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HAYDN'S MELANCHOLY VOICE: LOST DIALECTICS IN HIS LATE CHAMBER MUSIC AND ENGLISH SONGS

NANCY NOVEMBER

ABSTRACT

From the nineteenth century onwards the stereotype of Haydn as cheerful and jesting has dominated the reception of his music. This study contributes to the recent scholarship that broadens this view, with a new approach: I set works by Haydn in the context of eighteenth-century ideas about melancholy, those of Edmund Burke, Francisco Goya, Henry Home (Lord Kames), Immanuel Kant and Johann Georg Zimmermann. Their conceptions of melancholy were dialectical, involving the interplay of such elements as pleasure and pain, freedom and fettering, and self-reflection and absorption. I consider the relevance of these dialectics to Haydn's English songs, his dramatic cantata Arianna a Naxos *and two late chamber works. Musical melancholy arises, I argue, when the protagonist of a work – be it the vocal character in a song or the 'composer's voice' in an instrumental work – exhibits an ironic distance from his or her own pain. The musical dialectics in these works prompt listeners, for their part, to take a step back to contemplate the borders and limits of emotional experience and communication.*

Haydn has not been known for melancholy: quite the reverse. In the early nineteenth century the writer Stendhal neatly formulated a stereotype of Haydn that was to prevail well into the twentieth century. In *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart* Stendhal drew his reader's attention to the composer's apparent lack of melancholy sensibility, which he related to Haydn's supposed failure as composer of vocal and dramatic music:

> You, who are fond of seeking in the mental constitution of artists the causes of the qualities observable in their works, will perhaps agree with me in the idea I have formed of Haydn. It will not be disputed that he had a vast and vigorous imagination, endowed, in a supreme degree, with a creative power; but, perhaps, he did not possess an equal share of sensibility: and yet, unless an author have the misfortune to be afflicted with this, he cannot describe love, he cannot write vocal or dramatic music. That natural hilarity and joyfulness of character . . . never allowed a certain tender sentiment of melancholy to approach this tranquil and happy spirit. Now, in order to compose, as well as to hear, dramatic music, a man should be able to say with Jessica,
>
> 'I'm never merry when I hear sweet music'.
>
> MERCHANT OF VENICE, act 5. scene 1.[1]

This article is based on a paper entitled 'The Jester's Melancholy?: Uncollapsing Dialectics in Haydn Reception', which was read at the conference 'Melancholy and Music', Princeton University, October 2002; and on my 'Melancholy Mazes and Sentimental Song: A Lost Context for Haydn's Late Quartets', chapter 5 in 'Haydn's Vocality and the Ideals of "True" String Quartets' (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2003). A version of this essay was read at the AMS meeting, Washington D. C., October 2005. I am grateful to Bruce Alan Brown, Cliff Eisen, W. Dean Sutcliffe, Janet November, Peter Walls and James Webster for numerous helpful comments, and to Elaine Sisman for her inspiring 'Paradoxical Emblems of Melancholy in the Age of Kant', which was also read at the Princeton conference.

1 Stendhal (Henrie-Marie Beyle), *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart: With Observations on Metastasio and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy*, second edition, with notes by William Gardiner (London: J. Murray, 1818), 148–149.

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To be sure, recent Haydn scholars have done much to complicate and contest this image of the composer and his work, and to address the problematic notion of the composer *in* his work. They have situated Haydn's musical humour within a complex eighteenth-century understanding of the term, which includes but goes beyond the more restricted modern-day usage to embrace various physical, mental and emotional states.[2] Yet the idea that his music might be associated with a melancholy humour, in particular, has not been explored in detail.[3] Indeed, if we take the discourse of influential nineteenth-century critics at face value, we might well dismiss 'Haydn's musical melancholy' as a most unlikely paradox.[4]

For late eighteenth-century listeners and aestheticians, though, any paradox lay not so much in the connection between Haydn and melancholy as in the idea of melancholy itself. Melancholy was understood in dialectical terms as a condition that results from tensions and seeming contradictions. To make matters more complex, by that time it had mushroomed into a most capacious category, so that one can speak of a broadly based discourse of late eighteenth-century melancholy, discoverable in diverse sources. The authors and artists involved frequently engaged in 'dialogues' with works on melancholy of the recent and more distant past, yet the ideas put forth in their works do not coalesce into a neatly unified conception. It is possible, nonetheless, to consider two main strands in the discourse on melancholy around 1800, each of which entails dialectics. One such strand is exemplified in the philosophical writings of the Englishmen Edmund Burke and Henry Home, Lord Kames; the other emerges in work of Germans such as Johann Georg Zimmermann and Immanuel Kant. These strands are to some extent opposing; however, I show that both are relevant to reading the aesthetics of Haydn's music, the English songs, *Arianna a Naxos* (HXXVIb: 2) and the late chamber music in particular.

DIALECTICS OF LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MELANCHOLY

Pleasing Pain and the Melancholy of Beauty

Late eighteenth-century English writers on melancholy built on the dialectics of their late Renaissance forebears: the earlier writers considered music as both a cause of and a cure for melancholy, a complex temperament that yielded both pleasure and pain.[5] Edmund Burke took up these ideas in his formulation of

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2 On the terms 'humour' and 'Laune' in eighteenth-century criticism, and their application to Haydn's music in particular, see Andreas Ballstaedt, '"Humor" und "Witz" in Joseph Haydns Musik', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 55/3 (1998), 198–205; Mark Evan Bonds, 'Haydn, Laurence Sterne, and the Origins of Musical Irony', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44/1 (1991), 57–91, especially 61–62; Scott Burnham, 'Haydn and Humor', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 61–76; Ulrich Tadday, 'Haydns Humor im Diskurs der Aufklärung', in *Martin Geck. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ares Rolf and Ulrich Tadday (Dortmund: Klangfarben, 2001), 201–230; and Gretchen A. Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor* (New York: Schirmer, 1992), especially 25–32.

3 In the case of Luigi Boccherini, Elisabeth LeGuin has recently provided an insightful discussion of his chamber music in connection with eighteenth-century ideas of melancholy; see chapter 5 in *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

4 On the nineteenth-century reception of Haydn and his music see Leon Botstein, 'The Consequences of Presumed Innocence: The Nineteenth-Century Reception of Joseph Haydn', in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–34; this is an expanded version of his 'The Demise of Philosophical Listening: Haydn in the Nineteenth Century', in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 255–285. See also James Garrett, 'Haydn and Posterity: The Long Nineteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, 226–238.

5 On the relationship of music and melancholy in the Renaissance see Linda Phyllis Austern, '"No Pill's Gonna Cure My Ill": Gender, Erotic Melancholy, and Traditions of Musical Healing in the Modern West', in *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Penelope Gouk (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 113–129; and Penelope Gouk, 'Music, Melancholy, and Medical Spirits in Early Modern Thought', in *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts*, 173–194. On the

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the melancholy of beauty in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757). In his comments on 'the Beautiful in SOUNDS' he cites a section of Milton's *L'Allegro* where Lydian songs are ostensibly to be understood as a remedy for melancholy, its 'eating cares' (prolonged fear and dejection were typically cited symptoms) and 'maze'-like manifestations (for example, aimless brooding or intractably deep study):

> – And ever against eating cares,
> Lap me in *soft* Lydian airs;
> In notes with many a *winding* bout
> Of *linked sweetness long drawn* out;
> With wanton heed, and giddy cunning,
> The *melting* voice through *mazes* running;
> *Untwisting* all the chains that tye
> The hidden soul of harmony.[6]

For Burke, as for Milton, musical beauty gives rise to a pleasurable, relaxing corporeal experience: the beautiful voice functions as a kind of tempting thread, leading the listener willy-nilly through a process of winding, melting and untwisting. This experience entails not only pleasure, however, but also subtle pain. Burke drew attention to the dialectic latent in Milton's text by emphasizing the maze metaphor, which stands for convoluted ('enchained') harmony with its 'hidden soul': the experience of beautiful music is akin to seeking for something where the path is difficult and obscure. Underscoring this darker side of musical beauty, Burke went on to cite Jessica from *The Merchant of Venice*: 'I ne'er am merry, when I hear sweet musik'.[7]

Like his Renaissance predecessors, Burke made the connection between beautiful music and melancholy at the corporeal level. The involuntary responses induced by the soft, sweet, legato strains – 'that sinking, that melting, that languor' – were strikingly similar to the lethargic bodily responses that Burke and the medical practitioners of his day associated with melancholy.[8] Indeed, he found that this beautiful music could produce something akin to 'a species of melancholy', while music that was greatly varied with quick transitions would give rise to mirth or 'other sudden and tumultuous passions'.[9] In his comments on 'sympathy' – the process by which one comes to experience feelings in the sphere of the fine arts, as elsewhere – Burke attempted to account for the paradoxical 'pleasing pain' of melancholy in inter-corporeal terms: 'poetry, painting, and other affecting arts', he observed, 'transfuse their passions from one breast to another and are often capable of grafting a delight on wretchedness, misery and death itself'.[10]

Burke's idea of melancholy as induced ('transfused') bodily experience harboured problems: it depended on ideas about emotions that were starting to be challenged as sensualist thinking came under scrutiny in the late eighteenth century. Central to his conception is the positing of an object of beauty which inspires the sympathetic reaction. Burke chose the female form as a prime example: here the (implicitly male) beholder readily finds Hogarth's gently twisting, tapered 'line of beauty' (see detail, Figure 1), which

idea of music as both cause and cure for melancholy around 1800 see Anne Amend, ' "Un bein qu'un autre appelleroit douleur". Melancholie und Musik zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik', in *Musik und Literatur: komparatistische Studien zur Strukturverwandschaft*, second edition, ed. Albert Gier and Gerold W. Gruber (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997), 95–120.

6 John Milton, *L'Allegro*, lines 135–136 and 139–144; quoted in Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), 111–112. The italics are Burke's.

7 Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 112.

8 Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 113. On eighteenth-century medical practitioners' ideas of melancholy see Stanley W. Jackson, 'Melancholia in the Eighteenth Century: Mechanical Explanation and Beyond', chapter 7 in *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).

9 Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 112–113.

10 Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 22.

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Figure 1 William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, plate 1, showing detail, 'line of beauty' (London: J. Reeves, 1753)

leads one's gaze into 'the deceitful maze, through which the unsteady eye slides giddily, without knowing where to fix, or whither it is carried'.[11] Elsewhere in the *Enquiry* he maintained that distress in the object under contemplation only heightens the receiver's instinctive sympathetic reaction, one's natural propensity to enter into the feelings represented.[12] Yet if the perception of beauty, and hence one's experience of melancholy, entails a certain deception and manipulation of the receiver, as Burke implies in his locution 'deceitful maze' (compare also Milton's 'wanton' and 'cunning'), how will we judge whether the passions or 'sympathetic' feelings into which we enter are authentically invoked? Burke did not, and indeed could not, adequately address such questions within his system, which precluded such a self-reflective, critical, stance.

11 Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 100.

12 Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 23–25.

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Rather, women's bodies, which he holds responsible for the (male) recipient's failure to localize the gaze, tend to bear the brunt of his aesthetic dilemma.

While Burke's comments on melancholy largely concern its reception, his contemporary Henry Home, Lord Kames, offered some crucial observations on the representation or characterization of the melancholic. Writing in his influential *Elements of Criticism* (1761), this theorist drew once again on late Renaissance ideas.[13] In particular, he referred to the 'poetic' melancholy developed in that age, a consciously cultivated species of humour that creates and promotes heightened self-awareness. For Kames, Shakespeare's Desdemona epitomizes the paradoxical figure of the melancholic: her refined sensibility allows her to feel the sorrow of her situation, and yet she is not too grieved to express this sorrow in song, the self-reflective 'Willow song' telling of the sighs, moans and tears of a woman wronged by her lover. In turn, she is consoled by her own 'melancholy music'. Thus for Kames:

> All the different emotions of love, *viz.* tenderness, concern, anxiety, pain of absence, hope, fear, accord delightfully with music: and accordingly, a person in love, even when unkindly treated, is soothed by music; for the tenderness of love still prevailing, accords with a melancholy strain. This is finely exemplified by Shakespeare in the fourth act of *Othello*, where Desdemona calls for a song expressive of her distress. Wonderful is the delicacy of that writer's taste, which fails him not even in the most refined emotions of human nature. Melancholy music is suited to slight grief, which requires or admits consolation: but deep grief, which refuses all consolation, rejects for that reason even melancholy music.[14]

A hallmark of melancholy characters, then, is their ability to step back from their own pain with a subtle kind of ironic distance. It is this self-reflective aspect of melancholy that caught the imagination of later eighteenth-century theorists such as Johann Georg Zimmermann and Immanuel Kant, artists such as Francisco Goya and composers such as Haydn.

