

*Haydn and Eighteenth-Century Patronage
in Austria and Hungary*

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Professor Landon's publications include critical editions of music by Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart and a number of others. In all, he has published 18,000 pages of Haydn in score. His books on Haydn include the collected correspondence and London notebooks as well as a five-volume biography. From 1945 on, he has published some two hundred articles in various journals, and since 1962 he has been editor of the *Haydn Yearbook*.

INTRODUCTION

Haydn is generally considered, and with some justification, to be the typical case of an eighteenth-century Capellmeister, responsible to a rich prince and kept in some kind of superior vassalage. While the first part of the description is valid, the second is based on a profound misunderstanding of the musicians' rôle in a princely court such as that of the Esterházy. Haydn was considered to have the rank of an army officer — not a surprising rôle at the Esterházy court if we consider that Prince Nicolaus (reigned 1762-1790) was a famous general and the Prince's second-in-command an army captain. In this survey, I try to describe Haydn's and the other musicians' position at the court (which lived for most of the year in Hungary); but, also, Haydn's gradual emancipation from that position, illustrating his change in status by his and his patron's letters, some recently discovered. Naturally, Haydn is of particular importance to Western music — and hence to Western civilization — and it is essential that we understand the circumstances in which his art flourished and during which he gained an international reputation.

In recent years we have become ever more fascinated and horrified by the fate of Mozart, whose earthly remains were buried in an anonymous grave outside the city walls of Vienna. That event, the indignity of which gradually became infamous, took place in 1791, not quite a decade before the eighteenth century came to an end. But Mozart's death — though particularly appalling in view of his special genius — was by no means unique. Thousands of more modest composers and performers were igno-

miniously buried, often in mass graves which became, as it were, anonymous overnight. A roll call chosen at random might include:

Antonio Vivaldi, once the astonishment of *settecento* Europe, died in abject poverty at Vienna in 1741. His grave is unknown, and for many years it was not even known that he had died in Austria.

Carlos d'Ordoñez, a then well-known composer of Austro-Spanish parents, died in penury at Vienna in 1786.

Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, once the most popular composer of German-language operas, died at Neuhof in Bohemia in 1799, his desk drawer full of symphonies that no one wanted to perform or publish.

Anton Huberty, once a celebrated Parisian music publisher and string player, who had issued Haydn's first symphonies in Paris in the 1760s, died at Vienna in 1791. His effects were hardly enough to keep his daughters from starvation.¹

Luigi Boccherini, the Italian composer once famous throughout Europe, died 'in dire poverty' at Madrid in 1805, his music no longer fashionable.

Balanced against such a list we must place Handel, who died at London in 1759, his bank account full and the walls of his Brook Street house covered with Rembrandts and paintings of other Dutch masters; or Arcangelo Corelli, who died at Rome in 1713, surrounded by the beautiful instruments and paintings of which he was a fastidious collector. He left to his great patron, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, a picture of his choice; and in Corelli's apartments was a 'real gallery', a Breugel that he left to Cardinal Colonna, a Madonna by Sassoferrato and another by Cignani: a total of 136 paintings or 'disegni', ranging from Lotti and Salva-

¹ Alexander Weinmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages*, 'Kataloge Anton Huberty (Wien) und Christoph Torricella' (Vienna 1962), p. 7.

tore Rosa to Poussin. And on the list of composers who died in comfortable circumstances, we should perhaps close with Joseph Haydn, who died in 1809 a moderately wealthy man.²

Of course, good or bad luck must have played a decisive rôle in many cases, but there is little doubt that the fates of a Handel, Corelli, or Haydn were less characteristic than those of a Mozart, Vivaldi, or Boccherini.

And in proceeding from the general to the particular, why the musicians of the Esterházy court? For one thing, the archives, which are in the process of being published in Cologne and Cardiff, are the most complete of their kind in Europe. We have nothing like this detailed record for the archiepiscopal court at Salzburg or the electoral court at Bonn, where Mozart and Beethoven, respectively, grew up; nor have we such detailed records for many large cities. We have no idea what Johann Peter Salomon paid his musicians when Haydn was in London, or what Beethoven earned from his first great benefit concert in the Hofburgtheater of Vienna in 1800. Hence the information from the Esterházy Archives, in its prodigious detail, is doubly welcome, not least because the Esterházys' musical establishment was directed by Haydn from May 1761 until his retirement at the end of 1803.

