

Mozartian Touches in Michael Haydn's Dramatic Works

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This article presents some of the findings from my recent research into manuscripts of so far unpublished works by Michael Haydn. An outline of these findings was presented at the Michael Haydn conference in Salzburg in October 2006.¹ In the following, a more detailed description of one aspect of this research is offered.

Johann Michael Haydn (1737-1806) is known primarily as the most prominent composer of church music in the German-speaking lands in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Though he lived and composed until the first decade of the nineteenth century, his style and composition technique, formed in the 1760s and '70s, remained essentially "early classical"—relatively unaffected by the developments of Viennese Classicism in the 1780s and '90s, as exemplified in the works of his elder brother Joseph and his compatriot W.A. Mozart. His voluntary attachment to Salzburg, from a young age until his death, may explain this conservatism to a certain degree, or may be a symptom of it.

Apart from his vast output of liturgical music, Michael Haydn was a prolific composer of instrumental music in all the prevalent genres of the period. He is less known for the works that are our main concern here: his vocal compositions for the stage. He wrote about twenty dramatic works, some of which may be defined as opera seria, others as singspiele, oratorios or dramatic cantatas. The differentiation by genre is sometimes difficult to establish, as none of these works was intended for an ordinary opera house. Although some of them are completely secular in content, they were performed in religious surroundings, such as the Benedictine University of Salzburg, or in convents in Salzburg and the surrounding area.

Only a few of Haydn's dramatic works have been published, but none in his lifetime or shortly thereafter. Two have appeared in modern editions,² and a third is forthcoming.³ Most are preserved only in manuscript form, many of them autographs. The main locations of these manuscripts are the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. A detailed description of the historical background of these works and their sources is to be found in the (unpublished) doctoral dissertation of Johanna Senigl (1987).⁴

Mozart's dramatic output, representing the avant-garde of opera writing of his time, and written for central venues such as the court-operas of Milan and Vienna, is of course worlds apart from the conservative style of Michael Haydn's operatic works and the rather provincial settings of their performance. Nevertheless, it may be interesting to examine if Haydn, whose operatic production was more or less contemporaneous with that of Mozart (from the late 1760s to the late '80s), was at all

¹ Benjamin Perl, *Michael Haydns Deutsche Opern – eine musikalische Charakteristik* [The German Operas of Michael Haydn – a Musical Characterization], paper given at the conference: *Johann Michael Haydn: Werk und Wirkung* [Johann Michael Haydn: His Work and His Influence], Salzburg, 20-22 October 2006.

² a) Johann Michael Haydn, "Der Traum" – eine Pantomime MH 84, ed. Werner Rainer, *Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg* (Salzburg: Selke Verlag, 1996); b) Johann Michael Haydn, "Der Bassgeiger zu Wörgl" ein Lustspiel in der Musik MH 205, ed. Werner Rainer (Wien/München: Doblinger, 1995).

³ "Die Hochzeit auf der Alm" MH 107/218, edited by Johanna Senigl.

⁴ J.M. Senigl, *Johann Michael Haydns Beiträge zum Salzburger Theaterleben* [Johann Michael Haydn's Contributions to Theatrical Life in Salzburg] (dissertation, University of Salzburg, 1987).

influenced by the masterpieces of his younger colleague. This article presents one instance of an obvious trace of Mozart's music in an as yet little known dramatic work by Michael Haydn, and tries to reveal the circumstances that may have led to this connection.

Let us first briefly survey the rather complex relationship between the two masters, as may be gathered from the correspondence of the Mozart family, from the "Biographische Skizze" by Michael Haydn's friends,⁵ describing his life and character, and from certain other sources.

Michael Haydn came to Salzburg in 1763, at the age of 26. Mozart (then aged 7) and his father Leopold were absent at the time, on their first grand European tour. When they returned, in 1765, Haydn was already firmly established as an influential composer and *Konzermeister* at the archbishop's court orchestra. He thus became a potential rival to Leopold, though neither of them ever attained the coveted position of *Kapellmeister*. This rivalry may explain Leopold's on the one hand appreciative, and, on the other, reserved and at times even malicious, attitude to Michael Haydn.⁶

Young Wolfgang grew up in this atmosphere, where Michael Haydn was recognized as the most distinguished composer in Salzburg, certainly surpassing Mozart senior. Mozart was well aware of Haydn's qualities,⁷ and some of his early works show the distinct influence of his senior master. Moreover, Mozart copied quite a few of Haydn's compositions, mostly ecclesiastical, apparently for study purposes.⁸

