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„My language is understood all over the world“: Haydn's Global Enterprise

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INTRODUCTION: A "NEW WORLD" SYMPHONY BY HAYDN

The biography of Haydn by his friend Giuseppe Carpani features an account of what the author claims to have been one of the composer's procedures for composition[1]. First published in 1812, three years after Haydn's death, Carpani explains that after deciding on a theme and choosing the keys through which the composition would modulate, Haydn would devise a kind of "romance" ("romanzo") or "programme" ("programma") for his own use to sustain what the biographer calls "the musical colours" ("i colori musicali") of the composition. Carpani illustrates this with a detailed account of one such programme, which he states was elucidated for him by the composer himself[2].

According to Carpani's report Haydn imagined an impoverished friend, father of a large family, who decides to seek his fortune in America. The biographer had already prepared his readers for an American theme in relation to Haydn by likening the composer to Christopher Columbus "opening up a New World" ("siccome il Colombo, aprì le lie a un nuovo mondo")[3]. Carpani describes how the composition in question, a symphony, opens with the friend's departure, his family watching the ship sail away

[1] Giuseppe Carpani, Le Haydine, Milan 1812, pp. 69f. In the second revised edition (Padua 1823), the same passage appears unaltered on pp. 75f. Carpani's text for "Le Haydine" was heavily plagiarised in Louis-Alexandre-César Bombet (a pseudonym used by Marie Henri Beyle, the author known as Stendhal), Lettres écrites de Vienne en Autriche sur le célèbre compositeur Jh. Haydn, suivies d'une Vie de Mozart, et de considérations sur Métastase et l'État present de la musique en France et en Italie, Paris 1814; the passage in question appears at pp. 83ff. Stendhal's volume was translated into English and published in L.A.C. Bombet, The Life of Haydn, in a Series of Letters written at Vienna, Followed by the Life of Mozart, with Observations on Metastasio, and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy, with Notes by the Author of The Sacred Melodies [William Gardiner, a former correspondent of Haydn], London 1817. The text of the passage under consideration in the 1817 publication (pp. 97–102) represents a viable translation of Carpani's original and has been used in this paper.

[2] Carpani, Le Haydine, pp. 69f. All quotations are from the first edition.

[3] Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 11. This passage does not appear in Stendhal's plagiarisation.

and waving goodbye with tear-filled eyes. Waves drive the vessel forward on its journey until it reaches not America, but strange and unknown lands ("estranee ed ignote terre")[4].

After contact with inhabitants is established, native music, dancing, and the sound of primitive language ("suoni, danze, voci barbaresche") are all heard. Interaction between Europeans and natives leads to commercial exchange. After loading the ship with valuable merchandise, it sets sail once more for the return journey to Europe, aided by a favourable breeze. The first motif of the symphony returns at this point, followed by an episode during which the sea gradually grows rougher, the skies darken, and the ensuing storm, bringing complete disorder, terrifies the crew. Carpani mentions techniques Haydn is supposed to have employed to "depict" this scene: a chromatic melody, which is characterised as "patetico"; augmented and diminished chords; and rapid modulations progressing by semitones. Slowly the waves subside, and propitious winds ensure a safe homecoming. The composition concludes, Carpani states, with joyful reunions and celebrations.

Carpani's claim that Haydn composed what might be called a "New World" symphony has, hitherto, been treated with a degree of scepticism, understandably given that Carpani could not recall which symphony Haydn had in mind[5]. Could Haydn, often economical with the truth, have invented it, perhaps deliberately to mislead a credulous biographer[6]? Or could Carpani, ostensibly not too much concerned with factual accuracy, have embroidered the whole account himself[7]? Carpani's book was written with knowledge of compositions by Ludwig van Beethoven that reflects some of the themes in Carpani's report. Works like the "Pathétique" and "Les Adieux" sonatas (first published in 1799 and 1811 respectively), and the Pastoral symphony

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[4] Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 69.

[5] "Io non mi ricordo quale sia tra le sinfoníe dell'Haydn quella a cui questo romanzo diè norma" (Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 70).

[6] For an example of Haydn's blatant distortion of the truth at the expense of one of his biographers, in this case the very literal Griesinger, see Vernon Gotwals, Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits, Madison 1968, p. 20, and for comment, pp. 220f., n. 28. For Griesinger's original text, see Griesinger, pp. 29f.

[7] For comment on the accuracy of Carpani's biography, see Carpani, in: Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn, ed. David Wyn Jones, Oxford 2001, pp. 31f. Cf. Elaine Sisman, Haydn's Theater Symphonies, in: Journal of the American Musicological Society 43 (1990), pp. 292–352, here pp. 338f. For the broader cultural significance of Carpani's biographical approach in "Le Haydine", 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 – c. 1810, Aldershot 2001, especially chapter II.

(first published in 1809), might conceivably have prompted Carpani to fabricate a story that allowed his Haydn to compete with the pathos, farewells, distant longings, storms, and joyful returns expressed musically by his hero's erstwhile pupil. On the other hand, the use of a journey as a compositional metaphor, taken up by Beethoven in 1814–1815 in "Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt" ("Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage") only after the publication of Carpani's book, had already been explored by Haydn as early as 1773, in his opera "Philemon und Baucis"; so the notion that Haydn might have developed further compositions based on journeys is not in itself implausible[8].

It is also worth pointing out that narratives of fortune-seeking in distant places overseas, especially India or America, are common in British literature of the later 18th century[9]. In fact Haydn had one such novel in his own library, the story-line of which shows several points of similarity with Carpani's narrative[10]. Early biographers state that when he was in London, in 1791–1792 and again in 1794–1795, Haydn was in contact with seafarers heading for either America or India[11]. Moreover, there can be no doubt that during the period he spent in England Haydn, whose first experience of the sea was during his initial journey to London, became fascinated with all things nautical. He records being entertained on board one of the East

[8] "Philemon und Baucis", a marionette opera which survives incomplete, was originally subtitled "Jupiters Reise auf die Erde" ("Jupiter's Journey to the Earth"). One of the numbers explicitly depicts the journey of Jupiter and Mercury during a thunderstorm. A similar journey occurs in "Die Reisende Ceres" ("The Travelling Ceres"), a singspiel attributable to Haydn (dating from c. 1770). Further musical journeys are employed in several of Haydn's operas, including: "Il mondo della luna" (1777), "La vera costanza" (1778–1779), and "Armida" (1783).

[9] This point is made by Ian Woodfield (in relation to India) in his Music of the Raj. A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society, Oxford 2000, p. 218. For an overview, see Beth Fowes Tobin, Picturing Imperial Power. Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting, Durham, N.C., 1999.

[10] Haydn possessed the first three (of six) volumes of Thomas Holcroft's novel "Hugh Trevor" (London 1794). See Maria Hörwarthner, Joseph Haydn's Library. Attempt at a Literary Historical Reconstruction, in: Haydn and His World, ed. Elaine Sisman, Princeton, N.J., 1997, pp. 395–461, here p. 437, no. 85. In Hugh Trevor, vol. 1, the main character's father, finding himself destitute in England with a young family to support, enlists as a soldier in the East Indies; he dies of a fever on voyage. Haydn was on friendly terms with Holcroft during the period of his visits to London. Holcroft was concerned in his writings with increasing understanding of people obliged to enlist abroad.

[11] Carpani gives the story of a captain bound for India who commissions a march from Haydn: Le Haydine, pp. 225ff. Dies, pp. 121ff. gives a similar story, though in his version the captain is heading for America.

India Company's vessels[12]. Moreover, his interest in the rigging of French ships captured by the British was sufficiently engrossing for him to sketch it, in the midst of a long description of ships seen in dock at Portsmouth in July 1794[13]. He also admired views of the sea[14]. Music composed in England, such as the "Sailor's Song" and the "Mermaid's Song", presents clear evidence that the sea and mankind's relationship with it, one of the themes of his supposed "New World" symphony, had musical possibilities he intended to explore[15]. This aspect of Haydn's creativity seems to have particularly fascinated Carpani. At a later point in his biography Carpani returns to his comparison of Haydn with Columbus, extending it by adding two further celebrated nautical explorers, Jason, who in classical mythology successfully sailed on a quest to recover the Golden Fleece, and the British admiral George Anson (d. 1762), who circumnavigated the globe in 1743–1744 returning home with considerable riches. In Carpani's elaborate metaphor, Haydn joins the company of these figures because he also was an explorer, sailing in the sea of harmony ("nel mare dell'armonía"), skirting the oceans to discover new lands ("scoprire nuove terre"), and returning rich with golden acquisitions ("e tornarne ricco d'auree conquiste")[16].

Following his account of Haydn's "New World" symphony, Carpani tried to compensate for his failure to recollect which symphony was the one in question by stating that he knew the same programme had also been revealed to the composer Wenzel Pichl[17]. This assertion is noteworthy because Pichl (d. 1805), to whom Carpani gives the credit for providing information about Haydn elsewhere in his biography, composed some of the best known "characteristic" symphonies of the 18th century, that is those with programmatic elements, including a series of fourteen dating from the later 1760s and early 1770s, each of which he named after Roman deities or classical muses[18]. Since some of these had been adver-

[12] "in Monath Augusti [1791] speisete ich zu Mittag in einem ost Indischen Kauffartheischif mit 6 canonen. Ich wurde herrlich bewürth" (Bartha, p. 511; cf. CCLN, p. 275).

[13] Bartha, pp. 532–535, 537; CCLN, pp. 287–294.

[14] "... Fernhall in der Insul Wight, so von seinem landhauß die herlichste aussicht in das Meer hat" (Bartha, p. 530; cf. CCLN, p. 288).

[15] Perhaps the most ambitious music Haydn composed in England in part inspired by the sea was the fragmentary "Invocation to Neptune" (Hob.XXIVa:9), the patriotic text of which cites not only England's maritime interests, but also Columbus and the riches of the (East) Indies. Cf. Balázs Mikusi, New Light on Haydn's "Invocation to Neptune", in: Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 46/3–4 (2005), pp. 237–255.

[16] Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 94.

[17] Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 70.

[18] For a discussion of these, see Richard Will, The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven, Cambridge 2002, pp. 40–45, 274–280.

tised with their titles, Haydn would surely have known about them[19]. He certainly knew some of Pichl's music by 1778 when compositions by him were performed at Eszterhaz[20]. In 1784 Pichl referred to Haydn as a friend[21]. The two men were certainly close during the period 1801 to 1802, when Haydn's correspondence implies that Pichl was a regular visitor to the older composer's house in Gumpendorf, which Carpani also visited[22]. So Pichl is exactly the kind of composer to whom Haydn might have confided details of a concealed programme, perhaps in Carpani's presence.