The Esterházy family emerged into prominence and wealth primarily as a result of the Austro-Turkish wars, in which—contrary to almost all the other Hungarian noble families—the Esterházys chose the Hapsburg side. When the Austrians pushed the Turks back from Vienna's city walls precisely three hundred years ago, the Esterházys were richly rewarded with castles, lands, sinecures, and positions. Moreover, the Esterházys married well, adding large estates through their wives. From counts they were created perpetual princes by Emperor Leopold I late in 1687.

By the time Haydn joined the family in 1761, the Esterházys had a small choir and orchestra resident primarily in Eisenstadt,

² Mario Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli* (Milan 1953), pp. 258f., 344ff.

thirty miles from Vienna, in what was then (and was indeed until after World War I) Hungary. The Chief Capellmeister was the church composer Gregor Werner, who was then old and unwell, and was in fact to die five years later, in March 1766. Haydn was engaged by Prince Paul Anton, who was married to a Marchesa Lunati-Visconti, but the Prince was dead less than a year later — in March 1762. Paul Anton was succeeded by his younger brother Nicolaus, who was also passionately fond of music and himself an expert performer on the violoncello and baryton (a kind of viola da gamba).

Prince Nicolaus proved to be one of his family's greatest administrators, something for which his illustrious military career (in the course of which the Empress Maria Theresa had honoured him) no doubt well prepared him. He soon reorganized the administration into a kind of gigantic pyramid, with the upper point, after Nicolaus himself, filled by another military man, Captain Peter Ludwig von Rahier, who was Regent and Chief Administrator of the Esterházy estates. His was a position of tremendous power, and his salary was correspondingly large. As Estates Director, his duties were widespread and included the supervision and administration of all the vast Esterházy lands and their many peoples, which encompassed parts of present Austria, Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Rahier was undoubtedly a martinet, but he tried to be fair, and he certainly took immense pains to stamp out corruption. If he often appears to be harsh, leniency was not a characteristic of life in Hungary in those days, an age on which the mild rays of the Enlightenment had not yet shone.

The musicians occupied a position more elevated than is usually believed. They were so-called 'house officers', which meant in military, and thus Rahier's, language that they were considered as officers and in no way as servants. They dined at the officers' mess if they were single and wore a handsome uniform, one for winter and a lighter one for summer. The servants were divided

into two classes, those who wore *livrée* and those of the lower orders (kitchen and stable personnel, gardeners' assistants, and so forth), Prince Esterházy had five male personal servants-in-waiting, four of the 'lower orders', two runners, two pages (one a Negro and one the father of the celebrated violinist Bridgetower for whom Beethoven wrote the 'Kreutzer' Sonata), and a bodyguard.

When the musicians were engaged, they received a contract, usually in German but occasionally in French or Italian, if the musician were unable to read German. In April 1761, when the orchestra was being reorganized by Haydn and many new musicians engaged, they hired a new flautist, one Franz Sigl. His contract is typical:

1^{mo} . . . [He is engaged as flautist and oboist] but he should rather turn to, and thus qualify in, the Houbois. [He] is to conduct himself soberly, modestly, quietly and honestly, and is to appear neatly, in white stockings, white linen, powdered, with either pigtail or hair-bag . . . ; 2^{do} . . . He shall appear daily in the anti-chambre before and after mid-day, and after his orders have been received he shall appear promptly at the designated time; . . . 3^{io} . . . said Frantz Sigl shall be required at the Herrschaft's table, there to await the orders of his Serene Princely Highness either during the meal to play music on any of those instruments on which he is skilled or, like the other house officers, not to shirk serving the Herrschaften; 4^{to} The Fleutraversist shall be required to participate in the wind band at Eysenstadt, Kitsee, or in other places where the princely Grenadier Company mounts guard, exercises and parades, and likewise to play with the choir Musique at Eysenstadt. [Furthermore, he must follow the orders of the Ober- and Vice-Capel-Meister and submit petitions only through them.]; 5^{to} Said Frantz Sigl shall not produce any Musique at balls, theatrical representations or at other Herrschaften without special permission of the Prince, and 6^{to} said Fleutraversist should acquit himself of such duties as are required of him as befits a worthy house officer; and just as the Serene Herrschaft does not consider it necessary to