Self-Reflection and Sublime Melancholy

We can look to German theorists for the most far-reaching developments in the idea of melancholy in the later eighteenth century. These writers both drew on and departed from their English predecessors. Zimmermann moved towards a new critical understanding of melancholy in his pivotal four-part work on the subject of solitude, *Ueber die Einsamkeit* (1784–1785).[15] In Book Four he described a productive kind of melancholy, one which is experienced above all by the solitary wanderer. He recalled his own solitary revels in an English garden, observing that the beautiful unification of art and nature effected 'an innocent fantasy in the heart' (einer keuschen Phantasie in das Herz).[16] Such solitude 'transforms . . . deep sorrow into sweet melancholy' (verwandelt . . . tiefe Schwermuth in süsse Melankolie).[17] While this idea of melancholy bears some resemblances to the Burkean sensualist conception, Zimmermann develops a cognitive dimension

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13 One index of the widespread significance of Kames's work is that it was quickly translated into German by Johann Nicolaus Meinhard, as *Grundsätze der Critik*, 3 volumes (Leipzig: Dyck, 1763).

14 Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, second edition (London: A. Millar; Edinburgh: Kincaid and Bell, 1763), volume 1, 176–177.

15 For a fuller discussion of Zimmermann's ideas about melancholy see Hans-Jürgen Schings, *Melancholie und Aufklärung: Melancholiker und ihre Kritiker in Erfahrungsseelenkunde und Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977), 217–225. The relationship between solitude and melancholy in Zimmermann's writings is discussed in Wolf Lepenies, *Melancholy and Society*, trans. Jeremy Gaines and Doris Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 62–66.

16 Zimmermann, *Über die Einsamkeit*, ninth edition, volume 4 (Karlsruhe: Christian Gottlieb Schmieder, 1790), 6. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

17 Zimmermann, *Über die Einsamkeit*, volume 4, 191.

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that is not found in Burke, and is only glimpsed in Kames.[18] How can melancholy effect personal and hence social transformation? The key, he finds, lies in its prompting of the subject to self-reflection: 'melancholy is the school of humility, and self-disdain is the first step towards self-knowledge'.[19]

It is this critical, self-reflective, melancholy that Kant developed and espoused. Kant was explicit in his criticism of the Burkean brand of melancholy, denouncing its potential fabrication and associated *ennui*.[20] In his *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* he loosened the conception of melancholy from a particular object, firmly relocating it within the subject or self. He worked out an idea of melancholy that took account not only of the sensual but also the intellectual aspect of the temperament, which Burke had shunned, Kames had tended to ignore and Zimmermann had only begun to acknowledge. Here he updated the doctrine of the four temperaments (which dates back to 5 BC) – the sanguine, the melancholic, the choleric and the phlegmatic – in light of his new understanding of psychology. Classing melancholy and sanguinity as temperaments of feeling, Kant observed that such dispositions are primarily to be determined by the strength and longevity of sense impressions in the experiencing subject. He emphasized the melancholic's tendency to brooding or deep thought based on these impressions:

> [In dem melancholischen Temperament] die Empfindung weniger auffallend ist, aber sich tief einwurzelt. Hierin muß man diesen Unterschied de. [*sic*] Temperamente des Gefühls und nicht in den Hang zur Fröhlichkeit oder Traurigkeit setzen. . . . der Tiefsinn . . . der über einer Empfindung brütet, benimmt dem Frohsinn seine leichte Veränderlichkeit, ohne darum eben Traurigkeit zu bewirken.
>
> [In the melancholy temperament] sense impressions are less striking [than those associated with the sanguine temperament], but they get themselves rooted deeply. It is in this, and not the tendency to gaiety or sadness, that we must locate the distinction between these temperaments of feeling. . . . while the pensiveness that broods on a sense impression takes away from gaiety its mercurial quality, it does not exactly produce sadness by doing this.[21]

The brooding that Kant associates with melancholy is not, in the first instance, a problematic, pathological state. His 'man of melancholy inclination' engages in a useful self-criticism, so that ultimately he is able to stand back from his own weakness, exercising a quasi-heroic self-triumph: melancholy is 'a gentle and noble feeling so far as it is grounded upon the awe that a hard-pressed soul feels when, full of some great purpose, he sees the danger he will have to overcome, and has before his eyes the difficult but great victory of self-conquest'.[22] These experiences of awe and overcoming are also common to Kant's idea of the sublime. Indeed, Kant's ideal melancholy person has 'above all a feeling for the sublime'.[23] With this connection established, he could go further than Zimmermann in characterising the melancholy self-critic. The 'sublime' melancholy person is not merely self-critical: the strength and breadth of his reflections enable him to step back from false beauty in particular, and from all restrictive, deceptive social constructs, including the façades of courtly behaviour:

18 Strictly speaking, this cognitive dimension is a redevelopment: back in the time of Shakespeare, and before, 'thought' was a metonym for melancholy.

19 'Melancholy ist die Schule der Demuth, und Selbstverachtung die erste Stufe zur Selbstkenntniss'. Zimmermann, *Ueber die Einsamkeit*, volume 3, 173.

20 On Kant's critique of sentimentalized melancholy see Lepenies, *Melancholy and Society*, 77–78.

21 Kant, *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (Königsberg: F. Nicolovius, 1798), 259; trans. Mary J. Gregor, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974), 153.

22 'einer sanften und edlen Empfindung in so ferne sie sich auf dasjenige Grausen gründet, das eine eingeschrenkte Seele fühlt, wenn sie, von einem großen Vorsatze voll, die Gefahren sieht die sie zu überstehen hat, und den schweren aber großen Sieg der Selbstüberwindung vor Augen hat.' Kant, *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (Königsberg: J. J. Kanter, 1764), 28; English translation by John T. Goldthwait, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1960), 63.

23 'Er hat vorzüglich ein *Gefühl vor das Erhabene*'. Kant, *Beobachtungen*, 30; trans. Goldthwait, *Observations*, 64.

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> Alle Rührungen des Erhabenen mehr Bezauberndes an sich, als die gaukelnde Reize des Schönen. . . . Wahrhaftigkeit ist erhaben und er hasset Lügen oder Verstellung. . . . Alle Ketten, von denen vergoldeten an, die man am Hofe trägt, bis zu dem schweren Eisen des Galeerenschlaven, sind ihm abscheulich.
>
> All emotions of the sublime have more fascination for [the melancholic] than the enticing charms of the beautiful. . . . Truthfulness is sublime, and he hates lies or dissimulation. . . . All chains, from the gilded ones that one wears at court to the heavy irons of galley slaves, are abominable to him.[24]

From the same time as Kant's *Anthropologie* we find artwork by Goya that nicely summarizes this critical mode, encapsulating the multi-layered reflection that is crucial to Kantian melancholy. In Goya's *A Melancholy Woman* (Figure 2) the subject can be referred to human nature only negatively: she reflects inhuman images of melancholy, the serpent and scythe.[25] Notice how the serpent takes on the dress and look of the woman and the twisting, tapered Hogarthian 'line of beauty' (see detail from Figure 1). The fettered, winged hourglass in the mirror's image, like the scythe, suggests that the passing of time is essential to this idea of melancholy: the woman contemplates, perhaps fixates, on her own charms and their inevitable fading.[26] The 'omniscient' beholder, meanwhile, privy to the difference between reflection and reflected, is invited to step back in ironic critique of beauty itself, its potentially fabricated and ephemeral nature.

The attributes of Kant's ideal melancholy person – the critical reflection, sustained deliberation and resulting heightened self-awareness – were those that he and his English and German forebears associated with the genius at work.[27] For Kant, self-reflection was the crucial step in the genius's fashioning of art that was original and 'free', a work that was produced as if by nature; if following textbook rules, on the other hand, would result in craft (*Handwerk*), and the artistic genius would not be constrained by such rules.[28] However, the borderline between genius on the one hand and illness on the other is fine in this discourse about melancholy, as it had been back in Aristotelian theory.[29] Kant had to acknowledge the possibility of an unproductive, even destructive kind of brooding, a state of dejection and perverse creativity that occurs when the capacity for reasoning is weak:

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24 Kant, *Beobachtungen*, 30 and 33; trans. Goldthwait, *Observations*, 64 and 66.

25 This image is discussed in Folke Nordström, *Goya, Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the Art of Goya* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1962), 80–85. Nordström notes that the serpent and scythe connect the image to representations of Saturn, the god long associated with melancholy. For a general discussion of the relationship of music and melancholy in art from medieval times until the nineteenth century see Günter Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik: Ikonographische Studien* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960).

26 On the scythe as an emblem of time and death see in particular Edward Young, *The Complaint: Or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (London: R. Dodsley, 1742), lines 191–192: 'Each *Moment* had its Sickle, emulous/Of *Time*'s enormous Scythe'. On the melancholic as one suffering 'the contradiction between time and infinity' see Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London: Nelson, 1964), 234–235. References to the passing of time and death recur in the discourse on melancholy, both visual and non-visual. In images of melancholy, for example, one frequently finds skulls, cobwebs and hourglasses.

27 On the developments of the idea of genius in this period see Ken Frieden, 'The Eighteenth-Century Introjection of Genius', in *Poets of Sensibility and the Sublime*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 1986), 55–69.

28 Jacques Derrida provides an excellent discussion of Kant's conception of original genius in his 'Economimesis', reprinted in *The Derrida Reader: Writing Performances*, ed. Julian Wolfreys (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 263–293.

29 The central problem, or paradox, put forth by (pseudo-) Aristotle, begins: 'Why is it that all men who are outstanding in philosophy, poetry or the arts are clearly melancholics, and some of them to such as extent as to be affected by diseases caused by black bile?'. The Aristotelian problem is reproduced in full and discussed in some detail in Klibansky and others, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 15–41.