After invoking the name of Pichl to authenticate his account of Haydn's "New World" symphony, Carpani goes on to reveal the otherwise undisclosed subject of yet another Haydn symphony. In this composition the composer "imagined a sort of dialogue between Jesus Christ and an obstinate sinner, and afterwards followed the Parable of the Prodigal Son"[23]. Although Carpani does not identify this symphony either, his description is consistent with seemingly independent accounts of what is evidently the same work: those published by the two remaining biographers of Haydn who knew the composer personally, Griesinger and Dies[24]. This evidence has enabled musicologists to speculate meaningfully on the identity of the symphony[25]. All of this suggests that Carpani is often a more reliable biographer than has sometimes been assumed[26]. The fact that he could not

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[19] In the 1769 Breitkopf catalogue: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue. The Six Parts and the Sixteen Supplements, 1762–1787, ed. Barry S. Brook, New York 1966, p. 339. Breitkopf catalogues had featured works by Haydn since 1763.

[20] Landon II, p. 94 (under 11 February 1778).

[21] Wenzel Pichl, letter to Padre Giovanni Battista Martini (20. Mai 1784), in: Anne Schnoebelen, Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna: An Annotated Index, New York, 1979, p. 489, no. 4121. See now also the digital facsimile: http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedal.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/lettereb/I19-1/I19-1_159/

[22] See Haydn's letters to Pleyel dated 20 May 1801 and 6 December 1802: Landon V, pp. 57f. (previously unpublished); Bartha, pp. 415f.

[23] "figurato si avevauna specie di dialogo fra Gesù e il peccatore ostinato, adombrando in essa la parabola del Figliuol prodigo", Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 70.

[24] Griesinger, p. 117; Dies, p. 131.

[25] See in particular: Sisman, Haydn's Theater Symphonies, pp. 337f.; Richard Will, When God met the sinner, and other dramatic confrontations in eighteenth-century instrumental music, in: Music & Letters 78 (1997), pp. 175–209, especially pp. 194ff.

[26] For the assumption that Carpani's text is "inaccurate", see Landon I, pp. 50f. The contrary point of view is articulated by Helmut C. Jacobs in his entry "Carpani" in: HLex, pp. 141f.

identify the symphonies he mentions might merely imply that he had no record of incipits by which to distinguish the works. Although numbering systems for some symphonies had been devised, these were not in common use and there is no reason why he should have been aware of them[27].

So could there be substance to Carpani's account of a "New World" symphony? Evidence of Haydn's personal engagement with the more remote regions of the world, discussed below, strongly suggests that Carpani's account is fundamentally correct.

HAYDN'S EXPANDING WORLD

When the violinist and concert promoter Johann Peter Salomon, having learned of the death of Haydn's patron in September 1790, arrived in Vienna to persuade the composer to return with him to London, he doubtless anticipated any objection Haydn may have had to making the trip. Although Haydn had no previous experience of long-distance travel, any doubts about journeying as far as England were easily overcome by pointing out the very considerable financial gains the composer would accrue in London. Dies, the biographer who probably heard the incident directly from Haydn in 1805, reports that after Prince Anton gave permission for the journey, "Haydn thought of nothing but what was connected with it. Money was the most urgent point"[28]. Dies explains that in 1790 Haydn had just 500 gulden that he could call his own: "the entire fruit of his life up to then" ("die ganze Frucht seines bisherigen Lebens")[29]. Haydn

[27] For early identifying (numbering) systems for Haydn symphonies, see Hob., vol. 3, pp. 13–43. It should be pointed out that since even the Haydn of the London years forgot how some of his own earlier symphonies went, Carpani's own failure to recall the themes of the symphonies he discussed is entirely understandable. Cf. Landon V, p. 105.

[28] "Seitdem der Fürst Anton die Erlaubniß zu der Reise ertheilt hatte, dachte Haydn an nichts, als was Bezug auf dieselbe haben konnte. Geld war der nothwendigste Punct" (Dies, pp. 76; translation in Gotwals, Haydn, p. 120).

[29] Dies, p. 76; translation in Gotwals, Haydn, p. 120. For evidence of Haydn's actual financial position at the time of his first trip to England, see Josef Pratl and Heribert Scheck, Joseph Haydns Vermögenslage vor seiner ersten London-Reise im Spiegel seiner Bezüge im Dienste der Fürsten Esterházy, in: EHB 10 (2016), pp. 124, 126, 147f. The author is grateful to Walter Reicher for this reference. For a helpful discussion of Haydn's financial position in 1790 and the increase in his fortunes in the 1790s, see Vernon Gotwals, Joseph Haydn's Last Will and Testament, in: The Musical Quarterly 47 (1961), pp. 331–353. To help put the sum of 500 gulden in context, it may be pointed out that Leopold Mozart reports that his son took in 559 gulden at a single benefit concert on 10 March 1785, and in Wolfgang's letter to Michael Puchberg of 14 July 1789, he requested the loan of "another 500 gulden" to see him through the financial plight he was then

doubtless exaggerated the situation to Dies. Nonetheless, Salomon deposited ten times this amount for Haydn in a Viennese bank before they had even left the city, advance payment for just one opera Haydn had yet to write and as security for the composer should anything go awry in England. In late 18th-century London, as Haydn would have known through numerous English contacts he had already established, music in its various manifestations was an indispensable commodity. For a popular composer like Haydn, the possibilities for making a fortune were considerable. Like the supposed friend in Carpani's story, it was worth the journey. In other words, Haydn's personal experience has an important commercial point of connection with Carpani's account of a "New World" symphony.

In this same section of his biography, Dies also explains that Mozart, during one of their final meetings, tried to deter Haydn from making the trip to England: "Papa! [...] you have had no training for the great world, and you speak too few languages"[30], to which Haydn responded, "Oh! [...] my language is understood all over the world!"[31] – "meine Sprache verstehet man durch die ganze Welt"[32].

The notion that music, and Haydn's music in particular, might be understood as a kind of international language is one indication that the composer was abreast of Enlightenment notions of music, the relationship of music to language having been explored by leading philosophes[33]. It also suggests that Haydn was aware, at the time of his last meetings with Mozart late in 1790, that his music was not only being performed across the entire extent of Europe, from Edinburgh to Constantinople, but also in more distant regions of the globe, as far away as Mexico and Calcutta, a point emphasised in Carpani's biography[34]. This was certainly no invention of Carpani's'. Haydn's music travelled better and further than any other composer of his time, something well documented[35]. But Haydn's concept

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facing: Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, Joseph Heinz Eibl, Gesamtausgabe, 7 vols., Kassel, 1962–75: III, p. 378; IV, p. 94.

[30] "Papa! [...] Sie haben keine Erziehung für die große Welt gehabt, und reden zu wenige Sprachen" (Dies, S. 75; translation in Gotwals, Haydn, p. 119).

[31] Gotwals, Haydn, pp. 120.

[32] Dies, p. 75.

[33] See the discussion in Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, p. 23.

[34] Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 3.

[35] For Calcutta, see: Thomas Tolley, Music in the Circle of Sir William Jones. A Contribution to the History of Haydn's Early Reputation, in: Music & Letters 73 (1992), pp. 525–550; and Ian Woodfield's response to this article, Haydn Symphonies in Calcutta, in: Music & Letters 75 (1994), pp. 141–143. For South America, see: David C. Nichols, A Mexican tribute to Haydn, in: HJB 13 (1982), pp. 231f.; Robert Stevenson, Los Contactos

that his work had global potential – "my language is understood all over the world!" – arguably tells us something about the scale of Haydn's ambition at this point in his career. The World would have seemed full of new possibilities for both his music and for its commercial impact. By travelling to London, the hub of a nascent global empire, he was connecting with this.

The third of Haydn's early biographers who actually knew him, Griesinger, brings a further dimension to Haydn's thinking about the world at this stage in his career. Griesinger explains that when Haydn was employed at the Esterházy estates prior to 1790, the composer claimed to have been "cut off from the World" – "ich war von der Welt abgesondert" – a state of being that famously obliged him "to become original"[36]. However, in discussing the subsequent period, when Haydn was in England, Griesinger states that "a new world was opened up to him" – "es eröffnete sich ihm eine neue Welt"[37]. Griesinger implies that this was not only about compositional opportunities, but also about Haydn's own compositional practice[38].

Griesinger's contrast between the cut-off Haydn of the early Esterházy years and the Haydn only just open to the world of the London period and after is reflected in the texts he chose to set. The self-contained conception of "world" found, for example, in Goldoni comedies, like "Il mondo della luna" ("The World of the Moon") is abandoned in favour of a much more expansive notion, suggesting more wide-ranging creative possibilities as heard, for example, in "Die Schöpfung", the oratorio Haydn composed in 1798–1799 after his trips to London[39]. The original text from which

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de Haydn con el Mundo Ibérico, in: Revista Musical Chilena 36 (1982), pp. 3–39. For North America, see: Irving Lowens, Haydn in America, Detroit 1979. See also the contributions by Paulo Kühl, Kathleen Lamkin and Michael Ruhling in this book.

[36] Original text from Griesinger, p. 24; the translation used here is from James Webster, Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style. Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music (Cambridge studies in Music theory and analysis, 1), Cambridge 1991, p. 364. For important discussions of Haydn's own conception of his originality, see: Elaine Sisman, Haydn, Shakespeare, and the Rules of Originality, in: Haydn and His World, ed. id., Princeton 1997, pp. 3–56; Thomas Baumann, Becoming Original: Haydn and the Cult of Genius, in: The Musical Quarterly 87 (2005), pp. 333–357.

[37] Griesinger, p. 36. Translation from Gotwals, Haydn, p. 23.

[38] This is something that arguably ties in with the sense of liberty Haydn expressed in his correspondence from London to friends in Vienna during 1791. See in particular the letter to Marianne von Genzinger dated 17 September 1791: Bartha, pp. 260f.

[39] There were of course many other opera libretti premised on the notion of an enclosed world. These were often set on a remote island, as in Goldoni's "Il mondo alla roversa"

this oratorio was fashioned was entitled not simply "The Creation", as it is generally known in the English-speaking world today, but "The Creation of the World", the title of the libretto as given to Haydn by Salomon when the composer left England for the last time, and also the title he used at the performances he gave in London[40]. Van Swieten's reworking of this text makes much throughout of the word "Welt" – world. For instance, in Part One, after light is divided from darkness, the chorus celebrates not the first act of Creation, but anticipates the creation of the Universe by singing "eine neue Welt entspringt auf Gottes Wort" – a new world arises from God's word[41]. At the beginning of Part Three, Adam and Eve, having praised the creation of Heaven and Earth, sing of "The world, so great, so wonderful" – "Die Welt, so groß, so wunderbar"[42].