put on paper all those his duties, so they are graciously minded to hope that the said Frantz Sigl shall of his own free will observe his duties most exactly, and they rely on the ableness and honour of every man; 7^{mo} [his salary shall be 20 gulden Rhenish monthly]; 8^{to} [he shall receive a suit of clothes or uniform annually which he must look after]; 9^{no} [this contract is valid for one year from 1 April;] Given at Vienna, 1st April 1761.

The salary of twenty Rhenish gulden per month meant 240 gulden or florins per annum, which was considered good pay. When a few years later the musicians wanted to receive free medicine from the Hospitallers in Eisenstadt, an institution founded and supported by the Esterházy family, the Prince refused, saying that his musicians were sufficiently well paid not to have to receive free medicine.³

Married musicians did not eat at the officers' table but received a *Deputat*, or goods in kind. Everyone received wood and candles as well as free lodging, while families received in addition pork, beef, wheat, and so on, the precise quantity depending on the size of the family.

In 1761, when Haydn joined the court, all the members of the orchestra received 20 gulden per month except Haydn and Werner, who had 33 gulden 20 Kreuzer, and two violinists, Luigi Tomasini, the leader, and another musician, both of whom drew only 12 gulden 20 Kreuzer per month because they had been engaged as valets and were still paid according to that lower grade of employment.

When Haydn's younger brother, Johann Michael, was engaged by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Sigismund von Schrattenbach, in August 1763, Michael received 25 gulden monthly and a place at

³ U. Tank, 'Die Dokumente der Esterházy-Archive zur fürstlichen Hofkapelle 1761-1770', *Haydn-Studien* IV:3-4 (1980), p. 206, and also *Haydn-Studien* III:2 (1974), p. 94. Before 1764, the musicians received free medicine, but now, writing from Vienna on 27 December 1764, Prince Nicolaus remarks 'but the other musicians [i.e., not Haydn] are sufficiently well paid anyway so that they can pay for their own medicines . . .'. Sigl's contract is in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works; The Early Years, 1732-1765* (London: Thames and Hudson, and Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1980), p. 348.

the officers' table; and in 1763 this sum was also Leopold Mozart's salary as Vice-Capellmeister in Salzburg, whereby Leopold received neither meals at the officers' mess nor a *Deputat* (the goods in kind). Joseph Haydn, being married, received — apart from his summer and winter uniforms — the equivalent in kind of 182 gulden 30 Kreuzer per annum. Consequently, he was much better paid than Leopold Mozart with his family of two children.

In 1767, the Primas of Poland, Archbishop Prince Rodosky, engaged a group of musicians who were divided in two categories: the higher grade (e.g., horn players) received slightly less than seventeen gulden per month, the lower grade fourteen. Moreover, one clause in all the Polish contracts read: '2^{do} Apart from their music, they are without fail to perform other duties appropriate to princely livriée, when the circumstances require it.'⁴ In the Esterházy court, the musicians, being officers, were not expected to take on the duties of the liveried servants, which were in a different, lower class of employees, as we have just seen.

What could 240 gulden per annum purchase in 1761? A *Speckschwein* (fatted pig) cost six gulden, a *Frischling* (young wild boar or 'black pig') four gulden, an ox ten or twelve gulden, a milch cow eight. A fathom cord of wood cost three to four gulden. An inexpensive suit of clothes in Vienna cost seven gulden. In Eisenstadt, the local wine cost one-and-one-half to three Kreuzer for half a litre (sixty Kreuzer were one gulden), a pint of beer was two Kreuzer, a pound of beef, five-and-one-half Kreuzer, four eggs, one Kreuzer. Masons and carpenters earned twenty-seven Kreuzer daily. If he took his salary in kind, a mason could have four chickens, or one suckling pig and one chicken, or 108 eggs. Food, then, was cheap and plentiful.⁵

The principal problem was that of a pension. If a musician were seriously ill, the Prince often paid for the cure, but it was

⁴ *Miscellanea Musicologia* VI. Svazek (Prague 1958), pp. 98f

⁵ Albert Riedl, "Halbvergessenes Eisenstadt", in *Eisenstadt. 300 Jahre Freistadt* (Eisenstadt 1948), p. 64; also Janos Harich in *Haydn Year Book* IV, 9f.

not customary to pay pensions to old musicians. There were exceptions for those who had been especially long at court or whom the Prince wished particularly to reward, but the conferring of a pension was still primarily an *ex gratia* gesture.