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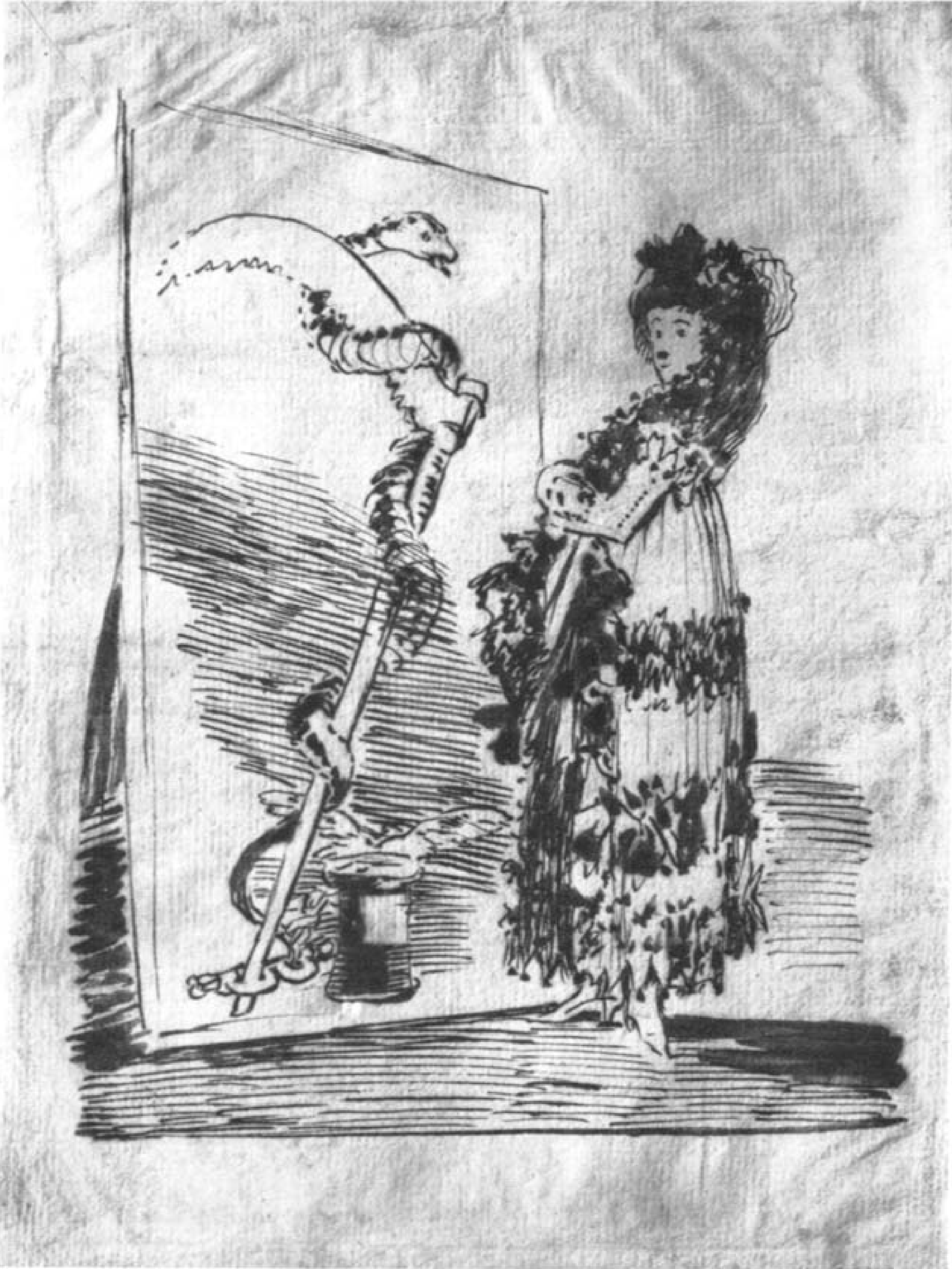

Figure 2 Francisco Goya, *A Melancholy Woman*, pen drawing, *c*1797–1798. Collection of the Museo del Prado, Madrid

In der Ausartung dieses Charakters neiget sich die Ernsthaftigkeit zur Schwermuth, die Andacht zur Schwärmerey, der Freyheitseiser zum Enthusiasmus. . . . Bey der Verkehrtheit seines Gefühls und dem Mangel einer aufgeheiterten Vernunft verfällt er aufs *Abenteuerliche*. Eingebungen,

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Erschinungen, Ansechtungen. Ist der Verstand noch schwächer so geräth er auf *Fratzen*. Bedeutende Träume, Ahndungen und Wunderzeichen. Er ist in Gefar ein *Phantast* oder ein *Grillenfänger* zu werden.

In the deterioration of this character, earnestness inclines towards dejection, devotion towards fanaticism, love of freedom to enthusiasm. . . . By the perversity of his feeling and the lack of an enlightened reason he takes up the adventurous – inspirations, visions, attacks. If the understanding is still weaker, he hits upon the grotesque – meaningful dreams, presentiments, and miraculous portents. He is in danger of becoming a visionary or a crank.[30]

In the *Anthropologie* Kant had linguistically cordoned off this form of melancholy from the 'sublime' melancholy that he described, by using the term 'melancholia'.[31] Indeed, there was at this time an emerging differentiation between melancholy as a character tendency and as a pathological state.[32] Around 1800 a discourse on degenerative melancholia was developing to describe, prescribe and proscribe female sufferers in particular.[33] Commentators observed a classic list of symptoms: subjects wept and sighed, partook of extended periods of silence, became lost in thought and, classically, indulged in incessant fixation on a single subject (a final word of parting, for example). Typically the cause was unknown; frequently the outcome was suicide.[34] This late eighteenth-century extreme of melancholia is echoed in Julia Kristeva's conception of despair, in which the subject loses the ability to form an identity with the symbolic. John Lechte summarizes the concept: 'in its extreme form . . . melancholia tends towards a loss of words, of taste for life – towards despair. Despair is the only meaning life has for those so afflicted. . . . Rather than expressing emotion and affect, the subject *becomes* these: melancholics, in short, act out what needs to be elaborated in signs and symbols formed in response to the loss of the object'.[35]

haydn's melancholy voice

How do these manifold ideas of melancholy relate to Haydn? We can consider this question from two angles, the biographical (section one below, which includes autobiography) and the musical (sections two and three below, on vocal and instrumental music respectively). The biographical and musical evidence contributes not so much to our understanding of Haydn's personality per se, but rather to our knowledge of his musical personas, his music-rhetorical strategies and their reception.

Early Reception and Letters

Writers of the late eighteenth century were not so willing as their nineteenth-century counterparts to consider Haydn's temperament as uniformly sanguine. In 1797 the Swedish diplomat in Vienna, Fredrik

30 Kant, *Beobachtungen*, 33–34; trans. Goldthwait, *Observations*, 66–67.

31 Kant, *Anthropologie*, 260; trans. Gregor, *Anthropology*, 154.

32 This shift is discussed by Jennifer Radden, *The Nature of Melancholy: From Aristotle to Kristeva* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3–51.

33 On the late eighteenth-century gendering of melancholia see Elizabeth A. Dolan, 'British Romantic Melancholia: Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets*, Medical Discourse and the Problem of Sensibility', in *Journal of European Studies: Literature and Ideas from the Renaissance to the Present*, 33/3–4 (2003), 240–243; John Mullan, 'Hypochondria and Hysteria: Sensibility and the Physicians', chapter 5 in *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988); and Radden, *The Nature of Melancholy*, 39–40.

34 For a commentary on and translation of Kant's relevant discussion of 'Illnesses of the Cognitive Faculties' in his *Anthropology* see Radden, *The Nature of Melancholy*, 197–201.

35 John Lechte, 'Art, Love, and Melancholy in the Work of Julia Kristeva', in *Abjection, Melancholia, and Love: The Work of Julia Kristeva*, ed. John Fletcher and Andrew Benjamin (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 34.

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Samuel Silverstolpe, recorded his impression on meeting Haydn: 'I discovered in Haydn so to speak two physiognomies. The one was penetrating and serious, when he talked about the sublime, and only the expression *sublime* was enough to show him visibly moved. In the next moment this disposition of the sublime was driven away as fast as lightning by his usual humour'.[36] Charles Burney, too, eagerly pointed out to his correspondent Thomas Twining that there was indeed a serious side to Haydn, which manifested itself in certain works such as the Stabat mater and 'a certain cantata' (probably *Arianna a Naxos*, which was popular in England).[37] Twining conceded the point, noting that the earnestness in Haydn's music was not confined to vocal works: 'his Quartetts spoil me for almost all other music of the kind. There are in them, too, some very fine, serious Cantabiles'.[38] Early listeners considered his Adagios as particularly earnest and his later music in general as more serious than jovial.[39]

Haydn's own accounts of himself, meanwhile, suggest not only a seriousness of intent and tenderness of sentiment, but also a self-reflective and at times despondent turn to this earnestness. I say 'suggest' since these documents cannot be used straightforwardly to refute the stereotype of Haydn as uniformly 'tranquil and happy', as a composer who was never approached by 'a certain tender sentiment of melancholy' (in Stendhal's words). In any case, my point is not to show that he was a melancholic; rather, I am concerned with Haydn as an author who was well versed in a late eighteenth-century discourse of melancholy and who was developing a melancholy 'voice'.[40] This is a voice, or narrative mode, that expresses pleasure and pain, is reflective but also self-absorbed, and reveals both creative freedom and fettering.

Let us consider this voice in Haydn's intimate letters of the 1790s, from Eszterháza and London, to Marianne von Genzinger and Luigia Polzelli.[41] In this correspondence the composer spoke explicitly of his tendencies to depression. Here he presented himself as one to whom nostalgic sentiments and *Weltschmerz* (world-weariness) were well known, as were the relevant typical 'cures' for these: retreat into letters, friendship circles and especially music.[42] By his account, this period was one in which he suffered from an intense melancholy as he longed for the former delights – beloved friends, fine foods, congenial weather – of

36 'entdeckte ich bei Haydn sozusagen zwei Physiognomien. Die eine war durch-dringend 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 H. C. Robbins Landon's discussion of Silverstolpe's impression of Haydn in *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 3: *Haydn in England 1791–1795* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1976), 21–22.

37 See Thomas Twining's letters to Burney of 4 May 1781, 5 July 1783, 22 October 1783 in L-bl, Add. 39929. Some of Burney's replies to Twining from this time are missing, so that it is not possible to determine exactly which works of Haydn Burney had recommended.

38 Twining, letter to Burney of 22 October 1783, L-bl, Add. 39929. More generally, as Gretchen Wheelock has shown, in late eighteenth-century Britain there was a market for Haydn's instrumental music set to sentimental texts in arrangements for solo voice and keyboard. See 'Marriage à la Mode: Haydn's Instrumental Works "Englished" for Voice and Piano', *Journal of Musicology* 8/3 (1990), 357–397.

39 On the perception of Haydn's Adagios as particularly earnest in tone see the comments of Karl Ludwig Junker, *Zwanzig Componisten: eine Skizze* (Bern: Typographische Gesellschaft, 1776), 64; trans. in Elaine Sisman, 'Haydn, Shakespeare, and the Rules of Originality', in *Haydn and His World*, 23. On the later works as more serious in their humour see Gretchen Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting with Art*, 49.

40 Here I am drawing on the persona theory and extended ideas of voice developed by Edward T. Cone in *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

41 For a discussion of Haydn's letters in relation to his locality see Rebecca Green, 'A Letter from the Wilderness: Revisiting Haydn's Esterházy Environments', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, 17–29.

42 These well known cures for melancholy were to be found, for example, in Robert Burton's widely disseminated and oft-reprinted *The Anatomy of Melancholy, What It Is. With All The Kindes, Causes, Symptomes, Prognosticks, And Severall Cures Of It. In Three Maine Partitions with their severall Sections, Members, and Subsections. Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, Opened And Cut Up. By Democritus Junior* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short, 1621). By 1800 the work was into its ninth edition.

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Vienna (when at Eszterháza) and of his homeland (when in England). In a well known letter to Genzinger from Eszterháza, written on 9 February 1790, he characterized himself as one who was dogged by painful recollections of pleasurable times. Only vocal music – snatches of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*, which he heard in a happy dream – seemed to offer him suitable consolation:

> Nun – da siz ich in meiner Einöde – verlassen – wie ein armer waiß – fast ohne menschlicher Gesellschaft – traurig – voll der Errinerung vergangener Edlen täge – ja leyder vergangen – und wer weis, wan diese angenehme täge wider komen werden? diese schöne gesellschaften? wo ein ganzer Kreiß Ein herz, Eine Seele ist – alle diese schöne Musicalische Abende – welche sich nur dencken, und nicht beschreiben lassen – wo sind alle diese begeisterungen? – – weg sind Sie – und auf lange sind Sie weg. . . . nichts konte mich trösten . . . mein Forte piano, das ich sonst liebte, war unbeständig, ungehorsam, es reitzte mich mehr zum ärgern, als zur beruhigung, ich konte wenig schlafen, sogar die Traume verfolgten mich, dan, da ich an besten die opera le Nozze di Figaro zu hören traumte, wegte mich der Fatale Nordwind auf, und blies mir fast die schlafhauben von Kopf . . .

