Cash contends, Sterne's point is as simple as that "the body distorts our reason."[108] "No man thinks right, whilst he is in [the body]," says Tristram.[109] From this perspective, then, the soul is the part of individual that reigns over the body and yields both moral and spiritual perceptions. John Boyle, Earl of Orrey's writing elucidates this view about the body and the mind: "We are composed of a mind, and of a body, intimately united, and mutually affecting each other. Their operations indeed are entirely different." Arguing the soul is immortal and that the body is the "corporeal frame within which [the spirit]," he writes:

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[102] Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810), trans. Vernon Gotwals as "Biographical Notes Concerning Joseph Haydn," in *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius*, 3-66 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 12.

[103] Charles Burney, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio*, vol. 1 (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1796), 11.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid., 108.

[106] Ibid., 126.

[107] Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* [1759-1767] (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1996), 109.

[108] Arthur H. Cash, "The Sermon in Tristram Shandy," *ELH* 31/4 (1964): 410.

[109] Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 345.

> It is from this pre-eminence of the soul over the body, that we are enabled to view the exact order, and curious variety of different beings…It is from hence, that we form moral laws for our conduct… From hence too, we perceive a real beauty in virtue, and a distinction between good and evil…[110]

In the physiological field, however, sensibility was studied as a product of a different kind of "soul": the animal soul, known also as the animal spirit and the nervous fluid. Thomas Willis defines the animal spirit as "a protean and fluid substance, extremely subtle, easily agitated, highly rarefied, fine and thin, lying just beyond the scope of visual observation." Produced in the brain and circulated through human nerves, the animal spirit moves "quicker than the twinkling of an Eye."[111] Both medical and non-medical concerns about sex in the 18th-century according to Darren N. Wagner were grounded in the belief that nervous fluids and animal spirits underpin sexual responses including blushes and swoons.[112] "Fluid, finite and expendable, yet delicate, lightning-quick and influential," writes Wagner, "animal spirits explained how sexual feelings and behaviours involved both the mind and body, while casting questions about sexual volition and gender difference into sharp relief."[113]

In Germany, medical and fictional literature in the 18th-century also, as Catherine J. Minter observes, shared many overlapping terminologies related to

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[110] John Boyle, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in a Series of Letters from John Earl of Orrery to His Son, the Honourable Hamilton Boyle*, 2nd ed. (London: A. Millar, 1752), 118-19.

[111] Thomas Willis, *Dr. Willis's Practice of Physick*, trans. Samuel Pordage (London: T. Dring, C. Harper, and J. Leigh, 1684), 12.

[112] Related theories can be found in Malcolm Flemyng's *The Nature of the Nervous Fluid, or Animal Spirits, Demonstrated* (1751) and John Caverhill's *Experiments on the Cause of Heat in Living Animals, and Velocity of the Nervous Fluid* (1770). Earlier scholarship on nervous fluids or animal spirits can also be located in the works of René Descartes (1596-1650), William Harvey (1578-1657), Thomas Bartholin (1616-1680), Walter Charleton (1619-1707), and Regnier de Graaf (1641-1673). See Darren N. Wagner, "Body, Mind and Spirits: The Physiology of Sexuality in the Culture of Sensibility," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39/3 (2016): 336.

[113] Ibid., 352.

Empfindsamkeit such as *reizen*, *rühren*, *berühren*, *beben*, *zittern* and *schaudern.* Even philosophers Karl Franz von Irwing and Johann Nicolas Tetens preferred using *Empfindsamkeit* rather than *Empfindlichkeit* to speak of physiological and nervous sensibility.[114] Scott K. Taylor's recent study also shows that daily coffee drinking in the 18th century was considered, in the words of the French doctor and writer Nicolas François Joseph Éloy*,* a major cause of "extreme nervous sensibility." Yet people suffering from nervous disorder still turned to coffee to alleviate their symptoms. Coffee was paradoxically then also treated as a cure.[115]

The neurophysiological understanding of sensibility intertwined with musical imageries. In *Capellmeister*, which Haydn had also studied, Mattheson speaks of the process of "sympathetic vibration" characterized by a "natural concurrence by means of which one body is moved to confluence with another." He finds this vibration most evident with free-sounding strings; while a string may remain distant and untouched, it can still be invisibly set into vibration and sounding by the sound of another string which is at the same ratio.[116] Inspired by this characteristic of strings, philosophers and physicians alike compared nerves to strings. The ability to give sound that vibrates and lingers was what prompted Hume to liken passion to a string instrument. The passion has not "the nature of a wind-instrument of music, which in running over all the notes immediately loses the sound after the breath ceases," he argues. Instead, it "resembles a string-instrument, where after each stroke the vibrations still retain some sound, which gradually and insensibly decays."[117] The physician Ernst Anton Nicolai likewise compares the tone of muscles, arteries, and nerves to "a tightened string of a musical instrument."[118] Some, however, compared nerves to keys. In *The English Malady* (1733), for example, George Cheyne likens the

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[114] See Catherine J. Minter, "Literary 'Empfindsamkeit' and Nervous Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *The Modern Language Review* 94/4 (2001): 1017.

[115] Scott K. Taylor, "*Coffee and the Body:* From Exoticism to Wellness in Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 54/3 (2021): 640-41. See also Nicolas François Joseph Éloy, *Examen de la Question médico-politique: si l'usage habituel du caffé est avantageux ou doit être mis au rang des choses indifférentes à la conservation de la santé* (Mons : H. Hoyois, n.p.).

[116] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 100.

[117] Hume, *Treatise*, 560.

[118] Quoted in James Kennaway, "From Sensibility to Pathology: The Origins of the Idea of Nervous Music Around 1800," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 65/3 (2010): 408. Originally from Ernst Anton Nicolai, *Die Verbindung der Musik mit der Arzneygelahrheit* (Halle: Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1745), viii-x.

"Intelligent Principle" or "Soul" to a musician while comparing human nerves to keys:

> That the Intelligent Principle, or Soul, resides somewhere in the Brain, where all the Nerves, or Instruments of Sensation terminate, like a Musician in a finely fram'd and well-tun'd Organ-Case; that these nerves are like Keys, which, being struck on or touch'd, convey the Sound and Harmony to this sentient Principle, or Musician.[119]

The physiological view of sensibility renders excessive sensibility a form of illness. Diderot refers the final state of unrestrained sensibility as madness:

> Sensibility…that disposition which accompanies organic weakness, which follows on easy affection of the diaphragm, on vivacity of imagination, on delicacy of nerves, which inlaces one to being compassionate, to being horrified, to admiration, to fear, to being upset, to tears, to fainting, ….to loss of self-control….to having no clear notion of what is true, good, and fine, to being unjust, to going mad.[120]

Authors of sentimental literature were also well-aware of the nervous side of sensibility. In Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), Sir William Thornhill suffers from a "sickly sensibility":

> Physicians tell us of a disorder in which the whole body is so exquisitely sensible, that the slightest touch gives pain: what some have thus suffered in their persons, this gentleman felt in his mind. The slightest distress, whether real or fictitious, touched him to the quick, and his soul laboured under a sickly sensibility of the miseries of others. Thus disposed to relieve, it will be easily conjectured, he found numbers disposed to solicit: his profusions began to impair his fortune, but not his good-nature…[121]

Women, however, were expected to be more prone to this nervous illness. As Ann Jessie van Sant notes, greater degrees of sensibility — "often to a point of fragility" — were considered characteristics of women, particularly those from the upper class.[122] Yet while too much sensibility put women at a higher risk of an ill state, a possession of excessive sensibility was also what made women desirable. Novel titles such as *Unfortunate Sensibility* or *The Life of Mrs. L******* (1784), *Excessive Sensibility* or *The History of Lady St. Laurence* (1787), and *Female Sensibility*; or, *The History of Emma Pomfret* (1778/1783) suggest superfluous sensibility was more frequently associated with women.[123]

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[119] George Cheyne, *The English Malady* (London: G. Strahan, 1733), 3-4.

[120] Denis Diderot, *The Paradox of Acting* [1830], trans. Walter Herries Pollock (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883), 56.

[121] Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield* [1766], ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 21.

[122] Van Sant defines sensibility as follows: "An organic sensitivity dependent on brain and nerves and underlying a) delicate moral and aesthetic perception; b) acuteness of

This feminization of sensibility sometimes complicated the author's task to write stories of sentimental heroes. In a letter to Lady Bradshaigh dated 1751, Richardson speaks of this problem while penning his third novel, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (1753):

> I own that a good woman is my favourite character; and that I can do twenty agreeable things for her, none of which would appear in a striking light in a man. Softness of heart, gentleness of manners, tears, beauty, will allow of pathetic scenes in the story of the one [the woman], which cannot have place in that of the other [the man]. Philanthropy, humanity, is all that he can properly rise to.[124]

Frances Greville, the Irish poet who married Fulke Greville for whom Charles Burney served as a music teacher and companion, made a response that also reveals the gendered expectation of sensibility. After hearing Charles Burney's second wife Elizabeth recite passages from Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, she scoffed while shrugging her shoulders,

> A feeling heart is certainly a right heart; nobody will contest that: but when a man chooses to walk about the world with a cambric handkerchief always in his hand, that he may always be ready to weep, either with man or beast — he only turns me sick.[125]

In *D'Alembert's Dream*, Diderot also associates excessive sensibility with women. While he likens uncurbed sensibility to an anarchic nervous system in which all threads of the nervous web rebel against the central governing

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feeling, both emotional and physical; and c) susceptibility to delicate passional arousal. Though belonging to all, greater degrees of delicacy of sensibility—often to a point of fragility—are characteristic of women and upper classes. Excessive delicacy or acuteness of feeling produces an impaired or diseased state." See Van Sant, *Eighteenth-Century Sensibility*, 1.

[123] Quoted in Caroline Franklin, "The Novel of Sensibility in the 1780s," in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, vol. 2, ed. Peter Garside and Karen O' Brien, 164-181 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 164-65.

[124] Richardson, *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson,* ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 180.

[125] Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 1, 201.

authority, he also argues women are more prone to such conditions: "In cases of the vapors there is a sort of anarchy peculiar to women."[126] While Diderot compares unrestrained sensibility to anarchy, however, Fanny Burney in *Camilla: Or, A Picture of Youth* (1796) borrows the image of despotism to highlight the effect of extreme physiological sensibility:

> …'tis an absorbent of the faculties that suffers them to see, hear, and feel only its own perplexity; and the finer the fibres of the sensibility on which it seizes, the more exclusive is its despotism; doubt, in a fervent mind, from the rapidity of its evolutions between fear in its utmost despondence, and hope in its fullest rapture, is little short of torture.[127]

As John Mullan concludes, sensibility as understood in the 18th-century had "a massively sensitized, feminine body."[128] But while excessive sensibility might seem quite indistinguishable from nervous irritability, Albrecht von Haller, a leading expert on the nervous system, differentiated sensibility from irritability. Irritability according to him denotes the muscle's contraction in response to stimuli without any feelings evoked. Sensibility, on the contrary, involves feelings as a reaction to external stimuli, resides in the nerves, and connects with the human soul. "I call that part of human body irritable, which becomes shorter upon being touched," Haller remarks, "…I call that a sensible part of the human body, which upon being touched transmits the impression of it to the soul."[129]

Sensibility as Source of Good Taste

Sulzer, as mentioned, views sensibility as necessary for moral discernment. Yet sensibility for him is also "for the beautiful and ugly."[130] Sensibility, then, contributes to aesthetic judgment and taste. That is not to say, however, that sensibility is taste. Rousseau is clear in objecting to this equation: “Taste however is by no means sensibility… it seems that taste is more particularly connected with the smaller expressions, and sensibility to the greater.”[131] Nevertheless, taste stems from sensibility and thus sensibility serves as the source of taste. In *An Essay on Taste* (1759), Alexander Gerard argues that in aesthetics, “in order to form a fine taste, the mental powers which compose it must possess exquisite sensibility and delicacy.” “Sensibility of taste arises chiefly from the structure of our internal senses,” he writes, “and is but indirectly and remotely connected with the soundness or improvement of judgement.”[132] Burke expresses a similar view that attributes taste to sensibility,

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[126] Diderot, *D'Alembert's Dream* [1830], in *Rameau's Nephew* and *D'Alembert's Dream*, trans. Leonard Tancock, 133-237 (London: Penguin Books, 1966), 205.

[127] Fanny Burney, *Camilla; Or, A Picture of Youth*, vol. 4 (London: Payne, Cadell & Davies, 1796), 211.

[128] Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, 61.

[129] Quoted in Valeria Sobol, "Nerves, Brain, or Heart? The Physiology of Emotions and the Mind-Body Problem in Russian Sentimentalism," *The Russian Review* 65/1 (2006): 3 and Karl M. Figlio, "Theories of Perception and the Physiology of Mind in the Late Eighteenth Century," *History of Science* 12 (1975): 186. Originally from the English translation of Albrecht von Haller's 1755 dissertation in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 4 (1936): 651-699.

[130] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics,* 29.

> A rectitude of judgment in the arts which may be called a good Taste does in a great measure depend upon sensibility; because if the mind has no bent to the pleasures of the imagination, it will never apply itself sufficiently to work of that species to acquire a competent knowledge in them.[133]

Hume, who believes tastes and colors all lie in the senses, also argues the beholder must always possess sensibility to appreciate beauty. He gives an example of a mathematician who, despite knowing every Latin word that Virgil speaks, remains insensitive to the beauty of *Aeneid*:

> But he was ignorant of its beauty; because the beauty, properly speaking, lies not in the poem, but in the sentiment or taste of the reader. And where a man has no delicacy for temper, as to make him feel this sentiment, he must be ignorant of the beauty, though possessed of the science and understanding of an angel.[134]

Taste, as Carolyn Korsmeyer puts it, is a “distinctive approach to perception, pleasure, beauty, and art.” It is conceived as a “sensitivity to fine distinctions and an ability to discern beauty.”[135] The 18th-century philosophers might have debated on whether taste belongs to rationality or sensibility, but most, at least until the publication of Immanuel Kant’s *Critique of Judgment* (1790), held that sensibility was the site of taste.[136] Although taste might seem subjective, a commonly acknowledged standard still existed despite extreme cases of likes and dislikes. As Korsmeyer argues, then, cultural factors and the ability to develop or change one's taste preferences that prevent the "privacy and idiosyncrasy of taste" indicate taste is a social and, in some ways, public phenomenon.[137] Mattheson for one believes in a standard for taste and abhors tastelessness. In *Capellmeister*, he laments that the ignorance of language has resulted in "pure tastelessness, absurd trash; well-intended ideas which end up as fantastic excesses; artificial dissonances which are used much too often, and forbidden liberties which damage the understanding and are like caterwauling."[138] He emphasizes taste in vocal performance and to him, tastelessness together with weakness, a lack of clarity, unnaturalness, and awkwardness are what make a "displeasing voice."[139] A tasteful instrumentalist meanwhile is one who reads "with expression and good style" and performs a melody "without the slightest offence against directions" but with much grace, ornament and artistry.[140] Elsewhere Mattheson talks about the need to accompany "sensibly" according to the particular purpose of the composition.[141] He later even concludes that a lack of taste is simply a result of a lack of sense: "We however most severely criticize misuse…of the singers and players who at the wrong time and without discretion presume to use such excessive ornaments, from lack of good taste, indeed, good sense."[142]

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[131] Rousseau, *A Dictionary of Music*, trans. William Waring (London: J. French, 1779), 429-30.

[132] Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Taste* (London: A. Miller 1759), 106 and 113.

[133] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 22-23.

[134] Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, vol. 1 (London & Edinburgh: A. Millar, A. Kincaid & A. Donaldson, 1753), 227.

[135] Carolyn Korsmeyer, “Taste as Sense and as Sensibility,” *Philosophical Topics* 25/1 (1997): 203.

In Mattheson's view, composers also ought to possess taste. If a sensible and tasteful performer plays according to the specific purpose of the composition, then a sensible and tasteful composer writes according to the nature of both the performance occasion and the performer. This ability to compose sensibly and tastefully is tied to the notion of "naturalness": "If the styles do not conform with the performing persons, things, concepts and functions, then not a single one of them is natural."[143] A composer who writes "naturally" is, however, also one who follows his natural instinct and inborn gift of sensibility.

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[136] Ibid., 204-5.
[137] Ibid., 226.
[138] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 252.
[139] Ibid., 257.
[140] Ibid., 265.
[141] Ibid., 446.
[142] Ibid., 481.
[143] Ibid., 194.

Haydn's two biographers, Georg August Griesinger and A.C. Dies, have repeatedly stressed Haydn's "naturalness" to depict him as such a composer. "Haydn's aesthetic character was the work of a happy natural gift and of incessant study," writes Griesinger.[144] Meanwhile, Dies praises Haydn's "natural intelligence," "natural judgment," and "characteristic naturalness."[145]

A composer who follows his natural, instinctive sensibility that gives birth to good taste is not bound by man-made rules. Haydn portrays himself precisely as such an artist: "If I thought something was beautiful, and it seemed to me likely to satisfy the ear and the heart, and I should have had to sacrifice such beauty to dried-up pedantry, then I preferred to let a little grammatical blunder stand."[146] This flexibility to "break rules" for the purpose of aesthetic pleasure overlaps with the Kantian notion of creative or inventive genius that concerns how rather than what one produces.[147] Griesinger thus views Haydn as a fine example of Kant's genius:

> …in Haydn there was complete confirmation of Kant's observation "that the author of a product which he owed to his genius did not himself know how he found within himself the ideas for it, nor did he have it in his power to think out such at will or methodically and to instruct others how they might produce similar works."[148]

According to Dies, the idea that taste constitutes part of genius is found also in the writing of Johann Gottfried Herder: "Taste is nothing else than order in the service of genius."[149] Sulzer likewise argues both the power of invention and the power of aesthetic judgment are "natural and inborn" faculties that "all men possess in proportion to their genius."[150] To him, "melodic beauty is the inspiration of genius."[151]

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[144] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 60.

[145] Albert Christoph Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph* Haydn (Vienna: Camesinaische Buchhandlung, 1810), trans. Vernon Gotwals as "Biographical Accounts of Joseph Haydn," in *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius*, 69-209 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 90, 96, and 158.

[146] Ibid., 125.

[147] See also Thomas Bauman, "Becoming Original: Haydn and the Cult of Genius," *The Musical Quarterly* 87/2 (2004): 342

[148] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 60.

[149] Quoted in Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 79.

[150] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 56.

[151] Ibid., 95.

A person's moral and ethical sensibility can be judged by how he treats the other, but since aesthetic taste is informed by sensibility, another way to assess someone's sensibility in the 18th century, as Colin Campbell points out, was then to examine the person's taste in arts.[152] The ways in which one performed, improvised, composed, recited poetry, or responded to someone else's performance, all became indicators of one's taste. The ones with superb taste stood out from the common and the uncultivated; Sulzer contrasts people of "a more cultured sensibility for beauty" with the "more primitive folk."[153] In the words of G.J. Barker-Benfield, taste in the 18th century expressed or even became "sensibility's codification of itself as a system of manners associated particularly with women and its definition of itself as a civilized culture."[154] For Haydn, Mozart was one who possessed extraordinary taste. When Haydn praised Mozart as the most brilliant composer to his father Leopold in 1785, he commended Mozart's taste and knowledge: "Before God and as an honest man, I tell you that your son is the greatest composer known to me either in person or by name. He has taste, and what is more, the most profound knowledge of composition."[155]

Sensibility as Reason's Antagonist or Partner

Before the Kantian theory of genius became popular, Jean-François de Saint-Lambert wrote, in *Encyclopédie*, that sensibility is a quality of the man of genius "whose soul is more expansive and struck by the feelings of all others." He elaborates,

> Genius is occupied by the objects that surround it, it does not remember; it sees. It does not limit itself by looking, it feels…Men of genius are forced to feel, dictated by their tastes and by their dislikes, distracted by a thousand things.[156]

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[152] Colin Campbell, "Understanding Traditional and Modern Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England: A Character Action Approach," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter, 40-57 (London: Psychology Press, 1994), 49.

[153] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 83.

[154] Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 206.

[155] Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, vol. 3 (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1938), 1321.

[156] Jean-François de Saint-Lambert, "Genius," *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. John S.D. Glaus (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2007). http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.819. Originally published

Yet the problem of excessive sensibility troubled many. Smith, for example, writes that "this extreme sympathy with misfortunes which we know nothing about seems altogether absurd and unreasonable…this disposition of mind…would be perfectly useless and could serve no other purpose than to render miserable the person who possessed it."[157] Disturbed by the disastrous, madness-inducing effects of excessive sensibility, Diderot, too, eventually made remarks that contradict Saint-Lambert's claim. He states in *Le Paradoxe sur le comédien* (1773): "Sensibility is by no means the distinguishing mark of a great genius…It is the head, not the heart, which works in and for him."[158] In "Sur le génie" (1774), he follows to argue that what makes one a genius is not imagination, judgment, intellect, warmth, vivacity, impetuosity, taste — and it is definitely not sensibility:

> Is it sensibility? No. I've seen some whose souls were quickly and profoundly touched, who can't hear an elevated tale without being lifted out of themselves, transported, drunk, mad: it's a pathetic trait and, without shedding any tear, they stutter like children when they speak or when they write.[159]

The true mark of genius, he contends, is an observant mind that works by instinct:

> The observing mind to which I refer is exercised without effort, without exertion; it does not look, it sees; it learns, it extends itself without studying; there is no phenomenon present, but they have all affected it and what this mind retains from them is a sort of sense that others don't possess; it is a rare machine that says: 'this will succeed'…and it succeeds…[160]

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as "Génie," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 7:582-584 (Paris, 1757).

[157] Smith, *Theory*, 161.

[158] Diderot, *Paradox*, 14.

[159] "Est-ce la sensibilité ? Non. J'en ai vu dont l'âme s'affectait promptement et profondément, qui ne pouvaient entendre un récit élevé sans sortir hors d'eux-mêmes, transportés, enivrés, fous ; un trait pathétique, sans verser des larmes, et qui balbutiaient comme des enfants, soit qu'ils parlassent, soit qu'ils écrivissent." See Diderot, "Sur le génie [1774], " in *Œuvres de Denis Didero*t, vol. 4, ed. J. Assezat (Paris: Garnier Freres, 1875), 26-27.

[160] " L'esprit observateur dont je parle s'exerce sans effort, sans contention ; il ne regarde point, il voit ; il s'instruit, il s'étend sans étudier ; il n'a aucun phénomène présent, mais ils l'ont tous affecté, et ce qui lui en reste c'est une espèce de sens que les autres n'ont pas ; c'est une machine rare qui dit : cela réussira… et cela réussit…" See ibid.

With this instinctive machine, argues Diderot, the genius also possesses "a prophetic spirit."[161]

Diderot's concern about sensibility's capacity to hinder one's judgment, observation, imitative ability, and self-control leads him to argue that a great actor is one who has subdued his sensibility: "Extreme sensibility makes middling actors; middling sensibility makes the ruck of bad actors; in complete absence of sensibility is the possibility of the sublime actor."[162] According to him, the nature of acting to the philosopher is imitative and thus the actor must, in order to mime every character, extinguish his sensibility. Put simply, to simulate feelings, the actor must experience no feeling himself during his performance. LUI in Diderot's second satire *Le Neveu de Rameau* (1773/74), revised around the time when *Paradoxe* was written, often exhibits this paradox as a superb mime artist. His lack of moral sensibility surprises MOI, but his absence of sympathetic ability is precisely what enables him to "perform" sensibility.[163] Yet society for Diderot remains the ultimate grand stage. He thus concludes in *Paradoxe* that "the circumstances in which sensibility is as hurtful in society as on the stage are a thousand to one."[164] He laments, "The man of sensibility is too much at the mercy of his diaphragm to be a great king, a great politician, a great magistrate, a just man, or a close observer, and, consequently, an admirable imitator of Nature."[165]

Sensibility in this view appears as the antagonist of reason. Yet not all regarded sensibility as reason's enemy. Sulzer maintains the artist must possess not only sensibility but also reason and wisdom to carry out his duty of awakening sentiments.[166] He also suggests that while sensibility works together with experience to incite imagination, reason helps the artist to make sound decisions:

> If the artist decides upon a specific goal, which is to say, a specific impression to convey with his work, his animated imaginative powers will present to him many sensible objects that will be all the more appropriate and fertile as is his experience

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[161] Ibid.

[162] Diderot, *Paradox,* 17.

[163] Diderot, *Rameau's Nephew* [1805]*: A Multi-Media Edition*, ed. Marian Hobson, trans. Kate Tunstall and Caroline Warman (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2013), 73.

[164] Diderot, *Paradox,* 45.

[165] Ibid., 80.

[166] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 29.

> and sensibility. His poetic imagination helps him to discover yet more ideas, while his reason will determine the degree to which each of these is suitable.[167]

In this sense, reason serves as a partner of sensibility. Nevertheless, sensibility, when unrestrained, was widely viewed as a nemesis that opposes judgment and even masculinity. The sentimental literature writers thus had to craft fictional heroes whose sensibility are moderate, measured, and seasoned with wit. Fanny Burney lauds his father exactly for his "governed sensibility."[168] Sulzer, too, urges men to keep their sensibility in "appropriate" amount: "Just as it is a great imperfection to lack a reasonable amount of sensibility, since it causes one to be stiff and dormant, so is an excess of sensibility very harmful, as it is effeminate, weakening, and unmanly."[169] Although Kant tends to feminize feeling in contrast to reason, he also emphasizes similarly that sensibility for man must be exercised in moderation. He asserts that proper sensibility or sensitivity, *Empfindsamkeit,* is manly. What is not manly, however, is *Empfindelei*, known also as sentimentality or excessive sensibility.[170] The concern with effeminacy is also heard in *Paradoxe* where Diderot juxtaposes feminine sensibility with masculine imitation:

> Think of women, again. They are miles beyond us in sensibility; there is no fort of comparison between their passion and ours. But as much as we are below them in action, so much are they below us in imitation. If a man who is really manly drops a tear, it touches us more nearly than a storm of weeping from a woman.[171]

Anna Laetitia Barbauld, the "woman of letters" who edited *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (1804), further reinforces the idea that feelings and reason are antithetical to each other by claiming in *On Romances* (1773) that sentimental fictions appeal to those who cannot reason. Few can reason while sorrow is universally felt, she remarks, and to delight in listening to the groans of misery is a "paradox of the heart."[172]

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[167] Ibid., 56.

[168] Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 2, 319.

[169] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 30.

[170] See Kant, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* [1798], ed. Robert B. Louden and Manfred Kuehn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 131-32.

[171] Diderot, *Paradox,* 14.

[172] Anna Laetitia Barbauld, *The Works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld: With a Memoir*, vol. 2, ed. Lucy Aikin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 174.

As this gendered association about feeling and reason was further advanced by Kant, writers like Mary Wollstonecraft sought to not only overturn the related stereotypes but also revive a balanced perspective on the relationship between reason and sensibility. In *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1791), she encourages women to cultivate reason and flee superficial sensibility. Wollstonecraft's *Vindication*, as Jones puts it, "is a sustained attempt to redefine the terms of conservative sensibility, like delicacy, chastity, and modesty, in ways which suggest equality, self-respect, and independence, rather than following the code of feminine propriety, and in ways which are applicable to men as well."[173] Wollstonecraft argues "a romantic unnatural delicacy of feeling" leads women to waste their lives fanaticizing about delusional happiness.[174] She also mourns that the ignorance of the world has turned "many innocent girls" into "dupes of a sincere, affectionate heart" who are "ruined before they know the difference between virtue and vice."[175] Her desire to promote a "true sensibility" regulated and refined by reason drove the writing of *Maria: Or the Wrongs of Woman* (1798). Janet Todd analyses the message of this novel:

> Sensibility cultivated to excess, a frequent result of desultory and confined female education, certainly marks Maria's character, and is the prime cause of her mistakes in conduct and judgment of people. Yet the ideal that emerges from the novel does not lie entirely with reason. If excessive sensibility without reason makes people romantic and vulnerable, excessive reason without sensibility makes them coldly selfish. This fact is illustrated in the character of Jemima.[176]

This idea that sensibility needs to be governed by reason continues in Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1811). Although the title of the novel may seem to imply an antagonism between reason and sensibility, Austen questions not so much sensibility but rather a sensibility that is unreasoned. Henry Irving shows similar sentiments in his preface to *Paradoxe*; while he commends the brilliance of Diderot's theory, he argues the pitfall of an actor is not sensibility itself but a sensibility that is uncontrolled. He calls for a "double consciousness" in which "all the emotions proper to the occasion may have full sway, while the actor is all the time on the alert for every detail of his method."[177]

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[173] Jones, *Radical Sensibility*, 106.

[174] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (Dublin: J. Stockdale, 1793), 35.

[175] Ibid., 87.

[176] Todd, "Reason and Sensibility in Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman*," *Journal of Women Studies* 5/3 (1980): 19.

Sensibility as Musical Perceptivity

While Diderot spectates sensibility in relation to the actor, Rousseau hears it as a quality of the musician. He defines sensibility as a quality fundamental to the composer, the performer, and the listener:

> A disposition of the soul which inspires the composer with the lively ideas which he wants; the executant, with the lively idea of these same expressions; and the auditor, with the lively impression of the beauties and errors of music which he is made to hear.[178]

A performer is principally a listener. The keyboardist specifically must learn to listen before he plays, for as Rosen puts it, "the danger of the piano and its glory is that the pianist can feel the music with his whole body without having to listen to it."[179] Mattheson speaks of sensibility as a quality that makes one perceptive in hearing and, by asserting a good melody is "a fine song wherein only single sounds follow one another so correctly and desirably that sensitive souls are stirred thereby,"[180] Mattheson makes plain, with the idea of "sensitive souls," that no matter how beautiful a tune may be, the listener will always remain unmoved if he possesses no sensibility.

Heinrich Christoph Koch further divides listeners into three groups according to the levels of sensibility they possess. There are those who own "neither ear nor heart for the effect of music"; those who remain unlikely to be affected because they have already been "overpowered by a definite sentiment or passion"; and those who are receptive to the music with hearts "open to every beautiful sentiment" and both souls and nerves attuned accordingly.[181] Daniel Gottlob Türk, who believes "the final and indispensable requisite for good performance…is without doubt a personal and genuine feeling for all the emotions and passions which can be expressed in music," considers teaching a student who cannot feel a waste of time:

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[177] See Henry Irving's "Preface" to *Paradox*, xv-xvi.
[178] Rousseau, *A Dictionary of Music*, 359.
[179] Rosen, *Piano Notes: The Hidden World of the Pianists* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 19.
[180] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 307.
[181] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 145-46.

> …even the most industrious or conscientious teacher will hardly be able to teach a student who is by nature without feeling. There are persons who are so apathetic that even the most moving compositions make little or no impression on them. For, in accordance with the laws of Nature, they can never achieve good performance. They may play with some expression but this is not their own feeling but a borrowed one, or a kind of mechanical limitation, just as when a trained bird whistles his little piece either better or worse according to whether his master has whistled it better or worse for him.[182]

In Fanny Burney's *Cecilia*, where Cecilia was carried away by Gaspare Pacchierotti's performance in the opera *Artaserse*, sensibility denotes musical receptivity of both the performer and the listener. Pacchierotti's "affecting repetition" of *sono innocente* charmed the audience with "plaintive and beautiful simplicity." "Always either sweet or impassioned," his voice delivered the words "in a tone of softness, pathos, and sensibility." But sensibility as said does not just belong to the performer but also the listener. Captivated by the singing, an old gentleman in the audience "sighed so deeply" during the songs as he became "wholly absorbed in listening." Cecilia was "struck by his uncommon sensibility to the power of music" and watched him "whenever her mind was sufficiently at liberty to attend to any emotions but its own."[183]

In *Memoirs of Dr. Burney* (1832), Fanny also recalls her father praising Pacchierotti as a singer whose "feeling and sentiments were uncommon." "When his voice was in order," Charles Burney opined, "…there was a perfection in tone, taste, knowledge, and sensibility, that my conception in the art could not imagine possible to be surpassed."[184] Writing on behalf of her father to Samuel

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[182] Daniel Gottlob Türk, *School of Clavier Playing* [1789], trans. Raymond H. Haggh (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 358. Of course, the idea that the performer must also possess hearing perceptivity is not an understanding unique to the 18th-century. Like Koch, the 20th-century pianist Josef Lhevinne has made a similar classification of piano students in terms of their musical sensitivity. Lhevinne argues there are those "born with a sense of the beautiful in sound," those who do not have but may develop it by hard work and experience in listening to pianists with a beautiful tone, and those who simply do not possess such ability. Echoing Türk's view, Lhevinne remarks bluntly on the last group: "If you are tonally deaf to lovely sound qualities there is very little hope of you." See Josef Lhevinne, *Basic Principles in Pianoforte Playing* (Dover: New York, 1972), 17.

[183] Fanny Burney, *Cecilia*, vol. 1, 100.

[184] Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 2, 116.

Crisp, Fanny also stated concerning the musical sensibility of the Italian soprano castrato Vito Giuseppe Millico: "It was his own sensibility that excited that of his hearers; it was so genuine, so touching!"[185] In his dedication to the King in Burney's Handel book, Johnson also states that for musical pleasure to be "truly elegant," "science and nature must assist each other." He further argues that "a quick sensibility of melody and harmony is not often originally bestowed; and those who are born with this susceptibility of modulated sounds are often ignorant of its principles, and must, therefore, in a great degree be delighted by chance." He then praises the King for his combination of "instinctive emotion" and "rational approbation" that allows a full appreciation Handel's music.[186]

Sensibility as Artistic Goal: C.P.E. Bach and Haydn's Aim to "Touch the Heart"

C.P.E. Bach had never categorized his musical style as *empfindsamer Stil* or *Empfindsamkeit*, but he writes in *Versuch*: "A musician cannot move others unless he too is moved." He explains,

> He must of necessity feel all of the affects that he hopes to arouse in his audience, for the revealing of his own humour will stimulate a like humour in the listener. In languishing, sad passages, the performer must languish and grow sad. Thus will the expression of the piece be more clearly perceived by the audience.[187]

C.P.E Bach's words, that "a musician cannot move others unless he too is moved," exhibit a philosophical flavor that echoes with Burke's writing on sympathy as, as highlighted earlier, "the process by which we enter into the concerns of others; that we are moved as they are moved." As Maria Bania and Tilman Skoworneck point out, however, Bach's advice exemplifies primarily the importance of affective communication in the mid-18th-century musical culture of *Empfindsamkeit*. Focusing on the performer's "rhetorical act of transporting listeners into specific passions or affections via music," 18thcentury music writers follow the concern of the classical theorists of rhetoric, that is, the need for orators to arouse feelings within themselves to move their audience to experience the same feelings.[188] Sulzer, for example, argues one can "only express that which he himself keenly feels."[189]

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[185] Ibid., 29.

[186] Ibid., 386-87. See also Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th, and June the 3d, and 5th, 1784: In Commemoration of Handel* (London: T. Payne and G. Robinson, 1785), v.

[187] C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell (London: W. W. Norton & Co, 1974), 152.

Sulzer considered stirring the beholder's sensibility the goal of all fine arts. The fine arts "must provide him with a moderate degree of sensibility" and "must sometimes stimulate one's sensibilities to the same degree as one's dominant temperament in order of them to be effective." He emphasizes, "A well-ordered sensibility of the heart is thus the most fundamental goal of the fine arts."[190] He then proposes two artistic ways to arouse sensibility of which the first, like C.P.E. Bach's, is derived from Horace's maxim:

> The fine arts have two ways of unleashing man's sensibilities. One way is to follow Horace's dictum,[191] that in order to move someone, you should be moved yourself. The other is the animated depiction or performance of something by which sensibilities may flow forth. Whoever will arouse pity must bring an object of pity before our eyes in the most animated manner. Practically all kinds of poetry follow one or the other of these two ways. Both the epic poet and the playwright can stimulate our sensibilities in a way that is so vivid, so strong and admirable, that our hearts are fully moved.[192]

To stir one's sensibility is to move and touch one's heart. The heart, for many musical contemporaries, is the site of sensibility. Karl Ludwig Junker argues music fosters love through "a soft *Empfindsamkeit* to which it inclines the heart." Music enlivens the "innate, delicate *Empfindsamkeit*" that dwells within human hearts and this *Empfindsamkeit* according to him goes beyond *Empfindlichkeit* which primarily denotes aural sensitivity.[193] Johann Adam Hiller, too, asserts music can move the heart by awakening sentiments:

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[188] See Maria Bania and Tilman Skowroneck, "Affective Practices in Mid-18th-century German Music-making: Reflections on C. P. E. Bach's Advice to Performers," *Early Music* 48/2 (2020): 193-203.

[189] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 51.

[190] Ibid., 29-30.

[191] As Thomas Christensen points out, "Horace's exhortation to affective empathy was a mainstay of German *empfindsam* aesthetics." Horace's original famous maxim states, "Si vis meflere,dolendum est primum ipsi tibi" (If you would have me weep, you must feel grief yourself). See Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 31, n.4.

[192] Ibid., 31.

[193] Translated by and quoted in Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility," 264-65. Originally from Karl Ludwig Junker, *Über den Werth der Tonkunst* (Bayreuth and Leipzig: 1736), 76.

> Music has secret accesses to the heart… There are sentiments which are better felt than expressed… We are so unnoticeably, so gently moved by them, that we do not know what we are sensible of, or better, that we can give no name to our sentiment. This feeling of the tones is unknown to us, but it arouses in us pleasure, and that is enough.[194]

Both C.P.E. Bach and Haydn believe the ultimate goal of music is to touch the heart of the listener. Both consider songful, melodic beauty the primary agent through which one's heart can be touched. C.P.E Bach states,

> My chief effort, especially in recent years, has been directed towards both playing and composing as songfully as possible for the clavier, notwithstanding its lack of sustaining power... It seems to me that music primarily must touch the heart, and the clavierist never can accomplish that through mere bluster, drumming, and arpeggiating, at least not in my opinion.[195]

Haydn, according to Dies, had a similar approach to "touch the heart":

> Haydn's initial aim (this much follows from his vocal compositions) was always first to engage the intellect by a charming and rhythmically right melody. Thus he secretly brought the listener to the ultimate aim: to touch the heart in various ways…[196]

Haydn's emphasis on the melody echoes with the instruction of Mattheson who, quoting a theologian of Strasbourg, argues "melody alone move hearts with its noble simplicity, clarity, and distinctness in such a way that it often surpasses all harmonic articles."[197] Both Haydn and Mattheson stress the importance of composers learning the art of singing. Mattheson contends the composer must grasp the nature of singing even if he lacks a beautiful voice, for singing is "so particularly innate with man."[198] Similarly, Haydn laments that many musicians have refused to learn singing and turned singing into a lost art. Instruments, instead of songs, have in his eyes dominated the musical world.[199]

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[194] Translated by and quoted in Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility," 262. Originally from Johann Adam Hiller, "Von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik," *Historisch-kritische Beytriige* I (1754-55), 523.
[195] Quoted in Newman, "Emanuel Bach's Autobiography," *The Musical Quarterly* 51 (1965): 372.
[196] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 124-25.
[197] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 306.
[198] Ibid., 257.

Sensibility as Haydn's Personality and Persona

While stirring the sensibility of the listener's heart was Haydn's compositional goal, sensibility may also be studied as the composer's personality and persona. In recent Haydn scholarship, sensibility has been attended to as both a personal character and a musical persona of the composer. James Webster, for example, suggests Haydn's sensibility is "so central a component of his musical personality that by and large it has not even been recognized as such." [200] He distinguishes Haydn's sensibility from his "earnestness." While Haydn's earnestness concerns "the grand and lofty" and "religious feeling" that is especially celebrated in the liturgy, Haydn's sensibility, argues Webster, pertains to "relations between individuals, whether in private, or in social situations such as the ones Haydn described."[201] Dolan and Head, on the other hand, suggest Haydn's sensibility fostered in him sympathetic feelings that impacted his choices of poetry, religious faith, personal relationships, musical values, and even the way he told his life story.[202] Sisman focuses on Haydn's "compositional sensibility," stating that it is "strikingly attuned to the natural world."[203]

As Webster has noted, while Haydn's wit has been discussed much more often as a natural character of his, his sensibility has not been explored as much. Schulenberg observes that with C.P.E. Bach, "wit is as much a part of his musical personality as is *Empfindasmkeit*."[204] Perhaps the opposite can be said about Haydn — that sensibility is as much a part of his musical personality as wit. Personality surely differs from persona; Edward T. Cone defines a persona as the "experiencing subject of the entire composition, in whose thought the play, or narrative, or reverie, takes place — whose inner life the music communicates by means of symbolic gesture."[205] Despite the distinctions between personality and persona, however, a complete separation between the two may be problematic. While Haydn's music is often known for a witty persona, Webster argues, Haydn as a person is also often perceived as humorous.[206] Webster's observation echoes with the view of Wayne C. Booth who contends persona does not necessarily live as a separate entity from one's personality, for "though the author can to some extent choose his disguises, he can never choose to disappear."[207]

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[199] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 61.
[200] James Webster, "Haydn's Sensibility," *Studia Musicologica* 51/1-2 (2010): 25.
[201] Ibid., 16.
[202] Dolan and Head, "Idea.," 158.
[203] Sisman, "Nature," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia,* ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 237-240 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 240.
[204] Schulenberg, "Carl Phillip Emmanuel Bach," 195.
[205] Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 94.

The 18th-century writers also seem to believe sensibility, as a personal disposition of the composer, can be traced in music. Sulzer argues C.P.E Bach's sonatas reveal the composer's quick and flexible sensibility:

> A large number of easy and hard keyboard [i.e. clavichord] sonatas by our Hamburg Bach show how character and expression can be brought to the sonata. The majority of these are so communicative that one believes [himself] to be perceiving not tones but a distinct speech, which sets and keeps in motion our imagination and feelings. Unquestionably, to create such sonatas requires much genius [and] knowledge, and an especially adaptable and alert sensibility.[208]

Haydn's biographers have also accentuated the different manifestations of Haydn's sensibility with accounts that present the composer as a man of benevolence. Dies speaks of Haydn's "tender character and love of his fellow men" that made him love Mozart like a son. During the farewell dinner prepared for Haydn's departure to London on December 15, 1790, tears "welled" from the eyes of both Mozart and Haydn.[209] Griesinger remarks that when Mozart passed away the next year in 1791, Haydn mourned "with deep emotion and tears in his eyes" and proclaimed: "Mozart's loss is irreparable. I shall never in my life forget his clavier playing. It touched the heart!"[210]

Tears and weeping are central to the various portrayals of Haydn as a man of sensibility. Haydn is said to have, in St. Paul's Church in London, "wept like a child" over the singing of four thousand children which he described as "full of devotion and innocent."[211] During the concert hosted by the Society of

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[206] Webster, "Haydn's Sensibility," 17.
[207] Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 20.
[208] Quoted in Newman, *Sonata in the Classic Era*, 24.
[209] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 120.
[210] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 56.
[211] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 154.

Amateur Concerts in the University Hall on March 27, 1808, where Haydn's *The Creation* was performed, the composer was again touched and wept. After hearing a performance of the songs of Heinrich von Collin and Carpani presented personally to him by Baron von Spielmann and Magdalena von Kurzböck, Haydn was "much-moved":

> …[Haydn] could no longer control his feelings; his sore-pressed heart sought and found relief in an outburst of tears. He had to take a bracer of wine to restore his fainting spirits. Despite this Haydn remained in such melancholy humour that he had to go away at the end of the first part. His departure overpowered him altogether: he could barely speak and could express only with intermittent, weak words and gestures his deepest thanks, and his warmest wishes for the well-being of the assembly of musicians and of their art in general. Deep emotion was to be read in every face, and tearful eyes accompanied him as he was borne off all the way to the carriage.[212]

On May 26, 1809, six days before his death, Haydn was also found weeping in his bed when a French officer named Sulimi visited him to sing the tenor aria from the second act of *The Seasons*.[213]

Johann Friedrich Reichardt had also recounted Haydn's affectionate and teary manners during his last visit to Haydn's apartment on November 30, 1808:

> …I was really taken aback and (I may honestly say) ashamed when the old hero opened his eyes wider — they still have an animated sparkle — and said: "Reichardt? A — man! Where is he?" I had just come in, and with outstretched arms he called to me from across the table: "Dearest Reichardt, do come! I must embrace you!" With that he kissed me, pressing my hand tightly and convulsively, then ran his thin hand three or four times over my cheeks, saying to the others: "What pleases me is that the — artist also has such a good honest face." I sat down beside him and retained his hand in mine. He looked at me for a time, deeply affected, then added: "Still so fresh! Alas, I have put too great a strain on may powers — already I am altogether a child" — and wept bitter tears. The ladies were about to interrupt in order to spare him. "No, let me go on, children," the dear old man exclaimed; "this does me good; these are in reality tears of joy over the man beside me; he will fare better."[214]

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[212] Ibid., 178.

[213] Ibid., 193.

[214] J.F. Reichardt, "From *Briefe geschrieben auf einer reise nach Wien* [1810]," in *Source Readings in Music History: The Classic Era*, ed. and trans. by Oliver Strunk, 154-166 (London: Faber, 1981), 157.

When Reichardt was about to leave, Haydn stopped him and insisted to share with him his many private collectables. He held Reichardt's hands firmly and kissed him repeatedly, pressing him to visit at least once a week.[215]

Sensibility as Signified Quality

If Haydn's tears render him a man of sensibility, then his tears can be regarded as a signifier of his sensibility. Sensibility, in other words, is a quality that can be signified. However, in topic theory — a musical branch of semiotics that foregrounds the relationship between the signifier and the signified — sensibility has become a name of a signifier rather than a signified. Yet if codes, as Monelle asserts, signify each other between "literature and society" and "reading and life" in specific historical-cultural contexts,[216] then sensibility should not be treated so much as a style or a topical label but a disposition, one extolled in the 18th century, that could be signified through various visible or legible gestures. In addition to tears, the sigh may also be treated as a signifier in both social and musical contexts that signals sensibility. More specifically speaking, however, it signifies a sensibility that feels deeply and often mournfully.

The aesthetic of fantasia or simply the act of improvising may also be regarded as a signifier of sensibility. Improvising, particularly when done at the clavichord, was perceived as an act of private sensibility in the 18th-century. In *Musikalische Rhapsodien* (1786), Christoph Friedrich Daniel Schubart captures the sentimental scene where a keyboardist is found improvising on the clavichord in the evening. Improvisation, together with images like the clavichord and gestures like tears, have all become here indicators of sensibility:

> Sweet melancholy, languishing love, parting grief, the soul's communing with God, uneasy forebodings, glimpses of Paradises through suddenly rent clouds, sweetly purling tears…behold player, all this lies in your clavichord. Therefore, pine not, when you improvise by the light of the moon, or refresh your soul on summer nights, or celebrate the evenings of spring; ah, then pine not for the strident harpsichord. See, your clavichord breathes as gently as your heart.[217]

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[215] Ibid., 158.

[216] Monelle, *The Sense of Music*, 19.

[217] Quoted in Hanns Neupert, *The Clavichord*, trans. Ann P.P. Feldberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 48. Originally from Christoph Friedrich Daniel Schubart,

Peter Schleuning's observation that the free fantasia became "the central species of musical *Empfindsamkeit* in Germany (c. 1750-1780)" further strengthens the idea that the fantasia or the act of improvisation on the clavichord signifies sensibility. He argues,

> The many accounts from that period of brilliant, trance-like, "enrapturing" improvisations on the ideal instrument of *Empfindsamkeit*, the clavichord — many hours long, without order and formal proportions — before a circle of ecstatic friends, tossed about from one emotion to another and dissolving in tears show that the free fantasia was the ideal manifestation of the contemporary cult of feeling and ingenuity…[218]

Schleuning's periodization of *Empfindsamkeit* may appear problematic especially since the fantasia most frequently associated with C.P.E. Bach's connection with *Empfindsamkeit* is *Fantasia* in F-sharp minor H.300, known also as "C.P.E. Bach's *Empfindungen*," which was written in 1787. However, his emphasis that the fantasia manifests perfectly the 18th-century cult of feeling complements the view that the fantasia can be regarded as a signifier of sensibility. But the fantasia or the act of improvisation, in foregrounding a swift change of mood and musical materials, reveals not merely the depth but also the quickness and adaptability of one's sensibility. That sensibility also denotes one's capability to feel quickly is sometimes overlooked, but as Johnson states in his dictionary, sensibility is also defined as "quickness of sensation" and "quickness of perception."[219]

Monelle, while acknowledging that the 18th-century writers did not treat *Empfindsamkeit* as a style, maintains there is a "true style of *Empfindamkeit*." "The cliché of the appoggiatura" in Monelle's view is the particular basis of the topic of *Empfindsamkeit*. When associated with distress and pain, this appoggiatura as a sigh-like iconic topic is sometimes called *pianti*.[220] His ideal of the "true style of *Empfindamkeit*" nonetheless covers not only the sigh-like

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Musikalische Rhapsodien (Stuttgart: Buchdrukerei der Herzoglichen Hohen Carlsschule, 1786).

[218] Peter Schleuning, *The Fantasia II: Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, trans. A. C. Howie (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1971), 8.

[219] Johnson, *Dictionary*, 305.

[220] Monelle, *The Sense of Music*, 69.

appoggiatura but also the keyboard fantasia — exactly the two “signifiers” mentioned:

> *Empfindsamkeit*…seems to have its home in instrumental music, in particular the keyboard fantasias of C.P.E. Bach. The formula always resolves a dissonance and is always stressed; that is, it is an *appoggiatura*. It seems to recall an unwritten recitative procedure, the insertion of an appoggiatura in emotional phrases; an example is given from a *fantasia* in the *Musikalisches Vielerleuy* of 1770… It shows a series of *pianti,* each dissonant, ending with the recitative formula of a falling fourth. In this very chromatic passage, all figures are minor seconds. Elsewhere, major seconds alternate freely with minor, often keeping the figure within the mode. This is the true style of *Empfindsamkeit*...[221]

In Allanbrook’s topical definition of *empfindsamer Stil*, one also finds the sigh and the disruptive *fantasia* aesthetic mingling with each other. *Empfindsamer Stil*, she writes, is “as much a recognisable, codified topos as any other — characterized by stops and starts, an accumulation of sigh motives, and other signs of the communally recognised personal.”[222] As pointed out earlier, too, *Empfindsamkeit* and *fantasia* in topical studies are often lumped into the same group with much ambiguity. Perhaps such convoluted relationships can be untangled when theorists choose to clarify that while the former is a quality that can be signified by the latter and other gestures such as the sigh, the latter and the sigh-like appoggiatura can be seen as signifiers of the former.

In sentimental fictions, characters also often display tears and sighs that indicate their sensibility. Fanny Burney’s Camilla, for example, found herself “dissolving in the soft tears of the tenderest sensibility, according to the quick changing impulses of her natural and lively, yet feeling and susceptible character.”[223] She behaved as one with “looks of softest sensibility.”[224] Yet many more behaviors may also signify a fragile sensibility in this body of literature. Cheyne, for example, considers stuttering and speechlessness symptoms of sensibility:

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[221] Ibid., 70.

[222] Allanbrook, *The Secular Commedia: Comic Mimesis in Late Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Mary Ann Smart and Richard Taruskin (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 195.

[223] Fanny Burney, *Camilla*, vol. 3, 326.

[224] Fanny Burney, *Camilla*, vol. 5, 326.

> Those who stutter, stammer, have a great Difficulty with utterance, speak very low, lose their Voice without catching Cold, grow dumb, deaf, or blind, without an Accident or an acute Distemper; are quick, prompt, and passionate; are all of weak Nerves; have a great Degree of Sensibility; are quick thinkers, feel Pleasure or Pain the most readily, and are of a most lively imagination.[225]

In *Camilla*, sensibility radiated through another character, Indiana. The young Melmond who fell in love with her saw her not only as a personified but also a deified sensibility. Praising her as "divinity," Melmond exclaimed, "she is beauty in its very essence! she is elegance, delicacy, and sensibility personified!"[226] Melmond himself also showed signs of sensibility as one whose "temptation was too strong for his impassioned feelings to withstand." Infatuated by Indiana, he cried out — in fractured syntax — with blushing:

> O fairest…fairest and most beautiful of all created beings! Can I resist — no! this one, one effusion — the first and the last! The sensibility of your mind will plead for me — I read it in those heavenly eyes — they emit mercy in their beauty! they are as radiant with goodness as with loveliness! alas! I trespass — I blush and dare not hope your forgiveness.[227]

For Fanny Burney, Mrs. Delany also gave a human form to sensibility with her visible, sprightly features despite her great age. "Sensibility here was the characteristic of the composition," she remarks about Mrs. Delany. She delineates Delany's glowing appearance: "Untamed by age, unexhausted by calamity, it still crimsoned her pale cheeks, still brightened, or dimmed her soft eyes, as sorrow and joy touched her still sensitive heart." It was also sensibility that prompted Delany to receive her guests "with an ardour as animated as that of her little niece, and nearly as youthful."[228]

How sensibility may be signified and signaled, however, is not to be confused with how sensibility may be stirred and stimulated. The conflation of the two is precisely why having a "musical style of sensibility" is problematic, for if stirring the listener's sensibility is the goal of music in the culture of *Empfindsamkeit*, then to compress sensibility into a checklist of musical figures or plans is to ignore the complexity and richness of both music and the discourse of sensibility. Yet since those who recognize this problem, as stated in the beginning of the chapter, are tempted to expand the stylistic features of sensibility infinitely, thereby turning sensibility into just another word for expressiveness, it is perhaps more fitting to simply regard the sigh topic and the fantasia as 18th-century signifiers of sensibility while abandoning the agenda to turn sensibility into a musical style.

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[225] Cheyne, *Malady*, 104-105.
[226] Fanny Burney, *Camilla*, vol. 1, 242.
[227] Ibid., 339-40.
[228] Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 3, 92.

Sensibility as Culture

Sensibility has been periodized and studied by scholars from different fields as a historical age, movement, force, wave, impulse, phenomenon, and culture. German literary and music historians have labelled *Empfindsamkeit* as a period covering c. 1760-1790.[229] Georg Jäger's finding also shows turn-of-the-century German writers had named, after Sterne's success, the 1770s, 1780s, and early 1790s as *die empfindsame Periode*, *die sentimentale Periode*, and *die Periode der Empfindelei* respectively.[230] In English literature, the "Age of Sensibility" has been used to denote roughly the second half of the 18th century. This age according to Northrop Frye marks the transition between the "Augustan" age and the "Romantic" that anticipated William Wordsworth.[231] Christopher C. Nagle, on the other hand, prefers approaching sensibility as a force. "If, as Janet Todd has claimed, 'the cult of sensibility was largely defined by fiction form the 1740s to the 1770s,'" he argues, "then I would argue that Sensibility gains life as a more broadly dominant cultural force as its influence spreads throughout all major genres in the years following its cultish development."[232]

Despite the tendency to treat *Empfindsamkeit* as a stylistic designation for C.P.E. Bach's keyboard music, musicologists today recognize sensibility largely as a literary import from England. *Empfindsamkeit*, remark Bruce Alan Brown and Daniel Heartz, was "part of a wider European literary and aesthetic phenomenon" originated from the British.[233] Webster describes sensibility as a "dominant social and aesthetic impulse during Haydn's adult lifetime…stimulated in the English 'cult of feeling.'"[234] Much attention has also been given to the flourishing of the cult of sensibility in operas since Mary Hunter's pioneering study on Carlo Goldoni's adaptation of *Pamela* as *La buona figliuola*, an opera buffa set by Niccolò Piccinni in 1760.[235]

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[229] See Head, "Fantasia and Sensibility," 268.

[230] Quoted in Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility," 263. Originally from Georg Jäger, *Empfindsamkeit und Roman: Wortgeschichte, Theorie und Kritik im 18. und frühen 19, Jahrhundert. Studien zur Poetik und Geschichte der Literatur*, Bd. 11 (Stuttgart u.a.: Kohlhammer, 1969), 35.

[231] Northrop Frye, "Towards Defining an Age of Sensibility," *Northrop Frye's Writings on the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Book*, ed. Imre Salusinszky, 7-15 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 7.

[232] Christopher C. Nagle, *Sexuality and the Culture of Sensibility in the British Romantic Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 4.

Yet it is precisely also because of this British literary root of sensibility that some have questioned the legitimacy of classifying sensibility as a musical-stylistic notion. Berg, for instance, suggests that *empfindam Stil* is ultimately a myth invented to form a musical parallel to the genre of sentimental fictions.[236] However, Gerhard Sauder has argued that the attempt to identify England as sensibility's center is itself a flawed one, for France, England, and Germany all exhibited distinct historical manifestations of sensibility.[237] France, he observes, consisted of two phases of sensibility. The first emphasized tenderness, "the sensibility of the soul," and exalted the feeling of pity and amour. The second focused on an "innate sensibility" that concerned natural sociability and morality which, in the 1750s, was reduced to its biological, physical component. In England, sensibility was adored by poets between 1740 and 1770, but after the success of Richardson and Sterne, it gradually degraded into a negative quality by 1800.[238] Finally, in Germany, *Empfindsamkeit* began as *Zärtlichkeit*, that is, tenderness. The tendency was widespread in the 1760s and became a "fashionable sickness" in 1773. However, it declined around 1785 and became outdated by 1790. A second wave of interest in Sterne emerged around 1795, but sensibility had then already lost its moral value.[239]

Barker-Benfield's *Culture of Sensibility* (1992) popularizes the idea of studying sensibility as a culture. Culture, as Raymond Williams states, is "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language," but fundamental to culture are the concepts of human development, civilization, and cultivation.[240] To examine sensibility as a culture, then, is to observe how it served as a collective and progressive cultivation of emotional responsiveness manifested and reinforced through a range of social behaviors and artworks that interacted with each other. The leading figures of the 18th century were au fait with the different understanding and expressions of sensibility outside their fields. Mattheson, for example, participated in the translation of Richardson's *Pamela* (1740).[241] A patient and friend of Cheyne who printed Cheyne's book, Richardson might have also borrowed the doctor's nerve paradigm when he was writing his novels.[242] Diderot, too, admired Richardson. *Éloge de Richardson* attests his adoration for the sentimental author.[243] He absorbs Richardson's plot-elements and techniques in *La Religieuse* which was completed in 1780 but not published until 1792, but as James Fowler observes, "the atheist in Diderot would never accept the Puritan in Richardson."[244] Works like *La Religieuse* also, as Anne C. Vila states, borrow clinical language about sensibility and reveal the *philosophe*'s interest in medical knowledge that might solve his confusion about sensibility.[245]

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[233] Brown and Heartz, "Empfindsamkeit," 190.
[234] Webster, "Haydn's Sensibility," 17-18.
[235] See Mary Hunter, "'Pamela': The Offspring of Richardson's Heroine in Eighteenth-Century Opera," *Mosaic* 18/4 (1985): 61-76.
[236] Berg, "The Keyboard Sonatas of C.P.E. Bach," 17.
[237] Sauder, "Sensibility," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Michel Delon, 1212-18 (London: Routledge, 2013), 1212.
[238] Ibid., 1214.
[239] Ibid., 1216.

In 1773, Hume also commended Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* as the "best book that has been written by any Englishman these thirty years."[246] Burke likewise wrote a glowing review for this novel:

> The faults of an original work are always pardoned; and it is not surprising, that at a time, when a tame imitation makes almost the

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[240] Raymond Williams, "Culture," in *Keywords*: *A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fourth Estate, 1976), 87-89. According to Williams, *culture* was passed into English by the French around the early 15th century as a word that denotes the tending of natural growth in husbandry. The implication of this term was extended later, until the late 18th century and the early 19th century, to the meaning of a process of human development. In Germany, *culture,* first spelled as *Cultur* in the 18th century and *Kultur* in the 19th century, served as a synonym for civilization in two ways: it spoke of a "general process of becoming civilized or cultivated" and described the "secular process of human development" from the Enlightenment historians' standpoint.

[241] Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility," 258.

[242] See Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 7.

[243] See Diderot, "*Éloge de Richardson [1762],"* in *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot*, vol. 5, ed. J. Assezat, 211-23 (Paris : Garnier Frères: 1875-77).

[244] James Fowler, "Diderot's 'Anxiety of Influence': '*Le Fils naturel*,' the '*Éloge de Richardson*' and '*La Religieuse*,'" *Diderot Studies* 34 (2014): 76.

[245] Anne C. Vila, "Sensible Diagnostics in Diderot's *La Religieuse*," *MLN* 105/4 (1990), 775.

[246] Quoted in James Chandler, "The Novelty of Laurence Sterne," in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, vol. 2, ed. Peter Garside and Karen O' Brien, 109-128 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 110. Originally from Hume to William Strahan, 30 January 1773, *The Letters of David Hume,* vol. 2, ed. J.Y.T. Grieg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 269.

> whole merit of so many books, so happy an attempt at novelty should have been so well received.[247]

Haydn also demonstrated familiarity with the characteristics of sentimental novels as a man of letters. Laurel E. Zeiss thus calls Haydn "a man of feeling, one familiar with the language of *Empfindsamkeit*, sensibility."[248] His adoption of many dashes, exclamations, and broken sentences are evident in a letter dated February 9, 1790, written to Marianne von Genzinger: "Well, here I sit in my wilderness – forsaken – like a poor waif – almost without any human society – melancholy – full of memories of past glorious days – yes! past alas! – and who knows when these days shall return again?"[249] Haydn was also a dedicated reader of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert. He owed a complete collection of Gellert's works including *Life of the Swedish Countess of G**** (1747), sometimes considered a "weak imitation" of *Pamela*. His library also consisted of works such as Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry*, Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, and Smith's *Moral Sentiments*.[250] Sarah Day-O'Connell's recent study on Haydn's canzonettas based on the poetry of Anne Hunter, the wife of the surgeon John Hunter, also suggests that the composer, with his musical references to body parts, sighs, and death, was acquainted with the medical side of sensibility and femininity.[251]

What the 18th-century Englishmen called sentimentality was initially the German *Empfindsamkeit*; Johann Joachim Christoph Bode translated Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* in 1769 as *Empfindsame Reise*, thereby equating *empfindsam* to the English sentimental.[252] But the deterioration of the culture of sensibility eventually led to the decline of the word sentimentality. The sentimentalists corrupted a "natural" virtue that was supposed to serve others into an artificial act that promoted self-absorption and not sympathy. Thomas Keymer compares the "sentimental" as commonly used today since the decline with Sterne's original "sentimental":

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[247] Quoted in Chandler, "Novelty of Laurence Sterne," 110. Originally from Burke, review of *Tristram Shandy, Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politicks, and Literature, of the Year 1760* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), 247.

[248] Laurel E. Zeiss, "Correspondence and Notebooks," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia,* ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 70-74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 71.

[249] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 96.

[250] See Maria Horwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's Library," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman, 395-461 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) for the complete list of books in Haydn's library.

[251] Sarah Day-O'Connell, "The Composer, The Surgeon, His Wife and Her Poems: Haydn and the Anatomy of The English Cazonetta," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6/1 (2009): 77-112.

[252] Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility," 263. Originally from Jäger, *Empfindsamkeit und Roman*, 19.

> "Sentimental" is now almost invariably a pejorative usage. But by talking in these terms (of feeling as a sign of the virtuous heart, and as a tool for inculcating philanthropy), Sterne indicates the very respectable status of sensibility in eighteenth-century thought.[253]

Jerome McGann distinguishes sensibility from sentimentality in this way: "Sensibility emphasizes the mind in the body, sentimentality the body in the mind."[254]

Sensibility as Force of Enlightenment and Romanticism

Although sensibility was a quality cherished by many Enlightenment thinkers, the conventional impression that sensibility and reason oppose or even eliminate each other has reinforced the label "the Age of Reason" that marginalizes the role of sensibility in the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment thinkers might not have called their era the "Enlightenment," but they did see themselves as participants of the advancement of humanity, of which the essence can be summarized in Kant's definition of "Enlightenment" in 1784. "Enlightenment," states Kant, "is man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity" — and immaturity is "the inability to use one's own understanding without the guidance of another."[255] In this case, then, sensibility ought to be viewed even more as a central element of the Enlightenment, for it was held by many as a disposition that informed one's understanding. Stephen Gaukroger has argued that a major development in 1680-1760 was "not the triumph of 'reason'" but rather "a simultaneous elevation of the standing of natural philosophy and the beginning of a serious questioning of the connection between natural philosophy and reason." What really emerged, he writes, was "a new conception of natural philosophy, one in which, to a significant extent, sensibility took over the role previously occupied by reason."[256]

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[253] Thomas Keymer, "A Sentimental Journey and the Failure of Feeling," in *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, ed. Thomas Keymer, 79-94 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 83.

[254] McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 7.

[255] See Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment? [1784]," in *What Is Enlightenment?: Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions*, ed. James Schmidt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 58-64.

Sensibility was a vital part of the Enlightenment and despite its degeneration, it survived and continued to be redefined by the Romantics. Rousseau's statement in *The Confessions* (1782), that "I felt before I thought: this is the common lot of humanity,"[257] encapsulates a romantic inclination that was carried forward to what is often called "Romanticism." Romanticism in the literary sphere, argues Nagle, is fundamentally built on the ideological conceptions of sensibility: "What is most distinctive about the literature we call Romantic might be the use to which it puts Sensibility." Romanticism, he asserts, is "nothing more — and certainly nothing less — than a later stage within a Long Age of Sensibility extending from the late seventeenth century through the 19th century."[258] Nicholas Lloyd likewise proposes that the discourse of sensibility lingered in early 19th-century novels as a core ideological component. It incited new ways of articulating private feeling which shaped one's selfhood. "Sensibility in the Romantic novel, then," he writes, "demands a rethinking of Romantic selfhood in terms of a more public and sociable Romanticism."[259]

In musicology, similar observations can be found. Irving Godt, who holds *Empfindsamkeit* as an 18th-century musical style, argues that sensibility is the very source of Romanticism:

> …the real roots of Romanticism [are] not in some morbid aberration of Classical style, but rather in *Empfindsamkeit* — a style with avowedly romantic intent, one which grows quite naturally out of the Baroque aim of moving the passions... Classical style flourishes, it is true, in an emotional climate somewhat cooler than the of later romanticism, but not cooler than that of the *empfindsamer Stil.*[260]

Seeing Romanticism musically as a continuation of sensibility, however, presents another problem that once again destabilizes the premise that

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[256] See Stephen Gaukroger, *The Collapse of Mechanism and the Rise of Sensibility: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1680-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010), 3-4.

[257] Rousseau, *The Confessions* [1782], trans. J.M. Cohen (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953), 19.

[258] Nagle, *Sexuality and Culture of Sensibility*, 3-4.

[259] Nicola Lloyd, "Sensibility, Enlightenment and Romanticism: British Fiction, 1789-1820," PhD. Diss., Cardiff University, 2013, 298.

[260] Irving Godt, "Style Periods of Music History Considered Analytically," *College Music Symposium* 24/1 (1984): 40.

Empfindsamkeit functions as a musical topic. One issue with a transfer of 18th-century topics to Romantic music, as Agawu points out rightly, is a "dislocation of the signifier from the signified." "While the morphology of various topics is retained by Romantic composers, their conventional association is displaced," he observes. "Thus, one way of describing the Classic-Romantic relationship is in terms of a morphological continuity and a referential discontinuity."[261] However, if sensibility is a quality not only admired in the 18th century but also continued and signified in Romanticism in more expansive ways, what lies in sensibility is perhaps then not so much a morphological continuity and a referential discontinuity but rather the opposite: a referential continuity and a morphological discontinuity. Schulenberg's observation on the legacy of C.P.E Bach's so-called *empfindsam* works highlights precisely this problem of a morphological rather than a referential discontinuity. According to Schulenberg, these works under the name of *Empfindsamkeit* kept the composer's name alive during the 19th- and early 20th- centuries because they "were thought to have anticipated and even directly influenced the emergence of Romantic style." However, "it is hard to find concrete musical parallels between the music of Bach and, say, Mendelssohn, and at any rate the *empfindsam* works represent only a fraction of Bach's output."[262]

One sees a similar pattern in the literary sphere. Fanny's novel *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, published in 1814, testifies that sensibility continued to thrive as a romantic force despite its decline in the late 18th century. A woman of "charmed sensibility,"[263] Ellis takes pleasure in readings works by authors ranging from the "accomplished Boileau," the "penetrating Pope," the "tenderly-refined Racine" to the "all-pervading Shakespeare." Admired for her tones, intelligence, understanding, and feeling, she "had peculiar attractions, from the excess of sensibility with which she received even the smallest attentions."[264] Sensibility also persists in presenting itself in good sense and sympathy in the "generous, noble, and dignified" Gabriella who is "exalted in her opinions, and full of sensibility."[265] However, while sensibility in this story continues to manifest its moral and nervous sides, it also displays many more emotional and violent symptoms. The novel suggests a robust sensibility can be irritated easily unto indignation: “In minds of strong sensibility, arrogance rouses resentment more quickly even than injury.”[266] To Juliet, “suspension of sensibility could not, while there was life, be long allowed” and consequently,

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[261] Agawu, *Playing With Signs*, 137.

[262] Schulenberg, "Carl Phillip Emmanuel Bach," 194.

[263] Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer; Or, Female Difficulties*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814), 229-30.

[264] Ibid., 257.

[265] Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer*, vol. 4, 146.

> the violence of her emotions, at its return, almost burst her bosom. What a change! Her feet tottered; she sustained her shaking frame against the Admiral; she believes herself in some new existence! Yet it was not unmixed joy that she experienced; there was something in the nature of her deliverance repulsive to joy; and the perturbed and tumultuous sensations which rushed into her breast, seemed overpowering her strength and almost shattering even her comprehension; till she was brought back painfully to herself…[267]

Put another way, sensibility was not a broken strand of ideology, for there was a continuity in terms of its desire to elevate feelings. As Botstein puts it, during the 19th century, “the eighteenth-century heritage of a link between sentiment and music was adapted to define instrumental music as the medium through which the self-consciousness of one’s imagination and a condensed but realistic emotional journey could be triggered.”[268] Botstein further argues that in the music of Liszt and his contemporaries, “the debt to an eighteenth-century culture of the sympathetic creation of sensibility through music was profound.”[269] To achieve the purpose of stirring up feelings and emotions, the Romantic composers, while still having the options to draw on elements like the sigh-like appoggiatura and *fantasia* materials, adopted a far more extensive, inclusive, and even radical approach to convey passions and arouse emotive responses. With this in mind, the next six chapters shall explore musically the different dimensions and the changing manifestations of sensibility as revealed in a selection of Haydn’s keyboard sonatas.

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[266] Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer*, vol. 3, 317.

[267] Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer*, vol. 5, 353.

[268] Botstein, “A Mirror to the Nineteenth Century: Reflections on Franz Liszt,” in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs, 517-566 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 524.

[269] Ibid., 525.

CHAPTER 2

IMPROVISATORY, SELF-FORGETFUL, AND SELF-REFLEXIVE SENSIBILITY: HOB. XVI: 46

In the summer of 1771, Goethe's Werther fell in love with Lotte and her delightful clavichord playing. "I don't know anything to surpass dancing," said Lotte, "and whenever I have something on my mind, I start strumming some contredanse on my clavichord (which is always out of tune) and then all goes well."[270] Described by German poets as "sympathetic," "sweet-toned," "tender," and "lovely,"[271] the clavichord to the Germans was, in the words of Arthur Loesser, an instrument that could comfort like a "sufferer's solace" and a "fine aid to a lovesick miss trying to have a good cry in a corner."[272] Werther himself might not play the clavichord, but Lotte's playing was to him a remedy for sorrow:

> She plays a melody on her clavichord with the touch of an angel, so simple, so ethereal! It is her favorite tune, and I am cured of all pain, confusion, and melancholy the moment she strikes the first note. Not one word about the magic power of music in antiquity seems to me improbable when I am under the spell of her simple melody. And how well she knows when to play it, at the moment when I feel like blowing out my brains. The confusion and darkness of my soul are then dispersed, and I can breathe more freely again.[273]

Lotte "took refuge" in the clavichord, too, when she had to face the heartbroken Werther as Albert's bride. Goethe writes,

> She feels how I am suffering. Today her glance went straight to my heart. I found her alone … She took refuge at the clavichord, and her soft voice breathed out a melody to the accompaniment of her playing. Never have I seen her lips so charming; it was as if they opened thirstily, to drink in the sweet tones which welled up from the instrument; as if only a mysterious echo reverberated from her innocent mouth…I bowed my head and vowed: "Never shall I dare to kiss those lips, on which heavenly spirits hover." And yet – I shall – Ha! and then die to atone for my sin – sin?[274]

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[270] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* [1774], trans. Elizabeth Mayer and Louise Bogan (New York: Random House, 1971), 25.

[271] See Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 155-57.

[272] Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* [1954] (New York: Dover, 1990), 106.

[273] Goethe, *Werther*, 47.

[274] Ibid., 188.

But the clavichord did not just console the lovesick Werther — and Lotte was not the only one who "took refuge" in the clavichord. Haydn, since the 1750s when he was still residing in a dark little room in Michaelerhaus, would find shelter in his clavichord at times of loneliness. Dies writes,

> The bitter loneliness of the place, the total lack of anything to bolster up an idle spirit, and his altogether miserable situation led him into meditation often so gloomy that he was obliged to take refuge in his worm-eaten old clavier [clavichord] or his violin to play away his cares. Once these thoughts grew so gloomy, or more probably hunger plagued him so strongly, that he determined against all inclination to enter the Servite Order just to have enough to eat.[275]

Griesinger likewise recalls that whenever Haydn played his "old worm-eaten" clavichord in his "wretched little attic room without a stove" in Michaelerplatz, he would forget temporarily about his poverty and "envied no king his lot."[276] Haydn himself described this period of poverty during the 1750s as one of "wretched existence."[277] But such pitiful scenes did not come to an end as Haydn became more famous. Even in 1787, Gaetano Bartolozzi observed that Haydn's only reward for his service was "a pittance which the most obscure Fidler in London would disdain to accept, together with a miserable apartment in the barracks, in which are his bed and an old spinnet, or clavichord."[278]

Yet the clavichord did not only console but also participated in Haydn's compositional routine. As Dies recounts, Haydn would improvise daily on the clavichord:

> At eight Haydn had his breakfast. Immediately afterwards Haydn sat down at the clavier and improvised until he found some ideas to suit his purpose, which he immediately set down on paper. Thus originated the first sketches of his compositions… About four o'clock he returned to musical tasks. He then took the morning's sketches and scored them, spending three to four hours thus.[279]

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[275] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 90-91.
[276] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 11-12.
[277] Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 398.
[278] Ibid., 599.
[279] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 204.

The clavichord's consoling and improvisatory capacities in Haydn's case ultimately cannot be separated, for Haydn found his consolation largely from improvising on this instrument. Moreover, the same sensitivity and subtlety that make the clavichord ideal for improvisation are the same qualities that make it suited to offer commiseration. Such special qualities have led several scholars to identify the clavichord as Haydn's preferred keyboard type for the sonatas he wrote primarily for private pleasure from the late 1760 to 1771 or even 1780.[280] This chapter explores the improvisatory state of Haydn during this period by examining the attributes of the clavichord and its role in Haydn's life while focusing on the first two movements of Hob. XVI: 46 in A-flat major (c. 1768-1771),[281] paying attention to specifically both the fantasia aesthetic and rhetoric in *Allegro moderato* and the modes of self-forgetfulness and self-reflexivity in *Adagio*.

"Living Clavier": Haydn and the Clavichord

Haydn encountered the "first six sonatas" of C.P.E. Bach exactly when he was still playing on his clavichord in Michaelerhaus during the 1750s.[282] "I did not come away from my clavier till I had played through them," he recalls, "and whoever knows me thoroughly must discover that I owe a great deal to Emanuel Bach, that I understood him and have studied him diligently."[283] Haydn studied C.P.E Bach's *Versuch*, which further expanded his understanding of improvisation and the clavichord, in 1765.[284] The zeal for keyboard improvisation nonetheless was not only shared by Haydn and C.P.E. Bach. In 1752, F.E. Unger invented a so-called "fantasy machine" to record keyboard improvisation mechanically on a paper roll after seeing a similar product in Royal Academy in London in 1747. C.P.E. Bach might have even seen a German version of this machine. Nevertheless, composers were ultimately disappointed by its stiffness of action and lack of expression. They reckoned mere printed notations could not capture the essence of improvisation. As Davis Yearsley puts it, the composers desired a "thinking machine" that could match the "elasticity of the human faculties," but such a project was deemed impossible.[285]

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[280] See, for example, Howard Pollack, "Some Thoughts on the 'Clavier' in Haydn's Solo Claviersonaten," *The Journal of Musicology* 9/1 (1991): 84-85; Derek Adlam, "Haydn and Mozart Sonatas," *Early Music* 34/2 (2006): 337; A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 168; and A.P. Brown, "Haydn, Joseph," in *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Igor Kipnis, 239 (Abington: Routledge, 2007), 239. Haydn's preference nevertheless does not mean he had chosen to limit his earlier sonatas to the clavichord, for 18th-century composers and publishers would often include all three keyboard types in printing music. When Johann Gottfried Eckard published his six sonatas in Paris around 1763, for example, he wrote in the *Avertissement* that he "sought to render this work equally suitable to the harpsichord, the clavichord, and the fortepiano" and that the notated dynamic markings "would have been useless if I had only the harpsichord in view." See Johann Gottfried Eckard, "Avertissement" from *Six Sonates Opus 1, Deux Sonates Opus II, Menuet d'Exaudet avec des Variations* (France: Editions J.M. Fuzeau, 1992).

[281] See Somfai, *Joseph Haydn*, 357.

[282] According to Charles Burney, Bach's Silbermann clavichord was the composer's favorite instrument. See Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands and United Provinces*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (London: T. Becket, 1775), 269-70.

[283] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 11-12.

In describing himself as "a living clavier" to Dies, however, Haydn shows that he had no need of such a machine:

> "I must have something to do — usually musical ideas are pursuing me, to the point of torture, I cannot escape them, they stand like walls before me. If it's an allegro that pursues me, my pulse keeps beating faster, I can get no sleep. If it's an adagio, then I notice my pulse beating slowly. My imagination plays on me as if I were a clavier." Haydn smiled, the blood rushed to his face, and he said, "I am really just a living clavier."[286]

"In instrumental music," Haydn claimed, "I generally allowed my purely musical fantasy free play."[287] But such "free play" required an imaginary union with the clavichord. By envisioning himself and the clavichord as one entity, Haydn presented himself as a "thinking-fantasy-machine" with the clavichord functioning like a prosthetic, extended part participating in his improvisational process. Haydn described his improvisatory process again:

> I sat down, began to improvise, sad or happy according to my mood, serious or trifling. Once I had seized upon an idea, my whole endeavor was to develop and sustain it in keeping with the rules of art. Thus I sought to keep going…[288]

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[284] "Chronology," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia*, ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, xx-xxiii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), xxiii.

[285] David Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 183.

[286] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 141.

[287] Ibid., 155.

[288] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 61. Webster describes this account as one of "compositional improvisation." See Webster, "The Rhetoric of Improvisation in Haydn's Keyboard Music," in *Haydn and the Performance of Rhetoric*, ed. Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg, 172-212 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 174.

As Sisman states, the keyboard was "so much the source of Haydn's ideas that he experienced composition viscerally as though he were being played himself."[289] While composers who compose in their heads without any aid of instruments are often admired more,[290] Haydn's habit of composing on the keyboard stands against what Rosen calls the "snobbish idealism that wishes to separate body and mind, and consider the body as inferior to the less material, more ethereal mind."[291]

The clavichord's touch sensitivity invites improvisation and the fantasia as it makes playing with lightness and speediness particularly feasible. The improvisational nature of the clavichord reveals a privatized sensibility and Carl Friedrich Cramer, noting C.P.E. Bach was composing many works for this instrument, once remarked that the composer was risking his reputation for the "rare private pleasure" of clavichord players.[292] The same sensitivity also allows the clavichord to personify a consoler, for it makes subtle shades and a singing tone possible. It is ultimately on the clavichord but not the harpsichord, Mattheson writes, that one can achieve vocality, delicacy, and purity:

> Overtures, sonatas, toccatas, suites, etc., are best and most cleanly brought out on a good clavichord, as on there one can express the art of singing much more distinctly, with sustaining and softening, than on the always equally strong resounding [*nach-klingenden*] harpsichords and spinnets. If one wants to hear a delicate fist and a pure manner, let him lead his candidate to a neat clavichord …[293]

In his dedication of *Twelve Keyboard Sonatas* (1773) to C.P.E. Bach, Christian Gottlob Neefe also states that these sonatas may only be played on the clavichord, for neither the harpsichord nor the pianoforte is "as capable as the clavichord of producing the cantabile and the diverse modifications of tone toward which I guided myself." Even in 1785, he maintained that "the Bach Adagios demand precise knowledge of the modifications of which the clavichord is capable, if they are to be played from the depths of the soul."[294] As Loesser observes, then, while the harpsichord might please, the clavichord was the keyboard that moved in the days when "being moved meant everything."[295]

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[289] Sisman, "Haydn's Solo Piano Music," in *Eighteenth-century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert Marshall, 270-307 (Abington: Routledge, 2003), 270.

[290] Rosen, *Piano Notes,* 14.

[291] Ibid., 12.

[292] Quoted in Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 150. Originally from Carl Friedrich Cramer, review of "Claviersonaten und free Phantasien… Vierte Sammlung," in *Magazine der musik*, vol.1 (1783), 1247.

[293] "Ouverturen, Sonaten, Toccaten, Suiten, &c. werden am besten und reinlichsten auff einem guten Clavicordio herausgebracht / als woselbst man die Sing-Art viel deutlicher / mit Aushalten und adouciren / ausdrücken kan / denn auff den allezeit gleich starck nach-klingenden Flügeln und Epinetten. Will einer eine delicate Faust und reine Manier hören / der führe seinen Candidaten zu einem saubern Clavicordio…" Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: B. Schiller, 1713), 264. Translation my own. Quoted and translated also in Loesser, *Social History*, 21.

Schubart similarly ranks the clavichord above both the harpsichord and the fortepiano, arguing that it alone provides the qualities that adagio movements and "sensitive pieces" require.[296] His clavichord playing was praised by Charles Burney as one with "great delicacy and expression." "His finger is brilliant, and fancy rich," Burney states, "he is in possession of a perfect double shake, which is obtained but by few harpsichord players."[297] A superb clavichordist, Schubart delineates poetically and precisely the peculiar nature of the clavichord:

> This lonely, melancholic, inexpressibly sweet instrument, when it is made by a master, has advantages over the harpsichord and the fortepiano. By means of the pressure of the finger, by the vibration and *Bebung* of the strings, by the strong or gentler touch of the hand, not only can the natural musical colors be determined, but also the *mezzotinto*, the swelling and fading away of sounds, the breathtaking trill melting away under the fingers, the *portamento* or the *Träger*, in a word, all traits are determined from which feeling is composed. Whoever does not like to thunder, rage, and storm; whose heart often and happily bursts into sweet feelings — let him bypass the harpsichord and fortepiano players, but extremely few clavichordists.[298]

Bebung, a feature unique to the clavichord, accentuates the vocality of the clavichord by mimicking human vibrato and forging the illusion of a crescendo and diminuendo on a sustained note. For a clear sounding of *Bebung*, the clavichord according to Türk must possess a full tone that does not die immediately after striking. Türk holds that the clavichord should ideally produce sound that would continue for the value of at least four to six eighth notes in a moderately slow tempo.[299]

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[294] Quoted and translated in Richard Kramer, *Unfinished Music* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2008), 252-54. Originally from Christian Gottlob Neefe, *Dilettanterien* (1785), in L. *Schiedermair*, *Der junge Beethoven* (Leipzig, 1925), 154.

[295] Loesser, *Social History*, 106.

[296] Ted Alan DuBois, *Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's "Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst": An Annotated Translation.* Ph. D. Diss., University of Southern California, 1983, 341.

[297] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London: T. Becket, 1773), 107-108.

[298] DuBois, *Schubart*, 342.

The clavichord not only epitomizes sensitivity but demands it bodily, however, for it makes the fingertip which remains in direct contact with the string the intimate point of susceptive control. Türk thus instructs clavichord players, particularly males, to avoid activities that could make their fingers stiff.[300] Yet the required sensitivity does not merely lie in touching but also listening due to the quietness of the clavichord. This softness of the clavichord also complements the private nature of an inward sensibility. Even nuns would for centuries practice on the clavichord to avoid disturbing others in the dormitories.[301] In addition, in *Bebung*, one must also listen attentively to distinguish the levels of tone, for given the limited dynamic range of the clavichord, excessive pressure on the key can cause the tone to go sharp.