Case One: the princely contractor, called *Ingenieur*, Nicolaus Jacoby, had been in service since 1746 and had worked on Eszterháza Castle; he was pensioned after twenty-nine years of service on 1 January 1775, with a yearly income of 300 gulden, which was to pass undiminished to his widow and children, so long as any of them lived. In toto the Esterházy estate disbursed some 10,000 gulden each year in pensions.

Case Two: Widow Catherine Dietzl wrote a petition to Prince Nicolaus Esterházy in which she asked for a pension. Her husband, Joseph Dietzl Senior, had entered the princely service as a tenor in 1753. At the same time he had been created the castle schoolmaster and had played second violin in the church orchestra. It had, moreover, been his responsibility to submit the yearly expenses for the church music to the princely accounts officer. In 1773 he was to become organist. But in 1768, as a result of an internal reform, he had been threatened with expulsion from the church music. Since he could hardly live from his small salary as schoolmaster, Haydn asked the Prince to raise Dietzl's salary or to retain him in the church music (more of this later). As a result, Dietzl's dismissal was cancelled in 1769 and he was reinstated in the church choir until his death in 1777.

The widow pointed out that her late husband had been castle schoolmaster for twenty-six years, and that he had been ill for several years before his death; this lingering illness had involved costly medicines and doctors' bills. Now she was sunk in debt, her eyes so weak that she could not work, she had had twenty-four children and was now a pauper; she throws herself on Prince Nicolaus's mercy. The answer on the document was: *nihil*.⁶

⁶ *Acta Musicalia* 40, Esterházy Archives, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, *Haydn Year Book* XIV (1984).

Among the musicians at the Esterházy court were also lower groups: first, the church musicians who remained at Eisenstadt when the court moved to Eszterháza. These church musicians received considerably less money than the secular musicians. But there was a third group, the copyists. Usually this position was very badly paid, which led to the following series of letters from an Esterházy copyist of the 1760s, Anton Adolph. He received his salary, as princely copyist, from the major domo's office at Eisenstadt along with the liveried servants. For this reason his name does not appear in any list of musicians. He is mentioned for the first time in 1762 in the major domo's office with a monthly salary of twelve gulden. In 1763, he addressed the following petition to the Prince:

To Your High-princely Serenity Prince Nicolaus, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Lord of Esterházy and Galanta, Count of Forchtenstein, etc. my high-commanding most gracious prince and lord, etc. Most Serene Prince of the Empire, General Field Marshal Lieutenant, High-commanding, most gracious prince and lord, May Your High-princely Serenity most graciously deign to consider that in the course of a year I have already copied about 1000 sheets of music and ruled them (without any remuneration) and worked most diligently.

Since I have no other means of income I request some high-condescending help at discretion as I am not able to pay from my monthly salary the rent of a house, wood, candles and other necessities.

So may my abject petition reach your High-princely Serenity to help me, poor as I am, in my utter distress.

Your High-princely Serenity's and my high-commanding, most gracious prince and lord's

Most obedient servant
 Anton Adolph
 Copyist⁷

⁷ *Acta Musicalia* 14, *ibid.*, in *Haydn Year Book* XII1 (1982).

Since there was no reaction to this suggestion, at least on the document, we find another petition, which reads as follows:

Most Serene Highness and Noble Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Gracious and Dread Lord!

It will be known to Your Serene Prince Highness in your infinite grace that I, a poor copyist, Antonji Adolph, have often submissively requested Your Princely Highness in your gracious mercy to improve my yearly salary; for I, a poor man, who is also married, have no more each month than twelve gulden in cash, together with the livery like other servants, and from this my meagre salary I must not only pay for my lodgings but also for wood, candles, and must support myself, miserably, even though I am crushed with work, so that as copyist I work day and night to supply the operas and comedies, as the enclosed bill will attest. And not only must I copy all this but even supply my own ink.

