

Haydn's Iberian World Connections



DURING THE LAST QUARTER of the eighteenth century Haydn captivated Spain. From Spain and Portugal his name and fame radiated to Latin America, where by the turn of the century his music was widely dispersed.

I

The Cádiz commission of 1785/6 that resulted in his composing the *Seven Last Words of Christ* still ranks as his most famous Spanish connection. However, his quartets opp. 9, 17, and 20, were already the favorite recreation of Madrid aristocrats a decade earlier. In 1775 Manuel Delitala, youthful marquis of Manca (born in Sardinia but of Spanish descent), organized at Madrid a foursome that met regularly to play Haydn quartets at his house in the Carrera de San Francisco.¹ Because he breathed heavily when encountering hard passages in his violin part, the marquis was nicknamed *Ronquido*² ("heavy breather") by his 25-year-old friend Tomás de Iriarte (1750–1791) who played either violin or viola parts at the marquis's Haydn quartet parties.

Iriarte—a native of Tenerife who arrived at Madrid in 1764 to study classics with his uncle the royal librarian Juan de Iriarte (1702–1771) and music with the eminent Encarnación chapelmaster Antonio Rodríguez de Hita³—wrote his first poetic tribute to Haydn May 20, 1776. Entitling it *Epístola escrita en 20. de mayo de 1776. A una Dama que preguntó al Autor qué Amigos tenía* ("Letter written May 20, 1776, to a lady who asked what friends he had"), his poem eulogized first the Latin poet Horace, next Haydn in 68 lines that voice these sentiments:⁴

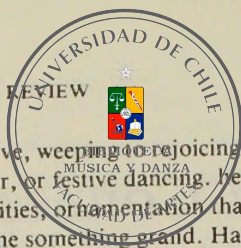
But if you say Horace is dead, I have another friend, alive though absent. I know him solely from hearing him. Haydn, German musician and surpassing composer, entrances me with his superb music. Without the assistance of a text, his speech has more power than words to express passions and sway the soul. His music is pantomime without gestures, painting without pigments, poetry without syllables, rhetoric rhythmized. The instruments for which he writes declaim, recite, paint, express sensible ideas. However the different parts move—in diverse directions, alternating, imitating, playing in unison, silencing all together, entering at seeming random, cadencing softly, resuming vigorously, instruments playing together or alone, slow or fast—he so controls his design that the different parts all incite the same emotion. That

¹Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Iriarte y su época* (Madrid: "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra," 1897), p. 156.

²*Ibid.*, p. 554: "A Delitala se le llamaba *Ronquido* entre los cuatro amigos que tocaban la primera música de Haydn, porque roncaba en los pasos difíciles que ejecutaba con trabajo al tocar el violín."

³Carlos Pignatelli, "Noticia histórica de la vida, y escritos de don Thomas Yriarte," in Antonio Aguirre, "La noticia de Pignatelli," *Revue hispanique*, xxxvi/89 (February 1916), p. 222: "Llegó por fin a saber la composición y a tocar de repente el Violín, y la Viola sólo por observacion y practica, y despues con el auxilio de alguna instruccion que recibio de su amigo el maestro de Capilla de la Encarnacion don Antonio Rodriguez de Hita."

⁴Lines from Horace appear below Haydn's first printed portrait (Vienna: Artaria & Co., 1781). See plate in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), opp. p. 160. The 26-year-old Iriarte [= Yriarte] published his May 20, 1776, tribute in his *Coleccion de obras en verso y prosa* (Madrid: Imprenta de Benito Cano, 1787), II, 87–89. Both Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson subscribed to this first collected edition of Iriarte's works. See list of *subscriptores*, pp. xii and xiv.



emotion can range from fury to love, weeping or rejoicing. His potent harmony is equally able to induce tranquility, martial valor, or festive dancing. He does not encumber his melody with elaborate warbles, difficult trivialities, or ornamentation that neglects feeling while cozening the ear into believing a poor mean tune something grand. Haydn's melodies breathe truth, nobility, simplicity. His always well planned and richly varied music never builds the hearer up to expect something important that does not happen. Haydn, dear friend, excuse my describing inadequately your genius to someone unable to appreciate you for having failed to hear you.

As if all this rhapsodizing were not enough, Iriarte next year, March of 1777, congratulated his brother Domingo (1739-1795) on a diplomatic appointment to Vienna⁵ in a verse epistle that contains this tribute:⁶

I beg you in my name to embrace Haydn, that great man who is the mightiest musician of our age. All the power and prodigious effect ascribed to divine music by the ancient Greeks and Romans no longer seem fabulous when you applaud the lordliness, the expressivity, and the ingenious consonance concentrated in his various symphonies.