Some examples of Mozart's works where Haydn's influence is evident are: his offertorium "Sub tuum praesidium" K 198 (Anh. C3 08),⁹ which starts with the same melody as Haydn's duet "O Amaryllis" from the pantomime "Der Traum" MH 84 (1767); his first string quintet K. 174, from 1773, which is very reminiscent of Michael Haydn's two string quintets (MH 191 and 193)—especially the second—written in the same year.¹⁰ Mozart's final chorus to the oratorio "Betulia liberata" (K

⁵ G. Schinn and J. Otter, *Biographische Skizze von Michael Haydn* (Salzburg, 1808) (based on MS biography by W. Rettensteiner, Angermüller and Senigl, "Biographie des Salzburger Concertmeisters Michael Haydn von seinen Freunden verfasst," *Mitteilungen der internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, xxxvii [1989]: 199–231).

⁶ From Leopold in Salzburg to Wolfgang in Mannheim (29 December 1777): "Who do you think has been made organist at Holy Trinity? Herr Haydn! Everybody is laughing. He will be an expensive item, as after every Litany he swills a quart of wine and sends Lipp, who is also a tippler, to do the other services" (trans. and ed. Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and his Family* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966], letter 268a ["Wer meinst du wohl ist organist bey der Dreyfaltigkeit geworden?—H: Haydn! Alles lacht, der ist ein theurer Organist. Nach ieder Lytaney sauft er ein Viertel wein: zu den übrigen diensten schickt er den Lipp, und der will auch sauffen"]). In another letter to his son, from 11 June 1778, he writes that Haydn's promotion in court was prevented by a "*schmutzigsten Zusammenhang*" ("dirtiest circumstances"). In fact, Haydn was sheltering his sister-in-law, Maria Judith Lipp, who was about to give birth to an illegitimate child. Later on, Leopold adds, to the accusations of drunkenness and moral laxity, the charge of Haydn's presumed laziness (29 June 1778). These letters are cited in Gerhard Croll, "Johann Michael Haydn in seinen Beziehungen zu Leopold und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart" ["Johann Michael Haydn and His Relationship to Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart"], in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1987-88*, pp. 97-106.

⁷ See N. Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 390-91.

⁸ Mozart's copies of works by Michael Haydn in Köchel Anhang A: A 11 – *Pignus futurae gloriae*; A 12 – *idem*; A 13 – *Tres sunt*; A 14 – *Ave Maria*; A 15 – *Lauda Sion*; A 52 – *Finale of a symphony*; A 53 – *Introduction by Mozart and symphony* (K 444); A 71 – *In te Domine speravi*; A 80 – *Tenebrae*.

⁹ There is a controversy surrounding the authenticity of this composition. The arguments are presented in M.H. Schmid, *Mozart und die Salzburger Tradition* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1976), pp. 89-98.

¹⁰ See M. Flothuis, "Quintette für Streichinstrumente von Michael Haydn," *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1987-88*, pp. 49–57.

118 [74c]) from Summer 1771 is cast very similarly to Haydn’s chorus, “Cantate Domino” MH 142, from the drama “Pietas christiana” of the previous year.¹¹ While he was in Vienna, Mozart repeatedly asked his father, and later his sister and his wife, to send him scores of Haydn’s church music for study and performance.¹² Even in Mozart’s final fragmentary masterpiece, the “Requiem,” we may observe a number of similarities with Haydn’s early “Requiem” MH 155 from 1771.¹³

To these well-know influences, I wish to add one more—which I discovered in my recent researches. In May 1768, Michael Haydn’s most famous dramatic work, the singspiel “Die Hochzeit auf der Alm” MH 107, had its premiere in Salzburg. Mozart, then aged 12, was staying in Vienna at the time. It appears that he could only have become acquainted with Haydn’s opera at a later time, in January 1769, when he returned to Salzburg. Yet, in that same year, Mozart composed his own German singspiel “Bastien und Bastienne” K 50 (46b), which was probably performed for the first time in Mesmer’s house a few months later, in October 1768.¹⁴ Both works have a similar pastoral setting, and this is Mozart’s only German opera from his Salzburg period. More strikingly, both works open with an overture in G major in 3/4, and have a common musical motif. In fact, the main theme of Mozart’s “Intrada” (which shows a remarkable likeness to the first theme in the first movement of Beethoven’s “Eroica” symphony) is to be found in a varied form in Haydn’s overture as well (mm. 53-57 and 131-135). These similarities are shown in Examples 1 and 2.¹⁵

Example 1 Michael Haydn, “Die Hochzeit auf der Alm,” overture, mm. 131-135



¹¹ G. Croll, *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1987-88*, p. 106.