The clavichord was also considered a keyboard type of great pedagogical value, for while the susceptible player makes a clavichord, the clavichord also helps make a susceptible player. C.P.E. Bach argues a keyboard player should always master the clavichord first:

> A good clavichord, except for its weaker tone, shares equally in the attractiveness of the pianoforte and in addition features the vibrato and *portato*... It is at the clavichord that a keyboardist may be most exactly evaluated…Every keyboardist should own a good harpsichord and a good clavichord…a good clavichordist makes an accomplished harpsichordist, but not the reverse…Those who concentrate on the harpsichord grow accustomed to playing in only one colour, and the varied touch which the competent clavichordist brings to the harpsichord remains hidden from them.[302]

C.P.E. Bach shares his father's conviction that the clavichord, being the most effective instrument in expressing the composer's "most refined thoughts," should be regarded as the best keyboard type for both study and private pleasure. According to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, J.S. Bach enjoyed the clavichord the most because the harpsichord "had not enough soul for him" and the piano in his lifetime was “too much in its infancy and still much too coarse to satisfy him.”[303] Türk, too, contends “the clavichord is unquestionably best suited for learning, for on no other keyboard instrument is it possible to achieve finesse in playing as well as on this one.”[304] Burney likewise concludes that children should always learn upon the clavichord or the pianoforte after hearing, in a Mr. L’Augier’s concert, the impressive playing of an eight or nine years old girl who had always practiced on the clavichord. He praises her playing: “All the *pianos* and *fortes* were so judiciously attended to; and there was such shading off some passages, and force given to others, as nothing but the best teaching, or greatest natural feeling and sensibility could produce.”[305]

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[299] Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 16.
[300] Ibid., 21.
[301] Bernard Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 142.
[302] Bach, *Versuch*, 36-38.

The northern and central German specifically adored the clavichord, yet the clavichord’s popularity in northern and central Germany by no means suggests the instrument was not enjoyed in Vienna. Besides Haydn, Mozart also owned a clavichord that remains on display in Mozarts Geburtshaus today. Mozart’s wife Constanze wrote about this clavichord in her diary:

> My dear clavier, upon which Mozart had played so often and had composed Die Zauberflöte, La clemenza di Riito, the Requiem and Eine Freimaurer Canttate: to receive it; how very happy I am about it, I can barely describe it. Mozart had so loved this clavier, and for that reason I love it doubly.[306]

Mozart’s father Leopold owned a clavichord in at least as early as 1769.[307] On October 9, 1777, he reported to his son that the clavichord of Herr Pfeil “has not got its equal; that the descant sounds like a violin being played softly, and the bass notes like trumpets.”[308] Mozart also, according to a letter he wrote on October 14, 1777, met with the Arch-Magistrate von Langenmantel in Augsburg where he had “the honour of playing for about three quarters of an hour upon a good clavichord of Stein’s” with improvisation.[309] Mozart described another

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[303] Johann Nikolaus Forkel, from “Bach the Clavier Player [1802],” in *Reading in History of Music in Performance*, ed. and trans. Carol MacClintock, 373-77 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 377.
[304] Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 19-20.
[305] Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, vol. 1, 282-83.
[306] Quoted in W. Richard Shindle, “Mozart,” in *The Piano: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert Palmieri, 236-243 (New York: Routledge, 2003), 241.
[307] Anderson, *Letters of Mozart*, vol. 1, 148.
[308] Anderson, *Letters of Mozart*, vol. 2, 537.
[309] Ibid., 460.

Stein clavichord as "an excellent instrument, but covered with dust and dirt."[310] In another letter dated October in the same year, he remarked that he played a sonata and the Fischer variations K. 179 on a "small clavichord" at the Heiligkreuz Monastery.[311] In 1778, Leopold wrote to Mozart again: "If you could find in Paris a good clavichord, such as we have, you would no doubt prefer it and it would suit you better than a harpsichord." He further stated that "I am sorry to hear that the French have not yet altered their taste completely…it is no easy matter to remould a whole nation."[312] Even in 1783, Mozart continued to play the clavichord in Linz, Austria.[313]

Incapable of finer colors, the harsher and brighter harpsichord was, to quote Thomas Tolley, "merely an additional curiosity" for Haydn.[314] While Haydn adored C.P.E. Bach and the German clavichord culture, the German also loved him for his clavier music. Schubart remarks that Haydn was "a favorite of all of German" and "the darling of all connoisseurs by means of his clavier pieces." Haydn's clavier pieces, he writes, "are not only thorough and suited for the instrument, but they distinguish themselves before all others through the unusual beauty of their melodic movements." But by also adding "until 1784" in his comment, Schubart seems to, as Ted Alan DuBois notes, show some doubt about whether Haydn's greatness would continue after 1784.[315] Schubart's concern aligns with the rise of the fortepiano during the early 1780s, which, by 1783, had troubled many clavichord-loving German conservatives including Carl Friedrich Cramer.[316]

Exemplifying the Improvisatory: From Fantasia to Toccata

Improvisatory and fantasia materials reveal a sensibility that is quick to feel. To define *fantasia* is nonetheless a thorny task. The 18th-century writing about *fantasia* has generated dissent about how this term ought to be understood. Leo Treitler argues that the idea of *fantasia*, as an 18th-century genre, has been corrupted by an association with improvisation. Richard Kramer, however, responds by asserting that *fantasia* should be treated as a "spontaneous act whereby ideas that come gradually to mind are at once realized in performance."[317] Drawing on Sulzer's entry "Fantasiren; Fantasie. (Musik.)" in *Allgemeine Theorie*, Kramer contends *fantasia* finds its essence in the inspired moment of its creation:

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[310] Ibid., 462.
[311] Ibid., 495.
[312] Ibid., 781.
[313] Anderson, *Letters of Mozart*, vol. 3, 1281.
[314] Thomas Tolley, "Material Culture," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopedia,* ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 203-207 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 207.
[315] DuBois, *Schubart*, 280-81.
[316] Carl Parrish, "Criticisms of the Piano When It Was New," *The Musical Quarterly* 30/4 (1944): 428-440.

> It is the spontaneity of thought that matters — "like the first sketches of the draughtsman, works of exceptional power and beauty, which could not have been created in a deliberate and collected frame of mind." It is not spontaneity merely for the sake of spontaneity that is valued, but spontaneity as a signifier of the intuitive passion – this *Fülle der Empfindung* — that generates the creative act, distinct from the artifice imposed by reason, that Sulzer celebrates.[318]

Sulzer's inclusion of the fantasy-machine in 1747 in this entry, argues Kramer, also attests that the essence of *Fantasien* lies in the effort to capture the "flight of imagination during the performance." "However we think to define the genre," writes Kramer, "a foundational aspect must be the act of performance." Concerning pre-composed fantasia, he remarks, "…if the fantasia is composed to suggest that it was the product of such a moment of inspired 'improvisation'…then it seems to me entirely appropriate to speak of 'a performance that means to simulate the improvisatory.'"[319]

C.P.E. Bach emphasizes originality and spontaneity in the fantasia. "It is especially in fantasias," he writes, "that those expressive not of memorized or plagiarized passages, but rather of true, musical creativeness, that the keyboardist more than any other executant can practice the declamatory style, and move audaciously from one affect to another." The fantasia, he states, is able to "accomplish the aims of the recitative at the keyboard with complete, unmeasured freedom."[320] A "free" fantasia in his view should be unmeasured and move through more keys than is customary in other pieces which are composed or improvised in meter.[321] However, C.P.E Bach still indicates durations in free fantasias while stressing that in unbarred fantasias, each meter "carries a kind of compulsion within itself'[322] and that the ear demands a "definite relationship in the succession and duration of the chords themselves."[323] Similarly, in Türk's view, *fantasie* as a type of piece can be formed spontaneously or pre-composed and can further be classified as either free or strict:

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[317] Kramer, "Improvisatori. Improvisiren. Improviser…," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73/1 (2016): 5

[318] Ibid.

[319] Ibid. See also Kramer, *Unfinished Music*, 17.

[320] Bach, *Versuch*, 153.

[321] Ibid., 430.

> The *fantasie*, for the most part, is first contrived during the performance, but there are also fantasies which, like other compositions, have already been composed and notated. A *fantasie* is called free when its creator neither holds to its a certain main subject (theme) nor to meter or rhythm (although for some thoughts a meter can be used), when he roams around in his modulations, when he expresses various and often contrasting characters, in short, when he follows his whims completely without attempting to work out a specific plan. Those fantasies are called strict, in which a meter is fundamental, in which there is a greater adherence to the laws of modulation, and in which a greater unity is observed, etc.[324]

Put simply, while improvisation is most aptly understood as a spontaneous act characterized by flight of imagination, the fantasia when treated as a genre may be, while displaying improvisatory features, pre-composed.

Fantasia, as the previous chapter indicates, has also been categorized as a musical topic.[325] Closely related to this categorization are the ideas of the fantasia as an aesthetic and the improvisatory as a rhetoric. The former is stressed especially by Annette Richards who suggests *fantasia* does not need to be viewed rigidly as a genre. Placed somewhere between improvisation and composition, *fantasia*, she argues, may function as a musical aesthetic that destabilizes other genres.[326] In her view, the uniqueness of *fantasia* lies in a "picturesque dialectic between freedom and constraint."[327] Webster, on the other hand, focuses on treating the improvisatory as a rhetoric. He identifies three types of improvisatory rhetoric: 1) "Improvisatory style" such as "written-out passage of a sort that ordinarily would have been indicated by a sign or implied by convention, and in fact improvised: *Eingange,* cadenzas, and so forth"; 2)

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[322] Ibid.
[323] Ibid.,430.
[324] Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 388.
[325] See, again, Head, "Fantasia and Sensibility."
[326] Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 15 and 18.
[327] Ibid., 26.

"General features of style that may seem related to improvisation" such as "passages that resemble (or invoke the topos of) the fantasy or toccata; themes that are constantly varied on their return and *veranderte Reprisen*; movements that break off incomplete and lead *attacca* to the following movements"; and 3) "Improvisatory style as a rhetorical device" including "the impression of excessive freedom, unmotivated contrast, or insufficient coherence; seeming to 'lose one's way'; the unexpected subversion of an apparently stable formal type."[328]

Yet the differences between the fantasia or the improvisatory as an aesthetic and a rhetoric may not always seem entirely clear. For example, characterized by interruption, or, in Ratner's words, "a sense of improvisation and loose structural links between figures and phrases,"[329] *fantasia* often evinces itself in pauses with fermatas that herald unexpected materials. However, this characteristic may be treated as both an aesthetic feature and a rhetorical narrative technique. This feature, which Mark Evan Bonds has called attention to, evokes an irony—an "annihilating humor"—that was perceived as Sterne-like by Haydn's younger contemporaries such as Johann Karl Friedrich Triest and Jean Paul.[330] Hob. XVI: 46's *Allegro moderato* contains some examples that disrupt the listener's expectations in such ironic ways. In mm. 15-17 (Example 2.1) and mm. 89-91, rests with fermatas appear after the dominant lock,[331] abruptly stopping the music before the sweet secondary theme episodes enter in m. 18 and m. 92. Meanwhile, in mm. 23-24 (Example 2.2) and mm. 97-98, trilled dominant sevenths prolonged with fermatas are also, despite the absence of rests, followed by unpredictable moves in the interval of minor seventh: in the former, D-natural makes an absurd leap of minor seventh to E-natural; in the latter, G drops abruptly to A-natural. This type of trilled V^7 with fermata, according to Webster, may be counted as an example of *Eingäng*, a common trait of Haydn's improvisatory rhetoric that can be defined as "a brief embellishment or

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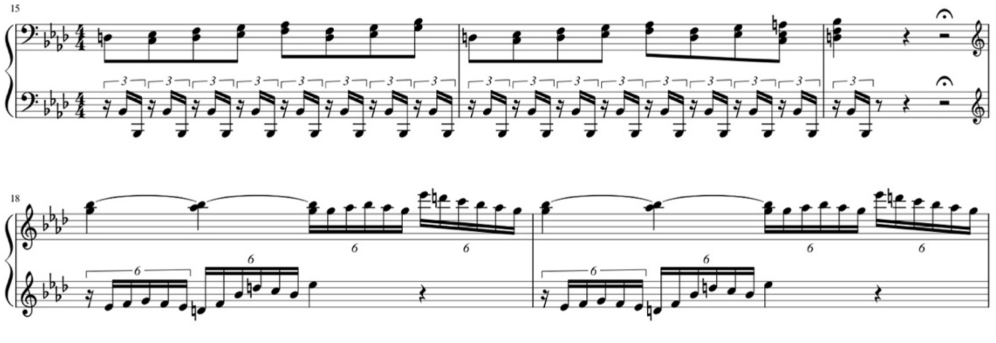
[328] Webster, "The Rhetoric of Improvisation," 175-76.

[329] Ratner, *Classic Music*, 24.

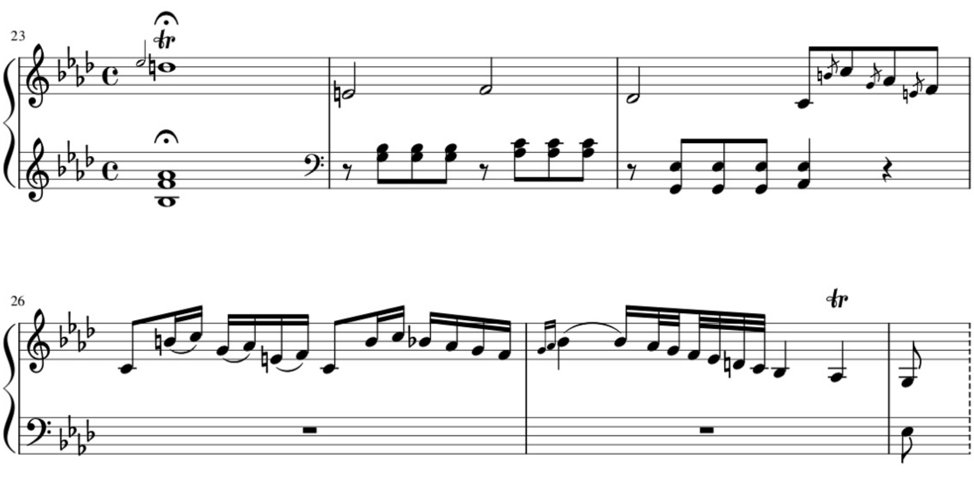
[330] Mark Evan Bonds, "Haydn, Laurence Sterne, and the Origins of Musical Irony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 62-63.

[331] A "dominant lock" denotes a "prolongation of dominant harmony" — "an actual or implied dominant pedal-pointed" that often drives "aggressively toward the MC articulation." See James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 19 and 24.

‘composing-out’ of (usually) a single chord, most often a dominant seventh with fermata, and most often as a preparation or lead-in.”[332]



Example 2.1 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in A-flat major,
Hob. XVI: 46, I, mm. 15-19



Example 2.2 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, I, mm. 23-28

Haydn seems to have absorbed such improvisatory characteristics from C.P.E. Bach, especially since he wrote Hob. XVI: 46 shortly after studying *Versuch* in 1765. “If Haydn ever looked up to any great master as a model,” Charles Burney remarks, “it seems to have been C. P. E Bach: the bold modulation, rests, pauses, and free use of semitones, and unexpected flights of Haydn, remind us frequently of Bach’s early works more than of any other composer.”[333] Burney even argues C.P.E Bach and Haydn were the first composers who ascertained the length of the fermata, which “used to be *ad libitum*,” by specific rests.[334]

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[332] Webster, “The Rhetoric of Improvisation,” 174-76.

[333] Charles Burney, Music Biography Articles from Rees’s *Cyclopædia*, ed. A. P. Woolrich, 2018, 19. Released with a Creative Commons licence, BY-NC-SA.

In *Versuch*, however, C.P.E Bach does not only expound on *fantasia* but also ornamentations and embellishments. A set of ornamentations infused with improvisatory rhetoric which might be inspired by C.P.E. Bach’s teaching appears in *Allegro moderato* in mm. 24-30 (Example 2.3) and mm. 98-104, after the highlighted *Eingäng*. In one single line, Haydn uses four types of ornaments: short appoggiaturas (m. 25), long appoggiaturas (m. 26), a fast slide called a *Schliefer* (m. 27), and trills (m. 27).[335] In mm. 29-30, he throws in two other types of ornaments: turns and acciaccaturas. In *Versuch*, C.P.E Bach remarks that the appoggiatura is one of the most essential embellishments in keyboard music: “They enhance harmony as well as melody. They heighten the attractiveness of the latter by joining notes smoothly together… All syncopations and dissonances can be traced back to them. What would harmony be without these elements?”[336] He also states that the slide makes melodies “flowing.”[337] He considers trills “the most difficult embellishments” and contends “a rapid trill is always preferable to a slow one.” “In sad pieces the trill may be broadened slightly,” he argues, “but elsewhere its rapidity contributes much to a melody.”[338] The turn, meanwhile, “is an easy embellishment which makes melodies both attractive and brilliant.”[339] Bach notices that “this lovely ornament is almost too obliging,” however, and observes that “it fits almost everywhere and consequently is often abused.” Holding the primary function of the turn is to add brilliance to notes, he criticizes the habit of “introducing turns at every slightest instance” that many keyboardists have.[340] Yet Haydn, in these few measures, uses all these ornaments befittingly. The chain of ornamentations rhetorically embellishes, emphasizes, and expands the initial simple triadic F-minor motive unto a full singing phrase (mm. 26-27).

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[334] Charles Burney, John Farey Sr, and John Farey Jr, General Music Articles from Rees *Cyclopædia*, ed. A. P. Woolrich, 2018, 150. Released with a Creative Commons licence, BY-NC-SA.

[335] See also Somfai, *Joseph Haydn*, 78.

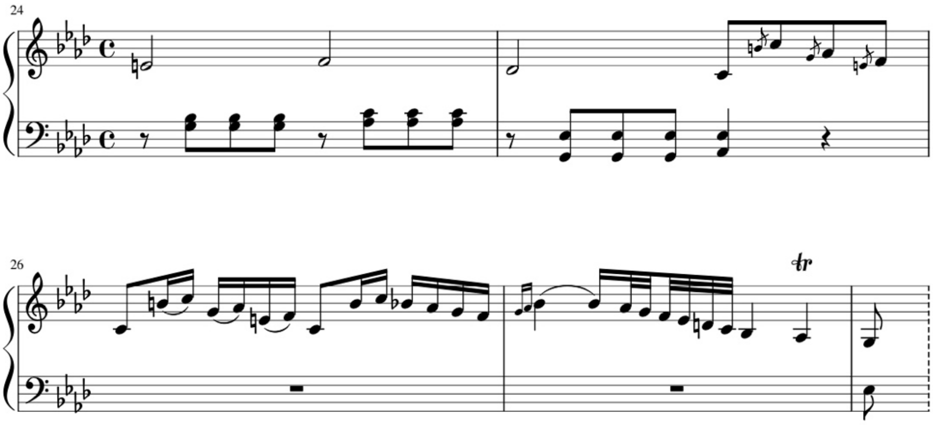
[336] See Bach, *Versuch*, 87.

[337] Ibid., 136.

[338] Ibid., 101.

[339] Ibid., 112.

[340] Ibid., 114.



Example 2.3 Haydn, Hob. XVI:46, I, mm. 24-28

Like Kramer, Webster holds that *fantasia* materials or improvisatory gestures do not always need to be improvised but may simulate the improvisatory or “refer to the idea of improvising.” As part of the improvisatory rhetoric, these gestures, he argues, “transform what might otherwise be ordinary acts of improvisation into a musical topos.”[341] One topos under the branch of fantasy is the toccata which shows two characteristics: first, “lengthy passages of uniform rapid figuration, often arpeggios, most often in second-group ‘expansion sections’ and in developments”; second, the ability to not only invoke the topos of improvisation but “to generate form.”[342] The middle of the development section (mm. 146-170) of Hob. XVI: 52’s finale, Webster remarks, is an example of Haydn’s toccata topos (Example 2.4). In Hob. XVI: 46’s *Allegro moderato* (mm. 49-64) (Example 2.5), however, the developmental section, which may perhaps also be classified as what James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy call a “central action” or a type of “reactive moment” marked by “surging restlessness,”[343] also displays a toccata episode that shares at least seven common features found in Hob. XVI: 52’s finale.

First, while the toccata passage in Hob. XVI: 52’s finale ends on its dominant, G major, on a fermata in a deep register (m. 170) after C minor is tonicized, the toccata passage of Hob. XVI: 46’s *Allegro moderato* ends also on the dominant, C major, in a low register after F minor is tonicized. Second, both prepare the final parts of the developments and the recapitulations. Third, both passages lack stepwise movement, a gesture that may perhaps hinder the animated spirit of the perpetual motion that characterizes the toccata. Fourth, both introduce octaves heavily in the bassline to intensify the musical drive before the passages end. Fifth, both are padded with alternating distributions of notes between two hands; some have suggested that this feature may be a "Scarlattian" compositional technique that Haydn learned through C.P.E. Bach.[344] Sixth, both passages are prefigured or recalled elsewhere in the movements: while a brief recapturing of the passage appears in mm. 271-281 in Hob. XVI: 52's finale, the same type of alternating distribution appears, in Hob. XVI: 46's *Allegro moderato*, in the dominant locks in mm. 15-17 and mm. 89-91. Finally, in each case, the section is preceded and prepared by running descending passages marked by scalewise movement after the primary theme has been reiterated.[345]

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[341] Webster, “The Rhetoric of Improvisation,” 207.

[342] Ibid., 184.

[343] For central action, see Hepokoski and Darcy, *Sonata Theory*, 230.

The fantasia-toccata episode here demonstrates a sort of free impulse with its constant harmonic changes. Nevertheless, it still adheres to a fixed meter with a uniform structure. If the toccata topos does, as Webster argues, fall under the category of *fantasia*, then Ratner's claim that the "rapid mood changes" of *fantasia* oppose "the statuesque unity of baroque music" should then be questioned, for the rapid character changes in this passage do not seem to "thrust against rhythmic control."[346]

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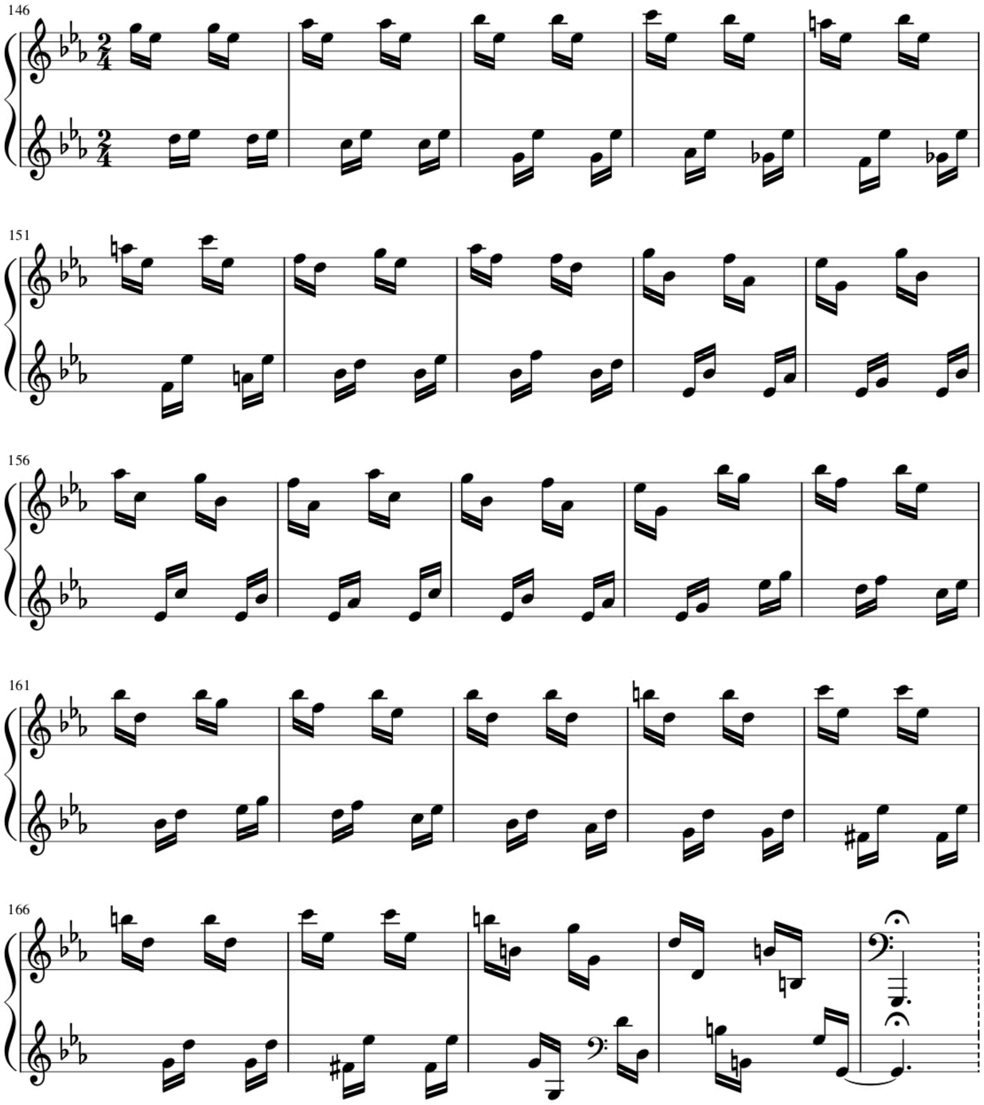
[344] See Federico Celstini, "Die Scarlatti-Rezeption bei Haydn und die Entfaltung der Klaviertechnik in design fruhen Klaviersonaten," *Studien Zur Musikwissenschaft 47* (1999): 95-127.

[345] See mm. 123-145 in Hob. XVI: 52's finale and mm. 39-48 in Hob. XVI: 46's *Allegro moderato*.

[346] Ratner, *Classic Music*, 233.


146
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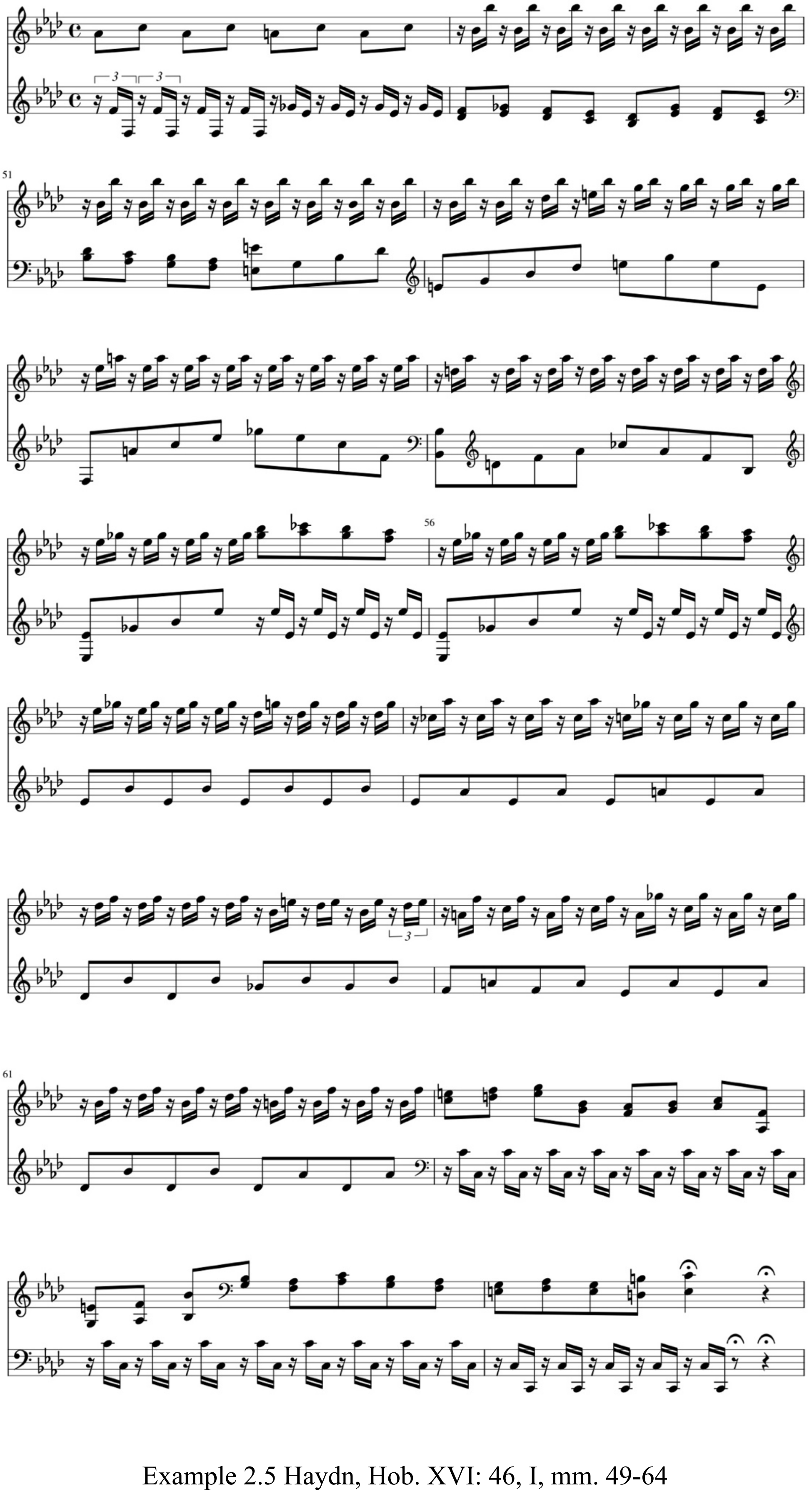
Example 2.4 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in E-flat major, Hob. XVI: 52, III, mm. 146-170



Example 2.5 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, I, mm. 49-64

The improvisatory, according to C.P.E. Bach, not merely surprises but also manipulates the listener's sensibility. In William J. Mitchell's translation of *Versuch*, improvisations and *fantasias* share the ability to manipulate feeling: "It is principally in improvisations or fantasias that the keyboardist can best master the feelings of his audience."[347] But Mitchell and Treitler's "feelings," which was *Gemüthe* in the original German text, has in Kramer's view taken the easy way out, for it misses "the implications of a deeper sensibility, a touching of the inner self." Kramer explicates,

> It is this notion of control, of Bach's performance taking hold of the mood, if not the soul, of this listener, that contradicts any conjecture around subjectivities, whether those of the player/composer or those of his *Zuhörer*.[348]

In the ideal execution of the improvisatory, then, the listeners do not "stand outside" the music as free, independent beings. Rather, they become figures manipulated by the vibration of the keyboard strings as the composer-improviser or the performer-improviser pulls the strings, maneuvering the experience of the audience. As Richards puts it, while the performer acts like the narrator in the novels of Sterne and Jean Paul who changes direction without warning, the listener listens like a Sterne reader who is led "less into a story than into the process of writing a story as she is conducted through the labyrinthine workings of the author/narrator's mind."[349]

Contrapuntal Texture, Chromatic Appoggiaturas, and D-flat Major

An improvising sensibility may be quick and responsive, but when it caresses the tender clavichord, it also bespeaks an unusually gentle and even tranquil temperament as revealed in Hob. XVI: 46's *Adagio*. This *Adagio* has been described by Eva Badura Skoda as "backward in style." Sisman, too, hears in this "surely one of Haydn's most poetic movements in any genre" a "continuous older style."[350] What brings forth such impressions is arguably the "baroque-like" and finely layered contrapuntal texture that, in shifting between three-part and four-part counterpoints, demands heedful listening, sensitive finger control, and careful shaping of voices. The calm primary theme of four measures that opens the movement falls entirely on the left hand sotto voce (Example 2.6). Emanating from the first tonic are two quiet voices: the lower remains still and simple while the upper moves with syncopations and an appoggiatura that prefigures the many more to come. This four-bar theme repeats in m. 5, but it melts into an accompaniment once the submediant emerges softly out of the blue from the right hand, introducing itself as the soprano voice (mm. 5-8). As the fragile voices intersect, they glisten, despite their polyphonic nature, like a monologue of an interiorized self.

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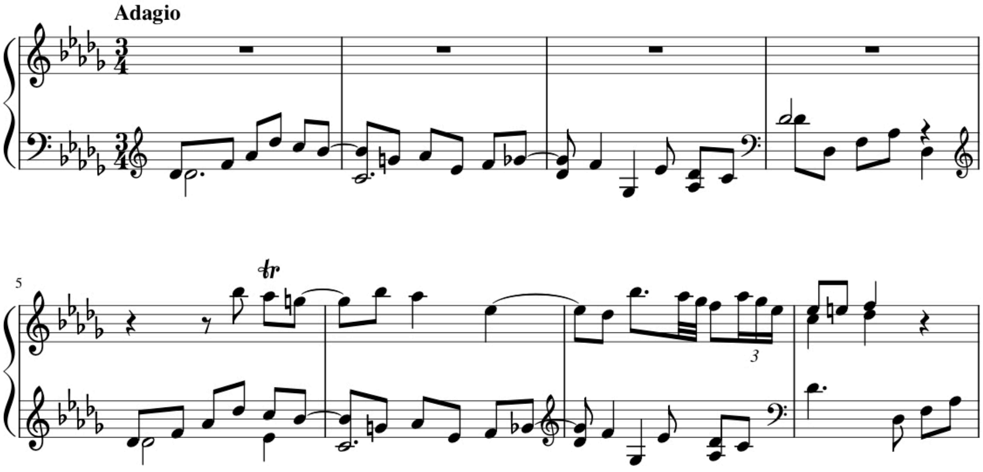
[347] Bach, *Versuch*, 152.
[348] Kramer, "Improvisatori. Improvisiren. Improviser…," 4.
[349] Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 40.
[350] See Eva Badura Skoda, *The Eighteenth-Century Fortepiano Grand and Its Patrons: From Scarlatti to Beethoven* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 352 and Sisman, "Haydn's Solo Piano Music," 278.



Example 2.6 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 1-8

In m. 8, the broken tonic triad in the bass register seems to suggest a repetition of the primary theme reminiscent of m. 1 and m. 5. But, after arriving at the tonic in the treble, it transforms into a transitional material as a F breaks in, in m. 9, from the high register where four appoggiaturas follow one after another (Example 2.7), tenderly emitting sweet melancholy. The appoggiatura, as Joan Benson writes, is especially alluring on the clavichord, for it allows "minuet variations in shading." The soft dissonance on the auxiliary note, resolved smoothly to a consonance, often induces either a "playful shyness" or a "tragic sighing."[351] Even recent psychological studies have corroborated that the appoggiatura, in comparison to other musical devices, provokes tearful responses such as weeping and lump in the throat (but not any anxious behaviors like shivers or a racing heart) much more frequently.[352]

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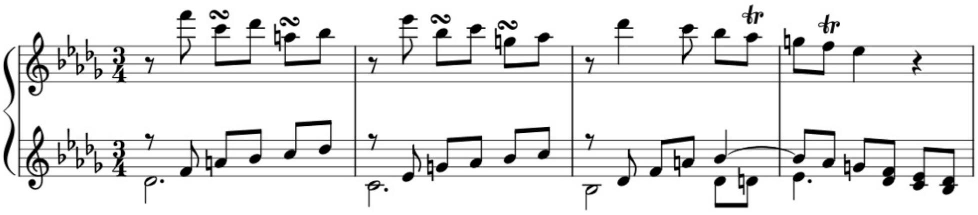
[351] Joan Benson, *Clavichord for Beginners* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 53.

Adorned with embellishments, the sequence of appoggiaturas in mm. 9-10 on the right hand moves down gently while the left hand rises in contrary motion, passing through, in each measure, a chromatic appoggiatura redolent of that in the primary theme in m. 2 and m. 6. In m. 11, the right hand, in a bittersweet vi (b-flat minor), descends delicately in stepwise movement with trills on the passing A-flat while the left hand continues to rise with a chromatic appoggiatura and a three-note rising chromaticism. Trills appear again on the right hand on the passing F as the left hand descends stepwise in m. 12; together, they land on E-flat major which prepares the secondary theme in A-flat major (mm. 13-20).



Example 2.7 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 9-12

Described by Sisman as "a study in expansions, contractions, and reconstituting of the four-measure unit,"[353] the development of *Adagio* (mm. 29-44) continues the primary theme's contrapuntal texture and the recurring use of sentimental appoggiaturas (Example 2.8). Permeated with rich harmonic changes, this section, despite beginning in A-flat major (mm. 29-32), moves to a sorrowful E-flat minor (mm. 33-36) and an even more anguished B-flat minor (mm. 37-42) before returning to D-flat major (mm. 43-44). In the E-flat minor episode (mm. 33-36), immediately after the broken thematic triad in the bass, a poignant harmonic progression N^6/v - v^6 - It^{+6} follows tightly in m. 33. The top voice descends chromatically from a B-natural through a B-flat to an A-natural that makes a dotted melancholic tritone leap to E-flat which is then resolved to D-natural in m. 34.

In the lonesome B-flat minor section in the higher register in mm. 37-42, the alto voice becomes that which restates the thematic line while the soprano sings repeatedly falling minor-seconds, twice from D-flat to C in mm. 37-38 and in mm. 39-40 and from C-flat to B-flat in mm. 40-41. The tenor in mm. 37-39 also moves back and forth in the treble anxiously and chromatically between B-flat and A-natural. Yet, as the B-flat in m. 39 begins to descend step by step according to the D-major scale, the musical tension gradually dissolves as dissonance fades to prepare for the tonicized D-flat major in m. 42. The spirit of the primary theme continues in the last two measures of the development: while the rising chromatic move from G-flat to G-natural to A-flat in the bass in mm. 43-44 recalls the three-note rising chromaticism in m. 8 and mm. 11-12, the G-natural appoggiatura in m. 44 also evokes the ones in m. 2 and m. 6

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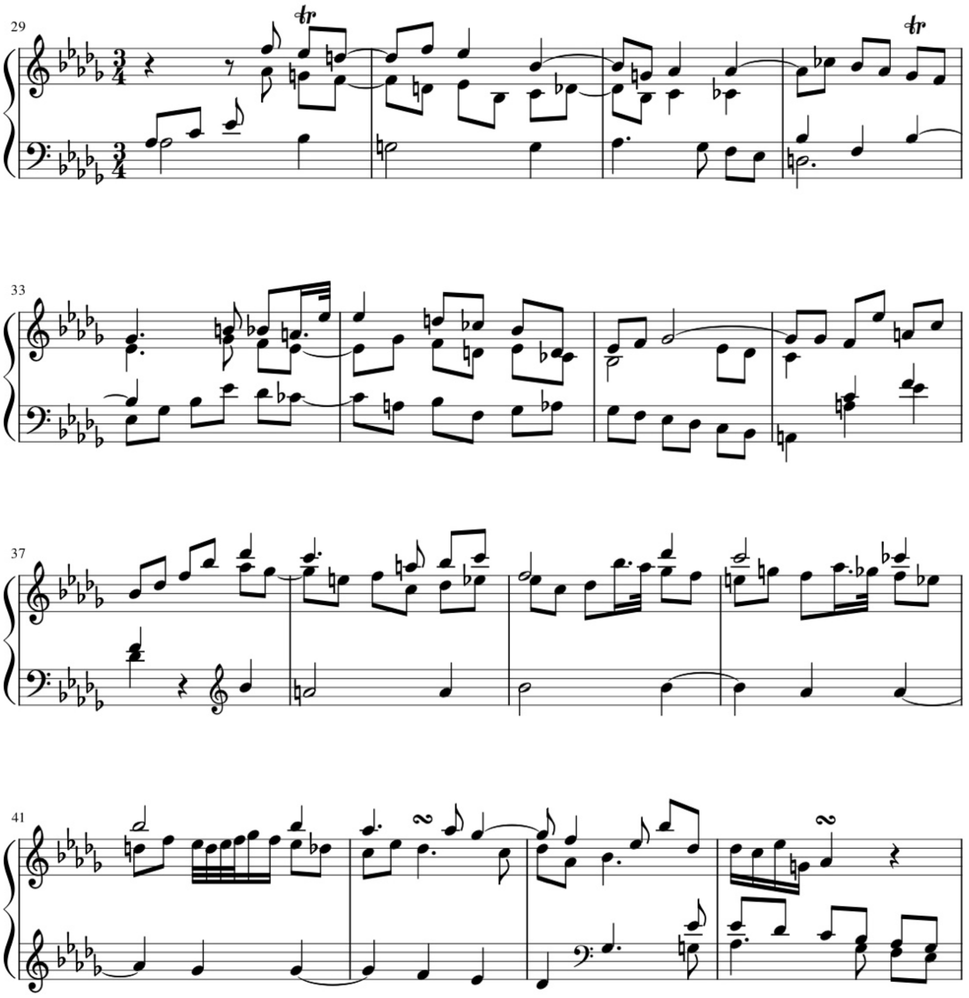
[352] See John Sloboda, *Exploring the Musical Mind: Cognition, Emotion, Ability, Function* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 210.
[353] Sisman, "Haydn's Solo Piano Music," 278.



Example 2.8 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 29-44

Although this *Adagio* as Skoda and Sisman hear it points stylistically back to an earlier epoch, Rosen hears it as a "beautiful" movement that proves Haydn had surpassed the other composers of his time.[354] If the backward-looking contrapuntal texture of this movement is what fosters the impression of an older style, then the forward-gazing beauty that Rosen speaks of is perhaps derived much from the affectionate key of D-flat major that the movement is set in. J.S. Bach did not cover D-flat major in *The Well-Tempered Clavier*. Mozart, too, never wrote any keyboard movement in D-flat major. To write a keyboard sonata movement in D-flat major was a rare act in the late 1760s and the early 1770s. One exception, as Kramer has highlighted, is the *Adagio* from a sonata C.P.E. Bach wrote in 1775 which had remained unpublished until recently. This *Adagio*, Kramer writes, "begins its meditation on an isolated D-flat." As he envisions, the opening D-flats, when conceived on the clavichord, would effuse an exquisite aura:

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[354] Rosen, *The Classical Style,* 146.

> On the clavichord, the inclination of those openings D-flats toward some linguistic expression, however dimly felt, is palpable. On any other instrument, this eloquence is missed…It is the clavichord into which Emanuel Bach withdraws, into its world of near silence, where each tone is an *Empfindung* — expression itself — whose inaudibility only exaggerates its claim to speech… [355]

Although not everyone in the 18th-century believed that each key bears a distinct color or affective property, many including Sulzer held such a view.[356] Francis Hutcheson's comparison between our responses to keys to our reactions to the different modes of human voices also suggests different keys carry different characteristics:

> …The human voice is obviously varied by all the stronger passions: now when our ear discerns any resemblance between the air of a tune, whether sung or played upon an instrument, either in its time, or key, or any other circumstance, to the sound of the human voice in any passions, we shall be touched by it in a very sensible manner, and have melancholy, joy, gravity,

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[355] Kramer, *Unfinished Music*, 34-35.

[356] F. G. Drewis summarizes the late 18th-century debate on keys as follows: "There is now a great controversy between masters of the art. One side — above all Sulzer — maintains that each key has its own character which is very different from that of the other keys. The other side says no, they are all alike; what you believe what you hear is nothing but delusion and deception." See Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* [1983] (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 92. Originally from F. G. Drewis, *Freundschaftliche Briefe über die Theorie der Tonkunst und Composition* (Halle: J. C. Hendel, 1797), 12-13.

> thoughtfulness, excited in us by a sort of sympathy or contagion.[357]

Forkel asserts that "often the whole effect of a composition is only to be attributed to the lucky, perhaps haphazard choice of key."[358] Beethoven, too, criticizes those who think all keys sound the same: "You say it doesn't matter whether a song is in F minor, E minor, or G minor; I call this nonsensical as saying two times two are five." He distinguishes C-sharp from D-flat, contending that the former possesses a harder nature while the latter has a softer character.[359] Beethoven's D-flat major as exemplified in his works nonetheless shows a magnificent side despite its occasional melancholic tone. He incorporates D-flat major into Piano Concerto No. 2 in B-flat major, Op. 19 (1787) and sets the return of the second theme in the recapitulation in *Egmont*, Op. 84 (1809/10) in D-flat major. *Andante con moto* of the "Appassionata" Sonata, Op. 57 (1804/05) and Bagatelle WoO 213, No. 1 (1822) are also composed in D-flat major. During a conversation with Friedrich Rochlitzto, Beethoven even referred D-flat major as the key of Klopstock:

> He [Klopstock] hops about so from pillar to post; and he always begins altogether too much from top to bottom. Always Maestoso, and in D-flat major! Is it not so? Yet he is lofty and he uplifts the soul. When I did not understand him then I made my guess and comprehended more or less. If only he did not want to die all the time! Death comes soon enough to all of us. Well, at any rate, what he writes always sounds well. But Goethe — he is alive and he wants us all to live with him. That is why he can be set to music.[360]

In his notes in the English translation of *The Life of Haydn* (1817) originally by Marie-Henri Beyle known also as Stendhal, William Gardiner described D-flat major as an "awfully dark" key that both Beethoven and Haydn used to write the "sublimest thoughts" for "tragic purposes."[361] Yet he was wise to have removed Haydn's name later in *The Music of Nature* (1832) in which he describes D-flat major: "Awfully dark. In this remote key Beethoven has written his sublimest thoughts. He never enters it but for tragic purposes."[362] If D-flat major belongs solely to the sublime and the tragic, then Haydn surely would have no claim in it. Yet, Haydn's D-flat major is hardly like Beethoven's. It is softer than the "softness" that Beethoven has recognized and shows no maestoso character. The D-flat major of Hob. XVI: 46's *Adagio*, written more than fifty years before Beethoven called it the key of Klopstock, remains a key of intimacy that captures, to borrow Henry Home, Lord Kames' words, "all the different emotions of love, *viz.* tenderness, concern, anxiety, pain of absence, hope, fear, accord delightfully with music." It still conveys a kind of melancholy, but this melancholy is a "slight grief, which requires or admits consolation" instead of a "deep grief, which refuses all consolation, rejects for that reason even melancholy music."[363]

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[357] Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design* [1725], ed. Peter Kivy (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), 87.

[358] Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 87. Originally from Forkel's *Uber die Theorie der Musik* (Gottingen: Vandenhuck, 1777), 30-31.

[359] Anton Felix Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him: A Biography,* ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 396.

[360] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions by His Contemporaries* (New York: Dover, 1954), 126. Originally from Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, *Fur Freunde der Tonkust*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: C. Cnobloch, 1830-32), 356.

One may suggest the differences between the two composers' perceptions of D-flat major resulted partly from their dissimilar personalities. Sometimes, however, key associations may also, as James O. Young suggests, correspond to the changing historical and cultural ideals:

> One author might find a key adapted to the expression of love. Another author might find the same key wholly unsuited to such ends. Their disagreement does not show that attribution of key characteristics is always arbitrary and misguided. Their differences may, rather, be the result of differing views on how love is expressed. In one cultural milieu love may be expressed rather merrily and a pure key would, in such a situation, be suited to the expression of joy. In the context of the early eighteenth century, the practitioners of the *style galant*, who associated love with longing and languor, might have found a somewhat impure key better suited to such ends.[364]

D-flat major in the 18th-century sentimentalism then perhaps resonated as an impure key that encapsulates this longing and languor. The D-flat major of

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[361] Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 174.

[362] William Gardiner, *The Music of Nature* (Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter, 1841), 337.

[363] Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London: A. Millar; Edinburgh: Kincaid and Bell, 1763), 176-77.

[364] James O. Young, "Key, Temperament and Musical Expression," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 9/3 (1991): 241.

Haydn's *Adagio*, quite intriguingly, is also the key of the clavichord's personality. It is, as Schubart describes, "a leering key, degenerating into grief and rapture. It cannot laugh, but it can smile; it cannot howl, but at least it can grimace its weeping. Consequently, one can transfer only unusual characters and feelings to this key."[365] It also exhibits somewhat the feminine and tender facet of sensibility that Jean-Benjamin de Laborde hears. Born two years after Haydn, Laborde perceives the key of D-flat as "soft, devoted to compassion, and even effeminate."[366]

The unfretted clavichord might have been instrumental to the shaping of Haydn's experience of D-flat major also. Both fretted and unfretted clavichords existed in the 18th century, but even though around seventy-three percent of the clavichords were fretted during the first half of the century, the percentage of fretted clavichords decreased to thirty-two percent during the second half of the century.[367] This shift took place partly because fretted clavichords, despite being cheaper, brought many difficulties to those who wanted to tune and play in keys that were beyond two flats or three sharps. Subsequently, those who wanted to tune and play in all keys had to turn to the unfretted clavichord.[368] If Haydn did employ unequal temperament which, according to George Grove, would fashion the affective properties of keys, the distinct key characteristic of D-flat major would have stood out even more.[369] The 18th-century writers did not reach a consensus, however, concerning the effect of unequal temperament. Rousseau considered unequal temperament a primary source of key characteristics while Mattheson saw it only as a secondary cause.[370] In addition to the clavichord, however, the violin, which Haydn's would take refuge in, suggests yet another possibility that might account for the composer's key perception. Since D-flat is just a half step below the open D string and that its scale always requires stopped strings, Haydn might have developed a stronger inclination to hear D-flat major as a veiled key that has a more subdued sound.

In sum, while the contrapuntal texture of *Adagio* might seem to belong to the "past," its atmospheric D-flat major anticipated the "future." Haydn's D-flat major in *Adagio*, with its loveliness tinged with mild melancholy, seems to foreshadow the sweet D-flat major heard in works such as Schubert's Adagio D. 505, Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No.2, Prelude Op. 28 No.15 "Raindrop," and Berceuse Op. 57. It exhibits all the characteristics named by musical writers of the 19th and 20th centuries: W.C. Müller perceives D-flat major as a key that evokes heavenly transfiguration; Hugo Riemann and Ernst Pauer hear D-flat major as "veiled" and "soft"; Paul Mies considers D-flat major a quiet, gentle, and weak key that not only demands moderate to slow tempo but also attracts "swaying and floating figures" in the accompaniment.[371] Haydn's D-flat major in Hob. XVI: 46, in this sense, seems to testify to E.T.A. Hoffman and Donald Francis Tovey's claim that Haydn was truly an "early romantic" — even during the late 1760s.[372]

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[365] DuBois, *Schubart*, 432.
[366] Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 70.
[367] Brauchli, *Clavichord*, 145-46.
[368] Ibid., 161-63.
[369] George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 2 (London: MacMillan, 1880), 54.
[370] Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 54 and 72.

The *Empfindam* State of Absorption and Self-Forgetfulness

An improvising sensibility is also an *empfindsam* one that may be absorbed into a state of self-forgetfulness. Lockean theories suggest men as sensible beings are conscious of their mind and body, but sensibility has never been mere consciousness, for even men of little sensibility can be aware of their existence. A person of sensibility who is caught up in his feelings, on the contrary, may "lose" consciousness of his consciousness, that is, forget his existence. This state of self-forgetfulness is not a loss of consciousness that faints in a schmaltzy state of sensibility. Rather, it resembles what Marc-Antoine Laugier terms as "the philosopher's negligence" or what Michael Fried describes as a self-forgetting mode of obliviousness to one's appearance and surrounding.[373] Indeed, the state of "absorption" Fried detects as a new conception of painting in mid-18th century — in which not only the personages in the painting appear absorbed in their feeling and activities but the beholder of the painting also becomes absorbed — may be compared to the state attained during the experience of fantasising on the clavichord: while the improviser "loses" himself and becomes oblivious to his surroundings, the mesmerised listener of the fantasia also becomes unconsciously manipulated and is absorbed into the improviser's playing. Paradoxically, then, while one may argue the fantasia aesthetic as Richards suggests draws attention to "the act of interpretation, of reading itself, and threatens to undermine, and renders impossible, the naive engagement of sensibility"—and that its humorous-ironic mode "draws attention to the artifice of the work encouraging a free critique of the act of listening,"[374] the experience of the fantasia may also be understood as one that does not augment consciousness but rather, in diminishing self-consciousness, produces no theatricality but reinforces mutual absorption into the music. Even Kant later in his work of physiological anthropology evokes the keyboard fantasy as an example to explain what he calls *obscure representations,* namely representations of which we are not conscious.[375]

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[371] See Hugo Riemann, *Analysis of J.S. Bach's Wohltemperirtes Clavier Vol. 1*, trans. J.S. Schedlock (New York: G. Schirmer, 1893), 15; Paul Mies, *Der Character der Tonarten: Eine Untersuchung* (Cologne and Krefeld: Staufen, 1948), 31-32; and Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, 8 and 159-160.

[372] See E.T.A. Hoffman, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana; The Poet and the Composer; Music Criticism*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 97 and Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Concertos and Choral Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 349.

[373] Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 13.

C.P.E. Bach, according to an account of Charles Burney, demonstrates how a transcendental and self-forgetful state could be reached on the clavichord during a private playing at his home in Hamburg in 1770:

> After dinner, which was elegantly served, and cheerfully eaten, I prevailed upon him to sit down again at the clavichord, and he played, with little intermission, till near eleven o'clock at night. During this time he grew so animated and possessed that not only played, but looked like one inspired. His eyes were fixed, his lower lip fell, and drops of effervescence distilled from his countenance.[376]

This state of self-forgetfulness forgets the self but not the feeling. So focused on the music or the person that he sympathizes with, the feeling being's awareness of himself gradually diminishes.

This forgetting of the self nonetheless does not generate a loss of control. Rather, it comes with self-control — but it is a self-control that has been automatized, for the moment one seeks to control self-control, one is no longer fully forgetting himself. Such a master is rare on the stage, but he is one who turns the listener into a “victim” of absorption. As Richter puts it, the true artist, with no room for anything else except for the music, forgets both the audience and himself but not the music and the feeling: “The music subjugates you and does not leave place for idle thoughts. Now one forgets everything — not only the public but himself as well.”[377] Diderot, despite concerned about sensibility’s power to ruin one’s performance, has proposed a similar state of self-forgetfulness in which one can be a man of sensibility without losing self-control and judgment. In this rare state, one has his eyes fixed on another “type” and thus no longer concerns himself:

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[374] Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 26.

[375] See Kant, *Anthropology*, 24-25.

[376] Charles Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (London: T. Becket, 1773), 270.

> The man of sensibility is too much at the mercy of his diaphragm to be a great king, a great politician, a great magistrate, a just man, or a close observer, and, consequently, an admirable imitator of Nature — unless, indeed, he can forget himself, distract himself from himself, and, with the aid of a strong imagination, make for himself certain shapes which serve him for types, and on which he keeps his attention fixed, with the aid of a tenacious memory. Only then it is not his own self that is concerned; it is another’s mind and will that master.[378]

In Hob. XVI: 46’s *Adagio*, such self-forgetful states are musically invoked when the recapitulation arrives after the dark developmental episodes in E-flat minor and B-flat minor. Despite the peaceful tonic in m. 45, however, this recapitulation shows strangely, as Sisman observes, a denial of “recapitulatory feeling.”[379] It begins with a recomposed primary theme (mm. 45-51) (Example 2.9) that restates the theme only up to the point when the G-natural appoggiatura is reconciled unto A-flat.[380] The A-flat, in absorbing the chromatic appoggiatura, also gently absorbs the improviser into a blissful realm where a soft echo of thirty-second triplet utters yet another G-flat appoggiatura that is resolved to an A-flat. The subsequent eighth rest reveals, despite its short length, a desire to linger. In a state of self-forgetfulness, it temporarily and unconsciously prevents the recapitulation from proceeding.

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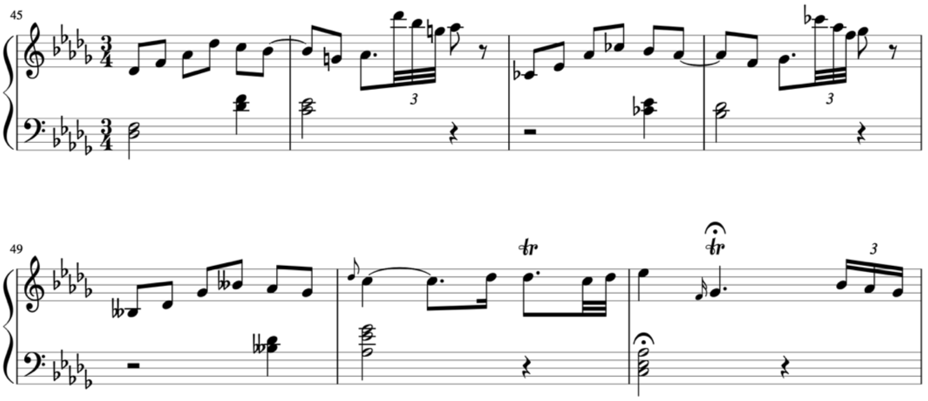
[377] George Kochevitsky, *The Art of Piano Playing: A Scientific Approach* (Van Nuys: Alfred, 1996), 53.

[378] Diderot, *Paradox*, 80.

[379] Sisman, “Haydn’s Solo Piano Music,” 254.

[380] It thus shows what Hepokoski and Darcy call a “synecdochic strategy” with which “a telling part of a theme (its opening) is made to stand for a recapturing of the whole of it.” The two argue the use of synecdochic strategy belongs to the “Haydnesque temperament” which seeks to create constant surprise, invention, and originality. They also emphasize that “Haydn is exceptional in this practice. One should not draw general conclusions about 18th-century recapitulations from his idiosyncratic works.” See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Sonata Theory*, 233.

Consciousness is regained when, after the eighth rest, a second recapitulatory endeavor attempts in a lower, darker A-flat minor. Yet, just as the F appoggiatura is reconciled unto G-flat major, the improviser is once again caught up into an echo-like triplet with the same chromatic appoggiatura, resolved to G-flat and followed by an eighth rest. The third and final attempt begins further down in G-flat minor. Although it still fails to complete a full thematic reiteration, it ascends, in mm. 49-50, to an A-flat dominant seventh with syncopation, dotted rhythm, and trills that gradually rise to a pleasing E-flat in m. 51. The dominant seventh in first inversion in m. 51 blossoms into an *Eingäng* with trills while the fermatas suggest again a desire to remain a bit longer. The falling triplet, however, eventually lures one back into the recapitulatory secondary theme zone (mm. 52- 59).



Example 2.9 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 45-51

Haydn grants the recapitulation a feeling of denial with abbreviated and unfinished restatements of the primary theme. After the recapitulatory secondary theme, however, he introduces a spatial expansion in what can be termed, if borrowing from Hepokoski and Darcy's sonata theory, as the "expanded C-space" (mm. 60-80). The "expanded C-space" often contains a passage of coda-rhetorical material before the final one or two "C-modules" arrive. This coda-like expansion sometimes, as the expansion here shows, appears untraceable as it is not enclosed as a separate prose between two cadences. Rather, it emerges as "an interior expansion of a pre-existing module."[381] In *Adagio*, the recapitulatory closing space begins in m. 60 with ascending improvisatory arpeggios in triplets in D-flat major (Example 2.10) that replace the original descending stepwise triplets in thirds in m. 21. In mm. 63-64, the rising arpeggios, which displace the descending triplets in mm. 24-25, repeat itself in an octave higher in an improvisatory manner. What then follow before the final codetta in mm. 78-80 are not one but two coda-like interior expansions, embodied respectively in mm. 66-71 and mm. 72-77. While the latter, as discussed later, exhibits moments of self-reflexivity, the former sketches yet another occasion of absorption and self-forgetfulness.

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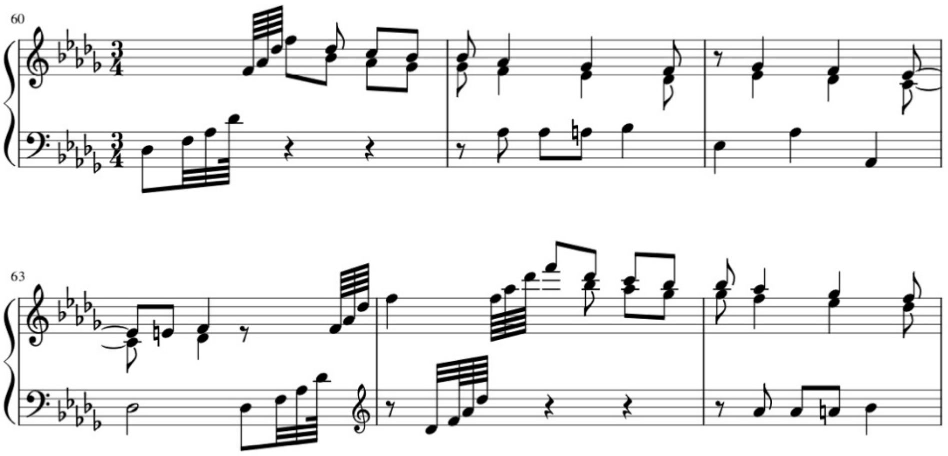
[381] For more about "expanded C-space," see ibid., 288-292. According to Hepokoski and Darcy, what is heard in instances where the coda-like expansion appears as an



Example 2.10 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 60-65

The first expansion material (mm. 66-71), flowing from the previous measure, shows a gentle and yet gripping rhythmic pattern. While the two voices on the left hand descend bit by bit as the harmonic progression moves from A-flat minor, G-flat major, F diminished, E-flat minor to D-flat major, the right hand articulates not so much a clear melodic line but consistently delivers a delicately pulsed rhythmic pattern: a sixteenth rest followed by three repeated sixteenths with either the first two or the last being an octave higher (Example 2.11). Like Harley in Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* written around the same time in 1771, this expansion may be filled with many feelings and yet, these feelings cannot be put into words: "There were a thousand sentiments; but they gushed so impetuously on his heart, that he could not utter a syllable."[382] In this

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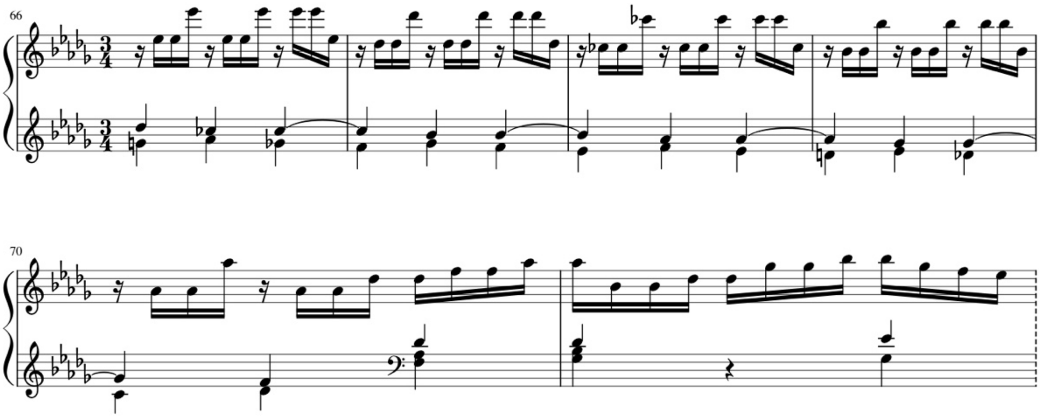
interior expansion of a pre-existing module is often a "C-module expansion with CRI [coda-rhetoric interpolation] effect" of which one typical pattern might be "something like {C^1 — C^2 with coda-effect expansions — C3 || coda}." See ibid., 288.

[382] Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling* [1771] (Philadelphia: H. Taylor, 1791), 178.

state where no insensitive intrusion is allowed to disturb, the self-forgetful subject can only be transported back down to the tonic by stepwise and steady movements handled by both hands with utmost attentiveness.

As the remote key of A-flat minor opens this expansion, the listener is also drawn into a mode of absorption. The distant A-flat minor rings like a foreign harmony coming from afar and the listener, with ears glued to the harmonic changes, finds himself being beguiled into a "cinematographic" move through which he as a beholder is gradually pulled little by little from the unfamiliar minor dominant to the closer, familiar tonic. James S. MacKay has interpreted these "highly improvisatory bars" as "a cadenza-like passage"; this "remote excursion," he remarks, is "a fascinating tonal excursion comparable to Chopin's most chromatic moments![383]



Example 2.11 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 66-71

One last space in this *Adagio* that evinces an improvisatory state of self-forgetfulness lies in m. 77, before the final codetta (mm. 78-80) concludes the movement.[384] The trilled cadential six-four with fermatas invites a short "cadenza" which may be regarded as an improvisatory topos. A cadenza in Türk's view should sound like "a fantasia which has been fashioned out of an abundance of feeling, rather than a methodically constructed composition." Although Türk prefers a cadenza that is not prepared beforehand, he suggests "a cadenza which perhaps has been learned by memory with great effort or has been written out before should be performed as if it were merely invented on the spur of the moment."[385] Despite an emphasis on freedom, a fine cadenza as he stresses should not aim at flaunting one's techniques but display taste and sensibility.[386] Marked by delicacy and tenderness, Rosen's short and sweet "cadenza" complements the mood of this slow movement and accentuates the character of D-flat major (Example 2.12).

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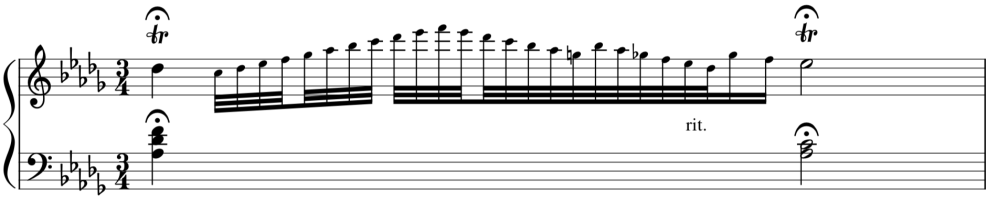
[383] James S. MacKay, "Joseph Haydn and the New Formenlehre: Teaching Sonata Form with His Solo Keyboard Work," *HAYDN: The Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 10/2 (2020): 21.

[384] This short codetta may be regarded as, to cite Heposkoski and Darcy, a short "*piano* tag" or a "radiant blessing." See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Sonata Theory*, 187.



Example 2.12 Charles Rosen's "cadenza" in Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, m. 77

Mixed Feelings, Ambivalence, and Self-Reflexivity

An improvisatory sensibility may result in a state of self-forgetfulness, but it can also undergo self-reflexivity. Sterne's irony may find echoes in Hob. XVI: 46's *Allegro moderato*, but self-reflexivity as a central element of the writer's novels may also be heard in *Adagio*. Robert Alter calls *Tristram Shandy* an "early but ultimate instance of self-reflexive fiction" in which "the many mirrors of the novel set to catch its own operations also give us back the image of the mind in action…literary self-consciousness paradoxically proves to be a technique of realism as well."[387] Ruth Whittaker also suggests *Tristram Shandy* may be called "the first great anti-novel" and "the archetypal example of reflexive fiction [that] can exist only in opposition to a novel."[388] In the secondary theme group (mm. 13-20) (Example 2.13) of Hob. XVI: 46's *Adagio*, one hears, as Robert Hatten points out, a "sweetness of self-reflexivity":

> The effect of compound melody, resulting from a counterpoint in which neither voice is completely independent, is a spectacular emergent effect of the upper two voices in mm. 13-20. The hocket-like, rhythmic "give-and- take" of the two voices creates the sense of one melodic braid comprised of two interlocking strands — one melody with a dialogical interior, if you will, rather than a straightforward duet. Note also that trills are used as

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[385] See Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 301.
[386] Ibid., 299.
[387] Robert Alter, *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 55.
[388] Ruth Whittaker, *Tristram Shandy* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1988), 75.

> coloristic embellishments that lack cadential fulfilment, until the very last one satisfies the conventional implication of closure.[389]

Self-reflexivity may also be conceptualized as the idea of mixed feelings or sentiments. Friedrich Schiller, after a discussion with Goethe, writes in *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry* (1795) that while the naive poet depends "solely upon the various degrees of one and the same mode of feeling," the sentimental poet inspires "mixed feelings" marked by "two conflicting representations and perceptions."[390] Although he has also described the feeling of the sublime as "a mixed feeling,"[391] he does not emphasize terror, awe, or vastness. Instead, the mixed feeling Schiller refers to denotes, as James Chandler puts it, a "function of the reflexivity of the generative process."[392] The poet sometimes presents his feelings, but he also sometimes communicates a reflection or a thought about his previous feeling. What results from this self-reflexive process may be a sense of ambivalence.

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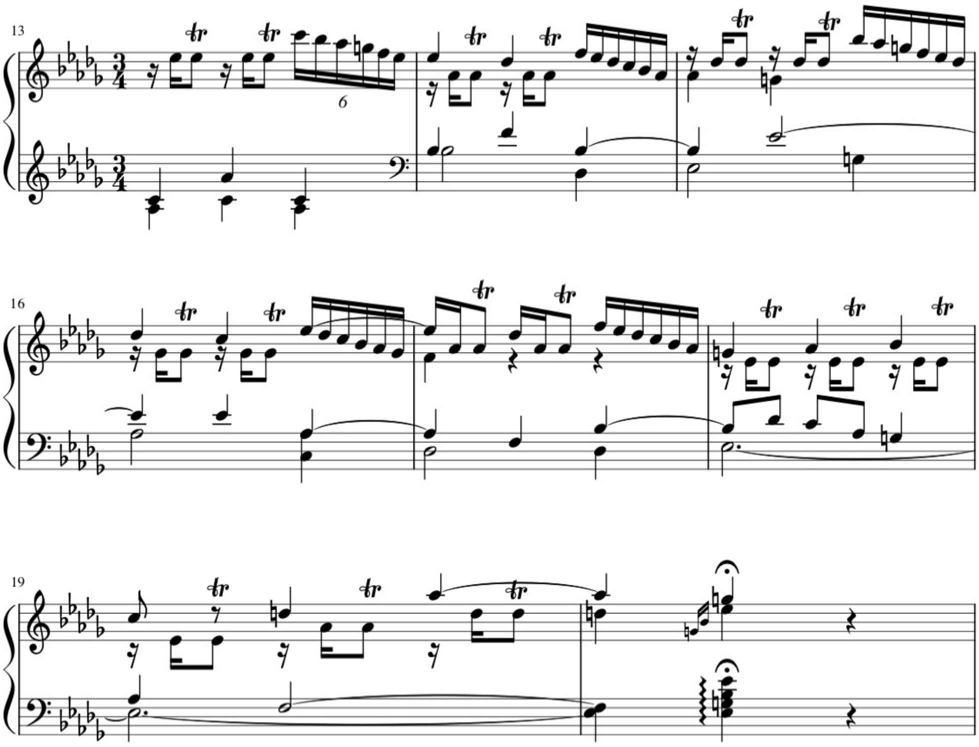
[389] Hatten however hears this section as the transition rather than, as this chapter holds, the secondary theme group. See Robert Hatten, "Melodic Forces and Agential Energies: An Integrative Approach to the Analysis and Expressive Interpretation of Tonal Melodies," in *Music, Analysis, Experience: New Perspectives in Musical Semiotics*, ed. Costantino Maeder and Mark Reybrouck, 315-330 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015), 325.

[390] Friedrich von Schiller, *On the Sublime and Naive and Sentimental Poetry* [1795], ed. Julius A. Elias (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1966), 116.

[391] Ibid., 198.

[392] Chandler, "Novelty of Laurence Sterne," 119.



Example 2.13 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 13-20https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272

In the "expanded C-space" discussed earlier, the second expansion material (mm. 72-78) (Example 2.14) may be heard also as an episode of self-reflexivity that evokes ambivalence. This expansion unfolds itself with a dark and dismal D-flat minor in m. 72 that disrupts the expectation of D-flat major. This astonishing parallel minor ushers in what Sisman calls the "masterstroke" of the movement, that is, the "harmonic expansion of the closing group" that comes with an "extraordinary chromaticism…and an air of improvisatory excess."[393] This chromaticism invokes, in an improvisatory mode, the poetic notion of mixed sentiments as understood by Moses Mendelssohn. The idea of mixed sentiments from his perspective is typified by a combination of both pleasure and displeasure into one single feeling. He further argues sympathy is induced from mixed sentiments,

> But what is sympathy? Is it not itself a mixture of pleasant and unpleasant sentiments? …This is the nature of our sentiments — if a few bitter drops are mixed into the honey sweet bowl of

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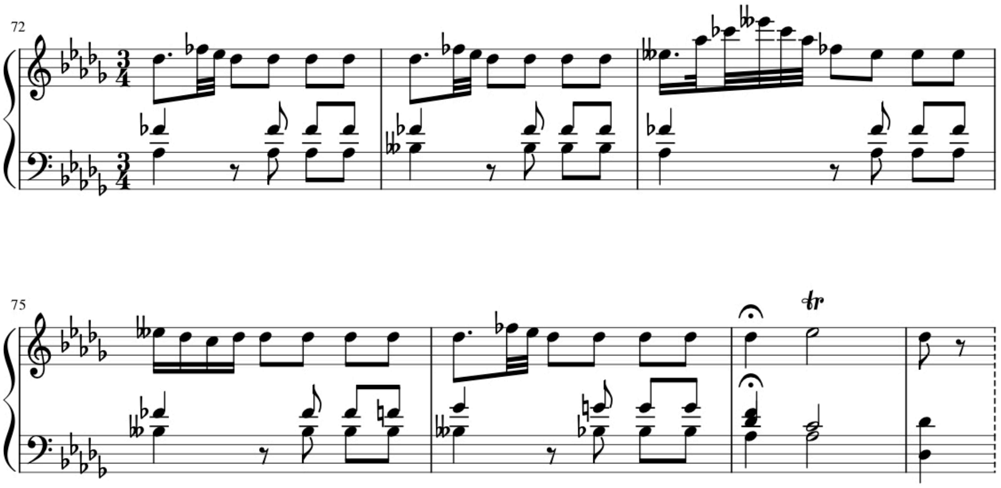
[393] Sisman, "Haydn's Solo Piano Music," 279.

> pleasure, they enhance the taste of the pleasure and double its sweetness.[394]

Although Mendelssohn's theory is not primarily a musical one, one may still hear the D-flat minor (in second inversion) in m. 72 and the G-flat minor seventh (in first inversion) in m. 76 acting as those few bitter drops that do not oppose but augment the overall sweetness of this second expansion. Their melancholic characters do not contradict the sweetness of the surrounding measures — and the fact that the two types of sentiments do not directly resist each other is exactly a mark of mixed sentiments:

> Yet this happens only when the two types of sentiments, of which the mixture consists, are not directly opposed to one another…What rapture, then, springing from sympathy, must inundate us! And how pitiful are those hearts that remain closed off from this heavenly feeling![395]



Example 2.14 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 46, II, mm. 72-78

The recurring chromatic moves in the bass in these measures as well as the oscillation of harmonic changes that they create also engender a sense of conflicting feelings suggestive of self-reflexivity. The change from the darker D-flat minor (m. 72) to the brighter B-double-flat major (m. 73) is achieved primarily by the upward chromatic movement from A-flat to B-double-flat in the bass. In m. 74, however, when the bassline descends again chromatically from B-double-flat to A-flat while the soprano voice moves up by a tender half step from D-flat to an E-double-flat,[396] the B-double-flat major transforms into a F-flat dominant seventh. In m. 75, however, the subject reverts, again by an ascending chromatic move in the bass, back into B-double-flat major with an affective appoggiatura. By swaying back and forth chromatically while the tenor voice remains static, the bassline in mm. 72-75 has foregrounded an ambivalent inconclusiveness through harmonic shifts.

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[394] Moses Mendelssohn, *Philosophical Writings* [1761], ed. Daniel Dahlstrom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 74.
[395] Ibid.

It is also in m. 75, however, that the tenor voice awakens and begins to budge. As it moves again in chromaticism, passing from F-flat through F-natural to G flat, the harmony changes from the sweet B-double-flat major into the sorrowful and serious G-flat minor seventh in first inversion in m. 76. Yet as it further moves chromatically to G-natural while the bassline also moves upward chromatically from B-double-flat to B-flat, the harmony then transforms into an even more tense G-natural diminished, also in first inversion. These mesmerizing harmonic changes finally come, through the cadential six-four and trilled V in m. 77, to a satisfying D-flat major in m. 78. Throughout mm. 72-76, what bridge each harmonic change are always three repeated eighths. By simulating a sense of prompting that results seemingly from one's reflection to his previous thinking and feeling, they also reinforce the idea of self-reflexivity.

The view that the clavichord was considered Haydn's preferred keyboard type for his sonatas written from the late 1760s to at least 1771 by no means indicates Haydn's early sonatas were only composed or suitable for the clavichord. Nevertheless, the subtle color changes Haydn bring out in these self-reflexive measures in *Adagio* attest, like the fantasia and toccata materials in *Allegro moderato*, to the clavichord's pivotal role in unleashing Haydn's improvisatory sensibility. Characterized also by delicate contrapuntal lines, ornamentations, and a substantial use of sentimental appoggiaturas ideal for *Bebung*, the first movement of Hob. XVI: 44 in G minor, also not published until 1788, has been studied by Heinrich Schenker as an example of how "only creativity based on improvisation (or *aus dem Stegreif*) can vouchsafe the unity of the compositional process," of how the organic sonata form must have its whole "created by improvisation."[397] Improvisation continued to be crucial to Haydn's musical life until his last days; although the clavichord was overshadowed by the new pianoforte by the 1790s, Haydn in 1794 still purchased a five-octave, unfretted *Bohak* clavichord with a stand that imitated one by Johann Adolph Rudolph Hass. Dies' depiction of this clavichord on which Haydn composed *The Creation* as the "creative clavier" once again proves this instrument's central role in the composer's improvisatory, compositional process.[398]

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[396] Some non-urtext editions, however, mark the E-double flat as F-flat. In this context, the case of "mixed feelings" may not be heard as strongly.

Ralph Kirkpatrick, who recorded J.S. Bach's *The Well-Tempered Clavier* on both the harpsichord and the clavichord, suggests if the sound of the harpsichord can be described as granite or marble-like, then the clavichord charms like "soft materials comparable to soft clay" and "wax delightful to sculptors."[399] Wax in the 18th century, however, denoted not only softness but also a flexibility specific to the human brain. "Some minds are like wax and others are like stone," Mattheson states, "now though the one which is hewn in stone is most durable, in music we prefer brain which is more like wax then stone: because it grasps things more easily, and has a more pliable nature."[400] Diderot in his theory about the mechanism of memory also asserts that "one must see the soft substance of the brain as a mass of sensitive and living wax, but susceptible to all kinds of forms, never losing any of the forms it has taken and endlessly taking new ones that it preserves."[401] The 18th-century writers heard a wax-like nature in the clavichord, for when united with a human mind like Haydn's, the clavichord seems to body forth the sensibility that Wollstonecraft depicts in *Cave of Fancy* (1787): the "result of acute senses, finely-fashioned nerves, which vibrate at the slightest touch, and convey such clear intelligence to the brain, that it does not require to be arranged by the judgment."[402] It is no wonder, then, that the inability to improvise on the keyboard caused Haydn great distress. A few years before his death, when his stiff fingers were no longer able to improvise on the clavichord, Haydn grouched to Dies after striking some wrong notes: "*The Seasons* has brought this evil on me. I never should have written it! I overworked myself at it!"[403] As one who regarded the clavichord as an extended part of himself, Haydn perhaps felt trapped in his body as he struggled to transmit his creativity into his paralyzed fingers which could have, when in a sensitive state, activated the keys.

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[397] The essence of Schenker's *aus dem Stegreif*, explains William Drabkin, is however not so much about composing on the spur of the moment but rather the sense of a piece "being created according to internalized principles of musical structure as opposed to a set of 'rules.'" See Heinrich Schenker, *The Masterwork in Music*, vol. 2, trans. William Drabkin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 23-24.

[398] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 143. Haydn later gifted this clavichord to the father of Herr Lichtenthal, Chancellor of the Exchequer of the House of Esterhazy for his son to learn upon it. The conductor Hans Richter and a Miss Chapman of England were the two subsequent owners. The clavichord is now placed in the Royal College of Music in London. See Philip James, "Haydn's Clavichord and a Sonata Manuscript," *The Musical Times* 71/1046 (1930): 314-15.

[399] Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Interpreting Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 44.

[400] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 259.

[401] Quoted in Joanna Stalnaker, "Diderot's Brain," in *Mind, Body, Motion, Matter: Eighteenth-Century British and French Literary Perspectives*, ed. Mary Helen Mcmurran and Alison Conway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 240.

By the beginning of the 19th century, sensibility had already been deemed as somewhat passé, yet Haydn's clavichord still stirred nostalgic memories among his admirers. Dies wrote on Haydn's clavichord on February 19, 1806 after a visit to Haydn:

> The days of sentimental journeys and all, too, that belongs with sentimental beings are gone by. They were pushed away by gigantic events that worked powerfully indeed on our way of thinking, so powerfully perhaps that we shall soon begin, perhaps have long since begun, in the presence of sentiments of sheer power and exaggeration to be ashamed of our sensibility. Did I not fear this to be the case, I should, while we talk still of Haydn's house, lead my readers into that house, into every room, and show the furniture that can be found there, the musical library, and a splendid English and a French pianoforte. I should open many a drawer, take out watches, snuffboxes, rings, and the like, show off everything costly and gorgeous. and I could tell many things about the occasion that produced each one of these presents.
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> I should bring my readers before Haydn's clavier. They would, if sensibility were still the fashion, summon up Haydn's muse at the sight of it, wishing perhaps to buy it, as a priceless treasure, for a great sum.[404]

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[402] Wollstonecraft, *Posthumous Works of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin*, vol. 3 (Clifton, N.J.: A.M. Kelley, 1972), 135.

[403] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 158.

[404] Ibid., 133-34. Both Dies and Griesinger's terminology, as Vernon Gotwals notes, suggests that the "clavier" indicates neither Haydn's English Longman & Broderip pianoforte nor his Schanz pianoforte but his clavichord. Tolley likewise argues the "clavier" here refers to Haydn's *Bohak* clavichord. See Vernon Gotwals, *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 229, n. 60 and Tolley, "Material Culture," 207.

Today, however, as Rosalyn Tureck notes, even the "early instruments" students may not have played or even listened to this "one of the most expressive and sensitive Western instruments" but continue to allow the harpsichord to distort musical intentions.[405] "If you wish to judge an instrumental composition correctly," Johann Joachim Quantz writes, "you must have an exact knowledge not only of the characteristic features of each type of piece… but also… of the instruments themselves."[406] A turn to the clavichord remains necessary, then, if we wish to refine our receptiveness of the composer's improvisatory, self-forgetful, and self-reflexive sensibility.

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[405] Rosalyn Tureck, "Bach: Piano, Harpsichord or Clavichord," *American Music Teacher* 11/3 (1962): 8-9.

[406] Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute* [1752/1966], 2nd ed., trans. Edward R. Reilly (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 310.

CHAPTER 3

CONFESSIONAL, CONTEMPLATIVE, AND COMMUNAL SENSIBILITY: HOB. XVI: 20

Haydn's keyboard sonatas written during the late 1760s and early 1770s, as the previous chapter states, were closely entwined with the clavichord. Some scholars even argue the clavichord was Haydn's preferred keyboard type for these sonatas. For others, however, Haydn's music composed during this period both within and outside the keyboard genre are works under the periodized, aesthetic categories of *Empfindsamkeit* and *Sturm und Drang*. Such claims originate from Theodore de Wyzewa who, in 1909, developed the idea of a "romantic crisis" in Haydn's life. According to Wyzewa, Haydn's keyboard sonata in C minor Hob. XVI: 20, written in 1771, testifies that the composer was influenced by "another great crisis, intellectual and moral, which was then in the process of transforming all fields of German art," namely the *Sturm und Drang* period.[407]

Yet Haydn himself had never used the terms *Empfindsamkeit* and *Sturm und Drang* in his writing. Unconvinced by Wyzewa, Max Rudolf refuted the Polish writer's theory in 1972.[408] Rudolf avers that "[Wyzewa's] Haydn article… shows Wyzewa at his worst" and that "Wyzewa's attempt to link the storm-and-stress character of some works of Haydn to an experience in the master's private life shows the somewhat naive approach to psychology quite common around the [20th century]."[409] Despite subsequent studies that echo Rudolf's view, Haydn and Hob. XVI: 20 remain closely linked to the *Sturm und Drang* movement. H.C. Robbins Landon describes Hob. XVI:20 as "Haydn's single but monumental contribution to the *Sturm und Drang* in the field of the piano sonata."[410] In 1994, he also argued that the "rediscovered" "Haydn" sonatas, which later were confirmed as a hoax, show again the *Sturm und Drang* in Haydn exhibits "an increased interest in minor keys, used in a dramatic and emotional fashion [alongside] a sharpened awareness of dynamic contrast, the use of silence, and of surprise, whether in a sudden change of key or in an unexpected modulation."[411]

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[407] Theodore de Wyzewa, "A proposdu centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," *Revue des deux mondes* LXXIXi/51 (1909): 935-946.

[408] See Max Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music," *Bach* 25/ 2 (1994): 6-35. See also Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," *Bach* 3/2 (1972): 3-13; "Storm and Stress in Music, Part II," *Bach* 3/3 (1972): 3-11; and "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," *Bach* 3/4 (1972): 8-16.

