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Robert Simpson, *Haydn the symphonist*. *Three broadcat talks* (1952)

EDITORIAL

While Bob Simpson touched Haydn in his writings only occasionally, there exist some three broadcast talks of his from the year 1952 (first transmitted 16 January, 18 January and 28 April) that deal more extensively with this composer (sadly he did not deal with Haydn himself in the Penguin double-volume edition on *The Symphony* of 1966/7, but left him to Harold Truscott). The broadcasts make clear the importance of a composer whom Simpson revered strongly. Though in part strengthening prejudices on Mannheim symphonism, which is presently far too much neglected, they place Haydn at the height of early symphonism in general. This position he did not hold in the public opinion at all after World War II, but gained only in the 1970's, when the first complete recordings of all Haydn symphonies were recorded commercially. A decent edition of all of his compositions is presently prepared by the Joseph-Haydn-Institut of Köln (Germany), published since its beginnings in 1958 by G. Henle Musikverlag of München. All symphonies, edited by H. C. Robbins Landon, are available as study scores from Universal Edition, Vienna.

The original sound examples were performed by the London Chamber Orchestra, leader Andrew Cooper, conducted by Anthony Bernard, the dedicatee of Simpson's Second Symphony (1956). Producer of the talks, which were recorded in the Maida Vale studios, was Alec Robertson, who retired from the BBC in 1952. The BBC Written Archive Centre typescripts give special information as to when exactly the talks were rehearsed and at what time exactly they were broadcast on the Third Programme. Some seven music examples are omitted in part 1, some five in part 2, some three in part 3 – the only omissions in the slightly edited typescripts. In contrast to music examples actually performed we have in print to reduce the length of the examples to the essentials, which is sad but unavoidable. Since no tape of the broadcasts was available to me, I had to assume the examples meant by Bob Simpson, though in the two early typescripts they are described in some detail. In some way TONIC 12 is resembling Lionel Pike's invaluable book *Robert Simpson on Beethoven: Essays, lectures, and talks* (1996), and I am very grateful for his help and assistance in the preparation of this issue.

We are very grateful to the BBC Written Archives Centre to have supplied us with the scripts (copies of which have been deposited at the Robert Simpson Archive), and appreciate the kind permission of Angela Simpson to reproduce the talks here.

Jürgen Schaarwächter

ROBERT SIMPSON HAYDN THE SYMPHONIST (1952)

It's always been terribly hard to study Haydn; for years publishers have fought shy of dealing with him in any systematic way and the result makes it very difficult to get a clear general picture of his work. Tovey, for instance, called him "Haydn the Inaccessible",* and it seems ironic that this name should have been given to this most accessible musician of them all; a pity Tovey didn't devise some saying that puts the blame fairly and squarely on those who kept Haydn in his fastness with such determined negligence. "Haydn the Unprofitable" might have hit the nail on the head! However, time changes, and we have now a Haydn Society that obviously means business; this seems to be a good time to take stock of at least one aspect of this master - his development as a symphonist. Haydn wasn't "the Father of the Symphony", as the automatic phrase has it; in the 1740's (that is, 20 or 30 years before Haydn's first symphony) there was a flourishing school of symphonists who were well on the way to becoming "respectable" and even conservative. Bach's sons (Carl Philipp Emanuel and Johann Christian especially) were firmly set on the new path and thought their titanic father a bit of a pedant, though they had a profound respect for his learning. The Mannheimers had created a style that, for all its sensationalism, was fast becoming stereotyped. No, Haydn certainly didn't father the symphony; if one must pursue that sort of analogy, it might be nearer the mark to call him its godfather, or its mentor. Even these terms aren't very good; he certainly didn't teach the symphony its manners (some text-books would have us believe that he "stabilized" the "form" of the symphony).

But it's quite safe to say that he gloriously achieved what he was after – not a pattern for a reproducible form, nor (the other extreme) anything idiosyncratic. What he strove for was an *orchestral style*, flexible, malleable, sensitive, and (most important of all) able to reflect without distortion a wide range of human feeling. We'll try to discover how he set about this, and I'll try to show that the problem that faced him had implications wider than merely personal ones. An artist's development often seems to him an almost entirely personal, subjective matter; but in retrospect we can glimpse its objective historical meaning.

Our job this evening is to aim at some sort of view of Haydn's beginnings and to get an idea of the kind of soil out of which his music grew. In the first half of the 18th century secular music was becoming more and more important, with a corresponding advance in instrumental techniques. The courts were largely responsible for this; some nobles had more money than others, so the musical resources of courts varied greatly. A composer has always to remember that if he wanted his music played beyond a limited circle, he must take this hard fact into account. Wind instruments were, of course, less regularly found than strings, so the general practice was to make the string parts essential and the wind optional. Often works called "symphonies" could be played either by a string quartet or by a small orchestra that included (frequently) two oboes and two horns. This combination is found in hundreds of early symphonies. Another point that must be remembered is the fact that most orchestral music of this so-called "pre-classical" period wants the support of a keyboard accompaniment, or *continuo*; nearly all composers had to write at a

^{*} Donald Francis Tovey, Essays in Musical Analysis I, Oxford 1935, p. 138.

furious pace, and they left a lot for the harpsichord, which they often played themselves, to fill in at the actual performance. In their haste they were often content with sketchy two- or three-part work in the strings, much of it very careless indeed. The "middle" of the harmony is often lacking, and it's significant that the few violas possessed by the average orchestra of the time were usually feeble players – "throw-outs", in fact, from the second fiddles. C. P. E. Bach, as late as 1762, wrote that no concerted music could be satisfactorily played without continuo. But Tovey's really quite right in pointing out that, despite this insistence, Carl Philipp Emanuel's orchestral music contradicts it by the very completeness and sonority of its texture.* By this time (the 1760's) it's clear that composers had begun to take for granted the fact that oboes, horns and violas could be made a very efficient substitute for the keyboard filling. This is true of all except the earliest of Haydn's symphonies, and I'm quite sure that if Haydn could hear a modern performance of even such an early one as No. 13 in D [of 1763], with a full complement of good violas, he'd shut the lid of the harpsichord at once. When the string tone is firm and safe, and the harmony complete, the sound of the harpsichord (if it's audible at all) becomes an impurity. Accordingly we'll use the harpsichord only in cases where the musical text is incomplete. Wherever possible we'll allow Haydn the freedom from it he so clearly won.