In 1779⁷ Iriarte published in lavish quarto a five-canto poem, *La Música*.⁸ Still not certain as late as May 11, 1779, to whom he should dedicate it, he solicited the advice of his "distinguished [music] pupil" (*estimada discípula*), the duchess of Villahermosa, doña María Manuela Pignatelli y Gonzaga. At her elegant Madrid house, prior to her husband's appointment in 1778 as ambassador to Turin,⁹ he had written the first three cantos. Eventually he dedicated it to no one. However, the prologue alludes to the count of Floridablanca (Charles III's chief minister), whose patronage made possible the luxurious imprint.¹⁰ Haydn thus climaxes canto V.¹¹

Only on your numen, prodigious Haydn, have the Muses bestowed that grace of being always so novel and so copious that curiosity never tires of your works a thousand times repeated.

Pedro Durán, "Elogio a la vida del Exmo S^o D^o Domingo de Yriarte," *Revue hispanique*, xxxix/96 (April 1917), 322-323: "Habiendo sido elegido en el año de mil setecientos y setenta y siete para desempeñar la secretaría de embajada del Rey N. S. en la corte de Viena. . . . Como sobreviniere el fallecimiento del Conde de Mahoni, embajador de España en Viena, partió [de Roma] D^o Domingo de Yriarte aceleradamente a fines de enero de mil setecientos y setenta y ocho, en virtud de orden que recibió de pasar a servir a aquella Corte imperial, no ya meramente de secretario de embajada, sino de encargado de negocios. . . ."

He continued chargé d'affaires one year until the conde de Águilar arrived from Spain in early October. On Águilar's death, he again served as chargé d'affaires until arrival of the marqués de Llano. He continued at Vienna nine years, transferring thence to Paris in 1786.

⁵*Coleccion de obras en verso y prosa*, II, 62-63.

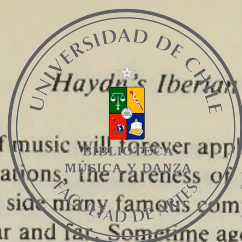
⁶Publication was announced in the Madrid *Gazeta* of March 31, 1780. See José Subirá, *El compositor Iriarte (1750-1791) y el cultivo español del melodrama (melodrama)* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología [Monografías, v], 1949), I, 79.

⁷Enriched with eight plates, the edition ran to 10 leaves + 126 pages + xl of notes and an errata page. Subsequent editions: Madrid, 1784, 1789, 1822; Bordeaux, 1809, 1822, 1835. See Cotarelo y Mori, p. 205.

⁸Cotarelo y Mori, *Iriarte y su época*, p. 154. The Duques de Villahermosa residence stood on Rejas street.

⁹*Coleccion de obras*, I, 139. After reading the first three cantos, Floridablanca (*un Personage baxo el inmediato patrocinio de nuestro augusto Monarca*) urged completion, promised funds to print it exquisitely, and made himself Protector of the edition (Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, MDCCLXXIX).

¹⁰*Coleccion de obras en verso y prosa*, I, 281-282. Without recourse to a Spanish original, H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza 1766-1790*, p. 422, reprinted the excerpt as it was defectively published by C. F. Pohl, *Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1928), II, 179-180. Pohl divided *extrañeza* into two words, omitted *su* in line 4 from the end, and changed the comma after *Compatriotas* to a period. In addition, Robbins Landon changed Pohl's *serán* to *séran* and *inmortal* to *immortal*.



Hearers sensitive to the enchantments of music will forever applaud your select cadences, your expression, the nobility of your modulations, the rareness of your learned and harmonious closes. Although there now rise by your side many famous composers, none but you uniquely proclaims German honor in nations near and far. Sometime ago private academies at Madrid began adoring what you write and were rewarded by what you teach them. Their love now crowns you every day with the evergreen oak that grows on the banks of the Manzanares [river flowing by Madrid].

La Música at once won enthusiastic critical approval at Rome, Paris, Vienna;¹² and later at Parma, Florence, and Genoa. The poet's diplomat brother at Vienna, Domingo de Iriarte, gave a copy to the 82-year-old Metastasio, who hastened to reply.¹³ Metastasio's letter dated April 25, 1780, lauds Iriarte to the skies.¹⁴ Translation upon translation of *La Música* followed—into Italian (Venice, 1789; Florence, 1868), French (Paris, 1800), English (London, 1807), and into German.