[409] Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music," 12 and 33.

[410] Landon, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, 340-41.

In *The Sense of Music* (2000), Monelle argues that "*Sturm und Drang*" has "become a modern myth to associate the Haydn symphonies of this period [the late 1760s and early 1770s] with the literary movement thus named."[412] Clive McClelland recently declares also that "the use of *Sturm und Drang* is certainly problematic… it is no longer fit for purpose in the discipline of topic theory."[413] Lowe, too, argues Wyzewa's proposal is a story with "several problems."[414] Yet, the *Sturm und Drang* assertion continues today. Richard Aczel, for example, writes that

> Representing the apogee of the composer's "Sturm und Drang" period, Haydn's Farewell Symphony, like the String Quartets op. 20 and the Piano Sonata in C Minor Hob. 20 composed in the same year, are characteristic of the cultural context in which modern Hungarian literature comes to consciousness.[415]

Richard Wigmore, despite noting that this German literary movement came later in 1773 with Goethe's novels, also writes that "the proliferation of minor-key works, by Haydn and other composers, around 1770 has spawned the label *Sturm und Drang*." He observes that during this period, "virtually every work, major or minor, testifies to the increased expressive and intellectual power of Haydn's sonata thinking." "He now begins to exploit the dramatic energy latent within his often laconic musical material, with a mingled freedom and logic that no other composer around 1770 could match," he remarks. "Haydn the master of the eccentric and surprising has also become the supreme master of long-range strategy."[416]

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[411] See Frederick Reece, "Composing Authority in Six Forged ''Haydn' Sonatas," *The Journal of Musicology* 35/1 (2018): 114 and Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," *BBC Music Magazine*, January 1994, 11. For more about these forged sonatas see Allan Kozinn, "Discovered Sonatas May Be Faked Haydn," *The New York Times*, Dec 28, 1993 and Michael Beckerman, "All Right, So Maybe Haydn Didn't Write Them. So What?," *The New York Times*, May 15, 1994.

[412] Monelle, *The Sense of Music*, 28.

[413] Clive McClelland, "*Ombra* and *Tempesta*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, 279-300 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 281.

[414] See Lowe, "Teaching Topics with Haydn," 10-11.

[415] Richard Aczel, "Hungarian Romanticism: Reimagining (Literary) History," *in The Oxford Handbook of European Romanticism*, ed. Paul Hamilton, 357-374 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 369.

If, however, as Wigmore acknowledges, the German literary *Sturm und Drang* emerged after the completion of Hob. XVI: 20 and the "eccentric" in Haydn had no match from his contemporaries, assigning the connection of *Sturm und Drang* to the composer would then seem rather odd. Such contentions would either imply Haydn was the one who inspired the literary *Sturm und Drang* or that he somehow became acquainted with the literary *Sturm und Drang* before Goethe or other writers rose in popularity. As Rudolf points out, however, ideas of *Sturm und Drang* would not have been able to spread by word of mouth and become part of the "social talk" of Vienna, Salzburg, and Esterháza before the rise of authors like Goethe. "Every evidence," he writes, "speaks against this assumption since 'Austria had no share in the *Sturm und Drang*.'"[417]

To deny the *Sturm und Drang* association, however, is not to deny the peculiarity of the dark tone of Hob. XVI: 20 that has prompted Rosen to call the first movement "the finest example we have of a style often labelled *Empfindsamkeit* or sensibility."[418] As mentioned in the first chapter, too, Newman even considers Hob. XVI: 20 the only keyboard sonata by Haydn that "exhibits the *empfindsam* style" and the reason, he states, is that the sonata "marked a turn toward more subjective writing."[419] Written during the period characterized by a penchant for the clavichord, this sonata was initially neither composed for nor dedicated to anyone. As Katalin Komlós argues, "since Haydn always composed at the clavichord (as he himself admitted), he must have conceived the beautiful main theme at that most sensitive of instruments." Meanwhile, his additional markings about nine or ten years later for integrating the sonata as part of the six sonatas dedicated to the Auenbrugger sisters also "amplified the virtues of the clavichord."[420] This sonata, in other words, did appear originally as a personal and intimate rather than patron- or public-pleasing work. Wyzewa's theory then perhaps should be given sympathy, for, as A.P. Brown remarks, although the concept of *Sturm und Drang* as a musical and stylistic epoch was a forced one, Wyzewa and his contemporaries took this approach largely because they wanted to see Haydn's composition as "a deeply personal reflection of a composer's life rather than a response to the demands and tastes of employers and patrons."[421]

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[416] Richard Wigmore, *The Faber Pocket Guide to Haydn* (London: Faber, 2009), 40.
[417] Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music," 21.
[418] See the sleeve notes of Rosen, *Three Piano Sonatas*, CBS 61112, 1969, CD.
[419] Newman, *Sonata in the Classic Era*, 123.
[420] Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music: Germany, Austria, and England, 1760-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 51.

Hearing Hob. XVI: 20 as a deeply personal and contemplative work, however, does not require the labels of *Sturm und Drang* and even the so-called style of sensibility. Rather, the sensibility embodied in Hob. XVI: 20, as this chapter proposes, may be studied primarily in light of Haydn's identity as a devout Catholic. When heard against the backdrop of Haydn's faith, the clavichord may be recontextualized as, to borrow Michel Foucault's theoretical framework, a technology of the self. The clavichord, as a private spiritual technology of the self, expresses the aesthetic of sensibility and stresses a relational inwardness that diverts somewhat from the traditional Baroque Catholic piety amid the changing religious landscape of 18th-century Austria. Furthermore, when studied alongside Haydn's sickness in 1770 and literary works about religious melancholy that Haydn was familiar with, Hob. XVI: 20, with musical vocabularies similar to those of his two Marian works *Stabat Mater* and *Salve Regina* composed during the same period, may also be approached as a confessional-communal musical text.

Private Spiritual Technology of the Self

The 18th-century clavichord naturally elicited improvisation from the keyboardist. Yet, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the clavichord, as Schubart recounts, also served "the soul's communing with God."[422] A sentence found in the inscriptions and poems assembled for the Cloister of Schöntal dating from 1714 also presents the clavichord as an intimate instrument that allowed Man to converse with God: "Sunt Cordis claves, Vox, Fistula, Chorda suaves, Ipsumque Clavichordium: 'Ut allevent fastidium,'DEOque dent praeconum." Benard Brauchli translated the words as follows: "Keys to the heart are Song, Flutes and sweet Strings, and the Clavichord itself: music making liberates us from our everyday worries, and gives God His due honours."[423]

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[421] A.P. Brown, "Haydn and Mozart's 1773 Stay in Vienna: Weeding a Musicological Garden," *The Journal of Musicology* 10/2 (1992): 198.

[422] Quoted in Hanns Neupert, *The Clavichord*, trans. Ann P.P. Feldberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 48. Originally from Schubart's *Musikalische Rhapsodien* (Stuttgart: 1786).

This function of the clavichord invites a possibility for this instrument to be examined as a technology of the self which,[424] in Foucault's words, "permits individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being" so as to "transform themselves to a certain state of happiness, perfection, or even immortality." [425] Elsewhere the philosopher defines technologies of the self as "reflected and voluntary practices by which men not only fix rules of conduct for themselves but seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their particular being, and to make their life an *oeuvre*."[426] However, although a religious technology in Foucauldian thought is often understood as monastic and purely confessional and that the clavichord was deemed, as an instrument evolved from the early medial monochord,[427] by Max Weber a "monastic invention,"[428] the clavichord in the 18th-century was not so "monastic" as it, despite an emphasis on an inward solitude, paradoxically displayed the aesthetic of sensibility and foregrounded the communal facet of spiritual sympathy.

To approach Haydn's clavichord as a spiritual technology would demand Haydn to be first established as a Catholic, an identity that was confirmed by Haydn's biographers. In Latin, Griesinger writes, Haydn "understood everything in that tongue in the Catholic ritual." [429] Haydn, he remarks, was "very religiously inclined and was loyally devoted to the faith in which he was raised" and "without speculation about the principles of faith, he accepted the what and the how of the teaching of the Catholic Church, and his soul found comfort therein."[430] Yet, prompted by his love for common humanity, Haydn was also one who "left every man to his own conviction and recognized all as brothers."[431]

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[423] See Brauchli, *Clavichord*, 176.

[424] I am indebted to Professor Daniel Chua for directing my attention to Foucault's work on technologies of the self in connection to the clavichord.

[425] Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, ed. by Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton, 16-49 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 18.

[426] Foucault, "Nietzsche, genealogy, history," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rainbow, 76-100 (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 59.

[427] Sebastian Virdung, a German priest and composer who wrote the first printed manual on musical instruments titled *Musica getutscht* (1511), suggests that the clavichord evolved from the monochord which was said to have been invented by Guido of Arezzo, a famous monk in the Medieval era. See Brauchli, *Clavichord*, 8.

[428] Max Weber, *Selections in Translations*, ed. G. Runciman and trans. Eric Matthew (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 378.

[429] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 52.

Haydn often began his larger scores with *In nomine Domini* [In the name of the Lord] and ended them with *Laus Deo* [Praise to God] or *Soli Deo Gloria* [To God alone the glory]. He saw God as the source of his inspiration: "If my composing is not proceeding so well… I walk up and down the room with my rosary in my hand, say several Aves, and then ideas come to me again."[432] Creation also constantly reinforced his religious consciousness. He remarked in his diary about his visit to Waverly Abbey, the first Cistercian abbey in England on August 26, 1794: "Here are the remains of an abbey of six hundred years' standing. I must confess that every time I contemplated this beautiful wilderness, my heart was oppressed to think that all this once stood under my religion."[433] He also found comfort in his faith as he struggled with illness and prepared for death. In both 1807 and 1808, Haydn went to the Servite Monastery and had a Mass said at the Feast of St. Peregrinus, the patron of diseased limbs. An autographed will of Haydn in 1809 states:

> In the name of the Most Holy Trinity. The uncertainty as to when it may please my Creator in His boundless mercy to call me to Him from this mortal life has moved me while still in good health to declare my last will concerning my few remaining possessions. My soul I bequeath to its all-bountiful Creator. My body however is to be buried according to Roman Catholic usage in consecrated earth and with first-class rites for holy Masses...[434]

Haydn's religiosity, according to Griesinger, fostered in him a humble modesty. When a clavier player once exclaimed one should "fall on his knees" before the "Great Haydn" who is a "being of the highest sort," Haydn responded to him,

> Oh my dear sir…don't talk to me like that. Consider me a man whom God has granted talent and a good heart. I push my claims no further. Do you know what bothers me…I had a hard time in my youth, and I strove even then to earn enough to be free of care in my old days. In this I succeeded, thank God. I have my own comfortable house, three or four courses at dinner, a good glass

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[430] Ibid., 53.
[431] Ibid., 54.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid.
[434] Ibid.

> of wine, I can dress well, and when I want to drive out, a hired coach is good enough for me. I have associated with emperors, kings, and many great gentlemen and have heard many flattering things from them; but I do not wish to live on an intimate footing with such persons, and I prefer people of my own status.[435]

Haydn was also a man of prayer. "I was never so devout as during the time that I was working on *The Creation*," he said. "Every day I fell to my knees and prayed God to grant me the strength for a happy completion of this work."[436] His prayers nevertheless were not characterized by a gloomy temperament. He recalls praying joyfully when he was composing the *Agnus Dei* from one of his Masses:

> I prayed to God not like a miserable sinner in despair but calmly, slowly. In this I felt that an infinite God would surely have mercy on his finite creature, pardoning dust for being dust. These thoughts cheered me up. I experienced a sure joy so confident that as I wished to express the words of the prayer, I could not suppress my joy, but gave vent to my happy spirits and wrote above the *miserere*, Allegro.[437]

Haydn also professed to have chosen the theme of a conversation between a "heedless sinner" and God in an *Adagio* of one of his symphonies.[438]

The lonely Haydn, as Dies remarks, would often take refuge in the clavichord.[439] The imagery of "refuge" in its religious dimension, however, also typifies the consoling function of God. Haydn would have been no stranger to this figurative idea used in the Psalms. He even had a copy of Reverend William Tattersall's adaptation of James Merrick's *A Version or Paraphrase of the Psalms* (1765/1789).[440] Mozart and Beethoven, too, were familiar with this symbolic expression. While Mozart composed the motet in G minor "God is our Refuge" K. 20 based on Psalm 46 in 1765, Beethoven lamented privately in his *Tagebuch*: "God, God, my refuge, my rock, O my all, you see my innermost heart…O hear, ever ineffable one, hear me, your unhappy, most unhappy of all mortals."[441]

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[435] Ibid., 55.

[436] Ibid.

[437] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 139.

[438] Ibid., 155.

[439] See previous chapter and again, ibid., 91.

[440] Horwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's Library," 416.

The many "*An das Clavier*" songs and poems of the 18th-century Germany also allude to spiritual consolation and contemplation. Based on the poem in Johann Timotheus Hermes's novel *Die Geschichte der Miß Fanny Wilkes* (1766), Hiller's song "An das Clavier" published in 1769 depicts the clavichord as an agent of divine consolation:

> …Yes my soul, be still!
> Be humbly touched
> When the Creator's will
> Leads you on dark paths;
> And do not be defiant in pain!
> Be gentle, like these strings!
> And continue in melancholy
> Until I am consoled.[442]

Hermes' poem "Sei mir gegrüßt, mein schmeichelndes Clavier!" from the novel *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* (1769) likewise writes,

> ...You, O clavichord, were invented by a friend to humankind,
> A man who was wretched, like me;
> Like me, he wept;
> Full of sorrow he created you
> For himself, and also for me.[443]

In this poem, however, the poet not only anthropomorphizes the clavichord as a consoler but also utters "like me; like me," thereby lamenting over a wretchedness that both he and the man who invented the clavichord share. This "wretched" identity is one rooted in a religious notion with a biblical reference which later became what Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel called the "unhappy consciousness."[444] Keys that can lament when played by sensitive hands were viewed as a unique feature of the clavichord. "In the pathetic and slow movements," Charles Burney remarks on C.P.E. Bach's clavichord playing, "whenever he had a long note to express, he absolutely contrived to produce, from his instrument, a cry of sorrow and complaint, such as can only be effected on the clavichord, and perhaps by himself."[445]

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[441] Quoted in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 223. Originally from Ludwig van Beethoven's *Tagebuch,* no. 160 (1818).

[442] Quoted in Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 161.

[443] Quoted in ibid., 158.

[444] See Romans 7:24 where the Apostle Paul laments about his "old" identity of "*a wretched man*." See also Peter Singer, *Hegel: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 84. Singer cites Romans 7:19 ("For I do not do the good I want to do, but the evil I do not want to do — this I keep on doing") as an example that constitutes Hegel's "unhappy consciousness."

Like the writing of prayer journals, private diaries, and letters by authors of sensibility, clavichord playing may disclose and reinforce spiritual identities. The interweave of Gellert's sacred poems and the clavichord for one reveals the spiritual capacity of this instrument. In 1758, C.P.E Bach set *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*, a collection of Gellert's religious poems published a year earlier, into songs to be accompanied on primarily the clavichord. [446] The inner tranquility contained in Gellert's poetry pairs especially well with the intimate tone of the clavichord. The clavichord, in this sense, seems to have served a spiritually "pietistic" purpose. The inwardness and solitude that the clavichord signifies were indeed qualities emphasized by the Pietists. The German Reformed writer Gerhard Tersteegen, a vigorous participant of the movement of Pietism arisen out of the Lutheran tradition, wrote in 1738 to a "beloved sister" that "your desire for greater solitude and stillness is agreeable to God…but…gain and preserve the internal sweet solitude…The inner inclination of your heart…is the best prayer which the Holy Spirit works."[447]

Yet, as Sauder states, theological research in the past few decades has cautioned against homogenizing pietism. While the clavichord might participate in one's spiritually sentimental and devotional feeling, to claim Pietism had led to the rise of the culture of sensibility would be misleading. The claim that sensibility was a simple secularization of Pietist fervor is an unwarranted postulation, argues Sauder, for while Pietism might have partaken in the German reception of the moral teachings from England and France, the group remained a minority. [448] Moreover, despite his knowledge of Pietism, Gellert in "Betrachtungen über die Religion" (1760) questions the fruit of this movement: "So will a heart sanctified by religion be in such a sad and miserable state as our imagination wants to talk us into?"[449] As Gellert noted, Pietism in its radical mode stressed a self-inflicted sadness marked by ascetic, monastic disciplines. Herman Bavinck puts it this way,

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[445] Charles Burney, *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, ed. Percy A. Scholes, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 219.

[446] See Schulenberg, *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 154-59.

[447] Gerhard Tersteegen, "From *Spiritual Letters*," in *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb, 241- 252 (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 246.

[448] Sauder, "Sensibility," 1216.

> In Pietism, instead of being directed toward Christ, people were directed toward themselves. They had to travel a long road, meet all sorts of demands and conditions, and test themselves by numerous marks of genuineness before they might believe, appropriate Christ, and be assured of their salvation …Puritanism has been exchanged for asceticism.[450]

This "ascetic" or monastic character stands exactly as a much-recognized element of a religious technology of the self. The embedded self-renunciating attribute becomes the hallmark of Christian asceticism which, in Foucault's words, is a technology of the self that "always refers to a certain renunciation of the self and of reality …in order to get access to another level of reality."[451] Christianity in this manifestation becomes, Foucault states, a confessional religion that imposed "a set of conditions and rules of behaviour for a certain transformation of the self," for visible shame and humility served as punishment and proof of suffering.[452] With self-examination as an emphasis, monastic Christianity stresses obedience and contemplation.[453]

But the clavichord as a spiritual technology does not express this ascetic character despite its monastic origin. It spotlights inwardness and allows self-disclosure, but it also unveils another side of this spiritual inwardness that stresses the relational and the communal. The idea of "inwardness" or solitude was originally not understood as aloneness. Even Tersteegan wrote early on to another "dear brother in the lord" that the reason one turns inward is that God is to be found there:

> Turn inward into your spirit for God is there,
> And the influence of his children is near
> If you live in a scattered manner in your thoughts,

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[449] "Wird denn also ein Herz, das sich durch die Religion geheiliget, in einem so traurigen und eleden Zustande seyn, als uns unsere Einbildung bereden will?" See Christian Fuerchtegott Gellert, *C.F. Gellerts sämtliche Schriften,* vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1784), 111.

[450] Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics: Sin and Salvation in Christ*, vol. 3, ed. John Bolt, trans. John Vriend (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 567-68.

[451] Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," 35.

[452] Ibid., 40-42.

[453] Ibid., 45.

> Then God and his children will be far from you.[454]

To turn "inward" in this sense is to turn "towards" and to be one with God. This "inward" turn of reflexivity in the presence of an "inner light" becomes "a step towards God."[455] With God posited as the object of faith, a mutual sensibility rather than a mere self-renunciation takes place. The God that illuminates from within diminishes, dissolves, or disempowers the "old" self.

The clavichord, then, does not only show a self-disclosing, confessional aspect but also expresses the relational aesthetic of sensibility. On the clavichord, a shared experience is envisaged between the performer and the instrument or even the divine. It presents a case that testifies sensibility is, as Head writes, "always about relationships — even when it appeared to take refuge in interiority." It allows the subject to "enter into (often imaginary) relationships of feeling with nature, arts, and others" and has the potential of being "community-forming."[456] That Haydn or the German poets would approach the clavichord primarily because their lonely hearts sought consolation also suggests a reversal of the monastic-ascetic. For although the tradition of making self-renunciation the condition for Christian salvation has, according to Foucault, inverted the hierarchy of the two principles of antiquity "take care of yourself" and "know thyself" by making the latter a prerequisite of the former, the exploitation of the communal facet of the clavichord seems to suggest a deeper knowledge of oneself is a consequence of taking care of oneself.[457]

The clavichord, as Richards puts it, acted as "a quasi-human presence, a trusted confidant, consoling friend and potential intermediary" in the 18th century.[458] It had behaved as such for Haydn since the 1750s and continued to do so during his last days. The composer mourned in 1806, "…it upsets me fearfully when my memory fails. I wanted to converse in solitude with a friend and could find neither letter nor name."[459] But while he might not be able to

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[454] Tersteegen, "From *Spiritual Letters*," 247.
[455] See Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 130-35.
[456] Head, "Benevolent Machinery: Techniques of Sympathy in Early German Melodrama," in *The Melodramatic Moment: Music and Theatrical Culture, 1790–1820*, ed. by Katherine G. Cambridge and Jonathan Hicks, 151-170 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 156.
[457] Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," 22.
[458] Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 163-64.
[459] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 141.

"converse in solitude" with a friend as he wished to, he persisted in playing away his melancholy on the clavichord. His doctor, however, saw this "little clavier" as a temptation that would impair the composer's body and decided to remove it from Haydn's sitting room.[460] Although the old Haydn did find himself no longer capable of improvising on the keyboard in good shape, he would still turn to his bulkier pianoforte during his last two years just to play "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser!" in his "innermost room" as long as his strength permitted. He would weep over the Austrian defeats in Bavaria as he played while prophesying that "this unfortunate war is bringing me ever closer to the grave!" A few weeks before his death, he continued to "forget his sorrows" at the pianoforte.[461] This "innermost room," where Haydn would play his sorrow away with an anthem that implored God to save his country and fellow men, perhaps evinces yet another aspect of keyboard playing for Haydn. Like a "prayer closet," this intimate room had created (unless the composer had made this act a "public" gesture of withdrawal) a private, sacred, but not institutionalized space that revealed a communication with the divine requires no witness except God and himself.

Deviating from Baroque Catholic Piety?

The private and spiritual facets of the clavichord also explain why this instrument was primarily beloved in northern and central Protestant Germany but not so much southern Germany and its surrounding Catholic countries. The Catholic tradition emphasized, on one hand, the monastic manner of life with official monastic orders and monasteries. On the other hand, it promoted the Baroque piety that exalted the sensual. A fascination with inwardness and solitude, however, as Richards and Loesser note, characterized particularly the northern German culture. The northern German thus cherished the clavichord as their favorite domestic instrument for more than thirty years after 1750.[462] Lutheran piety had little interest in formal rituals and loathed the cult of saints, and the distaste for such outward gestures coincided with the clavichord's preference for a simple private space of solitude. As Tureck puts it, "The Germans loved the organ and the intimate singing tone of the clavichord. It was much more to the taste of the Germans' mystical religious and home life than the sharper-toned harpsichord."[463] Even the poverty of the clavichord's tone seems to speak for itself. The tender sound trembles in weakness and, too frail to be heard by others, it is content with an interiorized but sympathetic sensibility.

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[460] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 47-48.
[461] Ibid., 49 and Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 193.
[462] See Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 148 and Loesser, *Social History*, 59.

But Haydn was, as affirmed, a Catholic man in the land of Austria. Even so, however, his love for the clavichord, primarily an instrument claimed by the Protestant spirit of northern and central Germany in his time, did not contradict his Catholic faith. Firstly, two centuries earlier, the clavichord and its consoling function had already been visualized in relation to Mary Magdalene, who was revered as a faithful follower of Jesus Christ by both Catholics and Protestants. A painting by a Follower of the Master of the Female Half-Lengths dating from c. 1540 shows a young woman, likely to be Charles V's sister Eleanor, carrying a clavichord while an ointment jar, an attribute of the Mary Magdalene, rests in the background. The juxtaposition of the clavichord and the ointment jar, observes Brauchli, uncovers another symbolic meaning of the instrument: "While the ointment jar was a symbol of the relief of physical pain, the clavichord represented a comforter in times of spiritual suffering." Another painting by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths as well as one by the Flemish artist Jan van Hemessen from the same period also portray Eleanor as Mary Magdalene with a similar clavichord.[464]

In the 18th century, the boundaries between the Protestant and the Catholic faith also became more permeable. Consider Klopstock, who chose to, as a Protestant figure, translate the primarily Catholic and Marian *Stabat Mater* from Latin to German in 1767, the same year when Haydn set the Latin *Mater* in music.[465] A browse of Haydn's library also reveals the composer's immense adoration for Gellert who was not only a Protestant poet but also his pastor father's assistant. Haydn collected all ten volumes of the new improved edition of *C.F. Gellert's sämmtliche Schriften* (1782). These volumes cover all of Gellert's fables and tales, moral poems, miscellaneous poems, religious songs and odes, letters with a treatise on good taste in letter-writing, discourse and speeches, moral lectures 1-25, *Life of the Swedish Countess of G****, Gellert's posthumously published correspondence, a biography of Gellert by Johann

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[463] Tureck, "Bach: Piano, Harpsichord or Clavichord," 8.

[464] See Brauchli, *Clavichord*, 77-79.

[465] This translation was later adopted by Franz Schubert in 1816 for his *Stabat Mater* in F minor, D. 383.

Andreas Cramer as well as comedies including *Die Zärtlichen Schwestern*, *Das Orakel*, *Die Betschwester*, *Das Loos in der Lotterie*, *Die Kranke Frau*, and *Das Band*. Haydn also owned a copy of *Poetische Schriften von Christian Fürchtegott Gellert* (1792) which again includes the fables, tales, and moral poems.[466]

Haydn's earlier contemporaries noticed the "Gellert-ness" in Haydn — the *Wiener Diarium* in 1766 stated that "Haydn is that in the music which Gellert is in poetry."[467] Struck by Haydn's reverence for Gellert in 1798, the Swedish diplomat Frederik Samuel Silverstolpe also remarked, "In the same room as the instrument there was a bookcase with glass doors, in it I especially noticed a collection of the best German poets, and when we spoke of them, Gellert seemed to be his hero."[468] Like C.P.E. Bach, Haydn had set Gellert's religious poem to music. No. 9 in A minor from Haydn's *Mehrstimmige Gesänge*, for example, is adapted from No. 50 *Betrachtung des Todes* from Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder.* Haydn's closeness to "the sincere piety of the Protestant poet," argues Komlós, is revealed in his integration of "German pietism, old-fashioned basso continuo, and Schubertian harmonic colour" into this pure poetry that contemplates death.[469] Such artistic and religious interactions attest that the Protestant piety from Germany was musically and ideologically available to even the Catholic Austria, where the spirit of Baroque Catholicism dismissed the printed vernacular, esteemed the visual, and kept many more religious holidays and musical occasions in comparison to the Protestant heritage.

The Protestant spirit had more or less incited, in the Catholic Austria, a desire to deviate from the traditional Baroque Catholic piety. Growing up in the Catholic parish schools of the Habsburg monarchy including the Hainburg school and the choir school of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, Haydn experienced this changing religious landscape. "…if the sensual and theatrical world of Catholic Baroque piety would have fostered in Haydn a sensitivity to audience," as James Van Horn Melton puts it, "that world had begun to unravel by the time he began his career as a composer in the 1750s. The incipient dissolution of Austrian baroque Catholicism was in part hastened by the dynasty itself."[470] Although sensibility as said was not a "secularized" form of Pietist endeavor, the rise of Pietism did contribute to the evolving outlook of Catholic piety. Pietism, despite its later ascetic and self-disciplinary temperament, initially began as a reactionary movement that engaged actively with the world. Its leaders believed Martin Luther's way had been lost and lamented, like the Puritans, the loss of inner spirituality. Ostentatious courtly conducts and theatrical acts were to them what increasingly erased the Protestant distinctiveness. The earliest figure of Pietism Phillip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) complained, "It is a disgrace to the Lutheran religion that so many of its members believe they can be saved by observing the externals of the faith alone."[471]

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[466] Horwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's Library," 417-18 and 446.

[467] Landon, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, 130. See also David P. Schroeder, "Haydn and Gellert: Parallels in Eighteenth-Century Music and Literature," *Current Musicology* 35 (1983): 7-18.

[468] Quoted in Horwarthner, 456, n. 96.

[469] Komlós, "Haydn—Gellert, 'Betrachtung des Todes': A Meeting of Tradition and Innovation," *Studia Musicologica* 51/12 (2010): 194 and 199.

The Pietists in the late 17th century believed knowing how to read the Scriptures was the first step in cultivating an inner piety that brings a deeper knowledge of Christ. They therefore sought to revive the interest in public pedagogy. This cult of inwardness (*Innerlichkeit*) led to a promotion of literacy in Pietist schools that continued to impact Central Europe in the 18th-century.[472] Even the Austrian religious and educational reformer Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724-1788) went to Berlin in 1762 to visit a Protestant school to study Pietist educational materials. His experiment with Pietist virtues such as inner piety irritated some Jesuits, but many Catholic rulers, as a result of Felbiger's work that merged reform Catholicism and Pietism together, had turned to the idea of reforming parish schooling by the 1770s. Felbiger's Catholic catechism also replaced that of the Jesuit Peter Canisius which was often criticized for its dryness. By 1778, 135000 copies of Felbiger's catechism, which incorporated lengthy biblical passages, had been published and employed in the monarchy.[473]

This "Catholic Enlightenment" in both southern Germany and Austrian countries, which overshadowed the Baroque Catholic piety celebrated by Leopold I, is also often identified with Jansenism, for the two shared an anti-baroque sentiment. Jansenism, as explained by T.C.W. Blanning, emphasized

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[470] James Van Horn Melton, "School, Stage, Salon: Musical Cultures in Haydn's Vienna," *The Journal of Modern History* 76/2 (2004): 262-63.

[471] Quoted in Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 27. Originally from Paul Grünberg, *Philipp Jakob Spener*, vol. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1906), 115.

[472] Melton, *Absolutism*, 23 and 28.

[473] Ibid., 100, 104, and 223-25.

"simplicity instead of display, rigour instead of opulence, austerity instead of indulgence, denial instead of sensuality." Unlike the Jesuits, they promoted the use of vernacular for at least the Epistle and the Gospel during the Mass. Their "unorthodox" practices left many to suspect them to be Protestants in process or even in disguise.[474] Yet Maria Theresa was sympathetic. Her piety has been described as one closer to Jansenism rather than Baroque Catholicism.[475] She curtailed numerous religious holidays and monastic orders, embracing the advice of limited toleration proposed by Wenzel Anton, Prince of Kaunitz-Rietberg. This approach was later continued by Joseph II who in the 1780s introduced even more reductions of monasteries that led to a decreased number of monks and nuns. Preceded by Maria Theresa's ecumenical thoughts, his famous Patent of Toleration in 1781 put a stop to religious persecution of non-Catholic Christians such as Lutherans, Calvinists, and the Greek Orthodox. The Edict of Tolerance in 1782 also gave freedom to the Jews. With the debate on the Bohemian Deists and the many Freemasons, religious indifference or rejections had also increased. In Ernst Wangermann's words, such religious policies have shown a move from "confessional uniformity with confessional absolutism" to "toleration with enlightened absolutism."[476]

Haydn would have been well versed in the ongoing religious and social revision because of his servant position as well as friendship with men like Gottfried van Swieten, the son of Gerard van Swieten who served as the personal physician to Maria Theresa and was a bass viol player.[477] The secretary of a musical society in Vienna whose members included the Esterházys, Gottfried van Swieten was both a friend and a patron of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. He was in charge of arranging several concerts annually and had provided Haydn a traveling coach for his second journey to England. He composed eight symphonies, although Haydn had commented that "they were as stiff as he was." He adapted James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1801) and persuaded Haydn to set this poem to music. He also offered to make an abridged translation of *The Creation* (1798) into German and had translated it back to an English version that would fit into Haydn's music.[478] Gottfried, however, was also a key figure who participated in Josephinism, that is, Joseph II's broad church-state reform of Catholic Austria. As a government official, he was also the president of the "Studienhofkommision," a central institution for the planning and administration of universities and secondary schools, since 1781. The state reform of the universities under Joseph II and Gottfried van Swieten, as Harm Klueting points out, was connected to the theological reform of Franz Stephan Rautenstrauch who radicalized Jansenism and the Catholic Enlightenment.[479]

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[474] The Jansenists' ideal church, elaborates Blanning, "was a bare hall, their ideal altar a simple table without relics, crucifix or even candles; if they allowed religious art at all, it was to take the form of biblical scenes only, painted in a sober, realistic fashion; they were against the use of elaborate music in church, but very much in favour of psalm-singing; they rejected rosaries, scapulars and other external badges of piety; they opposed excessive veneration of saints, especially Mariolatry, assigning the Virgin only a modest role as an intercessionary; they were fiercely critical of the cults promoted by the Jesuits, especially the sacred Heart of Jesus; they downgraded the monasteries and elevated the status of the parish priest." See T.C.W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 42.

[475] See William J. McGill, "In Search of a Unicorn: Maria Theresa and the Religion of State," *The Historian* 42/2 (1980): 309-310.

[476] See Ernst Wangermann, "Confessional Uniformity, Toleration, Freedom of Religion: An Issue for Enlightened Absolutism in the Eighteenth Century," in *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A.J. Szabo, 209-218 (New York: Berghalm, 2011).

[477] Frank T. Brechka, *Gerard Van Swieten and His World 1700–1772* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1970), 114.

Framing Haydn back in this dynamic religious context perhaps also answers partly why few sacred works from both Haydn and Mozart came after 1783. After all, little room was left for new church music as a result of Joseph II's policy reforms. As Jen-yen Chen argues, "Joseph II's measures against concerted sacred music, promulgated in 1783 and intended to curtail what he regarded as an unnecessary and wasteful luxury, probably account for the disappearance of such music from Haydn's output for a fourteen-year period." The single exception is *The Seven Last Words of Jesus Christ on the Cross* (1785/86) written not for an Austrian church but for the Oratorio de la Santa Cueva in Cádiz, Spain.[480] Yet, with the rise of the archduchess Maria Anna, the daughter of Joseph II's brother and successor Leopold II, Baroque piety was resuscitated in 1794.[481] In 1796, Haydn began to write again a number of masses under the commission of Princess Marie Esterházy. As Charles Burney reflects in *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present* (1776),

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[478] See Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 38-39.

[479] See Harm Klueting, "The Catholic Enlightenment in Austria or the Habsburg Lands," in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael O'Neill Printy, 127-164 (Leiden, Netherlands: BRILL, 2010), 138-39.

[480] Jen-yen Chen, "Religion and Spiritual Beliefs," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopedia,* ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 337-340 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 339.

[481] See Klueting, "The Catholic Enlightenment," 157.

"music, indeed like vegetation, flourishes differently in different climates; and in proportion to the culture and encouragement it receives."[482]

***Stabat Mater*, *Salve Regina*, and Hob. XVI: 20**

The Viennese religious music culture impressed Charles Burney during his visit in 1772. Sacred sound permeated, he recorded, in public institutions under the Roman Catholic rulers:

> There is scarce a church or convent in Vienna, which has not every morning its mass in music: that is, a great portion of the church service of the day, set in parts, and performed with voices, accompanied by at least three or four violins, a tenor and base, besides the organ, and as the churches here are daily crowded, this music, though not of the most exquisite kind, must in some degree form the ear of the inhabitants.[483]

Haydn was immersed in precisely such a culture. Yet, when Haydn was suffering from a serious illness in 1770, he would still improvise on his clavichord quietly even though his doctor had forbidden him from both going to church and composing at home. He would wait until his wife had left home for church and secretly "leaped in a hurry to his clavier" to compose. Griesinger writes,

> About the year 1770 Haydn succumbed to a heavy fever, and the doctor strictly forbade him, during his gradual recovery, to occupy himself with music. Soon afterward, Haydn's wife went out to church, having first sternly impressed upon the maid that she must see her master did not go to the clavier, Haydn, in bed, pretended he had heard nothing of this order, and hardly was his wife gone when he sent the maid out of the house on an errand. Then he leaped in a hurry to his clavier. At the first touch the idea for a whole sonata came to him, and the first part was finished while his wife was at church. When he heard her coming back, he promptly pitched himself back into bed, and there he composed the rest of the sonata, which he could not identify for me more specifically than that it had five sharps.[484]

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[482] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present*, vol. 1 (London: T. Becket, 1776), preface.

[483] Charles Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, vol. 1, 226-27.

[484] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 19. Haydn had never published a keyboard sonata in five sharps and given Hob. XVI: 46's *Adagio* consists of five flats, it might be possible that Haydn had confused this slow movement with an imagined sonata in five-sharps.

Haydn's sickness according to his friend Reverend Christian Ignatius Latrobe was a rather severe one. Hoping for a recovery, Haydn promised that he would compose a *Stabat Mater* if he were healed:

> Sometimes about the year 1770 (but as to the particular year I am not sure), Haydn was seized with a violent disorder, which threatened his life. "I was," said he, "not prepared to die, and prayed to God to have mercy upon me and grant me recovery. I also vowed that if I were restored to health I would compose a *Stabat Mater* in honour of the Blessed Virgin as a token of thankfulness. My prayer was heard and I recovered. With a grateful sense of my duty, I cheerfully set about the performance of my vow, and endeavoured to do it in my best manner."[485]

Although Haydn had identified "the work of offering" as *Stabat Mater* in G minor Hob. XXa:1, scholars have agreed that the "work of offering" was Haydn's second setting of *Salve Regina* Hob. XXIIIb:2 instead, for while the former was written in 1767, the latter was composed in 1770-71, around the same time Haydn wrote Hob. XVI: 20.[486]

The texts of *Stabat Mater* and *Salve Regina*, despite their confessional characteristic, reveals again that in the spiritual context, confessions spring from a communion that requires mutual sensibility. The shared sensibility and suffering captured in both hymns highlight the ecclesial body's union with Mary and Christ. Members of the body enter into the sorrow and pain of both spiritually and sympathetically. In the case of *Stabat Mater*, the words express not so much of a confession of sin but a shared sorrow accompanied by a longing to be one with the Mother and the Son:

Stabat mater dolorósa *juxta Crucem lacrimósa,* *dum pendébat Fílius.*	[At the Cross her station keeping, stood the mournful Mother weeping, close to her Son to the last.]
Cuius ánimam geméntem, *contristátam et doléntem* *pertransívit gládius.*	[Through her heart, His sorrow sharing, all His bitter anguish bearing, now at length the sword has passed.]
O quam tristis et afflícta *fuit illa benedícta,*	[O how sad and sore distressed was that Mother, highly blest,

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[485] Quoted in E. Holmes, "The Rev. Christian Ignatius Latrobe," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 4/88 (1851): 256.

[486] See Webster, "Haydn's Sacred Vocal Music and the Aesthetics of Salvation," in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe, 35-69 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 45 and Wigmore, *Haydn*, 275.

mater Unigéniti!	of the sole-begotten One.]
Quae mœrébat et dolébat, *pia Mater, dum vidébat* *nati pœnas ínclyti.*	[Christ above in torment hangs, she beneath beholds the pangs of her dying glorious Son.]
Quis est homo qui non fleret, *matrem Christi si vidéret* *in tanto supplício?*	[Is there one who would not weep, whelmed in miseries so deep, Christ's dear Mother to behold?]
Quis non posset contristári *Christi Matrem contemplári* *doléntem cum Fílio?*	[Can the human heart refrain from partaking in her pain, in that Mother's pain untold?]
Pro peccátis suæ gentis *vidit Iésum in torméntis,* *et flagéllis súbditum.*	[For the sins of His own nation, She saw Jesus wracked with torment, All with scourges rent.]
Vidit suum dulcem Natum *moriéndo desolátum,* *dum emísit spíritum.*	[She beheld her tender Child, Saw Him hang in desolation, Till His spirit forth He sent.]
Eja, Mater, fons amóris *me sentíre vim dolóris* *fac, ut tecum lúgeam.*	[O thou Mother! fount of love! Touch my spirit from above, make my heart with thine accord.]
Fac, ut árdeat cor meum *in amándo Christum Deum* *ut sibi compláceam.*	[Make me feel as thou hast felt; make my soul to glow and melt with the love of Christ my Lord.]
Sancta Mater, istud agas, *crucifíxi fige plagas* *cordi meo válide.*	[Holy Mother! pierce me through, in my heart each wound renew of my Savior crucified.]
Tui Nati vulneráti, *tam dignáti pro me pati,* *pœnas mecum dívide.*	[Let me share with thee His pain, who for all my sins was slain, who for me in torments died.]
Fac me tecum pie flere, *crucifíxo condolére,* *donec ego víxero.*	[Let me mingle tears with thee, mourning Him who mourned for me, all the days that I may live.
Juxta Crucem tecum stare, *et me tibi sociáre* *in planctu desídero.*	[By the Cross with thee to stay, there with thee to weep and pray, is all I ask of thee to give.]
Virgo vírginum præclára, *mihi iam non sis amára,* *fac me tecum plángere.*	[Virgin of all virgins blest!, Listen to my fond request: let me share thy grief divine.]
Fac, ut portem Christi mortem, *passiónis fac consórtem,*	[Let me, to my latest breath,

et plagas recólere.

Fac me plagis vulnerári,
fac me Cruce inebriári,
et cruóre Fílii.

Flammis ne urar succénsus,
per te, Virgo, sim defénsus
in die iudícii.

Christe, cum sit hinc exíre,
da per Matrem me veníre
ad palmam victóriæ.

Quando corpus moriétur,
fac, ut ánimæ donétur
paradísi glória.

Amen.

in my body bear the death
of that dying Son of thine.]

[Wounded with His every wound,
steep my soul till it hath swooned,
in His very Blood away.]

[Be to me, O Virgin, nigh,
lest in flames I burn and die,
in His awful Judgment Day.]

[Christ, when Thou shalt call me hence,
be Thy Mother my defense,
be Thy Cross my victory.]

[While my body here decays,
may my soul Thy goodness praise,
Safe in Paradise with Thee.]

[Amen.]

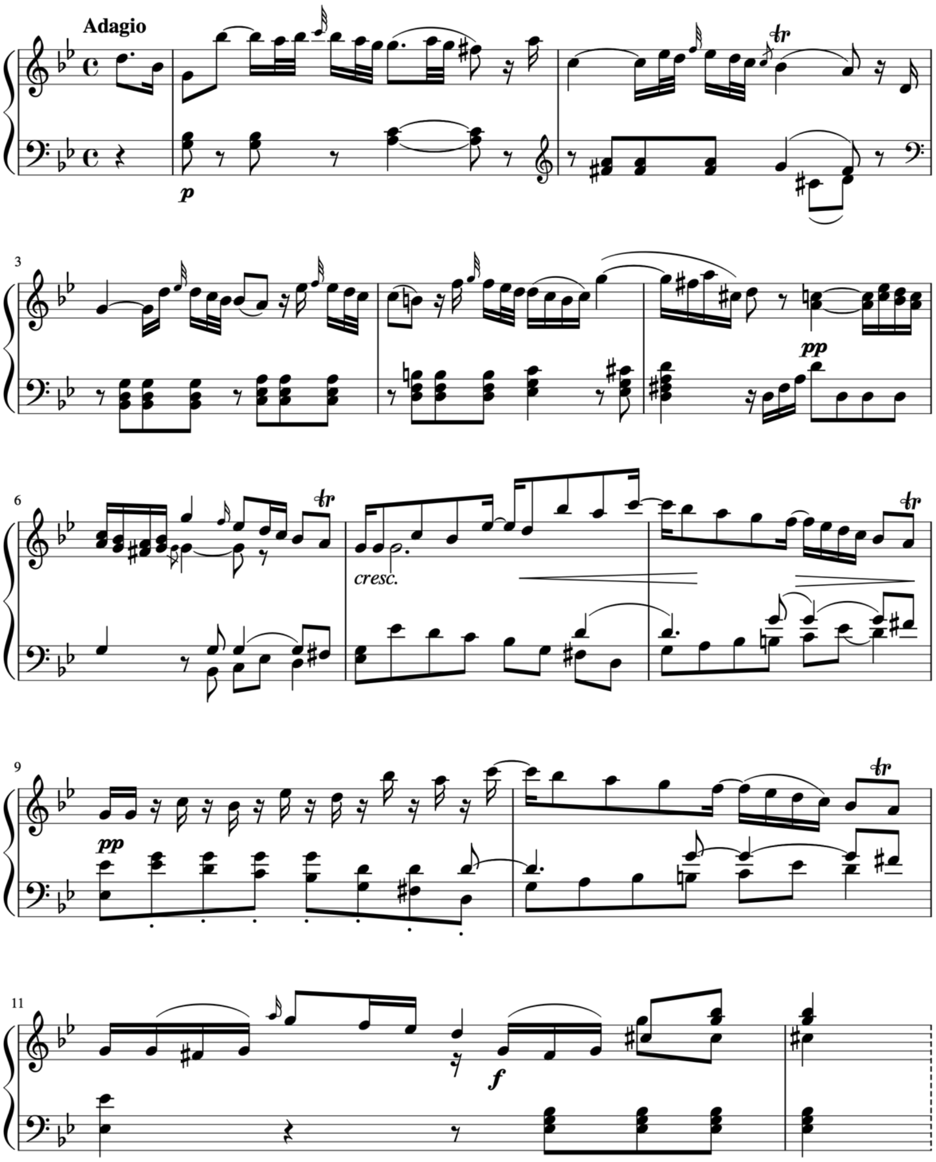
Lines such as “make my heart with thine accord,” “make me feel as thou hast felt,” “let me share with thee His pain,” “let me mingle tears with thee,” “let me share thy grief,” “let me…in my body bear the death of that dying Son of thine,” and “wounded with His every wound” all convey a desire to participate in the grief, the agony, and even the death of the Son. Weeping is frequently evoked. *Salve Regina*, emphasizing a remorseful plead for mercy, features similarly the gestures of mourning and crying. It also speaks of sighing:

Salve Regina, Mater Misericordiae,
Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, Salve!
Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Hevae,
Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes,
In hac lacrimarum valle.
Eja ergo, Advocata nostra,
Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte
Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,
Nobis, post hoc exilium, ostende,
O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria

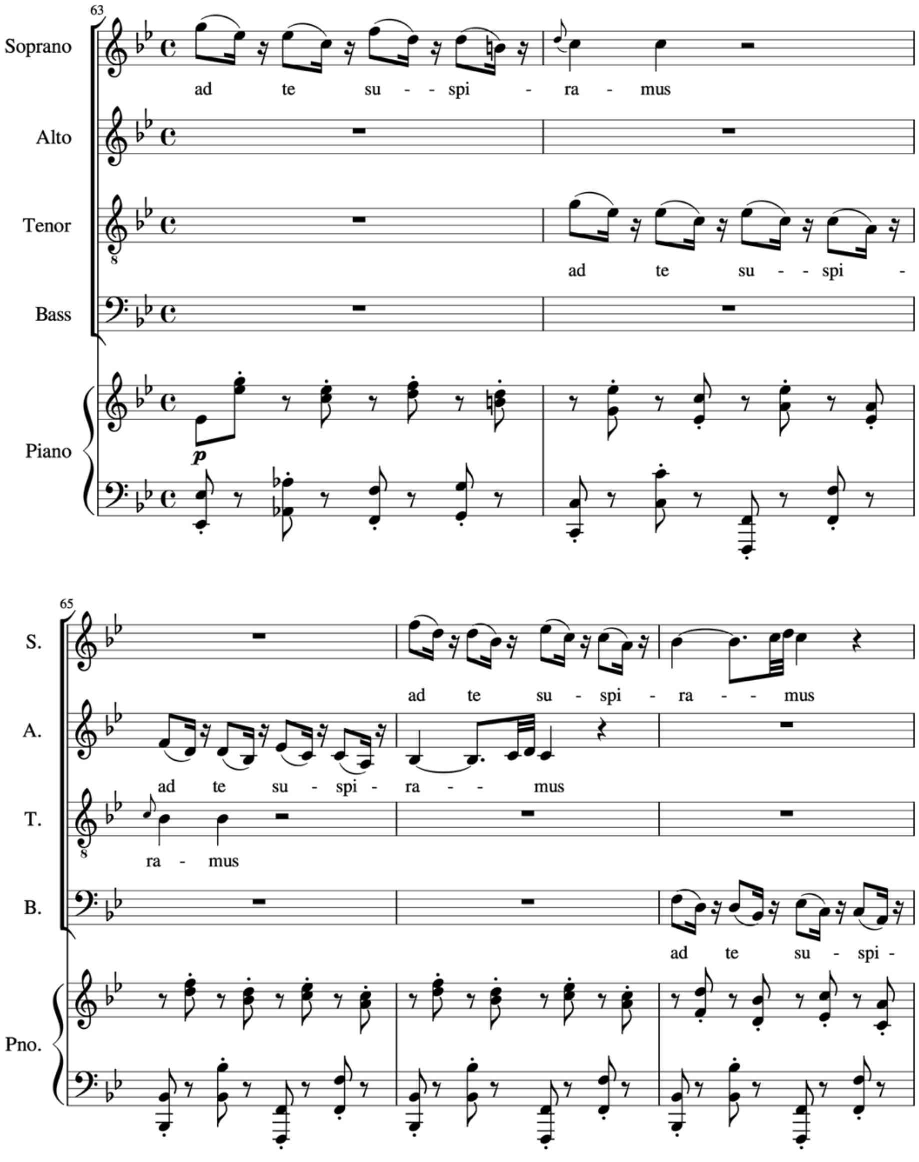
[Hail, Holy Queen, Mother of mercy,
Hail our life, our sweetness and our hope!
To thee do we cry,
poor banished children of Eve,
to thee do we send up our sighs,
mourning and weeping in this valley of tears.
Turn, then, most gracious advocate,
thine eyes of mercy toward us,
and after this, our exile,
show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus.
O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary.]

Adagio from *Salve Regina* and *Largo* “Stabat Mater dolorosa” from *Stabat Mater* reveal musically, as the opening movements of the two works, this spiritual and sorrowful sympathy with similar techniques and topics. Both are composed in G minor with a heavy use of chromaticism, descending harmonic progression, dissonance, and special harmonies including It^{+6}, Ger^{+6}, and N^{6}. Both are set in slow to moderate tempi, packed with sighs and syncopations, and adopt the accompanimental pattern of three repeated eighths preceded by an eighth rest which mimic a gesture of pushing and prodding. Consider the first twelve measures played by the organ and strings in Haydn's "work of offering," *Salve Regina* (Example 3.1). In mm. 1-4, every phrase or subphrase ends with a falling minor-second sigh. In mm. 3-4, as the accompaniment plays three sets of three eighths preceded by an eighth rest, the sighing pattern intensifies rhythmically as the harmonies ascend, through an It^{+6} in m. 4, unto V in m. 5. Persistent syncopations characterize mm. 7-10 in both legato and staccato and move the music towards Ger^{+6} in mm. 11-12.

Consider also the passage of *Ad te clamamus exsules, filii Hevae* [To thee do we cry, poor banished children of Eve] that externalizes humanity's wretched identity. The phrase "*Ad te clamamus*" first appears in m. 55 in B-flat major, but "*exsules, filii Hevae*" follows in mm. 57-58 with a sudden dynamic change to *pianissimo* and a rapid harmonic change to its parallel minor, B-flat minor. This lament is typified by sighs, chromaticism, and dissonance such as diminished seventh. In mm. 59-60, "*Ad te clamamu exsules*" repeats in *forte* in F minor whereas the haunting *pianissimo* "*exsules, filii Hevae*" heard previously in mm. 57-58 reappears in a major second higher in mm. 61-62. "*Ad te suspiramus*" [to thee do we send up our sighs] then enters with a sort of word painting achieved by the topical use of sighs: while the strings play a delicate staccato accompaniment, the four voices alternate to utter sighs of either falling major or minor thirds with pulsed, gasp-like sixteenth rests. This pattern of sighs only sojourns in C minor for two measures in mm. 63-64, however, as it briefly returns to the key of B-flat major in m. 65 (Example 3.2).


Adagio
p
pp
cresc.
pp
f
3
6
9
11

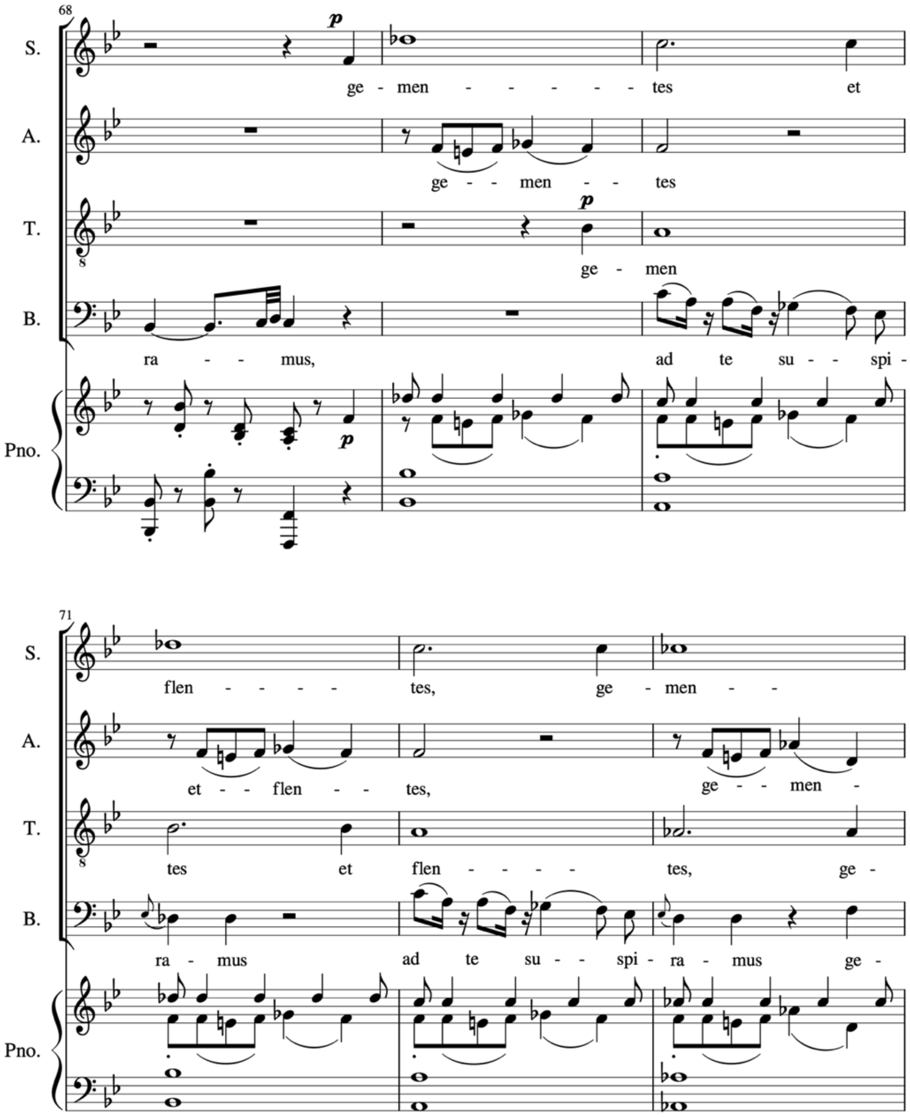
Example 3.1 Haydn, *Salve Regina*, Hob. XXIIIb:2, *Adagio*, mm. 1-12

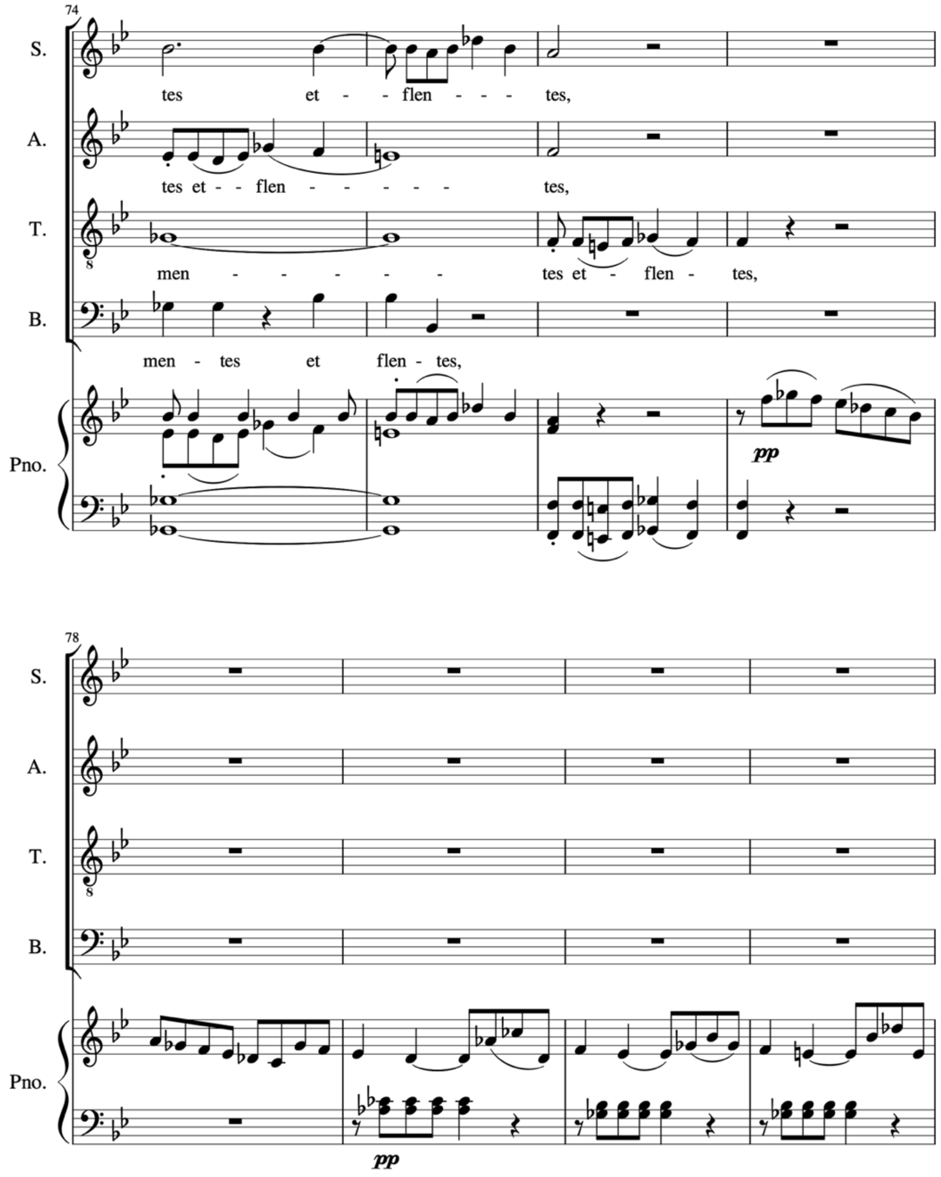

63
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Piano
p
ad te su - - spi - ra - mus
ad te su - - spi -
65
S.
A.
T.
B.
Pno.
ad te su - spi - ra - - mus
ad te su - spi - ra - - mus
ra - mus
ad te su - spi -

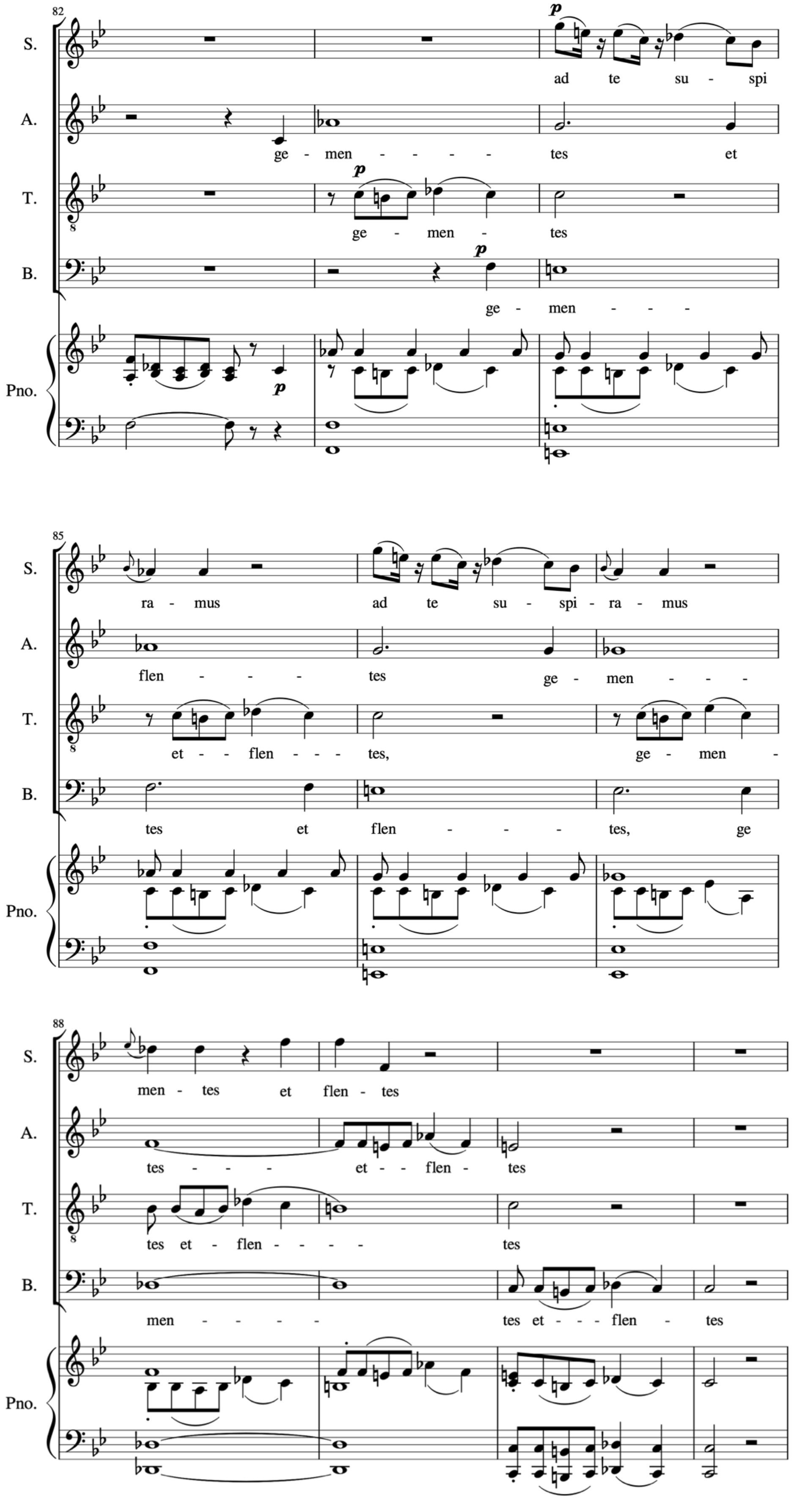
Example 3.2 Haydn, *Salve Regina*, *Adagio*, mm. 63-67

This B-flat major is nevertheless also momentary. After three measures of sighing and the resolution in m. 68, "*gementes et flentes*" [mourning and weeping] emerges in m. 69 in B-flat minor like a tormented soul bemoaning dolefully. The soprano makes a sad leap of minor sixth and moves minimally, yet steadily, in chromaticism. The tenor moves in a similar chromatic movement in the next measure, m. 70, while the bass repeats the previous sighing minor-thirds, "*Ad te suspiramus*." The *su-spi-* here is treated differently, however, for its length has now been doubled as a falling minor-second sigh.

The alto voice, starting from m. 69, sings a new line of undulating, swirling motion made up of primarily chromaticism and sighing gestures. The strings likewise play such "chromatic swirls" alongside consistent syncopation. After five measures of strings where the accompanimental pattern of three repeated eighths preceded by an eighth rest returns in mm. 79-81, the voices switch roles beginning from m. 82. The alto now sings the original soprano line, the soprano takes over the bass, the bass takes over the tenor, and the tenor now sings the alto (Example 3.3). It is not until all four voices have all chanted *et flentes* in chromatic swirls (mm. 88-91) that "*in hac lacrimarum valle*" [in this valley of tears] appears.


68
S.
A.
T.
B.
Pno.
p
ge - men - - - - - - tes et
ge - - men - - tes
ge - men
ra - - mus, ad te su - - spi -
71
flen - - - - tes, ge - men - -
et - - flen - - tes, ge - - men -
tes et flen - - - - tes, ge -
ra - mus ad te su - - spi - ra - mus ge -


74
S.
tes et - flen - - - tes,
A.
tes et - - flen - - - - - - tes,
T.
8
men - - - - - - tes et - flen - tes,
B.
men - tes et flen - tes,
Pno.
pp
78
S.
A.
T.
8
B.
Pno.
pp


82
S.
A.
T.
B.
Pno.
p
ad te su - spi
ge - men - - - - - tes et
ge - men - tes
ge - men - - -
85
ra - mus ad te su - spi - ra - mus
flen - - - tes ge - men - - -
et - flen - - - tes, ge - men -
tes et flen - - - - tes, ge
88
men - tes et flen - tes
tes - - - et - - flen - tes
tes et - flen - - - - tes
men - - - - tes et - - - flen - tes

Example 3.3 Haydn, *Salve Regina*, *Adagio*, mm. 68-91

Written a few years earlier, *Largo* "Stabat Mater dolorosa" from *Stabat Mater* is also packed with chromaticism, dissonance, sighs, syncopations, and the accompanimental pattern of three repeated eighths preceded by a rest. The tenor enters in m. 15 by lamenting, beginning in a simple G minor, "*Stabat Mater dolorosa iuxta crucem lacrimosa dum pendebat Filius*" [The grieving Mother stood weeping beside the cross where her Son was hanging]. Yet just within two measures, a semitone move from G to A-flat introduces a rather striking N^6 in m. 16. In mm. 20-21, the singer vocalizes the tearful cry of *lacrimosa* in repeated sighs. The strings participate in the sighs, but they also make a prompting gesture with an undulating accompaniment of three eighths preceded by an eighth rest. In m. 22, the "*la-*" displays a rhetorical intensification with rhythmic tightening and separated eighth rests that summon anguished panting. When the music changes to B-flat major with *dum pendebat Filius*, syncopation that presses the music to move forward dominates the accompaniment in mm. 25-28 and the tenor line in mm. 27-28 (Example 3.4).

Similar devices continue in the subsequent movements. "Fac me vere tecum flere" [Let me truly weep with you], the ninth movement of this work, has according to Richard Will found strong musical connections to this first movement. Like "Stabat Mater dolorosa," he detects, "Fac me vere tecum flere" uses the same key of G minor, N^6 chords, and the "upward-leaping, downward-stepping contour" of the initial motto, and like the "Ouando corpus morietur" from Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* (1736), it employs simple accompaniment of separated downbeats and sixteenth-note arpeggios with a steady pulse.[487] The finale, also in G minor, likewise utilizes descending chromaticism and diminished sevenths to lament death.[488]

Characteristics such as minor keys, slow tempi, chromaticism, and dissonance are all common musical features that reinforce a serious and sorrowful mood. But the sigh figure, prevalent in the Baroque mode, possesses a particularly religious flavor. Although the sigh is often considered alongside stuttering, weeping, blushing, and fainting as signifiers of sensibility in sentimental novels, the earliest musical topical studies locate the sigh figure in fundamentally religious works. As Monelle shows based on the work of Albert

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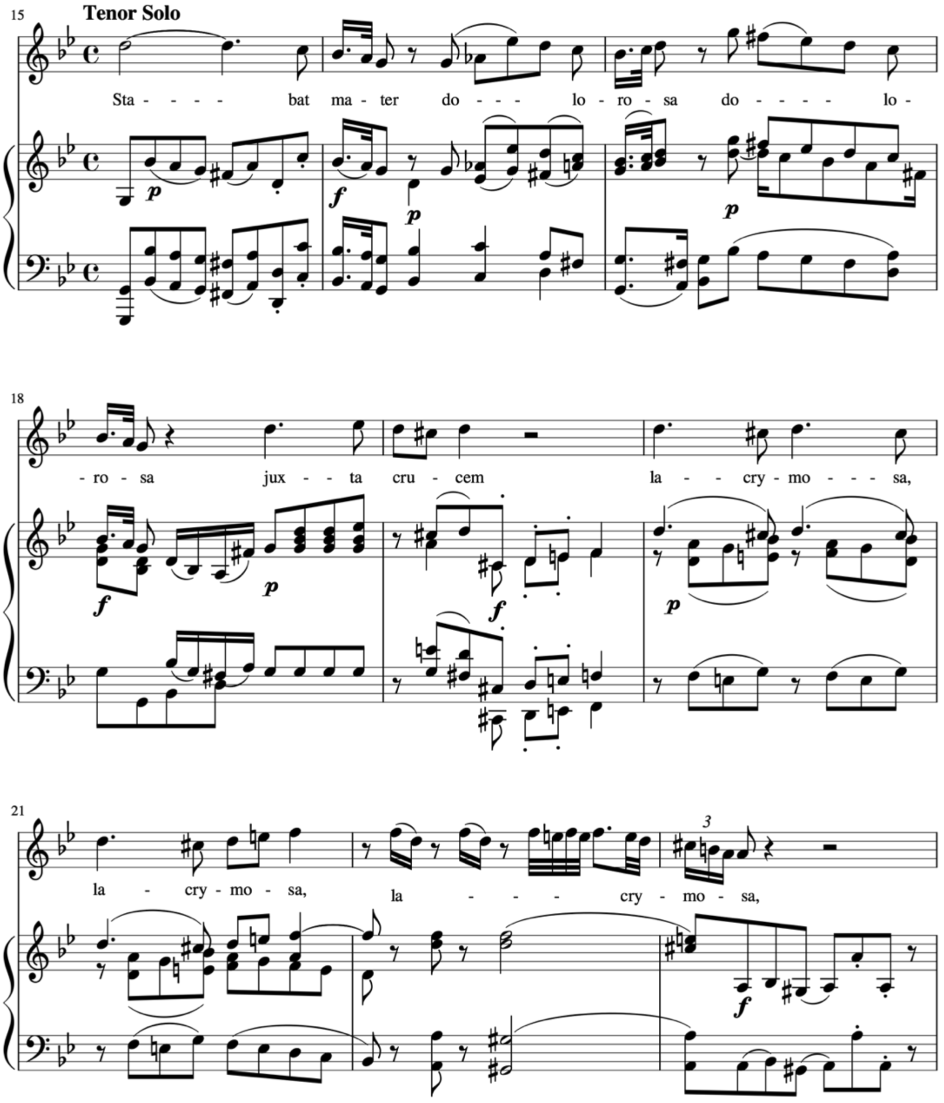
[487] Richard Will, "Pergolesi's 'Stabat Mater' and the Politics of Feminine Virtue," *The Musical Quarterly* 87/3 (2004): 594.
[488] Ibid., 596.

Schweitzer, the sigh is a characteristic of J.S. Bach that can be inverted into a rising figure as heard in the chorus “O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß [Oh mankind, mourn your great sins]” from *St. Matthew Passion*. In the aria “Buß und Reue [Repentence and Regret],” sigh figures accompany texts that emphasize tears and laments.[489]


15
Tenor Solo
Sta - - - - bat ma - ter do - - - lo - ro - sa do - - - - lo -
p
f
p
p
18
- ro - sa jux - - ta cru - cem la - - cry - mo - - - sa,
f
p
f
p
21
la - cry - mo - sa, la - - - cry - mo - sa,
3
f

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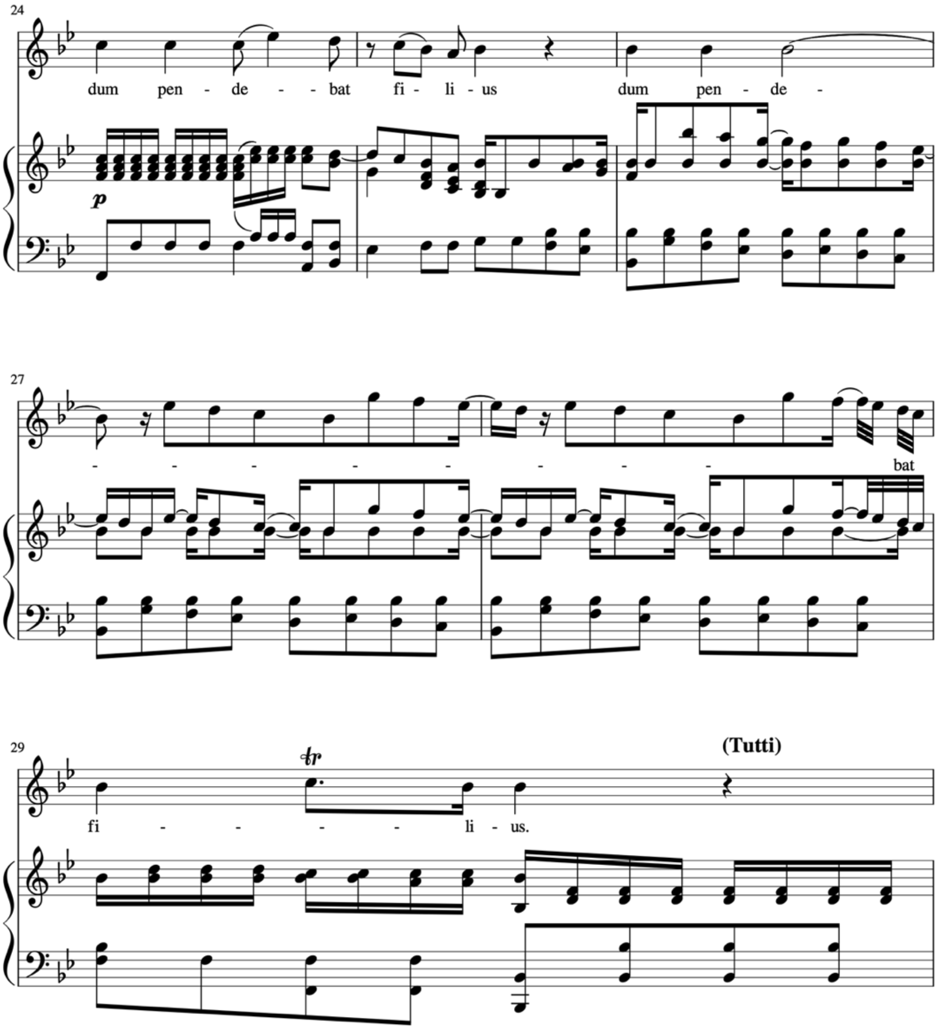
[489] See Monelle, *The Sense of Music*, 69 and Albert Schweitzer, *J.S. Bach* (London: A. & C. Black, 1923), 107 and 217.



Example 3.4 Haydn, *Stabat Mater*, Hob. XXa:1, *Largo*, mm. 15-29

During this period afflicted by sickness around 1770/71, Haydn encountered no member or work of the literary *Sturm und Drang*. Instead, accompanied by the clavichord and steeped in a unique religious climate where Baroque Catholic piety mingled with German Lutheran piety, he wrote, in addition to the second setting of *Salve Regina*, Hob. XVI: 20 in the melancholic key of C minor. As Waldoff has already pointed out, Hob. XVI: 20 is the only keyboard solo work that Haydn composed in C minor — a key of which its *Affekt* is often associated with "pathetic," "gloomy," and "plaintive" in 18th-century terminology.[490] Unlike both *Stabat Mater* and *Salve Regina* which were sung mostly as public, corporate music for Good Friday in alignment with the liturgical calendar, however, Hob. XVI: 20 was conceived on the clavichord at a private little space at Haydn's home. Yet, even though the sonata is not formally a public religious work, the sonata, like the two Marian works, displays many similar musical devices and topics including the sigh suggestive of a spiritual contemplation and lament. Put simply, while Haydn probably did not write this sonata with a religious purpose in mind, the sensibility that so often heard in this sonata such as that noted by Rosen or Newman may be studied as one largely informed, or even formed, by a spiritual disposition.

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[490] Waldoff, "Does Haydn have a 'C-minor mood'?" in *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context, and Criticism*, ed. Mary Hunter and Richard Will, 158-186 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 158.

The first movement of Hob. XVI: 20, *Allegro Moderato*, opens immediately with sighing thirds that emit a quasi-choral character reminiscent of the style of typical sacred works sung by choirs. What accompanies this primary theme here, however, is not the pattern of three eighths preceded by an eighth rest as seen in the two Marian movements. Instead, the left hand utters two pairs of slurred and rising octave preceded by a gasp-like eighth. Despite its octave interval, this repeated gesture still manifests a sigh-like rhetoric with a pushing and prodding impression. After the two sighing thirds, a simple and legato line descends in steps in choral-like major sixths in m. 2, leading to another embellished sigh. This succession of sighs refuses to end, however. In m. 3, two embellished sighs follow more closely as the melodic line rises and the rhythmic flow intensifies. The antecedent-like phrase finishes with another sigh in m. 4. In mm. 5-8, the consequent-like thematic phrase reiterates the sighing thirds of m. 1 in an octave lower, but, in m. 6, it returns to the higher register with a rising flourish that bespeaks a cry for mercy. Angst is augmented in m. 7 as the three pairs of dotted figures are accompanied by separated eighths that enhance the rhythmic punctuation. The two mordents on the short sixteenths also add sharpness to the rhythm. An ornamented N^6 follows in m. 8 before the primary theme zone closes solemnly in perfect C-minor tonic (Example 3.5).

The overall sighing arrangement in mm. 1-4 shows quite a striking resemblance to that of the first four measures of *Salve Regina*'s *Adagio*, where m. 1 and m. 2, as demonstrated, each closes with a falling sigh while the sighing sequence in mm. 3-4 tightens rhythmically and rhetorically. Such similarities again suggest the two works were not only written, as scholarship has already confirmed, during the same period of 1770/71 but also products of a similar mood that was spiritually stimulated. Yet, if one considers the contemplative aspects of *Salve Regina* and *Stabat Mater*, the practice of meditation on the cross might also provide more referential possibilities to interpret the musical gestures in this sonata.[491] Meditation on the cross is always marked by pensiveness and gravity; even Haydn's later religious work *Seven Last Words* reveals the importance of such temperaments in the contemplation of Christ's death. *Seven Last Words* was commissioned by a canon in Cadiz in 1785 for "a solemn ceremony" that took place annually during Lent in the cathedral at Cadiz. Greisinger describes the atmosphere and the procedure of the ceremony:

> On the appointed day the walls, windows, and piers of the church were draped with black, and only a single lamp of good size, hanging in the middle, illuminated the sacred darkness. At an appointed hour all doors were locked, and the music began. After a suitable prelude the bishop mounted to the pulpit, pronounced one of the Seven Words, and delivered a meditation upon it.[492]

Hearing this movement through a contemplative lens may suggest that while the sighs in m. 1 and m. 5 resemble literal lament, the pulsed, slurred, and rising octaves in the bass may evoke the heavy and yet steady footsteps or the breathlessness of Christ who was carrying the oppressive Cross on his way to crucifixion. Or perhaps the falling legato sixths in m. 2 suggest a decaying body that was collapsing against the Cross.

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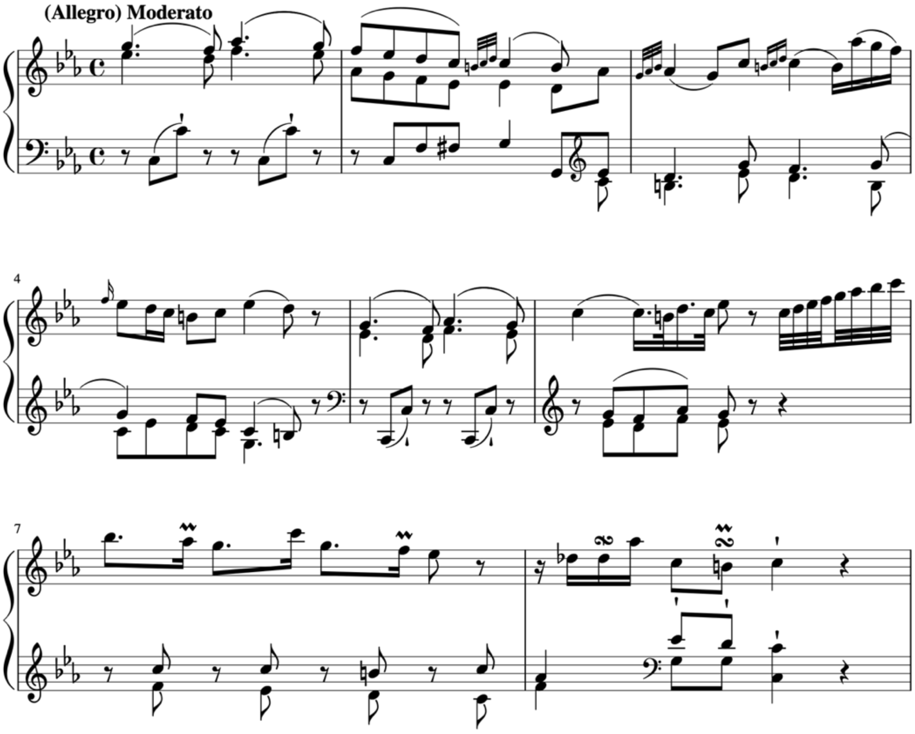
[491] I am indebted to Prof. Matthew Head for suggesting this idea.

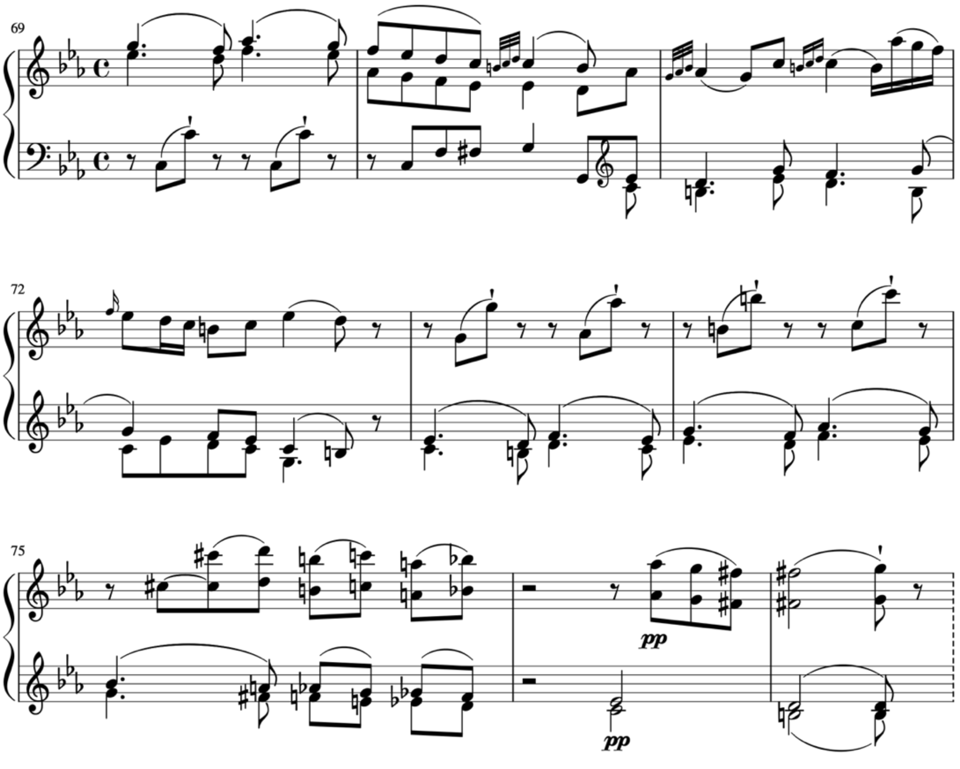
[492] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 21.



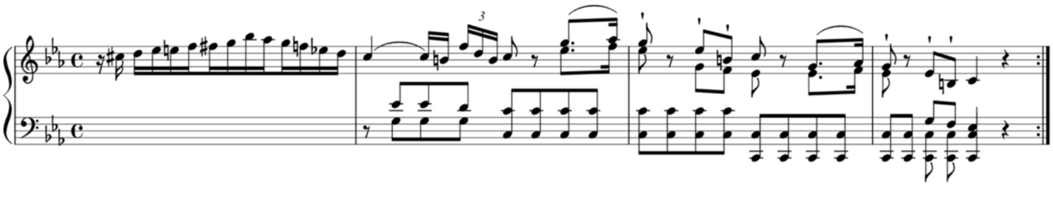
Example 3.5 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata Hob. XVI: 20 in C minor, I, mm.1-8

In the recapitulation, the antecedent-like thematic phrase in mm. 1-4 is restated without change in mm. 69-72. In mm. 73-77, however, the two hands in the consequent-like thematic phrase reverse roles (Example 3.6). The sighing thirds, having moved down by a third, are now delivered by the left hand. The four pairs of sighs and the slurred, broken octaves on the right hand together strive to rise while panting. Nevertheless, despite arriving at a rather dramatic moment of diminished seventh in m. 75, the inverted minor-second sighs, doubled in octaves on the right hand, slump one after another while the left hand descends chromatically in thirds. An astonishing moment of silence follows in m. 76, however, holding the music in a seemingly impenetrable state of tension. But when the simple soft third in *pianissimo* finally appears on the left hand, all dramatic anguish is dissolved into a quiet melancholy. With an eighth gasp-like breath, the right hand bewails three slurred descending chromatic eighths in octaves on N^6 by a long, inverted sigh in m. 77.