> Well, here I sit in my wilderness – forsaken – like a poor waif – almost without any human society – sorrowful – full of the memories of past glorious days – yes past, alas – and who knows when these days shall return again? those wonderful parties? where the whole circle is one heart, one soul – all those beautiful musical evenings – which can only be imagined, and not described – where are all those enthusiastic moments? – – all gone – and gone for a long time. . . . nothing could console me . . . my fortepiano, which I usually love, was perverse, disobedient, it irritated rather than calmed me, I could sleep only very little, even my dreams persecuted me, then, just when I was happily dreaming that I was listening to the opera *Le nozze di Figaro*, that horrible north wind woke me and almost blew my nightcap off my head . . .[43]

In a further letter to Genzinger from London of 20 December 1791 Haydn wrote once again of his longing: 'I look forward with child-like pleasure to going home and embracing all of my good friends'.[44] Here again he reflects on feelings and experiences, portraying vividly his physical discomfort: 'eight days ago I was overcome by an attack of English rheumatism, which was so severe that sometimes I had to cry aloud'.[45] The sources of consolation that he described were both physical and emotional: flannel wraps from head to foot and Genzinger's letters. Lovesickness, he claimed, was a key contributor to his disposition, which he described as his 'English humour'; he explicitly identified this humour as melancholy. In an open declaration of his love to the singer Polzelli, in a letter from London of 14 January 1792, he suggested that this melancholy was a product of his removal from her midst:

> io mi trovo di salute passabilmente: ma ho quasi sempre un humore Inglese, cioè melanconico, e sarò forse mai di questo buon humore, che l'avevò, mentre che son stato con te. o cara Polzelli: tu mi stai sempre nel core, mai, mai mi scorderò di te . . .

> I am quite well, but am almost always in an 'English humour', that is, melancholy, and perhaps I shall never again regain the good humour that I used to have when I was with you. Oh! my dear Polzelli: you are always in my heart, and I shall never, never forget you . . .[46]

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43 *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Dénes Bartha (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 228; English translation based on that in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 2: *Haydn at Eszterháza 1766–1790* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978), 737.

44 'ich freue mich kindish nach Hauß (zu gehen,) um meine gute Freunde zu umarmen'. *Briefe*, ed. Bartha, 269. Haydn was also moved by word of Mozart's death at this time, which he mentions in this letter.

45 '(ich) hab . . . vor 8 Tagen einen Englischen Rheomatisme überkomen, der so starck, daß ich bisweilen hell laut schreyen muß'. *Briefe*, ed. Bartha, 269.

46 *Briefe*, ed. Bartha, 272; English translation based on that in Landon, *Haydn in England*, 122.

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The discourse is dialectical: the writer is 'quite well' and yet out of humour; he is in the present and then projected into the past. Sighs and repetitions are frequent, especially in the 'wilderness' letter to Genzinger quoted above. In that letter, these rhetorical gestures are combined with numerous question marks, dashes and ellipses, which convey visually a sense of movement in a stream of consciousness, a sense of the writer's absorption in his own experience. As Michael Fried has argued in connection with eighteenth-century art, such absorption can serve, paradoxically, as a powerful means to invite the recipient's sympathy.[47] Earlier, in a letter to Polzelli of 4 August 1791, the plea for sympathy is more overt. There Haydn spoke like the archetypal melancholic, unable to identify the cause of his feelings: 'I beg you to write to me soon because for quite some time now I have had days of melancholy without knowing why. . .'.[48]

While distancing ourselves from a simplistic biographical reading of these letters, we can nonetheless conjecture as to the 'why' of Haydn's melancholy voice at this time. His situation encapsulated the social conditions that writers such as Wolf Lepenies have identified as melancholy-productive, those that create a sense of nostalgia, and of fettering yet freedom.[49] Significant opportunities for him lay in England, but the new freelance positions were far from intimate friends and home comforts. At Eszterháza, on the other hand, he was secure of employment, ensconced in tradition, yet far from the stimulating Viennese social scene. For Haydn, as for Kant's melancholic, court procedures and protocols could function as 'chains': to Genzinger he confided his pleasure in the freedom of his English visits, his desire for 'release' and, like Kant's melancholic, his strong disinclination 'always to be a slave' (immer Sclav zu seyn).[50]

The English Songs and *Arianna a Naxos*

Haydn's vocal and instrumental works further reveal his understanding and creation of this dialectical voice. In this connection we could consider the melancholy vein of early works such as his Stabat mater and cantabile movements in the string quartets – works praised by Burney and Twining for their serious tone. Or we might focus on more public works: early symphonies such as the 'Lamentatione' (No. 26), 'Trauer' (No. 44), 'Farewell' (No. 45) and 'La Passione' (No.49), or slow movements among the late London Symphonies. These works would provide a fertile hunting-ground for the enactment of musical melancholy. Here, by way of an entrée into the subject, we focus on later works destined primarily for the chamber.

Haydn's collaboration with the English poet Anne Hunter led to his direct involvement with literary sources relating to melancholy.[51] Hunter provided him not only with her own texts, but also, very likely, with the other English texts that he set as canzonettas in the 1790s; these texts incorporate themes of relevance to late eighteenth-century ideas of melancholy, as revealed in song titles such as 'Despair' (HXXVIa: 28), 'Pleasing Pain' (HXXVIa: 29) and 'Sympathy (HXXVIa: 33).[52] As we shall see, Haydn took up

47 On the idea of 'absorption' in eighteenth-century art, the works of Greuze in particular, see Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and the Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1980).

48 'io ti pregho e scrivimi ben presto perchè io ho da molto tempo giorni di melanconia, senze saper perchè. . .'. Bartha, ed., *Briefe*, 259; translation based on Landon, *Haydn in England*, 96.

49 See Lepenies, 'On the Origins of Bourgeois Melancholy: Germany in the Eighteenth Century', chapter 4 in *Melancholy and Society*.

50 *Briefe*, ed. Bartha, 243.

51 Haydn would have had increasing access to other texts on melancholy; among these were Thompson's *Night Thoughts* and Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry*, which were topical works of the time, and which he possessed in his personal library. On the contents of his library see Maria Hörwarthner, 'Joseph Haydn's Library: Attempt at a Literary-Historical Reconstruction', trans. Katherine Talbot in *Haydn and His World*, 395–461.

52 The extent to which Haydn was involved in the selection of texts for his English songs is unknown. A. Peter Brown transmits the idea that Hunter, author of all of the poems in this first set, selected the texts that Haydn set in his second set. See 'Notes on Joseph Haydn's Lieder and Canzonettas', in *For the Love of Music: Festschrift in Honor of Theodore Front on His 90th Birthday*, ed. Darwin F. Scott (Lucca: LIM Antiqua, 2002), 94–95.

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these concepts not simply to represent them but also to bring forth their dialectical tensions as part of his musical-dramatic point. For the analyses that follow the reader will find it helpful to have to hand the scores from *Joseph Haydn Werke* of the three aforementioned songs, and also 'She Never Told Her Love' (HXXVIa: 34).

We start straightforwardly, with the representation of melancholy in this vocal music. 'Despair', with text by Hunter, is typical of Haydn's English songs in that the protagonist first engages in a self-reflective brand of melancholy, then gives way to a more 'degenerative' or pathological state. The confident shaping of song at the outset, the upward gestures and phrase completion, suggest the protagonist's ability to step back from her emotions in self-reflection, as does Shakespeare's Desdemona and Kant's ideal melancholy person – anguish and sorrow are mentioned in verses one and two. The registral emphasis on 'betray'd' and 'ne'er' (e^2) in the first verse hint, though, at the problematic nature of the protagonist's undertaking: the telling of previously untold pain. At the mention on despair itself (bars 14–15), a striking tonal shift, together with textural and dynamic change, mark the shift in experiential mode. The unison chromatic step upwards leads not to a confirmation of C major, but yet more unexpectedly to the flattened submediant's relative minor, A minor.[53] The keyboard now recalls a fragment of the opening motive (bars 1-2) and dwells on this idea (bars 18–21). The voice, no longer given to developing ideas lyrically, is drawn into the keyboard's fragmentary musing. One's sense of the protagonist's psychological limbo is enhanced here through modal ambiguity amidst harmonic stasis; the play of E♯ and E♮, and C♯ and C♮ (bars 18–21) again recalls the keyboard introduction. The protagonist's brooding becomes static or circular, non-productive.

Hunter's text explores the limits of sympathy. Death, as the ultimate outcome of despair, will induce an appropriate sympathetic reaction from the beloved (the tears and sighs mentioned in verses three and four). Yet these signs of sympathy are belated and will go unanswered thanks to the protagonist's ultimate insensibility: in the final verses she enumerates her silence, blindness and deafness in death. Haydn heightens these dialectics. In the keyboard interlude (bars 22–23) there is a brief respite from the preceding troubled discourse, where the rhythmic and registral release of the second part of the introduction is recalled (compare bars 3–5). However, the lyrical flight upwards to the song's highest point (e^3) is answered by a punctuated descent: the voice picks up the keyboard's note at the lower octave and moves downwards to cadence on e^1 in short appoggiatura-laden phrases. As in Kristeva's conception of despair, the protagonist increasingly 'acts out' emotions and affect, using signs and symbols of communication – musical sighs and motivic fragments – rather than developing a more reflective, controlled discourse. The effect is subtle at this slow tempo, and depends on the singer's reading of this affect in Haydn's notation.[54]

One is reminded here and in other Haydn songs of the rhetoric of his letters, which can become fragmentary and sigh-laden.[55] The 'wilderness' letter to Genzinger pairs particularly well with 'Recollection' (HXXVIa: 26). In the song text, there is a similar spinning-out of sentiments through varied repetition, which, combined with rhetorical questioning, use of possessive pronouns, sighs and enjambment, gives the

53 For several other cases of the rhetorical and dramatic use of the unison around 1800 see Janet M. Levy, 'Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35/3 (1982), 507–531.

54 Compare the recording by Elly Ameling and Jorg Demus, *Lieder: Joseph Haydn* (Philips 420 217 2, 1981), with that by Mhairi Lawson and Olga Tverskaya, *Joseph Haydn: English and Scottish Songs* (Opus OPS 30 121, 1994) for a smooth, 'beautiful' reading versus one that is more dramatic. A. Peter Brown also notes the fragmentary vocality in this song; see 'Musical Settings of Anne Hunter's Poetry: From National Song to Canzonetta', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47/1 (1994), 58.

55 For a reading of the rhetoric of Haydn's letters in relation to that of his keyboard sonatas see Tom Beghin, 'A Composer, His Dedicatee, Her Instrument, and I: Thoughts on Performing Haydn's Keyboard Sonatas', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, 214–220.

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reader a sense of the protagonist's passage into self-absorption.[56] Haydn compounds the effects of Hunter's poetry in his setting. In the striking passage shown (Example 1) the melancholic's fixation is expressed by means of repeated musical sigh figures of various kinds (falling melodic figures combined with accented appoggiaturas) and an extended yet registrally varied pedal on the dominant (bars 36–39 and 42–46), as the same phrases of text (recalling past happiness or present woe) are repeated over and over again. The 'prompting' of the voice by the keyboard here, too, suggests the protagonist's brooding on sense impressions. Stendhal's English commentator William Gardiner cited this work as a counterexample to Stendhal's stereotype of a sanguine Haydn, observing that 'a fixed melancholy pervades the piece'.[57]

What of other early listeners' reactions to this music? Elsewhere, in English criticism of the early nineteenth century, Haydn's popular 'Pastoral Song' is described as 'a perfect exhibition of the line of beauty in music'; one listener noted a drooping into 'pleasing languor' (compare Burkean discourse), which he connected to the representation of melancholy.[58] We could take these comments at face value. These works, we would argue, apparently sought to excite feelings of sympathetic pleasure and pain, by evoking beauty and beauty in distress. A Haydn song, we might say, came with all the tensions and gender biases of Burkean melancholy, an occasion for the (male) receiver's covert voyeurism and tacit understanding of the artwork's and perhaps the performer's (feminine) deception. Such a reading represents but one possible mode of contemporary reception, however. Naturally listeners' and performers' responses would have varied, according to such factors as location, gender, social position and so forth. It is perhaps noteworthy that in German reviews of the English songs at this time there is an emphasis on these works' nobility and simplicity.[59] Were these listeners more Kantian in their listening habits (or in their clichés) than their English counterparts?[60]

Indeed, we might understand something clichéd in the English reception, a nod to the sensualist discourse popularized and satirized by Laurence Sterne in particular. The 'sympathy-grabbing' mode of fragmentary, tear- and sigh-laden delivery would have been familiar to listeners from the highly popular sentimental novel (both in England and in German lands) and the repertory of sentimental opera (familiar to Haydn's Viennese and London listeners).[61] As such, it was ripe for critique or parody, as Stefano Castelvecchi has argued in the case of Mozart and Da Ponte's *Le nozze di Figaro*.[62] With Haydn's English songs we can similarly understand a framing of the sentimental, but one whose form is more tragic than comic. The dialectical discourse of voice and keyboard, and the formal multivalence that is characteristic of these songs, can serve to create and intensify a Kantian or critical melancholy: they promote reflective listening and help to establish the listener's critical distance from the protagonist's emotions over the course of the work.[63]

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56 On the idea of performed absorption, with particular reference to arias in late eighteenth-century opera buffa, see Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 88–89, and 'Rousseau, the Countess, and the Female Domain', in *Mozart Studies 2*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 15–22.