Domingo de Iriarte, although not previously identified as such in the Haydn bibliography,¹⁵ was the *Legationssekretair* who in early fall of 1781 made a special trip from Vienna to Esterháza to present Haydn with a bejewelled snuffbox. As reported in the *Anhang zur Wiener Zeitung Nr. 80* of Saturday, October 6, 1781,¹⁶ this snuffbox was the Spanish king's acknowledgment of some music sent the Madrid court by "Herr Capellmeister Joseph Haydn, long celebrated for his original compositions." According to the *Wiener Blättchen* of March 18, 1785, one composition that prompted the Spanish king's 1781 gift was *L'isola disabitata*,¹⁷ Haydn's sole dramatic work to a Metastasio text¹⁸ (premiered at Esterháza December 6, 1779). A score of *L'isola disabitata* at the Library of Congress since 1909 (Case M1500.H4416, manuscript in the hand of Haydn's copyist identified as Anonymous 23)¹⁹ came to the library from a Spanish (not South American) source. Proof that *L'isola disabitata* was performed at the Spanish court exists in the form of instrumental parts copied by a Madrid court music scribe active in the 1780's.²⁰ Not Charles III but all-powerful minister Floridablanca acting in the king's name, best explains the snuffbox. Prompted by his protégé Tomás de Iriarte, Floridablanca solicited Haydn's works through the Spanish legation secretary at Vienna from 1777 to 1786, Domingo de Iriarte. The favor won by *L'isola disabitata* (and

¹²Cotarelo y Mori, p. 205, note 4.

¹³Colección de obras, II, 80, note 1.

¹⁴Pietro Metastasio, *Opere [Complete]*, xxii [Lettere] (Florence: Giuseppe Formigli, 1833), 77-78.

¹⁵Stephen C. Fisher, "A Group of Haydn Copies for the Court of Spain: Fresh Sources, Rediscovered Works, and New Riddles," *Haydn-Studien*, IV/2 (May 1978), 70, note 19.

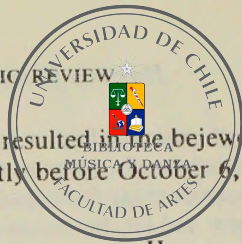
¹⁶Reprinted with spelling modernized by Alexander Weinmann in Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1971), II, 395, paragraph 3.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, paragraph 4. The dedication to the Prince of Asturias (future Charles IV) prefacing the score mentioned in footnote 20 below was published in Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza 1766-1790*, p. 453, note 1. The title reads (according to Robbins Landon): *L'isola disabitata Azione Teatrale in due Parti dedicata a sua A.R: il serenissimo Principe d'ASTURIAS*.

¹⁸Erika Kanduth, "Die italienischen Libretti der Opern Joseph Haydns," in *Joseph Haydn und die Literatur seiner Zeit*, ed. Herbert Zeman (Eisenstadt [Vienna: Ernst Beevar], 1976 (Jahrbuch für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte, VI. Band), p. 68.

¹⁹Fisher, p. 70, note 22. Robbins Landon, p. 453, note 1, described corrections by Haydn at pp. 161, 171, 179, 192, 198, 302.

²⁰The parts accompanying the score at the Library of Congress are catalogued M1500.H4416 p. The same Madrid court music scribe copied Gaetano Brunetti's two symphonies "Per Divertimento del Sere.^{mo} Sig.^l Principe d'Asturias" (the future Charles IV of Spain). See Fisher, pp. 71 and 84.



whatever else Haydn sent²¹) resulted in the bejewelled gold gift personally delivered by Domingo de Iriarte shortly before October 6, 1781.

II

If the exact date when *L'isola disabitata* was performed at Madrid cannot yet be specified, the date when Haydn's next large work was first given in the Iberian peninsula poses no problem. *Il Ritorno di Tobia*, his two-part oratorio using text by the composer Luigi Boccherini's²² brother Giovanni Gastone Boccherini,²³ was premiered at Tonkünstler-Sozietät concerts in Vienna April 2 and 4, 1775. On March 19, 1784, honoring the nameday of Dom José (1761-1788), the Portuguese heir to the throne, a slightly abridged *Il Ritorno di Tobia* was performed at the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon. The printed 31-page libretto, a copy of which is at the Évora Biblioteca Pública,²⁴ specifies the five soloists. The bass, alto, tenor, and two sopranos singing the roles of blind Tobit anxiously awaiting his son's return, Anna his distraught wife, Tobias their son, Sara his bride, and the angel Raphael under human guise, were the well-known Lisbon court virtuosi Innocenzo Schettini (active at Lisbon 1776-1790), Anzano Ferracuti (contralto, arrived Lisbon in January 1774, active to 1790), Carlo Reyna (soprano [1755], 1769-1789), Giovanni Rip[pl]a (soprano, 1769-1787), and Vincenzo Marini (soprano, 1784-1790).²⁵

²¹ Georges de Saint-Foix, "Les manuscrits et les copies d'oeuvres de Joseph Haydn à la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire," *Revue de Musicologie*, xvi/44 (November 1932), 211, itemized two cantatas copied by a "capitaine de Grenadiers du 6^e Régiment d'Infanterie de ligne, qui les a copiées pendant son séjour à Vitoria [Spain] en 1824, sur les manuscrits originaux, donnés et composés par Haydn, pour l'ambassadeur à Vienne du Roi d'Espagne, Charles III."