The movement never leaves its desolate temperament. In the final few measures, the right hand in m. 97 murmurs rising and falling chromatics as well as steps by itself. It then sings slurred, sigh-like dotted gestures in thirds followed by staccatissimo eighths as the left hand pulsates with repeated octaves of tonic pedal point. The same phrase repeats in an octave lower (Example 3.7). In this despairing but inevitable descension, dust returns to the dust. A final breath lets out the last resounding tonic while the subsequent eighth rest confirms the heart has stopped beating — indeed the dying Son had committed his spirit into the Father's hands.



Example 3.6 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, I, mm. 69-77



Example 3.7 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, I, mm. 97-100

Hob. XVI: 20 never became "public" until it was published as part of the six "Auenbrugger" sonatas in 1780. Before its publication, Haydn described it as "the longest and most difficult" out of all six sonatas.[493] Perhaps the depth stemming from its contemplative tone was partially why Haydn made such a remark. The special appeal of this sonata also seems to have captured the attention of his musical contemporaries; Clementi, as Skoda notes, had quickly absorbed the primary theme of Hob. XVI: 20's *Allegro Moderato* into his theme of Piano Sonata Op. 7 No.3, published two years later in 1782 (Example 3.8).[494] Despite the similar melodic and rhythmic design, however, Clementi's rendition has relinquished the quasi-religious sound with a 2/4 meter and a much quicker, spirited tempo. It also omits Hob. XVI: 20's frequent use of falling sighing seconds and choral-like texture.

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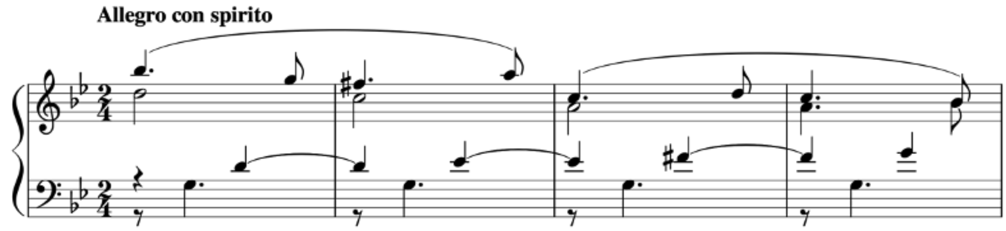
[493] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 24.



Example 3.8 Muzio Clementi, Piano Sonata in G minor, Op. 7 No. 3, I, mm. 1-4

The choice of a faster tempo nonetheless does not mean a serious tone would be impossible. The finale of Hob. XVI: 20 returns to a dark C minor in *Allegro* and, while the primary theme employs a rather odd rhythm with staccatissimo and quarter rests, the lively character is contrasted immediately with three dotted sighing gestures which once again evoke a dark and religious temperament. The dotted rhythm provokes earnestness and urgency (Example 3.9). Attributes such as chromaticism and undulation are again central to this movement, although they are often concealed subtly in the inner voices. A chromatic undulation takes place in m. 39 in the closing section in the bass, whereas in mm. 41-43, the two inner voices, after the descending thirds on the right hand, also perform together a similar chromatic undulation for three measures while the outer voices hold E-flat as a binding pedal-point. Choral-like thirds reappear again on the right hand in m. 44 while mm. 45-46 close with a long, inverted sigh that is also in thirds (Example 3.10).

In the development, the three consecutive sighs in m. 81 are no longer dotted. Instead, with staccatissimo on the offbeats, they are broken up by sixteenth rests that evoke anxious breathlessness. The toccata topos heard in mm. 21-32 and mm. 35-36 also appear again in mm. 65-73 and mm. 90-119. The toccata materials in mm. 90-119, however, are expanded with hand-crossing that persistently conquers large gaps, a feature that appears almost twenty years later again in the middle section of the passionate *Adagio e cantabile* of Hob. XVI 49. Like the toccata passages of Hob. XVI: 46's first movement and Hob. XVI: 52's finale studied in the previous chapter, this toccata section falls onto its dominant, G major, in arpeggios while the fermatas on the rests evince a deep contemplative state. In the recapitulation, the primary theme also no longer shows any dotted rhythm but brings together the major devices of a melancholic and devout sensibility that have been covered so far such as punctuating rests on the left hand, slurred chromatic gestures, falling sighs, descending harmonic progression in minor, and continuous syncopation. The descending bass line with syncopation in mm. 124-28 resounds as an elaboration of the "lament" bass that signals death (Example 3.11). Toccata topos are heard again in mm. 129-134 and mm. 137-138. In mm. 139-152, where mm. 37-46 are restated with slight variations, the staccatissimo eighths no longer move chromatically but proceed in more active arpeggiated and stepwise motions. After four measures of chromatic undulation in the inner voices and the descending sixths, the music resolves with an extended inverted sigh that secures the dismal C minor (Example 3.12).

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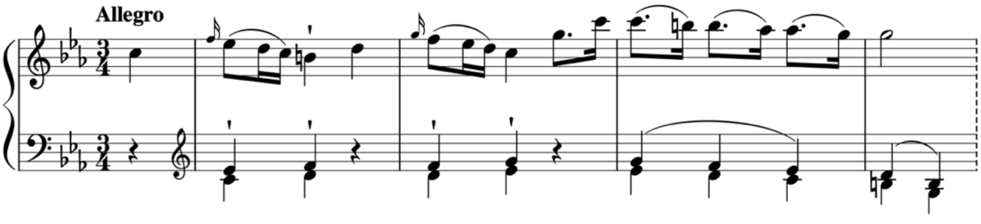
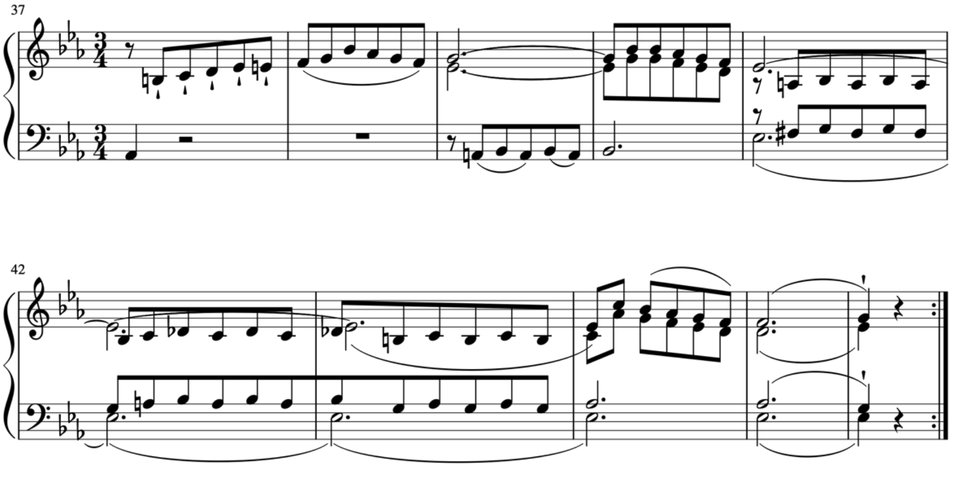
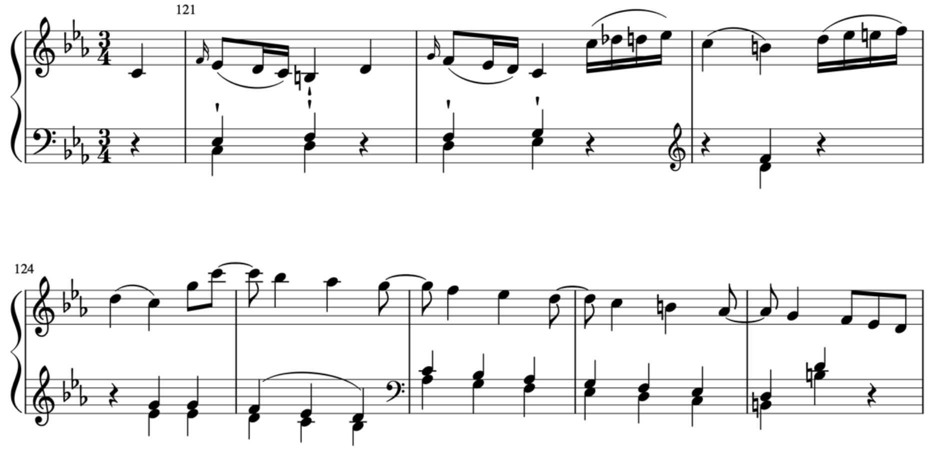
[494] Skoda, *Eighteenth-Century Fortepiano Grand*, 446.



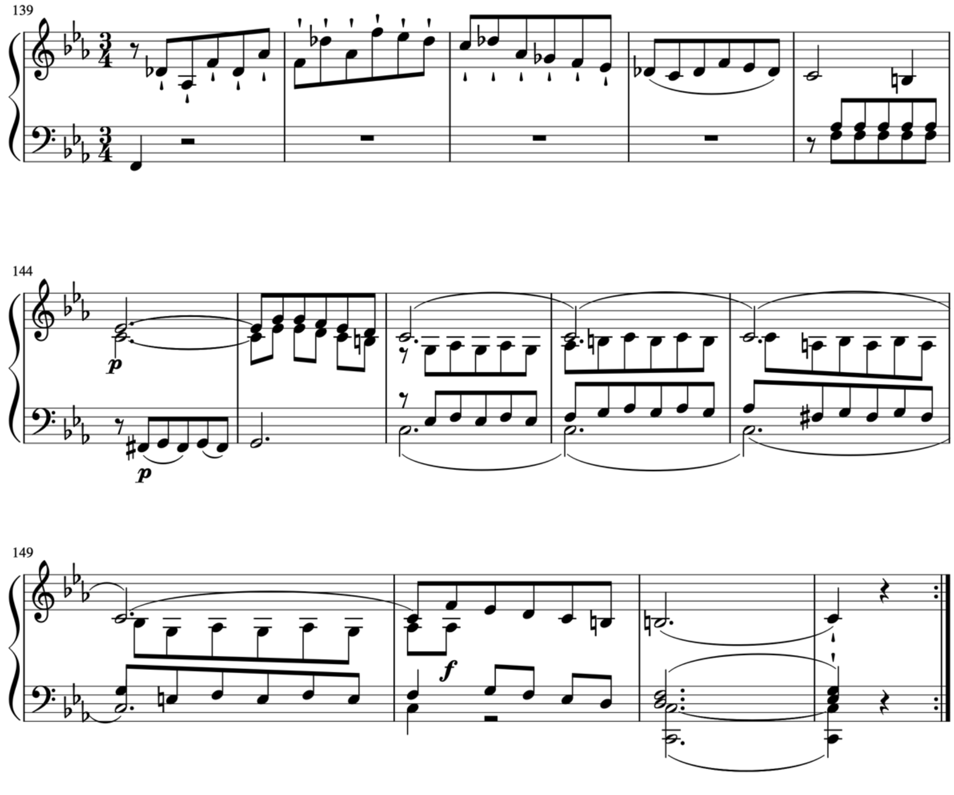
Example 3.9 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, III, mm. 1-4



Example 3.10 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, III, mm. 37-46



Example 3.11 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, III, mm. 121-128



Example 3.12 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, III, mm.139-152

Obscuring the Sacred-Secular Divide: Hob. XVI: 20 as Confessional-Communal Text

The overwhelmingly dark and contemplative tone of the first and third movements of Hob. XVI: 20 finds literary echoes in a poetic work that Haydn owned: Edward Young's *Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*, published between 1742 and 1745. Having read two substantial works by Klopstock and held Gellert as his favorite poet, Haydn owned no works by *Sturm* *und Drang* writers such as Goethe, Schiller, Friedrich Maximilian Klinger, Johann George Hamann, or others.[495] However, he did have in his collection an edition of *Night Thoughts* published in Hanover around 1760-61.[496] As Sauder states, Young's "religious melancholy" in his lyric poetry reveals another distinct form of sensibility.[497] Given the publication year, Haydn might have already read it before 1771 or perhaps picked it up during his time of illness. A long poem originally divided in nine parts or "nights" of blank verse, *Night Thoughts* reflects on sickness and suffering in relation to God's nature and character. "Darkness has more divinity on me; it strikes thought inward; it drives back the soul," writes Young.[498] If the clavichord was, as Schubart writes, the soulful instrument that partakes in a communion with God during night-time, then these words of Young disclose perfectly a sentimentality that the lonely and sick Haydn would have experienced on his refuge-like clavichord as he ruminated over life and death in his private sphere.

Young's thoughts meditate on happiness and sorrow as well as death. "Disease invades the chastest temperance," he writes. He continues, "Man's caution often into danger turns, and his guard falling, crushes him to death." He then laments, "But endless is the list of human ills; and sighs might sooner fail, than cause to sigh."[499] He speaks of a mystery of "love divine" that lifts humanity "from earth's aceldama, this field of blood, of inward anguish, and of outward ill, from darkness, and from dust."[500] He even likens a lonesome night to a widow with tears:

> Were half so sad, as one benighted mind,
> Which gropes for happiness, and meets despair.
> How, like a widow in her weeds, the Night,
> Amid her glimmering tapers, silent sits!
> How sorrowful, how desolate, she weeps
> Perpetual dews, and saddens nature's scene!
> A scene more sad sin makes the darken'd soul,
> All comfort kills, nor leaves one spark alive.[501]

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[495] Horwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's Library," 462.
[496] Ibid., 415.
[497] Sauder, "Sensibility," 1215.
[498] Edward Young, *Night Thoughts* [1742-45] (London: C. Whittingham, 1798), 91.
[499] Ibid., 9-10.
[500] Ibid., 131.
[501] Ibid., 371.

Young's analogy between a weeping sensibility and an abandoned woman mirrors the contemporary feminized conception of sensibility. But a life that only laughs and never mourns, he asserts, is a wretched life:

> In sorrow drown'd — but not in sorrow lost.
> How wretched is the man who never mourn'd!
> I dive for precious pearl in sorrow's stream:
> Not so the thoughtless man that only grieves;
> Takes all the torment, and rejects the gain;
> (Inestimable gain!) and gives Heaven leave
> To make him but more wretched, not more wise.[502]

By announcing "in sorrow drown'd — but not in sorrow lost," however, Young opines that a despairing sensibility must still remain restrained.

Haydn's spiritually melancholic music displays similar sentiments. In *Stabat Mater* and *Salve Regina*, a stirring sensibility was not just permissible but praiseworthy. On one hand, religious sensibility was exalted in society. On the other hand, Mary as the admired Mother remained the feminine subject in view. To lament, to sigh, and to weep, in this context, became public sacred virtues that testify to one's desire to be close to the Mother and the Son. Yet the conventional association of sensibility with femininity seemed to still have led to certain gendered expectations in such music. Haydn's *Stabat Mater*, for example, had been perceived by his contemporaries as more "masculine" than Pergolesi's. While Forkel heard Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* as more deceiving and feminine, Haydn's concluding fugue had been regarded by a German critic as a proof of the composer's manly power of decision.[503] Similar gendered perspectives on sensibility also appear in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*, which was written around the same time Haydn composed Hob. XVI: 20. Sulzer criticizes certain "German poets" which, as Thomas Christensen notes, include Klopstock, for possessing too much sensibility:

> But he must not forget the common-sense rule that one not overstep the bounds of sensibility. Just as it is a great imperfection to lack a reasonable amount of sensibility, since it causes one to be stiff and dormant, so is an excess of sensibility very harmful, as it is effeminate, weakening, and unmanly. This important admonition for moderation seems especially appropriate for several of our German poets, who are otherwise considered to be among the best. They seem to hold the illusion that emotions can

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[502] Ibid., 95.

[503] See Will, "Pergolesi's 'Stabat Mater,'" 601.

> never be stimulated too much. They would have all pain become madness and despair, abhorrence taken to the highest degree of horror, every desire turned into delirium, and every tender feeling to melting. This is done with the aim of making man a pitiful, weak thing, one for whom desire, tenderness, and pain become so overwhelming that no effective energy is retained, and all steadfastness and manly courage is drained.[504]

For Sulzer, poets like Klopstock had been displaying immoderate sensibility. Although Haydn most adored and was often likened to Gellert, he did in some ways show similarities with Klopstock. As mentioned, Haydn and Klopstock were both drawn to work with the text of *Stabat Mater* in the same year of 1767. Haydn had also read Klopstock's *Hermanns Schlacht* and *Der Messias*.[505] The two also admired C.P.E. Bach deeply; Klopstock even wrote an epitaph after Bach's death on December 14, 1788, calling the composer-improvisor a "profoundest harmonist" who, through teaching and practice, had raised the art of performance to perfection.[506] Klopstock's melancholic, contemplative period had been viewed by Johann Andreas Cramer as a critical agent that nurtured the poet's sensibility.[507] Perhaps a similar case can be made about Haydn as his early days of loneliness and illness, alongside his religiosity and the clavichord, seem to have hastened the sensibility within him.

If Haydn had published Hob. XVI:20 right away, he might have also put himself at risk of being charged with a similar accusation Klopstock faced, for the persistent sighing and mourning in this sonata might seem excessive. Yet this sonata served primarily Haydn's private pleasure and needed no external approbation. He had, on the clavichord situated in his compact house, constructed a private "sacred space." Hob. XVI: 20 and the two Marian works might belong to the private and public sphere respectively, but with similar musical devices that appear spiritually inspired, the boundaries between the "sacred" and "secular" became obscured in Haydn's ears.

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[504] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 30.

[505] Horwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's Library," 409 and 420.

[506] Bach, *Versuch*, 1.

[507] Johann Andreas Cramer writes, "I could wish to know from what cause it arises, that in many persons who are remarkable for sensibility, and strong powers of imagination, precisely that period of life, when the body is in its greatest vigour, and the animal spirits are the most lively; when the prospect of all the delights of honour and friendship is fair and blooming, and when the termination of these enjoyment appears at the greatest distance; — that period is, however, frequently the time of melancholy reflections, of familiarity with the grave, and habitual contemplation of death. This Youth forever [Klopstock] whose age ever now shines with all the brightness of a fine spring morning, and who with the well-regulated disposition of a wise man, his brow never clouded with melancholy or ill humor, gathers all the lowers of joy, was formally wrapped in the mourning attire of [Edward] Young. Never did he more seriously reflect on the instability of all earthly things or on the importance of eternity. Many times did he then dip his pencil in the darkest colours, while von the richest and most beautiful night pieces he painted — death." See Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Margareta Klopstock, and Elizabeth Smith, *Memoirs of Frederick and Margaret Klopstock* (Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1808), 17-18.

Furthermore, if the clavichord can be approached as a technology of the self that carried a spiritual dimension, then Hob. XVI: 20 perhaps can also be envisioned as a musically confessional-communal text shaped by the composer's spiritual sensibility. Confessional technologies as Foucault argues often demand a text to be verbalized in order to externalize and disclose the self.[508] But the keyboard sonata has no spoken text. The absence of verbalized text nonetheless does not minimize the possibility to hear Hob. XVI: 20 as a confessional-communal text, for the dearth of spoken word is precisely what makes an inward sensibility even more "interiorized" — and such is what the shy, humble clavichord is good at. It articulates the inarticulable with its feeble utterance. With this sonata written initially not for any patron, public concerts, print circulation, or even popularity to begin with, the Catholic Haydn, seated before his clavichord, suddenly became like a man closer to the spirit of Lutheran piety who believed the "spiritual" was not bound to a church building, an appointed priest, a hymn to be sung, or a written confession to be verbalized. Musical agencies were enough for him to turn inward to exercise his spiritual sensibility.

From Mixed Sentiments to Blissful Tranquility

To drown in sorrow without being lost is, as Young writes, to be able to sink in despair but also rise above it at times to catch a glimpse of joy. Such a shift between these two emotive inclinations also characterizes Hob. XVI: 20's *Allegro Moderato*. Lauri Suurpää's analysis which focuses on the narrativity of this sonata shows that this movement is one which oscillates between two basic emotional expressions: the tragic and the joyful. Suurpää argues while the former is epitomized in the minor and communicated first through the sighing thirds, the latter presents itself in the major. He schematizes the movement as "Tragic vs Joyful —> Tragic," a motion from tension to release that acts a kind of

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[508] See Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," 48-49.

"narrative archetype," and hears the final resolution of the movement as one that confirms the tragic.[509]

This paradigm, when placed in the religious context, calls to mind again the notion of mixed sentiments that are built on seemingly conflicting perceptions. In his discussion on mixed sentiments, Mendelsohn argues that although sorrow and pain may be ugly in experience, works that capture these sentiments may still be pleasing. A beautiful depiction of the unpleasant is not imperfect or evil itself; instead, with its ability to arouse pity or grief, it heightens one's contemplative appreciation of the good and the beautiful.[510] The mixing of sorrow, pain, and even death does not then nullify but deepens one's enjoyment of the joy evoked in the artwork. In "Morning Song" from *Geistliche Lieder*, Klopstock invokes mixed sentiments precisely by juxtaposing life and death, heavenly rest and earthly strife, as well as joy and sorrow:

> When I rise again to life
> From the tranquil sleep of death
> And released from earthly strife
> Breathe that morning's balmy breath
> I shall wake to other thought;
> The race is run, the fight is fought,
> All the pilgrim's cares are dreams
> when that dawn of morning gleams.
>
> Help! that no departed day,
> God of endless life and joy,
> To the righteous Judge may say,
> 'Twas profaned by my employ.
> To another morn I wake,
> And to Thee my offering make.
> Oh! may all my days that flee
> Joys and sorrows, lead to Thee
>
> Gladly may I see them fled,
> When the twilight o'er me creeps,
> When the darkening vale I tread,
> And my friend beside me weeps!
> Death assuage, the pang remove,
> Let me then the stronger prove,
> Vanquishing with heavenward breath,

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[509] Lauri Suurpää, "Interrelations between Expression and Structure in the First Movements of Joseph Haydn's Piano Sonatas Hob. XVI/44 and Hob. XVI/20," *Intégral* 23 (2009): 166-67.

[510] See Leah Hochman, *The Ugliness of Moses Mendelssohn: Aesthetics, Religion & Morality in the Eighteenth Century* (Abington: Routledge, 2014), 45-48.

While I praise thee, lord of death![511]

Haydn's *Seven Last Words*, beginning in D minor and ending in C minor, was received also by Haydn's contemporaries as a work that paints mixed sentiments through a religious lens. Exploiting tonal freedom to contrast distress and bliss, this oratorio according to Dies generates, by the power of melody and harmony, "the loftiest sentiments" and "the tenderest sorrow." Yet the mind, he argues, "would not comprehend the source of those feelings." The music expresses "such a state of mind as rises above earthly imperfection to heavenly bliss," but this "rising" does not just transport one from a sad state into a happy state. Rather, in a language that "melts the heart," it gives a "great uplift" that moves listeners suddenly out of the vale of tears into the Elysian fields.[512]

An isolated, local reading of the first movement of Hob. XVI: 20 reveals episodes of joy within its overarching melancholic narrative. Yet, approaching the sonata as a whole also suggests another manifestation of mixed sentiments: the second movement *Andante con moto* with its tranquility appears as a blessed migration out from the sorrowful *Allegro Moderato* even though the finale, like the final C minor resolution of the first movement Suurpää hears, reaffirms the sonata's melancholic temperament. The spiritual ears hear *Andante con moto* as a movement that gladdens the grim spirit of the outer movements with serenity. Dies notes a similar peaceful mode in Haydn's sacred works. Dies remarks that Haydn's masses show "not the gloomy devotion and ever penitential piety of the great old masters of Italy, but a more serene and reconciled devotion, a tenderer sorrow, and a fortunate awareness of heavenly goodness prevail." [513]

Written in A-flat major, exactly the first "joyful" key that has appeared in the first movement, *Andante con moto* too delights the soul with a serenity that subdues the sobriety of the outer movements. It abandons temporarily the many sighs and chromaticism and instead moves, as the marking suggests, in continuous syncopation, slowly but with motion from the beginning to the end (Example 3.13). The movement opens with a calm descending stepwise walking bass on the left hand while the right hand, melodically limited to a modest perfect fourth, hums four consecutive dominants of which the last is extended with trills followed by dotted rhythm. This design somehow resembles the theme of the first movement of W. F. Bach's Sonata for Two Harpsichords in F major, F.10 (Example 3.14). In addition to the sweet harmonic changes, the ceaseless syncopation also suggests a sense of longing as it captures that mismatch of the present and the immediate past: the moment one tries to seize the fading sentiment, the note has already vanished.

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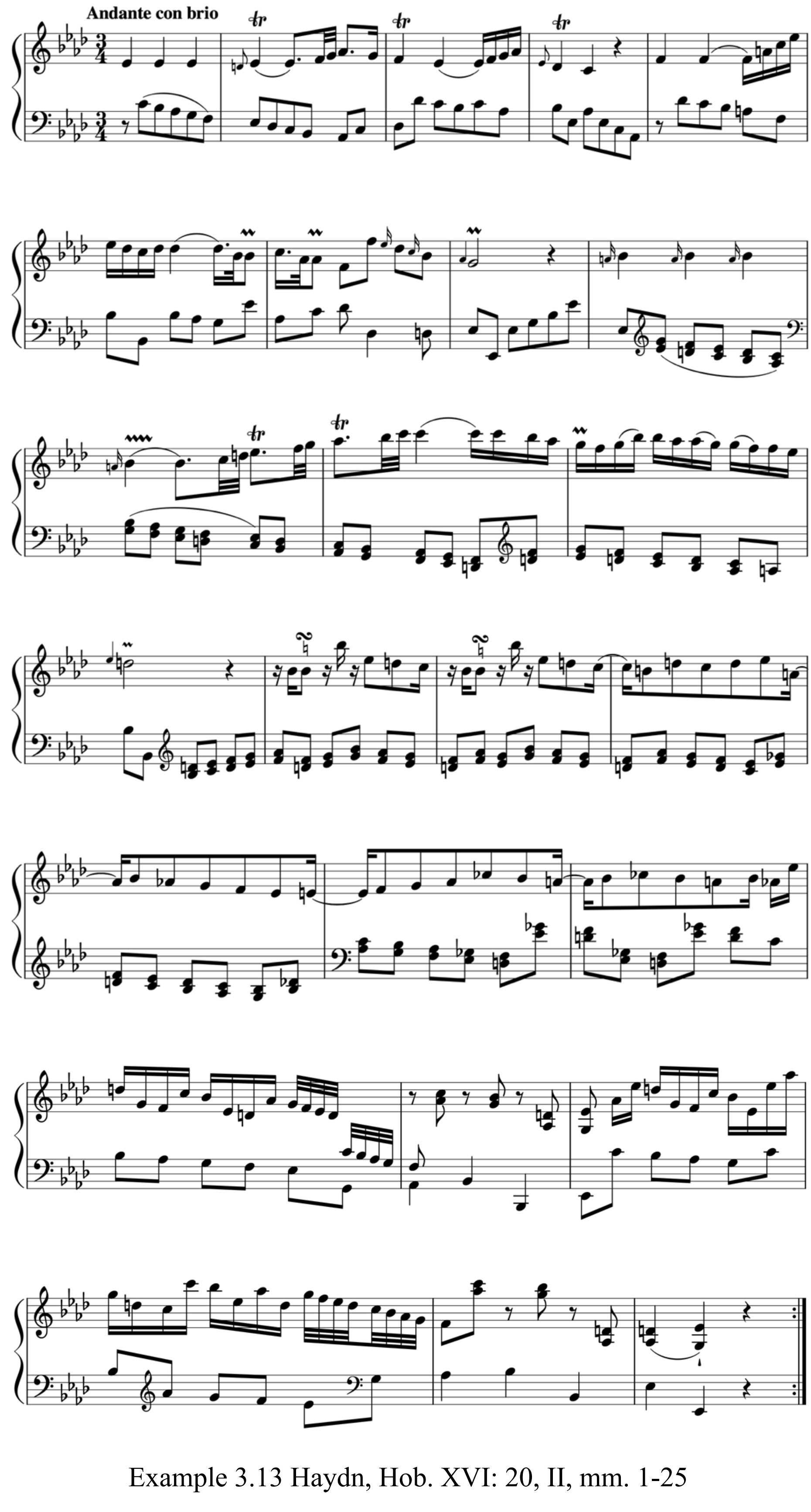
[511] Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Odes of Klopstock, From 1747 to 1780*, trans. William Nind (London: William Pickering, 1848), 307-308.

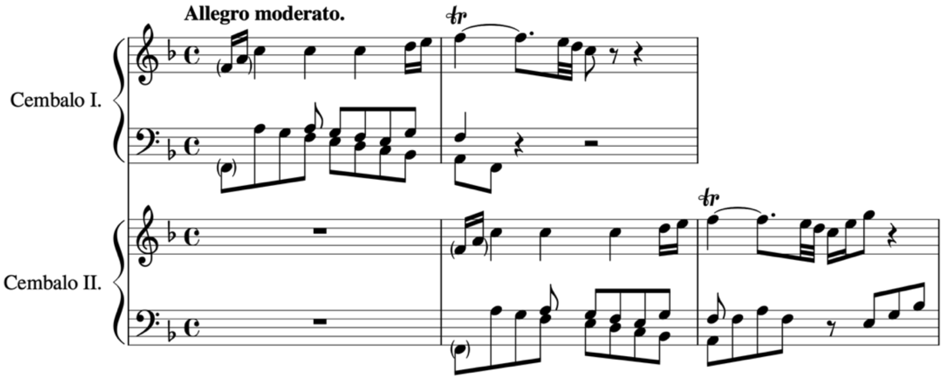
[512] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 102-103.

[513] Ibid., 137.

In each section, as the music comes to a temporary close, a beautifully contoured movement also emerges, after six measures of harmonically rich syncopations with thirds, like a lacelike line in the final six measures on the right hand. It comprises sixteenths that move a fifth upward, a fifth downward, a fifth upward, a fifth downward, and a diminished fifth upward, followed by delicate descending scales, elegantly separated eighths, and retardations, and it repeats itself in the higher register (mm. 20-25; mm. 62-67). These numerous moves in fifth do not entail any unpleasant jump or jolt and fit naturally with the shape of the hand. *Andante con moto* as a movement sings like a syncopated note that cannot be caught with bare hands.


Andante con brio

Example 3.13 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 20, II, mm. 1-25



Example 3.14 Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Sonata for Two Harpsichords in F major, F.10, I, mm.1-3

It was also in 1770, around the time when this sonata was written, that Hegel was born. The philosopher reflects on Haydn's music:

> …tranquillity of soul is never missing … grief is expressed there, too, but it is assuaged at once … everything is kept firmly together in a restrained form so that jubilation does not degenerate into a repulsive uproar, and even a lament gives us the most blissful tranquillity.[514]

Hegel does not hear Haydn as a jolly and naive composer. His perception of Haydn's music somehow even captures the essence of Hob. XVI: 20 where a spiritually shaped sensibility holds both melancholy and tranquility together. With devices ranging from dark harmonic vocabularies to the sigh topic, Hob. XVI: 20 becomes a musical text that has allowed Haydn's confessional, communal, and contemplative sensibility to blossom. Haydn's refuge-like clavichord, in this context, had then successfully performed its spiritual function. When Werther finally had to face the fate of not being able to claim Lotte for himself, he cried out,

> I cannot bear it any longer! Today I sat near her as she played the clavichord, all sorts of tunes and with so much expression!... I bowed my head and caught sight of her wedding ring. The tears ran down my cheeks – and suddenly Lotte began to play the heavenly old melody. All at once my soul was touched by a feeling of consolation, by a memory of the past, of the other occasions when I had heard the song, of the dark intervals of vexation between, of shattered hopes, and then — I walked up

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[514] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel*, Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T.M. Knox, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 939.

> and down the room, my heart almost suffocated by the rush of emotions.[515]

The clavichord pushed the sentimental ego of Werther to eventually suicide; in sorrow he had drowned, and in sorrow he had become lost — even Goethe himself had to satirize this sentimentality in *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* (1778), a play in six short acts later published in 1787 in *Goethe's Schriften*. Haydn's clavichord in its spiritual facet had, however, in simultaneously stressing an inward expression and displaying the relational aesthetic of sensibility, produced a gloomy and yet, as Hegel puts it, "restrained" Hob. XVI: 20. Enjoined to the clavichord and the divine, the lamenter of the sonata, as a result of being sympathetically captivated by the other, shows a "self-control" springing organically from within despite its profound sensibility. Melancholy for the 18th-century eyes as Sisman points out could become the best and most divine temperament; but it could also degrade into an unhealthy condition that led to madness and mania. Initially conceived as a physiological imbalance, melancholy could be described as "a tendency, or a point along a continuum that could move in either direction." After 1750 was "an aesthetic and social turn toward sensibility and solitude" that "charted an increasingly labyrinthine interior geography."[516] Could it be that after the 1750s — as a result of not *Sturm und Drang* but the period of poverty, the experience of wretchedness and loneliness, the consolation of the clavichord, and eventually the reflection of his faith in God — that such melancholic music of divine and controlled manifestation was birthed? Let the listener in his sensibility decide.

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[515] Goethe, *Werther*, 123-24.

[516] See Sisman, "Music and the Labyrinth of Melancholy: Traditions and Paradoxes in C. P. E. Bach and Beethoven," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies,* ed. Blake Howe, Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, Neil Lerner, and Joseph Straus, 590-617 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 590-91.

CHAPTER 4

THE AUENBRUGGERS' SENSIBILITY: HOB. XVI: 35-39

In 1780, Haydn had his first publication with Artaria. Artaria began by publishing art and maps in 1770 in Vienna and did not pursue serious music publishing until August 12, 1778. However, it eventually became the first major Viennese publishing house and had published more than 300 works by Haydn. Haydn's first publication with Artaria, a set of six sonatas of which the last was Hob. XVI: 20, was dedicated to the sisters Caterina Franzika Auenbrugger and Marianna Auenbrugger who studied with Haydn and Antonio Salieri. Known for their excellent playing, these two daughters of the respected physician Josef Leopold Auenbrugger appeared frequently in Viennese concerts as celebrated *dilettantes*. Together with Hob. XVI: 20, the first five sonatas, Hob. XVII: 35-39, display a variety of characters, thereby suggesting that the sonata just as Haydn's contemporaries have argued is the most ideal keyboard genre for the communication of different sentiments. Often considered the easiest among the six, Hob. XVI: 35 in C major opens with a youthful charm. This sonata continued to appeal to female keyboardists in the early 19th century; Austen, a lover of the piano and vocal songs, collected a copy of Haydn's Hob. XVI: 35 in one of her music books.[517] Other outer movements of this set of sonatas also show a vivacious spirit. Hob. XVI: 37, for example, begins with a buoyant, exuberant *Allegro con brio*.

But the soul of a sensibility that is not shallow feels the finer and deeper things. The often less examined movements of this set, particularly Hob. XVI: 36's *Moderato* and *Menuetto* as well as the *Adagio* movements of Hob. XVI: 35 and 38-39, evoke more intimate and sometimes darker feelings as though they are paving the way for the last and most serious sonata of the set, Hob. XVI: 20. Published in Vienna which was described by Mozart in 1781 as "the land of the clavier,"[518] this set of Auenbrugger sonatas, in spotlighting the musical sensibility of the sisters, also became one that presented Haydn as a compositional man of feeling. As the pianoforte, especially the Stein, became popular among Viennese elites in the early 1780s, the sisters' sympathetic bodies turned the pianoforte into an instrument that can be tapped sensitively. In their hands, the sonatas also invited audiences to reconsider what both form and femininity are capable of.

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[517] Austen's collections also include several canzonettas by Haydn such as "Mermaid's Song" H. XXVIa: 25, "Recollection" H. XXVIa:26, and "Pastoral Song," H. XXVIa:27. See Austen family, "Collection of music, chiefly in manuscript, but commencing with a printed sonata [electronic resource]: the collection originally in the possession of the family of Jane Austen: reference no. Jenkyns 03," *Internet Archive,* https://archive.org/details/austen1676477-2001.

[518] Anderson, *Letters of Mozart*, vol. 3, 1099.

The Auenbruggers' Sympathetic Bodies

Banned and burnt by authorities, Julien Offray de La Mettrie's *L'homme Machine* (1747), inspired by Descartes' theory that animalsare mere automations, likens the human body to a watch:

> The body is but a watch, whose watchmaker is the new chyle. Nature's first care, when the chyle enters the blood, is to excite in it a kind of fever which the chemists, who dream only of retorts, must have taken for fermentation. This fever produces a greater filtration of spirits, which mechanically animate the muscles and the heart, as if they had been sent there by order of the will.[519]

He continues confidently,

> I am right! The human body is a watch, a large watch constructed with such skill and ingenuity, that if the wheel which marks the seconds happens to stop, the minute wheel turns and keeps on going its round, and in the same way the quarter-hour wheel, and all the others go on running when the first wheels have stopped because rusty or, for any reason, out of order.[520]

La Mettrie's analogy perhaps would not have resonated with Haydn's musical contemporaries, given being compared to a machine was considered an insult to any musician who attempted to play from the heart. Koch, for example, warns young musicians against mechanical performance:

> Now you young artists who read these pages for instruction… may your single aim be to please your listeners through beautiful feelings… do not hanker after the applause of the masses, because for you too Gellert wrote the fine fable: "The Nightingale and the Cuckoo." You too should learn to feel what means

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[519] Julien Offray de la Mettrie, *Man a Machine* [1747], trans. Gertrude C. Bussey (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.,1912), 135-36.

[520] Ibid., 141.

> *The escape of a silent tear, Brings (to true artists) far more glory, Than loud applause.*
>
> If you have attained a high degree of skill on your instrument, if the execution of even the greatest difficulties comes to you easily, all the better for you. Good taste does not require you never to show off your skill. Only use it with taste, and beware of seeking approval merely through virtuosity, else you resemble the buffoon, who gets applause for mere mechanical skill.[521]

For Koch, virtuosity alone does not translate to "beautiful feelings" with good taste. Türk likewise argues "the final and indispensable requisite for good performance…is without doubt a personal and genuine feeling for all the emotions and passions which can be expressed in music." The "apathetic" player, Türk observes, can only play by a "borrowed" feeling or a kind of "mechanical limitation" just like "when a trained bird whistles his little piece either better or worse according to whether his master has whistled it better or worse for him."[522] This "trained bird" imagery has appeared earlier in C.P.E Bach's *Versuch* where the composer exhorts: "Play from the soul, not like a trained bird!"[523]

La Mettrie's comparison of the body's nervous response to the vibration of instrumental strings nonetheless reflects the view of his days. "As a violin string or a harpsichord key vibrates and gives forth sound," he states, "so the cerebral fibres, struck by waves of sound, are stimulated to render or repeat the words that strike them."[524] Diderot also likened the human organ to sensitive vibrating strings. In *D'Alembert's Dream*, written in 1769 but unpublished until 1830, he avers that "a sensitive vibrating string goes on vibrating and sounding a note long after it has been plucked." He even compares the philosopher to the clavichord:[525]

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[521] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 154.
[522] Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 359.
[523] Bach, *Essay*, 150.
[524] La Mettrie, *Man a Machine*, 33-34.

> The philosopher-instrument is sensitive, being at once and the same time player and instrument. As a sensitive being he has a momentary consciousness of the sound he is producing, as an animal he remembers it. This organic faculty, by linking together the sounds in his own mind, makes a melody out of them and preserves it. Assume that the clavichord has both sensitivity and memory, and then tell me whether it won't know and repeat on its own the tunes you will play on its keys. We are instruments possessed of sensitivity and memory. Our senses are so many keys which are struck by things in nature around us, and often strike themselves. And in my opinion that is all that happens in a clavichord organized like you and me.[526]

With strings resembling sensitive nerves, the clavichord in the 18th-century became a metaphor for human nature. Herder writes, "Music plays a clavichord within us, which is our own most intimate nature… It is not we who count and measure, but rather nature; the clavichord plays and counts within us."[527] That is not to say, however, that those who believed in a sensibility of the heart thought the human body has nothing in common with the automata or machine. In *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations* (1749), published initially by Samuel Richardson, David Hartley presents his doctrines of vibrations and associations. He divides the motions of the body into two kinds, namely the automatic and the voluntary:

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[525] The original French text uses the term "clavecin" in the passage: "L'instrument philosophe est sensible; il est en même temps le musicien et l'instrument. Comme sensible, il a la conscience momentanée du son qu'il rend; comme animal, il en a la mémoire. Cette faculté organique, en liant les sons en lui-même, y produit et conserve la mélodie. Supposez au clavecin de la sensibilité et de la mémoire, et dites-moi s'il ne se répétera pas de lui-même les airs que vous aurez exécutés sur ses touches. Nous sommes des instruments doués de sensibilité et de mémoire. Nos sens sont autant de touches qui sont pincées par la nature qui nous environne, et qui se pincent souvent elles-mêmes; et voici, à mon jugement, tout ce qui se passe dans un clavecin organisé comme vous." See Diderot, *Entretien entre d'Alembert et Diderot, le rêve de d'Alembert, suite de l'entretien* [1830] (Paris: Flammarion, 1965), 50-51. Many have translated Diderot's "clavecin" as harpsichord, but here I use Leonard Tancock's translation which translates "clavecin" as clavichord.

[526] Diderot, *D'Alembert's Dream* [1830], in *Rameau's Nephew* and *D'Alembert's Dream*, trans. Leonard Tancock, 133-237 (London: Penguin Books, 1966), 156-57.

[527] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Kalligone* [1800], in *Schriften zu Literatur und Philosophie, 1792–1800,* ed. Hans Dietrich Irmscher, 641-964 (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1998), 703 and 705.

> The automatic motions are those which arise from the mechanism of the body in an evident manner. They are called automatic, from their resemblance to the motions of automata, or machines, whose principle of motion, is within themselves. Of this kind are the motion of the heart, and peristaltic motion of the bowels. The voluntary motions are those which arise from ideas and affections, and which therefore are referred to the mind the immediately preceding state of the mind, or of the ideas and affections, being termed will.[528]

Hartley's "automatic" denotes not so much a cold-blooded and heartless disposition. Rather, it stresses an immediate and involuntary character. In this sense, a stutter or a sweat from the sentimental person can be described as an automatic behavior. The voluntary, on the contrary, involves choices related to affections.

The nervous, bodily understanding of sensibility which advanced the knowledge of medical sympathy was encouraged by a curiosity that questioned whether all humans had the same sensations. In 1750, Johnson wrote in a paper regarding the trend of readers growing in their preference for stories of everyday life instead of fantastic tales. The fictions of daily life, he observed, confirmed the common in human experiences.[529] The notion of sameness in human nature and constituents was regarded as the reason men can feel what others feel both morally and physically. After Johnson died, Franz Anton Mesmer's Mesmerism, known also as "animal magnetism," became a medical fashion that suggests all human beings are subject to the same experiences because of the same universal force that has been enacted upon mankind. Mesmer was a figure known in the musical circle as a friend and patron of Mozart, although Mozart had later ridiculed Mesmer and his theory in the opera *Così fan tutte* (1790).[530] The principle of Mesmerism shows, as Stewart Justman points out, a strong likeness to the literary and empirical interest for the sentimental in things that, in

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[528] David Hartley, *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations* [1749], vol. 1 (London: J. Johnson, 1801), iii-iv.

[529] Stewart Justman, "To Feel What Others Feel: Two Episodes from 18th Century Medicine," *Medical Humanities* 37/1(2011): 34.

[530] For more about the relationship between Mesmer and Mozart, see Andrew Steptoe, "Mozart, Mesmer and 'Cosi Fan Tutte,'" *Music & Letters* 67/3 (1986): 248-255. During 1776-77, Mesmer also treated the blind pianist and another student of Salieri, Maria Theresia von Paradis, the daughter of Joseph Anton von Paradis who served as the Imperial Secretary of Commerce and Court Councillor to Maria Theresa. Her blindness nonetheless returned in the end. See Frank Pattie, *Mesmer and Animal Magnetism: A Chapter in the History of Medicine* (Hamilton, NY: Edmonston Publishing, Inc, 1994), 57-63.

Johnson's words, "daily happen in the world."[531] The popularity of this theory is attested by a print that reported that "everyone is occupied with Mesmerism." Mesmerism embodies a Rousseauian view of nature and harmony; Mesmer was said to have discovered Mesmerism after wandering in a forest for three months "like a Rousseauite savage."[532]

The medical notion of sympathy nevertheless does not just overlap with the literary but also the musical realms. In 1756, the French doctor Théophile de Bordeu, who wrote the entry "Crise" in *Encyclopédie*, published *Recherches sur le pouls par rapport aux crises* and argues that doctors should possess aural and touch sensitivity to understand different pulse types. Physicians, Bordeu contends, should develop a sense of rhythm, timbre, melody, form, and harmony. As Ingrid J. Sykes observes, Bordeu's interest in hearing can be situated within a broader Enlightenment context of auditory cognition in which some physicians believed pulse patterns resemble musical laws and can be translated to notated musical scores. Yet Bordeu argued that the pulse patterns of the body are much more nuanced and complex than the laws of music. His work resonated with the works of musicians like Jean-Phillipe Rameau, whose art of listening was commended by both vitalist and mechanist groups. Bordeu nonetheless gained more approvals from the vitalists, for he highlighted the fluid nature of organism that the mechanists failed to acknowledge.[533]

Bourdeu's theory of diagnosis, as Anne C. Vila puts it, becomes "the delicate art of tapping the resonances created by sensibility in the body, resonances that resound all the more dramatically when this property is overexerted or pathologically diverted."[534] But Bordeu was not the only one who promoted attentive listening to the body as an acoustical act with medical meaning; the Auenbrugger sisters' father, Josef Leopold Auenbrugger, also regarded the physical body as, in the words of Peter Pesic, a "vibrating body [that] sounds with diagnostic meaning."[535] Born in Graz, Austria on November 19, 1722, Josef was a famed physician, a friend of Empress Maria Theresa, and a learned musician. He married Marianna von Priesterberg in 1754 when he was thirty-two and, weary of the envy of his colleagues, he resigned in 1762 as a physician to the Spanish Hospital and committed himself to general practice in Vienna. He owned a library of many books and exchanged letters with foreign scholars including the physiologist Haller.[536] On behalf of the Emperor Joseph II who raised him to nobility in 1784, he also wrote the libretto for Salieri's opera *Der Rauchfangkehrer*, premiered in Vienna in the Burgtheater on April 30, 1781.[537] Josef Leopold befriended many musically enthusiastic physicians such as Gerard van Swieten who was, as stated in the previous chapter, the personal physician to Maria Theresa and father to Haydn's patron Gottfried van Swieten.[538]

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[531] Justman, "To Feel What Others Feel," 34.

[532] Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 40 and 117.

[533] Ingrid J. Sykes, "The Art of Listening: Perceiving Pulse in Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35/4 (2012): 473-75.

[534] Anne C. Vila, "Sensible Diagnostics in Diderot's *La Religieuse*," *MLN* 105/4 (1990): 778-79.

[535] Peter Pesic, "Music, Mechanism, and the 'Sonic Turn' in Physical Diagnosis," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 71/2 (2015): 159.

Josef Leopold's hearing sensitivity was instrumental to his medical findings. The portrait of him and his wife by an unknown Austrian painter, located at the Istituto Ortopedico Rizzoli, Bologna today, shows him holding proudly a copy of his signature work, *Inventum Novum* (1761).[539] In *Inventum Novum*, he discusses the relationship between the thoracic cavity and the varying percussive resonance of the sound it produces when tapped by fingers. Saul Jarcho attributes Josef Leopold's ability to distinguish the condition of one's chest based on the subtle differences of sound to his musical excellence.[540] Henry E. Sigerist remarks similarly, "It could occur only to a man with a good ear that sound phenomena might be used in examining the chest. Another man wouldn't have perceived the difference in sounds."[541]

The diagnostic observations in *Inventum Novum* are fused with musical terminology and details. To introduce his sonic diagnostic technique, Josef Leopold states: "The thorax of a healthy person sounds, when struck." He continues, "The sound thus elicited from the healthy chest, resembles the stifled sound of a drum covered with a thicken woollen cloth or other envelope." Then he adds, "The sound is more distinct in the lean, and proportionably duller in the robust; in very fat persons it is almost lost."[542] He uses similar techniques to determine inflammatory diseases of the chest: "The duller the sound, the more nearly approaching that of a fleshy limb stricken, the more severe is the disease."[543] *Inventum Novum* even employs contemporary drum techniques such as the use of muting cloths called *coperti* which muffles the sound of the timpani. These muffled drums were used in Mozart's *Idomeneo* (1781) and *Die Zauberflöte* (1791) as well as Haydn's Symphony No. 102 in B-flat major (1794). Josef Leopold also integrates his knowledge of timbre into his theory. Jean-Nicolas Corvisart-Desmarets' first French translation of *Inventum Novum* in 1770, observes Pesic, reveals timbre seems more important than absolute pitch for Josef Leopold. Josef Leopold's "higher," for example, is not translated as "élevé" which means higher in pitch but with "superficiel" to describe a superficial sound heard through a thin wall.[544]

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[536] A. Sakula, "Auenbrugger: Opus and Opera," *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of London* 12/2 (1978): 183.

[537] Quoted in ibid., 185. Originally from Cramer, *Magazine der Musik*, vol. 1, 352.

[538] Frank T. Brechka, *Gerard Van Swieten and His World 1700-1772* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1970), 114.

[539] For more about this portrait, see V. Putti, "The Portrait of Leopold Auenbrugger," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 8/3: 417-18.

[540] See Saul Jarcho, "Auenbrugger, Laennec, and John Keats. Some notes on the early history of percussion and auscultation," *Medical History* 5/2 (1961): 169.

[541] Henry E. Sigerist, "On Percussion of the Chest: A Translation of Auenbrugger's Original Treatise by John Forbes [1761/1824]," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 4 (1936): 374.

The Auenbrugger sisters might have, according to an account, grown up observing their father tapping casks to detect their fullness and emptiness for the training of his hearing of the thoraxes. Max Neuburger, however, has rejected this account due to a lack of substantial evidence.[545] If this report was true, however, then the superb musical sensibility of the two sisters may be understood in a new light. According to Hartley, the "extreme and pointed parts" such as "the extremity of the nose, the uvula, the epiglottis, the nipples, and the ends of the fingers" are in general not only more easily subjected to irritation but also "endued with a greater degree of sensibility than the other parts." This principle, he argues, agrees with the doctrine of vibrations. He explains,

> …the sensibility of each part does depend, in great measure, on the number, structure, and disposition of the nervous papillae, which are the immediate organ in the senses of feeling, taste, and smell; but then we may remark, that the same observation holds in respect of these nervous papillae. For they are also extreme and pointed parts, and that especially, if we suppose, which seems probable, that when any part is in a state of exquisite sensibility, the nervous papillae are erected…they may also…be made turgid…and thus have their sensibility, or power of receiving vibrations, increased by distention.[546]

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[542] Ibid., 380-81.

[543] Ibid., 387.

[544] Pesic, "Music, Mechanism, and the 'Sonic Turn,'" 161-62.

[545] See ibid., 160. Originally from Max Neuburger, *Leopold Auenbrugger und sein Inventum Novum: eine historische Skizze* (Vienna: M. Salzer, 1922), 11.

[546] Hartley, *Observations on Man*, 43-44.

In this case, then, the Auenbruggers did not only listen with perceptive ears. Under their father's tutelage, their bodies became musically sympathetic bodies. Their fingertips felt, crafted, and responded to various shadings, sound levels, and the speed of musical notes with sensitivity. Numbness, writes Hartley, means "a diminution of sensibility."[547] But the Auenbruggers' bodies, fully in agreement with their souls, showed no numbness but a lively expression of sensibility.

The older sister Franzika was in particular recognized for her musical gifts. In 1766, Hiller included her name in a list of female Viennese musicians whom he considered outstanding:

> To be noted as well are some of our women, whether from the nobility or middle class, who are skilled at the keyboard, such as:
>
> Mlle. Elisabeth Martinez, raised under the purview of Abbé Mestastasio; she composes very skillfully.
> Fräulein Countess von Ziertni, in singing.
> Fräulein Countess von Wilczec, Fräulein Bar. von Gudenus, Fräulein von Collenbach, Mlle. Auenbrugge [Franzika von Auenbrugger], Fräulein von Hahn, Mlle. Plenschütz, Frau von Waldstädten, née von Schäfer, Frau von Moll, consort of the imperial royal agent, all on the keyboard.
> Frau Hardlin, Frau Fraislin, in singing.[548]

Born in 1755, Franzika was only around eleven or twelve years old when Hiller formed his opinion. She continued to be admired as she grew up as a "fiery beauty" and in 1796, she was still hailed as "one of the foremost artists on the *Fortepiano*, which she played not only with accomplishment but also with taste."[549] The domestic musical traditions established by Josef Leopold and his wife provided platforms for their daughters to showcase their musical achievements. The Auenbrugger family would host musical matinees, which sometimes included Salieri, on Sundays between noon to 2pm during winter seasons.[550] Leopold Mozart raved about the sisters' playing to his wife few days after having dined with the sisters on August 12, 1773 when Franzika was eighteen and Marianna was fourteen. Franzika nevertheless continued to be regarded as the more outstanding pianist. In Leopold Mozart's view, she had "a complete command of music" and played "incomparably well." The Berlin critic Freidrich Nicolai, having heard the sisters perform during his visit to Vienna in 1781, also praised specifically Franziska's keyboard playing and her ability to sing with "pure intonation and with true affect." Although he considered Marianna "lovable," he did not comment much on her playing and singing. Marianna was also described as "prone to illness and of a somewhat crooked build"[551] and, like her two other sisters, she died young, at the age of twenty-three, in 1782.[552]

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[547] Ibid., 131.
[548] Quoted in Godt, *Marianna Martines: A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010), 57.
[549] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 25.
[550] Quoted in Tom Beghin, *The Virtual Haydn: Paradox of a Twenty-First-Century Keyboardist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 180. Originally from Ernst von Lehmann, "Mittheilungen einen Urenkels Auenbrugger's," in Dr. Conrad Clar,

Marianna might not have been as gifted as her sister as a pianist, but the first and also last sonata she composed, written in E-flat major, was published after her death by Artaria at Salieri's own expense. Salieri did not refer to himself as primarily Marianna's teacher in the publication. Instead, he addressed himself as "a friend and admirer of [Marianna's] rare virtues." He also attached in this work a funeral Ode dedicated to Marianna titled "Deh si piacevoli." The mourning angel on the original cover also shares in Salieri's sorrow and grieves over Marianna's death (Figure 4.1). During the same year of Marianna's death, Franziska married Joseph Freiheer Zois von Edelstein on January 13. Residing on the second floor of a large house in the flour market next to the Kapuzinerkirche, they continued the Sunday family musical gatherings. In Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld's account, Franziska proved herself in these

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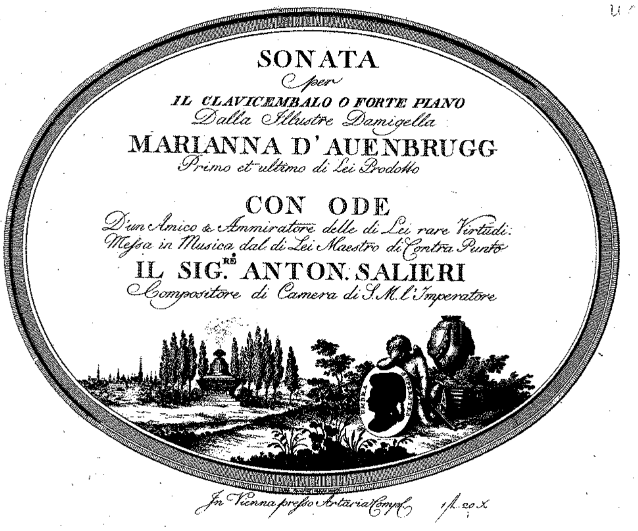
Leopold Auenbrugger, der Erfinder der Percussion des Brustkorbes, geb. zu Graz 1722, gest. zu Wien 1809, und sein Inventum novum (Graz: Leuschner und Lubesnky, 1867), 40.

[551] Quoted in Beghin, *Virtual Haydn*, 180. Originally from Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Desutsch, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, vol. 1 (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1962), 486; Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1781*, vol. 4 (Berlin und Stettin, 1784), 554; and Lehmann, "Mittheilungen einen Urenkels Auenbrugger's," 35-42.

[552] Franziska's grandson Ernst von Lehmann stated in 1865 that while his grandmother was a cultured woman, Marianna was the one who mastered both Latin and Greek and could play the piano with excellence since she was little. Beghin, however, suspects Lehmann might have confused the two, for he seemed to have mixed up the two's ages, claiming Marianna was the firstborn. See Beghin, *Virtual Haydn*, 182. Originally from Lehmann, "Mittheilungen einen Urenkels Auenbrugger's," 39.

gatherings as “one of the finest artists on the fortepiano” with both dexterity and taste, but she eventually stopped performing publicly for a few years.[553]



SONATA
per
IL CLAVICEMBALO O FORTE PIANO
Dalla Illustre Damigella
MARIANNA D'AUENBRUGG
Primo et ultimo di Lei Prodotto
CON ODE
D'un Amico & Ammiratore delle di Lei rare Virtudi:
Messa in Musica dal di Lei Maestro di Contra Punto
IL SIG.RE ANTON. SALIERI
Compositore di Camera di S.M. l'Imperatore

In Vienna presso Artaria Compl. 1 fl. 20 X

Figure 4.1 Marianna Auenbrugger, Keyboard Sonata in E-flat Major (Vienna: Artaria, 1782), Title Page.

Against Mechanical Music: Sentiments of the Heart

The musical bodies of the Auenbruggers are not mechanical, unfeeling, but sympathetic. According to Christopher Lawrence, the Scottish medical professor Robert Whytt was the first to give the term “sympathy” a “clearly defined structural and functional significance” in about 1744. Physiologists in Edinburgh then extended this idea.[554] In 1781, a year before Marianna’s death and after the publication of this set of sonatas, Seguin Henry Jackson published *A Treatise on Sympathy* where he argues sympathy is a quality of the “moving fibre” and “living solid”[555] which could only “properly arise from nervous connection.”[556] Sympathy, he asserts, is “one of the most extensive principles in the animal economy” that may be viewed as “the basis of all its compound actions.”[557] He divides sympathy into two kinds: mental and corporeal. The mental “arises from a sensation in the mind, determining to particular organs, or particular parts of the body, and raising in them certain feelings, actions, and inclinations, sometimes agreeable, and sometimes disagreeable." Of this sort "are longings of various kinds, depressing passions." The corporeal, on the other hand, "depends upon the operation of external bodies, and the conditions of the moving and sentient extremities of the nerves, and more generally occurs in diseased states of the system." The mental could also be called "sympathies of consciousness" while the corporeal can be labelled as "sympathies of impressions." Both are produced through the five principal senses.[558]

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[553] See Beghin, *Virtual Haydn*, 182. Originally from Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, facsimile edn (Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1976 [Vienna: Im von Schönfeldischen Verlag, 1796]), 73.

[554] Christopher Lawrence, “The Nervous System and Society in the Scottish Enlightenment,” in *Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture*, ed. Barry Barnes and Steven Shapin, 19-40 (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1979), 27.

[555] Seguin Henry Jackson, *A Treatise on Sympathy* (London: J. Murray, 1781), 5 and 12.

[556] Ibid., 277.

[557] Ibid., 19.

Jackson also draws musical analogy. He describes sympathies arisen from the affection as "the unisons of sounds in music, or the unisons of combinations of sounds." Unisons of sound produce "agreeable sympathetic feelings," whereas the reverse produces disagreeable feelings.[559] He concludes that "*Extreme arterious vessels*, forming a part of the capillary system, are most likely to become the channels of *medical sympathy*, through the medium of the sympathizing heart" and that "the sympathy of an animal body has been explained by the unison of sound produced on the strings of a musical instrument."[560] Jackson further suggests that sympathy is greater in young than in old people even though it also depends upon the different degrees of sensibility in the individual body.[561] If sensibility flourishes most dynamically in young bodies and is most concentrated at the fingertips, then the talented Auenbruggers, twenty-five and twenty-one respectively during the dedication of the six sonatas, would have been the ideal figures that emanate beautiful music. Music that exhibits their sympathetic disposition would render each of them a femininely beautiful soul as that depicted by Herder in 1770 to Caroline Flachsland:

> …as despicable as a learned woman appears to me, so beautiful is, I, believe, a tender soul like you who can sympathize with such tender emotions. They ennoble and refine the soul, and if they are a fiction, they are the most spiritual fiction that a human soul can traverse in the most beautiful flowering of its time, its energy, and its life.[562]

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[558] Ibid., 5-6.

[559] Ibid., 25 and 105.

[560] Ibid., 231.

[561] Ibid., 20-21.

[562] Quoted and translated in Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Introduction: German Literature in the Era of Enlightenment and Sensibility," in *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century: The Enlightenment and Sensibility*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino, 1-31 (Woodbridge:

An emphasis on the soul would also suggest that a sympathetic human body is one who possesses a tender heart, for sentiments ultimately do not stem from the ears or the fingertips but the heart. Adam Ferguson in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) argues the capitalist separation causes men to become machine-like objects that make, with mind-numbing labor, machine-like arts: "Many mechanical arts…require no capacity…Manufactures… prosper most, where the mind is least consulted, and where the workshop may, without any great effort of imagination, be considered as an engine, the parts of which are men." "Sentiments of the heart," he suggests, are what distinguish artists from the mechanics:

> Some employments are liberal, others mechanic. They require different talents, and inspire different sentiments… it is certainly reasonable to form our opinion of the rank that is due to men of certain professions and stations, from the influence of their manner of life in cultivating the powers of the mind, or in preserving the sentiments of the heart…

"The mechanic, whose art requires no exertion of genius," he writes, "are degraded by the object they pursue, and by the means they employ to attain it." He also holds that "professions requiring more knowledge and study; proceeding on the exercise of fancy, and the love of perfection; leading to applause as well as to profit" put the artist in "a superior class." These artistic professions bring the artist to "that station in which men are supposed to be highest" because they are led by "the sentiments of the heart."[563]

Haydn, too, had to write music that serves the "sentiments of the heart" rather than dull robotic labor. His sonatas aimed not to parade mechanical skills but to accentuate the sisters' capability to feel sympathetically as tender women. The cover of the Auenbrugger sonatas, with its plentiful flowers and leaves, also somewhat hints femininity (Figure 4.2). But sympathy cannot be constrained. To highlight the Auenbruggers' sensibility and their gift to translate their sympathy pianistically, Haydn's six Auenbrugger sonatas show a wide range of characters and testify to the contemporary belief that the sonata is the most

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Camden House, 2005), 20. Originally from Herder, *Briefe. April 1763-1771*, ed. Karl-Heinz Hahn (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1977), vol. 1,:214 (no. 94).

[563] Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* [1767], ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 174-76.

supreme keyboard genre to evoke and express every sentiment. Sulzer considers the sonata the most ideal genre for the depiction of wordless sentiments as "no form other than the sonata may assume any character and every expression."[564] Türk also argues,

> What is understood as an ode in the art of poetry is approximately that which in music is the proper and true sonata. Consequently this species of instrumental composition presumes a high degree of inspiration, much power of invention and a lofty — I would almost like to say musical-poetic — flight of thoughts and of expression. Just as the subjects of the ode are uncommonly diverse and treated at quite different lengths, so is this true of the sonata. The composer is therefore in no instrumental composition less restricted — as far as character is concerned — than in the sonata, for every motion and passion can be expressed in it. For the more expressive a sonata is, the more the composer can be heard, as it were, to speak; the more the composer avoids the commonplace, the more excellent is the sonata.[565]

The sonata's flexibility for any expression also prompts Sulzer to compare this genre to a monologue or a conversation:

> In a sonata, the composer might want to express through the music a monologue marked by sadness, misery, pain, or of tenderness, pleasure and joy; using a more animated kind of music, he might want to depict a passionate conversation between similar or complementary characters….[566]

Schubart, too, describes the sonata as either an intimate or social musical conversation or an "imitation of human speech with dead instruments."[567]

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[564] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 103.

[565] Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 383.

[566] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 103-4.

[567] DuBois, *Schubart*, 414.

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Figure 4.2 Haydn, The Auenbrugger Keyboard Sonatas
(Vienna: Artaria, 1780), Title Page.

Unlike a “drilled musician,” the true musician, Türk argues, should be able to identify with every affect and respond to all the passions or emotions expressed in the music.[568] By sympathizing with the sentiments that Haydn projects in the music and transferring them to the audience, the Auenbrugger sisters presented themselves as true musicians. Yet, they were also doing a favor for Haydn. After all, this publication served not only the Auenbruggers’ reputation but also Haydn’s. Haydn’s admiration for the sisters is felt in these words he wrote to Artaria: “Both deserve to be known throughout Europe through the public newspapers.”[569] But he also complained to the publisher about not having the honor to dedicate the music to the sisters himself: “Everything that you write to me meets with my entire approval; I only regret one thing, that I cannot have the honour of dedicating these Sonatas to the Demoiselles von Auenbrugger myself.”[570] “The approval of the Demoiselles von Auenbrugger is most important to me,” Haydn explained, “for their way of playing and genuine insight into music equal those of the greatest masters.”[571] But the honor of dedicating the sonatas personally to the two sisters would have also helped build Haydn's eminence. Haydn confessed that to earn some recognition with this set of sonatas was his goal:

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[568] Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, 359.
[569] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 25.
[570] Ibid., 26.
[571] Ibid., 25.

> I hope to gain some honour by this work, at least with the judicious public; criticism of the works will be levelled only by those who are jealous (and there are many); should they have a good sale, this will encourage me to further in the future, and to serve you diligently at all times in preference to all others.[572]

This commercial mindset was also apparent in Artaria's publications of Haydn's songs, Hob. XXVIa:1–12, which took place a year after the publication of the Auenbrugger sonatas. In this instance, Haydn wrote according to the taste and musical ability of his target consumers. He assured Artaria that these songs are works that could be easily learned and sung: "These Lieder perhaps surpass all my previous ones in variety, naturalness, and ease of vocal execution."[573] A learned critic like Carl Friedrich Cramer nevertheless was not impressed by this commercialized incentive:

> These Lieder are not quite worthy of a Haydn. Presumably however he did not write them in order to increase his fame, but to give pleasure only to connoisseurs, male and female, of a certain kind. No one will therefore doubt that Herr Haydn could have made these Lieder better, if he had wanted to. Whether he should not have done so in the first place is another question.[574]

Haydn's quickness to forestall criticism also shows his entrepreneurial ambition. He defended beforehand the use of the same subject in two movements of this set: "Among these 6 Sonatas there are two single movements in which the same subject occurs through several bars: the author has done this intentionally, to show different methods of treatment."[575] These two movements according to Artaria are Hob. XVI: 36's *Scherzando* and Hob. XVI: 39's *Allegro* which begin with "some bars of the same sentiment."[576] Haydn even requested the statement he sent to Artaria to be printed in the *avertissement* so that his customers and critics would understand the recurrence of the same idea was not a careless accident but a deliberate, masterful plan. Haydn wrote to the publisher:

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[572] Ibid., 24-25.

[573] Ibid., 28.

[574] Quoted in A.P. Brown, "Joseph Haydn and Leopold Hofmann's 'Street Songs,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33/2 (1980): 372. Originally from Cramer's *Magazin der Musik*, vol. 1, 456-7.

[575] Landon, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, 430. Also in Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 25.

[576] See Landon, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, 430, n. 2: "Tra queste sei Sonate vi si trovano due Pezzi che cominciano con alcune battute dell'istesso sentimento, cioè I'Allegro scherzando della Sonata No. II, e l'Allegro con brio della Sonata No. V... [Among these six Sonatas there are two Pieces that begin with some bars of the same sentiment, namely the Allegro scherzando of the Sonata No. II, and the Allegro con brio of the

> For of course I could have chosen a hundred other ideas instead of this one; but so that the whole opus will not be exposed to blame on account of this one intentional detail (which the critics and especially my enemies might interpret wrongly), I think that this *avertissement* or something like it must be appended, otherwise the sale might be hindered thereby. I submit the point in question to the judicious decision of the two Demoiselles Auenbrugger, whose hands I respectfully kiss.[577]

According to Haydn, then, a listener offended by his recycling of the same material should blame not Haydn but himself for his lack of sensibility and judgment.

If the sisters as sympathetic souls were able to musically make alive such abundant feelings in Haydn's sonatas, Haydn, too, would emerge as a composer who not only wrote for the hands or the head — like Clementi — but one who appealed to the heart. Clementi was one of the most famous pianists in the 1780s, yet even though Beethoven and Haydn appeared to have high regard for him,[578] his style of both composing and performing were often criticized especially by Mozart for its empty virtuosity as well as a lack of taste and sensibility. On January 12, 1782, after his competition with Clementi, Mozart wrote to the guardian of Constanze Weber whom he was courting at that time: "Clementi plays well, so far as execution with the right hand goes. His greatest strength his passages in thirds. Apart from this, he has not a kreutzer's worth of feeling or taste — in short he is simply a *mechanicus*."[579] He wrote similarly to his father,

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Sonata No. V…]" Sisman has suggested that the different treatment of the same opening idea in these two movements is deliberate. It serves, she argues, the purpose of realizing the differences in skill between the two sisters, and, "by extension, the larger audience of more and less talented players." She further suggests that the different treatments of both movements and the techniques they demand as a whole reinforce the impression that Haydn intended Hob. XVI: 35-37 for Marianna and the more difficult Hob. XVI: 38-39 and 20 for Franzika. See Sisman, "*Haydn's Career and the Idea of Multiple Audience*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark, 1-16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13.

[577] Landon, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, 431.

[578] See Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music*, 58. Komlós highlighted Haydn's letter to Artaria dated June 1783, which stated the pianoforte sonatas by Clementi "are very beautiful." See also Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 42.

[579] Anderson, *Letters of Mozart*, vol. 3, 1180.

> Now a word about Clementi. He is an excellent cembalo-player, but that is all. He has great facility with his right hand. His star passages are thirds. Apart from this, he has not a farthing's worth of taste or feeling; he is a mere *mechanicus*.[580]

Clementi did not just disturb Mozart with his playing but also his compositions. In 1820, Clementi was praised for having, after resting from "his long and successful labours," composed a sonata that proves "his sensibility even more exalted, and his judgment now bearing the fullest fruits of maturity."[581] But Clementi's writing in the 1780s was, for Mozart, a pure reflection of his insensibility and tastelessness:

> Well, I have a few words to say to my sister about Clementi's sonatas. Everyone who either hears them or plays them must feel that as compositions they are worthless. They contain no remarkable or striking passages except those in sixths and octaves. And I implore my sister not to practise these passages too much, so that she may not spoil her quiet, even touch and that her hand may not lose its natural lightness, flexibility and smooth rapidity. For after all what is to be gained by it? Supposing that you do play sixths and octaves with the utmost velocity (which no one can accomplish, not even Clementi) you only produce an atrocious chopping effect and nothing else whatever. Clementi is a ciarlatano, like all Italians. He writes Presto over a sonata or even Prestissimo and Alia breve, and plays it himself Allegro in 4/4 time. I know this is the case, for I have heard him do so. What he really does well are his passages in thirds; but he sweated over them day and night in London. Apart from this, he can do nothing, absolutely nothing, for he has not the slightest expression or taste, still less, feeling.[582]

What contributed to Clementi's mechanical manner was perhaps also an endeavor to eschew effeminacy. Peter Beckford, Clementi's patron until 1774, once said,

> Though music is a charming talent, I think more time is allotted to it than it deserves, considering the little use that is made of it afterwards; besides, it increases sensibility, particularly in a female breast, which surely is no advantage.[583]

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[580] Ibid., 1181.

[581] *The London Magazine*, *July to December*, *1820*, vol. 2 (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1820), 97.

[582] Anderson, *Letters of Mozart*, vol. 3, 1267.

[583] Leon Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 4.

These words skeptical of music's worth may baffle at first, for Beckford was after all Clementi's music sponsor. But Beckford's view was not unique to himself as many in his days believed the ideal man should not devote too much time in music unless he was a court musician or a professional performer. A proper Englishman like Beckford was to focus primarily on business, political affairs, and hunting. Excessive musical cultivation could easily distract or even damage masculinity by, in his words, augmenting "sensibility in a female breast." Haydn's sonatas, then, gave what the mechanical Clementi could not give. Clementi might display "fire and spirit," Dies remarks, but he and other new composers in Haydn's time did not demonstrate the "fullness of feeling, delicacy, and understandable superiority in every ingenuity" that Haydn's clavier music displayed.[584]

"Any Character and Every Expression"

The Auenbrugger sonatas were not to be cold, unemotional music, but this objective by no means predestined Haydn to write according to the typical feminine fashion for the sensibility of the sisters. The 18th-century iconography of the musical lady, as Head notes, displays "containing" disciplinary effects on female subjectivity. While collections of music for ladies were popular in England, keyboard sonatas and songs dedicated to the fair sex were also prevalent in Germany. Music for women was expected to be "easy" rather than "learned" to match the amateur and domestic context of music making. The ideal of easiness stressed features such as keys with few or no sharps and flats, melody-oriented styles, naturalness, lightness, and avoidance of thick textures. Reichardt, in his adoration for the physical delicacy of female keyboardists, even stated that he composed specifically in ways that would allow women to observe, with their "squinting eyes," notes that their "pretty little hands" could omit.[585] Despite this trend, however, Haydn did not force female bodies into a certain domain of sensibility. By blurring the boundaries between the "masculine" and the "feminine," the "Auenbrugger" music continues to beg the question of what makes "femininity," or, in Beckford's worldview, a "feminine sensibility."

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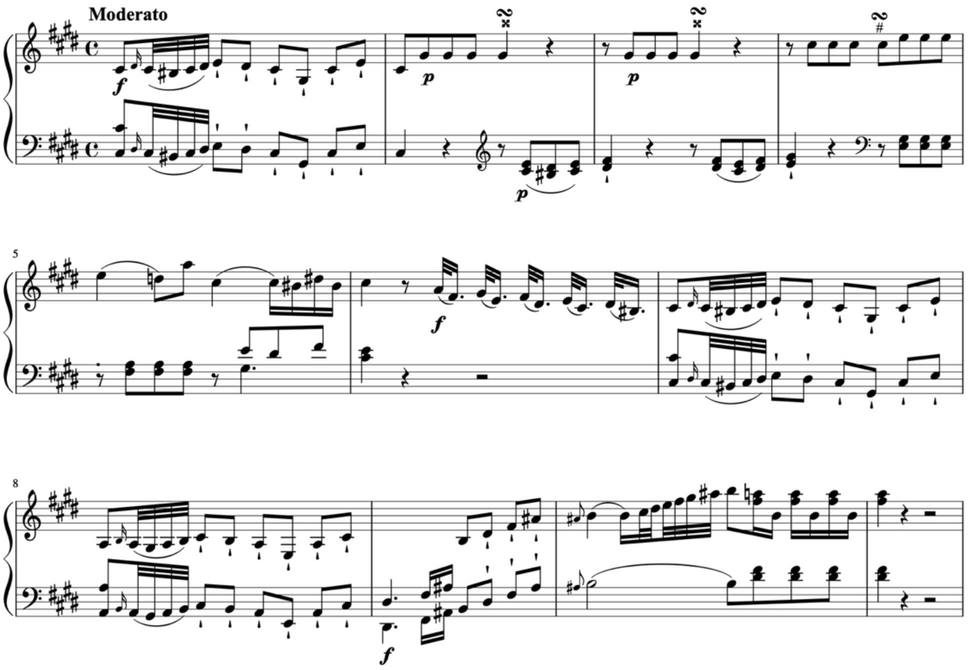
[584] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 200.

[585] See Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52/2 (1999): 203-254, specifically 204-221.

Hob. XVI: 36, the second sonata of the set, was written in the unusually dark key of C-sharp minor. The four black sharps are themselves a statement against the conventional idea that women could only play easy pieces. Diderot once requested C.P.E. Bach and Friedrich Melchior Grimm for sonatas that were composed in "difficult keys" for his daughter as he believed she possessed enough talent to play such works.[586] The solemn opening of Hob. XVI: 36's *Moderato* immediately breaks one's expectations of a soft, facile type of feminine sensibility. The thick forte unison announces itself with a fanfare-like sonority that demolishes the ideals of lightness and easiness (Example 4.1). Fanfare invokes heroic or "masculine" sentiments, for, as Sisman writes, it "could suggest calls to attentions from the court, town, battlefield, or oracular voice."[587] The forceful eighths bestow the music with an august character, but they are also quickly contrasted with soft repeated eighths on the right hand that are followed by legato, prompting chromatic thirds on the left hand. Only one with sensitive ears and hands, like the Auenbruggers' father who could receptively adjust the force of tapping to acquire the desired color and tone, can execute this swift shift from the octaves in *forte* to the soft eighths in *piano*.



Example 4.1 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in C-sharp Minor, Hob. XVI: 36, I, mm. 1-11

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[586] Quoted in ibid., 212. Originally from Hans-Giinter Ottenberg, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, trans. Philip J. Whitmore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 223.

[587] Sisman, "Symphonies and the Public Display of Topics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, 90-117 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 115.

The irregular phrasing of the theme also suggests an intricate side of sensibility. The opening measure reappears in m. 7, yet it immediately reasserts itself again by descending in a major third into A major in m. 8. A low resounding D-sharp in *forte* unison then follows in m. 9, unloosing a rising arpeggiated B-major dominant seventh in determined eighths and a rising scale in thirty-second notes. Bright repeated broken chords and three beats of striking silence follow before the more elegant second theme in E major enters. Only flexible anatomies can perform such erratic moves.

The use of various rhythmic types such as the reversed dotted rhythm, known as the lombardic rhythm or the scotch snap, also evinces the sensitive body is one who is susceptive of pulse recognition. These lombardic gestures, first introduced in m. 6, intrude rather dramatically after an eighth rest and gravitate towards the tonic unison in m. 7.[588] In the recapitulation, the lombardic rhythm is repeated and expanded into a short robust episode in mm. 73-78 after the return of the primary theme (Example 4.2). The left hand initially supports the restless lombardic rhythm of the right hand with octaves. It shifts, however, in m. 74, into a succession of repeated single eighths that carefully increase musical tension and anticipation before the music dissolves back into the soft repeated eighths that mark the primary theme. The many successive and repetitive octaves, both broken and doubled, such as those in m. 22-23, mm. 25-29, mm. 82-84, and mm. 87-92 as well as the developmental toccata-like passage in mm. 51-64 that ends with a dotted hammer blow on the dominant also engender vigorous sounds that do not conform to the idealized feminine.

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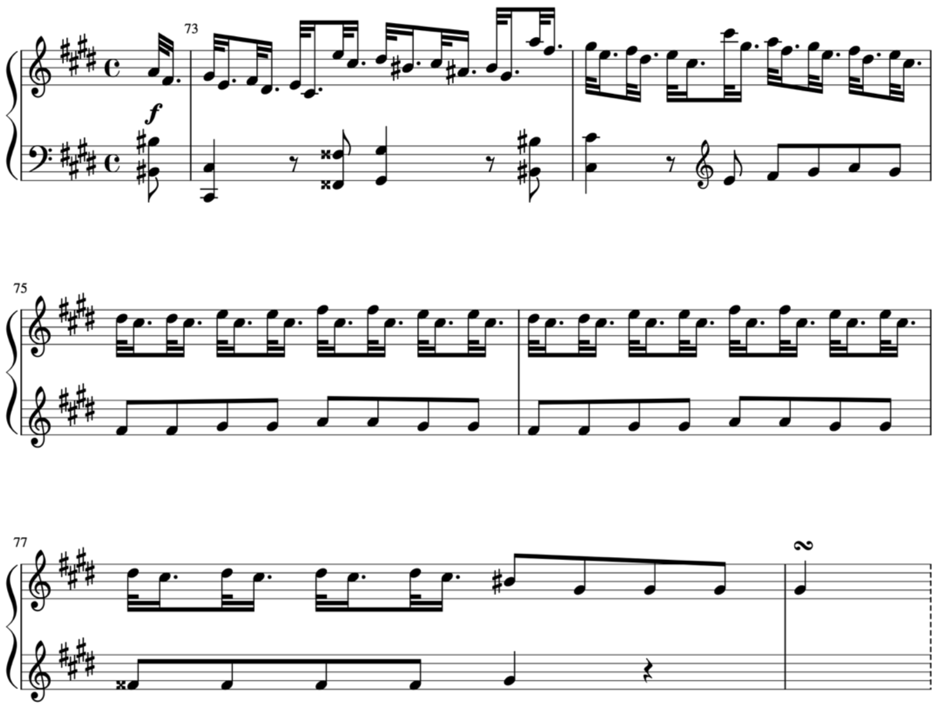
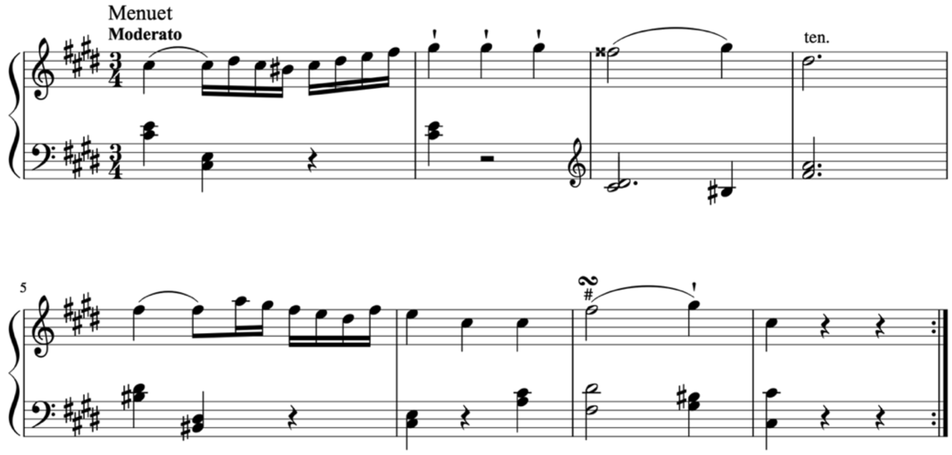
[588] According to Quantz, the lombardic rhythm began in Italy in about 1722, but there are also indications that show "this manner of writing is found in Scottish music." See Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 323.



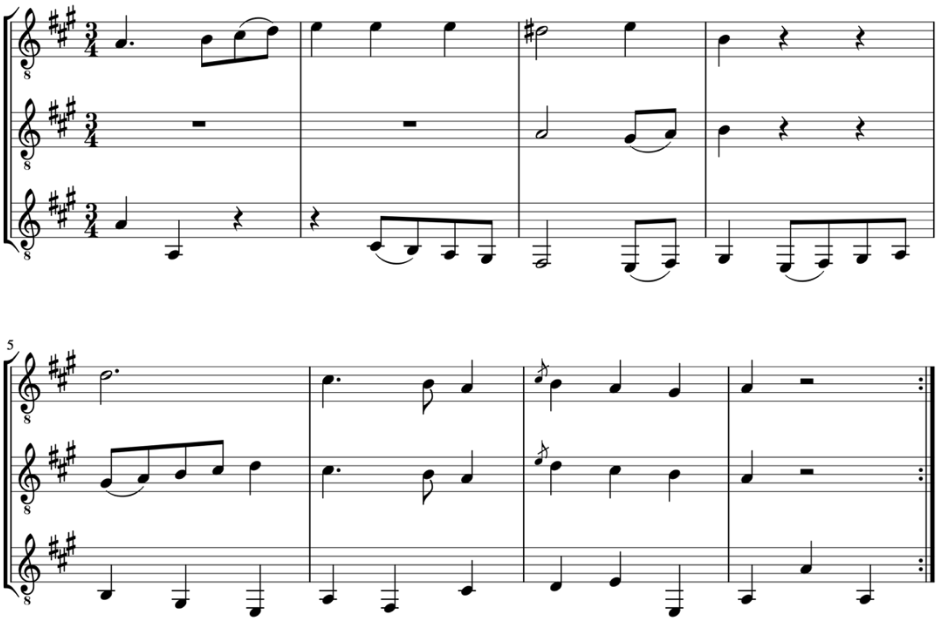
Example 4.2 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 36, I, mm. 73-78

While the solemnity of Hob. XVI: 36's first movement surprises one's expectation for the 18th-century feminine, the short minuet from the third movement, framed in a refined ||: A :||: BA :|| structure, intrigues with a dainty and exquisite character. The A theme in mm. 1-8 and mm. 24-31, unlike B which is predominantly in E major, bewitches in not a somber but a seducing C-sharp minor. In the antecedent phrase in mm. 1-4 and mm. 24-27, the syncopated C-sharp rises unto three repeated G-sharp quarters through delicate sixteenths followed by a beguiling F-double sharp. This F-double sharp as an appoggiatura of two beats lures the ears with its dissonance, particularly with the tritone effect created by the lower C-sharp and upper F-double-sharp. If this minuet was somehow played on the clavichord, the delicate fingertip would probably find itself unable to resist the temptation to make a *Bebung* on it. As the F-double sharp resolves to G-sharp, a D-sharp marked *tenuto* occupies, as part of ii^{o6}, a full measure with a peculiar but unstable timbre (Example 4.3).