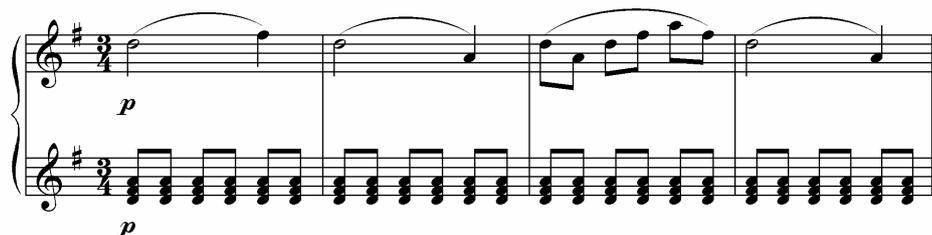
¹² See Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.), *Mozart, Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963-75), letters of 4 January 1783 (letter 719, lines 30-32); 12 March 1783 (letter 731, lines 28-34); 2 August 1788 (letter 1082, lines 19-25); 12 July 1791 (letter 1188, lines 11-12, 29-30).

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

¹⁴ The performance at Mesmer’s house is reported only in Nissen’s biography. There are no other sources to confirm it (Rudolph Angermüller, introduction to NMA II/5/3 “Bastien und Bastienne” K 50 (46b) [Salzburg, 1973], p. xii).

¹⁵ All the following music examples are presented as piano transcriptions, prepared from the orchestral scores by the author of this article.

Example 2 W.A. Mozart, “Bastien und Bastienne,” Intrada, mm. 20-23



We may assume that Leopold and Wolfgang, while in Vienna, received reports from their friends in Salzburg about the highly successful performance of “Die Hochzeit auf der Alm” in May 1768. The very idea that Wolfgang should write a similar opera may have originated in these reports. But how did Mozart come to know the music? For this we have just one clue: in his 1952 biography of Michael Haydn, Hans Jancik mentions that “Die Hochzeit auf der Alm” was also performed in Vienna in 1768.¹⁶ He gives no details or sources for such a performance, and modern researchers do not mention it. Nevertheless, as Jancik is generally considered to be a reliable biographer, and, given the similarities between the overtures of the two operas, I would tend to give credence to this affirmation, and surmise that young Mozart heard Michael Haydn’s singspiel in Vienna.

It may be appropriate to mention here three cases of collaboration between the two composers, the first occurring in Mozart’s childhood, and the other two connected with Mozart’s visit to Salzburg in the autumn of 1783.

For a Lent performance at the Salzburg court in 1767, W.A. Mozart (aged 11) and Michael Haydn each wrote one third¹⁷ of the oratorio “Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebotes” (“The Obligation of the First Commandment”). The third part was written by Anton Cajetan Adlgasser. Of this oratorio, only Mozart’s music survived.

In 1783, as reported both in Nissen’s biography of Mozart and in the “Biographische Skizze” of Michael Haydn, Mozart wrote his two duos for violin and viola, K. 423 and 424, supplementing two missing duos for a compilation of six, promised by Michael Haydn to the archbishop, a commission he was unable to complete due to illness. These duos, which exist in Mozart’s hand and show all the hallmarks of his style, were initially performed under Michael Haydn’s name.¹⁸

Finally, Mozart created a slow introduction to Haydn’s symphony in G major, MH 334. This symphony has long been considered to have been composed by Mozart (published as “No. 37, K. 444”), because not only the introduction, but also the following Allegro and part of the Andante, were found in Mozart’s hand. Today, there

¹⁶ Hans Jancik, *Michael Haydn: ein vergessener Meister* (Zürich: Amalthea, 1952), p. 84: “Ein Beweis, dass das Stück Erfolg hatte; es wurde 1768 sogar in Wien gespielt...” [“A proof that the piece (‘Die Hochzeit auf der Alm’) was successful: it was performed even in Vienna in 1768...”]. All translations from German, if not otherwise indicated, are by the author of this article.

¹⁷ Traditionally, the task of writing an oratorio for Lent in Salzburg was divided between three composers.