57 Stendhal (Henrie-Marie Beyle), *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart*, 150.

58 The relevant quotations are cited in A. Peter Brown, 'Musical Settings of Anne Hunter's Poetry', 58 and 51 respectively.

59 The relevant quotations are cited in Landon, *Haydn in England*, 393, 395 and 397.

60 The subject deserves further research, which would include consideration of the early German translations of texts for Haydn's English songs, and their reception.

61 Haydn himself composed works in this tradition. See Jessica Waldoff, 'Sentiment and Sensibility in *La vera costanza*', in *Haydn Studies*, 70–119.

62 Stefano Castelvecchi, 'Sentimental and Anti-Sentimental in *Le nozze di Figaro*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53/1 (2000), 1–24.

63 William Kumbier discusses what he terms the 'dual rhetoric' of the voice and keyboard in Haydn's songs in 'Haydn's English Canzonettas: Transformations in the Rhetoric of the Musical Sublime', in *The Scope of Words: In Honor of Albert S. Cook*, ed. Peter Baker, Sarah Webster Goodwin and Gary Handwerk (New York: Lang, 1991), 73–87. This approach fits in well with my discussion of these works' dialectics; however, I am also interested in the way these dialectics take the listener beyond the realms of musical rhetoric, beyond 'persuasion' to critical response.

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30

Why can - - - not I ___ the days for - get, ___ which
in fan - - - cy stop ___ their rap - id flight ___ and

fz *p*

34

time can ne'er re - store, can ne'er re - store? O days ___ too
all the past re - place, the past re - place. But ah ___! I

fz

39

fair ___ too bright to Last ___ are you in - deed for ev - er past?
wake ___ to end - less woes, _ and tears the fad - ing vi - sions close.

fz

43

O ___ days too ___ fair, too _ bright to ___
But ___ ah! I ___ wake to ___ end - less _

fz

Example 1 'Recollection', HXXVIa: 26, bars 30–49 (*Joseph Haydn Werke*, series 29, volume 1, *Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Klaviers*, ed. Paul Mies (Munich: Henle, 1960)). Used by permission

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46

last, are you in-deed for ev - er past?
woes, and tears the fad-ing vi - sions close.

Example 1 *continued*

Haydn's setting of 'Sympathy' exemplifies the formal ingenuity that he uses to dramatic ends in this genre. The text (by John Hoole, after Metastasio's *L'Olimpiade*) provides a concise summary of the experience of sympathy:

> In thee I bear so dear a part,
> By love so firm am thine,
> That each affection of thy heart
> By sympathy is mine.
>
> When thou are griev'd I grieve no less,
> My joys by thine are known,
> And ev'ry good thou would'st possess
> Becomes in wish my own.

The song's extensive introduction is typical, both in length and in that it serves to set up the work's central dialectic. A two-part phrase leads to a firm cadence in the dominant in bar 4. The new running semiquaver idea that follows is more wayward and circular than goal-oriented: it plays around $\hat{5}$ in the upper register, and seems to require two cadential phrases in the lower register in order to conclude. When the voice enters, it first mirrors the keyboard's right hand. Thereafter voice and keyboard seem to become increasingly independent: at first the voice 'appropriates' the instrumental idea after a time delay (Example 2, bars 28–34), then the keyboard moves off with the running semiquavers while the text is delivered at a slower pace (bars 34–41). The independence in the latter passage is rhythmic rather than melodic, however, as can be seen from Example 2: the vocal melody is profiled in the keyboard before the two come together completely, rhythmically and melodically, at 'in wish my own' (bar 38).

The subtle ambiguity of voicing here relates to a larger structural ambiguity. The end of the first verse is marked by a significant cadence in the dominant (bar 27), as in the introduction; the running semiquaver idea does not follow immediately, however, and the 'transfusing' and 'catching-up' of affections tends to override the form as determined by the versification. There is a brief modulation to the tonic minor just prior to and overlapping with the mention of grief (bars 28–31), so that the tonal recapitulation which follows actually heralds the second line of verse 2, suggesting the joy that will 'transfuse' into the vocal persona (bars 31–34). Only now do we hear the second part of the keyboard introduction. At the crucial juncture, then, the domains of text, tonality, and thematic material are non-congruent. Voice and keyboard now come together at three perfect cadences (bars 38, 43 and 44); yet each time the keyboard immediately leads off with a new phrase (compare the cleanly punctuated cadences in the dominant in bars 22, 25 and 26). The keyboard also deflects to the submediant at the vocal persona's wistful fermata on $\hat{1}$ at 'becomes' (bar 42). By this avoidance of complete closure, the keyboard seems gently to deny what the vocal persona would wish to confirm: the

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26
mine, is mine,
f *p* *fz*

29
When thou art griev'd, I grieve no less, my joys, my
fz *p* *f*

33
joys by thine are known, and ev' - ry
5 7

36
good thou would'st pos - sess be - comes in wish my own,
8 5 7 8 5 7 8
voice exchange

Example 2 'Sympathy', HXXVIa: 33, bars 26–43 (*Joseph Haydn Werke*, series 29, volume 1, *Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Klaviers*, ed. Paul Mies (Munich: Henle, 1960)). Used by permission

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39
and ev' - - ry good thou

41
would'st pos - sess be - comes, be - comes in ___ wish my own.

Example 2 *continued*

ownership of another's feelings. *Pace* Burke, such music can prompt listeners not merely to sympathize, but also to reflect on sympathy itself.

A similar formal multivalence can be experienced in 'Pleasing Pain', with text again by Hunter. As A. Peter Brown puts it, 'one is never certain if a variation or an episode of a ternary shape is being heard. The music refuses to fall into any predictable process'.[64] In this ostensibly light-hearted allegretto in G major, mode-shifting contributes significantly to foil one's sense of a conventionally unfolding form. In the middle of the first and last verses there are two four-bar digressions to the tonic minor, as the protagonist alludes to the past: 'dear anxious days of pleasing pain' and 'nor sad regrets' (bars 13–16 (in Example 3a) and bars 45–48). The protagonist's melancholy can be understood here not by simply equating the minor key with sadness. Rather, the shift of musical mode, together with the 'prompting' of voice by the keyboard, suggest a Kantian melancholic who is drawn from reflection into absorption, now brooding on sense impressions.

A more controlled, reflective stance is marked not only by the major key, but also by the congruence of vocal line and keyboard and the flighty semiquaver idea. The latter portrays the subject's awareness of the passing of time – the experience of a 'throbbing bosom' (verse 1) and the 'gaily gliding moments' (verse 3). The semiquavers become pervasive in verse two (bars 25–40; see Example 3b), an apostrophe to time; here they embroider the opening theme, suggesting strongly that a set of variations will result. The section proves, however, to be more like the middle of a ternary form. This formal deception can be aligned with the experiential deception suggested in the text for this verse: the protagonist calls for remanufacturing of happy past experience in the present (the 'smiling hours'), but this experience will prove more fancy than fact (the protagonist enlists 'fairy joys' and 'wishes gay'). Thus Haydn's 'Pleasing Pain', like Goya's *A Melancholy*

64 A. Peter Brown, 'Musical Settings of Anne Hunter's Poetry', 60.

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a

13

dear anx - ious days of pleas - ing pain

Example 3a 'Pleasing Pain', HXXVIa: 29, bars 13–16 (*Joseph Haydn Werke*, series 29, volume 1, *Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Klaviers*, ed. Paul Mies (Munich: Henle, 1960)). Used by permission

b

25 2nd Verse

But ah, re - turn ye smil - ing hours, by care - less fan - cy croun'd with flow'rs;

Example 3b 'Pleasing Pain', HXXVIa: 29, bars 25–28

Woman, prompts the receiver's melancholy reflections: in the song, as in the pen drawing, the authenticity of present-tense experience is called into question.[65]

We could now turn to songs like Haydn's 'Fidelity' (HXXVIa: 30), 'The Spirit's Song' (HXXVIa: 41) or 'The Wanderer' (HXXVIa: 32), each of which deals in subtle ways with Hunter's melancholy subjects – death, sorrow and solitary brooding at night. Yet prime examples of the Kantian or 'sublime' melancholy do not necessarily depend on such darkly dramatic or gloomy topics, just as they do not correlate simply with minor keys. Haydn's exquisite A flat major miniature 'She Never Told Her Love' provides a case in point. Here, unlike many of Haydn's English songs, the protagonist does not break down in what we can understand as degenerative melancholia, becoming absorbed in her own passions; rather, the self-reflective stance is maintained throughout. The listener, meanwhile, can experience that distinctive dramatic distancing that is the essence of late eighteenth-century melancholy.

The text is excerpted from a speech by Viola in Act II of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.[66] Viola has disguised herself as a eunuch and entered the service of the Duke of Illyria, with the original intention of helping to forward his suit with the grieving and reluctant countess Olivia. As Viola had observed in Act I, though, she can 'speak to him [the Duke] in many sorts of music'.[67] These speeches in Act II reveal to us, yet conceal from the Duke, that she has herself fallen in love with him (the excerpted text is given in italics):

65 For further discussion of Goya's art in relation to Haydn see Thomas 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 and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 101–123.

66 Katalin Komlós provides a detailed discussion of the text of this song in 'Viola's Willow Song: "She Never Told Her Love" ', *The Musical Times* 140 (Autumn 1999), 36–41.

67 Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, Act 1 Scene 2, line 56, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. William J. Craig (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 344.

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Duke. What dost thou know?
Vio. Too well what love women to men may owe:
In faith, they are as true as we.
My father had a daughter lov'd a man,
As it might be, perhaps, were I a woman,
I should your lordship.

Duke. And what of her history?
Vio. A blank, my lord. *She never told her love,*
But let concealment, like a worm i' the bud,
Feed on her damask cheek: she pin'd in thought,
And with a green and yellow melancholy,
She sat like Patience on a monument,
Smiling at grief. Was not this love indeed?
We men may say more, swear more; but indeed
Our shows are more than will, for still we prove
Much in our vows, but little in our love.[68]

As Katalin Komlós has observed, this is a performative moment akin to Desdemona's singing of the 'Willow Song'.[69] As an appeal to the audience's sympathy, Viola's adopted third-person reportage is as powerful as it is indirect. Not only do we come to understand the depth of her feelings through her role play, but our pity and admiration are aroused for the 'silence' that she both enacts and yet (like Desdemona) is still able to describe. For audiences of Shakespeare, it is clear from the dramatic context when characters exhibit ironic distance from their own emotions. In the case of Haydn's song, there is no such context. Even the mention of melancholy, which might be linked by listeners to the act of self-reflection, is omitted here. Yet the composer was able to create a comparable effect, and to invoke melancholy by musical means, primarily through the interaction of voice and keyboard.