A notable resemblance to the thematic treatment of this minuet can be heard in the first eight measures of Haydn's Twelve Cassations Hob. XII: 19 No. 2 in A major for two barytons and continuo, generally assumed to have been written before 1765. Like the first four measures of the minuet, this *Allegretto* opens with a tonic followed by rising scales in m. 1, three repeated dominant quarters in m. 2, an appoggiatura of two beats later resolved to dominant in m. 3, and a temporary end on supertonic in m. 4 (Example 4.4). Despite these melodic similarities, however, the Cassation's *Allegretto* does not foster a mood as idiosyncratic as that of the minuet. A reason, of course, lies in the choice of key and the harmonies that the minuet produces. C-sharp minor, after all, fascinates much more than A major. Furthermore, when met with such rare harmonic colors, the minimalized spatial movement and the choice of a high register further refine the minuet's strange allure. The right hand of the antecedent phrase moves in infinitesimal intervals limited within a perfect fifth. Every movement is of either half or a full step except for the perfect fourth leap from G-sharp to D-sharp. The left-hand accompaniment, too, makes scant movement. Such tiny movement, mixed with the cold tone of C-sharp minor in the higher region, not only highlights the Auenbruggers' finger sensitivity but reveals mysterious shades that are out of the ordinary.



Example 4.3 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 36, III, mm. 1-8



Example 4.4 Haydn, Twelve Cassations Hob. XII: 19, No. 2,
Allegretto in A major, mm. 1-8

In Hob. XVI: 37 in D major, the second movement *Largo e sostenuto*, composed D minor, astounds with a stately character. The opening full tonic chord, which announces the gravitas of the movement, demands to be rolled in resounding sonority. This noble seriousness in the parallel minor contrasts drastically with the bright and lively character of the first movement (Example 4.5). This movement exemplifies the learned style with its thick, gripping polyphonic texture filled with suspensions and harmonic complexities. Fitting for the Baroque harpsichord, this style with its strict, "antique," and grave character was understood as masculine in its time.[589] The many strong dotted rhythms with suspensions in slow tempo also make the movement an embodiment of what Koch describes as "the expression of the elevated" which, in his words, "requires a relatively slow movement, a very noticeable and strongly marked rhythm, and more dotted than slurred notes, ... a full and strong... harmony, and extremely strong accentuation of the notes."[590] Such sentiments are heard earlier in the writing of Quantz, who argues “dotted and sustained notes express the serious and the pathetic; long notes, such as semibreves or minims, intermingled with quick ones express the majestic and sublime.”[591]

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[589] See more about the learned style, the strict style, *Stile Antico*, as well as the grave style in Keith Chapin, "Learned Style and Learned Styles," in *Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, 301-329 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 301-310.

[590] Quoted in McClelland, *Ombra: Supernatural Music in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Lexington Books, 2012), 9. Also in Birgitte Moyer, "'Ombra' and Fantasia in Late Eighteenth-Century Theory and Practice," in *Convention in Eighteenth- and*

The movement, however, can also be heard as a hybridization between the French overture and the sarabande style, both of which are rooted in the Baroque tradition. The dignified spirit of this movement perhaps may call to mind the opening overture movement of J.S. Bach’s French Overture, BMV 831 in B minor. The French overture is typified by the use of many jerky, saccadic (“saccadé” in French) dotted rhythms as well as an imitative contrapuntal texture, frequent suspensions, and a slow tempo. Several 18th-century German treatises have discussed the French overture and its related style, the *entrée*. Mattheson describes the *entrée* as being more dotted and impetuous than the march. He speaks of the dotted character in the sense of “over-dotting,” arguing that “indeed in *entrées*, and other sorts of elevated dances, the very dotted style is often expressly required.” This over-dotted character, he argues, complements not the notions of vocal beauty and easiness: “The far too dotted [i.e., over-dotted] character is to be avoided in vocal music.” Instead, the ceremonial character of the sharp dotted rhythm is fitting only for instrumental music: “Vocal melody allows no such impetuous dotted character as instrumental composition. If the French, whom I hold as great masters in instrumental style, were to forego dotted notes, they would be like cooks without salt.” Johann Adolph Scheibe further attaches the idea of manliness to the overture, arguing that the first part of an overture must “arouse throughout a noble vivacity, a serious, manly, and pompous character, and above all a continuous fire.”[592]

The powerful masculine spirit invoked by the French overture in this movement is, as said, blended with the sarabande style. Perhaps Haydn was careful to prevent manliness from taking over completely; or perhaps the overture manner, after all, is usually reserved for the opening of a dance suite, orchestral, or operatic work. While the French overture is usually in 2/2 or 4/4,

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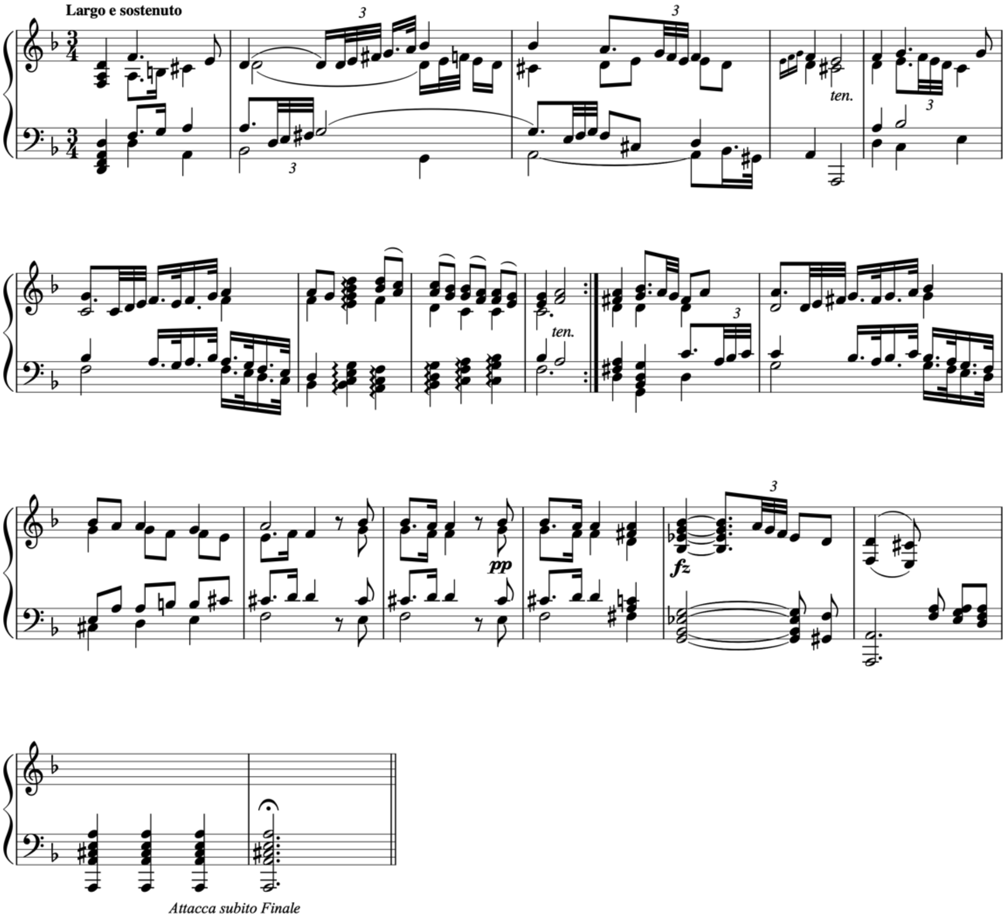
Nineteenth- Century Music: Essays in Honor of Leonard G. Ratner, ed. W.J. Allanbrook, J. M. Levy, and W.P. Mahrt, 283-306 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1992), 292. Originally from Koch’s “Leidenschaft” in *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt: 1802).

[591] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 125-26. Quoted also in McClelland, *Ombra*, 9.

[592] See Michael Collins, “A Reconsideration of French over-Dotting,” *Music & Letters* 50/1 (1969): 119-120. Original quotes from Mattheson, *Kern melodischen Wissenschaft* (1737), 36, 64, and 47, and Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (1740), 66.

the sarabande is in 3/4, the meter that this movement is written in. As one of the slowest types of Baroque dance movements, the sarabande often, as this movement demonstrates, a "halting" character with emphasis on the second beat. The sarabande also exemplifies a serious quality, but its seriousness appears more gracious in comparison to the French overture. The mix of styles here again shows little care about conforming to a formula of what sensibility in a feminine body is capable of.



Example 4.5 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in D Major, Hob. XVI: 37, II

The contrapuntal design which requires every layer of voices to be heard distinctively and forbids any note to be left out also shows no concern about the celebration of the smallness of feminine hands. The feminine mind could still embrace complexity; her sensitive fingertips could still subjugate layered imagination. The many triplets also amplify the intensity of this movement as though the dotted gestures are not emotive enough to be the pulse pattern for the serious. The sequence of suspensions, particularly the 9-8 type, creates in mm. 7-8 a series of heavy, slurred sighs. Yet, composed in thirds and strengthened by rolled chords, these descending pairs of sighs show not a pitiful but a dignified loftiness that eventually settles on F major in m. 9.

After the repeat sign, a D major succeeded by a G minor chord appears rather unexpectedly to usher in a splendid color change that moves the episode temporarily into the key of G minor. After more suspensions and dotted rhythm, the movement plunges into four consecutive V chords in the last two measures. The final one, filling a full measure, does not resolve but sinks into a deep territory where one can no longer rise above its graveness. As the fermata extends the engagement of sensibility, the final dominant elides, as the marking "*attacca subito Finale*" has hinted, into the finale which also begins with the dominant, thereby reversing the mood again.

Haydn also employs "*attacca subito Finale*" in the even more sombre C-minor *Adagio* from Hob. XVI: 38 in E-flat major for a similar effect. This *Adagio*, as Sisman states, is a "*siciliana* with varied reprises on the C.P.E. Bach model, with Haydn's characteristic omission of the varied repetition of the second section."[593] The slow siciliana rhythm with sparse accompaniment in mm. 1-4 and mm. 5-8 (Example 4.6) shows an asymmetrical "1+1+2" structure with a half-broken rhetoric in which each dotted rhythm is always followed by the two staccatissimo eighths, widely separated, and a sixteenth rest that mimics fragmentary speechlessness. The rest forbids the sentence from finishing twice — the thematic utterance is only able to continue without disruption in the third attempt. The second reprise in many ways suggests a broadening or intensifying of feelings. The thematic broken eighths are now rolled in first inversion with improvisatory thirty-seconds. Moreover, the echo-like broken thirds that close the rotation are marked *pp* this time instead of *p*. Although the second section in this reprise is not really varied, accompanimental thirty-seconds are introduced in addition to the previously present sixteenth accompaniment.

In the third reprise, the theme appears for the last time in the tonic key while unfolding itself with an even more intimate and elaborate singing. In m. 33, for instance, the dotted diminished seventh after the siciliana rhythm makes an incredibly large leap — of almost two octaves — to an A-flat that leads to a series of falling stepwise notes in slurred and sighing pairs. Despite the fall, however, the thirty-seconds rise again in arpeggios, reaching the high C that alternates, like a recitative-singing soprano, with the dominant. After such expressive moments, the P-based discursive coda emerges. The coda (Example 4.7) picks up the thematic siciliana rhythm once again and undergoes special harmonic changes including the N^6 in m. 38 and the VI in m. 42. The arpeggiated sixteenth accompaniment heard previously also makes a nostalgic return in mm. 40-41 as the right hand repeatedly sings the siciliana rhythm. The VI in m. 42, designated with a fermata, draws the subject into an improvisatory realm, where a soliloquy murmurs in sotto voce unto an oscillation between V and I accompanied by soft rumbling bass in m. 44. The discursive coda alone has travelled four octaves from a high G (m. 39) to a low G (mm. 44-45). But like the ending of Hob: XVI: 37's *Largo e sostenuto*, the last measure, marked *attacca subito*, comprises four successive V chords of which the last is extended with fermatas. It confirms the descent into darkness, yet it also leads directly to the *Allegro* finale in the key of E-flat major which prevents the music from dwelling in gloominess for too long.

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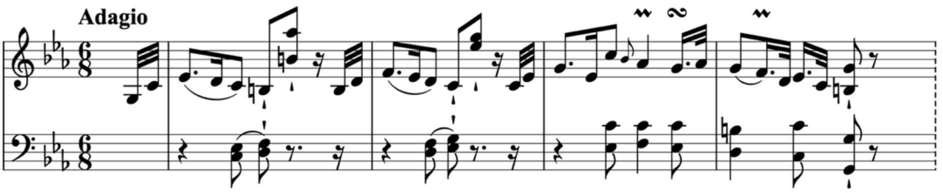
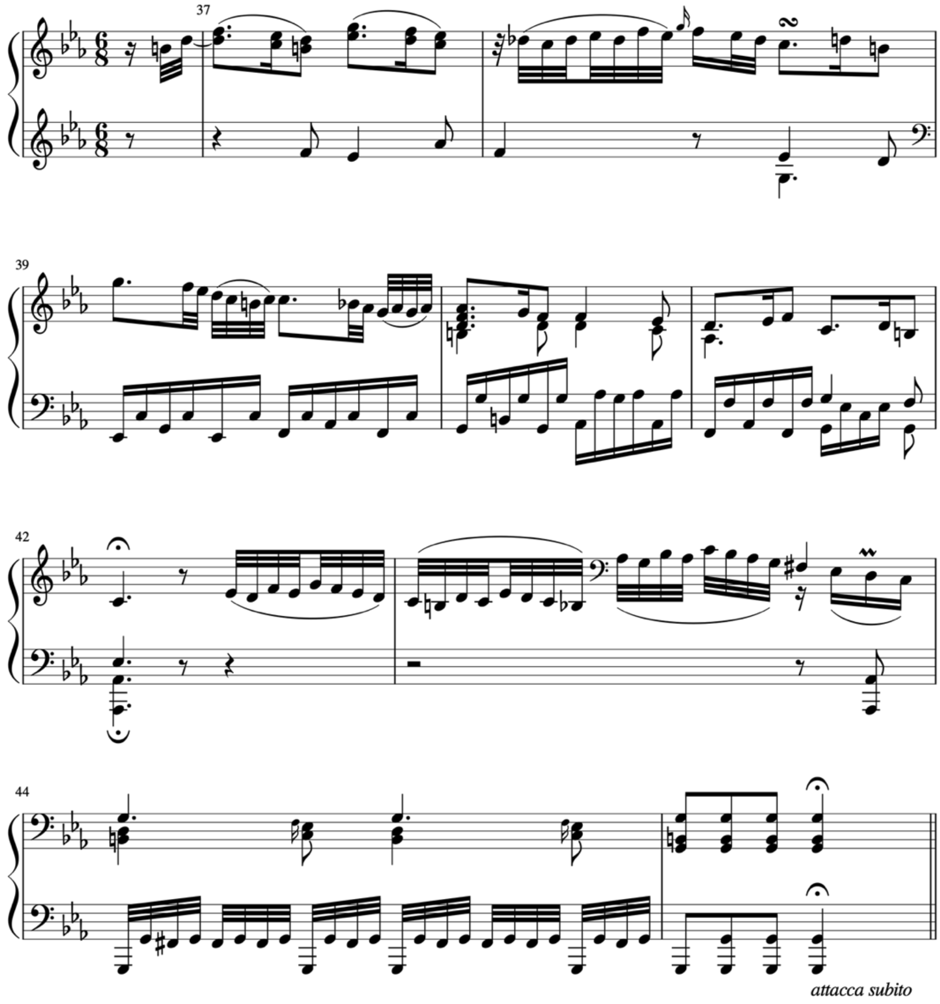
[593] Sisman, "Haydn's Solo Piano Music," 287.



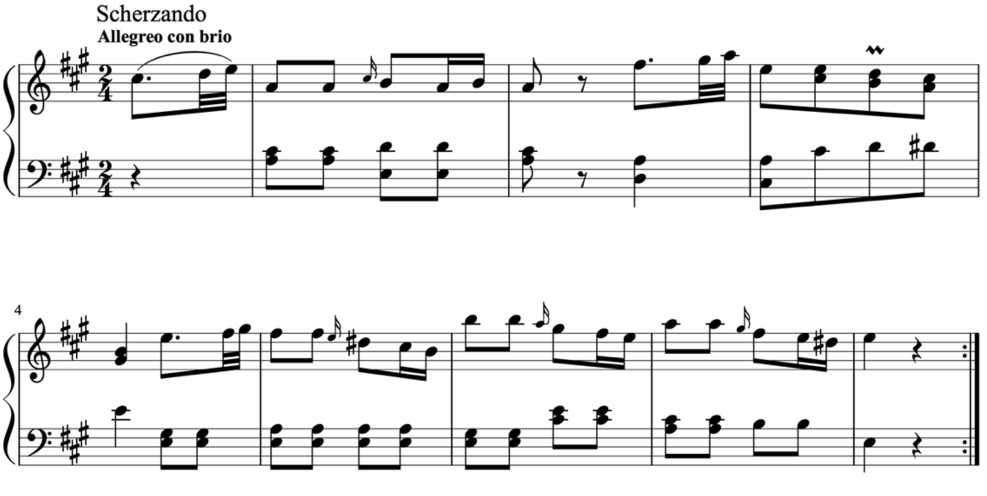
Example 4.6 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in E-flat Major, Hob. XVI: 38, II, mm. 1-4



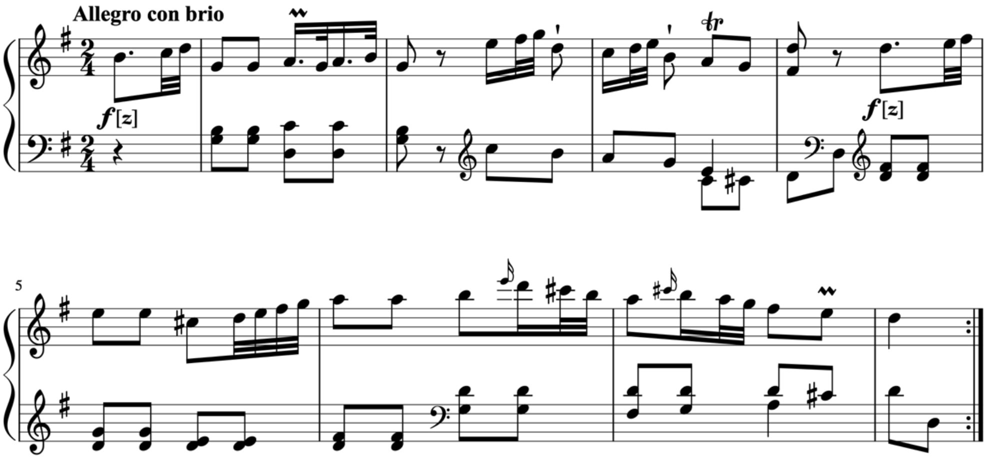
Example 4.7 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in E-flat Major, Hob. XVI: 38, II, mm. 37-45

A "Formal" Reading of the Returning Body

The body of sensibility does not forget casually what it has once deeply felt. Hob. XVI: 39's dreamlike *Adagio*, which opens with a five-bar asymmetrical theme and is filled with moving harmonic colors, reveals how a sensible body may be a returning body. As said earlier, Hob. XVI: 36's *scherzando* and Hob. XVI: 39's *Allegro* are the two movements in which Haydn repeats "the same sentiment" with different treatments. Indeed, their opening materials are quite similar in terms of rhythm and characters (Examples 4.8 and 4.9). In response to Katherine Walker who suggests Haydn is showing here a sign of "a progressive continuity across the set," Boisjoli proposes "Haydn composed the act of reflecting on a sentiment analogously to the way a Man of Feeling reflecting on his feelings, which was one element of creating refinement."[594]



Example 4.8 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 36, II, mm. 1-8



Example 4.9 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in G major, Hob. XVI: 39, I, mm. 1-8

But what if Haydn was genuine in saying that the two different treatments are really just his way to show his ability to, as stated in his letter, creatively treat one single sentiment in two different manners? Or what if this "one intentional detail" as Haydn calls it was in truth an "accidental" repetition that he, as his critics might have suspected, had failed to notice until he sent the manuscripts to Artaria? After all, there is yet another small detail that has recurred in both Hob. XVI: 39's *Adagio* and another slow movement, Hob. XVI: 35's *Adagio*. This shared detail has not been addressed previously, but both m. 15 in the C-major zone in Hob. XVI: 35's *Adagio* (Example 4.10) and m. 4 in Hob. XVI: 39's

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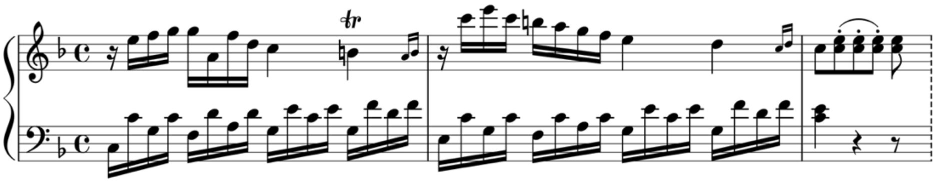
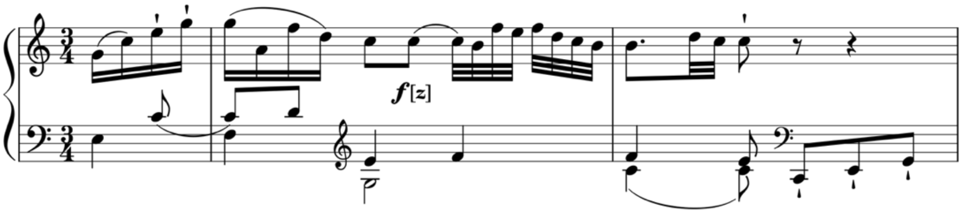
[594] Boisjoli, "Haydn's Aesthetics of Sensibility," 129.

Adagio (Example 4.11), also in C major, exhibit similar melodic lines with similar harmonic treatment. Both use rising notes of the tonic chord (the former, in stepwise movement; the latter, in arpeggios) followed by the delicate sequence, G-A-F-D in sixteenth rhythm, set above ii^{6}. Both then temporarily resolve to a C (as part of I$^{6/4}$) followed by a B (as part of V^{7}) and move towards I. The B is highlighted differently in each occasion. In the former case, the B is trilled and invites yet another set of descending sixteenths from an octave higher, whereas that in the latter arrives after a syncopated C and is extended unto a retardation that resolves to the tonic.



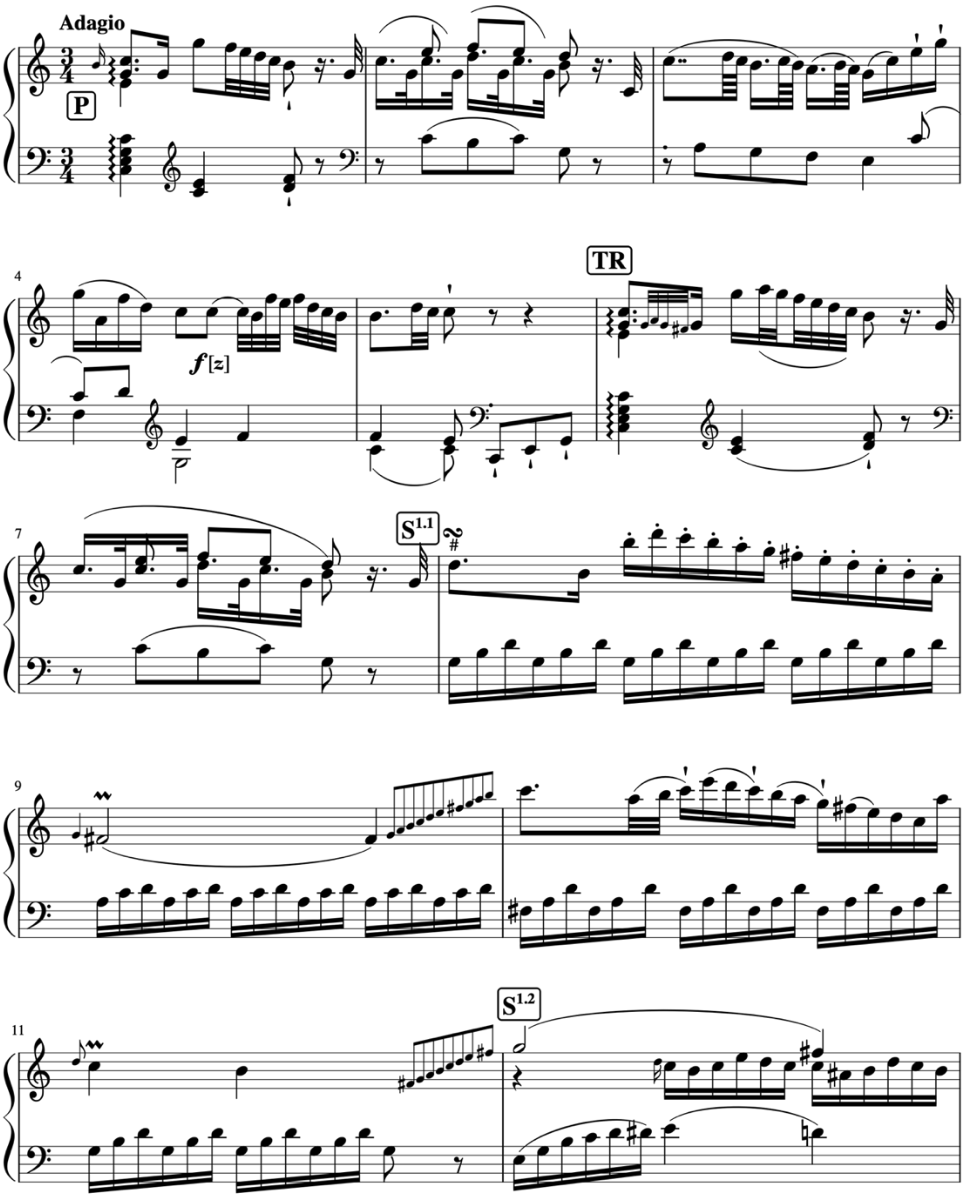
Example 4.10 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in C major, Hob. XVI: 35,
II, mm. 15-17



Example 4.11 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 39, II, mm. 3-5

The reappearance of this small beautiful detail with the same harmonic treatment in the same key points to sensibility's inability to forget easily. It may perhaps even reveal Haydn as a compositional man of feeling, for he felt so deeply this sentiment expressed in Hob: XVI:35 that he has returned to it in Hob. XVI: 39 unconsciously — so unconsciously that he did not even need or remember to defend its appearance this time. Yet, sensibility cannot be stopped. It is constantly feeling and improvising and does not, as Hob. XVI:39's *Adagio* demonstrates sophisticatedly, always treat the same thing in the same manner mechanically. In many ways, too, Hob. XVI:39's *Adagio* does appear to be a movement that has been foreshadowed by the simpler Hob. XVI: 35's *Adagio*. Both fantasize in an improvisatory mood with wonderous harmonic changes and elegant melodic lines. Both open with rolled tonic chords with dotted rhythm followed by descending steps with simple accompaniment. Both, particularly in their secondary theme zones, use predominantly Alberti bass, arpeggiated chords, and simple scalewise movement.

There are more similarities between the two movements, however. TR in both, for example, restate P. TR in Hob. XVI:35's *Adagio* is a dissolving restatement that reiterates P's opening with dotted rhythm and chromaticism (mm. 5-8) before S (mm. 9-17) and C (mm. 17-21). TR in Hob. XVI: 39's *Adagio*, on the other hand, reiterates the opening two measures of P (mm. 6-7) but does not continue and instead breaks off abruptly. The rest marks a sudden turn, as if the mind is distracted by the beauty of G major, to S (mm. 8-15) followed by C (mm. 16-23) (Example 4.12). In addition, the tender coda-like triplets in Hob. XVI: 35's *Adagio* in m. 19 and m. 40 over the dominant and tonic seem to prefigure the closing sextuplets in m. 46 in Hob. XVI: 39's *Adagio*, which are more richly developed harmonically. What is more noteworthy is the adoption of many thirds and octaves in both movements that require not speed but sensibility. They do not serve mechanical hands like Clementi's. Rather, played unhurriedly in *Adagio*, they generate lush color and soft textures that charm with tenderness. In Hob. XVI: 39's *Adagio*, however, these thirds and octaves are more extensive and difficult.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TR
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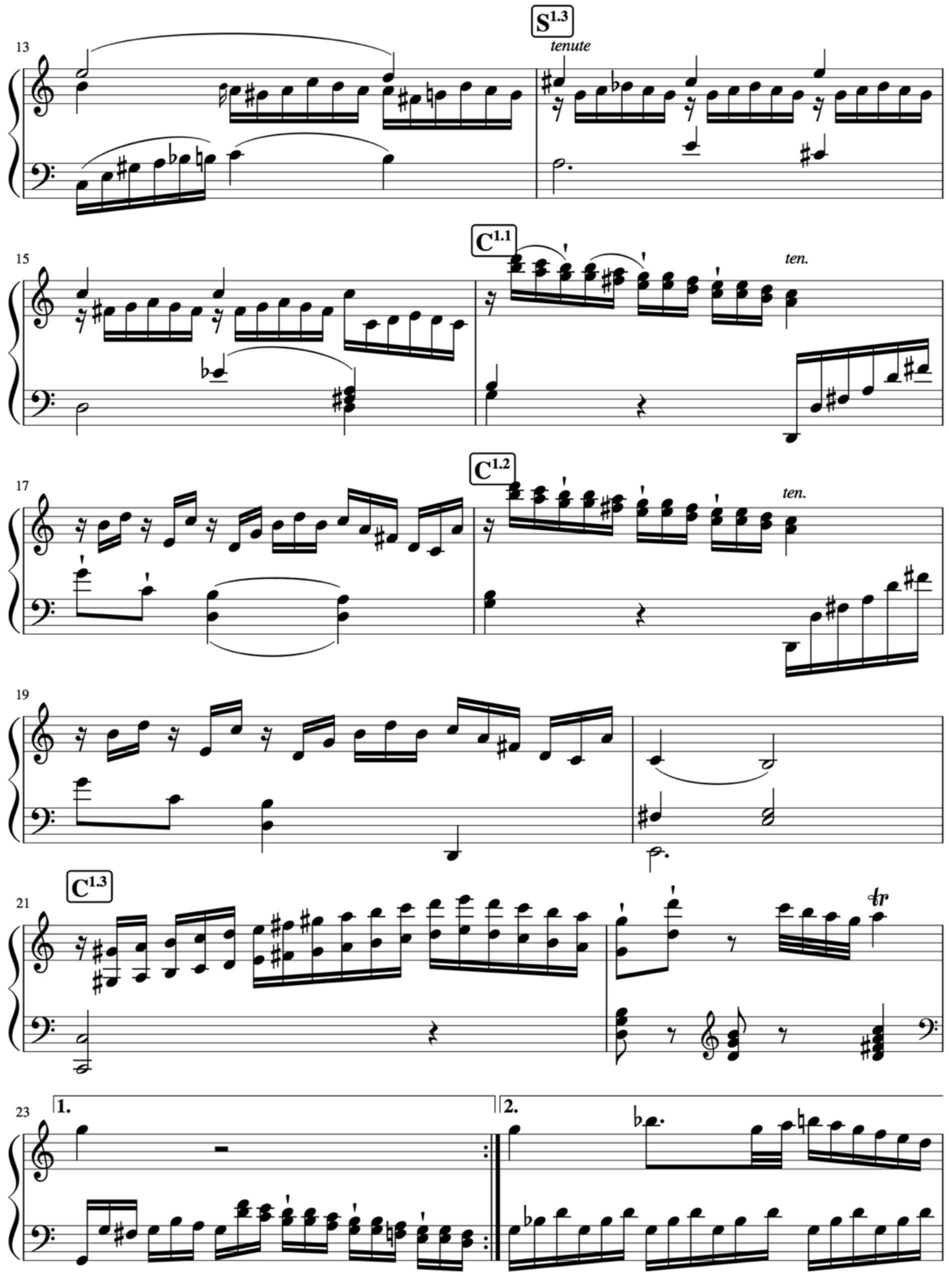
S1.2


S1.3
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Example 4.12 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 39, II, mm. 1-23, annotated

"Formally" speaking, both *Adagio* movements of Hob. XVI: 35 and Hob. XVI: 39 are written in binary, or, according to sonata theory, "Type-2" sonata form.[595] Hob. XVI: 39's *Adagio,* however, contains a developmental space that begins in G minor. Thus, it embodies a more complex type of Type-2 with a "structural deformation."[596] In some peculiar cases of this type, "neither P or TR are heard again after the non-repeated exposition… The development… instantly veers into modulatory regions on S-based material, and no significant P or TR modules are presented at all."[597] Hob. XVI: 39's *Adagio* stands as an example of such cases, for the development, which begins in m. 23 in the second repeat, shows neither P nor TR but is immediately drawn to a S-based developmental material with a G minor that lasts for three measures.[598]

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[595] A typical movement in Type-2 sonata form is binary. Its exposition may or may not be repeated. The second rotation begins as a developmental space. In the second half of the second rotation, often from S onward, the music takes on "recapitulatory" characteristics. See more in Hepokoski and Darcy, *Sonata Theory*, 353.

[596] See more in ibid., 376.

After sixteen measures of S-based material with C-invoking thirds integrated into m. 30, $C^{1.1}$ appears in m. 39 as the first unit of C-space which continues unto m. 62. What takes place is a spatial extension. Unlike a spatial expansion which, as heard in Hob. XVI: 46's *Adagio*, consists of new interior expansion materials flowing from preceding materials, a spatial extension as heard in Hob. XVI: 39's *Adagio* prolongs the movement by returning to pre-existing modules and materials. $C^{1.1}$, $C^{1.2}$, and $C^{1.3}$ from the exposition reappear with slight variations from m. 39 onwards (Example 4.13). The coda-like sextuplets in m. 46 lead to an imperfect authentic cadence with fermata and as such, they forge an illusion that the movement is ending soon. Yet, just as listeners are tricked to think the music may come to an end after this fermata in m. 47, an extensive discursive coda based on pre-existent C-materials emerges in m. 48. Given its improvisatory rhetoric, Vladmir Feltsman has interpreted convincingly that this discursive coda in mm. 48-58, separated by two fermatas, as a "written-down cadenza-improvisation."[599] (Webster, however, regards mm. 43-62 together as a one single written-out cadenza.)[600] The discursive coda here, unlike the one in Hob. XVI: 38's *Adagio* which is P-based, remains C-based as if one cannot get C enough. Put simply, such insistence to dwell on C-materials indicates not a recollection of the first P material but an unwillingness to leave.

This discursive coda or "written-down cadenza-improvisation" draws on both the thirds that characterize $C^{1.1}$ and $C^{1.2}$ and the textural characteristic of $S^{1.2}$. It goes through D minor and E minor, and before C major is tonicized, an extraordinary descending harmonic progression in triplets unfolds in mm. 56-57. Beginning in a bittersweet C minor, the intricate triplets, led by the delicate pinkie of the right hand, follow the leading of the left hand and descend finely in half steps while each harmonic change chromatically and magnetically draws the body downwards. In m. 58 marked *sempre più largo*, the tonic designated fermata prepares the trilled D and B of the dominant chord in m. 59. These two trilled notes together simulate a "pre-tutti" gesture typically heard after a cadenza passage in a concerto. They lead into one last short coda or codetta over the tonic, in mm. 60-62, to finally end the movement.

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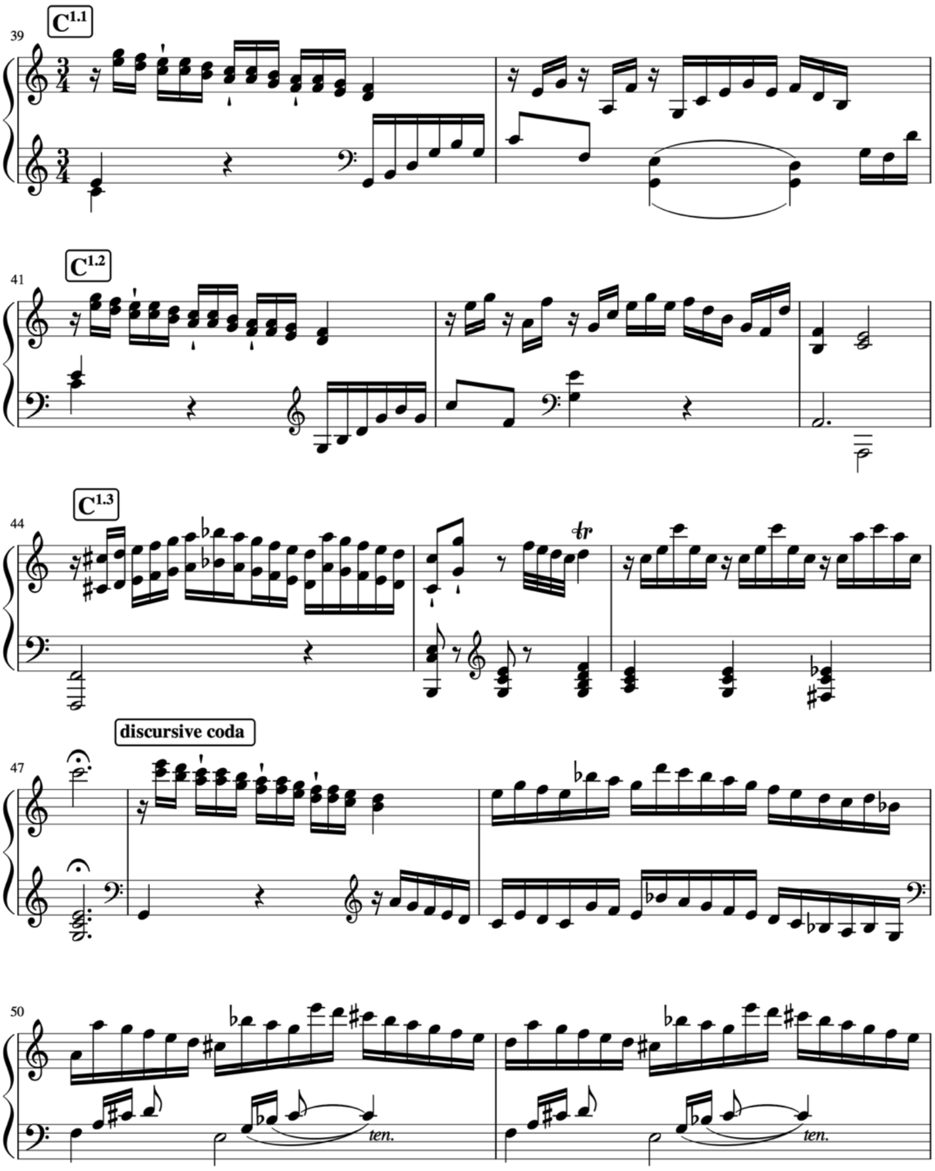
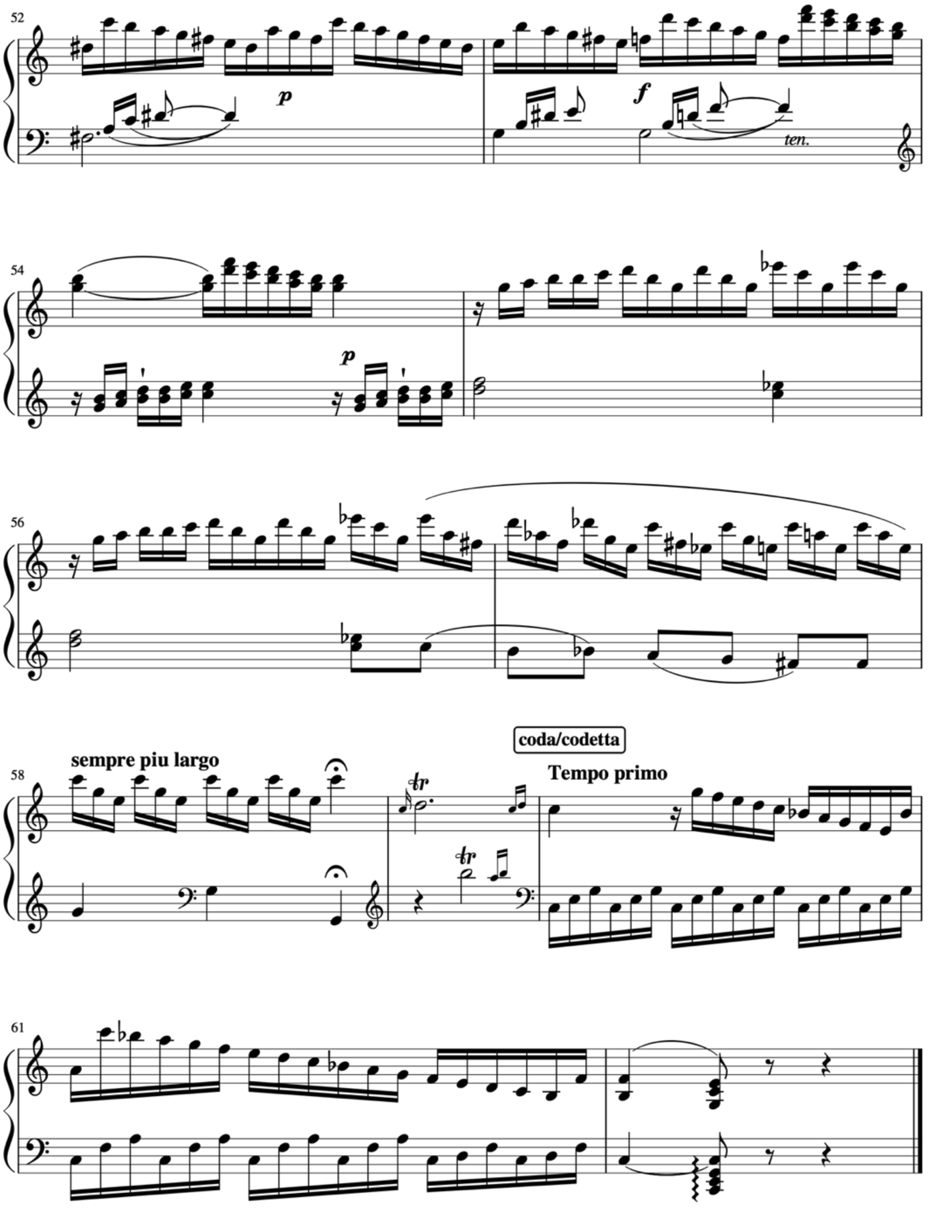
[597] Ibid.

[598] See more about S- based openings to the developmental space in ibid., 376-78.

[599] Vladmir Feltsman, *Piano Lessons: Reflections From a Life in Music* (St. Petersburg, Florida: BookLocker, 2019), 95.

[600] Webster, "The Rhetoric of Improvisation," 177.





Example 4.13 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 39, II, mm. 39-62, annotated

This "from coda to coda" scheme, where a short coda follows a longer main coda section, is common to the discursive coda.[601] What does this extension of the "from coda to coda" rhetoric suggest? Each discursive coda, according to Hepokoski and Darcy, has its special role to play in the larger argument of the movement.[602] Here, it seems Haydn or the musical body of sensibility is obsessed with the ideas of returning. The ongoing repetition and extension of C materials express a sentimental reluctance to part and let go. "Yet once more" is uttered by the sympathetic being in the "farewell" topos of sensibility who, like

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[601] Hepokoski and Darcy, *Sonata Theory*, 286.
[602] Ibid., 287.

Harley in *The Man of Feeling*, longs and wills to return and remain. When Harley saw Miss Walton walking with a gentleman whom he immediately recognized as Sir Harry Benson, his heart was sore-pressed. He did not and could not leave. Instead, he kept returning to elongate his presence:

> His resolution failed; he slunk back, and locking the gate as softly as he could, stood on tiptoe looking over the wall till they were gone. At that instant a shepherd blew his horn: the romantic melancholy of the sound quite overcame him! — it was the very note that wanted to be touched — he sighed! he dropped a tear! — and returned.[603]

In Haydn studies, musical irony is a trait often tied to the composer's play with form. The "London" sonatas Hob. XVI: 50 and 52, written for two other accomplished female pianists Theresa Jansen and Kurzböck, are as Chapter 6 shall discuss especially notable for their ironic features. As Daniel Chua remarks,

> Haydn's instrumental forms were designed to prevent the unmediated absorption of the subject into the piece, so that the body of *Empfindsamkeit* could no longer vibrate with the natural laws of music… Haydn's music turns around and says "I am art – a mere illusion. See, here are the hands of the composer."[604]

The *Adagio* movements of Hob. XVI: 38 and 39, however, tell quite another story about Haydn's form. Form as displayed in these two "Auenbrugger" movements reveals the body of sensibility may keep returning to the same sentiment that it has once tasted. Episodic memory is what the man of feeling cannot escape from. Even though sensibility, as Chapter 2 suggests, often reveals itself in self-forgetfulness, an absorbed being who has become oblivion of himself would often still seek to return in remembrance.

The Auenbrugger sonatas and the sisters' sympathetic bodies therefore present opportunities for one to rethink what both form and femininity in the 18th-century were capable of especially on the pianoforte. Haydn subverted the stereotype that music for the fair sex could only feature easy keys, simple melodies, thin textures, and skin-deep feelings. (Nevertheless, the set of sonatas written for and dedicated to Princess Marie Esterházy as the next chapter shall examine does, with attributes much closer to conventional gendered ideals, stage itself as a sort of "feminine-behavior-oriented" music in a performative, novelistic sense.) On the other hand, while Haydn in his ironic side often shows music as an illusion, he in these movements unveils form as an agent that binds sympathetic beings in their own unforgettable, fanciful realms. Sensibility, it seems, has never settled with any gendered or formal stereotypes with its complexity. As a complicated discourse, it refuses to compromise with any simplified conclusions.

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[603] Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, 190.

[604] Daniel Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 213.

CHAPTER 5

CHOREOGRAPHING SENSIBILITY: INNOCENCE AND POLITENESS IN HOB. XVI: 40 AND 42[605]

Sensibility examined as a culture rooted in English sentimental novels has been increasingly popular in Haydn studies. Haydn's immersion in the 18th-century culture of sensibility is evident in a number of his operatic works. Premiered in 1779 and revived in 1785 due to the loss of the original score, *La vera constanza* according to Jessica Waldoff is the opera that best reveals the composer's knowledge of sentimental novels.[606] The operatic "Pamela" industry based on Richardson's *Pamela* loosely began when Goldoni wrote the libretto of Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* (1760). In the words of Hunter, this opera is characterized by "the structural relation between class-distinctions and the manifestation of sensibility that Goldoni's libretto borrows from Richardson's novel."[607] The garden-girl Cecchina, as Waldoff notes, charms the audience as one who seems to identify with both the high and low classes but belongs to neither.[608] Rebecca Green likewise observes how *La buona figliuola* not only spotlights the "feminine domain of feelings" but also uses this emphasis to both present and resolve the problem of interclass marriage. The ending which unveils Cecchina's true parentage as a daughter of a German baron questions the ground of socio-political prestige, for her noble virtue now finds its basis on feminine sensibility instead of regal bloodlines. Composed also based on a libretto by Goldoni and premiered in 1770 for Maria Theresa Countess Lamberg's wedding, Haydn's *Le pescatrici* follows a similar plot that focuses on the lost princess Eurilda adopted by the fisherman Mastriccio. That this opera would be used in the celebrative occasion of a wedding at Eszterháza shows, as Green suggests, not only a shift in operatic taste but also the aristocracy's increasingly relaxed attitudes about representations of a more complex hierarchy of social interactions.[609]

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605 An earlier version of this chapter is scheduled to be published as "Choreographing Sensibility: Innocence and Politeness in Haydn's Hob. XVI: 40 and 42," *Music & Letters* (forthcoming).

[606] Waldoff, "Sentiment and Sensibility in La vera constanza," in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe, 70-119 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 71.

[607] Hunter, "'Pamela,'" 75.

[608] See Waldoff, *Recognition in Mozart's Operas*, 105-8.

[609] Rebecca Green, "Representing the Aristocracy: The Operatic Haydn and Le pescatrici," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman, 154-200 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 172-73.

Haydn's familiarity with sentimental literature and the mixing of social classes, however, are not only suggested in the composer's operatic works. Haydn's Hob. XVI: 40 and 42, the first and the last of the set of three keyboard sonatas composed for and dedicated to Princess Marie Esterházy, may be viewed as works that reflect his knowledge of the culture of sensibility. Published by Bossler in 1784, this set was offered by the composer to the princess as a wedding gift. Originally from the Liechtenstein family, Marie married the eighteen years old Nikolaus II on September 15, 1783 when she was only fifteen years old. This gift was announced nine and a half months after the wedding on July 1, 1784,[610] and was advertised eleven months later on August 31, 1784 in the Frankfurt *Staats-Ristretto*.[611]

Haydn could have composed another opera for this wedding occasion like he did for the wedding of Countess Lamberg with *Le pescatrici*. For the wedding of Count Nikolaus Esterházy, the younger son of Prince Nikolaus I, and Countess Maria Elisabeth Ungnad von Weissenwolff, he also composed, in 1777, *Il mondo della luna*. Yet a set of keyboard sonatas might seem a more thoughtful choice as Marie was a keyboard player. Daniel Heartz even suggests she might have even been a pupil of Haydn.[612] This set of sonatas, however, should not be treated as a music purely for women, for Haydn himself had performed these sonatas and even gifted a copy of the score to his friend Father Rettensteiner on June 3, 1785 at a "entertaining hour-long visit."[613]

With its pastoral theme and oscillation between major and minor modes, the first movement of Hob. XVI: 40 may be, instead of being viewed as a letter that Haydn wrote to Marie,[614] heard as a "fictional narrative" that evokes both the character ideal of "innocence" common in sentimental novels and a typical heroine's process of emerging out of this innocence. The first movement of Hob. XVI: 42, on the other hand, contains conduct-book-like materials that reflect the contemporary social culture of politeness. Not only so, its theme masterfully conceptualizes beauty with the idea of variety. Together, these two movements may be heard as a musical choreography of tasteful innocence and politeness that encapsulates a specific side of the 18th-century feminine sensibility.

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[610] Quoted in Beghin, *Virtual Haydn*, 212. Originally from Hans Schneider, *Der Musikverleger Heinrich Philipp Bossler, 1744-1812* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1985), 92.

[611] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 27.

[612] Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School* (London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1995), 509.

[613] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 27.

[614] Beghin argues Hob. XVI: 40 can be heard as a letter Haydn wrote to Marie. See Beghin, *Virtual Haydn*, 216.

A Fictional Narrative: Pastoral Innocence in Hob. XVI: 40's *Allegretto e innocente*

Marked *Allegretto e innocente*, the first movement of Hob. XVI: 40 in G major is composed as an A B A' B' A" design. The pastoral orientation of the A theme (mm. 1-24) has been highlighted in several readings — Elaine Sisman calls the theme "certainly a pastoral 'type'" and A.P. Brown hears it as a "coquettish pastoral."[615] Without the dotted eighths of the siciliano, the A theme and its variations display typical pastoral traits such as a simple melodic contour, pedal points with drone fifths, slow harmonic rhythm, a 6/8 compound meter, major mode, parallel thirds, consonant diatonic harmony, V^7 arpeggiation, rocking accompaniment, consonant appoggiatura, and even "stepwise with a 'climactic' leap to an appoggiatura that resolves downward and falls away" (see, for example, mm. 7-8 in A),[616] thereby exhibiting the two central characters of the pastoral mode as described by Hatten: "simplicity as opposed to complexity" and "mollified tension and intensity."[617]

Mattheson, whose *Capellmeister* was studied by Haydn, argues the pastoral epitomizes innocence and that it relies on melodies to achieve the related effects.[618] A single fine melody according to him is the "most beautiful and most natural thing in the world."[619] Haydn, too, prioritizes the melody and considers writing "a charming and rhythmically right melody" that "touches the heart" as his compositional aim especially in regard to vocal works.[620] *Allegretto e innocente* may not be a vocal composition, but its cantabile A theme, divided into two repeated sections, delights and entices. The A theme draws listeners into a mode of youthful, pastoral innocence immediately through a simple melody (mm. 1-8) which returns in mm. 17-24 after the material in mm. 9-16 (Example 5.1). This thematic melody exhibits the four characteristics that Mattheson considers fundamental to a good melody: “facile,” “clear,” “flowing,” and “lovely.”[621] To be facile according to Mattheson requires an avoidance of elements of a forced or difficult nature, for “we cannot have pleasure in a thing in which we do not participate.” To be clear, caesuras and divisions must be precise; the number of beats must also stay proportionate with appropriate cadences for one specific mood. To be flowing, there must be a uniform meter with similar phrases and an absence of sharp jolts through “little chromatic steps.” Finally, to be lovely, the melody must open with pure sounds related to the tonic key and use not large leaps but steps and small intervals, a decent number of repetitions (but not too many), and reasonable figures.[622]

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[615] Sisman, "Beethoven's Musical Inheritance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, ed. Glenn Stanley, 44-63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 49; A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 327.

[616] See Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 97-98.

[617] Hatten, *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 56.

[618] See Andrew Haringer, "Hunt, Military, and Pastoral Topics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, 194-213 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 206-207.

[619] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 300.

[620] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 124-25.

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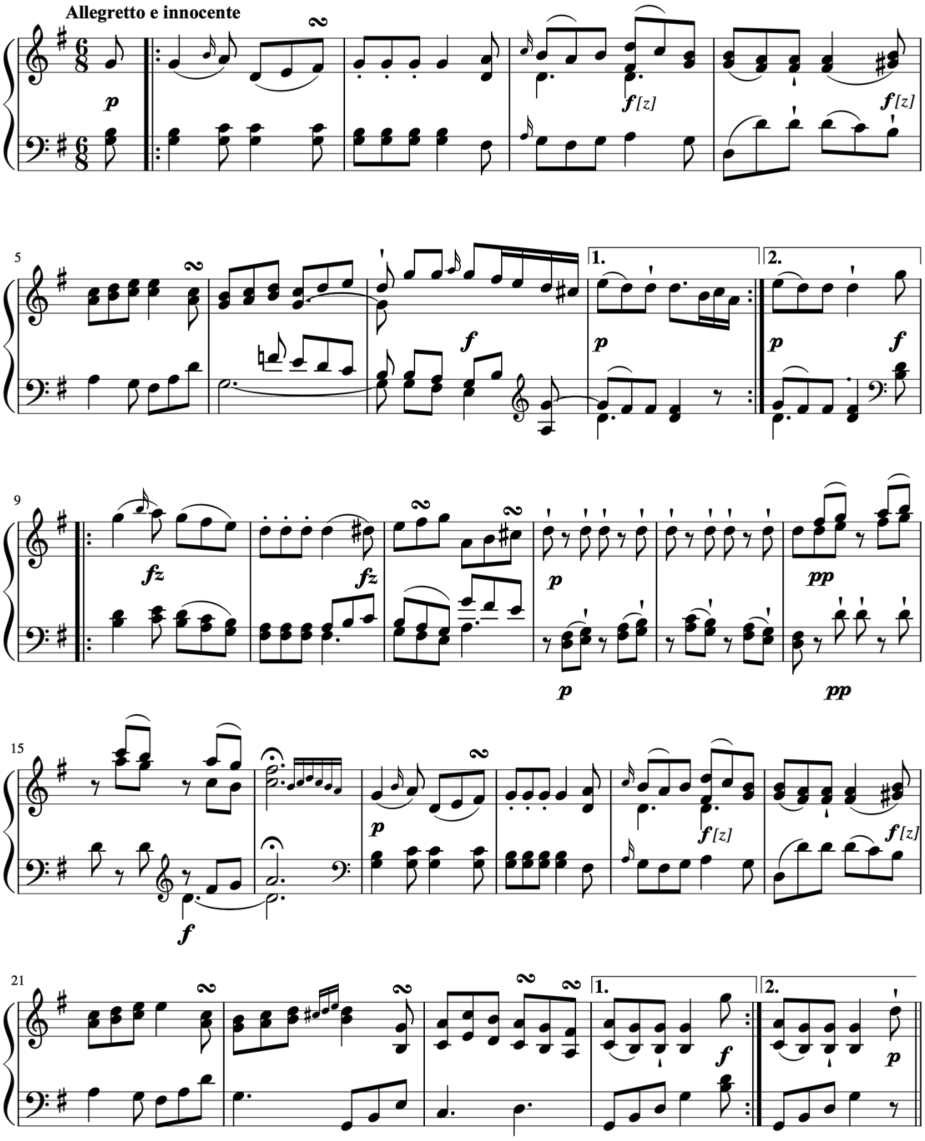
[621] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 310.

[622] Ibid., 311-12.



Example 5.1. Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in G major, Hob. XVI: 40, I, mm. 1-24

Put another way, much of the melodic design of A, particularly that of the opening melody which returns, demonstrates Mattheson's concept of the "singing style." This melody entails minimum leaps, shows no impetuous rhythms, encompasses a narrower range, and follows a singer's breathing pattern. Most importantly, it is "singable" — not in the sense that it requires little vocal technique but that it is comprehensible.[623] To avoid coming across as difficult or inaccessible, the harmonies in A alternate predominantly between tonic and dominant. Yet, despite its pastoral simplicity, A has not completely descended into the rustic or the "low" style. To ensure a sweet flowing quality,

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[623] See Day-O' Connell, "The Singing Style," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, 238-58 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 244-45.

Haydn uses the technique of enjambment to join the two phrases in mm. 1-4 and mm. 5-8 smoothly with a galant counterpoint that elevates the simplicity with a kind of courtly, gracious elegance. In its naive accessibility, hints of nobility are still present.

There are also certain traits in the melody that would appeal to the 18th-century notions of feminine beauty. Sulzer argued that beauty attracts, charms, and pleases; if taste is real, then beauty is real and "flatters our imagination by presenting itself in an attractive, pleasing form."[624] A quality tied to femininity and delicacy, beauty to several 18th-century philosophers such as Burke, Kant, and Hogarth is inseparable from smoothness and smallness. Although they have not, with the exception of Burke who suggests vocal melody is a key source of the beautiful,[625] elaborated much on musical beauty, smoothness and smallness can still be heard and visualized in Haydn's melodic design in this movement. Hogarth's theory of smoothness has previously been used by William Gardiner to analyze Haydn's "A Pastoral Song" Hob. XXVIa: 27 in A major. Gardiner argues the song displays a "perfect exhibition of the line of beauty" with minute, soft, and delicate intervals.[626] A waving serpentine line, Hogarth's "line of beauty" seeks to excite the attention of the viewer and evoke lively movement. The minuet dance consists of many movements in serpentine lines, observes Hogarth, and the fewer serpentine lines, the lower the estimation of dancing-master.[627] As Hogarth's figure shows, the minuet-path is also composed of serpentine lines (Figure 5.1). The minuet-steps transform walking into dancing with a larger quantity of waving; the dancers raise the body by gentle degrees a bit higher than the ordinary and sink it again in a similar manner lower in the going on of the dance. "When the parties by means of this step rise and fall most smoothly in time, and free from sudden starting and dropping," Hogarth writes, "they come nearest to Shakespeare's idea of beauty of dancing."[628]

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[624] Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics*, 48-49.

[625] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 111-12. See also November, "Beautiful Haydn," 6-7.

[626] Quoted in Day-O'Connell, "Haydn and the Anatomy of The English Cazonetta," 83. Originally from Stendhal, *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart: With Observations on Metastasio, and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy. Translated from the French of L. A. C. Bombet. With Notes, by the author [William Gardiner] of the Sacred melodies* (London: J. Murray, 1818), 150.

[627] William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (London: John Reeves, 1753), 147-50.

[628] Ibid, 149-50.

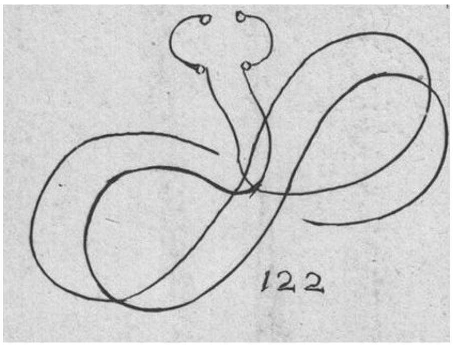

Figure 5.1 William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), Minuet-Path

In *Allegretto e innocente*, mm. 1-2 immediately and compactly translate this line of beauty into music. The melody begins at the tonic and, like Hogarth's minuet-path, it rises slightly before it gracefully falls to a lower D which then returns to the tonic through steps that smoothen the gap of a perfect fourth. The melodic contour of the first two measures of A, in other words, displays vividly a serpentine line (Figure 5.2). This serpentine line infuses playfully a certain cunningness to the seemingly naive appearance of the pastoral. Burke in his observation on beauty speaks of a similar "deceiving" side of feminine smoothness that causes the eyes to not know where to fixate on:

> Observe that part of a beautiful woman where she is perhaps the most beautiful, about the neck and breasts; the smoothness; the softness; the easy and insensible swell; the variety of the surface, which is never for the smallest space the same; the deceitful maze, through which the unsteady eye slides giddily, without knowing where to fix, or whither it is carried.[629]

For Burke, even the face of a woman must be "expressive of such gentle and amiable qualities, as correspond with the softness, smoothness, and delicacy of the outward form."[630]

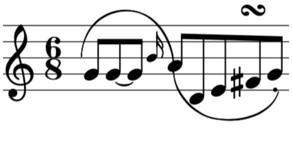

Figure 5.2 Serpentine Line in Haydn's Hob. XVI: 40, I, mm. 1-2

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[629] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 104-105.
[630] Ibid., 107.

Kant, on the other hand, argues that the beautiful charms with smallness, adornments, and ornaments.[631] Although Kant says little about musical beauty, melodic smoothness as the A theme demonstrates depends much on the idea of smallness, for small intervals fill gaps and reduce sudden jumps, sharp lurches, and unnecessary forces that may distort gracefulness. In A and A^1 respectively, stepwise, delicate sixteenth and thirty-second embellishing notes are used to smoothen the major-seventh and major-sixth gaps in between the F-sharp and E with fermatas and the thematic returns (m.16; m. 52). In A^1 (mm. 37-60), smallness is further evoked through a delicate, refined variation of the theme through rhythmic division and chromaticism. What are predominantly eighth notes in A have now evolved into sixteenth notes through chromatic, stepwise, and occasionally arpeggiated movement of small intervals (Example 5.2). Meanwhile, A^2 (mm. 73-99) continues to feature subdivided rhythm and chromaticism (Example 5.3), although the use of small intervals has become much more diversified and spirited here. (The next section will unpack this particular detail.) Small ornaments also enhance the flow of the music. In A, eight turns exist in total.

In addition to smoothness and smallness, symmetry also helps maintain a certain refinement in this movement. To Burke, symmetry as a mathematical idea does not count as true measures of beauty; to Hogarth, regularity or symmetry only delights the eyes when it expresses the idea of fitness.[632] Consider, however, William Crotch's words on symmetry in *The Substance of Several Courses of Lectures in Music* (1831). Although Crotch's text was published around twenty years after Haydn's death, it blends the theories of smoothness and smallness proposed by Burke, Hogarth, and Kant with Mattheson's ideal of vocal beauty:

> Beauty, in all the arts, is the result of softness, smoothness, delicacy, smallness, gentle undulations, symmetry, and the like. When, therefore, in music the melody is vocal and flowing, the measure symmetrical, the harmony simple and intelligible, and the style of the whole soft, delicate, and sweet, it may with as much propriety be called beautiful, as a small, perfect Grecian temple, or a landscape of Claude Lorraine.[633]

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[631] Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of Beautiful and Sublime* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 47-8.

[632] Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, 20.

[633] William Crotch, *The Substance of Several Courses of Lectures in Music* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831), 35.

In *Allegretto e innocente*, symmetry as emphasized by Crotch appears in various ways in both A and B in a calculated manner that reinforces the notion of limit. What Robert Gjerdingen calls “the mirror or complementary contours” common in Haydn’s works in the Classic style also show themselves here.[634] In A, for instance, when mm. 9-10 restate mm.1-2 in an octave higher with slight variations, the original slurred D, E, and F-sharp and the three repeated tonics are inverted, resulting in a slurred G, F-sharp, and E, and three repeated dominants. The materials in mm. 12-13 and mm. 14-15 also demonstrate a reflective symmetry respectively. In A^1, mm. 48-49 show a mirror-like symmetry and mm. 50-52 also play with complementary contours. In A^2, the left-hand accompaniment in thirds in mm. 84-85 and mm. 86-87 presents another symmetrical example. Structurally speaking, B (mm. 25-36) and B^1 (mm. 61-72) adopt a symmetrical pattern of ||: 6 :|| ||: 6 :||. In the opening two measures of both, the left-hand eighth-note accompaniment separated by rests in mm. 25-26 and mm. 61-62 also each displays a reflectional symmetry.

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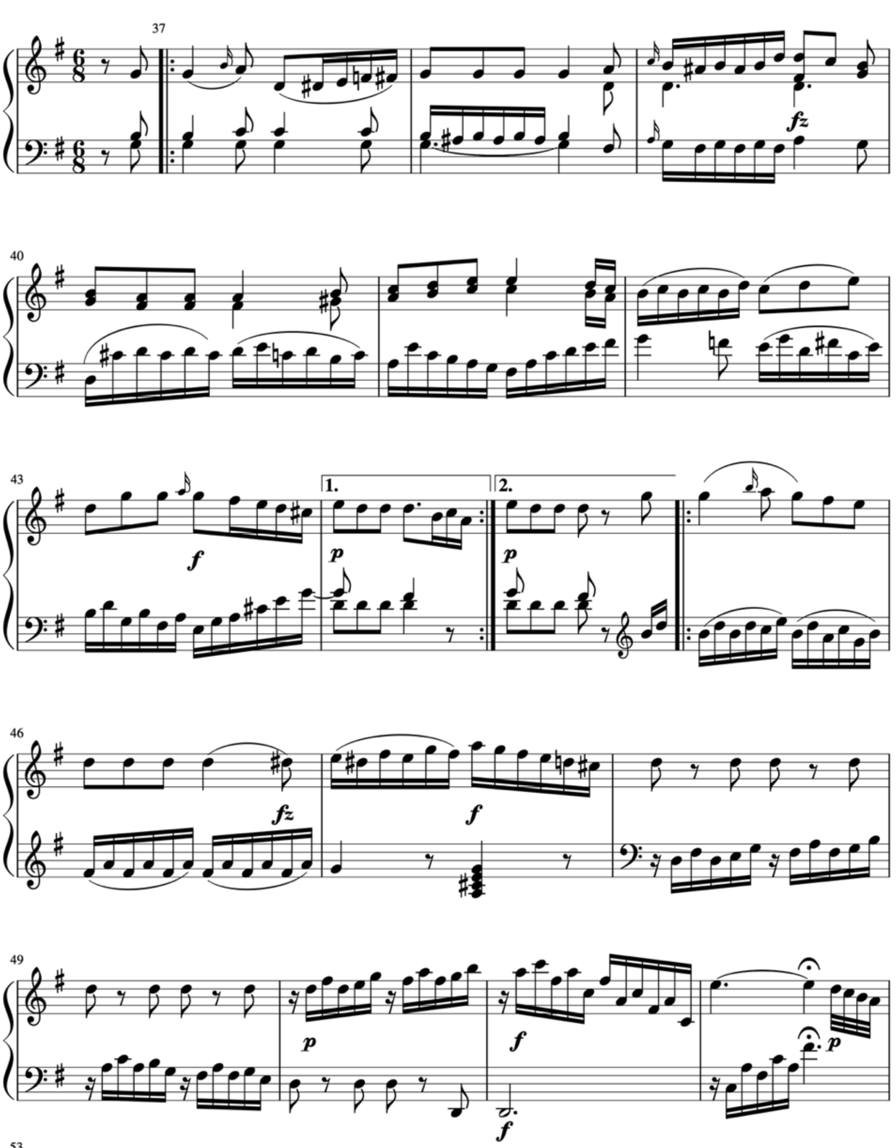
[634] Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Classic Turn of Phrase: Music and the Psychology of Convention* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 147-48.


37
fz
40
43
f
1.
p
2.
p
46
fz
f
49
p
f
f
p
53
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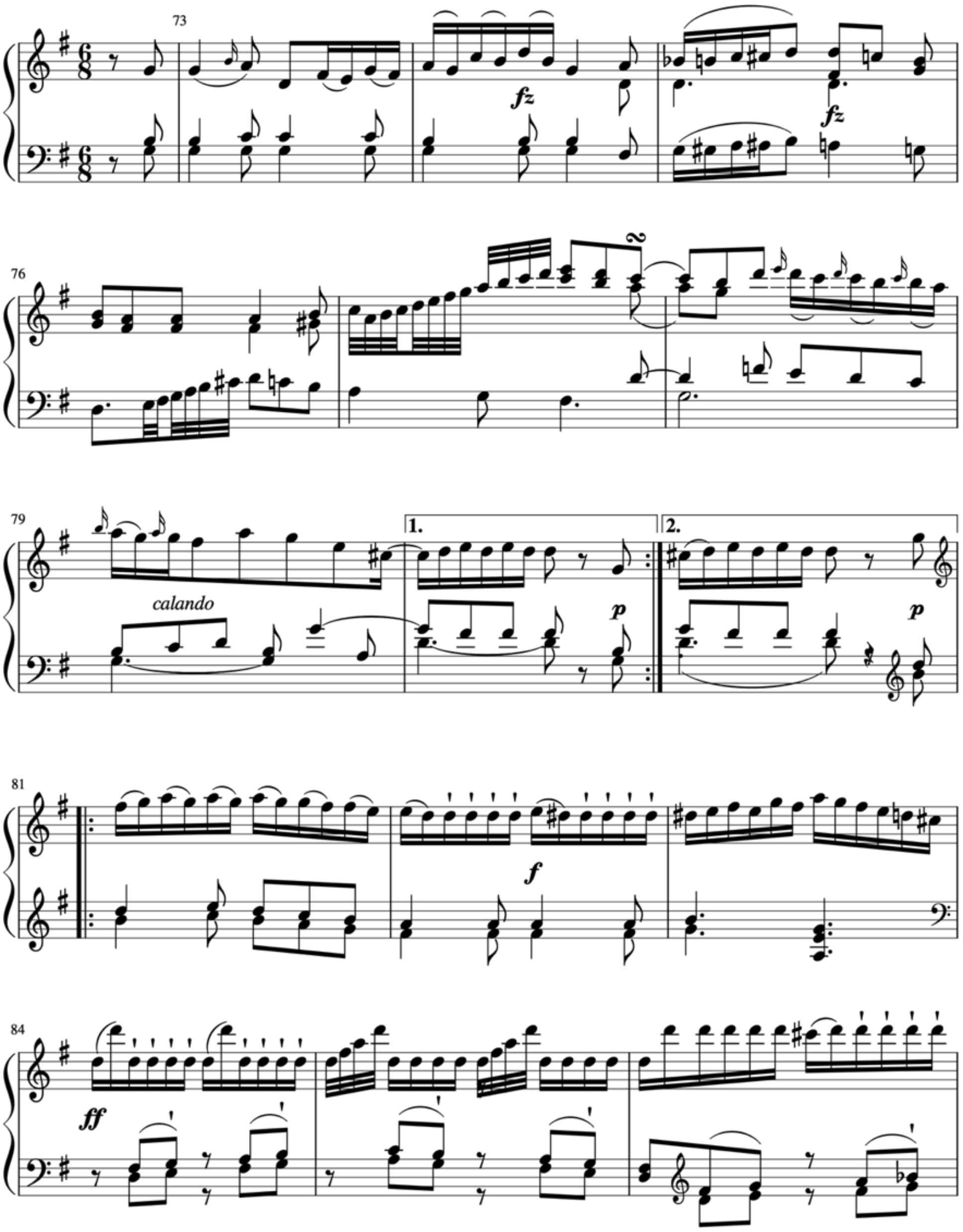
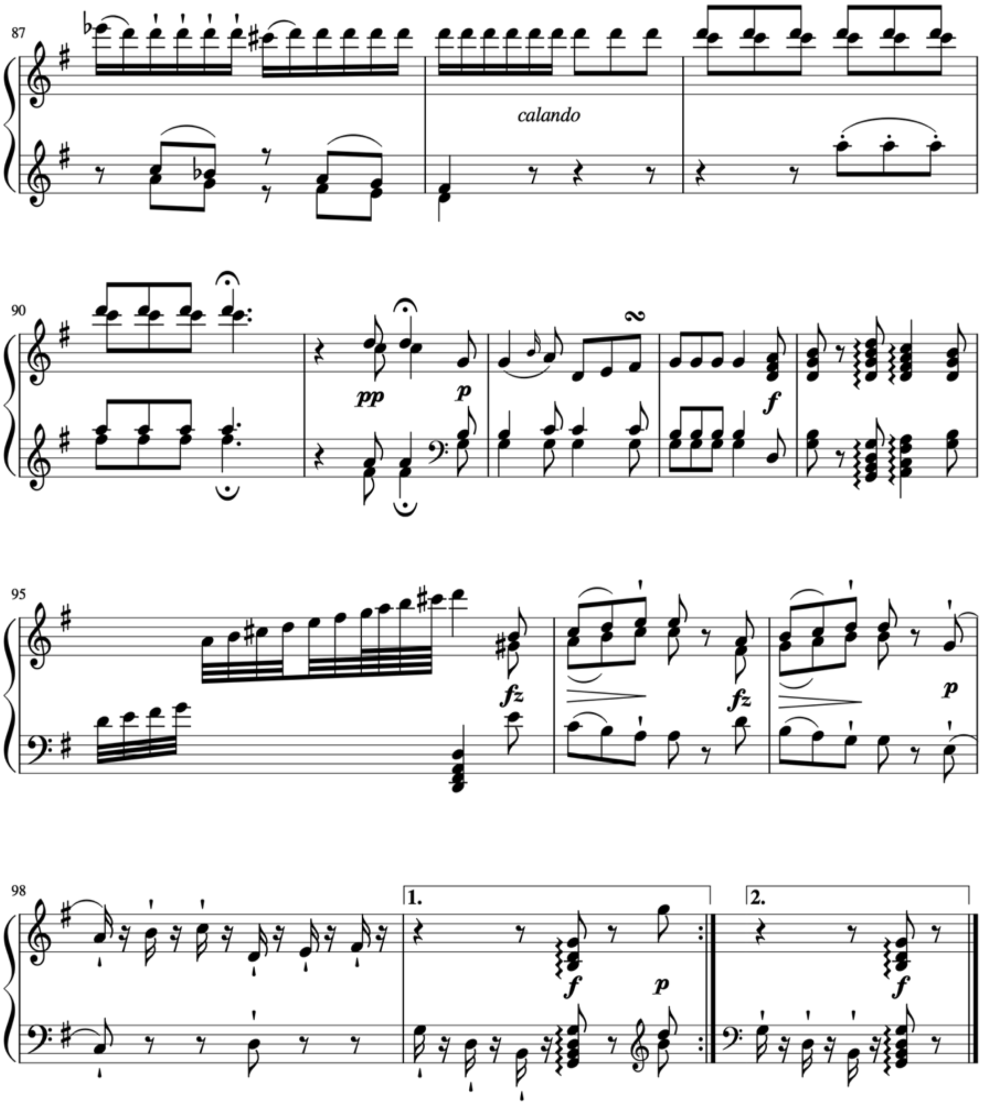
p
56
59
f
1.
p
2.
p

Example 5.2 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 40, I, mm. 37-60


73
fz
fz
76
79
calando
1.
2.
p
p
81
f
84
ff



Example 5.3 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 40, I, mm. 73-99

Such features of the movement allow the musical text of *Allegretto e innocente* to be read as a fictional narrative that accentuates a conventional feminine ideal embodied by sentimental heroines: innocence. Pastoral simplicity is fundamental to innocence because the innocent knows no evil and suffering — the pastoral is the state of the innocent's cognitive universe. "Back to nature," remarks Ratner, is what the pastoral evokes in a sentimental manner.[635] Monelle claims similarly that the pastoral signifies "a return to the state of nature," a state of either "innocence in the sense of an absence of tumult and strife and a freedom from passion"" or "another kind of innocence, that of sexual freedom."[636] The invoked nostalgia that summons a primitive, childlike state hovers between mankind's imagination and recollection. The particular version of the Golden Age and the tranquil Edenic pastoral scene is as Raymond Williams puts it a "myth functioning as a memory."[637] Rosen, who argues the simplicity of the pastoral is that which is "most moving" despite its artificiality, further ties this simplicity to Haydn's melodic management: "…The country simplicity that speaks with a sharp nostalgia to the urban reader…the apparent naïveté is at the heart of Haydn's manner. His melodies, like the shepherds of the classical pastoral, seem detached from all that they portend, unaware of how much they signify."[638] This "innocent" hearing of Haydn free from suffering can be traced all the way back to Hoffman who states,

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[635] Ratner, *Classic Music*, 390.

[636] Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military, and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 195.

> Haydn's compositions are dominated by a feeling of childlike optimism. His symphonies lead us through endless, green forest-glades, through a motley throng of happy people. Youths and girls sweep past dancing the round; laughing children, lying in wait behind trees and rose-bushes, teasingly throw flowers at each other. A world of love, of bliss, of eternal youth, as through before the Fall; no suffering, no pain; only sweet, melancholy longing for the beloved vision floating far off in the red flowing of evening, neither approaching nor receding; and as longs it is there the night will not draw on, for the vision is the evening glow itself illuminating hill and glade.[639]

Pastoral and its "innocent" tone cannot be treated as something solely unique to the feminine, however, for as W. Dean Sutcliffe has argued, the pastoral speaks to a broader eighteenth-century theme of sociability as a cultural mode related to "affective sociability" and intersects with "the taste for reduction" marked by simplifying cadence, a phenomenon in which "cadence points act to calm the tone of the discourse."[640] The embodied naivety of the sweet pastoral of this movement nonetheless overlaps with the ideal of innocence that contemporary female participants of the culture of sensibility across classes would have been conversant with. The "characterological" approach proposed by Campbell which analyses a topic not so much by studying behavior but by identifying the various character ideals prevalent in a given period shared among different groups of populations helps elucidate this phenomenon. "Character" in

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[637] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York, 1973), 43.

[638] Rosen, *The Classical Style*, 162.

[639] Hoffmann, *Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 237.

[640] W. Dean Sutcliffe, *Instrumental Music in an Age of Sociability: Haydn, Mozart and Friends* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 470, 515, and 313.

Campbell's approach is not a synonym for personality, temperament, or office; rather, it covers "that portion of the conduct of individuals which they can be expected to take responsibility for" and reveals what a period believes perfection in a man or a woman should consist of. Those who display such characters are often rewarded something as individuals of worth; those who do no may be blamed accordingly. Visible conduct becomes the means by which one fulfils character ideals. One has to constantly decide what emotions to display, what specific manners to adopt, and which abilities to pursue based on the characters they desire to embody.[641]

Among the few eighteenth-century character ideals Campbell has examined are the "ideal of sensibility" endorsed primarily by the middle class and the "aristocratic ideal of character."[642] The former, which enables middle-class citizens to become elites not of birth but of virtuous accomplishment, celebrates sympathy, delicacy, and responsiveness towards beauty. The latter avoids emotional excess for a restrained, civilized behavior and honor. Nevertheless, although the two types of ideals appear status-based and class-reinforced, they by no means reject or eliminate each other especially when it comes to the discourse of femininity. After all, the middle-class women, in order to show virtue, were to act in courteous ways; the noble ladies, in order to display learnedness, were also to show sensitivity to aesthetic beauty. Perhaps the divide between the middle-classes and the aristocracy does allow some flexibility — and a character ideal that seems to have been inhabited by both is precisely innocence. This ideal of innocence combats a common enemy shared by both classes: the "vulgar" or the "vile" that would threaten femininity.

Consider the response of Flaschsland after reading *The History of Lady Sophia Sternheim* when she was still the fiancé of Herder. She exclaimed to Herder about Sophia: "My whole ideal of a woman! Gentle, tender, beneficent. Proud and virtuous. And deceived."[643] Flaschland pitied herself for being far from such an ideal. Yet one can quickly spot certain contradictions in this list. How can virtue, for example, co-exist with being "deceived"? To juxtapose being virtuous with being deceived may forge inconsistency, for such a claim can be interpreted as equating foolishness with virtue. But when being deceived is understood as a result of one's innocence — innocence in the sense of naivety and ignorance — it can then assert itself with a virtuous facade. Sophia is a virtuous woman of sympathy and tenderness, but her "innocence" which makes her prone to being misguided and deceived transforms her into an even more desirable woman. Innocence is thus not always about blamelessness but denotes fundamentally one's lack of experience or awareness of "reality." Consequently, this quality is also more often attached to roles such as guileless children, tender daughters, young garden-girls, and chaste virgins.

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[641] Campbell, "Understanding Traditional and Modern Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England," 40-47.

[642] Ibid., 48-51.

[643] "Mein ganzes Ideal von einem Frauenzimmer! sanft, zärtlich, wohlthat. stolz und tugendhaft. und betrogen." See Herder, *Herders Briefwechseln mit Caroline Flachsland: Nach den Handschriften des Goethe-und Schiller-Archivs*, vol. 1, ed. Hans Schauer (Weimar: Verlag der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1926), 239.

August Freidrich Oelenhainz's painting of the 8-year-old Marie in 1776 casts light on the childlike, harmless innocence of the little princess (Figure 5.3). With a pair of big gullible eyes, tender red lips, and soft rosy blush, she smiles like a child of aristocracy but also poses like a garden girl who mingles with nature and flowers. Dressed in a luscious yellow dress, she is surrounded by beautiful pink roses and blue morning glories with heart-shaped leaves. Her elegantly tied hair is also adorned with a blossoming rose and another that has yet to bloom. Burke considers the rose a visual representation of the beautiful; for him, the rose is even lovelier before it becomes full-blown.[644] The extra layer of lush blue garment underpinning Marie's dress and the ribbon resting on her shoulder send a subtle signal: dipped in the same type of blue with similar shades of white as the morning glories, they suggest Marie is also a sweet child of mother nature like the flowers. Marie personifies the flowers in the form of flesh and, like the rose, she does not need to be fully mature to epitomize loveliness and beauty. In "Of Gardens" (1625), an essay described by Catherine Maxwell as "a test of innate olfactory sensibility,"[645] Francis Bacon also highlights the rose's lovely scent. As he carefully distinguishes each floral scent, he ranks the musk rose as the second most fragrant flower preceded by the violet and followed by dying strawberry-leaves, flower of the vines, and sweet-brier. Fragrant flowers that perfume the air and delight human senses, argues Bacon, are like music that touches us through invisible vibrating particles: "The breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air, where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music." The fountain, as painted in the background here, is also to him a great object of beauty and refreshment.[646]

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[644] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 86.

[645] Catherine Maxwell, *Scents and Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 53.

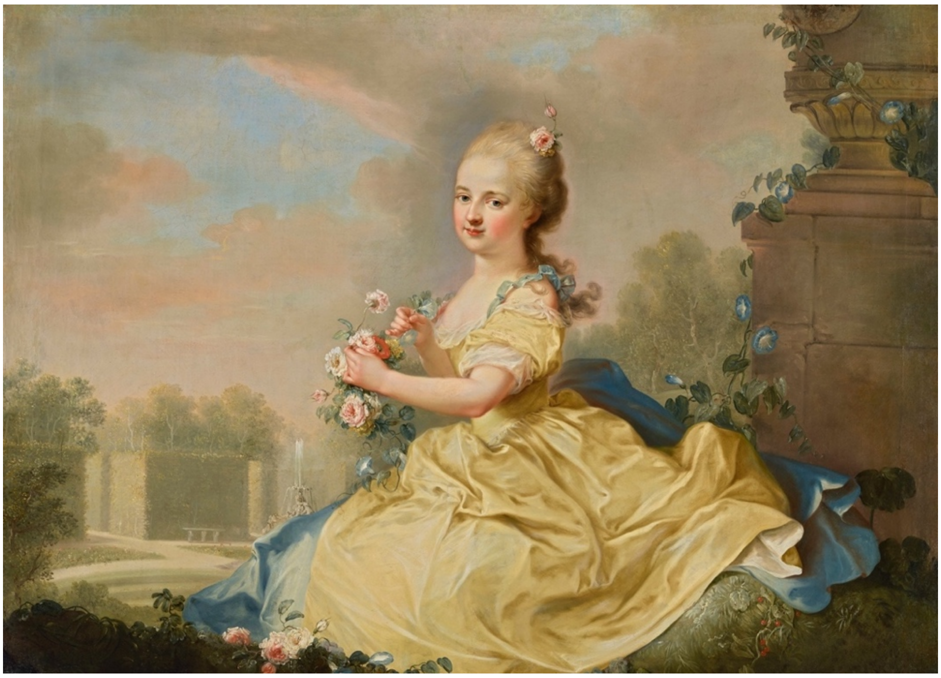

Figure 5.3 Freidrich Oelenhainz, Portrait of Princess Maria Josepha Hermenegilde von Liechtenstein, 1776. Reproduced by Permission. © 2020 LIECHTENSTEIN,The Princely Collections, V aduz-Vienna/SCALA, Florence.