Considering that for all this I receive only 12 fl. and the livery (but without cost), it is difficult especially when it rains or snows, which is bad for the paper I take back and forth; that I have to pay for my lodgings, wood and especially candles because I have to write so much at night; that my yearly salary, which is anyway not large, is stretched to the utmost; therefore I beg Your Serene Princely Highness on my knees, in humility and submissiveness, that in your graciousness (known to the whole world) you grant me some improvement in my monthly salary, or something towards lodgings, wood or candles; for which act of grace God the Almighty will reward you richly, but I with my poor wife will pray to God every day in our prayers to grant rich blessings to Your Serene Princely Highness. And so I comfort myself that you will heed this my request, and remain, Your Serene Princely Highness's

Humble and Submissive Servant,
Antonji Adolph

SPECIFICATION

What was copied for Your Serene Princely Highness for operas and comedies [he means German-language operettas],

paper lined and copied, from 3 May to the month of August this year 1763, viz. [There follows a list of 832 sheets, one bifolium equalling four pages, or a total of 3,328 pages. The list is, incidentally, of vital importance to us because it identifies and dates Symphony No. 72, hitherto undated and obviously in wrong chronological position; it should be forty numbers earlier.]

This petition fell on deaf ears, and Adolph ran away from Eisenstadt the next year and was never heard of again. His successor was Joseph Elssler, who in 1769 also petitioned the Prince for a raise in salary:

[Prince Nicolaus's titles omitted here]

Serene high-born Prince of the Empire,

Most gracious and high-commanding Lord and Master

It is hard for me to trouble Your Serene Highness with my requests, but to whom shall I have recourse unless to my best, most indulgent and most gracious Prince who so willingly helps the needy and will not, therefore, close his generous heart to my most submissive request?

I have a wife and four children and as my monthly salary of twelve florins [gulden] will no longer cover our expenses, my most humble and submissive request is submitted to Your Serene Highness for the gracious allowance of some increase of pay as shall be seen fit; for which great favour God will be the rich recompense.

In the hope of a favourable hearing I remain with the profoundest respect and humility, falling at the feet of Your Serene Highness,

Joseph Elssler Copyist.⁸

Elssler did not succeed in causing the standard salary of twelve gulden per month to be raised, but in his case, Haydn, who acted as a diplomat and buffer between his musicians and the court administration, was able to assist by engaging Joseph Elssler as his personal

⁸ Acta Musicalia 11, in *Haydn Year Book XIII* (1982).

copyist. Music sent abroad, that is not on official Esterházy business, was copied by Elssler and the copying charges paid by Haydn. Many of these copies survive and are of the utmost importance textually.

After Elssler's death in 1782 a new system for the princely copyist was introduced. (Actually the new copyist was engaged in 1780, when Elssler was presumably unable to cope with all the increased copying work engendered by the regular operatic season now being given at Eszterháza Castle.) Instead of receiving a blanket salary, the new princely copyist, Johann Schellinger, was paid by the page; but he also received a small salary as the official prompter. His task was a crushing one: in 1786, Schellinger copied 1,719 bifolium sheets of vocal parts at seven Kreuzer per Bogen or bifolium sheet, and 1,817 sheets of instrumental parts at five Kreuzer per Bogen, a staggering total of 14,264 pages. Haydn countersigned this incredible bill on 29 December 1786. For this copying work Schellinger was paid at the going rate in Vienna: a total of 335 gulden 28 Kreuzer. In that same year, 1786, Johann Schellinger petitioned the Prince for help. '... through no fault of mine I have had to endure a grave illness, as Your Highness knows', writes the copyist. He asks the Prince to take over the expenses of the illness, 'for my whole monthly salary has had to go for the baths, food and small things'. Schellinger presented the bills in the amount of 32 gulden 10 Kreuzer. 'It is hard for me to pay it all'. Prince Nicolaus promptly paid the bill.⁹

In a court that employed Haydn, our interest must of course centre on the composer himself. The documents in the Esterházy Archives tell their own story of Haydn's diplomatic and musical success. In a series of receipts which have just been discovered, we learn an interesting fact. When Haydn was engaged by Prince Paul Anton in 1761, the composer's salary was 400 gulden. The

⁹ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works; Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766-1790* (London: Thames and Hudson, and Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1978), pp. 679-82, with the appropriate references for the original German.