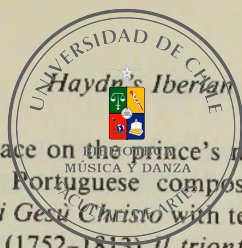
The first of these, *Ah come il core mi palpita nel seno*, is the D Major concert version of a recitative and aria found in Act II of the opera performed at Esterháza February 25, 1781, *La Fedeltà Premiata* (*Werke*, Reihe xxv, Bd. 10 [1968], pp. 380-395; Günter Thomas, *Kritischer Bericht* [1970], p. 17). According to Thomas, p. 12, the Artaria published concert version appeared at latest in the summer of 1782, not in 1783. Concerning *Berenice ove sei*, the second Paris item copied in 1824 by a French infantry captain "at Vitoria from a manuscript Haydn gave the Spanish ambassador of Charles III at Vienna," see Hoboken, II, 201.

²² In February 1781 Luigi Boccherini, then at Arenas, Spain, wrote his publisher at Vienna (Artaria) a letter asking that his respects be transmitted to "Sigr. Giuseppe Haidn, a composer admired in the highest degree by me and by the whole world. . . . I am one of the most ardent appreciators and admirers both of his genius and of his musical compositions, which are received here with all the esteem that in strict justice they merit." See Germaine de Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini His Life and Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 45.

²³ Giovanni Gastone visited his brother Luigi at Arenas, Spain, in 1781. On May 16, 1781, he wrote the composer Salieri a letter from Talavera (near Arenas): "My affairs in Spain have now been satisfactorily settled again. . . . But in spite of this, until I succeed in establishing myself at Cádiz or Barcelona or some other city where I can also engage in Italian poetry, I shall always regard myself as situated outside my own sphere." He returned to Spain much later, and "in about 1797 or 1798 was appointed official poet of the Coliseo de los Caños del Peral in Madrid." See Rothschild, p. 47.

²⁴ *Il Ritorno di Tobia Oratorio Sacro da cantarsi nel Real Palazzo dell'Ajuda per celebrare l'augusto nome del Serenissimo Signore Don Giuseppe Principe del Brasile li 19. Marzo 1784. Nella Stamperia Reale* (Sala Nova: E. 27-C. 3 Maço 5).

²⁵ Singers' dates of Lisbon court service in Marita P. McClymonds, *Niccolò Jommelli, The Last Years, 1769-1774* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980), and in Mariana Amélia Machado Santos, *Biblioteca da Ajuda, Catálogo de Música Manuscrita*, ix (*Índices*) (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1967/68), pp. xxxvi-xxxix, conflict slightly with their dates given in Ernst Fritz Schmid, "Haydn's Oratorium *Il ritorno di Tobia*, seine Entstehung und seine Schicksale," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xvi/3 (1959), 300. Concerning castrati at the Lisbon court, see Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, *Historical*



The oratorios sung at Ajuda palace on the prince's nameday, March 19, in the years surrounding 1784 were by Portuguese composers: Luciano Xavier dos Santos's (1734–1808) *La passione di Gesù Christo* with text by Metastasio was sung in 1783, Braz Francisco de Lima's (1752–1813) *Il trionfo di Davide* with text by Gaetano Martinelli in 1785. Haydn's oratorio reached Lisbon not by some quirk but through the second Duke of Lafões's intermediacy. As early as September 21, 1768, Leopold Mozart signalled the "Duke of Braganza" then residing at Vienna as one of the influential musical connoisseurs to whom 12-year-old Wolfgang had played his *La finta semplice* composed between April and June of that year.²⁶ Gluck's dedication of *Paride ed Elena* to the duke "Don Giovanni di Braganza" dated October 30, 1770, begins by addressing him not as a protector but as a judge devoid of the prejudices of habit, a Maecenas versed in great artistic principles. "Your taste has been formed not only by great models but on the immutable foundations of truth and beauty," said Gluck.²⁷ In late August of 1772 Charles Burney upon meeting the duke at Vienna called him "an excellent judge of music."

This prince is a great traveller, having visited England, France and Italy, before his arrival in Germany. He is very lively, and occasioned much mirth by his pleasantries, which were all seasoned with *good humour*.²⁸

Born at Lisbon, "Don Giovanni di Braganza" is alphabetized "Lafões, 2º Duque, D. João Carlos de Bragança" (1719–1806) in Portuguese reference works. His elder brother, first duke of Lafões (1718–1761), "composed various Masses and a Holy Week Office." After studying canon law four years at Coimbra University, João Carlos took his examinations in 1742. João V, who sent him there to prepare for the church, wrote the rector of the university a letter dated April 4 of that year stating that the then 23-year-old João Carlos should be treated as a royal person. Mateus da Costa Pereyra e Abreu was *mestre de capela* of Coimbra *sé* during João Carlos's university residence.