In sentimental literature, a young heroine reveals her innocence when she appears perplexed by the wild, real world. As Frye writes, the "violated innocence" of female protagonists in sentimental novels is a common emphasis.[647] The typical sentimental heroine often begins with little clue about suffering but finds herself later situated in a complicated world filled with evil and betrayals. Sometimes her innocence stands out also when it is contrasted with new delights and temptations. In Fanny Burney's *Evelina* or *A Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (1778) first published anonymously as the author feared her father's disapproval, the heroine's eyes become open to all sorts of thrilling city-pleasure that she has never tasted. She describes her experience of an opera performance: "I could have thought myself in Paradise, but for the continual talking of the company around me. We sat in the pit, where every body was dressed in so high a style, that if I had been less delighted with the performance, my eyes would have found me sufficient entertainment from looking at the ladies."[648] Innocence, again, by no means always equates to folly even though it initially makes one easily deceived. Consider Evelina: she has "a certain air of inexperience and innocency that is extremely interesting" and yet she also displays "an excellent understanding and a great quickness of parts."[649] She is intrigued by the world but not "worldly." Her combination of innocence and intelligence eventually attracts Lord Orville to marry her.

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[646] Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 1 (London: A. Millar, 1765), 509-512.

[647] Northrop Frye, "Varieties of Eighteenth-Century Sensibility," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24/2 (1990-91): 165.

This "innocence" can dissemble. Eighteenth-century authors, observes Van Sant, aimed at the idealization of "decorous young women restored to innocence."[650] But can innocence really be restored? One can unlearn things that have been learned, but she cannot "ungain" something that has been gained. For a child to stay forever as a child is unnatural; to return to the idealized Eden is also unnatural. Likewise, a heroine cannot return to her previous state in which she knew no pain or sorrow. To "sustain" innocence, then, this ideal has to be reinvented as the notion of modesty manufactured by human hands. This fabricated innocence is no longer about an inner purity but concerns outward appearance and opposes excessive lavishness; it hints one's virtuous desire to remain "uncontaminated" from vulgarity, vanity, and pride. Marie as the beloved youngest daughter of Prince Franz Joseph Liechtenstein and Princess Maria Leopoldine Liechtenstein was no stranger to the need to exhibit an innocent outlook; her mother Leopoldine seemed to have never stopped prioritizing the need to protect Marie's "purity." When the newly-wed Marie was quickly left alone by Princess Nikolaus II who had to depart on a journey right after the wedding, Nikolaus's father Anton attempted to take Marie for himself. Leopoldine, in her alertness, immediately joined hands with Nikolaus's grandfather I to stop Anton in order to keep her daughter "unstained."[651] She was also known to have safeguarded her daughter from "degraded" artistic cultivation; when Marie insisted on sponsoring and participating in amateur theatre performances with his brother Louis and his wife, Leopoldine reproved

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[648] Fanny Burney, *Evelina*; *Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World* [1778], new ed, vol. 1 (London: W. Lowndes, 1808), 36.
[649] Ibid., 13.
[650] Van Sant, *Eighteenth-Century Sensibility*, 35.
[651] See Rebecca Gates-Coon, *The Charmed Circle: Joseph II and the "Five Princesses," 1765-1790* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2015), 85-86.

Marie and her daughter-in-law's involvement, worrying that they might form friendships that could lead to malign influence.[652]

Marie was perhaps the most cherished child of Leopoldine. Marie's mother trained Marie to love music like herself. In Oelenhainz's portrait of Leopoldine, Leopoldine is immersed in nature in a pastoral scene, playing a lyre in a modest dress of rustic colors while her eyes look away (Figure 5.4). This lyre reveals Leopoldine's love for music, but it also signifies both sweet sensibility and modesty. In the poem "Sensibility" from *Sacred Dramas* (1782), More repeatedly exclaims "Sweet Sensibility!" while comparing the sensibility of poets like Lord Lyttelton and Young to the lyre. She reassures Mrs. Boscawen that while these two great minds had passed away, poets like James Beattie or the heroine Serena of William Haley's *Triumphs of Temper* (1781) would continue to diffuse feelings to every part and thrills to every nerve of the readers: "You heard the lyres of Lyttelton and Young…While tuneful Beattie wakes old Spenser's lyre…When sweet Serena's poet wakes the lyre…"[653] Yet the lyre also has a history of representing modesty. In Plato's *Phaedo*, Simmias likens a man's body to a lyre to depict the soul as a harmony of the body. The lyre was an Apollonian divine instrument that signified wisdom, moderation, and calmness.[654]

Leopoldine's frequent conflicts with her sons, especially her eldest named Louis (or Alois) who often treated her with contempt because of trivial matters, also prompted Leopoldine to have a stronger relationship with Marie. Eleonore of Liechtenstein, the head of the "circle of five princesses" that advised Emperor Joseph II to which Leopoldine belonged, depicted the three young sons of Leopoldine as "quite ill-mannered." "A sort of savage who cannot be tamed," Elenore described Louis, "nothing amiable, nothing agreeable in his manners or his intellect, no principles and no religion or morality, lazy, indolent, selfish, hard, and yet lax; he will always be led about by sycophants and lackeys."[655] After the death of her husband Franz Joseph in 1781, Leopoldine continued to develop more frictions with Louis. Countess Leopoldine Kaunitz saw such mother-son conflicts as unavoidable. “Once sons are grown and become their own masters, their mother can no longer live in society with them,” she observed, “her role ends unhappily because she must act as mediator between father and son; but when the father dies, the son takes his place and the mother can only withdraw.”[656] As a widow grieving over the loss of her husband and the unhappy relationship with Louis, Leopoldine found comfort in living with Marie in Vienna.

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[652] Ibid., 68.

[653] Hannah More, "Sensibility: An Epistle," in *Sacred Dramas, Chiefly Intended for Young Persons* [1782], 177-191 (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1787), 177-78; 190.

[654] See Judith E. Bernstock, *Under the Spell of Orpheus: The Persistence of a Myth in Twentieth-Century Art* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 34.

[655] Gates-Coon, *The Charmed Circle*, 42-43.

The affectionate bond between Leopoldine and Marie would have been appreciated by the Esterházy family. The Hungarian traditional family principles placed high values on the mother-child relationship. Children of the aristocracy in Hungary since the 16th century were considered as ones to be loved with extensive paternal care.[657] The Esterházy upheld the educational principle that daughters should always stay with their mother, female nurses, and female servants until the age of four or five. They must also stay with their mother to learn household matters before they got married. Sons, on the other hand, would leave their mother at an early age with their education arranged completely by the father.[658] Yet, the mother-daughter bond was not an emphasis unique to the Esterházys or the aristocrats. Many middle-class members as depicted in sentimental novels also stressed family affection with mothering as a concept particularly important to the well-being of society. Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, for example, are portrayed as loving parents who have guided Pamela to cherish chastity.

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[656] Ibid., 43.

[657] Katalin Péter, *Beloved Children: History of Aristocratic Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age* (Budapest: Central European University Press), 120.

[658] Ibid., 205.

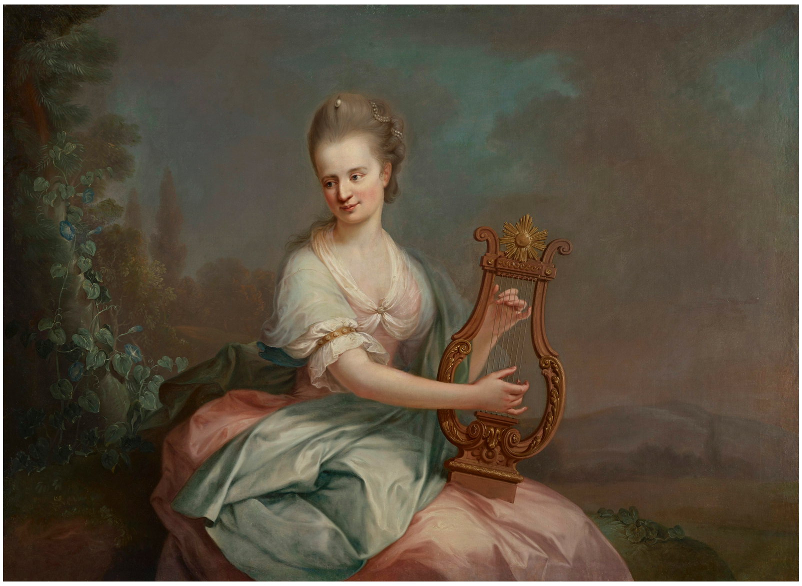

Figure 5.4 Oelenhainz, Portrait of Princess Leopoldine Adelgunde von Liechtenstein, 1776. Reproduced by Permission. © 2020 LIECHTENSTEIN,The Princely Collections, Vaduz-Vienna/SCALA, Florence.

A beloved daughter who delighted in purity continued to display innocence as a virgin prepared for marriage. "Virgin purity is of that delicate nature," Gregory writes to his daughters, "that it cannot hear certain things without contamination… Now I do not wish you to affect delicacy; I wish you to possess it."[659] The Hungarian family culture since the 17th century, too, stressed the pursuit of purity. Any Hungarian girl who had reached the age of fourteen would be called a *hajadon*, a term for the "bareheaded" female who did not wear the headscarf of a married woman. While the name *hajadon* signified a girl's readiness for marriage, any Hungarian boy who turned eighteen would be named a *nötlen*, a title that indicated he had reached the mature age appropriate to marriage.[660] Hungarian women were usually married off at the age of 18-20 to men who were a few years older than them and only around 3.5 % married at the age of around 14-16. Among the aristocrats, however, marriages generally took place at an earlier age. That Marie was married off to the eighteen-year-old Nikolaus II when she was still fifteen was not a surprise. Aristocrats with higher status would marry at a younger age and most girls from the Esterházys since the death of Miklos Esterházy married at the early age of fourteen.[661] Virginity was guarded as the Esterházys married off their daughters at a very young age, but such early marriages were also expected to extend the family's political influence, maintain powerful friendship, and secure estates.[662]

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[659] Gregory, "John Gregory, from *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, 1774," in *Women in the Eighteenth-Century Constructions of Femininity*, ed. Vivien Jones, 44-53 (London: Routledge, 2006), 47.

[660] Péter, *Beloved Children*, 11-12.

Angelika Kaufmann's portrait of Marie in 1795 (Figure 5.5) likewise suggests manufactured innocence's capacity to reveal and conceal at the same time. Marie's dress here might appear rather simple, but it echoes with Gregory's teaching on modesty, that a dress that conceals might often prove one's feminine delicacy, taste, and meekness more powerfully:

> Dress is an important article in female love. The love of dress is natural to you….Good sense will regulate your expense in it, and good taste will direct you to dress in such a way as to conceal any blemishes, and set off your beauties….But much delicacy and judgment are required….A fine woman shews her charms to most advantage, when she seems most to conceal them….You will not easily believe how much we consider your dress expressive of your characters. Vanity, levity, slovenliness, folly appear through it. An elegant simplicity is an equal proof of taste and delicacy.[663]

Humbly wrapped in a reserved dress with a head covering, Marie's docile face smiles with a tint of shyness and her eyes look slightly away. Although she is no longer that ingenuous child in the first painting, she continues to blush. Gregory identifies blushing as a proof of feminine sensibility:

> When a girl ceases to blush, she has lost the most powerful charm of beauty. That extreme sensibility which it indicates, may be a weakness and encumbrance in our sex; but in yours, it is peculiarly engaging… Blushing is so far from being necessarily an attendant on guilt, that it is the usual companion of innocence.[664]

The child's blush is an involuntary act of nature that cannot be disguised, but the adult blush like one applied on the twenty-seven-year-old Marie flaunts a bashful modesty. Marie's demure face decorated with cosmetic redness on both cheeks does not come from a naive ignorance of her sexuality. Instead, it establishes her femininity by distancing herself from both childlike immaturity and the vulgarity of crude seductresses. This blush on a pale face evokes the ability of "assembled innocence" to dissemble. Sentimental writers understood that innocence ultimately remains an ideal and may have the ability to dissimulate, as in the case of Sterne's Maria, a popular subject for paintings whom Kaufmann had also depicted. Dressed innocently in white with her hair hung loose, "poor Maria," abandoned by her lover, was found sitting under a poplar. With tears trickling down her cheeks, she let Yorick wipe her tears away with his handerkercheif.[665] "Innocence," after all, is not so innocent.

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[661] Ibid.

[662] Ibid., 209.

[663] Gregory, "*Father's Legacy*," 47-48.

[664] Ibid., 46.

The design of a typical Esterházy princess apartment also discloses the family's emphasis of politeness and learnedness. The apartment, according to a recent reconstruction in the Esterházy Palace, consists of a *Zimmer der Kammerfrauen* (a *Kammerfrauen* was a female servant close to the princess who supervised domestic affairs), a sitting room, a toilette boudoir, a study room, a writing room, a mezzanine storey, and a private oratory. The toilette boudoir was where the princess prepared her appearance. The writing room, significantly larger than the study room, was devoted solely to the purpose of writing letters to family members and friends. The private oratory allowed the princess to participate in chapel services without being seen. Inside Marie's bedroom were a mahogany fortepiano, a music stand, a small writing desk with a writing box, and Oriental porcelain adorned pedestals and tabletops. Marie might have had an affair with Prince Andreas Rasumofsky, but this relationship was excused since Nikolaus II had three children with his French mistress Madame Plaideux. In the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Marie was regarded as an elegant writer whose youthful charm continued unto her later years. A dear friend of Empress Maria Ludovica, she enjoyed playing a card game called "Whist" and hosting balls. After Nikolaus II's death, she was cared for as a widow by the family until she died at the age of seventy-eight.[666]

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[665] Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey and Other Writings* [1768], ed. Tom Keymer (London: J. M. Dent, 1994), 95-99.

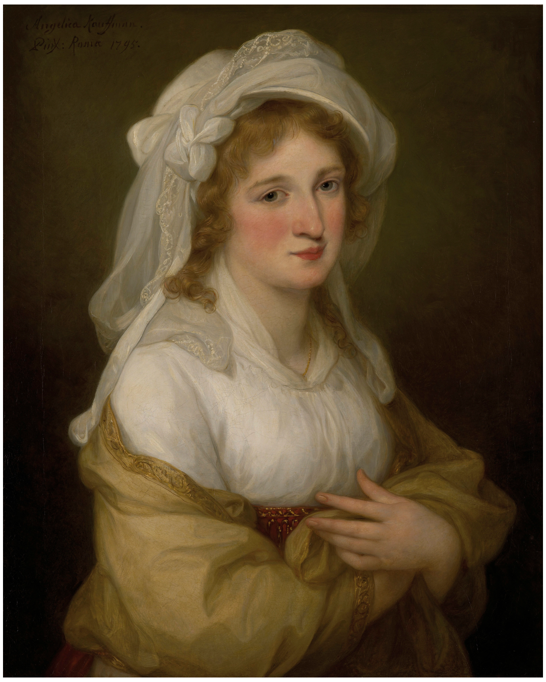

Figure 5.5 Angelika Kaufmann, *Maria Josepha Hermengilde von Liechtenstein, Princess Esterhazy*, 1795. Reproduced by Permission. © 2020 LIECHTENSTEIN,The Princely Collections, Vaduz-Vienna/SCALA, Florence.

The Minor Shift: Sensibility in Distress

As noted earlier, the innocence of a young sentimental heroine is often only made alive to readers when her utopian worldview appears shattered by the world's complexity. In *Allegretto e innocente*, the B theme that follows the pastoral A theme invokes such an episode. Both themes in this movement demonstrate the typical features of Haydn's double variations:[667] both share the same tonic but are set in opposite modes; each theme is divided into two repeated sections; the total number of variations remains quite small with just one or two for each theme; the major theme closes the variation; and lastly, the second theme shows some reminiscence of the first. Rosen describes the thematic relationships in Haydn's double variations: "Haydn's double variations are almost never intended to sound as if they contain two distinct themes; the second melody appears as a free variation of the first, and the form is that of a mono-thematic rondo."[668] In this movement, however, B appears not so much as a free variation of A, but it does show references to it. Although the term "mono-thematic" has been used in different ways, monothematicism as Markus Neuwirth argues is best understood as "a broad concept embracing structures that involve from loose motivic references to the use of a literal and complete restatement of the main theme in the related key area."[669]

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[666] See Margit Kopp, *The Apartment of Princess: Visitors' Guide to the Exhibition*, trans. Rebecca Law (Eisenstadht: Esterházy Privatstiftung: 2018), 3-33.

[667] Sisman prefers the term "alternating variation" instead of "double variation" for two reasons: "first, the idea of a double theme is frequently given the lie by the many such pieces which end with a variation of the first theme (that is, the second does not alternate fully, thus resembling rondo), and second, because of the frequent and continuing use of "double variation," especially by music theorists, to mean written-out varied repeats within variations. See Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 150-51.

Put simply, B set in G minor does not sound so much like a free variation of A but flows as a continuation of A with references to A. It cannot be detached from A — it cannot even begin on its own as a separate entity. While B, set in G minor, does not restate A, it absorbs and reiterates some elements of A. In mm. 25-26 and m. 28, for example, the right hand shows the same rhythmic gesture of two repeated staccatissimo eighths followed by an eighth rest found previously in mm. 12-13 on the right hand and, on the left hand, mm.14-15. In mm. 31-32, the right hand displays the same gesture of two slurred eighths followed by an eighth rest heard previously in mm. 12-13 on the left hand and mm. 14-15 on the right hand (See Examples 5.1 and 5.4).

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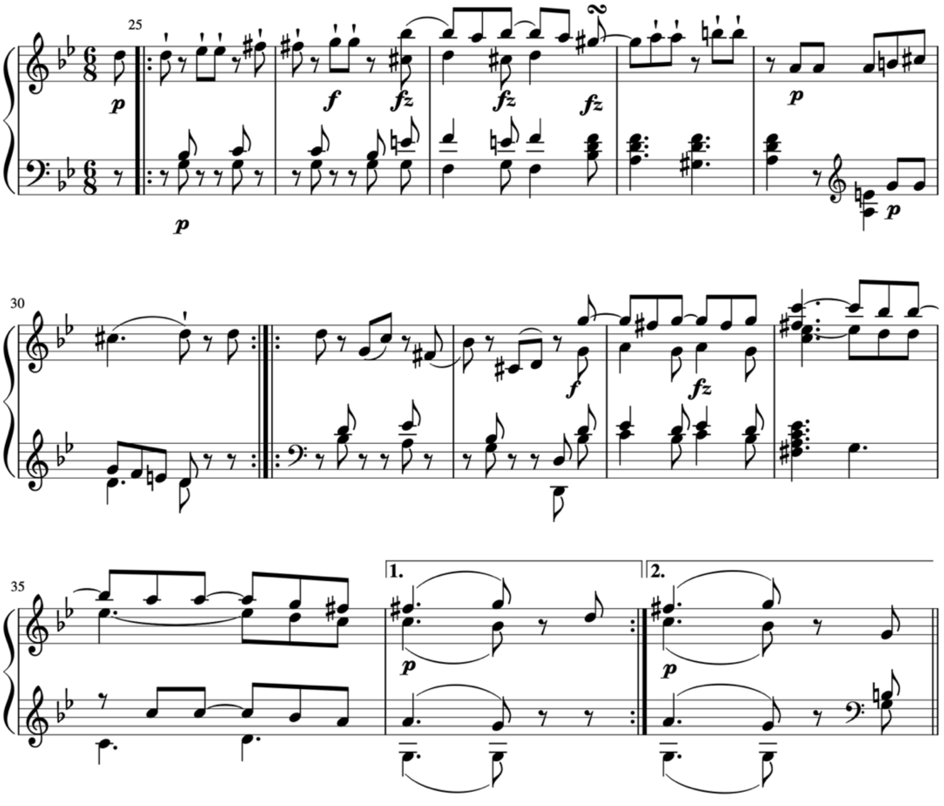
[668] Rosen, *The Classical Style*, 331.

[669] Markus Neuwirth, "Does a 'Monothematic' Expositional Design have Tautological Implications for the Recapitulation? An Alternative Approach to 'Altered Recapitulations' in Haydn," *Studia Musicologica* 51/3-4 (2010): 372. See also Samantha M. Inman, "The Inner and Outer Form of Haydn's Monothematic Sonatas," *Theory and Practice* 41 (2016): 3.



Example 5.4 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 40, I, mm. 25-36

Minor-mode variations according to Sisman tend to change the topical nature of a variation theme into sensibility or the learned style.[670] To be more precise, what the *minore* enforces, at least as exhibited here in *Allegretto e innocente*, is a sensibility in distress. The shifting between major and minor in this movement moves like an oscillation between the two states of the fictional heroine: while A paints a young garden girl or pastoral heroine's state of innocence, B depicts a mode of sensibility in distress — one in which her innocence is disrupted by confusion and anguish in the face of unforeseen suffering and tribulation. B behaves pianistically in what Nancy November calls a "sympathy-grabbing' mode of fragmentary, teary, and sigh-laden delivery that readers of sentimental novels and listeners to operas would have been acquainted with. In the words of Stefano Castelvecchi, the experience of sensibility, or as said, a sensibility in distress, possesses "a fragmentary and incomplete quality reflected in the tendency to fragmentation and incompleteness within sentimental texts."[671]

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[670] Sisman, "Symphonies and the Public Display of Topics," 107.

[671] See November, "Haydn's Melancholy Voice: Lost Dialectics in His Late Chamber Music and English Songs," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4/1 (2007), 84 and Stefano

Unlike the smooth, melodic, and harmonious A, B features interrupted speech, silence, gasps, sighs, and dissonance with rapid dynamic changes.

Shifting between major and minor for a contrast between the two states of a heroine has appeared previously in the character of Rosina in Haydn's *La vera constanza*. In "Con un tenero sospiro," the music changes twice suddenly from A major to A minor. In A major, Rosina recalls her lovely time with the Count. After the recollection, however, she exclaims, in A minor, a painful lament about her tragic fate cursed by the cold heart of the Count: "Che crudel destin spietato!" Head hears "Con un tenero sospiro" as follows:

> In Rosina's aria "Con un tenero sospiro," Haydn provides a "sentimental singing style," a sort of noble simplicity that falls between the poles of buffa and seria styles and which included musical imitation of breathlessness, faintness, and palpitation. But more than this, Haydn models the heroine's changing state of mind in something like real time — her movement from happy memory to current anguish seeming to determine the musical form.[672]

In sadness and pain, the heroine learns a new set of vocabularies that communicate despair, nervousness, and instability. In *Allegretto e innocente*, B's first section opens with four pairs of repeated staccatissimo eighths in the right hand that climb upwards in mm. 25-26 (Example 5.4). Each pair is punctuated by an eighth rest that evokes a pulsed gasp. The left hand, meanwhile, plugs each rhythmic gap with a short third or fourth. That this sequence of breathless, sobbing-like gestures would move quickly from *p* to *f* within just two measures also reveals a swift emotional change. This rhetorical phrasing may also be compared to a broken syntax in a sentimental literary text uttered by one who has become overwhelmed: each punctuating rest functions likes a hasty dash that accumulates into an "exclamation moment" when G minor arrives in *f*.

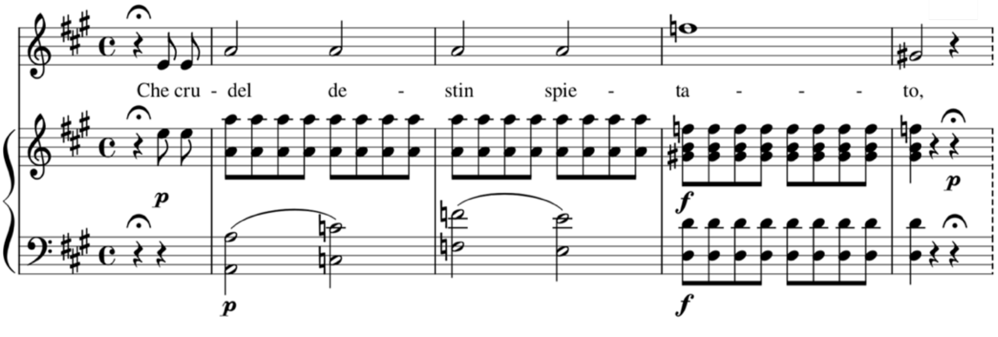
What follows the four pairs of repeated eighths with rests are repeated gestures of urgent pleading in m. 27. The alto, tenor, and bass lines in each case perform twice an iambic rhythm, moving from, in the local key of D minor, $\text{vii}^{\text{o}4/3}$ to i^6. That the eighth notes are designated *fz* further amplifies the anxious effect. The soprano line nonetheless chooses to go against the iambic rhythm:

Castelvecchi, "From 'Nina' to 'Nina': Psychodrama, Absorption, and Sentiment in the 1780s," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8/2 (1996): 102-3.

[672] Head, "Empfindsamkeit," 98.

with syncopation and suspension, it repeatedly delivers falling sigh-like minor seconds, albeit without slurs. This clash between the sigh-like lament and the agitated iambic metrical scheme intensifies that conflict marked by restless anguish. The pleading gestures are followed by a Ger^{+6} with an expressive turn marked likewise with a *fz* with syncopation. The music comes down to *p* again quickly and finishes with a soft inverted sigh — anxiety is temporarily alleviated.

Like the first section, the second section (mm. 31-36) opens with a pair of repeated eighths in D. The subsequent three pairs of eighth notes, while adopting a similar use of punctuating eighth rests, are instead replaced by slurred, rising, quasi-sigh-like gestures that go in the opposite, descending direction. Gestures of urgent pleading with iambic rhythm appear again in m. 33, moving from, in G minor, i^{6} to vii$^{o4/3}$. What comes after this time is a dramatic diminished seventh held for three full eighth beats. A diminished seventh, as Waldoff has highlighted, marks Rosina's crying out on the word "spietato" in a sudden *forte* when she realizes she has been betrayed (Example 5.5).[673] Perhaps the vii^{o7} here signals a similar emotive reaction; it is the sound of being confronted by the reality of woe. Like the first section, the music comes down to *p* soon and closes with an inverted sigh that brings slight relief.



Example 5.5 Haydn, *La vera constanza,* Rosina, "Con un tenero sospiro," mm. 83-86

In the first section of B^{1} (mm. 61-72), the sobbing-like repeated notes first heard in mm. 25-26 have now become subdivided, sigh-like gestures in mm. 61-62 (Example 5.6). While B may still move with steps and smaller intervals, B^{1} now features many more arpeggiated chords and broken octaves alongside dotted rhythms and rhythmic subdivision. The dynamic range, too, is pushed even further with the use of *pp* and *ff.* Both markings of *ff* take place at the moments of diminished sevenths in mm. 63-64. In mm. 68-69, the iambic rhythm appears again on the left hand as the i^{6} moves to vii$^{o4/3}$ to twice. The right hand once again decides to contradict this rhythm, but it does so this time by slurring every three sixteenth notes. In the final measure, the double tonic eighths in *pp* are clasped between two sets of double eighth rests with which the first sounds like a pair of "double gasps." Sorrow may have come to a temporary close, but the subject of *Allegretto e innocente* now finally emerges as someone like Haydn's Rosina who, despite having begun in a lowly and rather credulous manner, finds her gift of finer feelings and receptivity blossoming through suffering. When she recognizes agony's presence in the world, she decides to think for herself as one who seeks to mature — "a child of the Enlightenment," perhaps, as Waldoff has suggested.[674]

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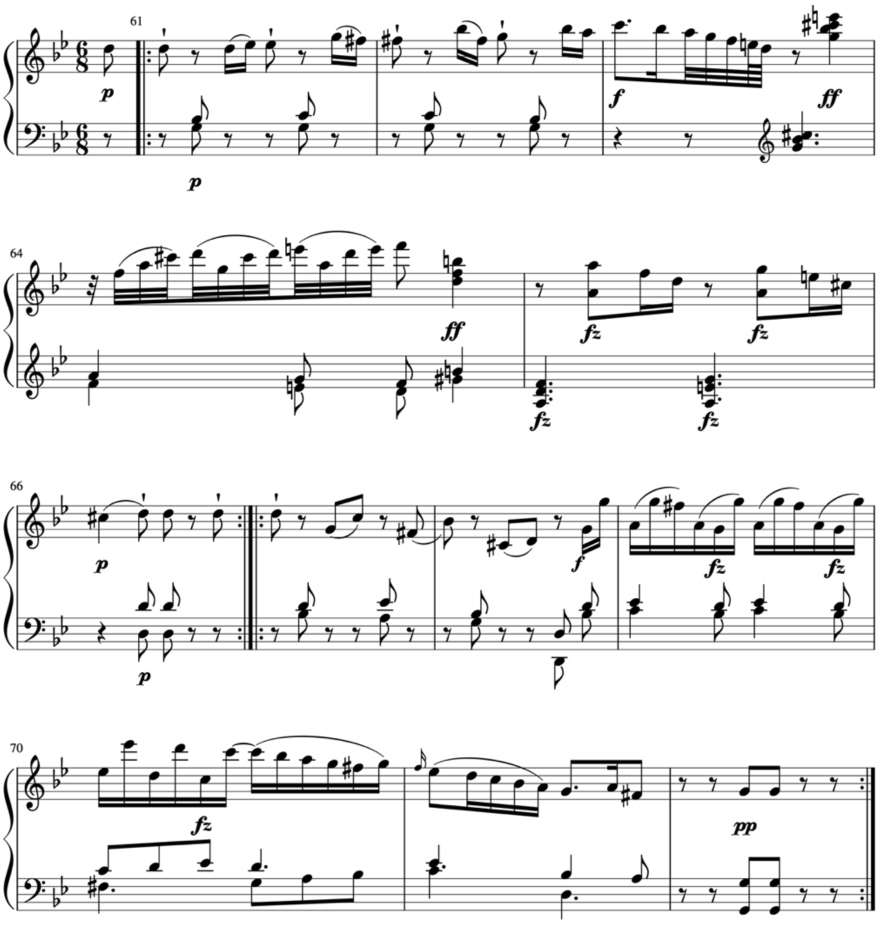
[673] Waldoff, "La vera constanza," 92.



Example 5.6, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 40, I, mm. 61-72

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[674] Ibid., 119.

As A and B alternate with their variations, listeners, like readers of sentimental novels, may hear simultaneously the shifting between the ideal of innocence and a sensibility in distress set in a larger framework of maturing or becoming — and this maturing perhaps is precisely why the final section A" presents itself with many more dramatic materials that break the perception of "modesty." From the flashy thirty-second or even sixty-fourth runs, chromatic appoggiaturas, catchy syncopation, broken arpeggiated chords including octaves, repeated notes both in slurs and in staccatissimo, striking rolled gestures, double fermatas, *calando* markings, and the more extreme contrast of dynamics to the rather humorous but abrupt ending gesture — these increasingly exuberant rhetoric and figures not only make ways for the subsequent festive finale *presto*, which also draws elements from the A theme, but also signal confidently a female consciousness's breaking out of ignorance and innocence. The melody certainly still sings in simplicity, but the power of simplicity in the pastoral mode, as Sutcliffe has argued, does not always exclude both playfulness and irony.[675]

Ambivalent Familiarity: Mixing of Social Classes

"The ear always desires something which is familiar to some degree, however trifling," Mattheson writes.[676] To make the music hospitable to both the middle-class and the noble, *Allegretto e innocente* dedicated to Princess Marie still shows subtle musical elements that would resonate with the more common class. Without completely sinking into a low style, *Allegretto e innocente*'s folkish pastoral melodicity tickles the ears of the humbler class. Known for his frequent adoptions of folk tunes, Haydn integrates the Austrian children's song "Acht Sauschneider müssen sein" into Capriccio in G major, Hob. XVII:1 (1765). Sometimes, as Rosen observes, Haydn would also invent his own folk tunes:

> The folk songs that Haydn actually used on occasions are largely indistinguishable from many of the undoubtedly original melodies of his late years…the use of folk music or the invention of folk-like material becomes increasingly important in Haydn's works from 1785 on: there had always been some allusions to popular tunes, hunting-calls, yodels, and dance-rhythms…[677]

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[675] Sutcliffe, *Instrumental Music in an Age of Sociability*, 515.

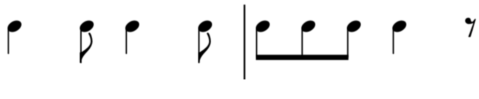
[676] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 313.

[677] Rosen, *The Classical Style*, 329.

G major, the key of Hob. XVI: 40, was also not only accessible to all social classes but also common in pastoral music. Arcangelo Corelli's *Largo* "Pastorale ad libitum" from Concerto Grosso Op. 6 No. 8 and Mozart's Mass "Pastoral" K. 140 are just some examples. Consider also how in act two of Mozart's *La finta giardiniera* (1775), the music, after some passages of trembling, suddenly shifts to an "imagined pastoral paradise" set in G major in 3/4 meter with *Andantino* "Mio Tirsi, deh senti le dolci sirene."[678] Despite its ordinariness, G major is that key which, as Schubart summarizes, signals a naive mode of innocence:

> …everything rustic, moderately idyllic and lyrical, each quiet and satisfied passion, each tender recompense for sincere friendship and true love; in a word, each gentle and serene motion of the heart can be expressed splendidly in this key. Too bad that it is today so very much neglected on account of its seeming agility. One does not consider that there is no difficult and facile key in the real sense, but these apparent difficulties and agilities depend on the composer![679]

But what makes the pastoral of A theme in *Allegretto e innocente* even more accessible is the generally recognized rhythm or tone-feet of trochee. "What meters are in poetry, rhythms are in music," writes Mattheson, "for this reason we will call them tone-feet, since songs as it were walks along on them."[680] The trochee is the tone-feet of siciliano, which is more closely associated with the noble class with its dignified spirit. Mattheson states that "the true Sicilian style is quite tender with a noble simplicity. One really should do the same with true minuets and their composition, as has been done sensibly by Lully."[681] The siciliano is also more appropriate to a sorrowful temperament, as the second movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488 in F-sharp minor has demonstrated. The first two measures of the first movement "Pastorella (*Adagio*)" from Haydn's Baryton Trio Hob. XI: 35 (Example 5.7) which served the interest of Prince Nikolaus, a baryton player, use the siciliano rhythm with a similar accompanimental rhythmic pattern as the opening measures of A in *Allegretto e innocente*, namely trochee, trochee, tribrach:



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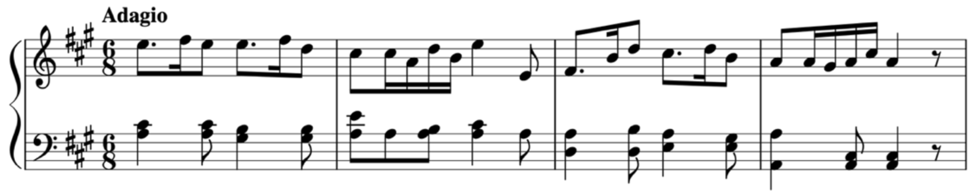
[678] Waldoff, *Recognition in Mozart's Operas*, 161.
[679] Dubois, *Schubart*, 436.
[680] Ibid., 344.
[681] Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 352.



Example 5.7 Haydn, Baryton Trio in A major, Hob. XI:35,
"Pastorella (*Adagio*)," mm. 1-4, Reduction

Yet, the trochee is also the rhythm for a 6/8 rustic pastoral and, according to Mattheson, it is best suited to Spanish Canary gigues as well as lullabies and cradle songs, for it conveys something "innocent… and nothing of the serious."[682] It does not belong only the pastoral but also characterizes the "peasant" and "lullaby" rhythms (Figures 5.7 and 5.8).[683] Lullabies and other amorous little pieces must not be deemed frivolous, Mattheson argues, for "if they are done quite naturally, they are often more pleasing and have greater impact than high and might concertos and stately overtures."[684] A tone-feet that appeals to all social classes, the trochee in 6/8 frees Hob. XVI: 40 from being restricted to the noble realm despite its dedication. Drawing listeners into an ambivalent familiarity, the music of *Allegretto e innocente*, then, in pleasing Marie internally within the aristocratic circle, might also speak externally to the wider female consumer market.

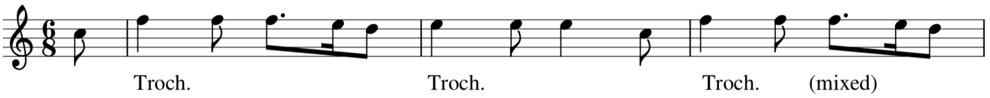


Figure 5.7 Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739),
Peasant Rhythm.

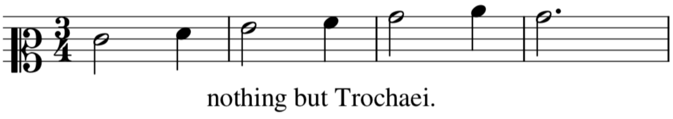


Figure 5.8 Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Lullaby Rhythm.

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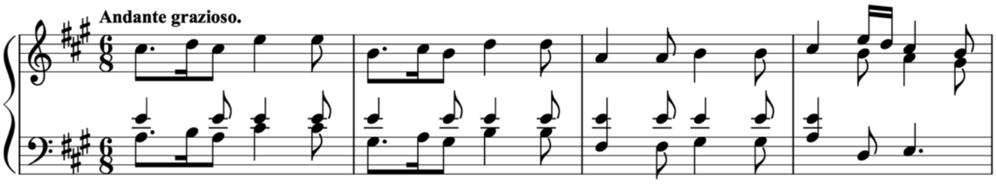
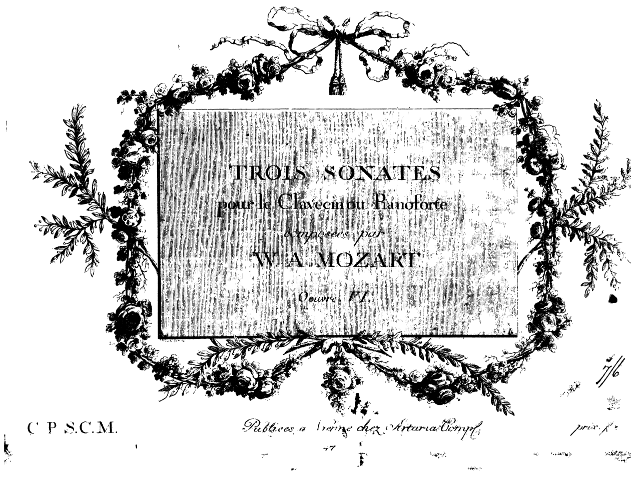
[682] Ibid., 352-53.
[683] Ibid., 353.
[684] Ibid., 196.

The siciliano theme of Mozart's K. 331 in A major (Example 5.8) somehow calls to mind the dotted rhythm of Hob. XI: 35 composed also in A major. That is not to say Mozart's K. 331 has anything to do with Haydn's Hob. XVI: 35. However, when studied alongside Hob. XVI: 40-42, the sonata set to which K. 331 belongs may elucidate the social and commercial context that both sets of sonatas were placed in. Mozart's K. 330-332, another set of three keyboard sonatas, was published in the same year as Haydn's Hob. XVI: 40-42 in 1784 by Artaria. Like Haydn's, Mozart's three sonatas announced themselves in French, the language claimed by women of nobility such as Marie. Not dedicated to any female aristocrat, Mozart's set shows a cover design that features leafy and rosy garlands that form a beautifully ribboned frame (Figure 5.9). The cover design of Hob. XVI: 40-42, on the other hand, employs these elements in a more reserved and elevated way with a rectangular frame. The oval at the bottom containing an altarpiece with ceremonial fire is, as Tom Beghin points out, a type of hearth that represents Marie's newly married status (Figure 5.10).[685]



Example 5.8 Mozart, Keyboard Sonata in A major, K. 331, I, mm. 1-4



TROIS SONATES
pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte
composées par
W. A. MOZART
Oeuvre. VI.

7/6

C P S.C.M.
Publiées a Vienne chez Artaria Comp.
prix f.

Figure 5.9 Mozart, Keyboard Sonatas K. 330-332 (Vienna: Artaria, 1784), Title Page.

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[685] Beghin, *Virtual Haydn*, 137.

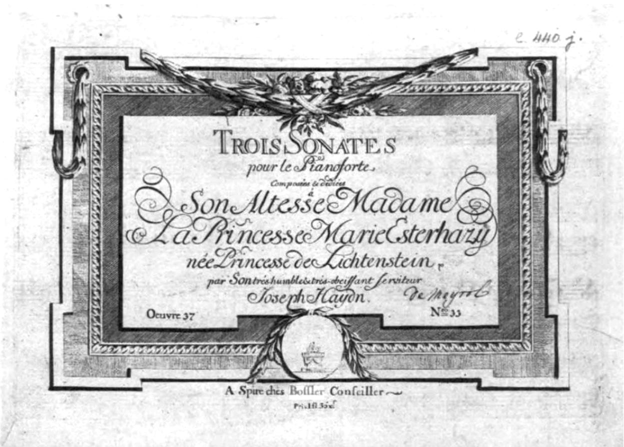
c 440 j.
TROIS SONATES
pour le Pianoforte,
Composées et dédiées
a Son Altesse Madame
La Princesse Marie Esterhazy
née Princesse de Lichtenstein,
par Son très humble et très obeissant serviteur
Joseph Haydn.
Oeuvre 37
No 33
A Spire chés Boßler Conseiller

Figure 5.10 Haydn, Keyboard Sonatas Hob. 40-42 (Speyer: Bossler, 1784), Title Page.

Juxtaposing Mozart's set with Haydn's suggests both were products tailored to contemporary consumers. Both sets are written in keys without many sharps and flats with an emphasis on the melody and light textures. Haydn's set adopts the keys of G major, B-flat major, and D major, whereas Mozart's uses C major, A major, and F major. The first movements of Hob. XVI: 40 and K. 331 also exhibit some similarities. Both derive their markings from a specific aspect of femininity or, as Sutcliffe argues, affective sociability. Haydn emphasizes innocence (*Allegretto e innocente*) and Mozart, gracefulness (*Andante grazioso*). Both also display the same form and meter, that is, variation in 6/8 meter. Their themes draw on similar topics: while Haydn evokes a more common pastoral, Mozart features a more noble siciliano. While each sonata in Mozart's set contains three movements, however, the sonata in Haydn's set each only consists of two movements. From a pedagogical standpoint, Haydn might have written in two-movement form to introduce the ideas of sonata and variation to the young Marie. Commercially speaking, however, the two-movement sonatas might have also provided an opportunity for those who wanted to learn shorter and less complex sonatas.

Such similar and yet different plans that appear deliberate might have been arranged by Artaria; or perhaps the two composers might have conversed about the sonatas before they were printed, for Haydn and Mozart were likely to have met each other at a Tonkünstler-Societät performance on December 22 and 23, 1783. They met again at a quartet party in 1784, the year when the two sets were published, where Haydn played first violin and Mozart played viola.[686] Furthermore, their mutual admiration and generosity ruled out any form of hostility. Mozart always addressed Haydn as "papa."[687] Haydn, too, considered Mozart the greatest composer and even wrote to a friend in Prague: "It angers me that this unique Mozart is still not engaged by any imperial or royal court! Your pardon if I have got off the track: I dearly love the man."[688] In 1785, a year after the publications of both sets of sonatas, Mozart dedicated a set of six violin quartets, Op. 10, to Haydn.

Conduct-Book Material for Politeness: Hob. XVI: 42's *Andante con espressione*

Innocence, as said, can be enacted by one who displays a modest and meek manner. This modesty interweaves with the 18th-century social culture of politeness which emphasized a polished decorum — the "aristocratic ideal of character" highlighted earlier called for precisely the self-restraint and courtliness that the polite culture stressed. Sentimental literature also played a role in this culture; Richardson's novels were said to have exemplified conduct-book-like functions that promoted such values; his stories of sentimental heroines were read among middle-class women not just for pleasure but also as novelized educational materials that taught young ladies virtuous behaviors. Conducts books were popular among women in the 18th century: Eliza Smith's *The Complete Housewife* (1727) came out with eighteen editions within fifty years and Angeline Goreau's *The Whole Duty of Woman* (1737), a counterpart of *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658), was a great success. Lord Fellamar's praise for Sophia Western in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749) also carries a lesson to be learned by the 18th-century female readers: "I should swear she had been bred in a Court; for besides her Beauty, I never saw anything so gentle, so sensible, so polite."[689] Alongside beauty, gentleness, sensibility, and politeness set a woman apart from the ordinary world.

Even Wollstonecraft who was considered a radical feminist insists on the importance of humble modesty in works such as *Thoughts on the Education of*

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[686] See "Chronology," *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia,* ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, xx-xxiii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), xxvii.

[687] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 119.

[688] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 64.

[689] Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (Dublin: John Smith, 1749), 77.

Daughters (1787) and *Original Stories From Real Life* (1791) — both regarded as notable teaching materials on middle-class female conducts. For Wollstonecraft, however, modesty for women concerns not so much appearance. As Barbara Caine notes, Wollstonecraft criticized the gendering of qualities including modesty, lamenting that while the term "modesty" referred to "that soberness of mind which teaches a man not to think more highly of himself than he ought to think" in men, in women the term referred only to sexual demeanour.[690] In *Original Stories from Real Life*, the loving mother and wife Mrs. Trueman appears as such an ideal middle-class woman. A woman of taste and sensibility, Mrs. Trueman shows accomplishment in music, drawing, and literature. She is not born a noble, but she is, as described, a modest and virtuous woman who avoids vulgar talks and empty praises:

> Her voice is sweet, her manners not only easy, but elegant; and her simple dress makes her person appear to the greatest advantage.[691]
>
> Of all the women whom I have ever met with, Mrs. Trueman seems the freest from vanity, and those frivolous views which degrade the female character. Her virtues claim respect, and the practice of them engrosses her thoughts; yet her clothes are apparently well chosen, and you always see her in the same attire. Not like many women who are eager to set off their persons to the best advantage, when they are only going to take a walk, and are careless, nay slovenly, when forced to stay at home. Mrs. Trueman's conduct is just the reverse, she tries to avoid singularity, for she does not wish to disgust the generality; but it is her family, her friends, whom she studies to please.[692]

In one scene, Mrs. Trueman is visited "unexpectedly." That she is visited and witnessed unexpectedly signals the authenticity of her virtues, for she is not performing them to impress others. Found sitting in the garden playing with her children, she honors the wish of Mrs. Mason and the girls to play the guitar and sing for them. When Mary, amazed by Mrs. Trueman's voice, whispers to Mrs. Mason that "she would give the world to be able to sing as well," Mrs. Trueman responds upon overhearing this compliment: "My young friend, you value accomplishments much too highly — they may give grace to virtue — but are nothing without solid worth."[693] Wollstonecraft then invites young readers to learn this humility from Mrs. Trueman:

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[690] See also Barbara Caine, "Women," in *British Culture, 1776-1832*, ed. Iain McCalman, 42-51 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 45.

[691] Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories from Real Life* [1788] (London: Henry Frowde, 1906), 22.

[692] Ibid., 48-49.

> Observe, my dear girls, Mrs. Trueman's distinction, her accomplishments are for her friends, her virtues for the world in general. I should think myself vain, and my soul little, answered Mrs. Trueman, if the applause of the whole world, on the score of abilities, which did not add any real lustre to my character, could afford me matter of exultation.[694]

Like innocence, modesty was a virtue expected of both the noble and the middle-class ladies. Princesses like Marie and her sister-in-law Karoline in their nobility also had to confirm themselves as well-bred, modest beings through the form of visible politeness. In 1793, when Marie was twenty-five years old, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun was invited to paint two portraits for the Liechtenstein sisters to be displayed in the newly renovated palace in the Herrengasse. Vigée-Lebrun chose to paint Marie and Karoline as respectively Ariadne on Naxos (Figure 5.10) and Iris, the goddess of rainbow. Ariadne was known not only for her beauty but also her naivety to have mistrusted Theseus who ended up abandoning her on Naxos. This myth became a popular material for ancient Greek poets and European artists including Haydn, who composed the cantata for soprano and keyboard *Arianna a Naxos*, Hob. XXVIb: 2. It was nonetheless not the first time that Vigée-Lebrun had depicted a public figure as Ariadne. In 1790, the year when Haydn published *Arianna a Naxos*, Vigée-Lebrun also painted Emma Hart who was then also twenty-five as Ariadne (Figure 5.11). Emma adored Haydn's *Arianna*; during a visit to Eisenstadt in 1800, Emma as Lady Hamilton specifically requested to perform this cantata.[695] Haydn later also composed and dedicated another cantata titled "The Battle of the Nile" to her.[696]

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[693] Ibid, 74-75.

[694] Ibid., 75-76.

[695] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 175.

[696] This work was called "a favourite Cantata, with an Accompaniment for the pianoforte" and a review in 1801 stated it brought infinite pleasure, although a "lesser portion of recitative and a greater variety of air" would have made it more attractive. See "Review of New Musical Publications," *The Monthly Magazine*, vol. 11 (London: Richard Phillips, 1801), 248.

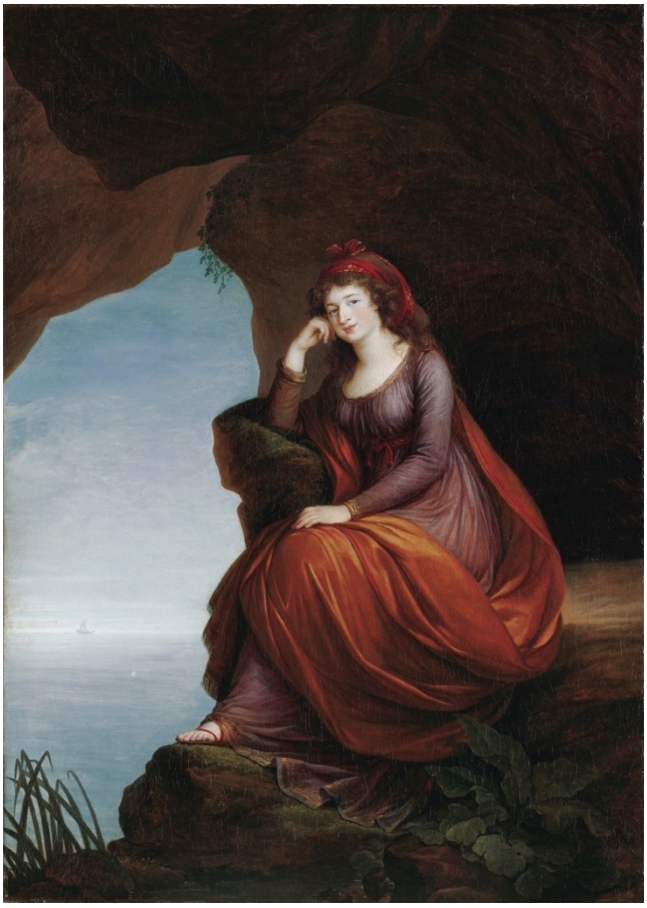

Figure 5.10 Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Countess Maria Josepha Hermengilde Esterházy, née Princess von und zu Liechtenstein*, 1793. Reproduced by Permission. © 2020 LIECHTENSTEIN,The Princely Collections, Vaduz-Vienna/SCALA, Florence.

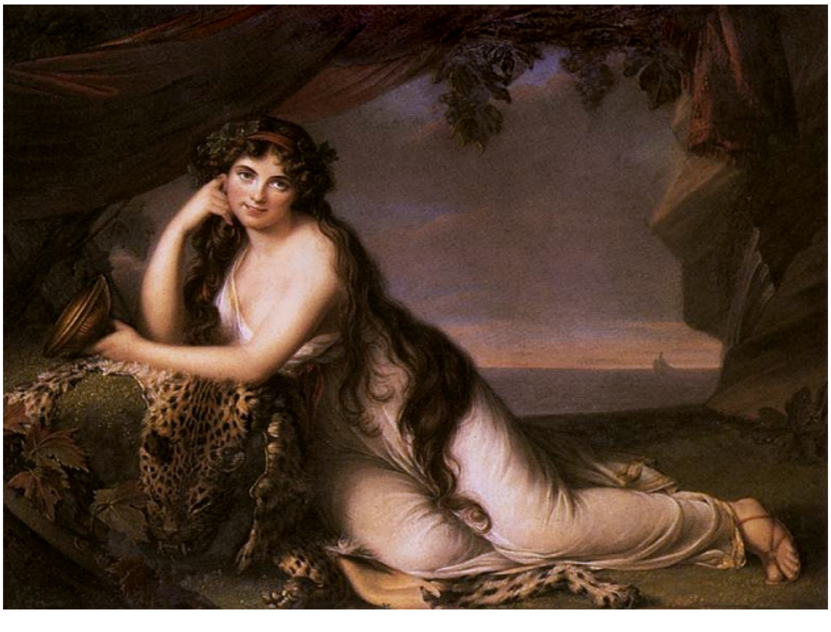

Figure 5.11 Vigée-Lebrun, *Lady Hamilton as Ariadne (or Bacchante)*, 1790.

Yet the depictions of Marie and Emma as Ariadne exhibit drastically different character ideals even though they were painted by the same artist. An icon of sexuality, Emma reclines in a relaxed and licentious manner and exposes much of her arm, shoulder, and breast in the portrait. Marie, on the contrary, sits in a calm and cultured posture, neatly putting one hand on her knees with the other supporting her chin. Fully covered in a dark purple long-sleeved dress, Marie has another piece of wine-red hairband that flows elegantly down to cover her lower body. Vigée-Lebrun's amusing recollection of the Esterházy's reception of the two paintings unveils much about the family's expectations for courtly politeness: Karoline's husband Prince Alois I and the heads of the Esterházy family were initially not pleased with how Karoline appears shoeless in the portrait and, to ensure his grandparents would not be mortified, Alois I decided to not only place a "pretty little pair of shoes" under the portrait but also make up a story about how the shoes went missing. Karoline's shoes, he reported, had slipped off and fallen to the ground by accident during the painting process.[697]

If the first movement of Hob. XVI: 40 *Allegretto e innocente* can be viewed as a fictional narrative that sketches a typical Richardsonian sentimental heroine, the first movement of Hob. XVI: 42 in D major, *Andante con espressione*, can perhaps be heard as music with a conduct-book-like function. *Andante con espressione* consists of three variations. Sisman outlines the pattern of this movement as A A^1 A^2 A^3; Beghin prefers AA^1 B A^2 as the second variation sounds distinctly different in the minor mode.[698] Like readers of conduct-book materials, listeners of this movement hear the first sign of proper behaviour expected of women through the dotted rhythm. Set in a much slower tempo at *piano* dynamic, the opening dotted gestures produce a mannered, courtly character; they whisper, with pivotal help from the rhetorical rests, how an idealized woman should conduct themselves with, in the words of Beghin, a "hesitancy, almost shyness" (Examples 5.9).[699]

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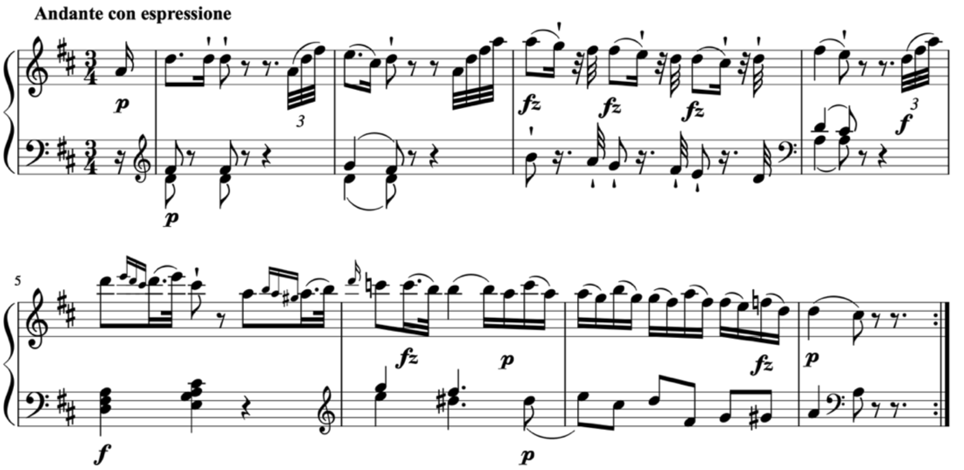
[697] Louise-Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs of Madame Vigée Le Brun* [1835], vol. 1 (New York: Worthington, 1879), 204-205.

[698] Beghin, "Haydn as Orator: A Rhetorical Analysis of His Keyboard Sonata in D Major, Hob. XVI: 42," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman, 201-254 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 225.

[699] Ibid., 226.



Example 5.9, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 42, I, mm. 1-8

The theme in mm. 1-8 delineates how a polite woman ought to walk, think, and speak. The small gestures that start off the theme mimic an attempt to take tiny, short, and elegant steps to walk forward with grace and care. This way of walking aligns with the instruction of *The Polite Academy* (1762) which claims one must learn how to walk elegantly before she can dance gracefully. To do so, the author writes, one's head must be held up without any stiffness. Her whole person must be kept upright; her shoulders must fall easily; her arms must be dropped gracefully down to the waist. Her steps must be short; her feet must not be lifted too high; the foot that was up should be brought down slowly with a relaxed motion. This manner of walking as the book teaches requires a little shyness, for when the woman wants to curtesy while walking, she must always look down instead of to stare. In dancing, too, the eyes must not stare, lest this corrupt the modest manner. The dancer must let her hands fall with ease to touch the skirt of her coat below the waist and take hold of it gently, and she must only take hold of her clothes with the fore-finger and thumb while other fingers remain slightly separated but not gaping. She must not stiffen her elbows but let the whole person sway a little sideways. The whole bodily figure, in short, must appear light, perfect, and easy as it moves.[700]

A polite lady should not only take small steps in walking but also in thinking. She is to ponder, but her curiosity must be limited and restrained lest she start to fantasize. As Sisman notes, the rests here are among the most significant features, for they make the theme sound as if it is "caught in the act of its own invention."[701] Caught up in her thinking, the subject hesitates because she as a reserved lady is not entirely sure about her thoughts. But a state of uncertainty by no means is a state of being lost. Like a girl who dances gracefully, she must not wander aimlessly or lose control lest delicacy is forgotten. Just as she is not to reveal frantic thoughts, she is also not to speak too much, for that may defile. Originally written in French, Marchioness de Lamberts in *Advice of a Mother to her Daughter* (1728) states that "the greatest prudence lies in speaking little."[702] Gregory, too, stresses the importance of avoiding stares and staying silent:

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[700] Anon., *The Polite Academy, or School of Behaviour for Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (London: R. Baldwin and B. Collins, 1762), 50-53.

> One of the chief beauties in a female character, is that modest reserve, that retiring delicacy, which avoids the public eye, and is disconcerted even at the gaze of admiration…. I do not wish you to be insensible to applause. If you were, you must become, if not worse, at least less amiable women. But you may be dazzled by that admiration, which yet rejoices our hearts.…This modesty, which I think so essential in your sex, will naturally dispose you to be rather silent in company, especially in a large one…. People of sense and discernment will never mistake such silence for dullness. One may take a share in conversation without uttering a syllable. The expression in the countenance shews it, and this never escapes an observing eye.…Be even cautious in displaying your good sense.…But if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts, and a cultivated understanding.[703]

Yet the avoidance of stares and silence by no means suggests complete verbal disengagement. Good manners and refined sense can still be displayed in nice, elegant conversations. Avoiding speaking too much remains the key of politeness, however, for the lady must not dominate and interrupt but speak gently and timely. In the second section, mm. 9-12 musically suggest a possible polite conversation between a gentleman and a lady of etiquette. Here, the music is transported to the key of a more serious E minor temporarily. The dotted motif is restated in V (B major), *forte*, in the bass. It poses like a statement or question raised by a more masculine voice. Three sets of vocal, neatly slurred broken thirds, *piano*, immediately follow in the right hand like a softer feminine voice. They are then answered by similar polite *piano* gestures in the left hand in contrary motion. This conversational exchange is repeated again, and as the contrary motion continues while moving from E-minor (m. 10) to D-major (m. 11), the two voices eventually join together as if they have come into one delightful accord (Example 5.10).

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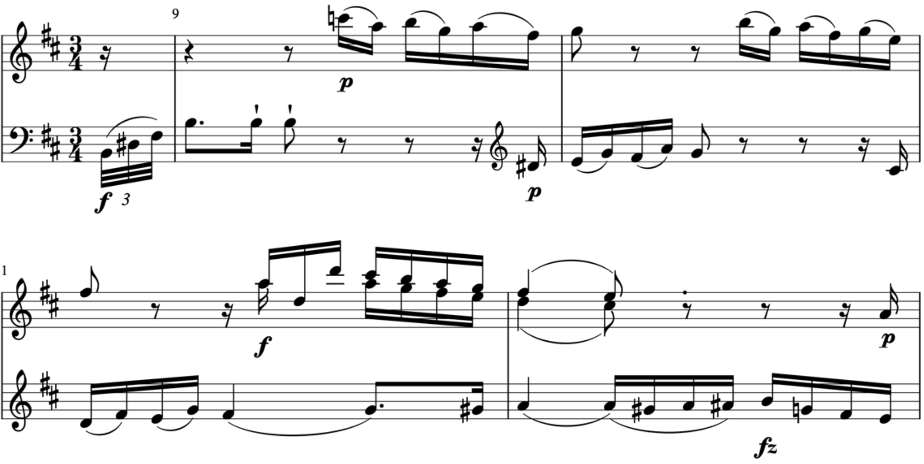
[701] Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation*,189.

[702] Marchioness de Lambert, *Advice of a Mother to Her Son and Daughter* (London: John Hawkins, 1737), 65.

[703] Gregory, "*Father's Legacy*," 45-46.



Example 5.10, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 42, I, mm. 9-12

Politeness, like the pastoral, cannot be strictly classified as a feminine topic, for it also belongs to the broader eighteenth-century culture of sociability. However, in the discourse of politeness, women in particular were expected to perform visible polite gestures as they were taught to be watched by men. According to *The Polite Academy*, women are "Objects of Love… born to be admired, are ever changing the Air of their Faces, and the Attitude of their Bodies, to strike the Gazer's Heart with new Impressions of their Beauty."[704] Polite conduct and artistic learnedness were for the sake of "appearing," of being seen, of being verified: "You are not only to be instructed in elegant accomplishments, but also be taught the useful arts, so that you may be capable of appearing to advantage, both at home and abroad," writes John Burton in *Lectures on Female Education and Manners* (1793).[705] Showing shyness or meekness did not necessarily suggest fragility even though fragility was an ideal assigned to women; on the contrary, it could become a means that allowed one to assert her worth. "To be admired," Burton continues, "seems, indeed, the peculiar privilege of your Sex."[706] Soile Ylivuori has recently argued the polite society as such resembled Foucault's theorized Panopticon, for it ran on "constant self-monitoring brought on by the state of constant visibility." In that it granted women desirability, this gendered surveillance as noted by Ylivuori was not repressive; yet it was nonetheless repressive in that women who participated in this power formation could normalize and abnormalize through conducts in the form of "technique of control" that fostered hierarchical observation.[707]

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[704] *The Polite Academy*, p. xi.

[705] John Burton, *Lectures on Female Education and Manners*, vol. 1 (Rochester: Gillman and Etherington, 1793), 29.

If the "polite" could exclude those who failed to display manners, those who fell short of the visible expectations of sensibility similarly then could not blame writers of sentimental novels or composers of related musical works but only their own hardened, insensible hearts. In 1826, Lady Louisa Stuart recalled her fear of being seen as less sympathetic than her mother and sisters when she was younger:

> I remember so well it's [The Man of Feeling's] first publication, my mother and sisters crying over it, dwelling upon it with rapture! And when I read it, as I was a girl of fourteen not yet versed in sentiment, I had a secret dread I should not cry enough to gain the credit of proper sensibility.[708]

To demonstrate their hearts' capability to feel, female characters in sentimental novels display bodily gestures that are, in the words of Paul Goring, "theatrical virtue in Richardsonian fiction."[709] Female readers, too, were expected to become absorbed into the characters, learn these gestures, and perform polite responses when coming across certain moving passages to claim polite identities.[710] Such expectations might make the actions of these women appear somewhat self-contradictory, for while the feminine ideal of the 18th-century often revolved around the idea of naturalness, polite responses had to be trained and imitated in a way that required self-control even though women were often branded as less rational beings. This contradiction is similar to that manifested in pastoral innocence which, in spite of being a topic that foregrounds naturalness, may sound rather artificial. Despite the inconsistency presented in the pursuits of innocence and politeness, sentimental fictions remained both a source of entertainment and materials that taught polite responses across classes. As suggested, too, both Hob. XVI: 40's *Allegretto e innocente* and Hob. XVI: 42's *Andante con espressione* might have provided opportunities for women across classes to learn and embrace the ideals of innocence and politeness.

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[706] Ibid., 197.

[707] Soile Ylivuori, "A Polite Foucault? Eighteenth-Century Politeness as a Disciplinary System and Practice of the Self," *Cultural History* 3/2 (2014): 172-73.

[708] Quoted in Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 142. Originally from Lady Louisa Stuart to Sir Walter Scott (4 September 1826), in Walter Scott, *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Wilfred Partington (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), 273.

[709] Goring, *Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 147.

[710] See ibid., 142-43.

In *Andante con espressione*, the dotted rhythm emits a polite graciousness that differs from the stately or military spirit typically exemplified through the dotted rhythm in the march and the French overture. Nevertheless, in the first movement of Hob. XVI: 41, an *Allegro* composed in *alla breve*, the meter often used in the march, Haydn does employ the dotted gesture in a noble, magnificent way to ensure aristocracy can still be properly heard in this set (Example 5.11). Placed between Hob. XVI: 40 and Hob. XVI 42 where the shared emphasis of innocence and politeness may connect different classes, Hob. XVI:41 with its march-like type of dotted rhythm prevents the whole set from losing its regal distinctiveness that celebrates Marie as a high-born Esterházy. As Monelle argues, "Both march and trumpet signal have varied backgrounds, and although the warlike flavour is usually apparent, there is always a hint of the ceremonial of civic splendour as well as soldering."[711] In places like mm. 9-12 and mm. 105-108, the topic of march is evoked through the sharp dotted rhythm of which the character stands closer to the dotted rhythm in Haydn's marches such as Derbyshire March in C major, Hob VIII:2 and March in E-flat Major for the Prince of Wales, Hob.VIII:3. Yet Haydn carefully prevents the stately character from becoming overpowering; while the movement begins with a brilliant tonic chord followed by a dotted gesture, the series of falling and rising lilting rhythm separated by sixteenth rests that follow in mm. 1-8 displays a sort of sweet playfulness. The many lovely pianistic materials that involve chromaticism, appoggiaturas, ornaments, and melodic lines in singing style also balance, with their charm, the movement's ceremonial character.

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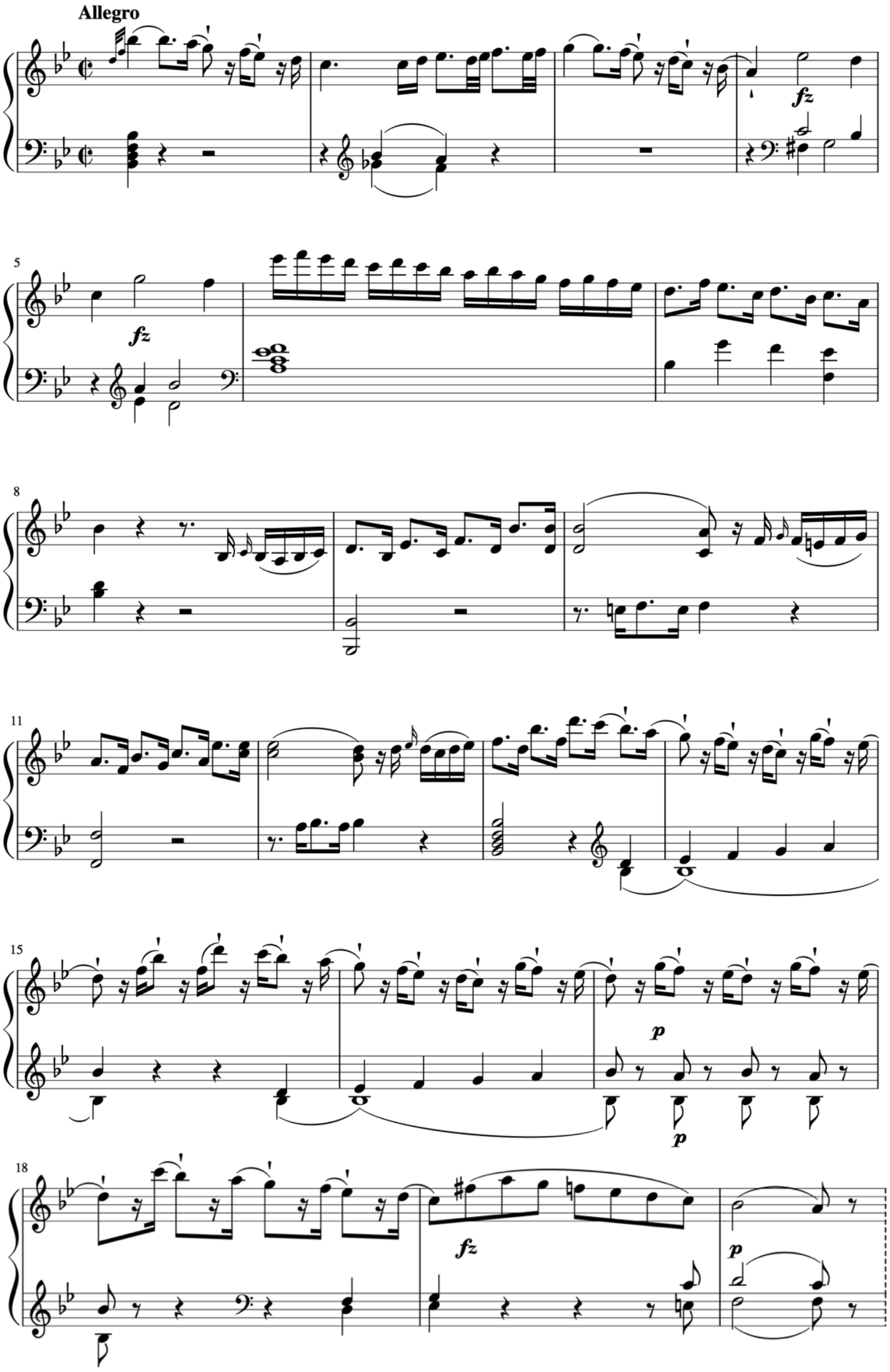
[711] Monelle, *The Musical Topic*, 160.



Example 5.11, Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in B-flat major, Hob. XVI: 41, I, mm. 1-20

Florid Beauty and Infinite (or Limited) Variety

While Hob. XVI: 40’s *Allegretto e innocente* evokes beauty with smallness, smoothness, and an often symmetrically calculated contour, Hob. XVI: 42’s *Andante con espressione* manifests beauty in a different way. Hogarth emphasizes how Shakespeare sums up all the charms of beauty in two words:

"infinite variety."[712] This idea of infinite variety, in the theme of *Andante con espressione*, finds itself intertwined with the notion of limit. Like the A theme in *Allegretto e innocente*, A in this movement is formally divided into two repeated sections. The opening thematic measures, mm. 1-8, can be viewed as a sentence made up of four subphrases, $x + x^1 + x^2 + x^3$, and they return at the end of the second section in mm. 13-20 in variations (Example 5.12). As noted already, each subphrase is separated from the previous with an eighth rest and a sixteenth rest. While x and x^1 each occupies one measure, x^2 consists of two and x^3 comprises four. Each subphrase appears as an embellished elaboration or variation of the previous one. Michelle Fillion calls these four measures an example of Haydn's "emerging variation principle" that gathers "rhythmic momentum and rhetorical nuance with each transformation."[713] A.P. Brown, on the other hand, sees the theme as "an embellishment of an ungiven melody." "The opening phrases are rather elaborately ornamented in the internal return," he argues, "and thus the two other variations also have more variants than strophes."[714]

Such a design, which allows the phrases to progressively consummate in fullness, stages beauty in a feminine and florid way. As the notated diagram shows (Example 5.13), even the materials in mm. 9-12 make references to the elements in the opening measures such as the triplets (a^1), the dotted gestures (b), the slurred broken thirds (b^{3c}), and the sigh-like gesture in half cadence (b^{2b}). In the other variations, A^1 (mm. 21-40, repeated), A^2 (mm. 41-61, repeated), and A^3 (mm. 62-105), the x gesture as heard in m. 1 and m. 13 in A is always clearly stated and restated (see m. 21, m. 33, m. 62, m. 82, and m. 94; m. 70, with its descending scale runs, is the only exception). The x^3 gesture (a^1+ b^{3a}) as heard in m. 5 and m. 17 is also reiterated accordingly (see m. 25, m. 37, m. 66, m. 74, m. 86, m. 98, and additionally, m. 102). In A^3, mm. 1-8 is restated without alteration and thus a recapitulatory effect is heard. However, instead of having a repeated sign, this variation continues with new written-out varied reprises as a repetition. In short, both the florid theme at a localized level and the ornate variations as a grand scheme demonstrate, in an improvisatory fashion, the concept of "infinite variety." Yet because of the music's seemingly calculated manner, the infinite variety also seems to entwine with the idea of limitation.

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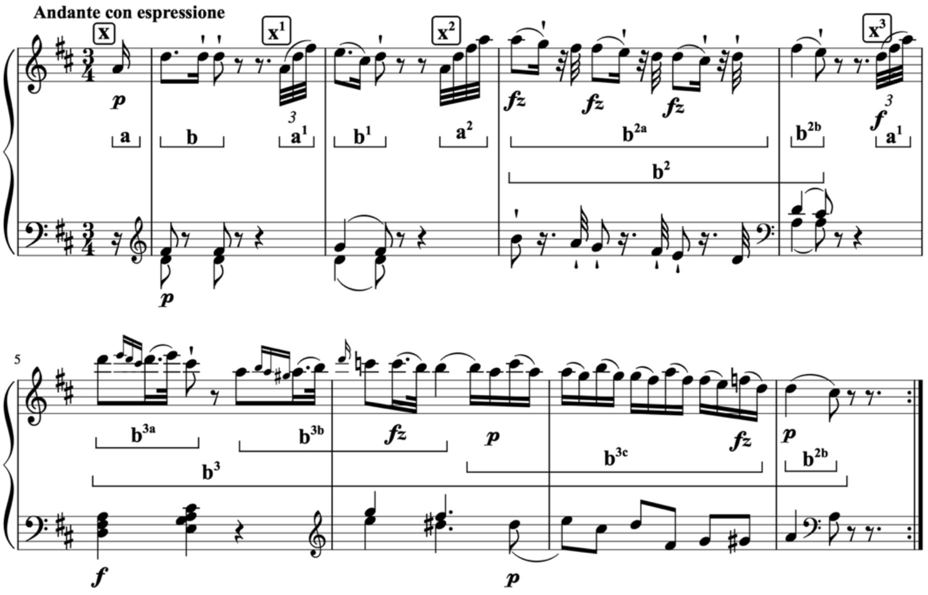
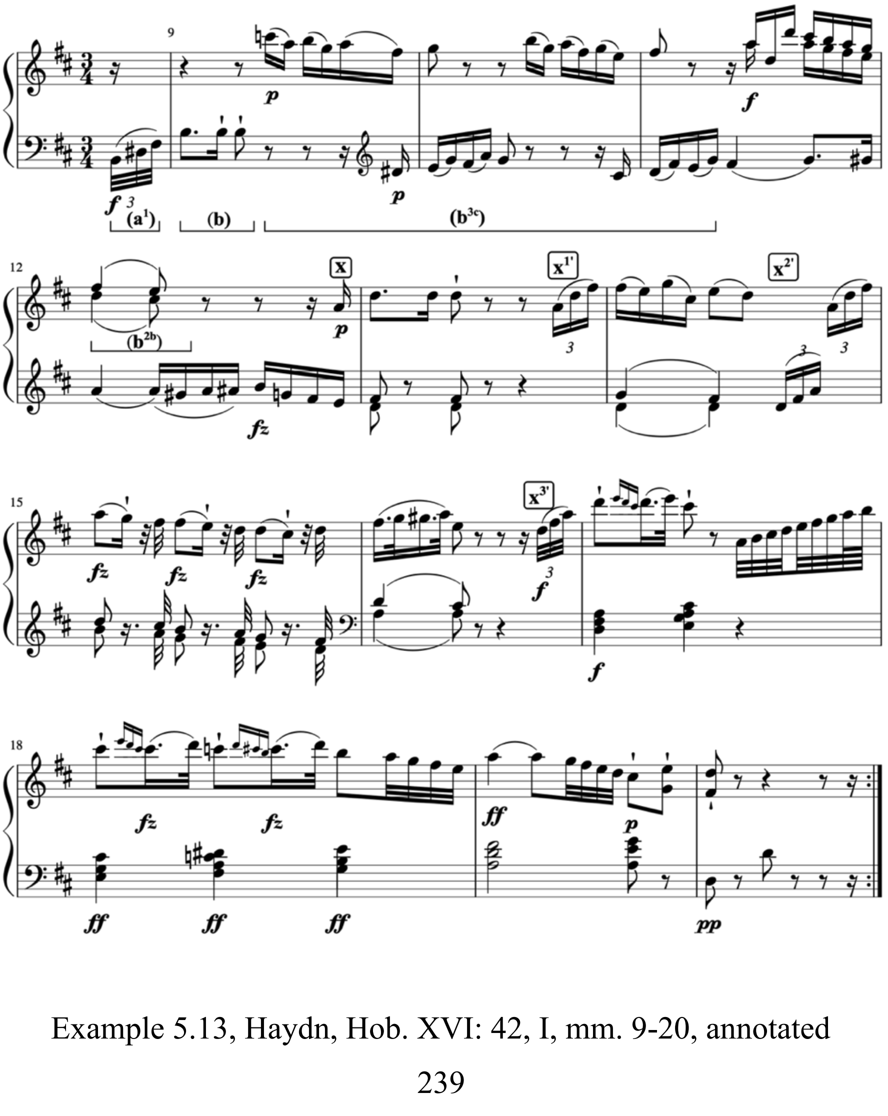
[712] Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, xvii.

[713] Fillion has provided her own labelled diagram on the first four measures; what is labelled "b^2" here has been marked as "c" in her analysis. See Michelle Fillion, "Variation Principle," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia*, ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 389-391 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 390.

[714] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 327.

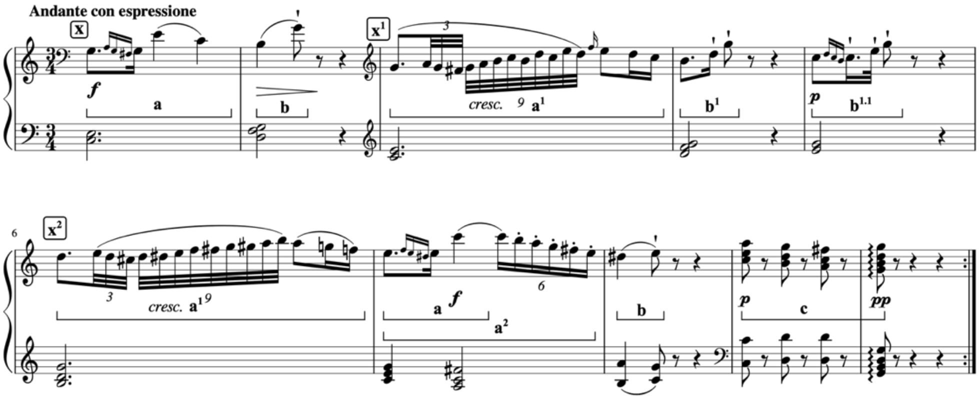

Andante con espressione
x
x^1
x^2
x^3
a
b
a^1
b^1
a^2
b^{2a}
b^2
b^{2b}
b^{3a}
b^{3b}
b^3
b^{3c}
p
fz
f
5

Example 5.12, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 42, I, mm. 1-8, annotated


9
12
15
18
(a^1)
(b)
(b^{3c})
(b^{2b})
x
$x^{1'}$
$x^{2'}$
$x^{3'}$
p
f
fz
ff
pp

Example 5.13, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 42, I, mm. 9-20, annotated

The first movement of Hob. XVI: 48 in C major (1789/90), the very next sonata Haydn composed after Hob. XVI: 40-42, seems to have borrowed some ideas from the first movements of both Hob. XVI: 40 and 42 despite its very different flavor. Like Hob. XVI: 40-42, it is written in two-movement form. Moreover, its opening measures also display a strikingly similar rhetorical pattern as the opening measures of Hob. XVI: 42's *Andante con espressione*. While it begins with a short phrase, every subsequent phrase is a more florid and lengthier variation-elaboration of the initial unit. Each subphrase is also separated by a quarter rest plus an eighth rest for a punctuating effect. The following analysis of the opening theme of Hob. XVI: 48's *Andante con espressione* is adapted and modified from Webster's analysis (Example 5.14):[715]



Example 5.14, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 48, I, mm. 1-10, annotated

The improvisatory rhetoric of Hob. XVI: 48's *Andante con espressione* prompts A.P. Brown to describes it as a "fantasy-variation movement."[716] Sisman hears it as a movement that invents itself as it goes along.[717] In contrast to Hob. XVI: 42's *Andante con espressione*, Hob. XVI: 48's *Andante con espressione* shows a much "freer" and more elaborate improvisatory quality that recalls C.P.E. Bach's style. Perhaps Haydn did write this movement with Bach and his musical character in mind, for Bach had just passed away on December 14, 1788, not too long before Haydn wrote this sonata. Furthermore, the sonata was originally written for the Leipzig publisher Christoph Gottlob Breitkopf, thus a more German improvisatory tone would be appropriate. The rhythmic figure marked earlier as b^{3a} in m. 5 of Hob. XVI: 42's *Andante con espressione* has now transformed into $b^{1.1}$ in m. 5 of Hob. XVI: 48's *Andante con*

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[715] See Webster's version in Webster, "The Rhetoric of Improvisation," 188-89.
[716] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 340.
[717] Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation,* 191.

espressione. This “Haydnesque” rhythmic figure also appears in the themes of *Adagio* in F major, Hob. XVII: 9 (1786), the two *Adagio* movements of Hob. XVI: 49 (1789/90), Hob. XVI: 50 (1794/95), and the 6 “Easy Variations” in C major Hob. XVII:2 (1790). It has appeared also in other genres such as symphonies as heard in the first *Adagio* movement of No. 96 in D minor “The Miracle” (1791). In each case, this dotted gesture embellished with a triplet is always followed by a short rest.

Practicing Sympathetic Imagination Today

Hob. XVI: 40-42 as the “princess sonatas” are sometimes heard as Haydn’s less sophisticated works, yet the 18th-century critics did not hear them as any inferior to the other works by Haydn. Carl Friedrich Cramer’s review on this set of sonatas is a glowing one:

> These sonatas are written according to a different taste from previous ones by this famous master, though they are not any less valuable. The first in G major is actually only a short, very melodic movement in which each part has 8 measures. Then follow the *minore* in G. Both are then varied in an excellent manner. The final Presto in G major is put together in the same way. The finest taste prevails in the variations. The 2nd sonata in B-flat major is a masterpiece of its kind, just like the final Allegro molto. The 3rd in D major also has a *minore* and is almost more exquisitely varied than the first. In these variations, which are so well suited to the instrument, the composer proves to be like a skillful, tasteful singer when she repeats her aria. Moreover the sonatas are more difficult to perform than one initially believes. They demand the utmost precision and much delicacy in performance.[718]

Perhaps we will find ourselves delighting in this set of sonatas more if we cultivate a more sympathetic imagination that was once shared by the 18th-century listeners and readers who participated in the culture of sensibility. To the 18th-century philosophers, imagination, as stated in the first chapter, is intrinsically linked to sensibility and sympathy. Kant, contending the power of imagination is a part of sensibility in the cognitive faculty, further expounds that imagination goes beyond more mere receptivity and requires an active sensory participation. Yet even productive imagination is by no mean creative, he observes, for one cannot generate an entirely new sensory experience by mere imagination:

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[718] Quoted in A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 27. Originally from Cramer’s *Magazine der Musik*, 535.