We obviously can't concentrate for long on preliminaries, but we must consider a few examples of music that preceded Haydn. Here, to start with, is an interesting case of a composer whose work is part of a phase half-way in style between the *suite* of Handel's time and the *symphony* of Haydn's and Mozart's. Johan Helmich Roman was a Swedish composer who died in 1758, the year before Haydn's first symphony, and who came to England and met Handel. He seems to have been an ardent anglophile, for when he returned to Sweden he did his best to anglicize at least the musical activities of the Swedish court, and his music shows the influence of Handel very clearly. The little symphony (No. 16 in D) isn't yet independent of the *continuo*, and its forms are simple binary types, like those in Scarlatti's harpsichord sonatas, but it nevertheless repudiates nearly all contrapuntal writing, and adopts a melodic style that looks forward rather than back. In the first movement there's no hint of thematic development and the only thing that is recognizably recapitulated is the cadential formula that ends both sections, first in the dominant and at the end in the tonic. The only wind parts are for two oboes, with a single flute part in the slow movement, and these are made merely to double the strings. [...]

If we look at the quick minuet of another little Roman Symphony in D,† we're brought much nearer to Haydn:-

Ex. 1



Although Roman is a delightful composer (who shouldn't be neglected), he's a little off the beaten track, at least historically. Comparing him with the early Mannheimers one might even

^{*} Donald Francis Tovey, Essays in Musical Analysis VI, Oxford 1939, p. 9.

[†] Since I was unable to locate a copy of the score Simpson may have used, I have here used another Roman symphony and adjusted his text accordingly.

think him a bit old-fashioned. Mannheim at this time had an outstandingly efficient orchestra, and Johann Stamitz was able to create a new and sensational style, noted for its exciting *crescendo*. The work of the Mannheim symphonists is largely based on simple harmonic and rhythmic clichés and relies for its interest much more on dynamics than is good for it. Exaggerated dynamic contrasts are used in a very self-conscious manner, as witness the opening of this D major symphony by Johann Stamitz, published in 1757 (op. III, No. 2). The rising passage following the first emphatic gesture is also a common feature at this period. What is also very clear is the theatrical origin of this music:–

Ex. 2



We can go back even earlier to a Symphony in D by Georg Christoph Wagenseil, composed in 1746; it shows in no uncertain manner that a distinct symphonic style was in being well before Haydn began his first experiment; it's also worth remembering that this music was written only four years later than Handel's *Messiah*. The work uses drums but no trumpets. The horn parts [...] will be seen to be independent. One amusing and rather unusual trick tried here by Wagenseil is to recapitulate the opening subject *per arsin et thesin*, that is, with its accents reversed. [...] First time it starts on a strong beat:–

Ex. 3



Then at the recapitulation it starts on a weak beat:-

Ex. 4



[...]

Now it's time we turned to Haydn. 1759 is the date of his first symphony (the year of Handel's death incidentally), and it's a very simple affair. In calling this the first symphony I'm not including the B flat quartet, Op. 1, No. 1, which is really meant to be a symphony. The very start of this D major work is obviously influenced by the rising "Mannheim *crescendo*"; but notice that Haydn's characteristic love of irregular rhythms shows itself at once – the first phrase is one of five bars [...]:–

Ex. 5





If we want to find out whether a work of this period is really orchestral, we can look at the wind parts, which often reveal the workings of the composer's mind in a special way. The first question to ask is, "Are the wind parts merely stuck on to a piece of string chamber music, or are they an integral part of the composer's original imagining?" How does Haydn's First react to the test? The horns and oboes mostly double the strings, but there's at least one place in the finale that's a clear sign of Haydn's *orchestral* thinking. It's only a little scrap of the movement, but it tells an unmistakable tale; it is the start of the second half. Haydn leaves a big gap between 1st and 2nd violins [...]. Even the presence of a *continuo* doesn't help much to fill out the sound [...] But if we add oboes and horns (which fill just this gap), the result amply demonstrates that these instruments are indispensable at this point, even though most of the symphony would sound fairly satisfactory without them:-

Ex. 6



In common with many other symphonies of this period, Haydn's first four restrict their slow movements to strings only. No doubt most composers wouldn't have trusted the average wind player (or, perhaps, the average wind *instrument*) to stand up to the test of a sustained *cantabile*. The intonation of the wind at that time never was very safe; even the Mannheim orchestra got criticized on this count. Haydn's Fifth (in A) was written around 1760, and it starts with a slow movement (the movements, by the way, are printed in the wrong order by Breitkopf & Härtel). Here the horns are given some prominence. Most of Haydn's early experiments with wind instruments can probably be traced to his use of specially gifted players; this would certainly account for the self-conscious ostentation of some passages. Perhaps the showmanship might have proved embarrassing to the players themselves; it's only fair, I think, to point out that any mishaps here are Haydn's fault, nor Mr. Brain's or his colleague's:-