Despite having been "cut off from the world" in Esterházy employment, the composer's acquisition of two illustrated atlases, both dating from considerably earlier in the 18th century, suggests Haydn's curiosity about the world and its form[43]. Until 1790 Haydn, alone among leading contemporary composers, had not needed to travel significantly in order to progress his career[44]. According to Griesinger, the young Haydn was advised to travel by none other than Gluck: but "timidity and lack of funding held him back"[45]. One of the atlases Haydn acquired was Johann Baptist Homann's "Großer Atlas", featuring forty-six magnificent illustrated plates of the whole world – über die ganze Welt – what appears to have been the first edition of the most prestigious cartographic production of the German-speaking world of the 18th century. Haydn, so it seems, took viewing the world seriously and was apparently prepared to pay for this – the work would certainly have been expensive[46]. The atlas had its limitations though. While it was good for locating distant cities that commissioned works from him in the 1780s, such as Cadiz, it was ineffective for regions of the World,

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("The World Back to Front"), set by Galuppi and Salieri.

[40] Nicholas Temperley, Haydn: The Creation, Cambridge 1991, pp. 20, 122 (n. 4).

[41] Ibid., p. 53. My translation is modern.

[42] Ibid., p. 62.

[43] Hörwarthner, Joseph Haydn's Library, p. 438, nos. 87 and 88.

[44] Even Joseph's brother, Michael Haydn has travelled significantly further by the equivalent stage of his career. The need to travel, either in search of patronage or to broaden knowledge of musical styles (especially in Italy), is well documented for many contemporary composers, in particular Mozart.

[45] Gotwals, Haydn, p. 17. Cf. Griesinger, p. 23.

[46] Hörwarthner, Haydn's Library, p. 438, no. 87. When the Atlas went to auction after Haydn's death it was valued conservatively at 6 gulden, though together with the smaller atlas it was actually sold for over 18 gulden.

such as the Pacific basin, that had been more fully explored since the atlas had been first published[47]. Homann's maps may have helped Haydn chart the increasing extent of his own reputation, a matter of likely interest; but they offered at best only a conceptual grasp of the world and its extent.

Possibly of greater help to Haydn in thinking about journeying to the Americas was another item in his library, William Robertson's "History of America" (1777), the most authoritative 18th-century account of the early history of the Americas[48]. The edition Haydn owned of this work was

[47] The atlas would have been of little help, for example, for places like Arenas de San Pedro, which Haydn was looking for in 1781, when he considered entering into correspondence with Luigi Boccherini: Landon II, p. 447. Although the date Haydn acquired his copy of Homann's "Großer Atlas" is unknown, it may reasonably be argued that it was considerably before he travelled to England. By 1790, the date Haydn first set out for England, the Atlas would have been out of date since it did not feature regions of the globe charted by subsequent explorers, like Captain Cook. Since Haydn's interest in Cook, his voyages and the islands he explored is attested by the composer's acquision of a complete illustrated edition of these voyages, a volume that this paper argues he made use of during his first visit to England, it is hard to imagine any circumstances in which he would have needed out-of-date maps of the world after having acquired more up-to-date material. Haydn owned a second, smaller atlas devised by Homann, a publication intended for school children. Like the "Großer Atlas", the one intended for use by the young was first published before Haydn was born and reissued in various formats for several decades. Since Haydn had no children of his own, it is difficult to imagine circumstances in which he would have wanted to acquire such a volume as an adult. It seems most likely that he received the school atlas in childhood, retaining it throughout life because its contents appealed to him. When he had the means, after gaining the security of lasting employment, he developed this interest in cartography by obtaining the "Großer Atlas". At the time of his death he appears to have kept both volumes together, which had probably always been the case. Like all items from Haydn's library that had no obvious musical association, neither of the copies of Homann atlases the composer owned can be identified today.

[48] Hörwarthner, Haydn's Library, p. 415, no. 35. The date Haydn acquired these volumes is not known, though circumstantial evidence suggests it is likely to have been before he left Vienna for London. Schrämbl, the Viennese firm that issued them, also published in the same year (1787) two other major works by Robertson in English editions: "The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V" in four volumes; and the "History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI" in two volumes. Haydn owned a German translation of the Scottish history, the "Geschichte von Schottland", published in Ulm and Leipzig in 1762. The two sets of volumes of works by Robertson owned by Haydn are unlikely to have been acquired at the same time. It seems possible that his familiarity with the earlier work, the style of which he arguably enjoyed, encouraged him to explore the text of the later work, which was advertise by Schrämbl in the "Weiner Zeitung", a newspaper Haydn followed, on 24 November 1787. In July of

published in English in Vienna in 1787 in a set of three volumes. Since he owned all three, it seems clear that the subject-matter interested him. The volumes were available from the publisher Schrämbl in the Kärntner Straße in central Vienna, suggesting that Haydn either acquired them in preparation for his first major trip to England in 1790 (the trip had been anticipated several years earlier), or possibly during the period he was in Vienna between the two England visits (1792–1794). Purchasing volumes in English after he had finally returned to Vienna in 1795 seems less likely since he would then have arguably had less to gain from them. The opening chapter of Robertson's "History of America" presents a comprehensive history of all European voyages and discoveries before the time of Columbus. Chapter 2 is a fully documented account of the activities and travels of Columbus, at the heart of which is the "discovery" of America. For someone who had never previously travelled any significant distance and for whom developing a command of English was a priority, Robertson's "History" would have been a good choice of reading material. Perhaps Salomon pointed it out to Haydn during the period they were in the imperial city before travelling together to London. Given his previous limited experience of the world, Haydn's very journey from Vienna to London in 1790 was surely an eye-opener. His account of seeing the sea for the first time – "I remained on deck during the whole voyage, so as to gaze my fill at that mighty monster, the ocean" – provides insight into how Haydn welcomed new experiences associated with travel[49]. Earlier musical conceptions of

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that year Haydn was negotiating to visit London in order to compose an opera for the Haymarket Theatre and to compose a series of instrumental works for the Professional Concert: Bartha, pp. 173f., no. 92. This arrangement came to nothing possibly because Haydn managed to offend the concert organisation by sending them compositions he had already submitted to London publishers. The dispute became a matter of controversy played out in the London press during the early months of 1788: Landon, II, pp. 599–603. It is here suggested Haydn obtained his volumes of Robertson's "History of America" partly in expectation of a visit to England at this time (the volumes being a excellent example of writing in English prose), and partly because Robertson's text explained the colonial background to the plots of two operas recently performed at Eszterház, Zingarelli's "Montezuma", first given by Haydn in 1785, and Sarti's "Idalide", first given in 1786, both of which furnished examples of colonialisation of regions of the Americas by representatives of Habsburg Spain. In his dealings with London at this time Haydn had the benefit (or hindrance) of an interpreter/intermediary, the Viennese composer and organist Joseph Diettenhoffer, and ensured anything he was required to sign was in a language he understood. However, as the volume of business with which he was concerned stemming from London mounted, it would clearly have been in his interests to develop some awareness of the English language.

[49] Letter to Marianne von Genzinger of 8 January 1791: Bartha, pp. 250f., translated in CCLN, pp. 111f.

what the sea might be like, in compositions like the opening to "La vera costanza" (1778–1779), no longer measured up to the reality. From this perspective, Carpani's report of a "New World" symphony, in which the sea and its varying manifestations provided inspiration, makes sense.

A COLLECTION FROM HAYDN'S LIBRARY: ANDERSON'S "VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD"

Another volume from Haydn's library, this time probably acquired in London, is likely to have made the greatest single contribution to extending Haydn's sense of what the world actually embraced[50]. The book in question was a huge collected edition of several accounts of voyages by explorers to mostly uncharted regions of the globe, all of which had previously been published in individual expensive editions. The principal contents of this compendium were all three voyages around the World made by Captain Cook, the most celebrated nautical explorer of the 18th century, compiled by one George William Anderson. Entitled for short "A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World", Haydn's book was originally issued in a series of 80 weekly instalments (starting from 11 September 1784), each costing sixpence, a mode of publication aimed at attracting the widest possible readership, and making considerable savings by comparison with separate purchase of earlier publications of the voyages, as the publisher emphasised[51]. Haydn did not of course purchase these instalments individually. What he acquired, presumably some years after the whole publication had been completed in 1786, though probably before a new expanded edition ap-

[50] Hörwarthner, Haydn's Library, p. 400, no. 6. A preliminary discussion of Haydn's interest in Cook's voyages appeared in Tolley, Painting the Canon's Roar, pp. 69ff. For the background to global exploration in the 18th century, see Enlightenment. Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Kim Sloane, with Andrew Burnett, London 2003.

[51] According to the preface of the publisher (Alex Hogg), serial publication ensured that anyone "who would wish to peruse the Discoveries [...] and view the astonishing fine Copper-Plates" might not be "excluded from gratifying their curiosity [...] whatever may be his Circumstances"; "The Poor as well as the Rich will thus become familiarly acquainted with these extraordinary and important Voyages and Discoveries." This democratizing principle was reinforced by reminding readers that the voyages themselves had only been possible by committing "vast Sums of the Public Money". A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World, Undertaken and Performed by Royal Authority. Containing an Authentic, Entertaining, Full and Complete History of Captain Cook's First, Second, Third and Last Voyages, Undertaken by Order of his Present Majesty, for making Discoveries in Geography, Navigation, Astronomy, &c, ed. George William Anderson, London: Alex Hogg, 1784, titlepage.

peared in 1794, was the complete set in a single volume. The publisher, Alex Hogg, stated at the outset of the project that the instalments would make "when completed either One or Two large Handsome Volumes in Folio"[52]. Haydn's volume would have been very large, and was presumably acquired fully bound, perhaps from the publishers at No. 16 Pater-Noster Row. When auctioned after the composer's death, the estimate placed on it was 24 gulden, the highest value placed on any single item in the library. The price actually paid was over 30 gulden, a considerable sum for a just one volume[53].