> The power of imagination is either inventive (productive) or merely recollective (reproductive), but the productive power of imagination is nevertheless not exactly creative, for its not capable of producing a sense representation the was never given to our faculty of sense.[719]

This set of "princess" sonatas, then, would have resonated more with those who were already steeped in the world of sentimental novels and conduct-book materials, who, in hearing performative and virtuous gestures musically, could recall, recite, relate and reimagine the feminine character types or ideals encountered previously in other works. Princess Marie for one would have been one impressed by such music. Ever since receiving these sonatas, Marie had remained as one of Haydn's most important patrons. Marie's husband Prince Nikolaus II might seem to be the one who revitalized the musical life at Esterháza after Anton I's dismissal of most of the Esterházy musical establishment,[720] but Marie's effort in sustaining the patronage should not be trivialized. When conflicts arose between Nikolaus II and Haydn, it was Marie who stepped in to defuse tension.[721] Marie also commissioned Haydn to write six masses from 1796 to 1802.[722]

Haydn seemed to cherish his friendship with Marie deeply. Despite his many collectables of honors such as the gold medals from the musical society in St. Petersburg and the Paris concerts, a "perfectly magnificent ring" from the Russian Czar, and a diploma from the national institute in Paris, Haydn considered the beautiful box Princess Marie designed for him his most beloved gift. Reichardt describes this gift that marks the bond between Haydn and Princess Marie meticulously:

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[719] Kant, *Anthropology*, 45 and 61.

[720] David Wynn Jones, "Institutions," in *The Cambridge Haydn Encyclopaedia,* ed. Caryl Clark and Sarah Day-O' Connell, 167-177 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 175.

[721] An early example of conflicts took place in when Nikolaus II walked into one of Haydn's rehearsals and gave some criticism. Offended, Haydn replied, "That, Your Highness, is my affair." See Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, xxiii.

[722] The traditional account suggests Haydn wrote specifically for Marie's name-day, September 8, the feast day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Jeremiah McGrann has nevertheless expressed skepticism about this name-day association. See Jeremiah W. McGrann, "Of Saints, Name Days, and Turks: Some Background on Haydn's Masses Written for Prince Nikolaus II Esterhazy," *Journal of Musicological Research* 17/3-4 (1998): 195-210.

> … [This rather large flat box] was of black ebony, heavily mounted in gold and ornamented with a gold bas-relief. On the lid had been painted the beautiful affecting scene in the Akademiesaal, which, on the occasion of the last great performance of Haydn's *The Creation*, proved a veritable apotheosis for the composer. In the box lay a magnificent big autograph album, likewise black and gold, signed on the cover by the Princess, most cordially inscribed within by the whole princely family…[723]

For listeners today, Hob. XVI: 40-42 are also a gift. The score may read like a living portrait itself, but the music, when performed, may also bring forth an experience similar to reading a sentimental fictional narrative or a conduct-book chapter. This proposal of hearing the two movements as a musical choreography of tasteful innocence and politeness specific to the 18th-century feminine culture of sensibility is by no means the only possible reading; however, if we do desire to hear these two works in such ways, we should strive to expand our sensibility and imagination by growing in our familiarity with the broader 18th-century discourse of sensibility.

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[723] Reichardt, "*Briefe*," 158.

CHAPTER 6

SATIRICAL SENSIBILITY: HOB. XVI: 50 and 52'S ALLEGROS

"Papa Haydn," remarks Friedrich August Weber, possesses "the gift of musical wit abundantly."[724] Silverstolpe similarly was also impressed by Haydn's humour. "I discovered in Haydn, so to speak, two physiognomies. The one was penetrating and serious, when he talked about the sublime," Silverstolpe remarked, "and only the expression sublime was enough to show him visibly moved. In the next instant this disposition of the sublime was driven away as swiftly as lightning by his everyday humour."[725] Weber and Silverstolpe's words capture the common perception of Haydn as a witty and humorous composer. Haydn's contemporaries, as Bonds points out, consistently compared the composer to Sterne as both of them drew attention to the artificiality of their artworks with humor. They heard Haydn's witty musical devices as agents that "undermine the traditional premise of aesthetic illusion, thereby creating a sense of ironic distance between the work and the listener."[726] Haydn's musical humor has often been ascribed to his personality. Dies describes Haydn's personal character: "…there was much cheerfulness, jest, and musical wit both popular and refined, but original to the highest degree. It has often been called humor, from which is rightly derived Haydn's bent for musical teasing."[727]

The jolly side of Haydn manifested itself early. Although the young Haydn would find consolation in the clavichord, he would still, as Dies recounts, joke about his misery:

> But this [melancholy] was only his first impulse and could never, with his disposition, become a reality. Only melancholy minds, overcome by the coincidence of many outward events, can

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[724] See Claudia Maurer Zenck, "Mannichfaltige Abweichungen von der gewöhnlichen Sonaten-Form': Beethoven's 'Piano Sonata' Op. 31 No. 1 and the Challenge of Communication," in *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Danuta Mirka and Kofi Agawu, 53-80 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 57.

[725] "entdeckte ich bei Haydn sozusagen zwei Physiognomien. Die eine war durchdringend und ernst, wenn er über das Erhabene sprach, und es war nur der Ausdruck *erhaben* nötig, um sein Gefühl in eine sichtbare Bewegung zu setzen. Im nächsten Augenblick wurde diese Stimmung des Erhabenen geschwind wie der Blitz von seiner alltäglichen Laune verjagt." Quoted in C.-G. Stellan Mörner, 'Haydniana aus Schweden um 1800', *Haydn-Studien* 2/1 (1969), 25. See also Landon's discussion of Silverstolpe's impression of Haydn in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, 21-22. See also Webster, "Haydn's Sensibility," 14 and November "Haydn's Melancholy Voice," 80.

[726] Bonds, "Origins of Musical Irony," 57-58.

[727] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 202.

> become the unhappy victims of their irritated feelings. Haydn's happy and naturally cheerful temperament always kept him from violent outbreaks of melancholy. If the rain of summer or the snow of winter drove through the chinks in his attic and he awoke soaked through or covered with snow, he found such things quite natural and made a cheerful joke of it all.[728]

In the 18th century, laughter was considered a cure for melancholy. Herman Boerhaave, the "father of physiology" who taught Haller, stated that

> The ancient Greeks judged nothing more conducive to Health than Laughter; for which Purpose they studiously cultivated Comedies … even some of the most eminent Physicians have cured Melancholy…by exciting moderate Laughter; for by that Means, the Blood is pressed in a greater Quantity to the left Ventricle of the Heart, from whence it is sent in a greater Quantity to the Brain, which therefore secerns the Spirits more plentifully. But then this Laughter ought to terminate before the jugular Veins become turgid, to prevent worse Consequences.[729]

Haydn's jesting, then, remedied his sorrow. Yet, Haydn's humor also appealed particularly to his English audience. The last keyboard sonatas he wrote during his second stay at London, Hob. XVI: 50 in C major and Hob. XVI: 52 in E-flat major, mesmerize listeners with musical wit.[730] The former was composed for and dedicated to the English female virtuoso Jansen in 1794 while the latter was composed for her later around 1794-95. Both were published in 1799 by Longman, Clementi & Co. Before the Longman publication, however, the first edition of Hob. XVI: 52, published by Artaria in 1798, was also said to have been composed for and dedicated to Kurzböck in Vienna.

Putting ourselves in the shoes of Haydn's audience suggests the composer's musical humor in these sonatas was stimulated not only by his personality but also the culture of London which, despite its claim of civility, reveled in jests and satire. What characterized the 18th-century English culture was not just a polite sensibility but also a love for laughter that even delighted in poking fun at the deformed and disabled. This humor was often, as Simon Dickie argues,

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[728] Ibid., 91.

[729] Herman Boerhaave, *Dr Boerhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physic*, vol. 5 (London: J. Rivington, 1757), 21-22.

[730] Haydn's first stay in London was from January 1791 until July 1792 and the second, from February 1794 until August 1795.

"pitiless".[731] Such a phenomenon forms a parallel irony: while "bad taste" in the form of the grotesque engrossed the culture that stressed taste, "pitilessness" as a result of ridiculing the distorted also propagated in the culture that celebrated sympathy. Such contradictions nonetheless do not mean sensibility was suppressed. Rather, they allowed sensibility to be witnessed in another way because one primary function of sensibility, when detached from its moral context, is to judge the beautiful and the ugly aesthetically. As a person's aesthetic sensibility is revealed through his responses towards different aesthetic experiences, appearing disturbed by the deformed evinces one's aesthetic sensibility — the ability to laugh at disfigurement, then, suggests one's possession of both wit and sensibility simultaneously. It was in such a milieu that Haydn's musical wit came to light. An important aspect of Haydn's English humor, as Tolley states, is "his ability to mock himself by subverting his own much admired compositional devices and his audience's expectations." His jesting seems to "take up one strand of English caricature of the period making an audience the object of the satire, and by implication the viewer (or listener) himself or herself."[732]

From Satirizing Sensibility to Satirical Sensibility

If sensibility in the 18th century was, as Frances Brooke states in *Emily Montague* (1769), "the magnet which attracts all to itself,"[733] then London was that exciting city which drew all to itself. In *Tom Jones*, Sophia Western "eagerly longed" to see London where "she fancied charms short only of those a rapturous saint imagines in heaven."[734] In *The Female Quixote* (1752), Miss Glanville describes London as "the seat of magnificence of pleasure" full of "new and surprising objects" such as parks and concerts.[735] Theresa Cornelys, who formerly organized gatherings at Carlisle House in Soho Square, initiated the first professional concert series in the 1760s in London. Sterne remembered her as the woman who held “the best assembly and the best concert I ever had the honor to be at.”[736] Under her management, subscribers’ admissions were subject to a committee of aristocratic women.[737]

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[731] See Simon Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

[732] Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts, and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, C.1750 To C.1810* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 256.

[733] Frances Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague* [1769], new ed. (Toronto: The New Canadian Library, 2008), 43.

[734] Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 298.

[735] Charlotte Lennox, *The Female Quixote* (London: A. Millar, 1752), 243-44. See also Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 187.

When Haydn was fifty-eight, he finally made his first visit to London with the help of Johann Peter Salomon in 1791. “He was universally respected there,” Griesinger writes, “a new world was opened up to him, and he was enabled by generous profits at last to pull out of the limited circumstances in which he had grown old and gray.”[738] Haydn’s arrival in London caused “a considerable stir among all cultivated persons” and Charles Burney, who secured Haydn an honorary Doctor of Music degree from Oxford University, celebrated this stir in a little poem.[739] Burney describes the audience’s response when Haydn presided at the pianoforte on February 25, 1791, in a concert of Salomon: “The sight of that renowned composer so electrified the audience, as to excite an attention and a pleasure superior to any that had ever… been caused by instrumental music in England.”[740] Haydn was surprised by the wealth a musician like him could obtain in London. After learning he could charge a guinea or twenty-one English shillings per hour for piano lessons, he exclaimed, “I opened my eyes wide at that!”[741] Haydn’s departure after his second visit and the heavy financial burdens caused by the Napoleonic Wars nevertheless seemed to have tapered the Londoners’ interest in concerts.[742]

The London that Haydn arrived in was, in the words of Marian M. Scott, a “queer, busy, self-satisfied world, with audiences befrilled and be-hooped, a dress-sword kept for the special wear of soloists at the Hanover Square Rooms, and ‘sensibility and taste’ as the fashionable virtues.”[743] For the 18th-century English writers, sensibility was, as Sauder puts it, “a double-edged social phenomenon.” It was, on one hand, “egalitarian and could be extend to all social groups”; on the other hand, it was “considered a virtue specific to the upper bourgeoisie and nobility.”[744] The English men and women nonetheless did not consume only sentimental novels but also comic fictions. Among these comic fictions were works that satirized sensibility, published alongside contemporary sentimental novels. Fielding, for example, wrote *An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*, known as *Shamela* (1741) to parody and ridicule *Pamela*.[745] These satires demonstrate that the reception of sensibility was more complex than often envisioned.

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[736] Wilbur Lucius Cross, *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 398.
[737] The concerts were separated from the masquerades after 1764. When J.C. Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel from Dresden took over, they broke away from Cornelys and built in 1775 a new concert room in Hanover Square. See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), 317.
[738] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 23.
[739] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 129.
[740] Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney,* vol. 3, 132.
[741] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 35. In Vienna, the standard fee for a similar lesson was one florin or two English Shilling. In 1791, twenty-one shillings was more than a week’s earnings for an English building craftsman. Mozart, however, did obtain about twenty-five English shillings per hour from his Viennese students. See Frederic M. Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 64. See also Geoffrey Lancaster, *The First Fleet Piano: A Musician’s View*, vol. 1 (Acton, Australia: ANU Press, 2015), 479.
[742] Scherer, *Quarter Notes*, 43-44.

Sensibility might have been a fashionable pursuit, but its artificiality rendered it an easy target of satire. This artificiality, which stood at odds with the idea that sensibility ought to be a genuine language of the heart, was embodied in Emma Hart’s performance in George Romney’s painting *Sensibility* (1786) (Figure 6.1). Despite posing as Vigée-Lebrun’s wild and seductive Ariadne in 1790 (as discussed in the previous chapter), Emma, later known as Lady Hamilton, was still the innocent protagonist of *Sensibility* four years earlier. Initially a mistress to Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh, Emma later became the lover of Charles Greville who introduced her to Romney’s studio in 1782. Enthralled by Emma’s appearance, Romney produced over seventy paintings of her within nine years. The title of *Sensibility* was nonetheless not Romney’s but William Haley’s idea. “You never painted a female head with such exquisite expression,” Haley told Romney upon seeing the face of Emma in the sketch, “you have only to enlarge your canvas, introduce the shrub mimosa, growing in a vase, with a hand of this figure approaching its leaves, and you may call your picture a personification of Sensibility.”[746]

Emma’s facial expression in the sketch was enough to inspire Haley to name the portrait “*Sensibility.*” Perhaps those eyes of Emma that pine for the distant were to him features of a woman of sensibility. Or perhaps her parted lips that long to speak and yet have no words allure like sensibility. Her choice to place one hand on her chest seems to also indicate her heart contains suppressed sentiments that long to be released. Sensibility, however, always emphasizes mutuality — and this mutual sympathy is ignited when Emma touches the leaves slightly with the tip of the index finger of her other hand, thereby making a delicate sensitivity the focal point of feminine sensibility. "The beauty of women," as Burke states, "is considerably owing to their weakness, or delicacy, and is even enhanced by their timidity, a quality of mind analogous to it."[747] As the "sensitive plant," the mimosa also epitomizes sensibility's receptiveness. Its leaves feel nervously that amorous touch from Emma and, overcome with shyness, they shrink and fold inward at the softest touch. Shelley's *The Sensitive Plant* captures this lovely nature of the mimosa:

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[743] Marian M. Scott, “Haydn in England,” *The Musical Quarterly* 18/2 (1932): 263.
[744] Sauder, “Sensibility,” 1215.
[745] For a list of “forgotten” best-seller comic fictions of the 18th-century, see Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter*, 250.
[746] William Hayley, *The Life of George Romney* (London: T. Payne, 1809), 120-21.

> But the Sensitive Plant which could give small fruit,
> Of the love which it felt from the leaf to the root,
> Received more than all, it loved more than ever,
> Where none wanted but it, could belong to the giver,
>
> For the Sensitive Plant has no bright flower;
> Radiance and odour are not its dower;
> It loves, even like Love, its deep heart is full,
> It desires what it has not, the Beautiful![748]

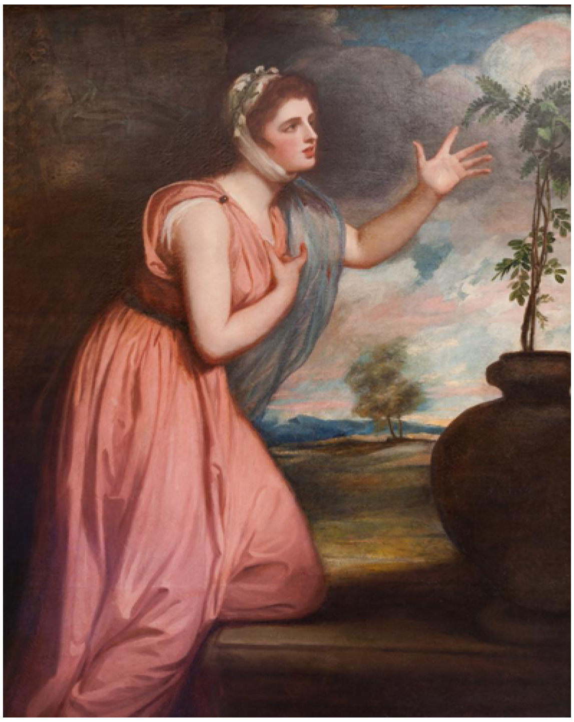

Figure 6.1 George Romney, *Sensibility*, 1786.

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[747] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 105-106.

[748] Percy Bysshe Shelley, *The Sensitive Plant* [1820] (London: The Guild of Women-Binders, 1899), 28.

Yet *Sensibility*, as Bolton Betsy argues, strikes as an "odd combination of nature and artifice associated with sensibility" where feeling rules over context, especially since the background combines both a realistic landscape and a painted theatre backdrop.[749] This artificiality about sensibility embodied in Emma in the painting somehow, too, coincided with how Emma was perceived outside the portrait. In the public eye, Emma lured many with her fetching appearance and performance. Romney loved painting Emma because her natural features, "like the language of Shakespeare, could exhibit all the feelings of nature, all the graduations of every passion, with a most fascinating truth, and a felicity of expression."[750] William Hamilton, who later married Emma, also saw her as "naturally elegant and fits herself easily to any situation, having quickness and sensibility."[751] Even Goethe praised Emma in 1787 after enjoying her performance of *Attitudes*, in which she impersonated figures like Medea and Cleopatra. He applauded her for her ability to transform from one character or passion to the next rapidly.[752] Despite his initial admiration for Emma, however, Goethe later professed regrets over his comments, asserting there was a certain degraded vulgarity in Emma.[753]

Vigée-Lebrun, who had also attended Emma's *Attitudes*, shared Goethe's sentiments. She attributed Emma's success to her lovely face and voluminous chestnut hair, but she also argued that a pair of discerning eyes would immediately spot the repulsive vulgarity in Emma.[754] She perceived Emma as a shrewd social actress: "Lady Hamilton being very indiscreet, put her *au courant* of a host of little diplomatic secrets, which Her majesty made use of for the affairs of the kingdom." Put simply, Vigée-Lebrun found neither real wit nor natural taste in Emma:

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[749] Bolton Betsy, "Sensibility and Speculation: Emma Hamilton," in *Lewd and Notorious: Female Transgression in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Katharine Kittredge, 133-161 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 133.

[750] Inger Sigrun Brodey, *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 186.

[751] Alfred Morrison, *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison* (second series, 1882-1893), vol. 1 (London: [printed of private circulation], 1893), 134.

[752] See Betsy, "Sensibility and Speculation: Emma Hamilton," 139.

[753] See Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 214-16.

[754] Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, 148-49.

> Lady Hamilton was not at all witty, though very sarcastic and ill-natured, and these two faults were the moving spring of her conversation. She was very crafty, and succeeded in getting married by exercising all her cunning. She had no style, and dressed badly as a rule.

The painter recalled how she had arranged for Emma an "exquisitely beautiful" shawl that earned many praises from other ladies and yet Emma, before dinner, decided to change into a dress "of the most vulgar description" that made her unrecognizable for any attendees. Adèle d'Osmond, Comtesse de Boigne opined similarly about Emma's lack of taste: "Outside of this instinct for the arts, nothing was more vulgar and common than Lady Hamilton. After she had shed the antique costume to wear ordinary clothes, she lost all distinction."[755] In 1801, Vigée-Lebrun remained unimpressed when Emma, then the lover of Lord Nelson, came over to her house to mourn over the death of Sir Hamilton. Claiming Emma had become "horribly fat," Vigée-Lebrun described Emma's weeping was, as usual, pretentious:

> I confess that her grief made very slight impression on me, for I thought I could perceive she was playing a part, more especially, as a few minutes afterwards, seeing some music lying on my piano, she began to sing one of the airs she found amongst it.[756]

Like Emma, the English actress Sophia Baddeley was associated with a sham sensibility even though many found her riveting. Baddeley, known for a salacious lifestyle, was initially denied entry by the guards when she tried to attend the Pantheon in the Oxford Street reserved for "proper" upper-class women, but around fifty admirers came later with swords to ensure she and her companion Elizabeth Steele could be granted admission. Steele defended Baddeley by depicting her as a woman of sensibility in *The Memoirs of Mrs. Sophia Baddeley* (1787), where Baddeley is said to have been admired by his Royal Highness the late Duke of York as in her, "so much sensibility and beauty united."[757] She is described as a woman of feeling who, moved by the tears of John Hanger, would display emotions which "her sensibility… cannot suppress." She gratified her own "natural sensibility" and performed benevolent acts that "proceeded from an innate sensibility and feeling for the distresses of others."[758] Others nevertheless saw these words as mere fibs. John Williams satirized Baddeley and her sensibility in his poem "The Children of Thespis" in the same year of 1787:

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[755] Quoted in Betsy, "Sensibility and Speculation: Emma Hamilton,"145.
[756] Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, 152.
[757] Elizabeth Steele, *The Memoirs of Mrs. Sophia Baddeley*, vol. 1 (Dublin: Moore and Donin, 1787), 10.

> There view lovely Baddeley stretch'd on her bier,
> Whose pallid remains claim the kindred tear;
> Emaciate and squalid her body is laid,
> Her limbs lacking shelter, her muscles decay'd.
> An eminent instance of feminine terror.
> A public example to keep us from error.[759]

The public continued to debate the role and the effect of sensibility in the late 18th-century as sensibility was ridiculed from time to time. In 1796, an anonymous author wrote a piece titled "Question: Ought Sensibility to be Cherished or Repressed?" and, after establishing sensibility as a quality which "disposes a man to be easily moved" and is "possessed in every different degree by different persons," the writer argues in response to the problem of shallow sensibility: "The best corrective of follies affectation is a well-instructed mind; and the languid imbecility which passive sympathy tends to produce, can only be prevented by the vigorous exertions of active beneficence." Quoting Marcus Aurelius, the author concludes, "Neither virtue nor vice consists in receiving impression but in action."[760]

As sensibility was satirized, a "satirical sensibility," too, began to burgeon in culture. A satirical sensibility suggests both sense and wit, thereby indicating that wit and sensibility need not exclude each other. Sulzer defines wit as "a particular gift of the mind which consists principally in the facility for quickly seeing and vividly feeling the various connections and relationships of one subject compared with another."[761] If wit requires "vividly feeling," it then requires sensibility. Yet the "quick seeing" also demands sharp acumen and clear judgment. Therefore, wit not only entails drops of sensibility but also an observant mind that is discerning. This reasoned mind not only prevents sensibility from becoming sentimentalized but also calculates articulations that seek to amuse, surprise, or even lampoon. But a satirical sensibility also complicates the moral understanding of sensibility; for while mockery and sarcasm may reveal a possible lack of sympathy, the 18th-century satire often held to an ambition to unmask moral corruptions and superficiality in the society which, in return, evinced not an absence but an abundance of moral sensibility.

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[758] Ibid., 39, 11, and 158.

[759] John Williams, *The Children of Thespis* (Dublin: T. McDonnell, 1787), 19.

[760] Anon., "Question: Ought Sensibility to be Cherished or Repressed?" *The Monthly Magazine 2* (October 1796): 706 and 709.

[761] Quoted in Gretchen A. Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 28. Originally from Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*.

Satirical humor stunned viewers with impolite or distasteful materials. As Vic Gatrell states, the six decades after 1770 in England were a "golden age of graphic satire"[762] and perhaps even a "great age of English scatology and *ad hominem* caricature."[763] Unpleasant elements, however, do not suggest the participating spectator lacks taste. The spectator does not show a lack of taste by beholding such visuals; rather, he reveals a dearth of taste when he, instead of chuckling or showing disgust, remains indifferent. On the other hand, satire is intrinsically linked to irony. As Frye remarks, "In satire, irony is militant."[764] But the visual nature of satire made this technique a more powerful weapon than irony. The imperative of satire, as David Francis Taylor points out, "is first and foremost visual" just as the anonymous author of the poem *The Fallen Candidates* (1780) suggests. "It enlightens; it exposes; it renders visible…," Taylor argues. "It forces that which would remain concealed or disguised into the open and calls upon us to bear witness to this truth, to see things as they really are. It is Satire, not God, who is all-seeing."[765] If musical ironies, as Chua puts it, do "destroy all naive delusions of Eden,"[766] then satirical devices in music take this shattering of delusion to its forceful limit, for they penetrated all senses. Satirical devices are not only aural or literal, as found in poetry, but also fundamentally visual. This visualization was no stranger to the English listeners who were accustomed to listening while seeing. As Tolley states,

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[762] Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (New York: Walker & Company, 2006), 15.
[763] Ibid., 177.
[764] Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton *University Press,* 1957), 222.
[765] David Francis Taylor, "Graphic Satire and the Enlightenment Eye," *The Critical Quarterly* 59/4 (2017): 34. *The Fallen Candidates* states, "Satire, arise, thy country calls thy aid, See hell-born rebels all thy rights invade, Foes to their King, their Country, and the State, To those my muse awards her fixed hate; Keen Satire's eye shall pierce their dark abodes And drag them to the sight of Men and Gods." See ibid. Originally from *The Fallen Candidates, a Poem. Address'd to the Citizens of Bristol* (Bristol, 1780), 15
[766] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 212.

> By the time Haydn appeared in London, audiences were quite used to the notion that at certain venues entertainment for the ear might be accompanied by diversions for the eye. This was only to be expected in the theatres performing opera or equivalent musical amusements, but in London the premise was extended to reach larger sections of the public… such conditioning suggested more refined forms of visual and aural interchange.[767]

Put simply, in listening to satirical gestures, the audience did not just hear but also watch irony unfold in front of their eyes. They heard disruptions, but they also caught sight of folly being fully exposed.

Jests, Deformity, and Jansen's Laughter

Despite the fine scholarship on politeness and sensibility, the claim that 18th-century England was a country of a "polite and commercial people" has, as mentioned, provided an incomplete picture. As Dickie points out, even Paul Langford who coined this phrase in *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-83* (1992) eventually questioned whether politeness's status in England had been overstated. David Fairer similarly argues the 18th-century was not a polite age but "an impolite world that talked much about politeness." Robert D. Hume, too, argues that sentimental drama "was never by any definition even remotely close to dominant force."[768] Besides works that satirize sensibility, jestbooks filled with crude humor, produced for middle- and upper-class readers, were also printed by the same London booksellers that sold the classics, sacred texts, philosophical works, and polite literature. L. Hawes and C. Hitch in Paternoster Row, for example, printed many jestbooks in addition to texts ranging from editions of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* to New Testaments in Greek and Latin.[769] One of the most popular jestbooks, *A Banquet of Jests*, first printed in 1630, was reprinted sixteen times with revisions during the 17th and 18th centuries.

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[767] Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar*, 243-44.

[768] Quoted in Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter*, 2-4. Fairer's quote is originally from David Fairer, *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1789* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 2; Hume's quote is originally from Robert D. Hume, "Drama and theatre in the mid and later eighteenth century," in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1660-1780, ed. John Richetti, 316-39 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 324, fn. 17.

[769] Ibid., 20-22.

Jansen's laughter at the keyboard, which was vividly remembered by Haydn, epitomizes the spirit of English humor. In London, Haydn was closely acquainted with a German musical amateur who, in the words of Dies, "had acquired a skill on the violin bordering on virtuosity, but who had the bad habit of always playing too close to the bridge in the highest tones." This dilettante often visited Jansen and accompanied her on the violin. After Haydn had sent Jansen his Keyboard Trio in E-flat minor Hob. XVI: 31 without his autograph, the violinist attempted to play the second movement titled "Jacob's Dream" with Jansen. Yet, he "remained stuck in the highest registers" in most of his passages. Jansen's response based on Haydn's recollection was rather comical itself:

> Soon Miss J[ansen] suspected that the unknown composer intended to depict the ladder to heaven that Jacob saw in his dream and then noticed how the dilettante now ponderously, uncertainly, stumbling, now reeling, skipping, climbed up and down this ladder. The thing seemed so funny to her that she could not hide her laughter, while the dilettante abused the unknown composer, and boldly maintained that he did not know how to write for the violin.[770]

With her taste and talent, Jansen certainly would have been frustrated by the violinist's terrible playing. But instead of respectfully asking the violinist to refrain from playing, she indulged in giggles. This quite merciless laughter that failed to be suppressed might have contradicted the social politeness conventionally attached to the English culture, but even Dies and Haydn regarded this episode as a rather funny one worth being documented.

Jansen could not curb her laughter because what she heard was too familiar. Consider what made the violinist's playing so facetious that Jansen could not "hide her laughter." The dilettante, according to Dies and Haydn, played as if he was "ponderously, uncertainly, stumbling, now reeling, skipping, climbed up and down this ladder." He struggled like ono who was deaf to his tone, blind to the score, and oblivious to the violin's fingerboard. His poor performance invoked the befuddlement of the blind, the stupefaction of the deaf, and the disorientation of cripples — all popular characters of jest found at the many music parties and dramas in London as well as the mid-18th century British jestbooks which feature similar jokes that ridicule sickness, misery, and disability. As Dickie observes, one finds in these jestbooks an almost "encyclopedic range of jokes about the deaf."[771]

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[770] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 170-71.

A jestbook that initially costed one schilling, *Joe Miller's Jests: Or, The Wit's Vade-Mecum* (1739), compiled by J. Mottley who took the name of the comical actor Joseph Miller (1684–1738) in the Drury Lane company, tells a joke on the blind,

> A Counsellor pleading at the Bar with Spectacles on, who was blind with one Eye, said, he would produce nothing but what was *ad Rem* , then said one of the adverse Party, you must take out one Glass of your Spectacles, which I am sure is of no use.[772]

This jestbook had enjoyed, by 1745, its eighth expanded edition where a joke on the deaf was added:

> Although the Infirmities of Nature are not proper Subjects to be made a Jest of; yet when People take great a deal of Pains to conceal what every Body sees, there is nothing more ridiculous: Of this Sort was old Cross the Player, who being very deaf, did not care any Body should know it. Honest Joe Miller, going with a Friend one Day along Fleet street, and seeing old Cross on the other Side of the Way, told his Acquaintance he should see some Sport; so beckoning to Cross with his Finger, and stretching open his Mouth as wide as ever he could, as if he halloo'd to him, tho' he said nothing, the old Fellow came puffing from the other Side of the Way, *What a Pox*, said he, *do you make such a Noise for? Do you think one can't hear?*[773]

In *The Laugher; or The Art of Jesting* (1755), one also reads jokes about the deaf, the blind, and the accident-prone who stumbles down the stairs:

> One asked a young Gentleman, what he meant to marry so deaf a Gentlewoman? He answered, *Because I hop'd she was also dumb*.[774]
>
> A Man, blind of one Eye met is hunch-back'd Neighbour early in the Morning, and said unto him, *Good Morrow, Neighbour, what your Burthen on your Back so soon in a Morning?* The Hunch-

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[771] Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter*, 15-18.

[772] Joe Miller, *Joe Miller's Jests: Or, The Wit's Vade-Mecum* (London: John Lever, 1739), 29-30.

[773] Miller, *Joe Miller's Jests: Or, The Wit's Vade-Mecum*, 8th ed. (London: T. Read, 1745), 4.

[774] *The Laugher; or The Art of Jesting*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Reeve, A. Dodd, and E. Cook, 1755), 83.

> back answered, *If it be Morning, as you say, how chances it you have but one Window yet open?*[775]
>
> “One push’d a Countryman down a Pair of Stairs, and broke his Nose; whereat he roar’d most miserably, and said, ‘*Twas thou, Villain, ‘twas thou. No*, answered the other, *‘Twas not I; but belike you are over mellow, and so sell down of yourself.*[776]

The Jester’s Magazine, or the Monthly Merry-Maker (1765) also features numerous blind, deaf, and stumbling characters. Two jokes summon waggish scenes similar to what Jansen heard in the dilettante’s struggles:

> A blind Fiddler, that was blind, came to speak with a Gentleman that was a great Benefactor to him. The Gentleman’s Servant ran hastily to his master, saying, Sr, the old blind Fiddler is come to see you.[777]
>
> A countryman passing through a street in London, stumbled, and his backside fell to the ground. [778]

Some, like Haydn, also ridiculed themselves for fun. Swift as a satirist, for instance, joked about his personal impaired ability to hear. He writes in “On His Own Deafness,” a poem he wrote in 1734 that appeared in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* and *The London Evening-Post*:

> Deaf, giddy, helpless, left alone;
> To all my Friends a Burden grown
> No more I hear my Church's Bell
> Than if it rang out for my Knell:
> At Thunder now no more I start,
> Than at the Rumbling of a Cart:
> Nay, what's incredible, alack!
> I hardly hear a Woman's Clack.[779]

This poem was later included as “A Reverend D——r’s Lamentation for the Loss of His Hearing” in *A Collection of Jests, Epigrams, Epitaphs, etc* (1753).[780]

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[775] Ibid., 158.

[776] Ibid., 124.

[777] *The Jester’s Magazine, or the Monthly Merry-Maker* (London: S. Bladon, 1765), 132.

[778] Ibid., 40.

[779] See George P. Mayhew, “Swift's Manuscript Version of ‘On His Own Deafness,’” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 18/1 (1954): 85-87.

[780] *A Collection of Jests, Epigrams, Epitaphs, &c.* (Edinburgh: R. Fleming, 1753), 85.

That men and women in England would take pleasure in joking about deformity might seem to belie their exaltation of taste and sensibility, but as Dickie argues, a physical blemish or defect could be seen as a distraction that disrupts finer feelings. Therefore, in the culture of sensibility and taste, the ability to laugh at the distorted or disabled might become a useful tool that signaled one's ability to distinguish the beautiful and the ugly. Haydn, too, was surely familiar with being a subject of critique related to aesthetic judgment. He recalled, during his last years, that in several occasions, his admirers were shocked by his rather "unattractive and peasant-like" appearance. They could not imagine such an average-looking person would have composed many refined compositions known for beauty and genius. During his second journey in London, some Prussian officers also refused to believe the Haydn who stood before them was really Haydn himself, for Haydn's old and unappealing appearance did not match their expectations. "With experiences like these," Tolley argues, "it is no wonder Haydn sought to protect the reputation of his music by seeking to control the image of himself which was fast becoming a kind of commodity in the public domain."[781]

As Diderot observes in *Paradox*, pity is only easy when the ones to be sympathized with are pleasant-looking or good-sounding:

> An unhappy, a really unhappy woman, may weep and fail to touch you; worse than that, some trivial disfigurement in her may incline you to laughter; the accent which is apt to her is to your ears dissonant and vexatious; a movement which is habitual to her makes her grief show ignobly and sulkily to you…[782]

Moreover, if sensibility began with the Lockean notion of senses and perceptions, sensory disabilities like deafness and blindness, which made one lower in sensibility and social hierarchy, would also render one abnormal and thus more prone to being ridiculed. When one ridicules the other, he is distancing himself from the ridiculed. This rather cruel "pitilessness" is a form of pity — but it is, ironically, a self-congratulatory pity rooted not in sympathy but superiority.

Composed in such a time when the English delighted in cold, crude, and cruel humor despite its civilized appearance, Hob. XVI: 50 and 52, as Tolley states, were "dedicated to a performer who is known to have had the capacity to laugh aloud at other music by Haydn," namely Jansen. At the same time, for many English listeners of the early 1790s, the "obvious subverting of the primary materials, as in the English tradition of caricature, might also be construed as accommodating a political dimension…[which] must have been recognized and appreciated by a section of his audience."[783] One hears such theatrical elements of caricature in the opening of Hob. XVI: 50's first movement, *Allegro* (Example 6.1). In mm. 1-6, the eighths, marked *piano* and playfully punctuated by rests, tip-toe in skips. The bass, meanwhile, stubbornly stays on the tonic pedal point in broken octaves. It responds to the half-tottering treble eighths with a poker face; this deliberate mismatch induces laughter. Yet the seriousness of the bass is not so serious after all, for when the eighths change their articulation in the treble in m. 3, it also follows by moving furtively from being detached to slurred — it has failed to resist the temptation to tease around. In mm. 5-6, the phrase seems to come to a close as the treble gradually rises in thirds and sixths, but with an imperfect authentic cadence, it does not quite sound like one. The rests and the fermatas in m. 6, with the aid of the *sforzando* followed by a small diminuendo, forge an impression that the thirds, with the mediant on top, are somehow still resounding and decaying.

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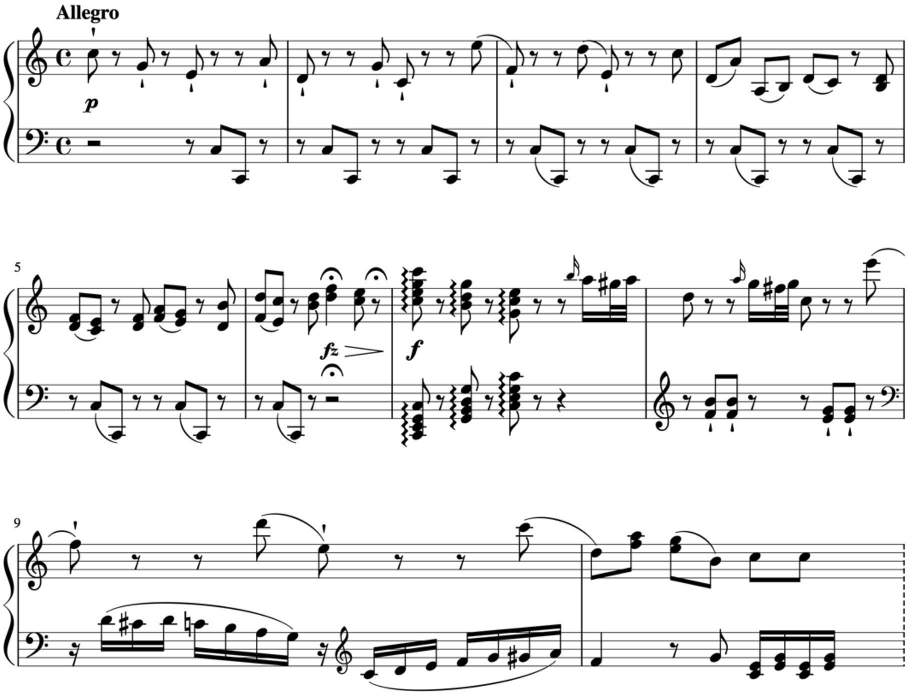
[781] Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar*, 178-79.

[782] See Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter*, 108. Quote from Diderot, *Paradox*, 22.



Example 6.1 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in C major, Hob. XVI: 50, I, mm. 1-10

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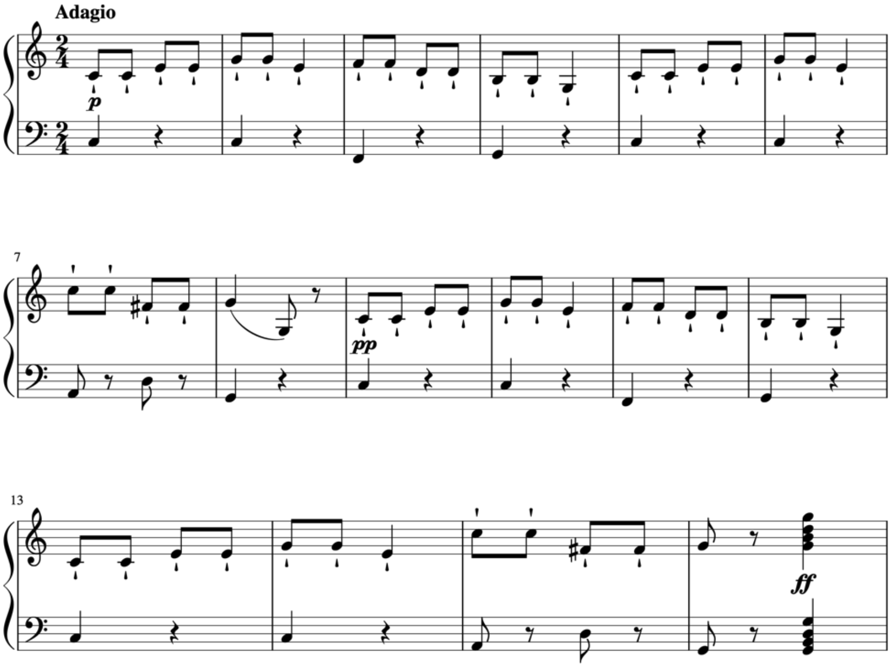
[783] Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar*, 256-57.

Just when the ear is not sure what to expect, three staggering rolled eighths in I–V–I marked *forte*, also separated by eighth rests, break in and smash the naive illusion created by the rest with fermata. Like a caricature, these shocking, punchy rolled eighths hyperbolize and exaggerate the opening tonic-dominant-mediant motif: they aggrandize the originally single eighths into thick full chords while amplifying the *piano* volume to a dramatic *forte*. Such gestures also generate an astonishing effect that is similarly experienced in the opening of the *Adagio* from "Surprise" Symphony No. 94 in G major H. 1/94 (1791) which, also in C major, begins in a similar manner with prankish and pointed eighths in *piano*. However, while the surprise in Hob. XVI: 50 is placed in a new bar (m. 7) as the beginning of a new phrase, the surprise in the Symphony's *Adagio* throws itself on the last dominant chord at the end of the original phrase in the same bar (m. 16). The unexpected hammer blow there, as Chua puts it, interrupts the music's "clock-like mechanism" and awakens consciousness. The rest of the phrase in mm. 8-10 in Hob. XVI: 50's *Allegro* continues to make a fool out of the listener by quickly shifting to more delicate turns (m. 8) and smoother contrapuntal melodic lines (m. 9) that titillate as an embroidered variation of mm. 2-4.[784]



Example 6.2 Haydn, "Surprise" Symphony No. 94 in G major, H. 1/94, II, mm. 1-16, Reduction

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[784] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 92.

Hob. XVI: 50's finale, *Allegro molto*, amuses also by opening with mischievous, irregular thematic phrasing. The hopping thirds and rests in mm. 4-7 (Example 6.3) poke fun at the listener's expectations, but they also mimic a deformed character who somehow cannot proceed properly in movement. The rising thirds in m. 4, while nullifying the normative expectation of a four-measure phrase, jounce as if they are making headway on a bumpy road. The two eighth rests in m. 5 then interrupt, handicapping the thirds like temporary stop signs. The thirds give another try in m. 6, yet they are once again cut off by an eighth rest in m. 7. Fed up with the inability to finish itself, the theme decides to move to the higher register in m. 8 to make a fresh attempt in an octave higher. However, instead of reiterating the theme in good manners, the repeated theme decides to ridicule itself while chaffing the listener. In m. 9, it "accidentally" loses its footing, slipping into a C sharp instead of the original C natural. In m. 10, too, it stumbles chromatically to an A sharp instead of the original A natural. Pregnant pauses with fermatas, another humorous feature that pervades the whole movement including mm. 63, 66, and 70 (Example 6.4), appear in m. 11 after the B-major triad in m. 10. Both a VII of the original C major and a II for the coming A minor, the B-major baffles, yet the pregnant pauses with fermatas leave the listener even more confused about what may come next.

This fragmentary phrasing with punctuating and prolonged pauses are enough for Haydn's contemporaries to hail him as a man of wit. "A composer who accents and phrases his passages well, is, according to Rousseau, a man of wit," Charles Burney writes. "Upon this principle, Haydn's music is full of *bons mots*."[785] Elsewhere Burney states that Haydn "has likewise movements and passages that are sportive, playful, and even grotesque, for the sake of variety; but they are often so striking and pleasant, that they have the effect of *bon mots* in speaking or writing."[786] The rather ludicrous and disjointed phrasing, jumping across registers with rude pauses and strange harmonies, realizes exactly this effect of *bon mots* observed by Burney.

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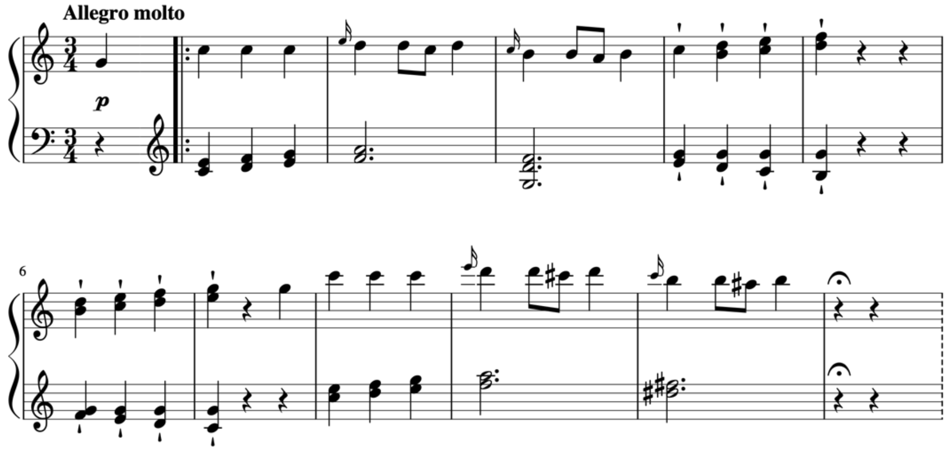
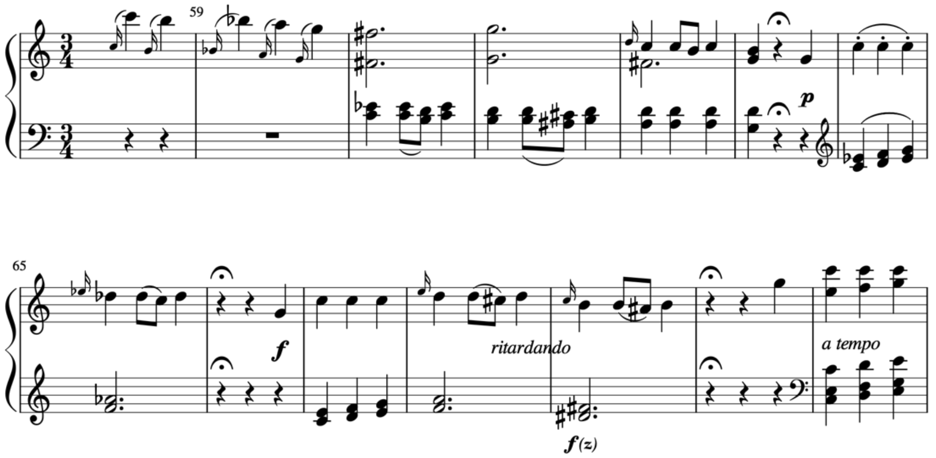
[785] Charles Burney, John Farey Sr, and John Farey Jr, General Music Articles from Rees *Cyclopædia*, 448.

[786] Charles Burney, Music Biography Articles from Rees's *Cyclopædia*, 192.



Example 6.3 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 50, III, mm. 1-11



Example 6.4 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 50, III, mm. 59-71

Hob. XVI: 52's first movement *Allegro* also displays much musical wit and humor. Characterized by a sudden shift to the high register with accented scotch snap rhythm and horn fifths in *piano*, the secondary theme material in the exposition in mm. 27-29 (Example 6.5) exhibits many comical characteristics highlighted by Christian Friedrich Michaelis and Friedrich Rochlitz, both Haydn's contemporaries. Holding Haydn as the "founder of humorous music,"[787] both consider "jocular formation of rhythm," "leaps into popular, light, frivolous ideas," "unexpected turn," "bold modulations into other keys," and "sudden entrance of foreign keys" among the most humorous features in music.[788] This passage is quoted twice in the development in mm. 46-47 (Example 6.6) and mm. 67-72 (Example 6.7). In each case, a seemingly serious

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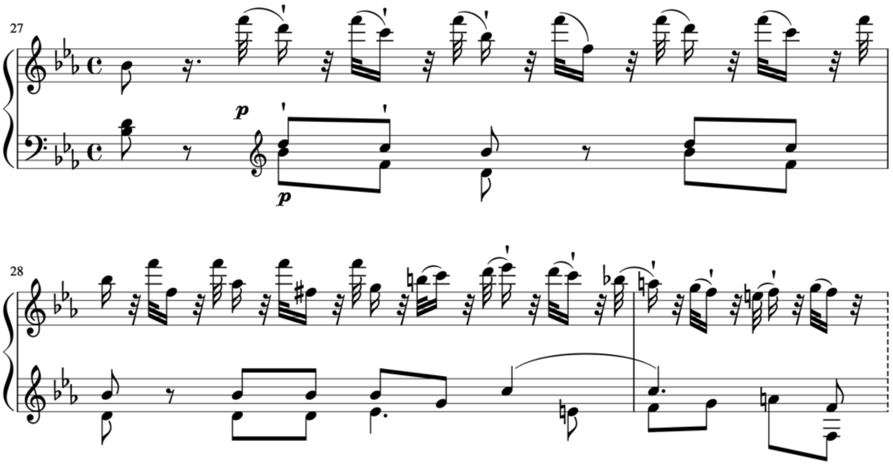
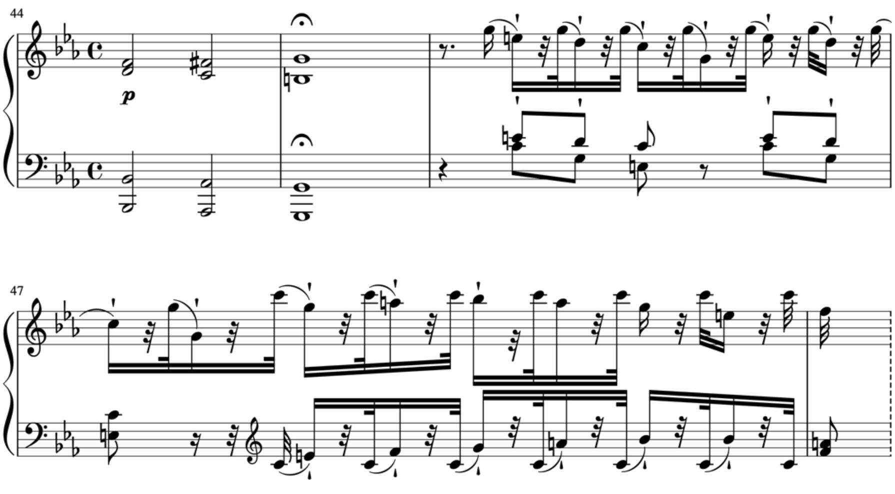
[787] See Danuta Mirka, *Metric Manipulations in Haydn and Mozart: Chamber Music for Strings, 1787-1791* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 295.
[788] See Table 3.1 in Zenck, "Beethoven's 'Piano Sonata' Op. 31 No. 1," 60.

G-major chord with a fermata occupying one full measure precedes the entrance of the playful scotch snap rhythm. But the scotch snaps and horn fifths smash the ignorance of the fermata with not only a rapid mood change but unexpected key modulations. The former interrupts in C major and the latter, E major. That the second quotation is set in E major has been argued by many as a preparation to the E-major *Adagio*, but, as Sisman writes, the claim that Haydn had deliberately crafted such a plan only works out "nicely on paper": "…it is fair to say that only the fact of being tonally shocked really prepares the listener to expect subsequent socks, not the esoteric reinterpretive possibility of a particular key."[789]



Example 6.5, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, I, mm. 27-29



Example 6.6, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, I, mm. 44-47

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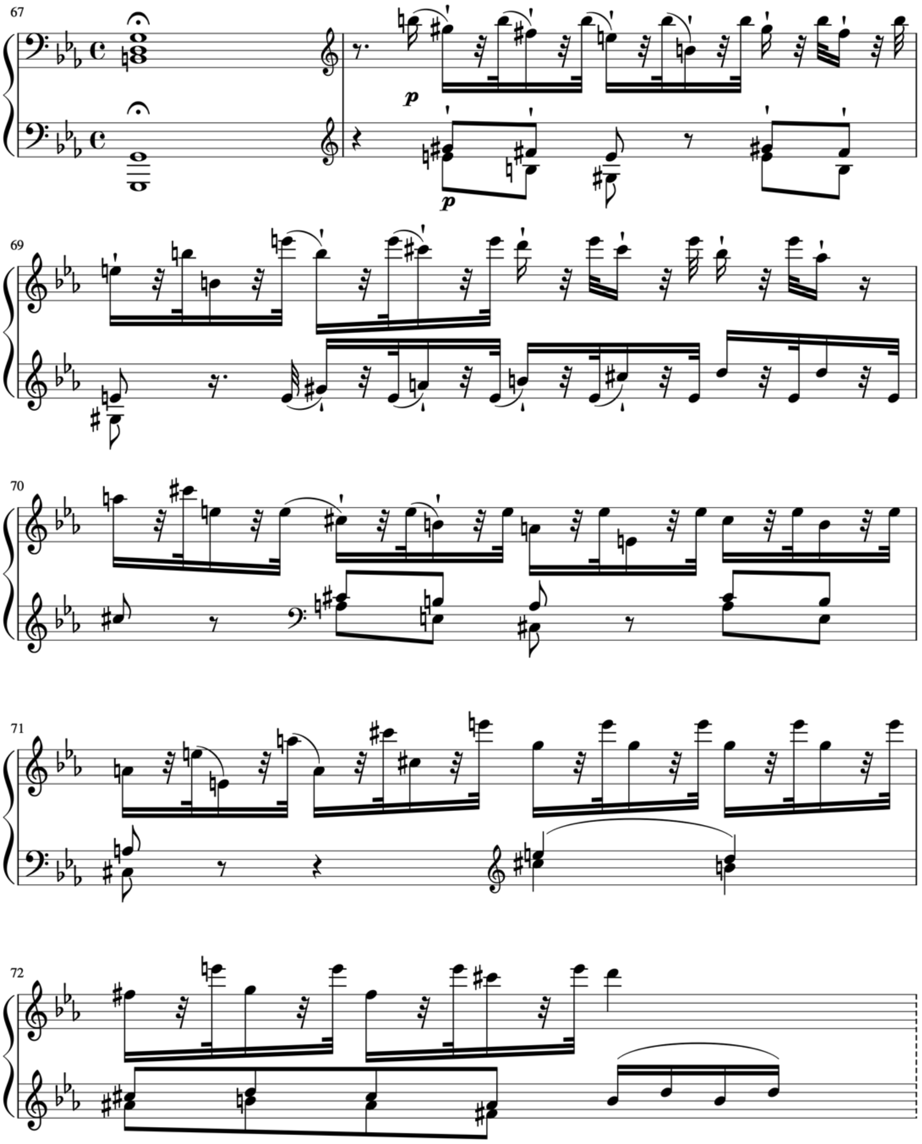
[789] Sisman, "Haydn's Solo Piano Music," 276.



Example 6.7, Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, I, mm. 67-72

The amalgamation of the dainty, fragile scotch snap rhythm in the high register and the rather serious, stern horn fifths in the middle register is another whimsical mismatch. It is a mismatch between two seemingly incompatible social characters, but it also burlesques a corporeal displacement by simulating physical incongruity, attesting that Haydn's strategies of musical jests, as Gretchen Wheelock puts it, often introduce "aesthetic and kinaesthetic paradoxes" that enchanted Haydn's contemporaries.[790] While the left hand attempts to sound its fifths with dignity, the right hand pays no attention to it, bouncing heedlessly like one who seems blind to any possibility of tripping or toppling down. In m. 47 and m. 69, however, the left hand, finding the skipping and leaping in exhilaration irresistible, eventually abandons the noble horn fifths and also joins in the scotch snaps with the right hand.

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[790] Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting*, x.

Brendel argues that ironic and satirical materials such as the "evocation of laughing and leaping, familiar manifestations of playfulness and high spirits that can be musically suggested by short staccato, leaping of large intervals, and short groups of fast notes separated by rests" may often be heard as "non-sensical."[791] Yet as "non-sensical" as these gestures which appear frequently in Haydn's comical music may sound, they also seem to, he suggests, paradoxically show a firm faith in rationality and reason. He argues, "Why does classical music lend itself so readily to comic effects? Because it seems to me to reflect, in its solid and self-sufficient forms and structures, the trust of Enlightenment in rational structures that rule the universe."[792] Chua further suggests irony is the distinguishing feature of the Classical Style, that if the "Classical" form is to be modelled on Haydn, then irony is its definition, for its consciousness as a form "is only signified by its constant negation of the structure it posits."[793] Setting aside the arguments about forms and structures, however, the humor in Haydn's London sonatas also seems to reflect a strong adherence to the jocular and satirical spirit of the English culture. The humorous spirit in Haydn's keyboard sonatas does not worry about offending anyone because, despite featuring many satirical materials that evoke the grotesque and provoke pitilessness, the lack of explicit literal and visual components (even though the music is capable of conjuring up the literal effect of irony and the visual nature of satire) in instrumental music has smugly excused the composer or the music from being accused of moral or ethical insensibility.

From Virtuous to Virtuous and Virtuosic

Jansen's laughter might have undermined the stereotypical impression of England's polite sensibility, but the humorous and satirical elements in Haydn's Hob. XVI: 50 and 52 seemed to have also helped reorder and expand the domain of feminine sensibility. In 1764, Kant described his ideal woman in *Observations on the Feeling of Beautiful and Sublime*: "Her philosophy is not to reason but to sense."[794] He identifies the feminine signs of sensibility,

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[791] Brendel, *Music, Sense, and Nonsense*, 93. Brendel's "non-sensical," however, does not carry the same meaning as Weber's "nonsense" which negatively denotes something produced by "the newest and recent corrupters of good musical taste." See Zenck, "Beethoven's 'Piano Sonata' Op. 31 No. 1," 57.

[792] Brendel, *Music, Sense, and Nonsense*, 93.

[793] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 209 and 211.

> Women have a strong inborn feeling for all that is beautiful, elegant, and decorated. Even in childhood they liked to be dressed up, and take pleasure when they are adorned….Very early they have a modest manner about themselves…They have many sympathetic sensations, good-heartedness, and compassion, prefer the beautiful to the useful…they have very delicate feelings in regard to the least offense…..The fair sex has just as much understanding as the male, but it is a beautiful understanding, whereas ours should be a deep understanding, an expression that signifies identity with the sublime…

As he continues, he also pitches sensibility against reason and feeling against thinking:

> Laborious learning or painful pondering, even if a woman should greatly succeed in it, destroy the merits that are proper to her sex, and because of their rarity they can make of her an object of cold admiration; but at the same time they will weaken the charms with which she exercises her great power over the other sex…a woman who has a head full of Greek… might as well have a beard.[795]

Kant concludes women cannot learn geometry or things of "the principle of sufficient reason" and considers the many weaknesses of the fair sex "beautiful faults."[796] But this type of gendered framing of sensibility and reason was robustly rejected by women like Wollstonecraft. In *Vindication*, she contests the dichotomy between "masculine" reason and "feminine" feeling:

> Ignorance is a frail base for virtue! Yet, that is the condition for which woman was organized, has been insisted upon by the writers who have most vehemently argued in favour of the superiority of man…they have laboured to prove…man was made to reason, woman to feel: and that together, flesh and spirit, they make the most perfect whole, by blending happily reason and sensibility onto one character.[797]

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[794] Kant, *Observations*, 82.

[795] Ibid., 77-78.

[796] Ibid., 82.

[797] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication*, 88.

"Reason is absolutely necessary to enable a woman to perform any duty properly," she declares, "and I must again repeat, that sensibility is not reason."[798] For Wollstonecraft, reason does not oppose sensibility. On the contrary, true sensibility can only flourish when reason exists to guard against false sensibility. She states in *Maria: Or the Wrongs of Woman*,

> …a sense of right seems to result from the simplest act of reason, and to preside over the faculties of the mind, like the master sense of feeling, to rectify the rest; but…how often is the exquisite sensibility of both [Jemima and Maria] weakened or destroyed by the vulgar occupations, and ignoble pleasures of life?[799]

In demanding a sharp wit regulated by reason, the musical humor in Hob. XVI: 50 and 52 also emancipates women from the gendered dichotomy that Wollstonecraft takes issue with. It must be noted, however, that women were never fully debarred from claiming wit and humor. Even authors of female conduct books highlighted the positive side of such qualities. Gregory considers wit the "most dangerous talent" that a woman can possess, but he does not eradicate its worth completely:

> [Wit] must be guarded with great discretion and good-nature, otherwise it will create you many enemies. Wit is perfectly consistent with softness and delicacy; yet they are seldom found united. Wit is so flattering to vanity, that they who possess become intoxicated, and lose all self-command.[800]

He believes humor may also be misused, but, again, he does not dismiss it entirely:

> [Humour] will make your company much solicited; but be cautious how you indulge it, it is often a great enemy to delicacy, and a still greater one to dignity of character. It may sometimes gain you applause, but will never procure you respect.[801]

In *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady* (1740), Wetenhall Wilkes remarks similarly that wit "is the most dangerous companion that can lurk in a female bosom," for it may expose a woman to the temptations of flattery and deceit. Yet Wilkes affirms the value of wit as long as it is "tempered with discretion, and ripened by experience; improved by reading, and guarded by judgement."[802] Moreover, although Wilkes praises modesty, he considers a hypocritical meekness that does not "laugh at a facetious, innocent jest" a "ridiculous affectation." He concludes, "Honest pleasures are not inconsistent with true modest; but an affected air of coyness and gravity is always suspected."[803] The tale "The Duchess of Mantua; or, Women Pleased" in *The New Lady's Magazine*, *Or*, *Polite and Entertaining Companion for Fair Sex* printed in 1788 in London speaks of such a woman of wit named Belvidere. She was one who "had received more than usual marks of tenderness from her mother," but she also impressed the Duke of Modena with not only her courteousness but also wit. The narrator recounts, "His compliments she returned with politeness, and answered his declarations of love with the most subtle evasions…she conducted herself with such refined wit, and so artful an address."[804]

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[798] Ibid., 77.

[799] Wollstonecraft, *Maria, or The Wrongs of Woman* [1798], ed. William Godwin (Mineola: Dover, 2005), 6.

[800] Gregory, "*Father's Legacy*," 18.

[801] Ibid., 18-19.

To reveal the female capacity to exercise wit is to reveal her ability to judge with reason. Thomas Hobbes in the 17th century went as far as to consider judgment the basis of wit. In *Leviathan* (1651), he argues, "So that where wit is wanting, it is not fancy that is wanting, but discretion. Judgement therefore without fancy is wit, but fancy without judgement not."[805] This ability to laugh at farcicality for Hobbes evinces exactly wit: "Also Man laugh at Jests, the Wit whereof always consisteth in the elegant Discovering and Conveying to our minds some Absurdity of another."[806] The genre of satire in the 18th century nonetheless took wit to another level that further complicated gendered implications. Satire, in poetry, was considered "a manly species of invective" expressing "manly indignation."[807] As the century progressed, however, a woman remarkable for femininity could be admired for possessing a satirical wit and even “masculine” qualities. Frances Greville, for example, not only charmed with her beauty but also displayed plenty of sardonic wit. Charles Burney depicts her as follows:

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[802] Wetenhall Wilkes, "From *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady*, 1740; 8th edn 1766," in *Women in the Eighteenth Century Constructions of Femininity*, ed Vivien Jones, 29-35 (London: Routledge, 2006), 31.

[803] Ibid. 29.

[804] *The New Lady's Magazine, Or, Polite and Entertaining Companion for Fair Sex*, vol. 3 (London: Royal Authority, 1788), 469.

[805] Thomas Hobbes, *Hobbes's Leviathan reprinted from the edition of 1651 With an Essay by the Late W.G. Pogson Smith* [1651] (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1909), 55.

[806] Hobbes, *Humane Nature* [1650] (London: Matthew Gilliflower, Henry Rogers, and Tho. Fox, 1684), 54.

[807] George Richards, *An Essay on the Characteristic Differences between Ancient and Modern Poetry* (Oxford: 1789), 9.

> A lovely female, in the bloom of youth, equally high in a double celebrity, the most rarely accorded to her sex, of beauty and of wit, and exquisite in her possession of both… to many she passed for being *pedantic, sarcastic, and supercilious* [emphasis mine]; as such, she affrighted the timid, who shrunk into silence; and braved the bold, to whom she allowed no quarter…

Burney then commends Greville’s reasoned and vast understanding that was utterly “masculine” while contrasting it with her feminine and beautiful appearance:

> Her understanding was truly masculine; not from being harsh or rough, but from depth, soundness, and capacity; yet her fine small features, and the whole style of her beauty, looked as if meant by Nature for the most feminine delicacy…the keenness of her satire yielded its asperity to the zest of her good-humour, and the kindness of her heart. Her noble indifference to superior rank, if placed in opposition to superior merit….and though the fame of her beauty must pass away in the same oblivious rotation which has withered that of her rival contemporaries, the same of her intellect must ever live, while sensibility may be linked with poetry, and the Ode to Indifference shall remain to shew their union.[808]

Despite its dedication to two female pianists, Hob. XVI: 52 opens right away also with grand gestures of masculine bravura. The first movement *Allegro* announces itself in a heroic fashion with rolled chords and military dotted rhythm in E-flat major (Example 6.8). Pauer has even described E-flat major as a “masculine” key: “E-flat major is the exponent of courage and determination and gives the piece a brilliant, firm and dignified character. It may be designated as eminently a masculine key.”[809] A.P. Brown speaks of this opening as a “ceremonial march, derived from the French overture” that “has nothing to do with the *galant* ones from the previous sonatas.”[810] Yet sensibility is not lost, for the swift shift from the robust dotted rhythm in m. 2 to its sweet *piano* echoes in an octave higher in m. 3 demands a quickness to feel and respond.

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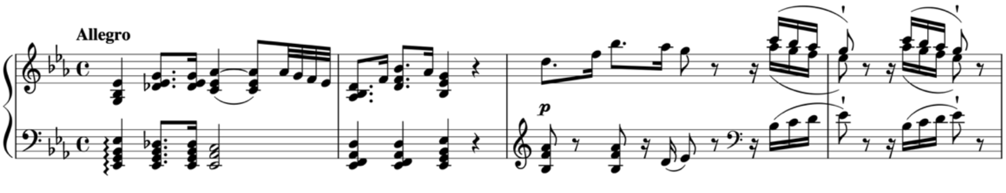
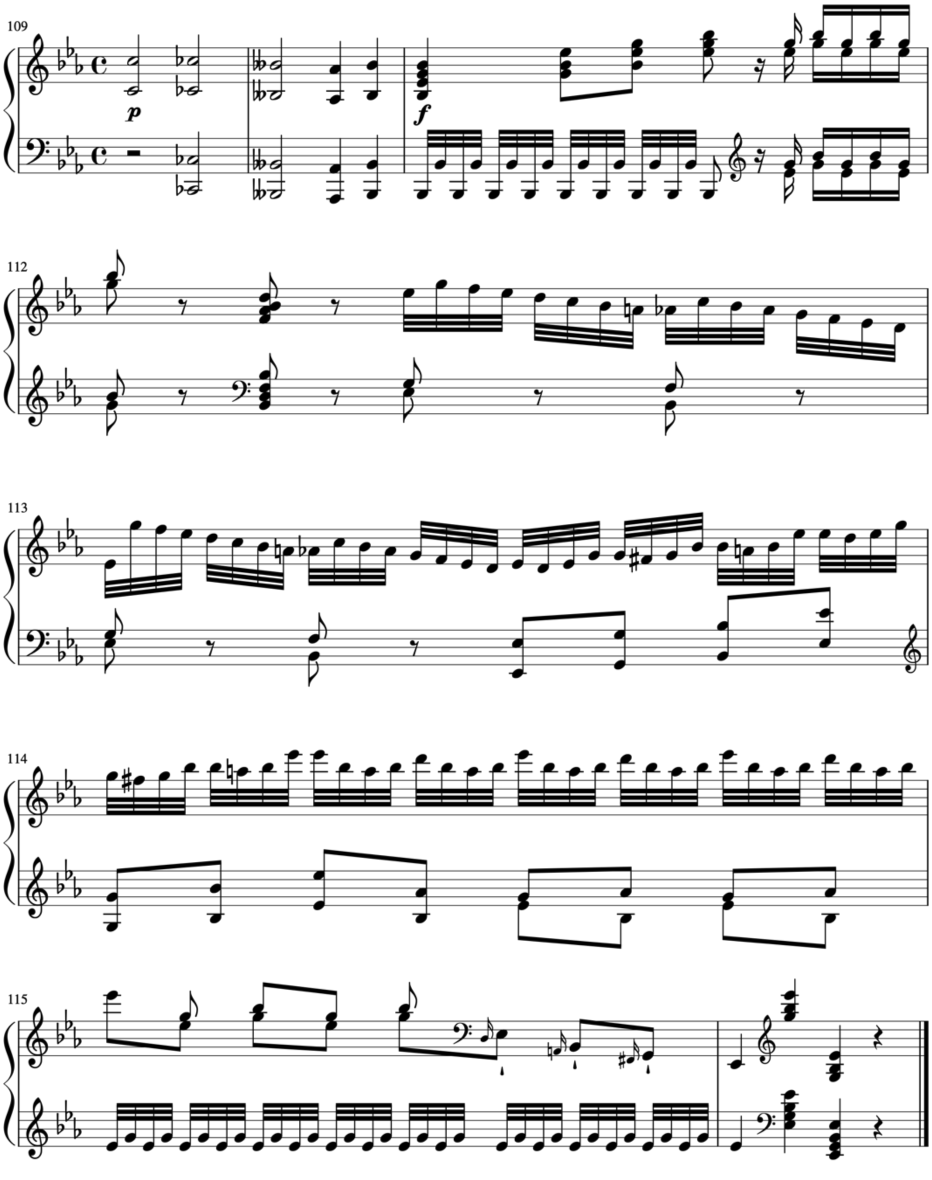
[808] Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 1, 55-58.
[809] Pauer, *Elements of the Beautiful*, 25.
[810] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 361.



Example 6.8 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, I, mm. 1-4



Example 6.9 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, I, mm. 109-116

The imposing opening is just the start of a sensational extravaganza. The extreme dynamic contrast, harmonic volatility, successive double octaves, rumbling bass, swelling tremolos, bold chordal leaps, bright thirds, playful rests, and brilliant finger runs, especially those heard in the exciting final measures (Example 6.9), not only satisfy the London audience's craving for thrills but also showcase the physical and mental stamina of the female virtuoso. The rise of

John Broadwood & Son in London, which manufactured pianos full of sonority fitting for large concert halls, certainly contributed to the richness of this sonata.[811] As Komlós suggests, "the most conspicuous sign of the influence of the English pianos on Haydn's keyboard style is the frequent use of repeated thick chords, and a fuller texture in general" inspired by the English piano's "rich, resonant sound."[812] Today, Hob. XVI: 52 remains the most celebrated keyboard sonata by Haydn. Menahem Pressler describes this work: "It's full of adventure; it's full of virtuosity; it's full of beans — it doesn't show any age. [Haydn]'s way ahead of Beethoven and even Mozart in sophistication. It's an unbelievable piece."[813]

By incorporating not only satirical but also heroic and virtuosic components into keyboard music, Haydn's London sonatas may be studied in a new light: in the hands of pianists like Jansen and Kurzböck, keyboard music had moved from being virtuous to being both virtuous and virtuosic. The London sonatas promoted the public virtuosity of women which extended unto the 19th century and even today. According to Reichardt, Kurzböck was one of the greatest pianists among the ladies of the local musical world. Loved by Haydn like a daughter, she, together with Frau von Pereira, led the way during Reichardt's last visit to Haydn before Haydn's death.[814] Jansen, on the other hand, was offered many piano works throughout her career as a result of her pianistic excellency: from her teacher Clementi, Three Piano Sonatas Op. 33 (1794); from Jan Ladislav Dussek, Three Sonatas for Violin and Piano, Op. 13 (1793) and Piano Sonata, Op. 43 (1800); and from her brother Louis, Piano Sonata, Op. 6 (1802). Besides the two London sonatas, Haydn had also composed for her three piano trios, Hob. XV: 27-29. A good friend of Jansen, Haydn had attended her wedding with Bartolozzi on May 16, 1795.[815]

Dedicated to the domestic pianist Maria Hester Park, Hob. XVI: 51 in D major, composed also in London, might seem rather flat and unambitious in comparison to Hob. XVI: 50 and 52. It also shows no trace of satirical materials.[816] Yet, this "little sonata" as Haydn himself had called was ultimately a private gift written with Park's pianistic abilities and sensibilities in mind.[817] When Breitkopf & Härtel decided to publish this sonata in 1804, Park still owned the original manuscript, but the dedication to Park was not publicized.[818] Not considered a virtuoso, Park displayed many ideals often expected of a cultivated woman in her days. She united a happy home as a wife and taught music to nobles including the family of the Duke of Devonshire. While Robert C. Jenkins described her musicality as "but a part of her higher intellectual qualifications," her husband Thomas Park praised her sensibility and taste in the *Morning Thought*:

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[811] See Simon McVeigh, "London," in *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn*, ed. David Wyn Jones, 217-223 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 218.

[812] Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music*, 74-75.

[813] William Brown, *Master Classes with Menahem Pressler* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), 105.

[814] Reichardt, "*Briefe*," 157.

[815] Landon, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, 599.

> By skill and science highly she was graced,
> In music's melting art; and with such taste
> And touch of feeling did she sounds convey,
> Her heart appeared more than her hands to play.[819]

By emphasizing "her heart appeared more than her hands to play," Thomas Park seems to suggest that although his wife was not as pianistically virtuosic as someone like Jansen, she was worthy to be praised for her heartfelt sensibility. Composed according to not only Park's ability but also the decorum of taste and sensibility, Hob. XVI: 51 appears much more simplistic in manner. Yet, while Park might not have been able to play the heroic opening of Hob. XVI: 52 as splendidly as Jansen, Haydn still wrote, in Hob. XVI: 51, two opening measures that simulate a similar grand gesture. On the right hand are three stepwise half notes, each decorated with two arpeggiated grace notes that mimic a rolled-chord effect. Haydn could have begun the arpeggiation with the tonic, yet he seemed to have deliberately omitted the tonic so that Park would not have to stretch her hand. The left hand also seems to have been designed in a way that reduces hand strain as the first two octaves in the bass are separated by quarter rests that allow the pianist to move at ease (Example 6.10).

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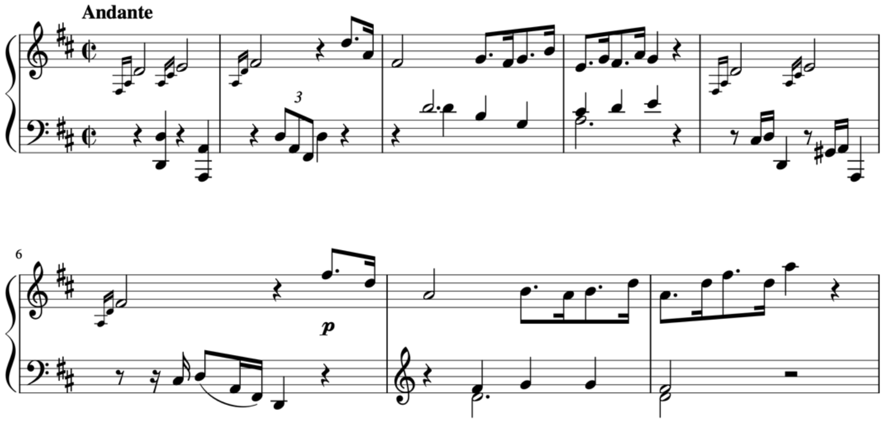
[816] A.P. Brown argues this work was targeting those who were still rather lacking in their piano playing and yet wanted to play something written by Haydn. See A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 46.
[817] See Tolley, "Haydn, the Engraver Thomas Park, and Maria Hester Park's 'Little Sonat,'" *Music & Letters* 82/3 (2001): 428. This sonata, as revealed in Haydn's letter, was likely to be a gesture from Haydn to thank Park and her husband Thomas for gifting him two engraved prints of *Rosalie & Lubin* and its pendant *Lubin & Rosalie* by Sir William Beechey and Richard Torton Paye. See ibid., 424.
[818] Ibid., 421.
[819] Ibid., 425. Originally from Robert C. Jenkins, *The Last Gleanings of a Christian Life. An Outline of the Life of Thomas Park, F.S.A., Late of Hampstead. The Friend of the Poets Cowper, Hayley, and Southey; of Sir Walter Scott, of Haydn, and of Miss Seward* (London: 1885), 11 and 17-18.

Five years after Haydn's passing in 1814, Allatson Burgh described pianoforte playing as a "fascinating accomplishment" that is "very generally considered, as an indispensable requisite" in the system of female education. "The Daughters of mechanics, even in humble stations," he wrote, "would fancy themselves extremely ill-treated, were they debarred the Indulgence of a piano-forte." He considered piano playing a superior alternative to novel reading, for he believed the latter often infected women with futile thoughts:

> …Music is not only a harmless amusement; but, if properly directed, capable of being eminently beneficial to his fair Countrywomen…it may be the means of preventing that vacuity of mind, which is too frequently the parent of libertinism; of precluding the intrusion of idle and dangerous imaginations; and…may prove an antidote to the poison insidiously administered by the innumerable licentious Novels, which are hourly sapping the foundations of every moral and religious principle.[820]

With witty and humorous elements that demand a reasoned and perceptive mind, Haydn's keyboard sonatas perhaps also participated in this function of preventing a disordered sensibility.



Example 6.10 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 51, I, mm. 1-8

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[820] A. Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical; in a Series of Letters From a Gentleman to his Daughter*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Ormes, and Brown, 1814), v-vii.

Haydn's musical humor, quickened by both his personal disposition and London's satirical culture, has sometimes been regarded as too frivolous to merit serious consideration. It nonetheless had attracted many followers in his days. Michaelis recorded in 1807,

> …our newest music is for the most part humorous is for the most part humorous, especially since Joseph Haydn, as the greatest master in this genre…Haydn was the first to do this in overall effect, and awakened a large number of famous composers of the most recent times to write in this manner.[821]

Haydn's humor may appear silly to some, but the composer's goal behind the music was a serious and sensible one rooted in moral sensibility. Through music that invites smiles and laughter, Haydn hoped to bring happiness to his audience and alleviate the misery of some. He wrote to Jean Phillip Kruger of North Germany in 1802:

> Often, when struggling against the obstacles of every sort which oppose my labours; often, when the powers of mind and body weakened, and it was difficult for me to continue in the course one had entered on; — a secret voice whispered to me: "There are so few happy and contented peoples here below; grief and sorrow are always their lot; perhaps your labours will once be a source from which the care-worn, or the man burdened with affairs, can derive a few moments [of] rest and refreshment."[822]

Haydn's words somehow bear resemblance to Sterne's in his preface of *Tristram Shandy*, where he spells out his desire to gladden the hearts of those afflicted by suffering:

> …Never poor Wight of a Dedicator had less hopes from his Dedication, than I have from this of mine; for it is written in a bye corner of the kingdom, and in a retir'd thatch'd house, where I live in a constant endeavour to fence against the infirmities of ill health, and other evils of life, by mirth; being firmly persuaded that every time a man smiles, — but much more so, when he laughs, it adds something to this Fragment of Life.
>
> I humbly beg, Sir, that you will honour this book, by taking it—(not under your Protection,—it must protect itself, but)—into the country with you; where, if I am ever told, it has made you smile; or can conceive it has beguiled you of one moment's pain—I shall

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[821] Translated by and quoted in Zenck, "Beethoven's 'Piano Sonata' Op. 31 No. 1," 55.
[822] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 209.

> think myself as happy as a minister of state;—perhaps much happier than any one (one only excepted) that I have read or heard of…[823]

"It is fun to imagine listening to Haydn in the manner of those London audiences that so enjoyed his final symphonies…to be taken along on his supreme entertainments," Scott Burnham remarks, "putting ourselves in his hands but also putting our own sensibilities into every turn of the ride, primed for wit, eager, ready, open, wondering only: What will he do next?"[824] It is indeed fun to imagine listening to Haydn in the manner of his contemporary London audiences — and this reimagination that Burnham speaks of should not be limited to only Haydn's last symphonies but also apply to his final London piano sonatas. This fun reimagination requires us to assess Haydn's wit that has long been shrugged off as childish and silly in seriousness. Haydn's satirical sensibility, in the end, seems to allow no scoffing and sneering.

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[823] Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 3.

[824] Scott Burnham, "Haydn and Humour," in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark, 59-76 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76.

CHAPTER 7

ROMANTIC SENSIBILITY: HOB. 49 AND 52'S ADAGIOS

In *Das Allgemeine Brouillon* (1798/99), Georg Philipp Friedrich von Hardenberg, known also as Novalis, writes that "…in the distance, everything becomes *poesy-poem*. *Actio in distans*. Distant mountains, distant human beings, distant events, etc., all become romantic."[825] By stressing "distant mountains, distant human beings, and distant events," Novalis, as Berthold Hoeckner observes, chooses to consider spatial distance in landscape, personal distance in separation from the distant beloved, and temporal distance in recollection of the past as the three archetypal experiences of romantic distance.[826] Yet, while German composers constituting what is often called "Romanticism" such as Schumann may seem to exemplify this romantic spirit that Novalis hears, Schumann, as Chua notes, was not yet born when Novalis died in 1801:

> … when the Schlegels, Novalis, Tieck and Schelling were writing in Jena, Schumann was not even a sperm. What they heard were basically the symphonies of a Stamitz or a Haydn…So for Hoffman, Haydn and Mozart are Romantic composers in retrospect, for they were instrumental composers, writing a music latent with Romantic concepts before the articulation of the new discourse pulled them out as the fundamental categories of the absolute…[827]

Novalis' remarks in *Das Allgemeine Brouillon* were made in the exact years when Haydn's last sonata Hob. XVI: 52 was published,[828] and when Hoffman claimed in 1809 that Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven possessed a "romantic spirit," Schumann was only nine. Hoffman, who formed his perception of "romantic" by hearing the music of composers like Haydn, perceived "romantic" not so much as a periodization or a style but as a disposition. "Romantic sensibility is rare," he writes, "and romantic talent even rarer, which is probably why so few are able to strike the lyre whose sounds unlocks the wonderful realm of the romantic." "Infinite yearning" for him is the "essence of romanticism."[829] This hearing echoes with Novalis' sentiments, for infinite yearning requires a distance that cannot be overcome. If writers like Novalis and Hoffman conceived their "romantic" notion from a spirit that was embodied in Haydn's music, then to trace this "romantic" in Haydn's late sonatas is perhaps not just poetic but also pragmatic. The previous chapter has examined the satirical humor in Haydn's late *Allegro* movements, but Haydn's *Adagios* show a different personality. In the early 19th century, this manifestation was recognized by Burney who wrote that

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[825] Novalis, *Notes for a Romantic Encyclopaedia: Das Allgemeine Brouillon* [1798/99], ed. and trans. David W. Wood (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2007), 51.
[826] Berthold Hoeckner, "Schumann and Romantic Distance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society 50/1* (1997): 56.
[827] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 178.
[828] As the previous chapter states, this sonata was published in Vienna and London in 1798 and 1799 respectively.

> There is a general cheerfulness and good humour in Haydn's allegros, which exhilarate every hearer, but his adagios are often so sublime in ideas and the harmony in which they are clad, that though played by inarticulate instruments, they have a more pathetic effect on our feelings than the finest opera air united with the most exquisite poetry.[830]

The juxtaposition of the humorous *Allegro* movements full of absurdity and the affectionate *Adagio* movements permeated by a sense of longing does not at all declare the embodied romantic sensibility null and void. Jean Paul Richter defines *Humor* as "romantic comic" and "the inverted sublime" that contrasts between the finite and the infinite. "Humour as the inverted sublime," Jean Paul states, "annihilates not the individual but the finite through its contrast with the idea. It recognises no individual foolishness, no fools, but only folly and a mad world." Humour thus "annihilates both great and small, because before infinity everything is equal and nothing." In unmasking the limits of the finite world, humour as a form of romantic poetry allows the infinite to be brought to full light.[831] Jean Paul identifies this humour in not only in Sterne but also Haydn: "Something similar to the audacity of annihilating humour, an expression of scorn for the world, can be perceived in a good deal of music, like that of Haydn, which destroyed entire tonal sequences by introducing an extraneous eye and storms alternately between pianissimo and fortissimo, presto, and andante."[832]

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[829] Hoffman, *Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 98.

[830] Charles Burney, Music Biography Articles from Rees's *Cyclopœdia*, 192.

[831] Jean Paul Richter, *Vorschule der Ästhetik,* vol. 5 of *Werke* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1963); translated by Margaret R. Hale as *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973), 88. Also in Jean Paul Richter, "On Humorous Poetry," in *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism: The Romantic Ironists and Goethe*, ed. Kathleen M. Wheeler, 147-84 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 174.

The *Adagios* of Hob. XVI: 49 and 52 configure Novalis' three types of romantic distance in a mode of yearning that Hoffman speaks of. Hob. XVI: 49's *Adagio e cantabile*, written for Maria von Genzinger in 1789/90, centers on the idea of personal distance, of separation from the distant beloved that arouses anguish. Hob. XVI: 52's *Adagio*, on the other hand, seizes the notion of temporal distance in remembrance of the past. With its dotted motif, it sketches a spatial distance in landscape that, as the coming analysis argues, paves the way to what Sisman calls "the landscape of farewell" heard later in Dussek and Beethoven's "Farewell" sonatas.[833] The romantic tropes of the longing for the distant beloved and the remembering of distant memories, despite their prevalence in the 19th century, have always been part of the late 18th-century sensibility as evinced by Haydn's *Adagios*.