In 1761, Haydn was settling in as Vice-Kapellmeister at Esterházá; he had now a permanent orchestra of his own and was fascinated by its possibilities. In this year he also wrote those three remarkable symphonies, Nos. 6, 7 and 8, Le Matin, Le Midi, and Le Soir (Morning, Noontime and Evening). They obviously form a group. The opening of Le Matin plainly represents a sunrise and the end of Le Soir a storm. In Le Matin is an amusing slow movement that suggests a morning music class whose pupils are so slow in the uptake that the simplest scale defeats them. These gambits, however, aren't the things that concern us here: much more interesting is Haydn's sudden determination to get rid of this bogy about wind instruments, to kick over the traces in a sustained outburst of ostentatious showmanship. There are two salient reasons for this: first, the new Vice-Kapellmeister was extremely keen to show his mettle by making the most striking colourful effects he could think of: second, he seemed intent on testing the principal players, with whom he presumably wasn't yet on familiar terms, by giving them difficult solos; there's a strong element of concertante style in these works, with elaborate solo parts for violin, 'cello, flute and bassoon. The first of these aims (to make unusual effects) is well achieved in the opening of No. 6 in D, the sunrise, a crescendo that owes nothing to the mechanical device of the Mannheimers; notice also that Haydn boldly gives the opening tune of the ensuing quick movement to a solo flute:-



In the *Trio* of the minuet of *Le Matin*, Haydn must have staggered his bassoonist by confronting him with the following fantastic passage:–

Ex. 9





And here are the dud music students in their laborious morning class:-

Ex. 10



Le Midi (No. 7 in C) is a *sinfonia concertante* of rare and sumptuous fancy, with *bravura* parts for solo violin and solo 'cello, and many individual flourishes for the wind. The very start shows how anxious Haydn was that the wind section should be independent: it definitely presides over the introduction:-

Ex. 11



Solo fiddle and solo 'cello don't appear until the first *Allegro*, which is full of brilliant flashes. But it's the following slow movement that's far more fascinating; anyone who imagines that Beethoven was the first to introduce instrumental *recitative* into a symphony will find this a revelation. Observe, too, the lovely colouring made by the two oboes, whose sustained tones are exquisitely veiled by the simple figuration of the second violins:-

Ex. 12



This leads to another florid *Adagio* in full-blown *concertante* style, even to the point of an expansive cadenza for violin and 'cello. The next symphony (*Le Soir*) also uses solo strings, and continues to treat the wind adventurously: the so-called "development section" of the first movement, for instance, is set in motion by a flashy flute solo, generating the impulse for a sonorous *tutti*, whose power is entirely the responsibility of the wind instruments:-



Both slow movement and minuet have decorative solo writing, but we must pass over these for the sake of the finale, a delightful forerunner of the storm in Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony: simple as this is, it makes a tempestuous noise for a mere chamber orchestra, without trumpets, trombones, drums, or piccolo (which Beethoven uses, of course). In leaving the soft flute to suggest the forked lightning, Haydn sagaciously recognizes the difference between the sight that's first perceived and the noise that follows hard upon it. Here's *La Tempesta*, the finale of the 8th Symphony in G:-



All this showy virtuosity is both exciting and entertaining; but it's a great relief to realize how such a decorative style might have endangered Haydn's development. Without a doubt he'd have found it easy to devise a routine stock of astonishing tricks that would have made the "Mannheim rocket" seem like a damp squip. We can be thankful that he didn't decide to turn Esterházá into a sort of super-charged Mannheim. For all his humour and vivacity he was deeply serious by nature, and hadn't the misfortune to be as handsome as his musical talents, or he might have been spoiled. But he had a way of endearing without ingratiating himself, and the purposeful sincerity of his character nourished itself by the effect it created around it. Goodness has a way of fatilizing its own growth by enriching its own environment. Haydn couldn't have done other than chop this spendthrift style, for better things were beginning to be expected of him. He must have realized instinctively that his aim must be to reach a wider range of human responses; his search for a really flexible orchestral style is part of this widening and deepening of his personality. If an artist is to express broad emotional sympathies (in other words, if his art is to transcend a merely selfish and self-limiting individuality) he must create as a basis a style whose technique is so ordered that it becomes instinctive and ready to bend spontaneously to the call of many kinds of impulse. Improvising a totally new style for each work merely cramps the imagination; it's as if a man were to try to put on different personalities in different situations; there are people like that, but they never mature; each attempt to do so is nipped in the bud. Perhaps it's not too much to say that this aberration is a symptom of the present-day world's condition, both in the artistic and social spheres. In Haydn's time, however, artists weren't so arrogant - there was, in each art, what might be called a "general purpose style", even though the general purposes it served were limited in the seemingly closed world of courtly good manners.

Discipline of a kind is obviously what Haydn had to apply to himself at this stage; he thought more of his fellow-men than of his own posthumous reputation. As a result he was at pains to avoid the kind of art that can be disciplined by the artist's self alone; such an art is confined and (in a very accurate sense) "selfish". The romantic period and our own times are full of artists of this type. Haydn belongs to a nobler kind, whose self is disciplined by the real purpose of his art, which is to express not only his self (which it includes) but those basic human qualities that draw men together rather than separate them. To achieve final freedom, Haydn had to rein his style in the severest possible way until its lean muscularity and laconic strength might almost be called Sibelian, in technique if not in temper. Only then could he feel free to relax and expand in new, fertile fields.

In view of this, we can see why Haydn's recourse to a so-called "archaic" style is really nothing of the sort. Such a movement as the *Allegro* that comes second in Symphony No. 11 in E

flat lacks nothing in vivacious unpredictability, yet everything is reduced to the bare bones; the wind parts are unobtrusive but they now act fairly efficiently as *continuo* (there are, as usual, only oboes and horns). This movement brings up another important point – the so-called "false recapitulation". This odd phenomenon crops up in a number of early and middle period Haydn symphonies and may briefly be described thus: in the middle of the development he makes a sudden return to the tonic key, with the main subject, as if the recapitulation were under way. Then he veers off again as if nothing had happened, continues to create tonal uncertainty (as in a typical development), until he finally decides to get back to the home key again, where his restatement starts in real earnest. Here's the main theme of the second movement of No. 11:–

Ex. 15



Now here's the beginning of the development. I'll indicate the return of the tonic, then Haydn's repudiation of it, and finally his proper return:-

Ex. 16







This must suffice to indicate the point for the moment. I'll go into the "false recapitulation" and its implications more fully in the next talk.