Capellmeister, Haydn's director, also earned that sum. Now the new documents show Haydn being paid a secret additional salary from the princely privy purse, the first dated 31 October 1761 for fifty gulden 'additional salary' for the quarter 1 August-31 October. In other words, Haydn received apart from his stated salary of 400 gulden another secret 200 gulden. This 600 gulden is the official salary that he received after Prince Nicolaus succeeded his brother in April 1762. The new sum is recorded in a princely decree of 25 June 1762. It is now considered likely that this whole operation was initiated by Prince Paul Anton so as not to offend Capellmeister Werner, who was to remain in ignorance that his assistant was receiving one third more salary than he. Perhaps Prince Nicolaus saw no reason to continue the deception." The official recognition of all this no doubt materially increased Werner's famous jealousy of Haydn which culminated in the well-known protest about him that Werner sent to the Prince in the autumn of 1765.

At the beginning, Haydn's position *vis-à-vis* Prince Nicolaus was one of a certain stiffness. The Regent, Rahier, was as we have said a harsh taskmaster. Haydn protested about Rahier to the Prince in 1765, writing that 'We could not get anywhere with the Regent, and I even had to put up with his slamming the door in my face. . . . Your Serene and Illustrious Highness must yourself remember in your graciousness that I cannot serve two masters, and cannot accept the commands of, and subordinate myself to, the Regent; for Your Serene and Illustrious Highness once said to me, "Come first to me, because I am his master".'¹¹

In the ensuing years we see again and again Haydn intervening for musicians threatened with dismissal, or punishment, or fines for supposed misdemeanours. In most instances Haydn was

¹⁰ See Tank, 'Die Dokumente der Esterhazy-Archive', *Haydn-Studien* IV, p. 163 (document 31).

¹¹ Landon, *The Early Years*, pp. 413f., with appropriate references to the source for the German original.

successful — not always, but there were to be increasing numbers of cases where the original decision was reversed. Nevertheless, in these years Haydn always preferred to use a go-between in his dealings with the autocratic and melancholy Prince. In the 1760s the go-between was Anton Scheffstoss, whose daughter married the principal 'cellist Joseph Weigl. In one instance we have a letter to the Prince which Haydn wrote out twice, the first time as a draft for Scheffstoss to approve:

In case you find anything imprudent in the above [letter] let me know of it at once. I flatter myself that through my petition and through your confirmation of it, something may have an effect on His Highness. Apart from wishing you best greetings for the coming Holidays, and a happy farewell to the old and welcome to the new year, I am, Highly respected Sir,

Your obedient servant,
Joseph Haydn manu propria.

Eisenstadt, 22nd December 1768.¹²

The petition was to prevent the dismissal of two musicians who also fulfilled other duties: Rent Collector Franz Nigst, leader of the second violins in the main orchestra, and Joseph Dietzl of the church choir, whose widow, as we have seen, had petitioned unsuccessfully for a pension after his death. Haydn's intervention was successful on both counts.

Later, as Prince Nicolaus grew old, letters of this kind grew rarer and finally ceased altogether. Haydn was, in the 1780s, on sufficiently easy terms with his Prince to accomplish most of his wishes through personal interviews. In the 1760s, Prince Nicolaus liked to reward the musicians and especially Haydn with presents of gold coins — a welcome addition to the usual salaries. Haydn's own salary gradually rose so that by 1775 it and the emoluments amounted to 961 gulden 45 Kreuzer, the third highest salary of the entire Esterházy court, surpassed only by those of the Regent

¹² Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, p. 153.

and the physician in ordinary. When Prince Nicolaus died in 1770, he left Haydn the noble pension of 1000 gulden per annum. Mozart was then receiving 800 gulden from the Viennese court as Chamber Composer.