Shortly after his elder brother's death he departed for London. He served with distinction against Frederick the Great during the Seven Years' War. At its close (1763), he travelled from Egypt to Greece to Lapland before settling at Vienna in 1768.²⁹ He remained there in great favor (because of his services to the Austrian side)³⁰ until the Portuguese king José I's death February 24, 1777, and the fall of Pombal permitted his returning to Lisbon. Named War Minister September 15,

memoirs of my own time, Part I: 1772–1780 (London: Cadell & Davis, 1815), pp. 13–14. Wraxall attributed the exclusion of women to the Portuguese queen's jealousy. Pombal's son's escapades with a singing actress inflamed the chief minister's opposition to operatic women.

²⁶Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart, A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965), p. 82.

²⁷C. W. Gluck, *Paride ed Elena*, ed. Rudolf Gerber (Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1954), pp. xii–xiii. See also Hedwig and E. H. Mueller von Asow, eds., *The Collected Correspondence and Papers of Christoph Willibald Gluck*, translated by Stewart Thomson (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962), p. 27.

²⁸*The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London: T. Becket and Co., [etc.], 1773), I, 255.

²⁹Joaquim de Vasconcellos, "D. João Carlos de Bragança, segundo duque de Lafões (1719–1806)," [Academia das Ciências de Lisboa] *Boletim da Classe de Letras (Antigo Boletim da Segunda Classe)*, xv/3 (August–October 1921), p. 987. His sister sent remittances to help support his fine lifestyle at Vienna.

³⁰Concerning the remarkable favor that he enjoyed from Kaunitz, Austrian state chancellor 1753–1792, see D. J. Garat, *Mémoires historiques sur le XVIII^e siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Philippe, 1829), II, 220.



1780, he played a preponderant role in Portuguese affairs of state during the next two decades. On December 24, 1779, the Portuguese Academia das Ciências came to birth at his bidding.³¹

III

Haydn's paramount large work composed for the peninsula was the *Seven Last Words*. Published at Vienna by Artaria in orchestral parts shortly before July 7, 1787,³² Haydn's *Musica Instrumentale Sopra le sette ultime Parole del nostro Redentore in Croce o sieno Sette Sonate con un Introduzione ed al Fine un Terremoto* was commissioned for first performance April 6, 1787,³³ during the Good Friday Three Hours' Service at Cádiz in the Santa Cueva oratory below Rosario church. The wealthy Mexican-born priest resident in Cádiz since 1750, José Saenz de Santamaría,³⁴ Marqués de Valde-Iñigo (title bestowed in 1778) funded the commission. Correspondence with Haydn fell to the rich musical connoisseur and expert Italian linguist, Francisco de Paula María de Micón, Marqués de Méritos. Up to now, neither of these marquises has been profiled in the Haydn bibliography. If only to limn the heretofore misunderstood Spanish background of so important a work as Haydn himself considered his *Seven Last Words* to be, the biographies of both marquises merit review.³⁵

José Saenz de Santamaría, chaplain of the Penitential Confraternity of the Santa Cueva (Holy Cave) at Cádiz, was born at Veracruz [Mexico] April 25, 1738. His parents were Pedro Saenz

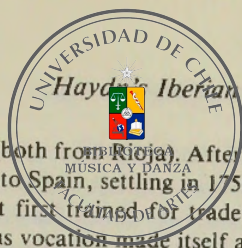
³¹Afonso Eduardo Martins Zúquete, *Nobreza de Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Enciclopédia, L.^{da}, 1960), II, 665-668.

³²Hubert Unverricht, *Die Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze Orchesterfassung. Kritischer Bericht* (Munich-Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1963), p. 10, note 10. Hoboken's errors in listing parts were corrected by Dénes Bartha in "Die Entstehung der „Sieben Worte“ im Spiegel des Haydn-Nachlass in Budapest," *Haydn emlékére* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960), p. 148. See also the Hungarian text, p. 112. Flute 2 plays only in Sonatas V and VII and in unison with flute 1 in Terremoto; two horns in C-basso (= horns 3 and 4) play only in Sonatas II and IV. Hoboken's mistakes in listing manuscript copies of the score are corrected by Bartha, p. 149.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 22: "Doch kann jetzt wohl kein Zweifel mehr bestehen, dass sie erst in der Karwoche des Jahres 1787 stattfand." Unverricht refers to the Cádiz first performance. At least two other performances preceded the Cádiz premiere. Artaria offered hand copies of the parts to one German princely connoisseur in a letter dated February 21, 1787 (*ibid.*, p. 23). The players at Bonn March 30, 1787, at a performance directed by Joseph Reicha (Robbins Landon, pp. 617-618) and at the Palais Auersperg performance in Vienna March 26, 1787, attended by Count Zinzendorf (Edward Olleson, "Haydn in the diaries of Count Karl von Zinzendorf" [1739-1813], *Haydn Yearbook*, II [1963/4], p. 48) therefore used handcopied parts.