Haydn's acquisition of this edition is established from the list of contents of the composer's library drawn up after his death[54]. Although it seems unlikely that Haydn read much or perhaps any of this vast tome, the scale of the book strongly suggests that, even if it came to Haydn as a gift rather than as a personal purchase, his interest in its contents was manifest and genuine, otherwise he would not have returned with it to Vienna. The title page explains that the book was: "the most accurate, elegant, and perfect Edition of the Whole of Capt. COOK's VOYAGES and DISCOVERIES, &c. ever published, and written in a more pleasing and elegant Stile [sic] than any other Work of the Kind"[55]. The aspect of the volume that arguably is likely to have been of greatest interest to Haydn was indicated next on the title page:

> [The book is] Illustrated with all the elegant, splendid, and fine LARGE FOLIO COPPER-PLATES, belonging to Capt. COOK's FIRST, SECOND, THIRD and LAST VOYAGES, being Views of Places, Portraits of Persons, and historical Representations of remarkable Incidents during the celebrated NAVIGATORS VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD, together with all the necessary Maps, Charts, Plans, Draughts, &c. Shewing

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[52] Prefatory material: A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages, ed. Anderson, titlepage. The hand-list of Haydn's library, drawn up after his death, makes it clear that the volume he owned was the original 1784 edition, not the new edition of 1794: the inventory includes the date. The document lists this item as: '[No.] 6. Voyages /1.2.3/ round the World by Captain Cook with notes by G. Anderson, London 1784 Gr[oß-] Fol[io] London 1784 ed[izione] splendidissima'. Wiener Stadtarchiv, Mag. Abh. 2436/1809. This inventory is headed 'Verzeichniß' and is attached to a separate document listing Haydn's remaining material possessions.

[53] The estimate and the price reached are recorded next to the relevant entry in the original document: Wiener Stadtarchiv, Mag. Abh. 2436/1809.

[54] Hörwarthner, Haydn's Library, p. 400, no. 6.

[55] George William Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World, London 1784–1786, titlepage.

> the Tracks of the Ships, and relative to Countries now first discovered, or hitherto but imperfectly know [sic]; the Whole amounting to upwards of ONE HUNDRED and FIFTY COPPER-PLATES, finely engraved and accurately copied from the Originals by the most eminent Masters.

In the prefatory material that follows, the number of illustrations promised rises to "TWO HUNDRED and TWENTY most elegant and superb ENGRAVINGS", though this figure was apparently never realised. Surviving copies indicate that the number of illustrations varies slightly, perhaps depending on whether all the issues were collected. They appear not to have always been inserted in the same places when bound[56].

The extent of the illustration in the volume Haydn acquired means that much time is required for perusing its contents, let alone digesting it in full. The illustrations, though mostly re-engraved from earlier publications, had the advantage of collecting together within a single volume (when complete) almost all pictures associated with Cook that had previously been published. There are numerous maps, from those showing the entirety of the world (some charting Cook's various voyages), much more completely than those of Homann, to detailed plans of the various islands visited, a large proportion depicted for the first time in the West[57]. Examples of such maps include the Island of Tahiti, then known as Otaheite (Figure 1), and one showing the distribution of the Friendly Islands (their name stemming from the good relations between natives and Westerners)[58].

There is also a considerable range of illustrations showing coastlines, particularly those suggesting suitable places for establishing ports, essential for opening up trading posts, a point clearly relevant to Carpani's account of Haydn's supposed "New World" symphony[59]. Cook's voyages were essentially paid for by the British government with a view to developing the commercial possibilities of contact with inhabitants in little known regions of the world, much as in Carpani's account[60].

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[56] Copies of A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages in the following libraries were consulted for this study (all available digitally): the British Library; the University of Alberta Libraries; the National Library of Ireland; the Huntington Library. Another in a private collection was also consulted.

[57] The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages, ed. Andrew David, Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, 2 vols., London 1988–1992.

[58] Although "Tahiti" is correct, "Otaheite" is used here since it is the name Haydn is more likely to have recognised.

[59] David, Joppien and Smith, Charts and Coastal Views.

[60] For the background to the first European depictions of the south Pacific, see: Bernard Smith, Captain Cook's Artists and the Portrayal of Pacific Peoples, in: Art History 7/3

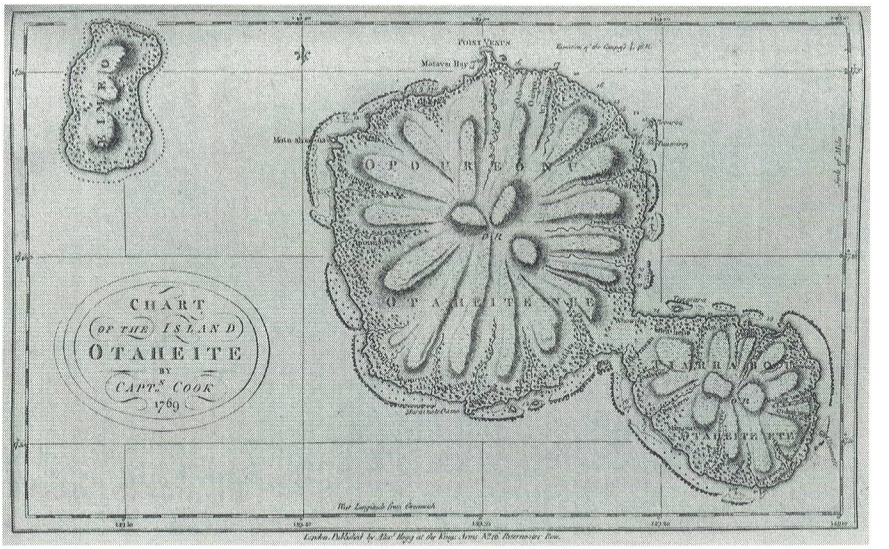

Figure 1: Chart oft the Island Otaheite by Captn. Cook 1769, in: George William Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World, London 1784–1786. Private collection.

Another category of illustration is concerned with views seen on Cook's voyages showing inhospitable places, with desolate landscapes, bleak seascapes, and indicating precarious routes for vessels. This category includes, for instance, one of the earliest representations of icebergs in Western art, "ice mountains" as they were then called in English (Figure 2). Such scenes may be related to issues Haydn took up musically during the later part of his career. Extremes of climate were given musical expression in his late oratorios; and the idea of mountains emerging from the sea, strikingly portrayed in some of the illustrations, is treated musically in the third day of Haydn's "Creation"[61].

(1984), pp. 295–312; Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, 3 vols., New Haven 1985–1988; Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, 2nd edition, New Haven 1985; Id., Imagining the Pacific. In the Wake of the Cook Voyages, New Haven 1992.

[61] "The Creation" and "The Seasons" furnish several examples of the extremes of temperature being conveyed through musical means. Perhaps the most commanding examples are the stifling heat of summer and the dismal cold of winter ("The Seasons", nos. 8c "Dem Druck' erlieget die Natur" and 18b "Hier steht der Wand'rer nun" – The numbers refer to Joseph Haydn, Die Jahreszeiten. Oratorium (1799–1801), ed. Armin Raab (JHW XXVIII/4), München 2007). Haydn was not the first composer to explore temperature musically. Henry Purcell and Antonio Vivaldi provide earlier examples. Unlike these composers, however,

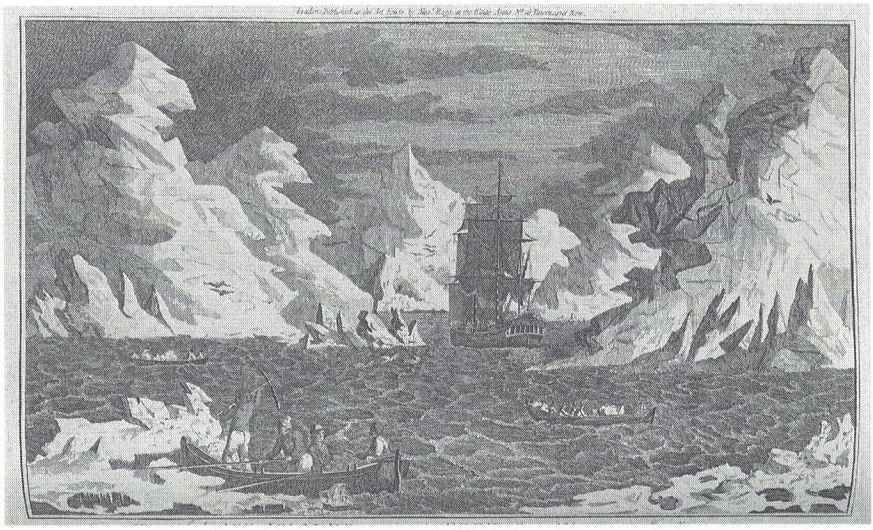

Figure 2: View of the Ice Islands as seen in Cook's Second Voyage on Jan 19. 1773, in: Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages. Private collection.

By contrast, "A New and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World" also features countless views of the various Pacific islands Cook visited, with their rich sub-tropical vegetation (Figure 3). These are often depicted in such a way as to suggest an ideal, tranquil habitat, a kind of paradise on earth, sustaining mankind in a simple, though noble manner (Figure 4)[62]. Many animals previously unseen in the West are represented[63]. And then there are portraits of representatives of all the various peoples encountered, showing their appearance and styles of dress and decoration (Figure 5)[64]. Among these, for example, are those that include some of the earliest depictions of tattoos in the West[65].

Haydn's ventures into this realm have clear landscape settings, reminiscent, it is here suggested, of the illustrations in the volume of Cook voyages he owned.

[62] See Harriet Guest, The Great Distinction. Figures of the Exotic in the Work of William Hodges, in: Oxford Art Journal 12/2 (1989), pp. 36–58.

[63] Examples include kangaroos, penguins, sea otters, polar bears, and possums.

[64] For discussions of some of these, see Harriet Guest, Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation: James Cook, William Hodges, and the Return to the Pacific, Cambridge 2007.

[65] Harriet Guest, Curiously Marked. Tattooing, Masculinity and Nationality in Eighteenth-Century British Perceptions of the South Atlantic, in: Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art, 1700–1850, ed. John Barrell, Oxford 1992, pp. 101–134; Tattoo. Bodies. Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West, ed. Nicholas Thomas, Anna Cole and Bronwen Douglas, London 2005.

Figure 3: The North East View of The Island of Otaheite, in: Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages. Private collection.

There is also a series of prints showing a range of encounters between the Western explorers and natives, a few hostile, though more often welcoming (Figure 6)[66]. Carpani's explicit mention of how Haydn imagined voyagers made contact with inhabitants of unknown lands easily connects with this. Most of the images are contrived or fanciful, but some appear to record something of what took place based on first hand visual experience[67]. The volume Haydn owned included a brief guide to the languages of the South Seas and their strange sounds[68], another thing Carpani specifically mentions.

Numerous artefacts are depicted in detail in "A New and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World", including musical instruments with their performers. In fact considerable effort was made to record the musicianship and musical activities of the peoples encountered, both in the pictures and in the text[69]. On board two of Cook's voyages was the son of the music

[66] Joppien and Smith, Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, vol. 2, passim.