At the beginning of Haydn's career with the Esterházy, the composer knelt and kissed the hem of the Prince's coat in thanks for favours received: this was then standard practice on the Continent. Now, in 1770, a new prince Esterházy, Anton, succeeded to the title. He dismissed the very expensive opera troupe and the orchestra, retaining later only a wind band for the hunt and for *Tafelmusik*. Haydn was now free to travel and left for England, summoned by the great violinist and impresario Johann Peter Salomon.

As soon as Haydn arrived in London, he considered it polite to write at once to Prince Anton, who was still his employer although he was on a leave of absence:

Most noble Prince of the Holy Roman Empire!

I report respectfully that, despite unpleasant weather and a great many bad roads throughout the whole trip, I arrived in London this 2nd of January, happy and in good health. My arrival caused a great stir, and forced me to take larger quarters that same evening: I received so many calls that I shall hardly be able to repay them in six weeks. Both the ambassadors, i.e. Prince Castelcicala of Naples and Herr Baron von Stadion [called]; and I had the pleasure of lunching with both of them at 6 o'clock in the evening. The new opera libretto which I am to compose is entitled *Orfeo*. . . . [Haydn goes on to give details of the cast.] The concerts will begin next month on the 11th of February, and I shall dutifully write Your Highness more about that later. . . . I take the liberty of respectfully kissing the hands of the loveliest Princess, Your Highness's most charming wife, and also the Princess Marie and Her Highness's husband . . .'.¹³

¹³Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works; Haydn in England, 1791-1793* (London: Thames and Hudson, and Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1976), p. 38.

It was not known hitherto if Prince Esterházy answered this letter, but now a whole further correspondence between Prince Anton and Haydn has come to light in the Esterházy Archives in Budapest, including the following revealing reply to Haydn's letter:

Well and nobly born, much respected Herr Kapellmeister. With great pleasure I have received your letter of 8th January and the news contained therein that you arrived safely in London on the 2nd, and were so well received. I share most heartily in all this news and also in your future plans, not only about the opera which you are in the process of composing but all the other projects of which you inform me. I remain with great respect,

Your most willing
Anton Prince Esterházy.

Vienna, 3rd February 1791.

And several months later, after Haydn had reported on the astonishing success of his first London season, Prince Anton wrote from Eisenstadt in August 1791, 'With great pleasure I see from your letter of 20th July how very much your talents are appreciated in London, and I most heartily share in your success . . .'¹⁴

From kissing the hem of a princely coat to this tone of correspondence was perhaps the most astonishing personal feat of Haydn's career, and one which he conducted so modestly and quietly that the effect is easily underestimated. Within a few years, after Haydn returned to Austria, we will find him dining at the Esterházy's high dinner table, the composer's health proposed by the Austrian Ambassador to St. James.¹⁵ It is the record of a firm but unobtrusive social revolution, and one accomplished single-handedly.

¹⁴ U. Tank, *Studien zur Esterhazyschen Hofmusik von etwa 1620 bis 1790* (Regensburg 1981), pp. 285f.

¹⁵ Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works; The Late Years, 1801-1809* (London: Thames and Hudson, and Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1979), p. 231.

EDITOR'S NOTE. H. C. Robbins Landon's Tanner Lectures were the first to feature a musical performance as part of the proceedings. The following information was provided by Lord Ashby of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge:

It was not possible to cover the entire content of these lectures in the printed record. The first lecture, reproduced here, was the preamble to a second lecture in which Professor Landon discussed the practicalities of writing for the musicians and instruments of the day, as well as the influence of music upon eighteenth-century thought. During the lecture, the Academy of Ancient Music demonstrated the use made of baroque instruments in Haydn's day. The next day a concert of Haydn's music was given by the Academy under the direction of Christopher Hogwood, using baroque instruments to illustrate points made in the two lectures.

The seminar that followed the lectures brought together scholars of music, conductors, music critics, editors of music journals, performers from the Academy of Ancient Music, makers of musical instruments, and a picked group of students, to discuss the significance of music in eighteenth-century society.

In association with the lectures, an exhibition of instruments from Haydn's time was mounted in the music school. The exhibition emphasized the immense amount of information on Viennese instrument makers which exists in the Esterházy archives and which has been made available through Professor Landon's publications.