³⁴Hoboken, I, 845, who incorrectly names him Dr. José Saluz ("l" should be "e," "u" should be "n") de Santamaría, omits the tilde above "ñ" in Valde-Iñigo. Robbins Landon, p. 617, uncritically repeats Hoboken's errors. Adolf Sandberger spelled his name correctly in "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Haydns „Sieben Worten des Erlösers am Kreuze“," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1903* [x], 47, note 1; so also did Rubén Vargas Ugarte in *Los Jesuitas del Perú (1568-1767)* (Lima: n.p., 1941), p. 85.

³⁵For the career of the Marqués de Valde-Iñigo, here presented in English summary, see José María León y Domínguez, "El Venerable Sacerdote D. José Saenz de Santamaría, Marqués de Valde-Iñigo," *Recuerdos Gaditanos* (Cádiz: Tipografía de Cabello y Lozón, 1897), pp. 261-280. León y Domínguez, Cádiz cathedral canon, cited as his chief biographical authority the Cádiz priest and honorary canon José Gandulfo (April 1, 1757-May 7, 1828), whose *Carta Edificante, ó relacion sumaria de la vida del ejemplar Sacerdote y obrero apostólico infatigable Señor D. José Saenz de Santa María, Marqués de Valde-Iñigo* (Cádiz: Casa de Misericordia, 1807) published only three years after the marquis's death remains the best contemporary source.



de Santamaría and Ignacia Saenz Rico (both from Rioja). After his mother's death, his father, who was a wealthy merchant, returned to Spain, settling in 1750 at Cádiz, then at the summit of commercial prosperity. Although at first trained for trade and concomitantly taught to speak French, the young José's religious vocation made itself apparent. On October 9, 1757, Bishop fray Tomás del Valle of Cádiz conferred minor orders on him and on May 29, 1761, ordained him priest. He exercised his vocation at Madrid from 1761 to 1766, determining however in May of 1764 to return to Cádiz—there to spend his substance beautifying some house of worship. He was moved to this decision by seeing how magnificent was the royal palace at Madrid and how mean by comparison were most Madrid churches.

In 1771 a brotherhood at Cádiz that since 1756 had been holding devotional exercises in a cave beneath Rosario church invited him to assume spiritual direction. Upon the death of his father and brother, he possessed the means whereby to refurbish the Santa Cueva. In 1793 he decided to build an oratory above it. The local architect Torcuato Benjumeda constructed an oval with eight marble semi-engaged ionic columns centering in a jasper tabernacle. Three splendid paintings by Goya were installed before March 31, 1796¹⁶ (Last Supper, Miracle of the loaves and fishes, and Expulsion of the guest without a wedding garment).

The Marqués de Valde-Iñigo's munificence so far as works of art go continued to the end of the century. As late as 1800 he paid 14,600 reales to have copied in the most luxurious manner a choirbook destined for the still unfinished Cádiz cathedral that had been started in 1722 but was not finished until 1838. At his death in Cádiz September 26, 1804, the score of Haydn's *Seven Last Words* commissioned by him still belonged to the Oratorio de la Santa Cueva. Until his death the original orchestral version continued being played annually at his expense during the Good Friday Three Hours' observance in the oratory dedicated in 1796.

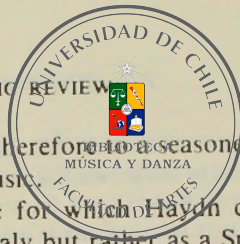
The emissary who conveyed the Marqués de Valde-Iñigo's commission to Haydn was the subject of a useful biographical article published by his nephew, Nicolás María de Cambiaso y Verdes, "Francisco de Paula María de Micón," *Memorias para la Biografía y para la Bibliografía de la isla de Cádiz* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. León Amarita, 1829), I, 168–182. Firstborn son and heir of an Italian magnate who had settled at Cádiz before his birth there November 15, 1735, the young Micón spent 1754–1755 at Genoa, Florence, Bologna, and Naples, perfecting his own Italian. So well versed in his father's native tongue did he become that he published at Cádiz in 1762 two rebukes of Juan Pedro Maruján's Spanish translation of Metastasio's *Dido: Impugnación á D. Juan Maruján*; and *Vindicación del célebre poeta Metastasio y Apología de la impugnación*.¹⁷