The registral, rhythmic and harmonic restraint of the vocal line lend an aura of detachment to the voice that is in keeping with the third-person narrative. There are hints, however, that help us to associate the vocal persona with the fluctuating emotions in the accompaniment. The first of these is the striking vocal entry. During the introduction the keyboard cycles through a panoply of affects to arrive at the opening arpeggio figure as part of a V6/4 chord (bars 12–14). The voice then breaks in on this unresolved cycle, as if to try to still the stream of emotions in the two cadential phrases that follow. The vocal high point on 'never' (f^2, bar 17), combined with sudden keyboard accentuation, provides a further subtle hint that the vocal persona is less detached, less the impartial narrator, than it would seem.

Beneath the vocal arioso, the keyboard is now engaged in extensive word-painting, which draws one's attention to dialectics and ironies at every turn of the text. The first use of *pianissimo* in bars 18 hints at the central idea of 'concealment' immediately before that theme is voiced; here the low register and sinking octaves reinforce the sense of obscurity. The accompaniment soon gives way to a semiquaver wheedling figure, painting the epidermal 'worm' that belies the serene countenance (bars 20–21). At the phrase 'sat like Patience', Haydn's setting creates a new irony out of the simile: this text brings the first uneasy move in the vocal line, to ♭6 (bar 28), and a mode shift to the tonic minor (locally the subdominant minor). Here the recall of the chromatic intensification of the introduction (bars 8–9) once again strengthens the equating of the vocal narrator's sentiments with the fluctuating passions represented in the accompaniment.

Giving voice to the theme of 'never telling', Haydn heightens the irony by wonderfully resourceful use of cadential prolongation. Not until bar 18 is there a truly conclusive tonal resolution of the keyboard introduction: the composer's strategic use of the keyboard's lowest register in bars 10 and 18 allows us to hear

68 Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, Act 2 Scene 4, lines 106–120, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, 353.
69 Komlós, 'Viola's Willow Song', 36.

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the intervening bars as a prolongation of the standard cadential progression: II-V6/4–5/3–I. Cadential deflections compound moments of irony in this piece. The setting of the word 'Patience' (bar 29), for example, is immediately followed by a fermata on a dissonance, a German augmented-sixth chord, which demands the resolution that is slow to arrive; indeed, the expected resolution, from the dominant to the tonic, is delayed. Rather, further cadential manipulation follows, which together with textual repetition underscores the paradoxical crux of the text, 'smiling at grief'. During a striking deceptive cadence (bars 32–33) the accompaniment first mirrors the restrained vocal line in a placid, homophonic *piano dolce* before deflecting the vocal cadence (and affect) from the tonic to a diminished seventh of the dominant on the word 'grief' (bar 33), together with a further semiquaver arch (also prefigured in the introduction, bar 11). The preparation and cadence are now repeated, the voice dwelling with even more intensity on 'smiling' (bars 35–36). The fermatas and high register (but significantly never again the high f^2 of 'never' in bar 17) compound the paradox of 'smiling at grief'.

As H. C. Robbins Landon notes, the punctuated chordal idea, which was heard at the opening, and which the listener might now associate with 'never telling' of love, is not heard again until the final bar, where it serves to recapitulate and reinforce this central theme.[70] Ultimately, as in the Shakespeare, she never does tell in this scena. Through this return of material, though, and through the continual process of cadential avoidance, the work's central dialectic of telling versus never telling is perpetuated to the end. Meanwhile the mimetic pile-up in the keyboard over the course of the work, and the close interaction of accompaniment and voice, prompt listeners to ask: just how distanced can one remain from emotions that one supposedly 'owns'? This paradoxical song about silence invites more general speculations, too. The accompaniment's changeable nature, and the fact that the pictorial signifier and signified are often offset by a short time delay, serve to draw attention to the act of signification itself.[71] Listeners' melancholy reflections can thus take place at the level of the artwork itself: how and what does the song communicate? Can one truly enter into the emotions represented?

These means for creating musical melancholy are more widespread in Haydn's vocal music. One example, which links particularly nicely to the maze-related discourse of late eighteenth-century melancholy, is Haydn's dramatic cantata for voice and keyboard, *Arianna a Naxos*.[72] The story begins towards the end of the ancient myth of the maze: Ariadne had guided Theseus safely through the maze of Crete with her golden thread after he had slain the Minotaur, but he has now abandoned her on the isle of Naxos. In Haydn's setting, the heroine is at first unaware of the full extent of her predicament; she reflects on her lover's absence in beautiful expressive song, fitting to her status as daughter of the King of Crete. The keyboard decorates the line of vocal beauty in her first aria, 'Dov'e sei mio bel tesoro' (see Example 4a). Distressed vocality (Example 4b) is, at first, a playful ruse on her part: the vocal 'sighs' are at first heard in a stable tonal context (a move to the dominant). We might understand this in Burkean terms as a 'show' of beautiful melancholy, or an enticing thread to draw out the sympathy of her erstwhile lover.

As Arianna projects herself into the idea of her own grief, however, her responses become more created than creative: her powers of invention seem to degenerate into imitation and repetition. The two-tempo conclusion clinches this: the usual tonal scheme of such arias is reversed here, so that the conclusion is an F minor Presto. 'Misera abbandonata' contains much pitch and text repetition, suggesting the incessantly repeated discourse of those diagnosed with degenerative melancholia. This is especially pronounced at 'Chi tanto amai' ('who loved so much'; see Example 4c and bars 346–358), which phrase Haydn asked Marianne

70 Landon, *Haydn in England*, 389.

71 Kumbier makes a similar point with respect to word-painting in Haydn's *The Creation* in 'A "New Quickening": Haydn's *The Creation*, Wordsworth, and the Pictorialist Imagination', *Studies in Romanticism* 30/4 (1991), 556–560.

72 For a detailed analysis of this work see Julian Rushton, 'Viennese Amateur or London Professional? A Reconsideration of Haydn's Tragic Cantata *Arianna a Naxos*', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 232–245.

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a

90

Do-ve sei, mi-o bel te - so-ro, chi t'in-vo-la a que-sto cor,

Example 4a *Arianna a Naxos*, HXXVIb: 2, bars 90–94 (*Joseph Haydn Werke*, series 29, volume 2, *Verschiedene Gesänge mit Begleitung des Klaviers*, ed. Marianne Helms (Munich: Henle, 1988)). Used by permission

b

103

mo - ro, né _ re - si - sto al mi-o do - lor.

Example 4b *Arianna a Naxos*, HXXVIb: 2, bars 103–105

von Genzinger's daughter 'Pepi' (Josepha) to emphasize as she sung the work.[73] A recurrent half-step 'thread to nowhere' in the keyboard's right hand (bars 296, 298, 300, 304 and so forth) reinforces the troubled fixity. When the 'thread' motif returns in bar 331, in what is ostensibly the middle section of a ternary form (Example 4d), it leads not to the tonic but to nervous mid-register dominant preparation for the textual recapitulation in bar 334. With the onset of despair, Arianna is unable to form coherent discourse, let alone cunning or persuasive speech. The voice now follows the keyboard right hand, as if requiring a prompt to utterance. As we have seen, this repetition and vocal prompting is also common in the English songs.

Listeners in late eighteenth-century London, enamoured of *Arianna a Naxos*, described their experiences of this work in Burkean terms: one critic found it 'so exquisitely captivating in its larmoyant passages, that it touched and dissolved the audience'.[74] Another early reviewer noted in particular the work's 'dramatic modulations', finding them 'so deep and scientific, so varied and agitating'.[75] These modulations are especially prominent and rapid in the recitative 'Ma, a chi parlo', where, at the protagonist's crucial moment

73 *Briefe*, ed. Bartha, 231.

74 Cited in Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London* (Vienna: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1867; reprinted New York: Da Capo, 1970), 118.

75 Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London*, 119. On 19 February 1791 the work was performed in 'The Ladies' Concert' at 'Mrs. Blair's in Portland Place', with Haydn at the fortepiano; it was also performed at Haydn's benefit concert on 16 May that year, in a programme that included his popular aria from *La fedeltà premiata*, 'Ah, come il core', which Haydn had issued as a cantata. Carl Friedrich Cramer had drawn attention to melancholy vocality in this latter work, and its appropriate delivery, in 'Ueber die Schönheiten und den Ausdruck der Leidenschaft in einer Cantate von J. Haydn', *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), 1091.

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c

289

Mi - se-ra ab-ban - do - na - ta non ho chi mi con - so - la. Chi

293

tan - to a-mai s'in - vo - la bar - ba ro ed- in - fe - del.

297

Chi tan - - to a - ma - i, chi

301

tan - - to a - ma - i s'in-vo - la bar - ba-ro ed in - fa - del.

Example 4c *Arianna a Naxos*, HXXVIb: 2, bars 289–304

of realization, there is a striking shift as the A flat seventh chord is enharmonically recast (Example 4e, bar 217). Burke's maze metaphor, but not his one-sided affects ('melting' languor), seems appropriate here: the figure of the maze encapsulates the dialectical experience of these listeners, who were 'agitated' as well as 'captivated'. At the conclusion of the work, the brutal, chromatic keyboard drive to the *tierce di Picardie* close (Example 4f, bars 364–368) provides a vivid and violent enactment of the protagonist's emotional turmoil and terminal actions. This disturbing conclusion invites one to reflect on the problematic nature of the

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d

Example 4d *Arianna a Naxos*, HXXVIb: 2, bars 331–338

e

Example 4e *Arianna a Naxos*, HXXVIb: 2, bars 214–218

emotions that have been represented. The woman who 'loved so much' had betrayed her father and her fatherland by ending the ongoing Athenian sacrifice to Crete (guiding Theseus with her golden thread). In the end, she is released from untrue love, but with her suicide – the concluding passage does not suggest a soft landing from the cliffs of Naxos – she pays for her misguided passions.

Late Instrumental Music

We can trace the dialectics of melancholy in Haydn's late instrumental music as well. Here we might posit a melancholy 'compositional persona' in place of the protagonist, understanding a Kantian representation of melancholy when this persona exhibits a kind of ironic distance from his or her pain. In this context, Burke's maze metaphor and Zimmermann's idea of the solitary wanderer are useful interpretive tools: we can

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f
359
bar-ba-ro ed in-fe - del, bar-ba-ro, bar - ba-ro ed in - fa-
364
- del.

Example 4f *Arianna a Naxos*, HXXVIb: 2, bars 359–368

understand the compositional narrative, and by extension the listener's experience of the work, as a kind of quest, one characterized by pleasure and pain, fettering and freedom, and ironic reflections. Especially suggestive examples are to be found in Haydn's fantasia movements, such as the Adagio from the String Quartet Op. 76 No. 6 (1797).[76] Around this time the Kantian theorist Carl Friedrich Michaelis considered the capriccio (which term he associated with the fantasia) as a brand of musical humour that tends towards the sublime.[77] The persona represented in the capriccio, or fantasia, disregards the usual signs and symbols so that, as Michaelis puts it, 'in this [genre] the composer seems to be too dependent on his immediate mood and upon ideas that are generated by it to have in mind an audience or to attempt to entertain it and engage its sympathy by means of comprehensible ideas'.[78] In the capriccio, or fantasia, as in the case of Kantian melancholy, the subject's creativity is ever dogged by a certain confinement. Thus for Michaelis the capriccio 'bears the traces of a wayward humour in which the impressions conflict strangely with each other and in which the imagination cannot quite enjoy free play'.[79]

76 Among the numerous analyses of this movement, the following two are particularly relevant in this context: Felix Salzer, 'Haydn's Fantasia from the String Quartet, Opus 76 No. 6', *The Music Forum* 4 (1976), 161–194; and Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 176–185.

77 Carl Friedrich Michaelis, 'Ueber das Humoristische oder Launige in der musikalischen Komposition', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 10/46 (1807), 725–729; trans. Peter Le Huray and James Day, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 291–292.