[67] For discussions, see: Anne Salmond, Two Worlds. First Meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642–1772, Honolulu 1991; Id., Between Worlds. Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1773–1815, Honolulu 1997; Guest, Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation, chapter 4, pp. 91–123.

[68] A New, Authentic and Complete Collection of Voyages, ed. Anderson, pp. 204–212.

[69] For European perceptions of music in the South Pacific, see: David Irving, The Pacific

Figure 4: A View in the Island of Tanna, in: Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages. Private collection.

Figure 5: Portrait of a Man of the Sandwich Islands in a Mask and Representation of a Man of the Sandwich Islands Dancing, in: Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages. Private collection.

Figure 6: The Landing of Captn. Cook &Cc. at Middeburgh, one of the Friendly Isles, in: Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages. Private collection.

historian Dr Charles Burney, Haydn's admirer and friend. James Burney's recollections of the music of these islands are well recorded in the family correspondence and journals[70]. The account owned by Haydn makes much of the elegant dancing of the Otaheitians (Figure 7) and neighbouring peoples and the playing of flute-like instruments. Among the most striking of the scenes showing contact between natives and Westerners were those depicting performances specifically put on for the entertainment of the Westerners[71]. Again, music and dancing on the unknown island are things Carpani specifically mentions in his account of Haydn's enigmatic symphony.

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in the Minds and Music of Enlightenment Europe, in: Eighteenth-Century Music 2/2 (2005), pp. 205–229; Vanessa Agnew, "Scots Orpheus" in the South Seas, or, The Use of Music on Cook's Second Voyage, in: Journal for Maritime Research, May 2001, pp. 1–25; Ead., Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds, Oxford 2008.

[70] See the accounts by Irving (The Pacific, pp. 214–217) and Agnew (ibid., pp. 89–99).

[71] See Agnew, ibid., pp. 95–103 with illustrations.

Figure 7: An Exact Representation of a Dance in Otaheite, in: Anderson, A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages. Private collection.

WILLIAM AND ANN MARY HODGES: A PAINTER AND HIS MUSICAL WIFE

Pictures like those just discussed were possible in the West because artists had been commissioned to accompany crews on their voyages of discovery in order to record pictorially scenes and objects of visual interest. On Cook's second voyage, from which stem many of the pictures mentioned above, the artist is identified as William Hodges, described at the time of his appointment as a landscape painter[72]. The Admiralty, that branch of the British government that instigated these voyages, informed Cook that:

> we have engaged Mr. William Hodges, a Landskip Painter to proceed in his Majesty's Sloop under your Command on her intended Voyage in order to make Drawings and Paintings as may be proper to give a more perfect idea thereof than can be formed from written description only; You are hereby required and directed to receive the said Mr. William Hodges on board giving him all proper accommodation and assistance, victualling

[72] Isabel Combs Stuebe, The Life and Works of William Hodges, New York 1979; William Hodges, 1744–1797. The Art of Exploration, ed. Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill, New Haven 2004. A preliminary account of Hodges and his significance for Haydn was given in Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 69–73.

> him as the Ship's company and taking care that he does diligently employ himself in making Drawings or Paintings of such Places as you may touch at that may be worthy of notice in the course of your Voyage as also of such other Objects and things as may fall within the Compass of his Abilities[73].

The tome owned (and presumably consulted) by Haydn mentions Hodges in the text at several points. For example, the artist became so well known to the inhabitants of Otaheite, that:

> The king's brother Tarevatoo, knowing that Mr. Hodges made drawings of every thing curious, intimated of his own accord, that he [Hodges] might be sent for; and thus an opportunity was unexpectedly afforded our draughtsman, to collect materials for a picture of the Otaheite fleet[74].

This opportunity helped to fulfil one further objective of the Admiralty. Providing an understanding of the nautical abilities of peoples of the South Seas and their readiness for war was part of the Admiralty's imperialist agenda[75].

By the time Haydn arrived in England, almost two decades after Hodges had circumnavigated the globe, the artist had become a member of the Royal Academy, the institution based in London established to raise the prestige of the visual arts. As such Hodges's portrait was drawn by George Dance R.A., the same draughtsman who a year later depicted Haydn in exactly the same manner[76]. The composer subsequently said that Dance's likeness was the best profile portrait of him that had ever been taken[77]. For this reason a copy of Dance's portrait of Haydn was sent to Vienna to satisfy the need for a representation of him to decorate frontispieces

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[73] The National Archives: PRO ADM, 2/97, fol. 542–543: quoted from John Bonehill, Hodges and Cook's Second Voyage, in: William Hodges, 1744–1797, p. 74. Hodges was appointed 30 June 1772 by the Admiralty to Cook's ship "Resolution".

[74] A New, Authentic and Complete Collection of Voyages, ed. Anderson, p. 151.

[75] For a discussion of the pictures of the Tahitian fleet, see Quilley and Bonehill, William Hodges, 1744–1797, pp. 119f.

[76] Dance's drawing of Hodges (Royal Academy of Arts, London; dated 10 March 1793) is illustrated as a frontispiece ibid. For Dance's drawing of Haydn (Royal College of Music, London; dated 20 March 1794), see Lászlo Somfai, Joseph Haydn. His Life in Contemporary Pictures. Collected and Supplied with a Commentary and an Iconography of Authentic Haydn Pictures, New York 1969, p. 214, no. 11b.

[77] Recorded by Griesinger in correspondence, 12 June 1799: Edward Ollenson, Georg August Griesinger's Correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel, in: HJB 3 (1965), pp. 5–53, here p. 10.

of publications of his works[78]. Dance regularly drew leading personalities in the creative arts[79]. At the time he drew Hodges, the series was devoted exclusively to members of the Royal Academy, a plan only broken by the portrait of Haydn, a celebrated composer, not a painter. It seems clear that Dance's colleagues in the Royal Academy were persuaded that Haydn was a fitting person to be included in their company; this suggests that Haydn was personally known to artists in Dance's circle. Indeed the artist who was secretary to the Royal Academy, Joseph Farington, a notable diarist, records several anecdotes about Haydn that firmly situates the composer within this sphere[80]. Hodges, who was one of the Academy's officers at this time, might therefore have become known to Haydn.

A firmer indication that the paths of Haydn and Hodges crossed when the composer was in London comes from the correspondence of Francis Fowke, an amateur violinist with whom Salomon regularly performed at private quartet parties[81]. On 21 June 1790, shortly before Salomon embarked on that fêted trip to the Continent that successfully culminated in engaging Haydn, Fowke wrote to his musical sister about a recent dining engagement[82]:

> Salomon was there and Mrs Hodges, wife of the solemn little painter. I don't know whether you ever heard her. She plays very well and preludes in a masterly style. She is the daughter of a music-seller and taught before her marriage.

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[78] Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, Vienna: Somfai, Joseph Haydn, pp. 148, 214, no. 11a. Somfai misinterprets the order of the two drawings which may be ascertained by comparison with others in Dances's series.

[79] For an account of Dance's series of portrait drawings, see Stephen Lloyd and Kim Sloan, The Intimate Portrait, Edinburgh 2008, p. 149, no. 97.

[80] The Diary of Joseph Farington, 16 vols., ed. Kenneth Garlick, Angus MacIntyre and Kathryn Cave, New Haven 1978–1984. For entries that demonstrate Haydn's friendship with Dance and Farington, see vol. 1, p. 276; vol. 2, pp. 353, 356; vol. 3, p. 1062.

[81] In the 1780s members of the Fowke family had lived in India: Woodfield, Music of the Raj, pp. 211–218. Their surviving correspondence indicates particular musical enthusiasms, including works by Haydn and the arrangement of "Hindostannie" music for Western ears: Ian Woodfield, "The Hindostannie air": English Attempts to Understand Indian Music in the Late Eighteenth Century, in: Journal of the Royal Musical Association 119 (1994), pp. 189–211.

[82] British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, European MS D546/26. The letter is known to me from Ian Woodfield, Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career (Royal Musical Association Monographs 12), Aldershot 2003, p. 72, n. 1.

Fowke probably already knew Hodges: in the 1780s both men had worked in India for Warren Hastings, the celebrated governor-general[83]. Fowke's correspondence indicates that, like Salomon, the painter's wife was part of this family's circle. She had been a pupil of Charles Wesley and was considered "an excellent performer on the piano-forte"[84]. Among her admirers, not only of her abilities as a pianoforte player but also for her beauty, was Haydn. According to catalogues of his music library, Haydn was in possession of an original manuscript of a composition by Mrs Hodges, confirming a personal connection between the Hodges family and Haydn. In 1809 this item appears (in translation) as:

> Hodges Mrs. An English Song with [the accompaniment of] the Clavier, autograph and also the poetry by her. Mr Haydn's handwritten inscription [i.e. on the manuscript] says that she was the most beautiful woman he had ever seen ["das schönste von ihm gesehen Weib"] and a great piano player ["eine große Klavierspielerin"][85].

Haydn was misinformed about the words of the song having been written by Mrs Hodges. In fact they were taken from a collection of love-poetry first published in Edinburgh in 1759 and perhaps known to Mrs Hodges from an edition printed in London in 1787[86]. Haydn's opinion of her

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[83] For Fowke and Hastings, see Woodfield, Music of the Raj, p. 193. For Hodges and Hastings, see Isabel Stuebe, Hodges and Hastings. A Study in Eighteenth-Century Patronage, in: Burlington Magazine 115 (1973), pp. 659–666. Haydn took an interest in Hastings when he was in London and attended one of the sessions of his famous trial: Landon III, pp. 167f., 289.

[84] Edward Edwards, Anecdotes of Painters Who have Resided or Been Born in England with Critical Remarks on their Productions, London 1808, p. 243.

[85] "Hodges Misstriss. Ein englisches Lied am Klavier, eigenhändig u. die Poesie auch von ihr. Herrn Haydns eigenhändige Aufschrift saget, sie sey das schönste von ihm gesehene Weib und eine große Klavierspielerin gewesen" (Landon V, p. 401). In the catalogue drawn up by Haydn with the help of his servant Elßler around 1805, an entry clearly referring to the same item reads: "M^{ris} Hodges. 41. Original. dieses Lied ist von der M^{ris} Hodges. das schönste Weib, so ich zeit lebens gesehen, eine große Clavierspiellerin Text und Musik von Ihrer Composition./: when from thy Sight I waste:/ ("Original. This song is by M^{ris} Hodges, the most beautiful woman I ever saw in my life, a great Clavier player. Text and music of her own composition: When from thy Sight I waste"; Landon V, p. 310, no. 41). The manuscript is now missing, but is known from copies associated with Carl Ferdinand Pohl: see Balázs Mikusi, Haydn's "British Music Library", in : The Land of Opportunity: Joseph Haydn and Britain, ed. Richard Chesser and David Wyn Jones, London 2013, pp. 112–136, here pp. 116, 125. I am grateful to Balázs Mikusi for discussing this with me.