Equally serene in style is No. 12, a lovely work in E major. An intriguing case of Haydn's ruthless self-discipline is in the second group of the first movement; it starts off as if to be a rich tune, but it quickly straightens itself out into clear-cut formality.

Ex. 17



Nothing is more typical of this phase of Haydn's career, and no greater mistake could be made than to assume that such apparent shyness is the result of a lack of imagination – the imagination is there all right, but Haydn is still fashioning the proper vehicle for its expression.

In the next talk we'll go into the middle period, showing how Haydn's growing purpose-fulness brings about a darker tone in his music; we'll also look at some magnificent symphonies of 1772, a year in which he wrote five near-masterpieces that embody the core of his new-found orchestral style. These are Nos. 43 to 47. Although we shan't be able to examine them all we shall see where they stand and in so doing draw attention to them, for they are shamefully neglected. Meanwhile let's end this evening's broadcast with the first movement of the splendid No. 13 in D; it has four horns and drums, but no trumpets. Notice how the wind carry the whole burden of the harmony at the start, leaving the strings free to throw off all manner of exuberant sparks.

Ex. 18



We broke off Wednesday's survey at the year 1763, with the first movement of Symphony No. 13 in D; we saw how Haydn began to find a powerful way of treating the orchestra, with the wind carrying most of the harmonic weight, leaving the strings unfettered by dull responsibilities. We mustn't suppose that he was the first to do this; he was only following the general trend. The uniqueness of Haydn's achievement doesn't lie in his removal of the orchestra from the chambermusic sphere, nor in his growing independence of the *continuo*; others did these things too. It can't be too strongly emphasized that what Haydn really did was to forge an orchestral style whose scope extended beyond the "pre-classical" (in reality romantic) closed circles. Music by the mid-19th century had become dominated by the so-called "Affekte", which practically dictated a limited number of moods with an appropriate style for each.* This was essentially a romantic idea, with the individual having central importance. And so most of the music of this period suffers from the kind of immaturity that comes of an obstinately *subjective* outlook; in art, the power of organization springs out of a search for objectivity - that's why so much of the "pre-classical" music (was ever a term more misleading?) is flimsy in construction and intensely personal in feeling. To compare Haydn with his contemporary Franz Ignaz Beck, for instance, is rather comparing Palestrina with Gregor Aichinger and, no doubt, Adam Gumpelzhaimer. While his contemporaries thought simply of expressing their immediate feelings (within the strict limits of decorum, of course, – their livelihood depended on that), Haydn struggled long and hard to find a style that would encompass all these smaller elements within the range of a larger humanism. As with all great artists, technique and philosophy go hand in hand, and, indeed, are identical at the moments of intensest realization. In technical terms, what was it that made all the difference in Haydn's case? It was his understanding of how to use tonality. I'll try to show the gist of this in a little while.

During the eighteen months or so after the 13th Symphony, Haydn wrote another dozen of varying interest and character. By the end of the next year (1764), his technique had advanced by leaps and bounds. The 24th Symphony, again in D, shows him experimenting (successfully) with contrasted dynamics between wind and strings; the opening, for instance, displays the wind tone *forte*, and the strings *piano*:–

Ex. 19



^{*} The parallel Simpson wants to draw misuses the word "Affekte", which clearly originate from Baroque music, but wants to stress the frequent over-use of *formulas* in the 19th century.

No. 24 is a fine symphony over which I'd like to linger if there were time. But we must be content with a couple more points from it. Here's an example of the way in which strings rely on the wind to keep the harmony going while they indulge in wide skips. By themselves they would sound wretchedly scrappy and thin. [...] The wind section not only saves the situation, but adds internal colour:-

Ex. 20



In the Minuet of the same symphony, oboes and horns speak freely:-

Ex. 21



As he goes on, Haydn disciplines himself more severely, and we find a growing seriousness of mood. There isn't much sign of his famous sense of humour; that wouldn't be half so profound as it is if it were a mere inclination to mischief. Its outburst at the end of his life is a joyous reac-

tion to the success of his lifelong struggle. One has to know Haydn's middle period in order to understand the real depth of some of his jokes in his late music. Among the more sombre symphonies that began this middle period are the E flat, No. 22 (nicknamed The Philosopher), and the D minor, No. 26 (Lamentatione). The Philosopher, of 1766, makes use of two cors anglais, and is by now becoming reasonably well-known. No. 26, of 1770, is not so often heard, and it may even be unfinished, though there's no reason why Haydn shouldn't end with a minuet if he wanted to; on the other hand, a finale would have helped the better to balance the first movement. A point worth noting is that Haydn's finales are always short and concentrated. The reason for this is simple: no composer of this period has any notion that the finale must be a weighty, Beethovenish climax to the symphony, and it helps us to overcome our own inbred prejudices if we bear in mind that the minuet and finale, however serious, are complementary, and jointly a reaction to the slow movement and a precise balance to the first. The opening of this D minor symphony gives a good idea of the sombre side of Haydn's world. In spite of one of its nicknames (Weihnachtssymphonie - Christmas Symphony), the work ought to be associated with Holy Week, for it quotes at least two liturgical plainsong themes from the Offices of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. Here is one of them:-

Ex. 22



[...] A most remarkable case of concentration is No. 28 in A of 1765; the first movement is one of the earliest pieces of symphonic writing based on a continuous rhythmic texture. In this it anticipates the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth; even the rhythm is similar, though the mood here is brisk and cheerful. The cumulative effect is very exhilarating, and even to watch the strings is like looking at massed sword-play. [...]