78 'in diesem scheint der Komponist zu sehr von dem Eigensinn seine Laune, von den Eigenheiten seiner jetzigen Gemüthsstimmung abzuhängen, als dass er sich einen bestimmten Zweck, die Zuhörer zu unterhalten, und ihre Sympathie durch fassliche Regelmässigkeit zu gewinnen, vorsetzen könnte'. Michaelis, 'Ueber das Humoristische oder Launige', 728; trans. based on Le Huray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 292.

79 '[Das Capriccio] trägt die Spuren einer eigensinnigen Laune, einer Gemüthsstimmung, in der sich die Empfindungen sonderbar durchkreuzen und die Phantasie nicht ganz frey spielen kann'. Michaelis, 'Ueber das Humoristische oder Launige', 727; trans. based on Le Huray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 291.

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An anonymous reviewer for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1800) described a dialectical experience of an arrangement of the Adagio movement in Op. 76 No. 6:

> Das Adagio, welches zugleich Fantasie überschrieben ist, ist eins der genialischsten Erzeugnisse von Hayd'ns Kunst. Ein zarter, empfindungsvoller Gedanke geht, oder vielmehr schwebt, durch die entferntesten Tonarten; in jeder derselben entzückt er auf's neue; bey jedem Uebergange sucht man lauschend den Sinn des Künstlers zu errathen, man wird jedesmal getäuscht, und freut sich der lieblichen Täuschung.

> The Adagio, which at the same time is entitled Fantasie, is one of the most ingenious of Haydn's art. A delicate, highly sensitive thought goes, or rather floats through the climbing keys; everyone is similarly delighted by the novelty; at every transition one seeks to listen to the sense of the artist, to guess; each time one becomes deceived, and derives pleasure from the endearing deception.[80]

As in the melancholy mode described by Burke, the listener is pleasurably although deceptively manipulated by a beautiful, smoothly undulating melody, whose seemingly random, modulating repetitions are linked by solo threads. In the first part, a 'melting voice' runs through tonal mazes. Example 5a (bar 49) shows the fifth restatement of the theme. Tonally far removed from the opening B major, the key here is perhaps still tonally intelligible to listeners as ♯VI. Performers in particular can experience the compositional deception at this point, and, perhaps, pleasing reflections on the same: at the last of three puzzling pauses (bar 48) – a seeming dead end – the dominant seventh of G sharp major is enharmonically recast in A flat, at a *piano* dynamic.[81]

The second part of the movement, beginning in bar 60, seems to bring resolution to the preceding discourse on various levels. The sixth thematic statement exactly replicates that of the opening and leads to an extended *forte* fugato. Can we now understand this form, overall, as prelude giving way to fugue? For performers, the sense of resolution is visually reinforced by the B major key signature, which now appears for the first time. A structural dominant is sounded in bar 88 (see Example 5b) and prolonged through to the cadence in bars 105–106. Felix Salzer hears the movement's narrative as one in which a composer loses his way in the first part of the movement (culminating with the 'meaningful detour' to G sharp/A flat major), only to find it again in this second section.[82]

Dialectics persist on several levels, however, suggesting other more melancholy narratives: in Salzer's terms, we might posit a composer who is still wandering through a compositional maze. The composer seems to invoke traditional compositional rules in general, and fugal form in particular (also suggested in the first part, bar 39), only to overturn them and to view them in an ironic, nostalgic, light. As Michaelis noted, 'impressions conflict strangely'. An invocation of strict style gives way to musical discourse that suggests free creativity: the brooding rhapsody that emerges in bar 95 recalls the written-out rubato found in Haydn's earlier string quartets, and the music of the wandering gypsy violinist-composer.[83] The interplay of freedom and fettering – the evocation of an imagination that 'cannot quite enjoy free play' – is further

80 'Nouvelle Sonate pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte avec accompagnement d'une Flûte, ou (d'un) Violon obligé, composée par Joseph Hayd'n. *Oeuvre 94*', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2/42 (1800), 728–729.

81 Compare the reverse enharmonic procedure in *Arianna a Naxos* in Example 4e. Salzer observes how the subtly fluctuating dynamics in this movement promote one's experience of 'rational deception' (C. P. E. Bach's term 'vernünftige Betrügerey'). See 'Haydn's Fantasia', 167–168.

82 Salzer, 'Haydn's Fantasia', 177, 192 and 194.

83 See Haydn's String Quartets Op. 17 No. 5/i, and Op. 20 No. 5/iii. I am grateful to James Webster for drawing my attention to this similarity. The gypsy violinist is also strikingly invoked in the second movement of the String Quartet Op. 54 No. 2. As Elaine Sisman notes, the semiquaver figuration in Op. 76 No. 6/ii also harks back to the conclusion of the first movement. See *Haydn and the Classical Variation*, 183.

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Example 5a String Quartet in B flat major, Op. 76 No. 6/ii, bars 46–69 (*Joseph Haydn Werke*, series 12, volume 6, *Streichquartette 'Opus 76', 'Opus 77', und 'Opus 103'*, ed. Horst Walter (Munich: Henle, 2003)). Used by permission

enhanced in bar 96, where the violin's A♮s are intensified by their harmonic context: they jar against the bass in bars 101 and 104 and in the coda, where a circular semiquaver thread is woven between a fragment of the opening theme and a tonic pedal (bars 106–109). The understated nature of the coda, especially the *pianissimo* passage starting in bar 108, enhances one's experience of the narrative as poignant, troubled and unresolved.

The dialectics that emerge in this music resonate with Haydn's aesthetic and philosophical outlook. Using terms in which Kant had described the genius, the composer had described textbook musical rules as constraints to his own creativity: 'Art is free, and should not be limited by artisans' fetters

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Example 5b String Quartet in B flat major, Op. 76 No. 6/ii, bars 87–112

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Example 5b *continued*

(*Handwerksfesseln*)'.[84] Haydn's listeners, for their part, might struggle to understand the overall form and point of the musical argument, with its maze-like harmonic detours, dead ends and stylistic reversals. As the turn-of-the-century reviewer found, those who seek to follow the sense of the composer are continually confronted with deception, albeit endearing. At moments of disillusionment, listeners might have experienced a sense of distance, and, like Kant's critical melancholic, reflected on the problem of establishing authentic communication.

A final case study, Haydn's F minor Variations, HXVII: 6 (1793), affords a chance to explore further a melancholy compositional voice.[85] A reviewer for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1799) drew attention to melancholy as the work's dominant affect, commenting in particular on its quasi-improvisational quality and its technical challenges:

> Ein schwermüthiges Andante aus F moll, variirt, wie ein Meister nur variiren kann, dass sichs beynahe als freye Phantasie anhört. Schon der erste Satz ist nicht leicht, man kann also erachten, dass die weitere Ausarbeitung desselben, ihre Schwierigkeit haben werde; stellenweise, besonders in Rücksicht der Vorzeichnungen für neues Klanggeschlecht, mehr, als selbst bessere Spieler gleich herausbringen werden. Indess abermals ein dankenswerther Beytrag!

84 'die kunst is frey, und soll durch keine Handwerksfesseln beschränkt werden'. Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810), 114. On the metaphor of 'fettering' as applied by Haydn to music's 'rules', and for further discussion of Kant's idea of genius in relation to Haydn, see Lawrence Kramer, 'The Kitten and the Tiger: Tovey's Haydn', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, 244–245; Sisman, 'Haydn, Shakespeare and the Rules of Originality', 7 and 9–11; and Webster, 'Haydn's Aesthetics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, 35–36 and 43–44.

85 For a detailed reading of this movement see Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation*, 192–194.

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> A melancholy Andante in F minor, varied as only a Master can, which sounds almost like a free fantasia. Even the first section is not easy; thus one can surmise that the further development of the same will have its own difficulties. In places, and in especially in view of the suggestions for a new kind of sound, the difficulty is such that even better players will not bring it off at once. However, once again, a rewarding contribution![86]

In this set of alternating variations an F minor theme, entailing extensive pitch repetitions and a pervasive, funereal dotted-note motive, contrasts with a more lyrical, thematically and rhythmically freer theme in the tonic major. Yet, as has been noted, the two themes are quite strongly related, especially in the use of sequential falling thirds and increasingly intricate figuration.[87] These similarities help one to understand here the representation of two sides of a melancholy personality, which on the one hand falls into studious brooding (the opening suggests counterpoint) and on the other retreats into idyll. The work's quasi-fantasia qualities, and the challenges that it poses to listener and performer, noted by the early reviewer, can be related directly to its melancholy affect. Kant's comments on the deterioration characteristic of the melancholy character – the drive towards fanaticism, enthusiasm and grotesquerie – are especially suited to the F minor Andante. The compositional persona's perverse 'visions' and adventurousness manifest themselves, for example, in the copious trills that over-decorate the conclusion of the first variation on the major-mode theme (see Example 6a; bars 93–97), and in the extreme flat-side plunge as the reprise of the minor-mode theme veers off course and the coda begins (Example 6b, bars 171–175; the thematic transformation begins in bar 168).

Haydn's revisions to the work reveal the considerable difficulties that he encountered in deciding on its overall structure, and indeed on its genre.[88] Difficulties with ending, in particular, seem to linger in the final version and might be understood as crucial to the melancholy voice of the work.[89] Haydn's revisions to the coda, especially, seem calculated to capitalize on the work's dialectical qualities. Here he deleted nine bars, replacing these with fourteen bars that serve to prolong dynamic, rhythmic and registral intensity at the beginning of a cadenza-like passage (compare Example 6b, bars 180–193, with Figure 3). In the final version, the sense of fettering then release will be particularly heightened if a period instrument is used, since here the performer is asked to strike repeatedly the upper limit of the keyboard (a fetter for the compositional persona) at a *fortissimo* dynamic (bars 180–182). Such heavy-handedness would have contrasted with the ordinarily light touch of the Viennese fortepianist of Haydn's day; this effect suggests the difficult brooding of the melancholic, and was perhaps part of the 'new kind of sound' that the reviewer heard. Both the weightier action and deeper key dip of the English pianos that Haydn would have known by this time, and the virtuoso, grand style of the contemporary keyboard composers who were based in England, seem to have influenced his style in this work.[90] The diminished-seventh sequences in the revised version (bars 190–193), meanwhile, suggest the precarious pathway of the artist-genius: will he fall into mazes of error, or throw light

86 'Variations pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte, comp. et déd. à Mad. La Baronne Josephe de Braun, par Joseph Haydn. Oeuv. 83', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1/32 (1799), 512. Translation adapted from Landon, *Haydn in England*, 439.

87 Leon Plantinga and Glenn Pierre Johnson, 'Haydn's *Andante con variazione*: Compositional Process, Text, and Genre', in *Studies in the History of Music*, volume 3, *The Creative Process* (New York: Broude, 1992), 132; and Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation*, 194.

88 Plantinga and Johnson, 'Haydn's *Andante con variazione*', 153–164.

89 Sonja Gerlach, 'Fünf Takte zuviel? Einige Bermerkungen zur Entstehung und Überlieferung von Haydns "F-Moll-Variationen" (Hob. XVII: 6)', *Haydn-Studien* 9/1–4 (2006), 223–234. Gerlach argues that the five-bar codetta, which follows bar 145 in the three important early manuscript sources for the work, was not a part of Haydn's final conception of the work. The Artaria first edition omits these five bars, cutting straight to the final repeat of the opening theme. Gerlach considers philological, paleographic and stylistic evidence, concluding (in contrast to Plantinga and Johnson) that the Artaria edition represents Haydn's ultimate thoughts on the matter.

90 On the English keyboard style of this time, and Haydn's cultivation of this, see Bart van Oort, 'Haydn and the English Classical Piano Style', *Early Music* 28/1 (2000), 75 and 84–88.

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Example 6a F minor Variations, hXVII: 6, bars 89–98 (*Joseph Haydn Werke*, series 19/20, *Klavierstücke/Werke für Klavier zu vier Händen*, ed. Sonja Gerlach (Munich: Henle, 2006)). Used by permission

on the best route? The question seems to be answered with a highly ironic voice: after the wild cadenza and heavy *forte* chords that precede it, the long-awaited perfect authentic cadence at a *piano* dynamic (bars 221–222) can only be heard as an extreme understatement.