After Madrid and Barcelona, Cádiz boasted the greatest number of Italian operas performed in any Spanish city from 1762 to the end of the century.¹⁸ Haydn's

¹⁶Goya authorities agree on neither the date of his lunettes at the Santa Cueva nor the place where they were painted. Josep Gudiol i Ricart, *Goya* (New York: Hyperion Press, 1941), p. 70, opted for 1796 at Cádiz but in his *Goya 1746–1828 Biography, Analytical Study and Catalogue of his Paintings* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1971), I, 89, preferred 1795 at Madrid (for shipment to Cádiz). He did rate them "among the finest of Goya's religious paintings." Xavier Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L'OEuvre peint de Goya*, ed. Xavière Desparmet Fitz-Gerald (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1928–1950), *Texte*, II, 282, dated Goya's Last Supper and Miracle of the loaves and fishes 1792 at Cádiz. Rita de Angelis, *L'opera pittorica completa di Goya* (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1974), pp. 108–109, dated Goya's Santa Cueva lunettes 1796–1797 without saying where they were painted. See also René Taylor, "Goya's Paintings in the Santa Cueva at Cadiz," *Apollo, The Magazine of the Arts*, LXXIX/1 (January 1964), 62–64. His Fig. 1 usefully pictures the Santa Cueva oratory as it now looks.

¹⁷Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* (Barcelona: Libreria Palau, 1968), xx, 139.

¹⁸Concerning Italian opera in eighteenth-century Cádiz, see Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800* (Madrid: Tip. de la "Revista de Arch., Bibl. y



admirers at Cádiz belonged therefore to a seasoned public kept fully abreast of the latest advances in Italian music.

The Three Hours' service for which Haydn composed his *Seven Last Words* originated not however in Italy but rather as a Spanish New World devotion. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1974), 1375, summarizes its history thus: "The service was instituted by the Jesuits on the occasion of an earthquake at Lima in 1687." In his chapter on the origin of the Three Hours' service at Lima—"El P. Alonso Messia Bedoya y el Ejercicio de las Tres Horas," *Los Jesuitas del Perú (1568-1767)*, pages 79-86—Vargas Ugarte credits the Jesuit Francisco del Castillo with having already in 1660 begun the custom of assembling worshippers at Lima on Good Fridays from noon to three for meditation on the seven last words. Alonso Messia Bedoya (1655-1732), the Peruvian-born Jesuit³⁹ who originated the idea of intercalating the seven words with music, divulged the devotion in a book published at Seville in 1757 and 1763, Córdoba in 1758,⁴⁰ Madrid in 1762 and 1793, Murcia in 1763, Málaga in 1782, and elsewhere repeatedly after 1800.⁴¹

According to the "Noticia del Origen, Progresos y Antigüedad del Santo Ejercicio de las Tres Horas en la América y España," *Memorial Literario Instructivo y Curioso de la Corte de Madrid*, N.º. 25 (January 1786), the ninth Duque de Híjar (Pedro de Alcántara Fadrique Fernández de Híjar) in 1783 commissioned Guillermo Ferrer,⁴² organist of Descalzas Reales convent at Madrid to compose an adagio for each of the seven words. These were to be played during the Three Hours' devotion started that year under the Duque de Híjar's sponsorship at the Madrid Iglesia del Espíritu Santo (Holy Ghost Church).

The church was darkened with heavy blanket-type curtains drawn over the windows. At precisely noon the service began with an invocation of the Holy Ghost. Then were read some pious comments on each of Christ's seven words on the cross. After every word was played [Ferrer's] appropriate adagio. Upon conclusion of the last adagio, the leader of the devotion again exhorted those in attendance to feel sorrow for Christ's torments and to make an act of contrition. The service ended at three.

The writer of the above mentioned "Noticia" adds that Ferrer's adagios won highest praise from intelligent musicians.⁴³

Some such description of the Three Hours' service, a devotion as yet unknown outside Spanish dominions, reached Haydn around 1786. Although fifteen years

Museos," 1917), pp. 255-270. Beginning in 1761 with Metastasio's *Siroe*, the Cádiz poet Maruján published numerous Italian libretto verse translations that were "better than those published at Madrid," according to Cotarelo y Mori, pp. 256-257.

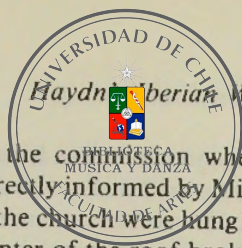
³⁹Biography in Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico biográfico del Perú*, 2d ed. (Lima: Imprenta Gil, 1933), vii, 380-383.

⁴⁰*Devocion de las Tres Horas de la Agonia de Christo . . . Y methodo con que se practica en el Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus de Lima, y en toda la Provincia del Perú* (Córdoba: Francisco Villalón, 1758), quarto of 8 leaves + 68 pp.