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Sibelius has been justly praised for his economy, but Haydn can rival anyone at making bricks without straw. In the *Trio* of No. 28 he shows a miraculous skill in the way he persuades one simple figure to form itself into a strangely individual tune:-

Ex. 24



Between 1765 and 1770 Haydn wrote a number of intensely serious symphonies, including No. 34 in D minor, with the beautiful *Adagio* that opens like this:-

Ex. 25





Among these darkly-coloured symphonies there's also the famous *La Passione* in F minor; we won't quote this, but will play the exposition of the 1st movement of No. 39 in G minor, of 1770; it has a remarkable resemblance to Mozart's great String Quintet in the same key (K. 516), but has some of Haydn's tense silences:-

Ex. 26





Now we're on the threshold of a vintage year in Haydn's symphonic career. In 1772 he wrote five symphonies that are very nearly great, No. 43 in E flat (*Mercury*), 44 in E minor (*Mourning*, or *Trauersinfonie*), 45 in F sharp minor (*Farewell*), 46 in B major, and 47 in G.* I want to concentrate on No. 43, which is even more rarely heard than any of the other four except No. 47. This E flat symphony is called *The Mercury* presumably because of some quicksilver violin passages it contains; besides this, it's one of the most beautiful and gracious works of the period. Its first movement brings up again the curious "false recapitulation" I mentioned in the last talk. Let's illustrate it. Here's the whole exposition, serenely energetic in character, not so much formal as perfectly poised:-

Ex. 27



^{*} Meanwhile No. 48, which had been included in this connection by Bob Simpson, had to be re-dated by c. 1769. Since he doesn't say anything of real importance on it but that it is "masterful" any reference to it in the text has been deleted.

Now let's go on past the double bar. After only 14 bars we land back in the tonic, E flat, with the first tune. [...] Then Haydn veers off again, eventually reaching a point when he makes two shots at the theme in different keys (A flat and F minor) before finally arriving home again. We'll go from the same place again right on to the proper restatement [...].

Ex. 28





What's the reason for this odd notion of the "false recapitulation"? One would think it essentially a bad thing to anticipate the true one in this way; the reprise is, after all, the most dramatic moment in a sonata movement and it's bound to lose half its force if it's forestalled. Is it a joke? Surely if it were, Haydn wouldn't have returned to it so often? Why does he come back to the idea from time to time?

A few minutes ago I remarked that the broadening and deepening of Haydn's style depended to a great extent on one special thing – tonality. Haydn is seeking to enrich and widen the scope of his designs; he wants to increase his mastery of extended composition, without, however, too markedly enlarging his time-scale. But the time-scale *is* getting rather larger too, in spite of this, and there comes a point when he feels some danger of structural weakening as a result. There's a possibility of new stresses and strains breaking up the existing method; to retain stability, Haydn feels he needs to pin down his tonic, even in the middle of his development section, at the expense of the restatement's dramatic effect. He did, of course, eventually realize that such makeshift is unsatisfactory, and the way he finally overcame the difficulty is one of the most signal achieve-

ments in music. He discovered (in his last period) a way of fusing development and recapitulation into a *coda*-like torrent of invention. There's no need any more for "false recapitulation" in the Paris or London symphonies. To illustrate this point properly would take at least another talk, but I hope this brief illustration will have drawn attention to it even if it hasn't tackled it very thoroughly.

To return for a moment to No. 43; listen to this lovely passage from the slow movement; the writing for oboes and horns against the fine decorative string work is suggestive of Mozart's sensitivity:-

Ex. 29





Very reluctantly I'll have to pass over those two magnificent minor-key works, No. 44 in E minor (*Trauersinfonie*), and No. 45, in F sharp minor (*Farewell*); Haydn wanted the *Adagio* of No. 44 played at his own funeral, and the first movement of the *Farewell* Symphony is a marvel-lously concentrated outburst of tragic feeling. It is even harder to miss out the glorious B major symphony, No. 46; it must be enough to mention that in this work Haydn poetically brings back the minuet into the finale; having thought of the idea, he enhances its magic still further by letting the middle of the Minuet (not its beginning) creep back into the brilliant finale as if it had been playing all the time, but had been drowned by all the bustle. We ought, however, to glance at No. 47 in G, the least known of the five; in this Haydn at least feels entitled to let his humour off the leash:-

Ex. 30



This ridiculous, mock-pompous theme receives masterly treatment and is amusingly recapitulated in the minor. But the best joke is the Minuet. In both Minuet and *Trio* the repeats are *al roverso*; that is, in plain English, backwards. When the unfortunate players reach the double bar,

they are expected to play straight back to the beginning, reading from right to left; although no one would think so to look at him, Mr. Bernard is, with infinite skill and intellectual adroitness, actually conducting backwards.

Ex. 31



Perhaps the greatest surprise in that piece is, under the circumstances, that it's such an attractive tune. [...]*

In this decade (the 1770's) Haydn's strictness of style was quite at variance with his colleagues' methods. If we take a sample of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's work, dated 1776 and published in 1780 (W. 183), we find a very different sort of music. C. P. E. Bach was a bold, restless spirit, always experimenting, essentially a romantic; his restlessness is the result of a need for stability and directness of movement. Haydn's music drives in a straight, clear line; Johann Sebastian's eldest son turns this way and that, turbulent and audacious, but in the end covering less ground. This may well be because, despite his obvious urge to blaze new trails, he never quite succeeded in escaping from a type of melodic invention that really belongs to an older, less volatile, generation. In this passage from his very impressive D major symphony, most of the figuration could have occurred in a *concerto grosso* by Handel, and C. P. E. relies on tremendous harmonic surprises and dynamic changes to give it new life. The result is often thrilling, but it's not the sort of style to create constructive habits:–

^{*} It was this theme that Bob Simpson used for both *Variations and Finale on a Theme of Haydn* for piano (1948) and his Ninth String Quartet, *Variations and Fugue on a Theme by Haydn* (1982). On both variation cycles has Lionel Pike written substantial essays.