Echoing the musical understatement is Haydn's title on the dedication manuscript: 'a little piece' (Un piccolo divertimento). In this instance, the original recipient, Barbara von Ployer, was perhaps encouraged to equate the voice of the melancholy composer-genius in the work with the disposition of the composer himself. Certainly in the late eighteenth century self-deprecation was considered an important character trait of the melancholic (recall Zimmermann's notion that 'melancholy is the school of humility'). This manuscript can be compared to Haydn's personal correspondence and the works of several other well-known eighteenth-century men of letters – James Boswell, Samuel Johnson, Jean-Jacques Roussseau and Zimmermann, to name a few. Like their writings, the manuscript reveals to us a writer who, in private at least, was something of a self-styled melancholic.

Late eighteenth-century ideas of melancholy help us towards a multi-layered understanding of the repertoires we have been considering. In Haydn's late chamber music and songs, persistent dialectics encourage one to step back at an ironic distance not only from the problematic passions of the protagonists represented; as we have seen, they can also set listeners reflecting on the Burkean ideal of 'sympathy' in the critical mode of Kant or Goya. Such readings beg fundamental questions, however, which I have begun to address here: to what degree were listeners receptive to the dialectics of musical melancholy around 1800, and why? We can

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Example 6b F minor Variations, HXVII: 6, bars 168–194

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Example 6b *continued*

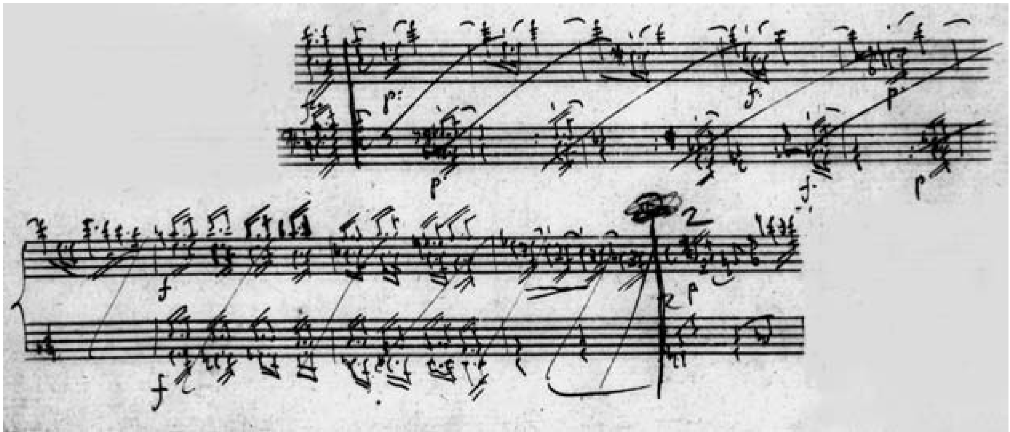

Figure 3 Haydn, F minor Variations, HXVII: 6, autograph manuscript, showing the deleted version of bars 180–193 in the coda (autograph, excerpted from fol. 5v. New York Public Library, MS JOE 71–13). Used by permission

pursue both issues a little further with help from the figure of the jester. Wolf Lepenies maintains that the traditional role of court jester, to banish the ruler's melancholy, was taken over by literature in the eighteenth century.[91] He argues that melancholy entered the domain of a new reading public with the dissolution of such 'melancholy centers' as closed and dominant absolutist court cultures. Hence in protagonists such as Goethe's Werther, or in the psychological mazes traced in his *Elective Affinities*, German bourgeois readers

91 Lepenies, *Melancholy and Society*, 66–71.

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could enact, reflect on and thereby understand the new and paradoxical social configurations in which they found themselves, the interplay between freedom and fettering that characterized their lives.[92]

In the case of Haydn and his music, we might argue that this move took place analogously, towards the end of the century. Certain vocal works and movements from his instrumental music might have fulfilled similar functions for a similar population of bourgeois listeners and performers in English and German lands. Haydn himself certainly seems to have enjoyed the dialectical interplay of his own music along the lines proposed by Lepenies. In a further letter to Genzinger from England he suggested that his *Arianna a Naxos* harmonized with the pleasure and pain, the creativity and confinement, of his own predicament:

> singt meine gute freyle Pepi bisweilen die arme Ariadna? o ja, ich höre es bis hieher, besonders seit 2 Monathe, indem ich auf den land in einer der schönsten gegenden bey einem Banckier lebe . . . ich bin dabey Gott sey ewig gedanckt bis auf die gewöhnliche Rheomatische zu stände gesund, arbeithe fleissig, und gedencke jeden früch morgen, wenn ich alleine mit meiner Englischen Grammer in den wald spaziere, an meinen schöpfer, an meine Familie, und an all meine hinterlassene freunde . . . O meine liebe gnädige Frau, wie Süss schmeckt doch eine gewisse freyheit, ich hatte einen guten Fürsten, muste aber zu zeiten von niedrigen Seelen abhangen, ich seufzte oft um Erlösung, nun habe ich Sie einiger massen . . .
>
> Does my dear Fräulein Pepi sometimes sing poor Ariadne? Oh yes! I can hear it even here, especially during the last two months, when I have been living in the country in the house of a banker amidst the loveliest scenery . . . I am alright, God be ever thanked, except for my usual rheumatism; I work hard, and when in the early mornings I walk in the woods, alone, with my English grammar, I think of my Creator, my family, and all the friends I have left behind . . . Oh, my dear gracious lady! how sweet this bit of freedom really tastes! I had a kind Prince, but somehow I was forced to be dependent on base souls. I often sighed for release, and now I have it in some measure . . .[93]

Even late in life, when he had become a culture hero, Haydn still had to function as something of a musical 'court jester' to assuage Prince Nicolaus Eszterházy's 'melancholy condition'.[94] Yet by the late eighteenth century, chamber music could certainly no longer be defined as that composed largely for the 'private entertainment of the sovereign' ('Privatunterhaltung des Regenten').[95] Works like *Arianna a Naxos* and Haydn's later string quartets were performed in ever more 'public' venues, especially in England. For Haydn and his listeners, though, this change did not translate simply into compositions more consciously addressed to large spaces and characterized by gestures that would 'reach out' to more diverse audiences.[96] Burney observed that, for the majority of English listeners, new German music such as Haydn's represented a considerable auditory puzzle, demanding a critical and adventurous approach: 'It is only understood and felt by such as can quit the plains of simplicity, penetrate the mazes of art and contrivance, climb mountains,

92 For a comprehensive discussion of the idea of melancholy in Goethe's works see Thorsten Valk, *Melancholie im Werk Goethes: Genese – Symptomatik – Therapie* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2002).

93 *Briefe*, ed. Bartha, 260; English translation based on that in Landon, *Haydn in England*, 97.

94 Haydn reports of putting on sessions of cheery chamber music in a letter to Genzinger of 14 March 1790; he mentioned that his 'Favorite Adagio in D' had, however, plunged the prince further into depression. Haydn admitted again to his own 'schwachen geist' ('drooping spirits') in this letter. *Briefe*, ed. Bartha, 231; English translation in Landon, *Haydn at Esaterháza*, 739.

95 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main, 1802; reprinted Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1964), 820.

96 On Haydn's relationship with and understanding of his English audiences, and his concern to pose them with challenges, see David P. Schroeder, 'Haydn and the English Audience', chapter 9 in *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and their Audience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

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dive into dells or cross the seas in search of extraneous and exotic beauties'.[97] Burney's German contemporary Johann Karl Friedrich Triest agreed that this music contained complex passages, and much that was artful; paradoxically, though, he also drew attention to a 'powerful simplicity', a songful basis to Haydn's instrumental works in particular.[98]

By the second decade of the nineteenth century these dialectics had all but collapsed in Haydn reception: listeners would hardly grapple with his works as demanding auditory mazes, or indeed celebrate them as songful or sublime. This was no doubt partly a matter of changing aesthetics. In art, poetry and music, contemporaries heard and saw newer conceptions of melancholy and the sublime, both more extreme and more explicit.[99] Newer notions of 'pure' music, too, meant that vocal texts and song-based aesthetics were now perceived, by Stendhal among others, as 'chains' that fettered a composer such as Haydn, not liberating inspiration for sophisticated forms of musical expression.[100] Biographical assumptions, again exemplified in Stendhal's writings, also contributed significantly to the packaging of Haydn's works as prevailingly sanguine.

Yet while later listeners have lost track of the melancholy humour of Haydn's works, this has not been so in the case of Beethoven or Mozart, whose biographers, not coincidentally, have emphasized melancholic strains.[101] Beethoven's *La Malinconia* from the String Quartet in B flat major Op. 18 No. 6, especially, has been the subject of several contextual studies. The authors of these studies have acknowledged melancholy as a striking aspect of the modernism of Beethoven's music as it was perceived in its day, but they have overlooked the musical context for this modernism, which includes Haydn's works.[102] Joseph Kerman, for example, considers *La Malinconia* (which he aptly re-titles the 'Kleine harmonische Labyrinth') as a complete break with the past, a movement that 'cuts drastically across the entire mass of Beethoven's early music'.[103] Similarly, Carl Dahlhaus hears the movement as fundamentally new, as 'the first work in which "sublime" melancholy . . . received musical voice'.[104] A fuller appreciation of musical melancholy around 1800, and a rehearing of Haydn's melancholy voice in particular, is long overdue. One might consider the Fantasia from Haydn's Op. 76 No. 6 (composed three years before *La Malinconia*) as the stronger contender

97 Charles Burney, 'Essay on Musical Criticism', in *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, volume 2 (London: author, 1789; reprinted New York: Dover, 1957), 11.

98 Johann Karl Friedrich Triest, 'Bermerkung über die Ausbildung der Tonkunst in Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3/24 (1801), columns 406–407; trans. Susan Gillespie as 'Remarks on the Development of the Art of Music in Germany in the Eighteenth Century', in *Haydn and His World*, 372.

99 On nineteenth-century melancholy and music see Klibansky and others, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 238–240; and Reinhold Brinkmann, *Late Idyll: The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 125–144.

100 On 'fettering' as a metaphor in discussions of the status of instrumental music around 1800 see Lisa Fishman, '"To Tear the Fetter of Every Other Art": Early Romantic Criticism and the Fantasy of Emancipation', *19th Century Music* 25/1 (2001), 75–86.

101 On Beethoven's *La Malinconia* from the String Quartet in B flat Op. 18 No. 6 see Carl Dahlhaus, 'La Malinconia', in *Wege der Forschung*, volume 428, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), 200–211; and Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York: Norton, 1966), 75–82. On Mozart and melancholy see especially Elmar Budde, '"Nur bisweilen hab ich so Melancholische Anfälle . . .": Zu Mozarts Symphonie in g-Moll KV 550', *Das Orchester: Zeitschrift für Orchesterkultur und Rundfunk-Chorwesen* 39/10 (1991), 1229–1232; Marius Flothuis, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Streichquintett g-Moll, KV 516* (Munich: Fink, 1987); and Ernst Herttrich, 'Studien zum Ausdruck des Melancholischen und seiner kompositionstechnischen Mittel in der Musik von W. A. Mozart' (PhD dissertation, Universität Würzburg, 1969).

102 On this topic see James Webster, 'Between Enlightenment and Romanticism in Music History: "First Viennese Modernism" and the Delayed Nineteenth Century', *19th Century Music* 25/2–3 (2001–2002), 124–126.

103 Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets*, 76.

104 'das erste Werke, in dem die "erhabene" Melancholie . . . eine musicalische Sprache erhielt'. Dahlhaus, 'La Malinconia', 210.

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for Dahlhaus's epithet, or indeed 'She Never Told Her Love', or *Arianna a Naxos*. All of these works participated in the dialectical musical melancholy of the eighteenth-century *fin de siècl*e, a paradoxically diseased yet inspired humour that is integral to Haydn's style.

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