Personal Distance: Romantic Anguish and Hob. XVI: 49's *Adagio*

Romanticism as understood by Hoffmann or Novalis is not romance, yet the idea of personal distance in separation from the distant beloved binds both ideas together. A forbidden love that incites not only yearning but unceasing anguish for the impermissible characterizes the Romantic whose consciousness, marked by a desire for freedom, can only externalize itself when it is confronted by an unconquerable distance. When romantic passion totalizes one's whole being, however, the man brings upon himself a curse. Robert Burns speaks of this fate in "On Sensibility" (1791), a poem Haydn used later as the text of his song "Sensibility" Hob. XXXIa:173 in E-flat major:

> Sensibility, how charming,
> Dearest Nancy, thou canst tell;
> But distress, with horrors arming,

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[832] Hale, *Horn of Oberon*, 93; Jean Paul Richter, "On Humorous Poetry," 178. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Bonds has addressed Jean Paul's association of Haydn's humour with Sterne's in "Haydn, Laurence Sterne, and the Origins of Musical Irony." Jean Paul also distinguishes between satire and the comic, pointing out that satire may be vulgar and gross in nature. See Hale, *Horn of Oberon*, 81-82. As suggested in the previous chapter, however, in lacking literal and visual elements, Haydn's instrumental music has precluded the possibility of the charge of moral insensibility. In short, the dividing line between the comical and the satirical in wordless music, if there is any, is often indefinite.

[833] Sisman, "After the Heroic Style: Fantasia and Beethoven's 'Characteristic' Sonatas of 1809," *Beethoven Forum* 6 (1997): 87.

Thou alas! hast known too well!

Fairest flower, behold the lily
Blooming in the sunny ray:
Let the blast sweep o'er the valley,
See it prostrate in the clay.

Hear the wood lark charm the forest,
Telling o'er his little joys;
But alas! a prey the surest
To each pirate of the skies.

Dearly bought the hidden treasure
Finer feelings can bestow:
Chords that vibrate sweetest pleasure
Thrill the deepest notes of woe.[834]

It is worth pointing out that Haydn's "On Sensibility" is composed of simple, tuneful lines with minimized intervals and uncomplicated harmonies. The lack of stereotypical *Empfindsamkeit* materials such as appoggiaturas, gasp-like rests, abrupt harmonic or dynamic changes, and diminished sevenths unsettles again the topical understanding of sensibility. Haydn's compositional scheme, as Will argues, was affected by the nature of Scottish song itself that is often marked by pastoral simplicity. "Haydn's arrangements are," Will remarks, "…neither an embodiment of Scottish spirit nor 'a monstrous white elephant,' but a characteristic voice in the debates that have formed not just Scottish music, but the idea of traditional music itself."[835]

Written initially for his friend Mrs. Dunlop whose son and daughter-in-law were suffering from a bereavement, Burns' "On Sensibility" was later directed to Agnes Craig, sometimes addressed as "Clarinda" or, as stated in the poem, "Nancy."[836] In love with Nancy, Burns longed for the day when Nancy's husband James McLehose would finally die so he could marry her. Burns nevertheless was also frustrated by how his affair with Nancy remained one of chastity. He then impregnated Nancy's servant Jenny Clow in November 1788, but in 1791, when Nancy decided to reunite with her husband in Jamaica, Burns was crushed. Burns then penned his most famous poem “Ae Fond Kiss” and even passed away before McLehose did. Burns bemoans in “Ae Fond Kiss,”

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[834] Robert Burns, *The Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. Donald Low (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), 431.

[835] See Will, "Haydn Invents Scotland," in *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context, and Criticism*, ed. Mary Hunter and Richard Will, 44-74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 74. The phrase "a monstrous white elephant" comes from David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 146.

[836] Burns, *Songs of Robert Burns*, 431.

> Ae fond kiss, and then we sever;
> Ae fareweel, and then forever!
> Deep in heart-wrung tears I'll pledge thee,
> Warring sighs and groans I'll wage thee.
> Who shall say that Fortune grieves him,
> While the star of hope she leaves him?
> Me, nae cheerfu' twinkle lights me;
> Dark despair around benights me.
>
> I'll ne'er blame my partial fancy,
> Naething could resist my Nancy;
> But to see her was to love her;
> Love but her, and love forever.
> Had we never lov'd sae kindly,
> Had we never lov'd sae blindly,
> Never met—or never parted—
> We had ne'er been broken-hearted.
>
> Fare thee weel, thou first and fairest!
> Fare thee weel, thou best and dearest!
> Thine be ilka joy and treasure,
> Peace. enjoyment, love, and pleasure!
> Ae fond kiss, and then we sever;
> Ae fareweel, alas, forever!
> Deep in heart-wrung tears I'll pledge thee,
> Warring sighs and groans I'll wage thee![837]

Burns admitted his “partial fancy” and had no shame for it, for the most fanciful lover always strives to overcome the impossible with a stubborn heart.

Often portrayed as a modest man by his biographers, Haydn did not display the same degree of passion as Burns. When asked by Dies about the great number of pretty women surrounding him, Haydn responded by stressing his self-restraint: “Oh, many! but I was prudent!”[838] Yet, he still displayed and composed with a romantic sensibility when his youth had passed as he was separated by a distant beloved. At the age of fifty-seven, Haydn received a heartfelt letter from Genzinger, the wife of Peter Leopold von Genzinger who served as Prince Nicolaus Esterhazy’s physician and Rector of the Vienna Hochschule. The letter came with Genzinger’s pianoforte arrangement of an

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[837] Ibid., 453.

[838] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 157.

Adagio from one of Haydn's symphonies. Haydn wrote back with delightful responses and Genzinger then decided to mail out the remaining arrangements of the other movements to Haydn.[839] With a certain admiration mixed with anxiety, Haydn wrote to Genzinger on November 7, 1789:

> Don't be angry at a man who values you above everything else; I should be inconsolable if this delay was responsible for my losing even a fraction of your favor (of which I am so proud) …I assure you that, in my frequent depressed moods, nothing cheers me so much as the flattering conviction that your memories of me are pleasant.[840]

Genzinger was flattered by Haydn's warmth and replied to the composer, "How well am I rewarded for my pains when I see your satisfaction!"[841] But Genzinger was not the only one who experienced a pleasing pain. In a letter dated May 30, 1790, Haydn not only pled Genzinger to keep writing to him, as their correspondence had become a source of personal consolation, but also confessed his longing to be with her in person:

> Therefore I beg Your Grace not to be frightened away from consoling me occasionally by your pleasant letters, for they comfort me in my wilderness, and are highly necessary for my heart, which is so often deeply hurt. Oh! If only I could be with Your Grace for a quarter of an hour, to pour forth all my troubles to you, and to hear all your comforting words. I have to put up with many annoyances from the Court here which, however, I must accept in silence.[842]

These exchanged letters between the two, Rosemary Hughes argues, reveal Haydn was "half in love" with Genzinger.[843] Haydn, after all, was known to have had a loveless marriage of many years. Haydn's wife, Maria Anna Keller, the sister of Therese Keller whom he originally hoped to marry, was hardly a partner that he was happy with. "We became fond of each other," Haydn recalled, "despite which I soon discovered that my wife was very flighty."[844] Perceived by Griesinger as "domineering" and "unfriendly," Haydn's wife lived a lavish lifestyle that allegedly forced the poor Haydn to hide his income from her. "She does not deserve anything," Haydn grumbled. "It is all the same to her if her husband is a shoemaker or an artist." Haydn blamed Keller's inability to have children as the reason he was drawn to other women: "My wife was unable to bear children, and I was therefore less indifferent to the charms of other ladies."[845]

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[839] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 85-86.
[840] Ibid., 90.
[841] Ibid., 91.
[842] Ibid., 100.
[843] Rosemary Hughes, *Haydn* (London: J. M. Dent, 1974), 61.
[844] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 99-100.

Unlike Keller, Genzinger was a loving mother who considered music her "agreeable and favourite of occupations." She even told Haydn she wished to have fewer household affairs so that she could devote more hours to music.[846] She held many soirees that hosted Vienna's musical elites such as Mozart. One of her children even premiered Haydn's "Ariadne Auf Naxos."[847] A letter Haydn wrote to Genzinger in 1791 reveals Haydn's admiration for not only Genzinger but also her sweet family life:

> During the last two months. ... I have been living in the country, amid the loveliest scenery, with a banker [Mr. Brassy]'s family where the atmosphere is like that of the Genzinger family... I think of my Creator, my family, and all the friends I have left behind — and of these you are the ones I most value. Of course I had hoped to have the pleasure of seeing you sooner, but my circumstances — in short, fate — will have it that I remain in London another 8 or 10 months. Oh, my dear gracious lady! How sweet this bit of freedom really is! I had a kind Prince, but sometimes I was forced to be dependent on base souls. I often sighed for release, and now I have it in some measure.[848]

As Karl Geiringer puts it, the Genzinger home offered Haydn "all that he had missed throughout his married life." Haydn found in the Genzinger home "an atmosphere that seemed the fulfilment of his old dreams: comfortable, pleasant home." While Genzinger was "a woman of high culture who took the keenest interest in every one of his new compositions and who at the same time was so thoughtful a hostess that she prepared his favorite dishes," she also nurtured "musically gifted children whom he [Haydn] could guide."[849]

Fearing Genzinger would cease writing to him, Haydn, within one month after begging the lady to remain in touch with him, mailed out a score of Hob. XVI: 49 to his beloved on June 20, 1790. Although the sonata was later dedicated to his wealthy patron Maria Anna von Gerlischek in 1791, Haydn stated in the letter that this sonata was composed personally for Genzinger. The impassioned *Adagio* in ABA form according to the composer was specifically written with her in mind:

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[845] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, 15-16.
[846] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 91.
[847] Ibid., 98.
[848] Ibid., 118.
[849] Karl Geiringer and Irene Geiringer, *Haydn: A Creative Life in Music* [1946] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 90.

> This Sonata is in E flat, brand new, and was written especially for Your Grace to be yours forever. This Sonata was destined for Your Grace a year ago, and only the Adagio is quite new, and I especially recommend this movement to your attention, for it contains many things which I shall analyse for Your Grace when the time comes; it is rather difficult but full of feeling.[850]

The phrase "full of feeling" reveals that what Haydn desires to accomplish in this *Adagio* is not so much to delineate musically a portrait of the woman whom he composed for (as he has done with the sonatas for Princess Esterházy). Rather, he seeks to paint feelings. As Johann Jakob Engel advises in "On Painting in Music" (1780), the composer "should always paint feelings rather than objects of feelings; always the state into which the soul and with it the body are conveyed through contemplation of a certain matter and event rather than this matter and the event itself."[851]

But what sort of feeling was Haydn attempting to underscore? Haydn's letters give away the answer with their overwhelming amount of anguish. Haydn's letter to Genzinger dated February 9, 1790, as Chapter 1 has mentioned, exhibits many epistolary characteristics evocative of sentimental novels. Green suggests that while this letter shows "the spontaneous expression of his deepest feelings," it is also "highly rhetorical, beginning with the operatic cadences of a sentimental heroine" and reveals Haydn as the author of a private life with "a modern subjectivity."[852] Zeiss similarly notes a certain stylized aspect in Haydn's language of sensibility in the letter but also argues "in other letters, his use of sentimental language seems genuine and heartfelt."[853] In another letter dated June 27, 1790, however, Haydn further lamented about not being able to see Genzinger in person after sending the score of Hob. XVI: 49 to her:

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[850] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 105.

[851] Johann Jakob Engel, "On Painting in Music," in Strunk's *Source Readings in Music History*, vol. 5, rev. ed., ed. Leo Treitler and Wye Jamison Allanbrook (New York: Norton, 1998), 225.

[852] Green, "A Letter From the Wilderness: Revisiting Haydn's Esterházy Environments," in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark, 17-29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 28.

[853] Zeiss, "Correspondence and Notebooks," 72.

> It really is sad always to be a slave, but Providence wills it so. I'm a poor creature! Always plagued by hard work, very few hours of recreation, and friends? What am I saying? One true one? There aren't any true friends anymore — one lady friend? Oh yes? There might be one. But she's far away from me.[854]

Haydn also complained to Genzinger about his loneliness at the court, frustration at rivals, and weariness from overworking in London. "If Your Grace could only see how I am tormented, here in London," he muttered, "by having to attend all sorts of private concerts, which cause me great loss of time… by the vast amount of work which has been heaped on my shoulders, you would, my gracious Lady, have the greatest pity on me."[855] He even shared little secrets with Genzinger: "The Prince of Wales is the most handsome man on God's earth; he has an extraordinary love of music and a lot of feeling, but not much money…this is between ourselves."[856] He sometimes carped, too, about the opposition of people such as his pupil Ignaz Joseph Pleyel.[857]

Like letters, music discloses feeling. As Head remarks on Hob. XVI: 49's *Adagio e cantabile*, "In leaving enough traces for performers and listeners to savor the possibility of a musical love letter, Haydn continues to coax his audience into the subtle riddles of sensibility."[858] In this *Adagio*, the same feeling of romantic anguish felt in Haydn's letters surfaces in the predominantly B-flat minor passage (mm. 57-76) in the B section (mm. 57-80) (Example 7.1). In m. 57, the B-flat minor arpeggios and B-flat octave in the bass obliterate fiercely the previous sweet B-flat major. They thrust the music into a minor mode, inaugurating an outpour of stormy passion in *forte*. These bodily, intervallic gestures are moves that demand to be heard as romantic. Through persistent hand-crossing, the left hand mounts, repeatedly, from a resounding octave in the bass to a soaring soprano line consisting of a falling dotted rhythm and a rising leaping pair of quarters or a quarter with an eighth that is often dissonant (mm. 58-64). Through a dramatic, disruptive, and yet dialogue-like opposition of the low and high voices, these skips springing from the bass register and the relentless leaps in the soprano assert themselves with a resolute desire to conquer distance.

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[854] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 106.
[855] Ibid., 128.
[856] Ibid., 123-24.
[857] Ibid., 134.
[858] Head, "*Empfindsamkeit*," 100.

Meanwhile, the accompanimental triadic sextuplets, like waves of the turbulent ocean, restlessly perpetuate angst. The harmonies switch between B-flat minor and F dominant seventh in mm. 57-60, but they move anxiously in mm. 61-65 through G-flat major (VI), A-flat dominated seventh (V^7/ $I^{6/4}$), D-flat major ($I^{6/4}$), G diminished seventh ($vii^{o6/5}$/V), and a cadential 6-4 ($I^{6/4}$) followed by V^7 before it settles in D-flat major in m. 66. This tonic resolution nonetheless only lasts for a measure as the music throws itself impulsively in repetition again in B-flat minor. Such a tempestuous scene, topically speaking, evokes the *tempesta.* Noting the problematic use of *Sturm und Drang*, McClelland proposes separating the *Sturm* from the *Drang* while adopting the term *tempesta* to indicate all storm-related references. The origins of *Sturm*, McClelland suggests, lie not in Haydn's symphonies but in the early opera that shows depictions of storms and other theatrical devastations.[859]

Mostly in minor keys, *Tempesta*, as witnessed here, displays an agitated and stormy character with features such as shifting modulations, fragmented melodies with wide augmented or diminished leaps, lines doubled in octaves with an imitative or sequential nature, bass that uses augmented or diminished leaps, repeated notes, pedals, ostinato, as well as tremolo effects with rhythmically restless motion and crescendo impression that drive the music forward.[860] Although *tempesta* often requires a fast tempo, the persistent sixteenth sextuplets in this section, despite the *Adagio* marking, demolish any sense of "slowness." Unmediated, the topic emotionally, representationally, and psychologically reinforces distress. The spirit of yearning seems so close to conquering the agony of separation and yet never fully succeeds. As Head observes, "The music might break its boundaries…in a fictional sense," for it "calls for sustaining pedal, hand crossing, and fragmented 'crying' figures across the bass and soprano registers that comprise distinct voices."[861]

The hand-crossing desists after the repeat sign. In D-flat major, the right hand in m. 66 takes over the melodic line at the second ending. It begins with the quasi-improvisatory, ornamented "Haydnesque" dotted gesture that, as discussed in Chapter 5, opens Hob. XVI: 48's *Andante con espressione*. The harmonic spectrum, prompted by ceaseless anguish, further expands in this section. Having reaffirmed itself in D-flat major in m. 68, the dotted vocal line zealously modulates, through a distressing F diminished seventh in m. 69, unto E-flat minor in m. 70. It then sings in G diminished seventh in m. 71 where the right hand making an anxious fall from a syncopated and dotted high D-flat to an E-natural before it arrives at F in m. 72. The chromatic descension of F–E-natural–E-flat in m. 72 gravitates towards D-flat as the harmonies alternate between F major and B-flat minor in second inversion with a vii^{o7} (E diminished seventh) that, with its unsettling effect, prepares the insistent repetitions of the same material in mm. 73-74. As the rising arpeggiation in m. 75 and the sustained F in the deep register in m. 76 tonicize the dominant, a series of improvisatory, turning gestures in F dominant seventh starting in the bass follows in mm. 76-77. It arrives at an unstable syncopated G in the treble in m. 78 that tenderly drops, by a step, to a F. But the relief that this F provides is temporary, for it flourishes into yet another arpeggiated F dominant seventh that ascends unto a high E-flat m. 79 that longs to be resolved. The dotted E-flat gently falls, in mm. 79-80, through eighths in both diatonic and chromatic scales that lead the music back to the A theme in B-flat major.

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[859] McClelland, "*Ombra* and *Tempesta*," 281.

[860] See Figure 10.1 in ibid., 282.

[861] Head, "*Empfindsamkeit*," 100.

The "soul-stirring Adagio," argues Margaret Notley, was a favorite topos in Germans novels of the late 18th-century. It stood, in the words of Ruth Müller, as "the aesthetic symbol of melancholy soliloquy and sentimentally excessive feelings of love."[862] By sketching and stirring the feeling of romantic anguish, Haydn participates in the exploitation of the *Adagio*'s capacity to invoke yearning — one rooted in a personal separation from the distant beloved. Furthermore, while instrumental storms are heard more frequently in operas and symphonies, topical references to *tempesta* usually take place in the development sections of first movements or finales.[863] Haydn, then, demonstrates bold musical techniques in his desire to accentuate the anxious side of romantic sensibility, for he has introduced this supernatural topic, which continues in German Romanticism and is “certainly ubiquitous in Beethoven’s music,”[864] rather unusually in the middle of this second and slow movement of Hob. XVI: 49. Its fiery character contrasts intensely with the outer soft and improvisatory sections. Haydn’s *Adagio*, then, testifies that, as McClelland states, “for the Romantics, the power to move the emotions was central, but the idea was hardly a new one in the nineteenth century.”[865] One may even suggest that this *minore* episode, described by A.P. Brown as “one of the most romantically conceived utterances in all the sonatas,”[866] blends futuristically the sonorities and textures of works like Beethoven’s first movement *Adagio sostenuto* of Sonata “Quasi una fantasia” Op. 72 No. 2 in C-sharp and Schubert’s Impromptu No. 3 in G-Flat Major Op. 90, D. 899.

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[862] Margaret Notley, "Late-Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music and the Cult of the Classical Adagio," *19th-Century Music* 23/1 (1999): 35 and Ruth Müller, *Erzählte Töne: Studien zur Musikästhetik im späten 18. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, vol. 30 (Stuttgart, 1989), 52.

[863] McClelland, "*Ombra* and *Tempesta*," 295.

Haydn longed to have Genzinger hear such romantic feelings by playing the *Adagio* on a Schanz piano. “It’s a pity, however, that Your Grace has not one of Schantz’s fortepianos, for Your Grace could then produce twice the effect,” he wrote to Genzinger.[867] He tried to persuade Genzinger in another letter, claiming the Schanz “fits her touch and suits her fancy.” “His fortepianos are particularly light in touch and the mechanism very agreeable,” he explained to his beloved, “…My Sonata will gain double its effect by it…I consider Herr Schanz at present to be the best pianoforte maker.”[868] Haydn genuinely adored the Schanz, but that he would so persistently urge Genzinger to acquire a Schanz in one letter after another seems to suggest that its light touch and sensitive action could, in his view, allow Genzinger’s delicate hands to play the passionate passage more effortlessly, thereby making the embodied feeling more perceptible. Did Genzinger hear Haydn’s romantic anguish in this fervid passage? She wrote back to Haydn after receiving the sonata:

> I like the Sonata very much, but there is one thing which I wish could be changed (if by so doing it does not detract from the beauty of the piece), and that is the passage in the second part of the Adagio, where the hands cross over; I am not used to this and thus find it hard to do, and so please let me know how this could be altered.[869]

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[864] Ibid., 296.

[865] Ibid.

[866] A.P. Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 350.

[867] Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 105.

[868] Ibid., 107.

[869] Ibid., 108.

Genzinger probably heard it, but she could not play it! The hand-crossing was too difficult or perhaps rather awkward for her.

Haydn might have been left even more anxious then, for Genzinger's inability to cross hands had created yet another gap that separated the two. Or perhaps this gap had always been intended, for the continuous hand-crossing between extreme registers also invokes a forbidden closeness between partners of the piano duet that emerged in the 18th-century. As the piano duet eventually became a substantial part of the 19th-century keyboard repertoire, this intimacy was illustrated by William Makepeace Thackeray, who, in *The Adventures of Philip on his Way Through the World* (1850), refers to a "pretty little duet à quatre mains, where the hands cross over, and hop up and down the keys, and the heads get so close, so close. Oh, duets. Oh, regrets."[870] Perhaps, while the back-and-forth exchange between the ringing bass and the affectionate soprano line does signal a longing for intimacy, it also suggests, given Genzinger's inability to accomplish the task on her own, that this intimacy is only possible in the impossible in Haydn's romantic universe: the envisioned closeness can only realize itself with Haydn seated at the deep register and Genzinger resting at the high register.

Romantic anguish always manifests itself when two lovers are separated personally by a large distance, yet the distance experienced by Haydn and Genzinger was not just physical but also legal as both were bound by their marriages. Genzinger, who passed away early in 1793, would nevertheless be naive to presume she was the only one who had captured Haydn's heart. After all, Haydn's affair with Luigia Polzelli, whose second son Antonio was rumored to be Haydn's, began before his correspondence with Genzinger. Haydn took care of both Antonio and his older brother Pietro after the death of Polzelli's husband. On December 13, 1791, after having composed Hob. XVI: 49 and expressed his longing to see Genzinger, Haydn wrote to Polzelli to reassure that she, too, was dearly loved. Haydn had not forgotten to add touches of painful anxiety in his letters:

> Dear Polzelli!

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[870] William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray in Ten Volumes*, vol. 6 (Boston: Osgood, 1872), 321.

> You gave me quite a shock with your last letter, because I thought my letter had gone astray, and also the money with it. I was so upset that I couldn't sleep for three days, until I received your second letter. I hope that you will never again entertain such cruel suspicions of me, for I esteem and love you as I did on the very first day. I am very sorry for you, and it pains me terribly that I can't do more for you. But be patient, perhaps the day will come when I can show you how much I love you…[871]

On January 14, 1792, he wrote again with a mix of emotions:

> 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 me if you get married again, for I would like to know the name of him who is fortunate enough to have you. Actually I ought to be a little annoyed with you, because many people wrote me from Vienna that you had said the worst possible things about me, but God bless you, I forgive you everything, for I know you said it in love. Do preserve your good name, I beg you, and think from time to time about your Haydn, who esteems you and loves you tenderly, and will always be faithful to you…[872]

While Haydn was busy writing to Genzinger and Polzelli from London, Rebecca Schröter, a forty-year-old student of Haydn there and the dedicatee of Haydn’s three piano trios Hob. XV: 24-26, had also enchanted the composer. Schröter did not suppress her lovesick desire for Haydn in her letters. She even sought to amplify her desirability by emphasizing her feminine fragility and foolishness:

> My dear, I was extremely sorry to part with you so suddenly last night, our conversation was particularly interesting and I had a thousand affectionate things to say to you. My heart was and is full of tenderness for you, but no language can express half the Love and the Affection I feel for you. You are dearer to me every day of life. I am very sorry I was so dull and stupid yesterday, indeed my dearest it was nothing but my being indisposed with a cold occasion'd my stupidity. I thank you a thousand times for your concern for me.[873]

Her obsession continued in the subsequent letters with frequent capitalization:

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[871] Ibid., 122.

[872] Ibid., 126.

[873] Ibid., 269.

> I am so truly anxious about you. I must write, to beg to know HOW YOU DO? I was very sorry I had not the pleasure of seeing you this Evening, my thoughts have been constantly with you, and indeed my d:l: no words can express half the tenderness and AFFECTION I FEEL FOR YOU — thought you Seemed out of Spirits this morning, I wish I cou'd always remove every trouble from your mind, be assured my D [dear] : I partake with the most perfect Sympathy in ALL YOUR Sensations, and my regard for you is stronger every Day, my best Wishes always attend you and I ever am my D: H: [Dear Haydn]…[874]

Schröter's romantic frenzy somehow calls to mind More's observation in 1777 that "young women of strong sensibility may be carried by the very amiableness of this temper into the most alarming extremes." "Their tastes are passions," she writes. "They love and hate with all their hearts, and scarcely suffer themselves to feel a reasonable preference before it strengthens into a violent attachment."[875] Even though Haydn and Schröter never married after Keller's death in 1800, Haydn admitted to Dies that he had considered marrying Schröter before. An English widow, Schröter in Haydn's eyes was "still a beautiful and amiable woman whom I might very easily have married if I had been free then."[876] Genzinger, then, perhaps was not the only beloved of Haydn. But, as Green writes,

> Even if Haydn and von Genzinger were not lovers, theirs was an especially close friendship, and writing letters, especially with a female correspondent, was an invitation to engage in intimate conversation. Perhaps Haydn felt permitted (or even compelled) to express an affective interiority in his letters to von Genzinger that he did not reveal to his male correspondents.[877]

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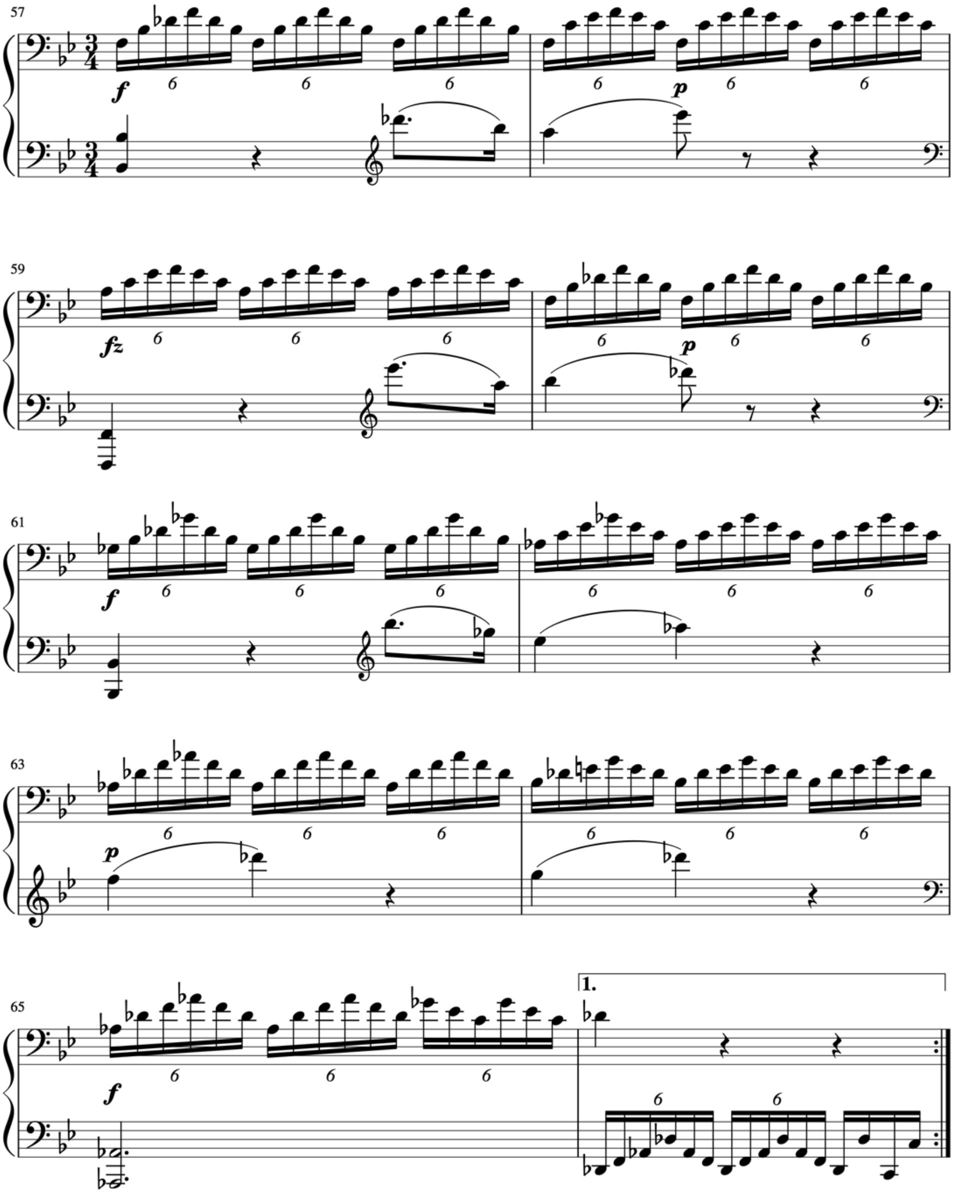
[874] Ibid., 280.

[875] More, *Essays on Various Subjects, Principally Designed for Young Ladies* (London: J. Wilkie, 1777), 101-102.

[876] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 157. In his journal documenting his first visit to England, Haydn also writes, "My friend, you think I love you; in truth, you are not mistaken…God in one's heart, a good little wife in one's arm, the first brings salvation, the second warmth." See Landon, *Collected Correspondence*, 267-69.

[877] Green, "A Letter From the Wilderness," 28.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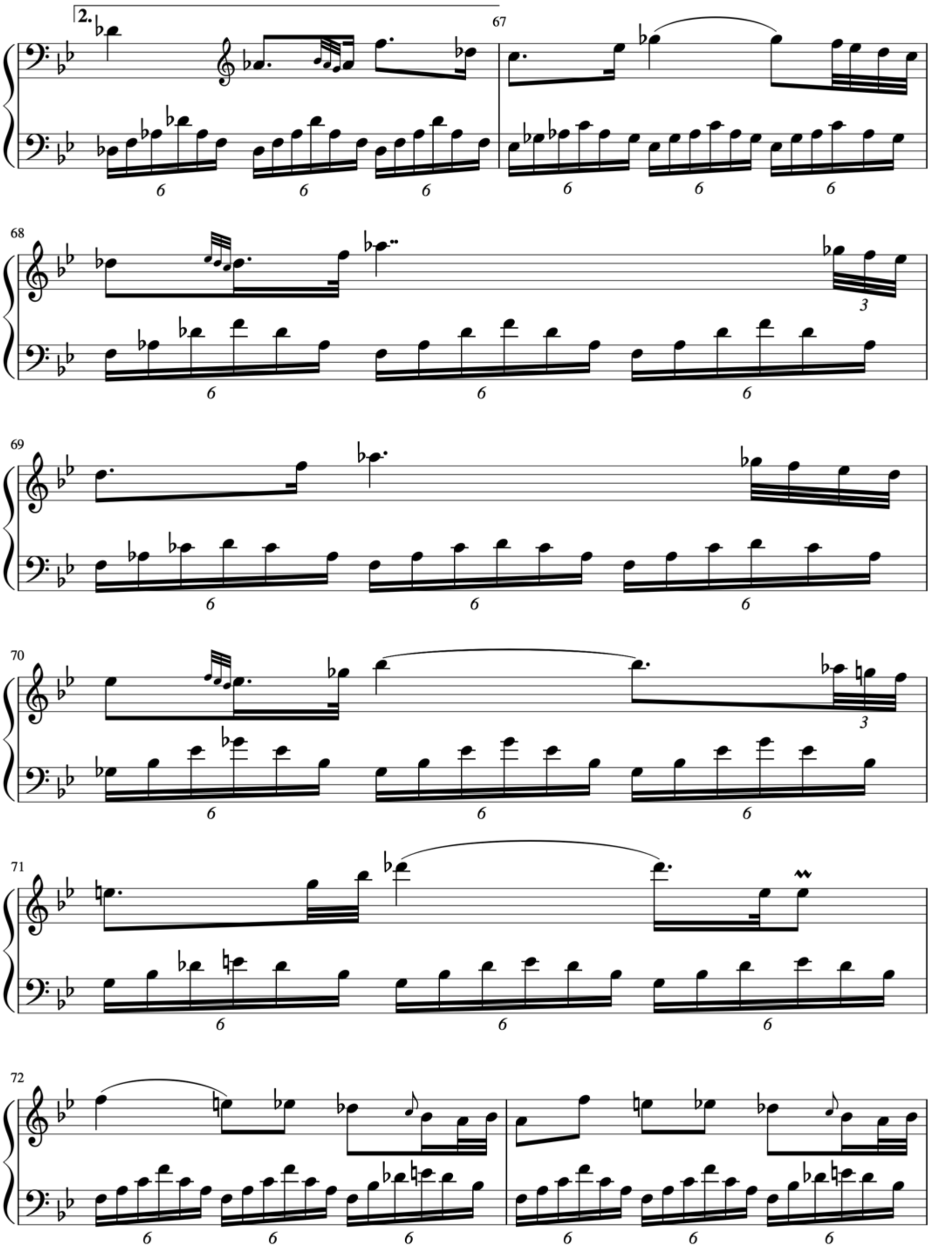
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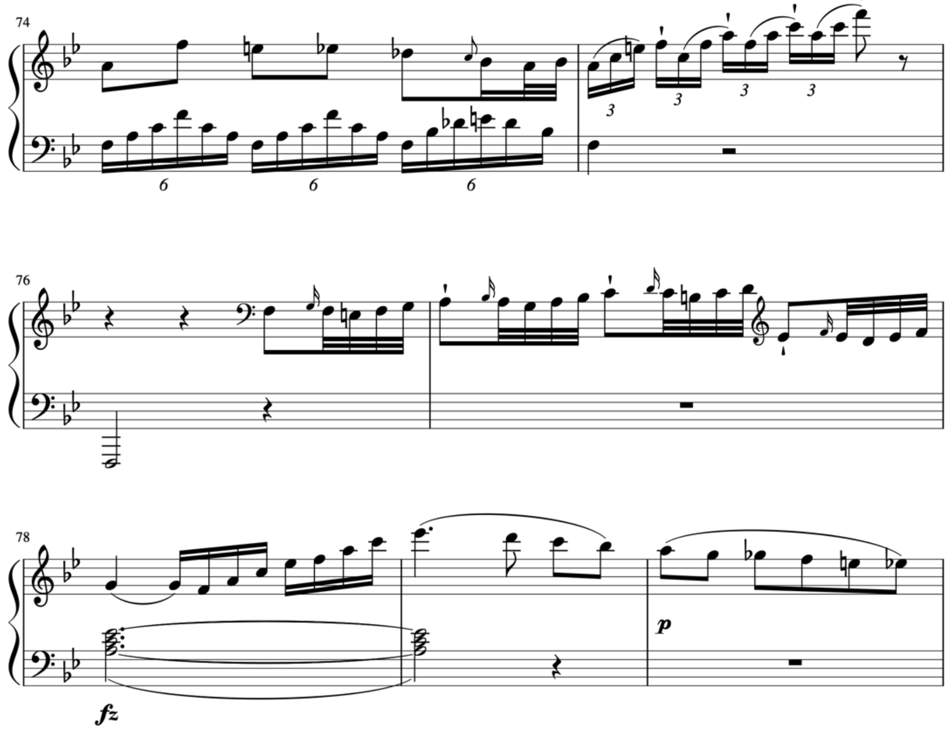

Example 7.1 Haydn, Keyboard Sonata in E-flat major, Hob. XVI: 49, II, mm. 57-80

Temporal and Spatial Distance: Farewell and Hob. XVI 52's *Adagio*

Beethoven's "farewell" Sonata Op. 81a (1809), argues Sisman, summons "the landscape of farewell, of imminent absence." Often known as "Les Adieux," this sonata "invokes both time and space" and "makes vivid an image of loss."[878] Sisman regards the rising dotted gesture that follows the *Le-be-wohl* motive as the "second motive" that may be called the "*Abschied* [farewell]-figure" (Example 7.2).[879] This farewell motive, she writes, has an "emblematic poignant or yearning quality" that can be traced back to two "farewell" pieces which Beethoven might have been familiar with. The first of the two is C.P.E Bach's "affectionately melancholy" Rondo in E Minor, Wq. 66, H. 272 (1781), titled "Abschied von meinem Silbermannischen Claviere." Beethoven, suggests Sisman, might have absorbed the rising dotted-upbeat figures in the Rondo when he asked Breitkopf & Härtel for all the scores of C.P.E Bach in 1809. The second "farewell" piece is Dussek's "farewell" Sonata Op. 44 (1800), where the slow movement uses a similar rising dotted-upbeat figure (Example 7.3). The slow introduction to the first movement in this sonata also features many dotted gestures, but they exist in descending motion.[880]

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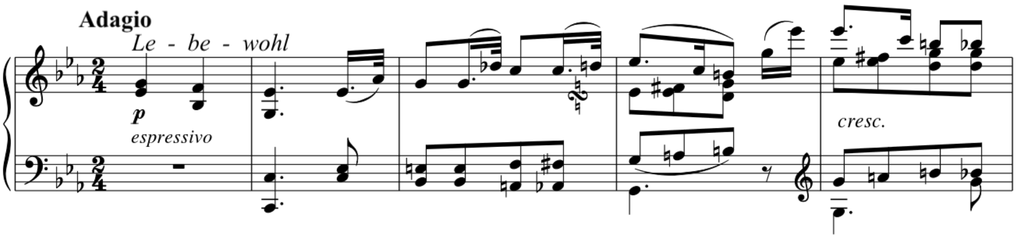
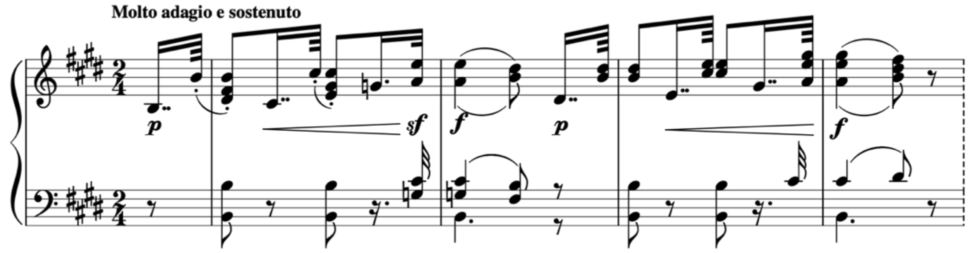
[878] Sisman, "After the Heroic Style," 87.
[879] Ibid., 84.



Example 7.2 Beethoven, Piano Sonata in E-flat major "Les Adieux" Op. 81a, I, mm. 1-5



Example 7.3 Jan Ladislav Dussek, Piano Sonata in E-flat major "Les Adieux" Op. 44, II, mm. 1-4

While one should not rule out the theory that Beethoven's farewell figure might have originated from C.P.E. Bach and Dussek, another dot-connecting proposal perhaps should be welcome": the dotted "farewell" gestures of Beethoven and Dussek might have been derived from the second movement of Haydn's Hob. XVI: 52, an *Adagio* in ABA form, built upon a dotted motif that is repeatedly emphasized, embellished, and expanded (Example 7.4). Quite intriguingly, while Haydn picked E-flat major as the key for this last keyboard sonata of his which was published two years before Dussek's and eleven before Beethoven's, the two "farewell" sonatas by Dussek and Beethoven are also composed in E-flat major. There is no reason to assume Dussek and Beethoven had no knowledge of Hob. XVI: 52. Dussek was a friend of Haydn who enjoyed a successful career in England and Jansen, whom Haydn composed for and dedicated to with this sonata, was also Dussek's dedicatee. Furthermore, when Beethoven requested music from Breitkopf & Härtel in 1809, he asked for "all the scores" of not only C.P.E Bach but also Haydn, Mozart, J. S. Bach.[881]

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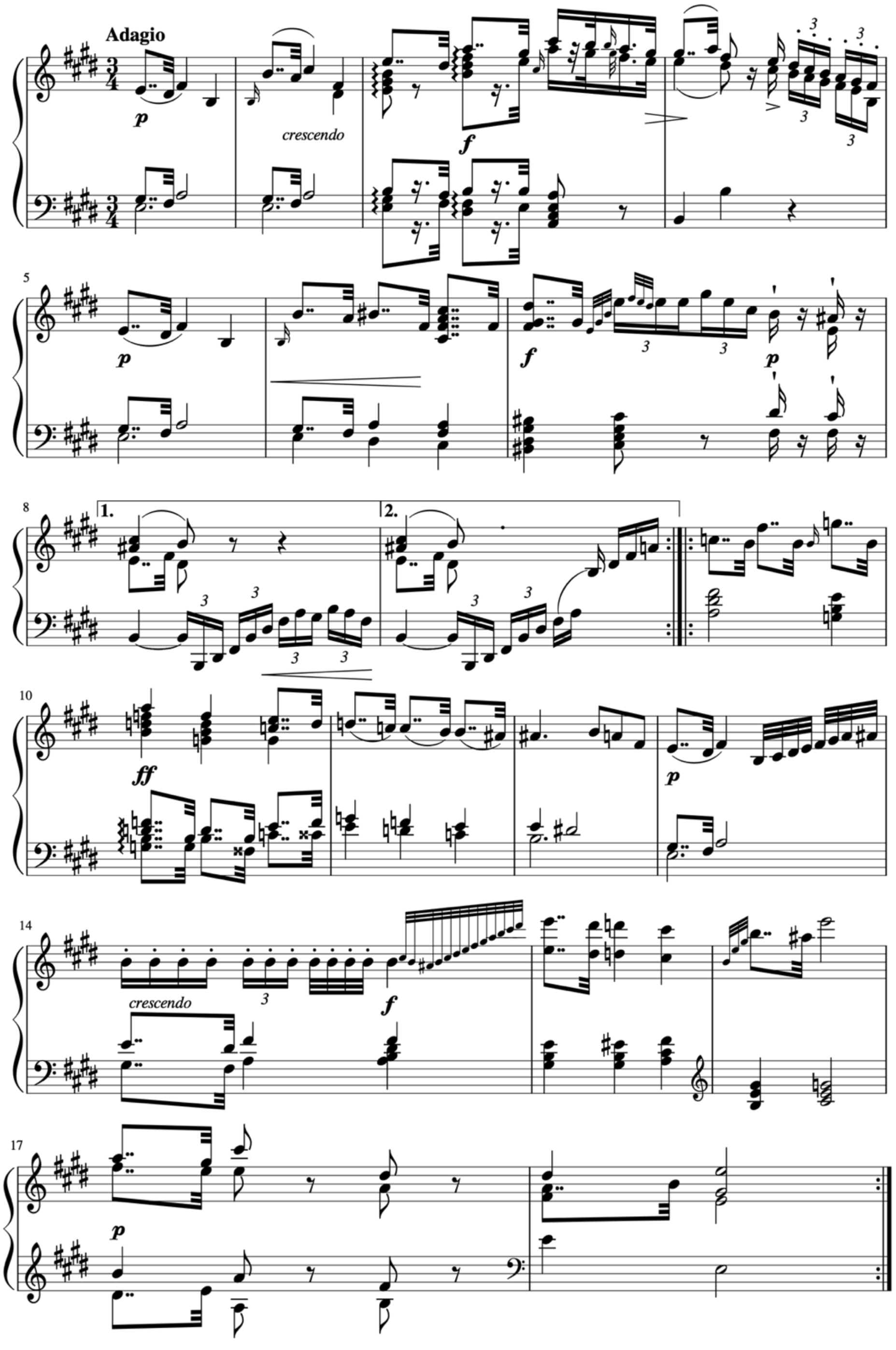
[880] Ibid., 85.

[881] Anderson, *The Letters of Beethoven*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1961; rpt. London: Macmillan, 1985), 235.



Example 7.4 Haydn, Hob. XVI:52, II, mm. 1-18

Beethoven sent his request to Breitkopf & Härtel in the same letter dated July 26, 1809, where he lamented about Vienna being occupied by Napoleon. Beethoven wrote to the publisher: "What a destructive, disorderly life I see and hear around me, nothing but drums, cannons, human misery in every form."[882] Although Op. 81a was published in 1811 with a dedication to Archduke Rudolph, the claim that Beethoven wrote this sonata to commemorate Rudolph's departure, absence, and return has already been noted as a troubling one.[883] As L. Poundie Burstein observes, Beethoven named the second movement “Abwesenheit” shortly after the battles of Aspern-Essling and Wagram in 1809. This naming, argues Burstein, suggests this movement “contemplates not only loved ones who are temporarily absent, but also those whose absence is permanent.”[884] Sisman, too, has long highlighted the significance of Beethoven’s choice to change the title of the sonata from “Der Abschied,” which denotes a “farewell in the sense of departure, leave-taking, an observed phenomenon,” to “Das Lebewohl” which serves as “the actual word of farewell spoken to the departing person, a participatory phenomenon.”[885]

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[882] Ibid., 234.

Burstein notices that the sketches on Landsberg 5 indicate Beethoven did not write the second and third movements of Op. 81a as well as their titles until after October 14, when the Treaty of Schönbrunn was signed.[886] In light of the ongoing battles, one then may postulate that Beethoven might have written the music, especially the second movement “Abwesenheit [Absence],” with the soldiers who had headed off to war in mind, for as Burstein points out, when Beethoven wrote the word "Lebewohl" in his sketches for the first movement in April 1809, “the departure of soldiers for war was on the forefront of the minds of Beethoven and his fellow Austrians.”[887] Yet one must also remember Haydn passed away exactly in 1809 on May 31, immediately after the battles of Aspern-Essling. In other words, Beethoven sent his request to Breitkopf & Härtel and made the designation of "Abwesenheit" less than, respectively, two and five months after Haydn's death. Beethoven, as said, titled "Abwesenheit" after the Treaty of Schönbrunn was signed — and Haydn, before his passing, was only living a mile away from Schönbrunn when it was being shelled. When the Napoleon army bombarded Schönbrunn and fired a cannon shot on the boundary on May 10, Haydn was so startled by the loud thunder that he almost collapsed. The subsequent three shots terrified him even more as he tried to protect the children.[888] To suggest Beethoven wrote "Das Lebewohl" and "Abwesenheit" with a "farewell" sentiment prompted by a remembrance for Haydn would then be a plausible proposal. Moreover, as Sisman has already pointed out, the only other piano sonata Beethoven produced in 1809, No. 24 Op. 78, was written in a key he had otherwise never used, namely F-sharp major – the same key that Haydn used for the departure-ending of his "Farewell" symphony in F-sharp minor.[889] As Webster notes, Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony was the only 18th-century symphony ever composed in the key of F-sharp minor.[890]

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[883] See L. Poundie Burstein, “‘Lebe wohl tönt überall’ and a ‘Reunion after So Much Sorrow’: Beethoven's Op. 81a and the Journeys of 1809,” *The Musical Quarterly* 9/3-4 (2010): 366-413.

[884] Ibid., 395.

[885] Sisman, “After the Heroic Style,” 88.

[886] Burstein, “Beethoven's Op. 81a,” 388-391.

[887] Ibid., 395. However, Burstein also argues, “But then as now, these are hardly the only sentiments evoked by farewells. As would have been fully appreciated by Beethoven and the Viennese in spring 1809, a *Lebewohl* also involves excitement and joy, as well as anxiety and apprehension, and all these reactions indeed seem embodied within the first movement of op. 81a. Especially in the context of what the term signified at the time, the contradictory emotions of enthusiasm, apprehension, confidence, and reluctance witnessed in this movement all are aptly embraced by the concept of *Lebewohl.* As such, the notion that the program of the first movement involves only the sorrowful parting from loved ones is too restricted, for it does not effectively account for many passages within the movement, nor does it fully account for the implications of its subtitle. Also too restricted is the notion that op. 81a’s opening movement takes the viewpoint only of the one who staying at home and waving goodbye to the person who is departing, as is suggested in almost every commentary on the sonata. Might we not also consider the movement in a more active sense, from the standpoint of the person who is actually leaving on the journey? Here, too, the narrow traditional view of this movement's program hampers appreciation of its interaction with the music. The broader concept of what a farewell entails, such as would have been readily appreciated in Vienna during 1809, allows for a fuller and more nuanced approach to the movement's program.” See ibid.

Beethoven's "Abwesenheit," marked *Andante espressivo*, is set in C minor, a key for the serious and the tragic as heard in *Pathétique* or Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor, Op. 37. Rosen even argues that "Beethoven in C minor has come to symbolize his artistic character."[891] The opening dotted measure (Example 7.5) which repeats ten times exemplifies, as Sisman puts it, "the image of absence" within "the context of the dotted *Abschied*-figure."[892] The whole movement incarnates a mortifying, chilling emptiness. The broken diminished seventh in the bass sets a horrifying sense of loneliness into motion. The dotted motif, meanwhile, haunts like a mournful spirit sighing despairingly in a realm of darkness.

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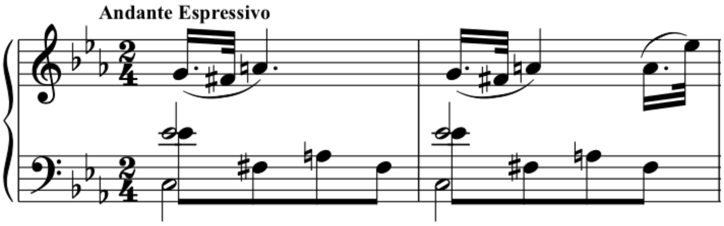
[888] Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 193.

[889] Sisman, "After the Heroic Style," 86.

[890] Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 3.

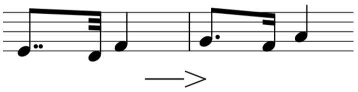
[891] Rosen, *Beethoven's Piano Sonatas: A Short Companion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 134.

[892] Sisman, "After the Heroic Style," 90.



Example 7.5 Beethoven, Op. 81a, II, mm. 1-2

Yet, this dotted motif is also originally that figure which opens and occupies Hob. XVI: 52's *Adagio*. Having removed one dot, Beethoven seems to have transferred Haydn's dotted gesture a minor third higher in a completely different mood:



Beethoven's *Abschied*-figure cannot carry two dots like Haydn's because its lonesome body, tormented by a temporal separation, cannot bear the double dot's sharp, cutting pulse that does not commiserate with grief. Yet the purging of one dot does not mean Beethoven could not have had Haydn's dotted figure in his mind. Dussek's "farewell" rhythm, which Sisman regards as a basis for Beethoven's *Abschied*, is for one still doubled-dotted.

Beethoven was a man who avoided physical farewells. He wrote to Cajetan Giannatasio del Rio about taking his nephew Karl out of the boarding school: "I am not coming in person, because then there would certainly be a kind of farewell; and farewells I have always avoided."[893] For a man who shunned personal farewell, the dotted *Abschied* gesture made a farewell to someone like Haydn possible. Beethoven had always remembered Haydn even before he died. "Look, my dear Hummel, the house where Haydn was born," he told Hummel on his death-bed. "I received today as a gift, and it gives me childlike joy.—A rude peasant's hut, where such a great man was born!"[894] Beethoven might have recalled how he was indebted to Haydn, who had written a sincere letter in 1793 that pled with the Elector Max Franz to alleviate the financial burden of "an artist like Beethoven." Referring Beethoven as his "dear pupil," Haydn urged Franz to give his young student at least a thousand florins as allowance. "A hundred circumstances have proved to me that he is willing to sacrifice everything to his art," Haydn promised Franz.[895] Other accounts have also suggested Beethoven's reverence for Haydn despite their earlier conflicts. In November 1802, for example, Beethoven used Haydn's name to bargain when he asked Nikolaus von Zmeskall to tell Walter that he would pay at most thirty ducats for a pianoforte with "*the tension with one string*" on the condition that the wood is mahogany: "If he [Walter] won't agree to these conditions, then make it quite plain to him that I shall choose one of the others to whom I will give my order and whom I shall take later on to *Haydn* to let the latter see his instrument."[896] Beethoven also once told Prince Nikolaus II that he submitted his Mass in C (1807) "with much fear" because he knew the prince was "accustomed to hear the inimitable masterpieces of the great Haydn."[897] After Haydn's death, Beethoven praised Griesinger's biography of Haydn and wrote to his friend Emilie: "Do not snatch the laurel wreaths from Handel, Haydn, Mozart; they are entitled to them; as yet I am not."[898]

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[893] Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. 2, 753.

[894] Theodore Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence*, vol. 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 194.

Noticing Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony is "spectacularly devoid of such dotted figures" in comparison to C.P.E. Bach, Dussek, and Beethoven's "farewell" keyboard works, Sisman argues that the difference articulates the dissimilarity between "symphonic style and sonata style."[899] Since Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony was composed in 1772, however, one may also suggest that the musical vocabularies for the sentiment of farewell were changing as the century progressed and somehow, the dotted figure, when befittingly handled, became an agent of the sentiment of farewell that invokes temporal distance. If Dussek and Beethoven should indeed be hailed, with their "farewell" sonatas in E-flat major, as the two composers who turned the dotted figure into an emblem of "farewell," then Haydn ought to — even if C.P.E. Bach is to be considered the one who sowed the seeds with his Rondo — be regarded as one who reinforced such dotted correlation in the mid-1790s.

The changing tone of farewell is also reflected in terms of tonality. Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony was composed in F-sharp minor and C.P.E Bach's melancholic Rondo for the clavichord, written nine years later, was likewise written in minor. Yet, even if Haydn did derive his dotted motif from C.P.E Bach's Rondo, he chose not to follow his footstep to set it in E minor. On the contrary, he selected the key of E major even though the outer movements of Hob. XVI: 52 are set in E-flat major. Haydn's adoption of E major for Hob. XVI: 52's *Adagio* has fascinated many. Bonds, for instance, has suggested that this E major is another example of musical irony, for it brings a "striking juxtaposition" against the E-flat major.[900] In a poetic hearing, however, this drift to a sweet and yet magnificent E major perhaps also signifies a delicate move to a dreamy, distant realm desired by a romantic sensibility. This peculiar shift to the distant realizes what Hoffman's Ludwig writes in *The Poet and the Composer* (1816), published six years after Hoffman eulogized the romantic spirit of Haydn and Beethoven:

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[895] Ibid., 135.

[896] Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven*, vol. 1, 82.

[897] Ibid., 131.

[898] Ibid., 259.

[899] Sisman, "After the Heroic Style," 85.

> Let the poet be prepared for daring flights to the distant realm of romanticism, for it is there that he will find the marvellous things that he should bring into our lives. Then, dazzled by their brilliant colours, we willingly believe ourselves as in a blissful dream to be transported from our meagre everyday existence to the flowery avenues of that romantic land, and to comprehend only its language, words sounding forth in music.[901]

This change to E major is achieved through a small chromatic step. Yet despite its tininess, this step is also a daring one that enters into a place of unfamiliarity. This E major does not share the same nature as the outer movements. It posits itself strangely as one that does not belong to the normative temporal and spatial.

Haydn himself had not labelled his dotted rhythm as a farewell figure. Nevertheless, the transfiguration of the dotted rhythm in his hands emits, first through an elegant contour, a feeling of romantic yearning. Haydn molds the thematic phrase with dotted gestures into a beautiful arch as typified by mm. 1-4. The dotted rhythm rises and rises (mm. 1-2) and ascends even more affectively with rolled chords and rhythmic tightening (m. 3). Then, after attaining the subdominant, it gently shrinks back in thirds to the dominant (mm. 3-4). The staccato triplets that follow (m.4) continue to fall delicately in preparation for the reutterance of the dotted motif in m. 5. Such sculpting characterizes not only the four-bar phrase in mm. 1-4 but also each unit in mm. 5-8, mm. 9-12, and mm. 13-18. Similar rise-and-fall shaping composed of dotted gestures is also found in the themes of Dussek and Beethoven's "Farewell" sonatas. For example, mm. 1-2 and mm. 3-4 in the second movement of Dussek's "Les Adieux," mm. 3-4 in Beethoven's "Das Lebewohl," and mm. 1-4 and mm. 5-8 in Beethoven's "Abwesenheit."

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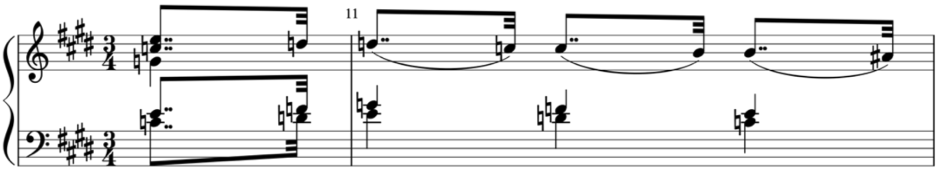
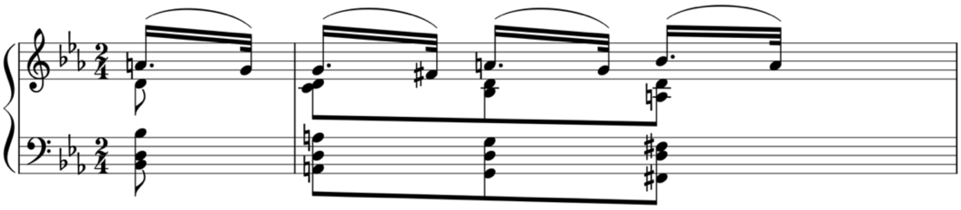
[900] See Bonds, "Origins of Musical Irony," 72.

[901] Hoffman, *Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 196.

Although the sigh gesture signifies sensibility, dotting it may, by putting emphasis on the first beat, convey an even more earnest type of longing. One may perhaps hear Haydn's opening dotted motif as a sigh just like how Sisman perceives the dotted gesture in "Abwesenheit" as a "sighing figure in the treble" that may be prolonged into a "*question*,"[902] but the sequence of four falling doubled dotted sighs in mm. 10-11 (Example 7.6) shows even more how Haydn has exploited the halting attribute of the dotted rhythm to transform it into a more expressive sigh. Placed in descending harmonic progression and repeated later in mm. 42-43 with embellishments, the four consecutive double dotted sighs display a heartfelt sense of urgency and sincerity. An analogous sequence appears twice in mm. 11-12 and mm. 27-28 of Beethoven's "Abwesenheit," thereby again hinting a possibility of Beethoven's absorption of Haydn's dotted figure in *Adagio*. In the case of "Abwesenheit," however, the sighs on the right hand rise instead of fall even though the harmonic progression in the bass descends like Haydn's.



Example 7.6 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, II, mm. 10-11



Example 7.7 Beethoven, Op. 81a, II, mm. 11-12

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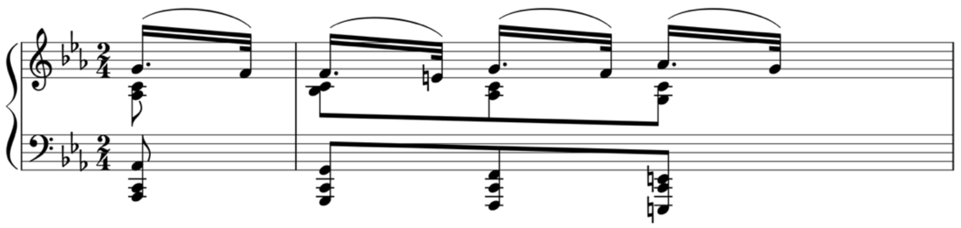
[902] Sisman, "After the Heroic Style," 90.



Example 7.8 Beethoven, Op. 81a, II, mm. 27-28

In addition to the dotted motif, the vast and imaginative harmonic scope in Haydn's *Adagio* also identifies with spatial distance. In the same year when Hob. XVI: 52 was published in London, William Wordsworth, often regarded as the poet who inaugurated the Romantic age in English literature, stated in the preface of *Lyrical Ballads* (1798):

> I have said before that poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin in emotion recollected in tranquility: the emotion is contemplated till, by a species of reaction, the tranquility gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind.[903]

Haydn's opening dotted motif can perhaps be musically likened to a symbol of this tranquility. It emanates a simplistic serenity that comes seemingly from a recollection of the past. Yet it also induces a "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" that, as Wordsworth argues, originates from the first tranquility. The dotted motif continues to be transmuted through striking harmonic changes. Consider, for example, the dauntless migration to the magnificent C major, a distant key to E major as a ♭VI, as well as the V^9 in *fortissimo* in m. 10.

The motif appears again in E major in m. 13. In an improvisatory manner, a dominant scale in thirty-second notes rises into a set of dominant pedal points in m. 14 where the left hand picks up the dotted motif. The repeated dominants spur a spirit of anticipation by engendering a swelling effect with crescendo and rhythmic subdivision that entails sixteenth notes, sixteenth-triplets, and thirty-second notes. The last repeated dominant eventually evolves into another brilliant scale that gushes, like the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" that Wordsworth speaks of, into a glorious doubled dotted tonic octave in *fortissimo* in m. 15. This double dotted tonic octave radiates confidence for the future, yet as triumphant as it sounds, it is drawn to mulling over the past again in sentimentality by descending chromatically, though still in octaves, from E through D sharp and D natural to C sharp. The motivic dotted rhythm continues to appear in every measure in mm. 16-18. The arpeggiated dotted figure in m. 16 makes a poignant tritone leap from an A sharp to an E that lasts two full beats, but the dotted motif in thirds in m. 17 falls back gently into *piano*, aiming delicately at a C sharp and a lower D sharp in eighth notes, both separated by an eighth rest. In m. 18, the double dotted rhythm is concealed in the middle voice as an inverted appoggiatura in the upper line closes the A section.

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[903] Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads* [1798], ed. R.L. Brett and A.R. Jones (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 307.

The B section, which begins in m. 19, shows a completely different temper in the parallel key, E minor (Example 7.9). It restates the tonic dotted motif in *forte* unison, but the F sharp, no longer a quarter but a single-dotted sixteenth instead, forcefully introduces more sixteenth single dotted figures that follow in close succession. As they climb and conquer the doubled C in m. 20, a resplendent D dominant seventh scale run in *sforzando*, another gesture that reveals a vehement flow of feeling, follows and sets the music temporarily in G major. Yet the scale stops in an unfinished manner at an E followed by a pause. Short fragmentary *piano* triplets with punctuating rests then appear, falling delicately in irregular order with accompanimental thirds in staccato. These bitty fragments nevertheless melt, in m. 22, into two pairs of smooth chromatic dotted figures that rise to the dominant in m. 23. In mm. 23-24, as the harmonies change from $I^{6/4}$ to V^7 to I, both hands alternate in gliding through velvety chromatic scales: first the right hand, then both hands together, finally the right hand. Like m. 14, m. 25 restates the thematic motif in the left hand while the right hand steadily repeats the dominant, yet this time, the repeated dominants (D) maintain a static rhythmic movement despite growing in crescendo. They travel towards a double dotted D-sharp in m. 26 that augments musical tension with its unstable dissonance. After re-tonicizing E minor, the right hand continues in single dotted rhythms that involve sharp, biting sixty-fourths while the middle voice dwells on the dominant pedal point (B this time). In m. 27, the embellished dotted gestures in the right hand mount large, leaping intervals of octaves, sevenths, sixths, and fifths. The agitation produced by such stabbing intervallic and rhythmic movement, accompanied by the repeated submediants in the bottom voice, is not relieved until the arrival of V in m. 28.

The relief, however, lasts only for half a measure. In unison, two descending pairs of ornamented dotted rhythm cast the musical body violently into what is perhaps the darkest and the most dramatic episode Haydn has ever written for the keyboard. The dotted motif in E minor in m. 19 reappears in m. 29 and, plunged into a four-bar hellish realm, the notes sink, again in unison, in huge leaps and chromaticism. The devilish force curses the doubled C in m. 30 down to a doubled D-sharp while the succeeding pairs of dotted sixteenths, in chromaticism, continue to dreadfully descend in intervals of diminished seventh. The doubled A in m. 31 similarly plummets into a doubled C-natural while the subsequent two pairs of dotted sixteenths repeat in intervals of minor seventh. Such a diabolical territory conjures up scenes like those in Goethe's *Faust*, which first appeared as *Faust. Ein Fragment* in 1790 before it was published as "*Part One*" in 1808. There, Mephistopheles proclaims these words:

> A curse upon these scurvy dolts!
> My fiends are standing on their heads —
> The fat ones turning cartwheel after cartwheel,
> Before they plunge breech-first down into hell. —
> I hope your bath will be as hot as you deserve![904]

Even more apposite are perhaps these words from the lyrical intermezzo from the play *Walpurgis Night's Dream; or, Oberon's and Titania's Golden Wedding* that Faust and Mephistopheles attended together. Weathervane sings:

> And if the ground beneath them fails
> to open up and swallow them,
> then I will take a running leap
> and go on down to hell myself.[905]

Descending dotted rhythms may often participate in contexts related to the underworld. McClelland even argues "dotted rhythms can act as a simple alternative to tremolandi as an expression of fear." As he points out, the slow dotted rhythms in the m. 10 in the A-minor introduction to Act III Scene 3 of Gluck's *Alceste* (1776) "convey Alceste's sense of trepidation as she approaches the gates of Hell." [906] Meanwhile, Haydn uses the device in mm. 36-37, though in major, in the aria *Aria di Beatrice* (1789), in which the character Beatrice meets the ghost of her father.[907] Regardless, doubled, dotted, dissonant with leaps and chromaticism — Haydn's Mephistophelian descent terrifies. Yet, in the end, Haydn's underworld scene remains but a dream, albeit a horrifying one. A romantic redemption becomes available when the rising dominant seventh arpeggios in m. 32 come to rescue. They carry the subject to three delicately detached sixteenths of which the last, a D-sharp, leaves an unresolved sentiment that is prolonged by the subsequent rest.

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[904] Goethe, *Faust I & II* [1808/1832], from *Goethe's Collected Works*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Stuart Atkins (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 296.
[905] Ibid., 110.
[906] McClelland, *Ombra*, 105-106.

As the unsettled feeling slowly dissipates, A returns in variations with embellishment where the improvisatory rhetoric furnishes the dotted rhythm. The four-bar phrase in mm. 5-8, for example, comes back in mm. 37-40, but the dotted rhythm in mm. 5-6 has now dissolved into sweet chromatic triplets. The rising-and-falling quasi-rhapsodic arpeggiated gestures in mm. 39-40, which appear later also in m. 48, have also replaced the sixteenth triplets in mm. 7-8 (Example 7.10). In the coda (mm. 51-54), a warm tonic pedal point in the bass which calls for hand-crossing hints the closing of the *Adagio*. The last repeated tonic elongates into a half note marked *tenuto* above a full $V^{4/3}$. Through yet another distance-evoking hand-crossing, a fleeting fragment with an embellished triplet in the high register floats through like a delicate thread of memory coming from afar. The finishing sigh-like appoggiatura lands not on a tonic but a mediant that again engenders a feeling of lingering. A farewell must come, however. In *pp*, both hands gather in the bass, exhaling a final single dotted gesture in perfect authentic cadence. The ending fermata nonetheless divulges a desire to cling to the past (Example 7.11).

The tintinnabulating dotted rhythm of Hob. XVI: 52's *Adagio* evokes a yearning that seems to dismantle the limits of temporal and spatial distance. Through one delicate chromatic move, Haydn transfers the listener from the grand E-flat major to the dreamy E major; in one movement, he tosses one from the originally serene state into a harsh, hellish realm that evokes death. Although this *Adagio* is not named a "farewell" music, Haydn perhaps was well-aware that he was both writing his last slow movement of his last solo keyboard work as well as preparing for his final departure of his second London trip. But in ruminating about the past, Haydn was also looking into the future. The repeated

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[907] McClelland, *Ombra*, 105-107.

G-naturals that commence the finale *Presto*, now back in the home key of E-flat major, mimic joyously a movement of journeying forward while bursting, with its lively rhythmic move, the bubble of the dreamy *Adagio* (Example 7.12). Like the *Adagio* of Hob. XVI: 49, Hob. XVI: 52's *Adagio* is thoroughly romantic. It displays how a romantic sensibility can demonstrate a much more ardent and tempestuous tone despite its tranquil side. As Jean Paul Richter states,

> It is more than a simile to call romanticism the wavelike ringing of a string or bell, in which the tone-wave fades into ever further distances, finally losing itself in us so that, while already silent without, it still resonates within…If poetry is prophecy, then romanticism is being aware of a larger future than there is room for below.[908]

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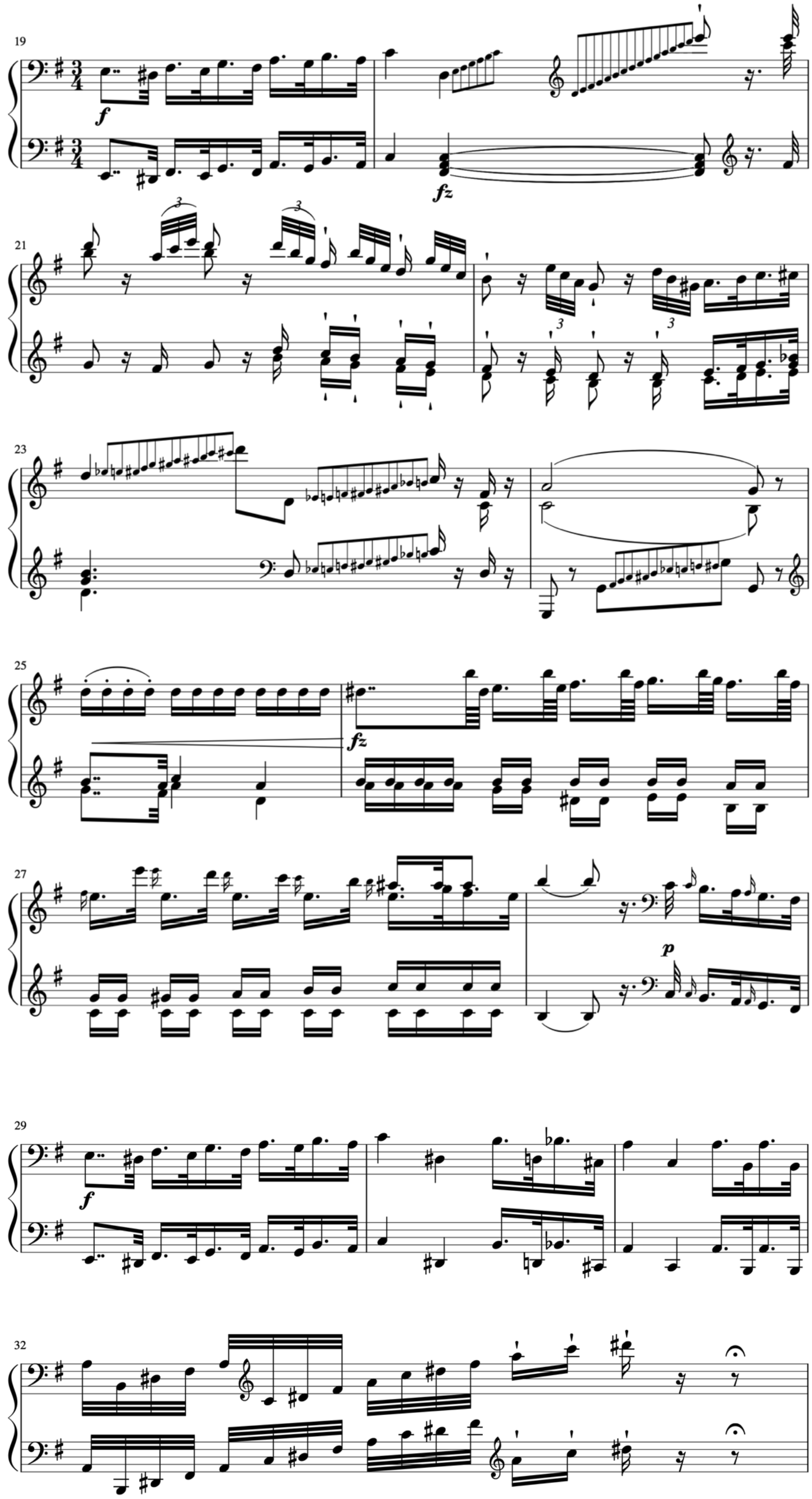
[908] Jean Paul Richter, "From the *Vorschule der Aesthetik*," in *Source Readings in Music History: The Romantic Era*, ed. and trans. Oliver Strunk, 3-9 (London: Faber, 1981), 6.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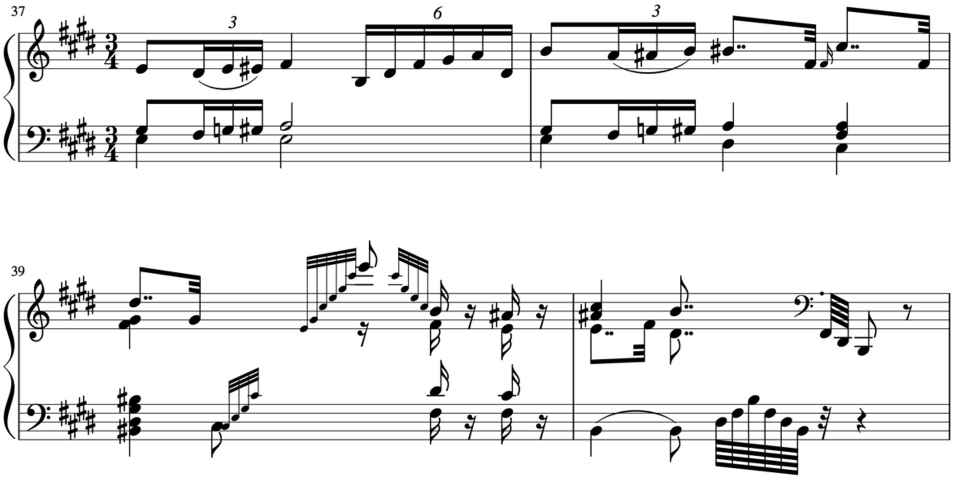
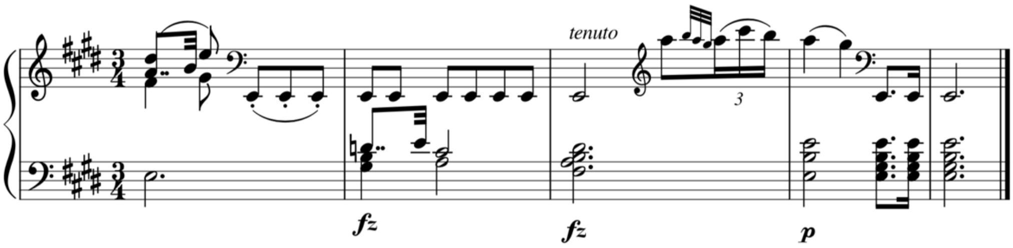
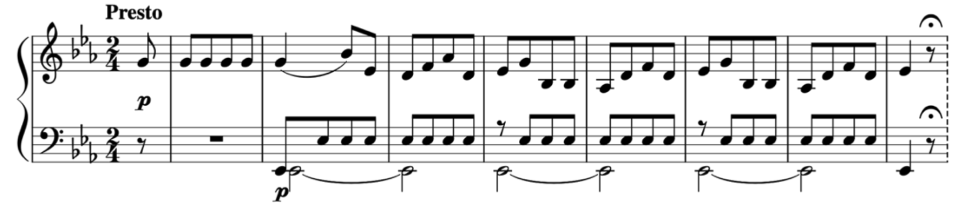
Example 7.9 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, II, mm. 19-32



Example 7.10 Haydn, Hob. XVI: 52, II, mm. 37-40



Example 7.11, Haydn, Hob. XVI:52, II, mm. 50-54



Example 7.12, Haydn, Hob. XVI:52, III, mm. 1-8

Haydn's poetic sensibility was prophetic — and his romanticism was indeed aware of the expansive future that was to come. Born in the year of 1795 when Haydn had just written Hob. XVI: 52, the English Romantic poet John Keats described Haydn's symphonies as his "delight" while exclaiming that "this Haydn is like a child, for there is no knowing what he will do next."[909] Keats's perception of a childlike Haydn echoes with Hoffman's innocent Haydn, but that there is "no knowing what he will do next" does not necessarily prove childlikeness. For what are heard in the *Adagios* of Hob. XVI: 49 and 52 were truly unexpected in his time; they were unexpected even for those who were familiar with an unpredictable Haydn. The ideas of anguish, longing, remembering, and farewell — all part of the late 18th-century sensibility — narrate themselves in these two slow pianistic movements. These tropes may be more easily found in the literary and operatic culture of sensibility, but in yearning across personal, spatial, and temporal distance, Haydn took them to the genre of keyboard sonata and expanded, with sensitivity and subjectivism, also the system of musical tools and techniques. The romantic disposition, as his music shows, had always been eminent in the culture of sensibility; what is often classified as "Romanticism" was never detached but extended from this culture that had always been "romantic." Schumann might have depicted Haydn as a familiar friend who no longer arouses any special interest, but if he had reconsidered these two *Adagios* from a romantic perspective shared by Haydn's late 18th- and early 19th- century contemporaries, he might, too, opine a little differently with his romantic sensibility.

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[909] William Sharp, *The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1892), 67.

CONCLUSION

After Haydn's death, the former secretary of the Esterházys Joseph Carl Rosenbaum and Johann Nepomuk Peter, the governor of the Lower Austria provincial prison, decided to bribe a gravedigger to steal Haydn's head.[910] The two wanted to examine the composer's skull to corroborate the theory of phrenology popularized by Franz Joseph Gall, who believed the skulls of geniuses reveal their great mind. The skull of Haydn, of course, did not disclose anything about what was shrouded inside the mind of the composer. Neither did it reveal much about his sensibility. But what, then, was sensibility — a question asked repeatedly in this dissertation? Skeptical about the conventional and ambiguous stylistic definition of sensibility in musicology, the opening chapter of this dissertation has identified the different 18th-century understanding of this multivalent term: it examines sensibility as moral or spiritual sympathy, physiological or nervous sensitivity, source of good taste, artistic goal, reason's antagonist or partner, and musical perceptivity. It then proposes sensibility may also be approached as Haydn's personality and persona, a musically signified quality, a culture, and a force of the Enlightenment and Romanticism.

The other six chapters continue to probe the relationship between sensibility and Haydn's keyboard sonatas. Together, they have assembled a multi-faceted portrait of Haydn, for each looks respectively at Haydn as a clavier-loving improviser, a spiritual Catholic, a sympathetic composer, a participant of the culture of sensibility, a witty humorist, and a bold romantic. Chapter 2 examines the clavichord's role in Haydn's musical life and focuses on Hob. XVI: 46. By examining the fantasia aesthetic and rhetoric, the toccata topic, and features such as the contrapuntal texture, chromatic appoggiaturas, and the key of D-flat major, it explores a self-forgetful and self-reflexive sensibility that improvises. Chapter 3 recontextualizes the clavichord as a spiritual technology of the self that expresses the relational aesthetic of sensibility despite its monastic origin and emphasis on inwardness. It compares Hob. XVI: 20 with *Stabat Mater* Hob. XXa:1 and *Salve Regina* Hob. XXIIIb:2 in search of a confessional, contemplative, and communal sensibility that intertwines with religious melancholy. By framing Hob. XVI: 20 as a confessional-communal text, it also questions the myth of a sacred-secular divide in 18th-century music. Chapter 4 draws attention to the Auenbrugger sisters' sympathetic musicality and their father's bodily understanding of sensibility. By focusing on Hob. XVI: 35-39, it surveys both the keyboard sonata genre's versatility in communicating heartfelt sentiments and sensibility's reluctance to forget. By doing so, it also unsettles the conventional understanding of what femininity and form are capable of.

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[910] See R., "The Skull of Joseph Haydn," *The Musical Times* 73/1076 (1932): 942-43.

Chapter 5 presents Hob. XVI: 40 and Hob. XVI: 42 as a musical choreography of the ideals of innocence and politeness that reveal a specific side of the 18th-century feminine sensibility, thereby suggesting Haydn's familiarity with sentimental literature is not only revealed in his operatic works but also his keyboard sonatas. It also discusses briefly how Hob. XVI: 41 ensures an aristocratic distinctiveness is heard through the dotted rhythm and how Hob. XVI: 42 interweaves the notions of beauty and variety. Chapter 6 analyzes the first movements of Hob. XVI: 50-52 and explores how their musical humor captures the satirical sensibility that prevailed predominantly in England. This satirical spirit contradicts sensibility's emphasis on sympathy and taste by poking fun at ugliness, yet it also allows those who are able to laugh at disfigurement to lay claim to both wit and aesthetic sensibility simultaneously. Finally, Chapter 7 studies the slow movements of Hob. 49 and 52 and examines a romantic sensibility that is, as a result of undergoing personal, temporal, and spatial separation, characterized by anguish and longing.

This dissertation has no intention to deceive itself by claiming it has found the right or true way to study sensibility and Haydn's keyboard sonatas. "Academic discourse," as Agawu puts it, "is surely not racing toward a single finishing line."[911] Rosen similarly reminds us that the one who professes he owns the only correct method of teaching or analysis ought to be listened with suspicion.[912] However, by refusing to reduce the 18th-century notion of sensibility into specific figures or schemes, this dissertation maintains a more comprehensive understanding of the term is necessary in musicology. At the same time, it shows that the ways to engage with sensibility in Haydn studies are many. Furthermore, it hopes to invite readers and listeners to reconsider sensibility as a quality of ourselves because, if sensibility is indeed a human disposition that renders one musically receptive, then sensibility should begin with us.

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[911] Agawu, "Analyzing Music under the New Musicological Regime," *Journal of Musicology* 15/3 (1997): 307.

[912] Rosen, *Piano Notes*, x.

In "Thoughts on the Cultivation of the Heart and Temper in the Education of Daughters" (1787), More describes sensibility and delicacy as "of more esteem than languages or music," for they are "the language of the heart, and the music of the according passions." Yet, she also regrets that "this sensibility is, in many instances, so far from being cultivated."[913] More's words might be directed to the daughters of her time, but is it possible that we, despite living a few centuries later, may somehow also find ourselves often lacking in sensibility? Furthermore, sensibility opposes disunity and disharmony. Yet, an ongoing discontinuity has existed, as Arnold Whittall observes, between musicologists and performers,

> Performers like to think that they make sense of a structure, no less than they create, or recreate, a coherent flow of feelings. They will nevertheless be wary of ideas and theories which might seem to impinge on interpretation in ways performers believe to be counter-intuitive. Performers are therefore often suspicious of musicology, not so much because it might appear to undervalue music's expressive content, but because its approach to music's forms and processes is too academic: rigid, mechanical, replete with barely repressed anxieties of those inadequate who seek tenured refuge in ivory towers as far as possible from the blood and thunder of the real world.[914]

Perhaps a shared desire to participate in a mutual sensibility as listeners would help soften this discord.

To enter into Haydn's world, the key lies not in dissecting his skull or formulating some mythical listening detached from historical and cultural context. Rather, one has to, with love and knowledge, continue to turn to his music with, as Shelley remarks concerning those who want to experience the pervasive effects in poetry, "the most delicate sensibility and most enlarged imagination."[915] Mozart, according to Franz Xaver Niemetschek, was moved to tears when he listened to Haydn and his brother's music:

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[913] More, *Essays*, 139-140.

[914] Arnold Whittall, "Experience, Thought and Musicology. Music Analysis: Who Needs It? Arnold Whittall Analyses the Analysts," *The Musical Times* 134/1804 (1993): 318-19.

[915] Shelley, *A Defence Of Poetry* [1840] (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1904), 80.

> We can judge what fine sensibility [Mozart] had, and how keen his artistic feeling was, when we hear that he was wont to be moved to tears during the performance of good music particularly when listening to something composed by the two great Haydns.[916]

Haydn had achieved his goal to touch the heart of people like Mozart who, because of his own sensibility that made him susceptive as a listener, wept. We may not possess the same degree of sensibility as Haydn, Mozart, or their contemporaries, but sensibility does not need to stop with them — and this refusal to stop is precisely the essence of sensibility. Experience dies — it dies daily, hourly, or even minutely. Yet sensibility requires a continuous feeling. To sustain this sympathetic flow of sensibility, then, hardened ears must be revived to hear things from both old and new perspectives. He who has an ear, let him hear.

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[916] Landon, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, 510.

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