¹⁸ Dietrich Berke and Marius Flothuis, in their 1975 introduction to NMA VIII/21, “Duos und Trios für Streicher und Bläser,” pp. vii-viii, believe this story to be true, based on the form of the autograph and on Mozart’s correspondence. See also R. Angermüller and J. Senigl, “Biographie des Salzburger Concertmeisters Michael Haydn von seinen Freunden verfasst,” *Mitteilungen der internationalen Stiftung Mozartem*, xxxvii (1989): 221.

is no doubt that the symphony, from the Allegro on, was written at an earlier time by Michael Haydn. Neal Zaslaw presents a reconstruction of the events that may have led to Mozart's partial copying of Haydn's symphony. He assumes that it was intended to be played at Mozart's subscription concerts in the first half of 1784, and that Mozart got hold of an unauthorized copy of Haydn's symphony during his stay in Salzburg the previous Fall.¹⁹

There were also other cases of confusion between the works of the two composers. One such case is described in an article by M.H. Schmid.²⁰ The song for four male voices, "Wer unter eines Mädchens Hand" (KV Anh. C 9.05), attributed to Mozart, was almost certainly written by Michael Haydn ("Lied der Freiheit," MH 609). Another serenade, "Liebes Mädchen, hör' mir zu," attributed to Mozart in a Hamburg print of 1795, was probably authored by Haydn,²¹ but there is no irrefutable evidence of this.

But let us turn now to the main issue of this article—the possible influence of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" on the ageing Michael Haydn.²² Haydn's last surviving dramatic composition is the singspiel "Die Ährenleserin" ("The Girl Gleaning Ears of Corn") MH 493, written in 1788. This is the only one of Michael Haydn's singspiele that shows a distinct connection to the well-established tradition of the singspiele in northern Germany. This rich and diversified repertoire began to be written in the 1750s, and became very popular in the 1770s. Its most representative composers were J.C. Standfuss, Adam Hiller, Georg Benda and Ignaz Holzbauer.²³ In his early singspiele, Michael Haydn seems to have relied mainly on local Salzburg and Viennese traditions. But here he sets a text by Hiller's librettist, Christian Felix Weisse, already composed ten years earlier by Adam Hiller himself. Hiller's version was widely disseminated and Haydn may well have known it. Haydn's setting is constructed almost identically to Hiller's, but the music is wholly independent.²⁴

The story follows a predictable pattern of contemporary sentimental pastoral comedy: a poor peasant girl named Emilie gleanes corn in the fields of a rich landowner. She is unjustly accused of theft by the callous guard. Thanks to the intervention of the landowner's children, she is pardoned by their father, and, moreover, turns out to be the long-lost daughter of the landowner's best friend. From this time on, the girl and her mother are provided for.

The style of the music shows a remarkable change compared to Haydn's earlier operas, presumably under the influence of the north German singspiele. The virtuoso singing in the manner of opera seria has disappeared; the melodies are in the style of folk songs, and little challenging vocally. Phrases tend to be short and

¹⁹ Zaslaw (1989), pp. 391-96.

²⁰ Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Michael Haydn als Autor zweier apokrypher Mozart-Lieder," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* (February 1971), XXVI/2: 72-79.

²¹ It appears in the Sherman catalogue under number 749.

²² Haydn never mentions the Mozarts in his few remaining letters. But an utterance of his about W.A. Mozart is reported by his biographers Schinn, Otter and Rettensteiner: "He [Michael Haydn] highly appreciated these masterpieces [Haydn's oratorios and Mozart's operas] as well as their creators, and once said, among other things, about this highly talented but extravagant Mozart: If God had granted him a longer life, he would have granted us a new music" ["Er schätzte jene Meisterwerke wie ihre Schöpfer unendlich hoch, und sagte einmal unter andern von dem genialischen, oft doch ausschweifenden Mozart: hätte ihm Gott ein längeres Leben gegeben; so hätte er uns eine neue Musik gegeben"] (*Biographische Skizze*, p. 14; the epithet "extravagant" was used by the authors of the "Biographische Skizze," and not by Michael Haydn).

²³ See T. Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

²⁴ Senigl (1987), p. 182.

contrasting, and the harmonic language is more chromatic and bold. Nevertheless, the high professionalism that is a hallmark of Michael Haydn's compositions is evident throughout.