In 1776 C. P. E. Bach was sixty-two, Haydn was forty-four, and Mozart was twenty. Now I suppose no consideration of Haydn is worth anything unless something relevant is said about Mozart. But to deal properly even with Haydn's symphonies would really take a little over 104 talks, so I must be brief. There is at present a growing general interest in Haydn, whom it used to be fashionable to treat as an inferior Mozart. Some enthusiasts may now try to reverse the fashion, a danger that I hope will be avoided. Although Mozart was twenty-four years younger than Haydn (perhaps partly because he was that much younger) he often arrived independently by instinct at musical truths that the older man had taken years to reach. In fact, I think it's fair to say that Mozart appeared on the scene just as it became clear that Haydn, for all his great range, would miss out one quality - that touching blend of joy and melancholy that we call Mozartian. To over-simplify the matter, we might say that Haydn tends to be objective, Mozart subjective. Haydn, even at his sternest, has the quiet, faithful mind that fears nothing; he feels tragedy, for instance, as part of some universal pattern that justifies it as an awesome but ultimately comprehensible thing. To Mozart, on the other hand, such a view of tragedy would have seemed revoltingly callous; his letters show how his intensest sympathies are at once caught by the simplest human problems, and they also show his unerringly penetrating way of summing up individual personalities. Mozart's music literally sympathizes with the individual listener; Haydn's, whether

its temper is humorous or serious, seems to direct the hearer beyond himself. But this is not to say that one is greater than the other, for even if one finds Haydn's quest for objectivity more praiseworthy, one still has to reckon with the fact that Mozart cuts so deep into the springs of personality that he often attains what seems very like an objective understanding of the reality of human feeling.

As an orchestral composer, Mozart is quite independent of Haydn, except in his latter years. There is no profounder thing in music than the way in which Mozart, at the end of his short life, received the influence of Haydn, transformed it in his own way, and bequeathed it back to him as a priceless legacy. Many of the "Mozartian" qualities in Haydn's last symphonies and quartets are originally Haydn's own, rejuvenated and refreshed by Mozart's warm and sensitive genius.

So far I've purposely confined myself with Haydn's early and middle periods, because until fairly recently only his late works have been at all widely known. Even now I must presume on your comparative familiarity with such last-period symphonies as the London ones, until such time as it becomes possible to go into them more fully. There are many ways of showing Haydn's progress; the details show it not less than the larger forms themselves; we can take some special feature and show how, in successive examples, he refined and strengthened his mastery of that particular technique, and the progress we discover is a symptom of the general development that includes every facet of his art. We'll spend the rest of our time considering his treatment, for instance, of the second theme (or group) in his finales; in fact, we'll narrow the issue down to four cases where he uses the same material for both first and second groups; in three of these four cases we'll find our task greatly simplified by the fact that the themes are all very much alike in style. All four finales begin with simple, lyric rondo themes that (with the same exception of the one that's different in style) complete themselves.

In our first example, the finale of Symphony No. 64 in A, of 1778, Haydn does no more than transpose the tune, lock, stock and barrel into the dominant. Here it is at the start of the piece:-

Ex. 33



After some suitably energetic material, in comes the tune again, unchanged, in the dominant:-

Ex. 34



Symphony No. 87 of 1785, also in A, is the one whose material differs somewhat in style from the other three I've chosen; the main tune of the finale doesn't complete itself as such,



but arrives at two humorous pauses before going off into more widely diffused action. When we get to the dominant, the same idea turns up, but this time there's a good deal of refashioning – instead of the breadth of the opening, we now find a strong tendency towards compression:–

Ex. 36



Our next example, from No. 95 in C minor (1791), is much more akin to that from No. 64: here the rondo-tune is a complete lyric whole, but how much more vital and full of character it is, with its piquant second part! There's no mistaking the inimitable London touch in this:-

Ex. 37





We can go on from this point and see that when Haydn uses this material in the second group, the compression is now much more powerful than in No. 87. His contrapuntal resource asserts itself (he was a wonderful contrapuntist) and we discover a style of writing and scoring that brings Mozart's last symphony irresistibly to mind:-

Ex. 38





The *Clock* Symphony, No. 101 in D of 1793–4, one of Haydn's greatest, bases its finale on very simple material. The main theme is again a self-contained lyric, with its own full close; as a theme it's even finer and more highly organized than that in No. 95; we can always enjoy noticing that when Haydn is in this frame of mind it doesn't matter how beautiful he makes his first idea; his continuation always beats it hollow:–

Ex. 39



In No. 95 he relied on contrapuntal brilliance to carry him through his second group. Contrapuntal brilliance is also a prominent characteristic of the finale of No. 101, but Haydn reserves most of it for the *recapitulation-cum-coda* that ends the whole movement in an exhilarating flood of high spirits. Here a much more original plan animates his second group. He turns the main theme into a completely new tune [...]. And when he returns to the rondo subject he does it in the following cunning way, through a figure that was first heard as part of the second half of the opening tune, but is now (because of its accented *appogiature*) also connected with the second theme.

Ex. 40



To end, [...] there's just time for me to make one more point.* It may be over-solemn and even a bit pretentious to make weighty philosophical comments about Haydn's allegros, which often are, after all, among the gayest things on earth. But when we view the persistence with which he pursued this idea of getting as much out of one theme as he possibly could, we're brought back to the thought that occurred in the first talk. This was that Haydn's art underwent a long deepening and widening process; by the subjection of his individuality to larger needs he succeeded, not only in mastering an inexhaustible style, but also in finding a real, live personality, something that has nothing whatsoever to do with manners, wishful thinking, romanticism, classicism, nor any other artificial thing connected with egotism. To say that Haydn is entirely without harmful egotism would be to say the truth, but it would be to put it into negative terms. Let's put it positively: Haydn's respect and love for humanity constituted the prime duty that sprang from his reverence for the God he believed the source of all life: he had the healthy stimulating sense that men have more similarities between them than differences, that these similarities have a profounder value than personal idiosyncrasies. He also knew with complete certainty that a man must recognize this if he is to make his personality enrich the world. [...]