[86] Extracted from Elegy XV, "To Delia, in the manner of Ovid", in: The Poetical Works of James Hammond. With the Life of the Author, London 1787, p. 41. The original

beauty, however, is confirmed from other sources. When her husband the painter died in 1797, having tragically lost all his money in a banking crash, one of his old friends, the portrait painter George Romney, wrote:

> Alas poor Hodges! His wife more to be lamented! I shall never forget what I saw one morning when I found her at breakfast with her little children; her voice and face more enchanting and beautiful than I had ever thought them before. The scene dwells upon my mind when I hear of her, poor woman! For the gratification of the same looks and voice, I think I could travel a hundred miles. I must content myself with the vision; the reality I shall never see again[87].

Romney certainly never saw Mrs Hodges again since she herself died within three months of her husband[88]. Apparently unable to overcome the grief at the loss of her husband, she left six orphaned infant children destitute. Friends and members of the Royal Academy rallied to support the family[89].

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publication was Love-Elegies by Mr Hammond. Written in the Year 1732. With A Preface by the Earl of Chesterfield, Edinburgh 1759, p. 27.

[87] Letter of 17 March 1797, published in William Hayley, The Life of George Romney Esq., London 1809, p. 257.

[88] The following announcement appeared in the Whitehall Evening Post on 13 June 1797 under the heading "DIED": "Lately, at Tundridge Wells, Mrs Hodges, widow of the late ingenious and respectable artist." Tunbridge Wells had been the residence of William Hodges's mother. His widow presumably went to live there after his death. A joint epitaph for the couple explains what happened (Hayley, Life of Romney, pp. 260f.):
[...] To active Hodges, who with zeal sublime,
Pursued the art, he lov'd , in every clime;
Who early traversing the globe with Cook,
Painted new life from nature's latent book;
Who with a spirit that no bars controul'd,
Labour'd in Indian heat, and Russian cold,
Yet clos'd [...]
A life of labour in affliction's cloud;
To him, whose name has well deserv'd to live,
This faithful record truth and friendship give,
Nor give to him alone, but doubly just
Hail his angelic Anna's hallow'd dust.
She lovely victim of affection true,
In pangs that piety could not subdue,
Perceiv'd (and felt the prospect a relief)
Her fair and gentle frame dissolv'd by grief.

[89] Arrangements made by Royal Academicians for Mrs Hodges after the death of her husband are recorded by Farington, Diary of Joseph Farington, entries for Monday, 8 May, and Thursday, 25 May 1797 (vol. 3, pp. 833, 844). For arrangements made for children after the death of their mother, see Stuebe, Hodges and Hastings, p. 665.

But the musical community also contributed to this effort. The composer Nicolas Hüllmandel had the idea of raising funds through a subscription for the publication of Mrs Hodges's songs, beginning with the very one Haydn owned in a manuscript copy[90]. The publication, dedicated to the Queen, is prefaced with an engraved portrait of Mrs Hodges above a poem extolling her beauty and mourning her loss[91]. Two of the subscribers, Sir William and Lady Emma Hamilton, subsequently visited Haydn at Eisenstadt[92]. It was perhaps through them that Haydn learnt of the death of Mrs Hodges.

On the manuscript of her song that he had previously inscribed, Haydn added in a trembling hand the words "Requiescat in pace" ("May she rest in peace"), and then attached his own name "J. Haydn" to this, an unusual gesture, presumably to imply that he shared in the grief[93]. As in the case

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[90] Songs Composed by Mrs. Hodges, Harmonized and Published by Mr. Hüllmandel For the Benefit of Her Orphan Children, London 1798. The circumstances of the publication are fully explained in the opening advertisement: "With respect to the Work itself, the Airs were all the original productions of the late Mrs. Hodges, composed, without the most distant intention of publication, for the amusement of herself and her friends; and sung by her, as many of her Subscribers will feel a pleasure mixed with regret in recollecting, with a taste and expression peculiar to herself. The MSS. found after her decease were mere memorandums of the Airs, for her own use. These have been revised and corrected; the accompaniments added; and the last air set for voices by the scientific hand of Mr. Hüllmandel, to whose liberality for time and skill bestowed, as well as for the considerable expense incurred, the friends of the orphan family cannot too gratefully express their acknowledgements." The connection between the Hodges manuscript owned by Haydn and this publication was first recognised by Marion M. Scott, Some English Affinities and Associations of Haydn's Songs, in: Music & Letters 25 (1944), pp. 1–12, here p. 10.

[91] For an account of this publication and a reproduction of the engraved portrait, see Leslie Ritchie, Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England. Social Harmony in Literature and Performance, Aldershot 2008, pp. 124ff., fig. 3.6. The original (untraced) painted portrait from which the engraving derives was the work of another family friend, the artist Ozias Humphrey.

[92] For a documented account of the visit of the Hamiltons to Eisenstadt in 1800, see Landon IV, pp. 557–563.

[93] Haydn did not have Hüllmandel's publication of Mrs Hodges's songs in his collection. The fact that he owned an autograph of the very first song in the set which already featured an accompaniment, though Hüllmandel claimed to have composed the keyboard parts for the publication himself (since Mrs Hodges left none of her own), might indicate that Haydn himself composed the accompaniment of the version of the song in his own collection. This would explain why Haydn kept it together with manuscript copies of his own compositions stemming from the London period. (For this publication it has not been possible to compare the accompaniment for this song published by Hüllmandel with the one formerly in Haydn's possession, now known from 19th-century copies.)

of Anne Hunter, who provided the composer with words for his English songs, and her husband John, who wanted to operate on the composer's nasal polyp, Haydn's affection for Mrs Hodges suggests he knew her husband too. Apart from the illustrations to Cook, Haydn owned no further works by Hodges. But his print collection featured works after compositions by Richard Westall, Hodges's closest friend and his wife's cousin[94]. Among them was a scene from Shakespeare's "Hamlet", a play Haydn saw in London[95]. Haydn probably composed music for "Hamlet" when the play was performed at Eszterház in the 1770s, so he may have been curious about its interpretation in the country of Shakespeare's birth[96].

The fact that Haydn made a point of attending the theatre in London to see works with which he was already familiar is relevant to his likely acquaintance with Hodges because at the time Haydn first came to London the painter was employed as a scenery designer for the Italian opera, then performing at the Pantheon theatre[97]. Hodges had already been involved with opera personnel in London for some time[98]. His scenery designs for opera do not survive; but the operas Hodges worked on are well documented. Unusually for a set designer his name even features in newspaper advertisements for these operas, suggesting the opera-going public was likely to be impressed by it and therefore more likely to attend productions on which he worked[99]. One of the operas for which Hodges designed sets

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Whether this interpretation is correct or not, the evidence strongly suggests that Haydn came to know Mrs Hodges very well. He also of course knew Hüllmandel, whose closest friend was Giovanni Battista Viotti, the violinist who was responsible for the concert series in which Haydn's last three symphonies were first performed, taking over this role from Salomon. As an original subscriber to "The Creation", Hüllmandel was clearly also interested in the development of Haydn's work.

[94] Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 324ff., nos. 13, 38, 41.

[95] This print, inscribed with Ophelia's ballad beginning "He is dead and gone" (Hamlet, Act IV, Scene 5, lines 23–26), is dated 1795. The print can be identified from the details provided in Haydn's inventory and from the record of prints published by the engraver, James Hogg, who is named in the inventory. Haydn is recorded to have attended a performance of "Hamlet" on 13 October 1794: Landon III, p. 274.

[96] The Pressburger Zeitung reads: "Man erwartet noch eigene Musik zum 'Hamlet' des Shakespear von diesem geschickten Thonkünstler" (6 July 1774). For a discussion of Haydn's possible music for "Hamlet", see Sisman, Haydn's Theater Symphonies, pp. 321–331.

[97] For a full discussion of Hodges' work for the opera, see Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen and Robert D. Hume, Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, vol. 2: The Pantheon Opera and Its Aftermath, 1789–1795, Oxford 2000, pp. 348–368.

[98] Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, A Royal Opera House in Leicester Square, in: Cambridge Opera Journal 2 (1990), pp. 1–28, here pp. 17–22.

[99] Hodges is also mentioned by name in the word-books for these operas. All the operas in

in 1791 was Sarti's "Idalide", a work that Haydn had given at Eszterház in 1786[100]. As in the case of "Hamlet", it seems likely that Haydn would have taken the opportunity to see how a stage work he knew from his own experience was performed in London. "Idalide" is set in the Peru of the Incas. Having sailed around South America and made studies of monuments on Easter Island, it may have been thought that Hodges's experience would make a special contribution to the authenticity of the opera's appearance. Its special attraction was a spectacular Temple of the Sun, destroyed in an earthquake, a visual effect particularly mentioned by critics[101].

The principle incentive for Haydn coming to London had been to compose an opera, which he worked on precisely when Hodges was employed at the Pantheon. Although Haydn's London opera was never performed in the composer's lifetime, he certainly made a point of seeing rival productions at the time he expected his own opera to receive a London production, as his journals and correspondence testify[102].

Since Hodges worked in musical circles, it is understandable how he may have come to the composer's attention. Hodges's greatest impact on Haydn's aesthetic development arguably came not from the black and white prints of the volume of Cook's voyages the composer acquired (probably at this time), but from Hodges's original paintings, which had been created either

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question designate him "Painter and Inventor of the *Decorations*, WILLIAM HODGES, Esq. R.A." The word-books often describe the visual character of the scenes, at slightly greater length than was conventional at the time. For example, Act 1, scene VI of "Idalide" (1791) specifies: "Magnificent Temple, dedicated to the Sun. On the right a royal throne: an image of the deity, with a burning altar".

[100] Landon II, p. 677. For Haydn's previous involvement with "Idalide", see Balázs Mikusi's and Josef Pratl's contributions for this volume. Hodges also designed the sets for Antonio Sacchini's "Armida" and Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi's "La bella pescatrice". His work was generally not deemed to be successful: Edwards, Anecdotes of Painters, p. 243.