Finding extracts reminiscent of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" in this rather unpretentious work was quite unexpected. The topic is unrelated, and there is no resemblance between the characters. Nevertheless, the music is similar in certain places, not only in its melodic outline, but in harmony and texture as well.

The first extract is a passage from the second aria of the singspiel sung by the guard, named Krums, who apprehends Emilie while she is gleaning and accuses her of stealing. It is a passage in E minor, which occurs after the modulation from the aria's main tonality, A major, to the dominant E major (mm. 20-30). It later appears again in A minor at mm. 48-58. It strongly resembles a section from Don Giovanni's "Fin ch'han dal vino" (Act I, No. 11) mm. 61-68. Both passages are identical as regards melody, meter, rhythm and harmony, and both are minor sections within a piece in major.

Example 3 Michael Haydn, "Die Ährenleserin," Aria No. 2, mm. 21-32

Basso solo

7

7

7

Example 4 W.A. Mozart, “Don Giovanni,” Don Giovanni’s aria “Fin ch’han dal vino,” mm. 61-68

Baritono

Con que-stae quel - la vo'a - mo-reg - giar vo'a - mo - reg - giar vo'a -

7
mo - reg - giar.

The second instance of such a parallelism is to be found in the protagonist Emilie’s aria No. 4, where she envies the birds that may freely pick up the corn, at mm. 45-47. Its counterpart in “Don Giovanni” is Zerlina’s “Senti lo battere” from her aria “Vedrai carino” (Act II, No.18, mm. 67-69). Again, the melodic outline and the harmony are the same. The meter is doubled in Haydn’s work to 3/4 from Mozart’s 3/8; in Haydn, there is a shortening of the upbeat from quarters to eighths in the second half of the sequence, while, in Mozart, both parts have the same rhythm. These slight differences do not prevent our perceiving both passages as essentially identical (Examples 5 and 6).

Example 5 Michael Haydn, “Die Ährenleserin,” Aria No. 4, mm. 45-47

Soprano

Example 6 W.A. Mozart, “Don Giovanni,” Zerlina’s aria “Vedrai carino,” mm. 61-63

Soprano

Sen - ti - lo bat - te - re sen - ti - lo bat - te - re,

mf *p* *mf* *p*

Finally, let us cite the final chorus of “Die Ährenleserin,” the vocal part of which starts as follows (Example 7):

Example 7 Michael Haydn, “Die Ährenleserin,” Chorus No. 14, mm. 12-14

Soprano

This, of course, strongly reminds us of Don Giovanni’s “Già la mensa è preparata,” at the beginning of the finale of the second act (Example 8).

Example 8 W.A. Mozart, “Don Giovanni,” Don Giovanni’s second finale, No. 24, mm. 17-19

Baritono

Già la men - saè pre - pa - ra - ta;

fp

f p

Here the melodies are not identical, but quite similar; the harmony is the same; the meter is doubled in Haydn but the proportions are the same. In this case, we may add that both pieces have the same tonality (D major) and both are finales.

Jan LaRue²⁵ warns us against ascribing excessive significance to similarities of melody in classical works, as most share a common repertory of idiomatic turns and phrases that may appear many times in different contexts. He establishes two criteria by which resemblances between themes may be judged as significant or merely coincidental. The first criterion is statistical: if the similarity discovered is common not just to the two cases under discussion, but to many other themes. The second criterion is the degree of similarity: if it concerns only the melody, or harmony, rhythm and structure as well. By these criteria, the resemblances described above between extracts from Michael Haydn’s “Die Ährenleserin” and Mozart’s “Don Giovanni” appear significant. In the first two cases (Examples 3-4 and 5-6), the melody is specific and quite uncommon; the third case (Examples 7-8) is admittedly more ordinary, but I still cannot think of another identical example. In all three examples, the similitude is comprehensive, including all parameters. So it can hardly be dismissed as being purely coincidental.

The significance of these extracts is highlighted by the proximity of dates. Haydn’s score is signed 2 July 1788. The premiere of “Don Giovanni” in Prague took place on 29 October of the previous year. Its first revival in Vienna (in a revised version) was on 7 May 1788. It was performed there another six times in the same month, and an additional six times prior to 2 August. Michael Haydn lived in Salzburg at this period, and his biographers make no report of his traveling to Vienna (or anywhere else) at this time.²⁶ A trip to Prague seems most improbable, as Michael Haydn traveled very little, and never outside Austria. Nevertheless, his presence at one of the Viennese performances of “Don Giovanni” cannot be excluded. Our evidence, however, is scant, and we have to rely heavily on hypotheses.