^{*} Here follows a longer insertion which had to be eliminated due to the length of the talk; it may however be given here: "We often read in text-books about 'first' and 'second' 'subjects'. Such movements as these clearly make nonsense of a ruling that stipulates a contrasting new theme in the dominant for the second group, a ruling that more often than not insists that the first theme shall be vigorous and decisive ('masculine') and the second gentle and passive ('feminine'). One wanders Dame Ethel Smyth must have thought of such text books. But this rule is not without foundation in the 'pre-classical' era, with its insistence on individual personality: in such cases the *dualism* of contrasting themes may be held to parallel a belief in a larger duality – the individual on the one hand (the more emotional second theme) and the world (using the word in its more general philosophical sense) on the other, represented by the formal first theme."

In my two talks on Haydn's symphonies in January, I made a point of surveying the more neglected early and middle periods in some detail; this, of course, left very little time to tackle the more familiar but also more complex works of the last period. I've since had a number of requests to go into these more specially. Now it's obviously impossible to discuss properly (in the time we have) some twenty-five highly-wrought symphonies, so I think it best to restrict the field to one particular group of works. The obvious choice would have been the twelve London Symphonies; but most of these are pretty well known, and though it would be interesting to take a close look at them, it strikes me that it would do more positive good to encourage conductors to make more use of the six fine symphonies of 1785-6, commissioned by the Concert de la Loge 'Olympique' in Paris. It's true that these don't represent the very latest Haydn, but they have a special interest they show him settling down after the disturbing impact of Mozart's music. Haydn and Mozart first met in 1781; Mozart knew a good deal of the older man's work, but Haydn was completely staggered by what was to him a new and miraculous phenomenon. Mozart's supremely critical art, couched in intensely personal terms, must have shaken even Haydn's calmly affirmative nature, and the works that Haydn wrote in the early 1780's show very plainly the marks of his spiritual agitation. To take an example, here's the opening of the fiery No. 80 in D minor, written shortly before the Paris symphonies:-

Ex. 41



In the same symphony, the slow movement shows clearly the influence of Mozart.



By this time Haydn was, of course, the completest master; he was fifty-two, and the slowness of his maturing had given him an unfailing certainty of touch, within the musical world of his own creation. Mozart's music was quite outside this orbit, and even in his fifties, with a lifetime of hard experience behind him, Haydn was not at once able to widen his scope enough to take in the new influence. One might say that the perimeters of his musical fortress tottered at first under the strain from without; it was only afterwards that the inward pressure balanced and absorbed that from outside. That Haydn was so sensitive to change in late middle age is remarkable enough; but it's still more remarkable that he could use another man's influence to bring his own work to new heights. The period of uncertainty didn't last very long – some three years, perhaps, at most, and along with restless works like the 78th and 80 symphonies and the B minor and D minor quartets (Op. 33, No. 1, and Op. 42), there are exquisitely turned little masterpieces, such as Symphony No. 77 in B flat, of 1782; it has this enchanting and entirely Haydnish melody in the slow movement:–

Ex. 43



When the commission came from Paris, in 1785, Haydn was completely himself again, and though the six symphonies he wrote as a result (Nos. 82–87) are filled with a new richness and sensitiveness, with many Mozartian touches, they have a freedom of form, an unexpectedness of incident, and a personal idiom that are his alone. Haydn seems to have been intent on showing at least two things; first, the variety of expression that his mature style could carry, and second, the consistency of that style itself. So we find that, while the twenty-four movements of these symphonies explore a wide range of mood, there is a unity of style informing the whole group of works. Take, for example, the minuets – they are all of Haydn's special sturdy bucolic type, moderately paced. Compare that of No. 82 with that of No. 86, both of 1786; here's the one in No. 82:–

Ex. 44



And here, very similar in general style, is the Minuet of No. 86, in D:-

Ex. 45



Three of the six symphonies have slow introductions: five start loudly, presumably because the Parisians were notoriously fond of the *coup d'archet* (a loud attack of the strings). Mozart's comments on this subject are very much to the point; when he visited Paris in 1778 he wrote a symphony for the occasion and expressed himself pungently: "I've been careful not to neglect *le premier coup d'archet* – and that's quite enough. What a fuss these oxen make of this trick! The devil

take me if I can see any difference! They all begin together just as they do in other places." These Paris symphonies of Haydn show their widest variety in the slow movements, of which two may be called great, those in Nos. 83 and 86. The others are either typical ambling *Allegrettos* (Nos. 82 and 85), a set of graceful variations (No. 84), or a broad simple *Adagio* (No. 87).

At the end of this talk, Mr. Bernard will conduct the whole of No. 86, perhaps the finest of the set, and I'll occupy the rest of my time in making a few random points about each symphony in turn, taking them, not in strict chronological order, but as they are numbered in the collected edition. First, let's look at No. 82 in C, usually called *L'Ours* (*The Bear*) because of the drone in the Finale, suggesting a clumsy performing animal:–

Ex. 46



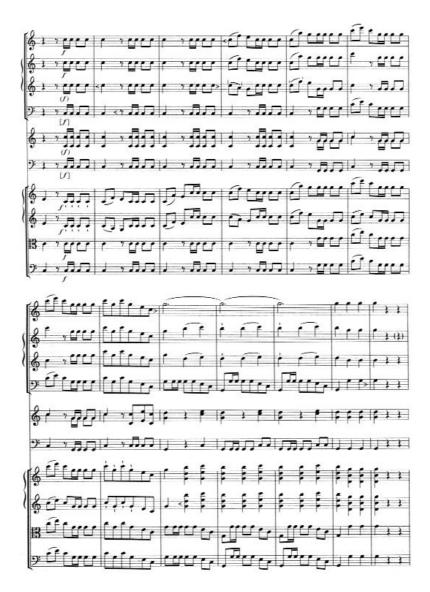
We can find a good illustration of Haydn's power of composition in the first movement of this symphony; the character of this movement is outwardly formal, but it's always in such comparatively straight-laced music that we can see where Haydn differs fundamentally from his contemporaries. Anybody can take a "purple patch" (like the marvellous modulations in the slow movement of the last London symphony) and say "only Haydn could have written this", or pick out some glorious tune (like the andante of No. 38) and place it against some feeble commonplace by Eberl or Gossec.* But it's even more fascinating to watch Haydn beating his colleagues on their own ground; for instance, the opening theme of No. 82 is merely a conventional summons to attention:-

Ex. 47



Then, after a soft counterstatement, comes some busy treatment in this style:-

^{*} Symphonies by Eberl and Gossec have only recently been revived highly successfully by Concerto Köln.