[101] "Of the Scenery, the Temple of the Sun falling into ruins during the Earthquake was admirably contrived. – But we must add the E a r as well as the E y e should be satisfied. The murmur of the Convulsion should be heard to prepare the Mind for its effects": Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, 15 April 1791. For comment on this, see Milhous, Dideriksen and Hume, Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, pp. 361f. It is clear that this production was very different to earlier productions of Peru-themed operas, such as Jean-Philippe Rameau's "Les Indes galantes".

[102] The usual explanation for why Haydn's opera was not performed is that, unlike the Pantheon, the theatre for which it was intended was not granted a licence for performing Italian opera. For details, see Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, vol. 1: The King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1778–1791, Oxford 1995, pp. 595–602. For Haydn's own reports of attending performances of the opera at the Pantheon, see Landon III, pp. 59, 120, 122.

during the course of the voyage he made around the globe, or after he had returned to England. Most of these paintings were, of course, destined for the Admiralty[103]. At the time Haydn was in London the paintings by Hodges received by the Admiralty hung in a house constructed in the late 1780s as a residence for the First Lord of the Admiralty. Haydn certainly knew the First Lord; he has an entry on him in his journal[104]. Access to these paintings would therefore not have been problematic.

In working for the Admiralty Hodges's principal concern had been to convey a credible sense of what regions of the world unknown to Western audiences – "strange and unknown lands" to use Carpani's terminology – looked like. There was also the additional point of fascination that islands like Otaheite were often considered before the arrival of Westerners as uncorrupted by Western forces. The ideal climate, overwhelming natural beauty, and what some Westerners took to be an unaffected way of life observed among inhabitants, as seen in a painting like "View of the Province of Oparee, Island of Otaheite, with part of the Island of Eimeo" (probably executed in 1775), made a particular claim to affect Western sensibilities[105]. This lifestyle was construed as the closest to be found on Earth to the human condition before the Fall from Grace, a state that Haydn expressed musically in "The Creation"[106].

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[103] It seems possible that Haydn's knowledge of Hodges' work at the opera and his friendship with Hodges' wife may have led the composer to an interest in imagery associated with distant regions of the globe that culminated in his acquisition of that stupendously illustrated volume of Cook's global voyages.

[104] The First Lord of the Admiralty was John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham, brother of the Prime Minister William Pitt. Haydn has a story about him being so drunk that he was unable to sign his name to permit the fleet to sail: Bartha, p. 542. This anecdote appears not to be recorded elsewhere, suggesting that Haydn witnessed it and had been to the Admiralty, perhaps on more than one occasion. For Admiralty House, see Admiralty House, in: Survey of London, vol. 16: St Martin-in-the-Fields 1: Charing Cross, London 1935, pp. 28–44.

[105] National Maritime Museum, London, Ministry of Defence Art Collection: Joppien and Smith, Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, vol. 2, no. 2.53, pp. 57f., 167. For Haydn's connections with Prime Minister Pitt, see Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 53f.

[106] Some commentators compared Tahitian life to that of ancient Greece, emphasising the notion that contemporary society in Otaheite was an equivalent to early European society before this had been tainted by the progress of Civilisation. For a widely-read account of this kind, see Louis Antoine de Bougainville, A Voyage round the World, translated by J.R. Forster, London 1772.

The poses of the women in Hodges's painting known as "Tahiti Revisited" (1776) reveal classicizing influence[107]. But from the point of view of a late 18th-century audience, what counted here was the unfamiliar representation of a precise Otaheitian topography with women indulging in innocent, uninhibited amusement, evoking a tranquil idyll, something desirable though unattainable in the West. Haydn's "Mermaid's Song" (1794) seems calculated to call to mind a similar picture, with its "dancing sunbeams", "glassy sea", "pearly treasures" and "rocks of coral", where "stormy winds are far away"[108].

Hodges's Othaheite paintings that are purely landscapes, such as his view of a cascade (Figure 8) and another of a waterfall (both c. 1775), also have a quality about them that imply creation at its freshest, untainted by human influence[109]. As in Raphael's aria for the third day in "The Creation", Hodges takes us from the "foaming billows" to the emerging "mountains and rocks":

> their tops into the clouds ascend.
> Thro' th'open plains outstretching wide
> In serpent error rivers flow.
> Softly purling glides on
> Thro' silent vales the limpid brook[110].

It was from the time of these paintings that Othaheite, and other remote islands, made a claim on the collective Western imagination as Paradise on Earth. At the opening of Part Three of Haydn's "The Creation", the part that deals with mankind's existence before the Fall, the orchestral introduction and the recitative that follows depict the sensation of that perfect place occupied by Adam and Eve before Original Sin. Haydn, most unusually, uses three flutes and pizzicato strings in the bright key of E major, to invoke the words:

> In rosy mantle appears,
> By tunes sweet awak'd,
> The morning young and fair.

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[107] National Maritime Museum, London, Ministry of Defence Art Collection: Joppien and Smith, Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, vol. 2, no. 2.43, pp. 63f., 160.

[108] The first of Haydn's "VI Original Canzonettas": Hob.XXVIa:25. The words of this song were written especially for Haydn by Anne Hunter: see Caroline Grigson, A Matter of Words: Haydn, Holcroft and Anne Hunter, in: The Land of Opportunity, ed. Chesser and Jones, London 2013. pp. 77–91.

[109] Both paintings: National Maritime Museum, London, Ministry of Defence Art Collection. Joppien and Smith, Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, vol. 2, nos. 2.109, 143.

[110] Temperley, Haydn: The Creation, p. 54, no. 6. Original English version.

Figure 8: William Hodges, A Cascade, probably in the Tuauru Valley, Tahiti, c. 1775, oil on canvas, 499x641 mm. London National Maritime Museum, London, Ministry of Defence Art Collection.

> From celestial vaults pure harmony descends
> On ravished earth[111].

The pink sky and rays of light streaming through clouds depicted in Hodges's painting now identified as "View of Point Venus and Matavai Bay, Looking East" (Figure 9), painted in situ on board ship in 1773, may be read as a pictorial equivalent of the musical effects Haydn so brilliantly created[112]. This painting, and several others by Hodges like it, takes its Western audience to a distant place few at that time could have imagined, in the same way that Haydn's distinctive sonic landscape illustrates "the world, so vast, so wonderful" as the subsequent text describes it, that no other music of the time attempted. Here it may be suggested that Haydn was responding to something that struck his imagination, a visual creative stimulus.

[111] Ibid., p. 61, no. 29. Original English version.

[112] National Maritime Museum, London, Ministry of Defence Art Collection: Joppien and Smith, Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, vol. 2, no. 2.44, pp. 53, 161.

Figure 9: William Hodges, View of Point Venus and Matavai Bay, Looking East, 1773, oil on canvas, 499x641 mm. National Maritime Museum, London, Ministry of Defence Art Collection.

Haydn's collaborator on "The Creation", his librettist Baron van Swieten, is unlikely to have experienced these paintings in the way that it is here suggested inspired the composer. However, in translating words for the oratorio that matched Haydn's aesthetic goals, van Swieten could certainly have shared Haydn's knowledge of the appearance of remote regions of the globe through the engravings in "A New and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World" and from other illustrated accounts of Cook's voyages in the imperial library, where he was librarian. Had reading a text in English proved problematic for either of them, there were of course accounts of the same voyages available in German. One that Haydn probably owned, which also included accounts of the celebrated voyages of Columbus, Pizzarro, and Hernán Cortés, was Joachim Heinrich Campe's "Erste Sammlungen merkwürdiger Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend" ("First Collection of Remarkable Travel Accounts for the Young"). This work was censored in Austria, but Haydn perhaps acquired it in Hamburg, where it was published, on his return to Vienna from his second visit to London[113].

[113] Hörwarthner, Joseph Haydn's Library, p. 429, no. 59. There were of course, both in London and Vienna, many stage productions based on Cook's experiences in Otaheite. One that Haydn may have heard about, though could not have seen, was "Il Capitano

There would have been a clear incentive for Haydn to interest himself in the world of Cook, his voyages, and the islands of the South Pacific after the composer first came to London. The composer could hardly have failed to notice that many of his most enthusiastic admirers in England were also fascinated by cultural aspects of Otaheite. Among those of Haydn's admirers who put their interest in both the composer and Otaheite into print were his friend Dr Burney, the oboist William Parke, and the Reverend Thomas Robertson, author of an "Inquiry into the Fine Arts"[114].

SYMPHONY HOB.I:94 – A NEW SURPRISE?

Carpani's detailed account of a symphony by Haydn inspired by the idea of seeking a fortune overseas and finding it in a distant unknown land, inhabited by natives who prove receptive to trading opportunities, seems not implausible in view of the range of interests Haydn developed when he was in London discussed above. The supposed symphony's narrative was evidently to do with Haydn, not with Carpani. Emotional departure (the famous farewell with Mozart), securing financial prospects (the opportunities offered by London), voyage at sea and combating the forces of nature (the first crossing of the English Channel and the marked impact this made on him) may all be noted as key features of Haydn's experience in the early 1790s.

Assuming the symphony was genuinely composed, on which point Carpani leaves his readers in no doubt, it ought to be possible to identify Haydn's "New World" symphony with one of the twelve symphonies he composed for London. An earlier symphony would not fit the circumstances Carpani describes. Until conclusive evidence comes to light, any attempt to pin-

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Cook all'isola degli Ottaiti", a ballet first performed in Milan on 1789 and in Vienna in 1791.

[114] Charles Burney, A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. To Which Is Prefixed, A Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients, London 1776–1789, vol. 1, pp. 267, 511 (for the South Pacific Islands); vol. 4, pp. 596, 599–603 (for Haydn). W.[illiam] T. Parke, Musical Memoirs; Comprising a General Account of the State of Music in England, from the First Commemoration of Handel in 1784, to the Year 1830, 2 vols., London 1830, vol. 1, pp. 26f. (for an account of the influence of instruments from Otaheite on Parke in 1782); pp. 53, 143, 151, 181, 185, 170f., 196–199, vol. 2, pp. 25–32 (for Parke's interest in Haydn). Thomas Robertson, Inquiry into the Fine Arts, vol. 1 [vol. 2 was never published], London 1784, pp. 276f., 452–461 (for music from South Pacific Islands); pp. 433ff. (for ecstatic reception of Haydn). Although many of Parke's mentions of Haydn refer to periods after Haydn came to England, his enthusiasm for Haydn's music is clear from the outset, even before the two men met. Robertson is not known to have met Haydn.

point the precise symphony must be considered provisional. Basic observations, however, help to limit the possibilities. Thus Carpani's conception of Haydn's composition only makes sense after the composer had had a chance to familiarise himself with pictorial records of Cook's voyages, particularly "A New and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World", and other works associated with William Hodges. This tends to preclude the first two London symphonies (Hob.I:95 and 96), the first performances of which took place before Haydn had had time to assimilate himself fully with English tastes, as he himself admitted[115].