The only document that has come to my knowledge concerning Michael Haydn’s possible presence in Vienna in 1788, is Mozart’s letter to his sister Nannerl from 2 August 1788, from which I reproduce the following passage:

Well, I have a request to make. I should very much like Haydn to lend me for a short time his two Tutti-masses and the Graduale which he has

²⁵ Jan LaRue, “Significant and Coincidental Resemblance between Classical Themes,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961): 224-34.

²⁶ Michael Haydn’s trips to Vienna that we know about took place in 1767, 1798 and 1801 (M.H. Schmid, entry on M. Haydn in MGG).

composed, all of them in the original scores. Tell him that I shall return them with many thanks. It is now exactly a year since I wrote to him and invited him to stay with me; but he has not replied. As a matter of fact, as far as answering letters is concerned, he seems, don't you think, to have good deal in common with myself.²⁷

Mozart tells us that he had invited Michael Haydn to come to visit him in Vienna the previous year, and that Haydn had not responded to his invitation, nor even answered his letter. If we are to account for Haydn's acquaintance with "Don Giovanni," we must assume: that Mozart's invitation (the letter is lost!) served as a trigger to bring him to Vienna some time in Spring or early Summer of 1788; that he attended a performance of "Don Giovanni," but did not contact Mozart; and that his presence in Vienna remained unknown to Mozart—and to his friends Otter, Schinn and Rettensteiner, who wrote his biography. I admit that this hypothesis is rather tenuous, but it explains the "Don Giovanni" fragments in Haydn's "Ährenleserin" from the same year.

Here a caveat is appropriate. The score of Michael Haydn's singspiel "Die Ährenleserin" is not preserved in an autograph, but only in a copy produced by one of his main copyists, Nikolaus Lang.²⁸ In addition, the work is not mentioned in any of the catalogues established shortly after Michael Haydn's death, including the catalogues prepared by Nikolaus Lang himself. These facts may cast some doubt on the authenticity of this work. The front page claims "Di Giov. M. Haydn mpia" which is of course a forgery, as the manuscript evidently is not in Michael Haydn's hand, and has been identified as having been written by Nikolaus Lang.²⁹ This kind of forgery appears to be a common practice of this copyist. Let us provide a few facts concerning him that are relevant to our research.

Nikolaus Lang (1772-1837) came to Salzburg as a student in 1795 or 1796; in 1801 he became vicar in the Salzburg cathedral, and from 1812 onward he was appointed singing teacher in various localities in Bavaria. We have no information about his musical training, nor about his relations with Michael Haydn. On 12 November 1808, Michael Haydn's widow Maria Magdalena offered for sale some works of her deceased husband, adding a thematic catalogue compiled by Lang. Facts about Lang are to be found in his personal file in the Archive of the Administrative Authority of the Munich Diocese (Ordinariatsarchiv), containing a biographical notice written by himself.³⁰

²⁷ E. Anderson (1966), letter 557 ["Nun muss ich dich um etwas bitten: ich möchte gerne dass mir der Haydn *seine 2 Tutti=Messen* und die *Graduali* so er geschrieben, in *Partitur* auf eine Zeit lehnte; ich würde sie mit allem dank wieder zurück schicken. – es ist nun eben ein Jahr dass ich ihm geschrieben, und ihn zu mir eingeladen habe. aber er hat mir nicht geantwortet; —im antworten scheint er mir viel gleiches *mit mir* zu haben, nicht wahr?"].

²⁸ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. Mss. 4278. Another copy of the parts and the libretto is in Kremsmünster (G. 15.43). See Senigl (1987), p. 186.

²⁹ See Charles H. Sherman and T. Donley Thomas, *Johann Michael Haydn (1737-1806): A Chronological Thematic Catalogue of his Works* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon, 1993), entry for MH 493.

³⁰ The information about Lang is based on Robert Münster, "Nikolaus Lang und seine Michael-Haydn-Kopien in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek" ["Nikolaus Lang and his Copies of Works by Michael Haydn in the Bavarian State Library"], *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, xxvii/1 (1972): 25-29.