This musical carpentry (that's all it seems to be) culminates in this formal "presenting arms" before the second group:-

Ex. 49



If we put this and the previous example together, we get a rather undistinguished transitional passage, seemingly perfunctory [...]. "Well", you say, "I don't see where Haydn is any better than anybody else – this sounds like hack-work to me." But we've left something out, bars, in fact, a whole stretch of vividly imaginative music that utterly transforms the commonplace. This is what Haydn really wrote; it's a tremendous lesson in composition:-

Ex. 50





It is the measure of Haydn's genius that he is as great in this kind of music as in catching the ear with a beautiful melody or profound harmony. The tune that follows this passage is delightfully rustic; here's an object-lesson in simple orchestration [...]. A very simple bassoon part [...] makes all the difference:-

Ex. 51



If you want another example of Haydn's way of expanding his thought, consider what might have happened in the development of this same movement (the first movement of No. 82). He arrives at this point:-

Ex. 52



And he could, if he liked, begin a soft recapitulation thus:-

Ex. 53



But how much better is what he actually does:-

Ex. 54





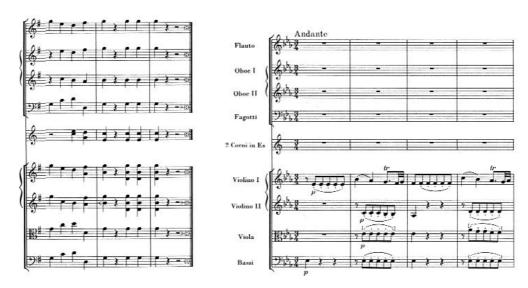
I've spent some time on this movement to show the kind of economical yet expansive thinking on which Haydn's later style is based. The next symphony, No. 83 in G minor, of 1785, is often called *La Poule* (*The Hen*) because of its clucking second subject. Like No. 82, it opens formally, but with an unsheathed sword in its hand:-

Ex. 55



This symphony is tonally very interesting; it opens in the minor and (as often with Haydn) the first movement ends in the major. What is really unusual is the way the whole work hovers with intriguing uncertainty between the implications of major and minor. For instance, the slow movement is in a dark E flat, related to the minor, despite the first movement's bright G major ending. Let's savour the effect of the brilliant end of the first movement and the subdued E flat in which the *Andante* floats:-

Ex. 56



The slow movement is one of Haydn's most beautiful; its wonderful dramatic outbursts never for a moment disturb its profoundly reflective calm. Here is the deeply imaginative middle part:-

Ex. 57



A really extraordinary tonal effect occurs between the *Andante* and Minuet. The soft close of the slow movement in E flat is roughly interrupted by the E natural with which the G major minuet starts:-

Ex. 58



I'm sorry there isn't time to touch the sparkling finale to No. 83, one of Haydn's finest single-theme movements. We must pass on to the 84th Symphony, in E flat; this is a sunny unpretentious composition, not often enough played. It gives an opportunity to compare Mozart and Haydn in one striking way. Mozart's Prague Symphony (K. 504) was written in 1786, the same year as this, and the two slow movements show finely the difference between Haydn's serenely confident disposition and Mozart's more subjective, restless, underlying melancholy. The two tunes have similar starting points. Here's Haydn's:-

Ex. 59



And here's the start of the Andante in Mozart's Prague Symphony:-

Ex. 60



Haydn's 85th Symphony, in B flat, is called *La Reine* since its formal grace appealed to the Queen of France. In form it's apt to be (compared with the others) somewhat stiff, but its refined dignity is distinctive. A passage from the first movement shows this quality:-

Ex. 61



Skipping for the moment No. 86, [...] we turn to the last of the set, No. 87 in A; this is, in fact, the earliest of the six, small in scale and full of endearing charm. It's often unpredictable, too, in its quiet way, as the next example shows – Haydn's approach to the recapitulation in the first movement, with sly, poetical humour, graceful yet muscular:–

Ex. 62





Now to come to No. 86. It is, perhaps, the greatest of Haydn's symphonies before the famous London series; all its movements are of equal value. It has a fine slow introduction that is not long, but has an extremely broad effect, and the first movement proper starts out of the key in a delightful way:-

Ex. 63



This quick movement is rich in subtleties that we haven't time to consider, but the most immediately striking piece in the symphony is the wonderful *Largo*, called *Capriccio*; this is dramatic yet

tranquil, like the slow movement of No. 83. The almost kaleidoscopic changes of texture make a strangely individual effect like that of no other music, and there can be no doubt of its influence on Beethoven. Though it looks forward, it has majestic passages that remind one of Bach:-

Ex. 64



We've heard some of the Minuet; its *Trio* is a characteristically ingratiating farmyard tune. The brilliant and resourceful Finale has something in common with that of a contemporary string quartet in the same key, Quartet No. 49, Op. 50, No. 6, as a comparison of the main themes will show. Here's the quartet:-

Ex. 65



Ex. 66



When you listen to this 86th Symphony, reflect in its worth that its vast wealth of invention is not the end, but virtually the beginning of Haydn's last and greatest period; from this period almost the whole 19th century symphonic tradition springs. We are, in fact, being present at the birth of a veritable flood-tide.

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