Carpani was careful to stress that the use of a "New World" narrative was a compositional aid, not an explicit programme. As such, no one needed to know about it at the time of the first performances. It need hardly be pointed out that there is no evidence Haydn expected to reveal the programme to anyone at this time. No indications of the identity of the symphony may therefore be expected other than from the music itself, assuming it is extant. Only through analysis of Haydn's compositions in relation to Carpani's description of the narrative is it possible to determine whether or not this symphony exists.

Haydn's claim, written in March 1792, that it was necessary "to change many things for the English public" offers a possible starting-point[116]. It seems conceivable that devising narratives connecting his music with a broader world-view, though strictly for his own use, may have been one of the things Haydn felt needed to be explored in order to please the English public. If this was indeed the case, then it may be argued that Haydn's mindset in thinking of a "New World" theme as the basis of a composition is more likely during the period of his first London visit. By the time of the second London visit public attention was preoccupied with the War with France, which had the effect of diminishing general interest in global perspectives, something that certainly affected Haydn who

[115] Symphonies Hob.I:95 and 96 were the only "London" symphonies performed during Haydn's first London season (1791). The dates of the first performances cannot be precisely determined: Hob.I:96 took place in March or April, and Hob.I:95 in April or May. Since the symphonies were probably largely written soon after Haydn arrived in England, it seems unlikely that he could have been responding in these works to a stimulus of the kind indicated in Carpani's description. For Haydn's own admission that he had to change "many things for the English public", see the following note.

[116] CCLN, p. 131. My reading of Haydn's assertion is that he had learned what kind of affects worked best for English audiences, something that was very important to him. This had to be taken into account in composing specifically for London audience. Cf. David P. Schroeder, Haydn and the Enlightenment. The Late Symphonies and their Audience, Oxford 1990, p. 93.

himself "researched" the effects of the War[117]. One of the consequences of the War was that global trade was hindered and commercial prospects were reduced. Assuming this impinged on Haydn's thinking, which seems plausible, its implication is that the "New World" symphony was a product of Haydn's first London visit. If this argument is accepted, the candidates in question are Hob.I:93, 94, 97 and 98, the remaining symphonies of the appropriate period.

Carpani's description of Haydn's narrative is hard to relate to any of these symphonies if all four movements have to be assimilated into the narrative. But what if the narrative relates only to a single movement? Carpani explicitly states that the opening "motivo" (motif) of the symphony returns at the point when Haydn's "friend" sets sail from the remote island, which in terms of the narrative is near its mid-point[118]. If this is understood to be half way through an entire symphony, it makes no sense. None of the symphonies identified here as candidates for Haydn's "New World" symphony features a return to an initial subject at this point in the whole cycle of movements. Restricting the "New World" narrative to a single movement, however, allows Carpani's description to correspond with an actual symphony. Furthermore, the nature of the narrative Carpani describes lends itself most obviously to a sonata form movement rather than any other form used by Haydn. Taking this into account and the observation that the speed of the greater part of the movement as revealed in Carpani's narrative was evidently swift, not slow, it is clear that he was describing an opening movement to a symphony. This means that the initial sequence of tearful departure described by Carpani equates with a slow introduction (all the symphonies under consideration open with an Adagio Introduction), while the turbulent storm sequence may then be understood as a feature of a development section. Such deductions seem reasonable.

Of the four symphonies already mentioned as candidates for Haydn's "New World" symphony, only Symphony Hob.I:94 has an Adagio introduction that genuinely corresponds to Carpani's account. The mood is essentially subdued, befitting a scene of farewell. Dynamic levels above piano are used only with restraint (bars 12–16), as if to suggest momentary emotional outbursts, quickly controlled. The poised movement of the strings, with notes rising by semitones (bars 7–13), arguably represents the mounting tension

[117] Haydn's "research" into the visual trappings of the War with France is evident from his own journal, in which he made considerable efforts to see warships, weapons, defences, military personnel and prisoners. Such observations dominate much of the Third London Notebook (1794–1795): Bartha, pp. 529–544.

[118] "Eccovi il primo m o t i v o della sinfonia che ritorna" (Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 70).

and uncertainty felt by those on the point of parting from one another, and who have no notion when they will meet again. It is important to maintain outer composure even if inner feelings contradict this. The most telling feature of the Introduction to Symphony Hob.I:94 in relation to Carpani's description is that it ends harmonically unresolved, tailing away slowly and piano from a forte dominant seventh chord. The effect conveys admirably the sensation of moving away, as though seeing a loved one disappear into the distance. None of the Adagio introductions of the three other symphonies of the period here considered relevant to Carpani's account gives this impression.

In the Vivace assai that follows in Symphony Hob.I:94, the mood immediately changes to one of resolve and enterprise that plausibly equates with the spirit of optimistic adventure described by Carpani. The feature of the music that most strikingly connects with Carpani's description is the repeated undulating patterns of notes suggestive of the vessel's passage and the movement of the waves (cf. bars 24–34). That Haydn included within other compositions musical representations of the movement of water is clear from accounts by those who observed him elucidating his work, so such an interpretation in this context is entirely plausible[119]. Furthermore, the exposition of the first movement is distinctive among sonata form movements in Haydn's symphonies in the extent and variety of its thematic material, allowing for the possibility of matching each thematic group with the various impressions Carpani itemises. Thus the waltz-like section (bars 66–73) may readily be equated with the dance component mentioned by Carpani; while the previous passage (bars 59–63), based around a repeated, emphatic discord, might imply the sounds of the natives, dissonant to Western ears. The quiet passage marked "dolce" (bars 79–98), which includes long bass pedal-points on the dominant (firmly grounding the music), is suggestive not only of having landed safely, but also of successful interaction between natives and Westerners. When the same passage occurs in the recapitulation (bars 228–247), in the tonic, it might be interpreted as the safe arrival of the "friend" on home territory; as with other passages reprised in the recapitulation, recollections of the strange island and its productivity might be implied. The emphatic unison passage that forms a coda (bars 101–105) in the exposition is possibly suggestive of Western notions of what primitive music might have been like.

[119] For one example of this, in relation to the depiction of water in "The Creation", see Stellan Mörner, Haydniana aus Schweden um 1800, in: HST II/1 (1969), pp. 1–33; here p. 26.

The development section begins with a variation of the opening theme of the Vivace assai, perhaps indicating that the vessel has once again set sail. This equates, it is here submitted, to Carpani's statement that when the vessel sets sail again for Europe "the opening theme of the symphony returns"[120]. In the section that follows (bars 113–122), with its repeated patterns of undulating notes and maintained harmonic tension, the listener might well detect the sea growing rough and the skies darkening, as Carpani describes. The storm and the chaos on board that it unleashes are readily detected in the tumultuous passage that follows (bars 123–147), much of which is characterised by harmonic instability, broad leaping and descending note patterns (suggestive of massive waves), and extreme contrasts of dynamic markings. The fortissimo markings on the descending arpeggios in bars 131 to 134 seemingly signify the height of the storm with the fall of gigantic waves. These gradually subside as the music passes through a series of rapid modulations. The effect is clearly calculated to evoke both terror and the sublime, just as Carpani explains; as a reviewer of the first performance of the symphony noted: "It was simple, profound and sublime"[121]. The restatement of the initial theme at bar 154 marks not only the beginning of the recapitulation, but also the return of the favourable breezes that, as at the outset of the Vivace assai, suggest the ship's successful onward passage.

Two further motifs in the recapitulation, not heard in the exposition, emphasise the sense of return to home. Firstly, in bar 176 the strings in unison play a rising series of notes including three semitones, all set against repeated Gs on the wind instruments. The same formation of notes was actually first heard in the Adagio introduction (bar 9, with different orchestration) where Carpani's account suggests it represents the disquiet of members of the family as they awaited the father's departure. The reprise of this in the recapitulation, a clear recollection of it, might be understood to allude to the father's excitement in anticipation of seeing his family again. The element of this motif comprising a set of three quavers rising by semitones actually occurs elsewhere in the movement, where they are used to imply either the fading memory of the opening scene separating the father from his family (bars 35–37), or an awareness that the return to home is in prospect (bars 150–153, 172–173).

The second motif introduced into the recapitulation is the unexpected, evocative piano pedal point on the horns on the tonic in bars 215 to 218. This ushers in a rising idea on the first violins that transforms itself into

[120] Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 70.

[121] Diary; or Woodfall's Register, 24 March 1792, quoted in Landon III, p. 149).

one last return of the main subject of the Vivace assai (bars 218–222) in the home key. This final emergence of the main subject implies, in terms of Carpani's description of Haydn's programme, that the vessel is still at sea at this point, land presumably only being reached at the return of the "dolce" theme with its decisive pedal-point, now in the tonic, which combines sensations of return to "terra firma" with the sweet reassurance of having at last reached home. The passage for the horns at bar 215, which reprises what the horns play at the very beginning of the symphony, implies both calm and certainty. From this it may be inferred from Carpani's description that the call signals the first sighting of land while the vessel is still at sea. The moment is intuitively evocative and emotional.

The foregoing analysis of Symphony Hob.I:94/I in relation to Carpani's account of a "New World" symphony demonstrates that this movement might have been the one Haydn had in mind when he explained his compositional procedure to Carpani. It cannot be a definite proof of this, though the exactness of the correspondence makes this very likely.

For early critics of the symphony and for his early biographers it was of course the success of its second movement, with the celebrate "surprise", that quickly overshadowed other novelties of the symphony[122]. But, as Haydn told Griesinger when questioned about this:

> I was interested in surprising the public with something new, and in making a brilliant debut, so that my student Pleyel [...] should not outdo me. The first Allegro of my symphony had already met with countless Bravos, but the enthusiasm reached its highest peak at the Andante with the Drum Stoke[123].

It seems clear from this that though the Andante lent the symphony its celebrity, it was the first movement that really counted for Haydn. This was where Haydn had really put in the work to present something "surprising", "new" and "brilliant". Moreover, as Haydn's autograph demonstrates, the famous "surprise" was an afterthought and therefore hardly integral to the initial conception of the Andante, in contrast with the starting premise for the first movement which this paper has sought to elucidate[124].

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[122] Ibid., pp. 149ff.

[123] Gotwals, Haydn, p. 33. Cf. Griesinger, pp. 55f.

[124] JHW I/16, pp. 195, 203. My thanks to Wolfgang Fuhrmann for drawing this to my attention.