Otter and Schinn's "Biographische Skizze" mentions that "...some opportunistic copyists sized up the situation, and sent copies of his [M. Haydn's] masterworks all around."³¹ Their primary target here appears to have been Nikolaus Lang, who apparently sold his copies of Michael Haydn's works as autographs. In the introduction to his catalogue, Sherman states that "Lang's manuscripts...reproduce Haydn's holographs so carefully—appropriating even the composer's *m[anu] p[ropr]ia*—that experts sometimes still mistake them for autographs." In fact, the Berlin Staatsbibliothek possesses a Nikolaus Lang copy of the "Offertorium de omni tempore" (*Domine Deus salutis meae*) for soloists, choir and orchestra (MH 827) by Michael Haydn which has been catalogued as "Mus.ms.autogr.J.M.Haydn 7."³² The library obviously bought the copy as an autograph, and catalogued it as such.

Nonetheless, most, if not all, of Lang's copies exist also in autograph or in other authenticated copies. To this day, none of Lang's copies has been found attributing a work by any other composer to Michael Haydn. He seems to have specialized in copying Haydn's works, and, to my knowledge, no copies of his of works by other composers have been preserved.

A certain trait of Haydn's character, which was transmitted by his biographers, is also pertinent to our subject. He was known to detest plagiarism, and already, as a child in the St. Stephen's choir in Vienna, had instituted a tribunal to judge his fellow students who were discovered to have used a melody written by another composer.³³ "This contempt for any appropriation of the art or talent of another, which was so lively acted out by the child, remained a distinguishing quality of our great composer, of which throughout his life he was unable to rid himself."³⁴ How, then, are we to explain those "Don Giovanni" extracts in "Die Ährenleserin"?

Let us return to the evidence gathered so far for and against the authenticity of "Die Ährenleserin." The facts that weaken its claim for being Michael Haydn's:

- 1) There remains no autograph.
- 2) It is not mentioned in contemporary catalogues.
- 3) It is stylistically different from Haydn's other compositions for the stage.
- 4) It contains at least three obvious extracts from "Don Giovanni," which goes against Haydn's principles regarding plagiarism.
- 5) There is no evidence that Haydn had any opportunity to familiarize himself with "Don Giovanni."

On the other hand, the following arguments point to the work's authenticity:

- 1) Lang's copy of the score, as well as the Kremsmünster copy of the parts (which may be dependent on it), are attributed to Michael Haydn.

³¹ "...desto mehr kalkulirten gewinnsüchtige Copisten darauf los, und versendeten die Abschriften seiner Meisterwerke weit und breit herum" (R. Angermüller and J. Senigl, "Biographie des Salzburgerischen Concertmeisters Michael Haydn von seinen Freunden verfasst," *Mitteilungen der internationalen Stiftung Mozartem*, xxxvii (1989): 219.

³² Joachim Jaenecke (ed.), *Joseph und Michael Haydn: Autographe und Abschriften, Katalog* (München: Henle, 1990), p. 232.

³³ Angermüller and Senigl (1989), p. 202.

³⁴ "Dieses Verschmähen aller Aneignungen von fremder Kunst und Kraft, das sich schon in dem Knaben so lebendig aussprach, ist ein Charakterzug unseres grossen Tonsätzers geblieben, den er nie in seinem ganzen Leben aus sich zu tilgen im Stande war" (*Biographische Skizze* [1808], p. 7, cited in Schmid, "Michael Haydn," MGG).

- 2) Nikolaus Lang is known to have been a reliable copyist dedicated to the dissemination of Haydn's works. Though he may have sold his copies as Haydn autographs, he is not known to have fraudulently sold copies of music by other composers as being Haydn's works.
- 3) The music of "Die Ährenleserin" is of high quality, and appears to have been written by one of the distinguished composers of the period.
- 4) There seems to be no interest for Lang to falsely represent an opera as being written by Michael Haydn, since Haydn was not renowned as an opera composer.

It seems to me that, given this contradictory evidence, no definite judgment as to the author of this work may yet be formed. There appears to be little doubt that the author of "Die Ährenleserin" had been familiar with Mozart's "Don Giovanni" when he composed the music of his singspiel. Whether the extracts were deliberately or even consciously made is not clear. I would prefer to opt for the possibility that the fragments from Mozart's drama popped up unconsciously, since they had impressed themselves in the composer's mind. As the naïve subject matter of the singspiel is so remote from the high-strung world of "Don Giovanni," a deliberate citation would not make much sense. There remains the intriguing option that Michael Haydn gave up his life-long aversion to plagiarism to pay this homage to his younger colleague. Without further evidence, however, the case remains a riddle.