⁴¹Palau y Dulcet, *Manual*, ix (1956), 132, signals translations published in Italian, French, English, German, Polish, and Basque before 1885.

⁴²Concerning Guillermo Ferrer who in 1776 composed a tonadilla excerpted by Rafael Mitjana for Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique*, I', 2232-2234, who in 1790 had an orchestral symphony of his played during the first of ten Lenten concerts spirituels at Madrid, and who in 1791 styled himself maestro to the fifth Duke of Liria, Jacobo Felipe Carlos Fitz-James Stuart, see José Subirá, *La Música en la Casa de Alba estudios históricos y biográficos* (Madrid: Casa Hauser y Menet, 1927), p. 272.

⁴³Quoted in Vargas Ugarte, p. 85.



later he confused some details of the commission when describing it to Georg August Griesinger,⁴⁴ Haydn was correctly informed by Micón that during the service “the walls, windows, and pillars of the church were hung with black cloth, and only one large lamp hanging from the center of the roof broke the solemn darkness. At midday, the doors were closed and the ceremony began.” According to Micón’s nephew⁴⁵

After Micón’s visit to Madrid [for the nuptials of Charles IV and María Luisa of Parma]⁴⁶ he returned to Cádiz. About this time his religious zeal gave a large impulse to the pious devotion of the Three Hours, or the Seven Words. Being himself so fond of music, he gathered among his acquaintances a fine orchestra and proposed to its members the idea of playing for the Three Hours, wherever this devotion was held. The music lovers [of Cádiz] concurred with the idea and Micón made the necessary arrangements. Since he was himself a recognized maestro de capilla, it was he who was asked to write the well known German musician Joseph Haydn, who provided a complete work for the ceremony.

Haydn composed a work both elegant and full of pathos, fully worthy of him. But he confessed that Micón’s description of the devotion had more to do with the form of his work than his own creative fancy. So vividly did Micón explain the ceremony that Haydn said that he seemed to be reading musical notes rather than a literary description sent from Spain. This most celebrated work originated in this manner and not in the way stated in the *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens* [Alexandre Étienne Choron and François Joseph Fayolle] published at Paris in 1817, volume 1, page 321.⁴⁷ On this matter the authors of that dictionary were very badly informed. Lovers of music cannot but regret that the correspondence between Haydn and Micón was mislaid. I myself saw it before the French invasion [1808].

Later paragraphs of Micón’s biography written by his nephew reveal that after being in 1787 appointed tutor of the 12-year-old Princess Carlota Joaquina, he returned to Jérez de la Frontera to organize festivities for Charles IV’s acclamation January 17, 1789. Next year he journeyed to Madrid for the seventh time, remaining there (except for a few short visits to Cádiz) until his death at Madrid June 9, 1811, aged 75. Firmly opposed to the French but partly paralyzed and almost blind during his last two years, he had to live in hiding and was poverty-stricken (because unable

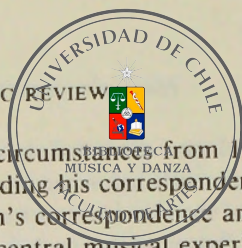
⁴⁴Pohl, *Joseph Haydn* (1928), II, 214; Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza*, p. 616.

⁴⁵Nicolás María de Cambiaso y Verdes, *Memorias para la Biografía y para la Bibliografía de la isla de Cádiz* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. León Amarita, 1829), I, 171:

Por este tiempo fue cuando su celo religioso dió una estension grande á la piadosa oracion de las tres horas, ó de las siete palabras. Como era tan amante de la música, juntaba entre sus conocidos una buena orquesta; propuso en esta sociedad la idea de tocar adonde se contemplaban las tres horas: asintieron los filarmónicos, y Micón dirigió lo necesario. Como era reconocido maestro de Capilla se le encargó la correspondencia con el bien conocido músico alemán José Haydn, el que trabajó una completa obra para el acto, y la formó tan elegante y patética, como digna de su autor; pero confesó el maestro Haydn que mas se debía la composicion que remitia á la esposicion que habia recibido por escrito del Sr. de Micón, que á su propia invencion, porque aclaraba de un modo tan singular todos los pasos, que le parecia cuando estaba leyendo la instruccion remitida de España, leer solo música. Esta es la verdadera causa que dió lugar á esta composicion celebradísima, y no la que escriben el *Diccionario histórico de los músicos*, y la *Bibliografía musical* [*Dictionnaire historique des Musiciens*, impreso en Paris en 1817, tomo I.º, pág. 321; *Bibliographie musicale*, Paris 1822, pág. 361], porque en esta parte estuvieron sus escritores muy mal informados. Los filarmónicos deben sentir que se haya estraviado la correspondencia de Haydn y Micón: yo la vi en Madrid antes de la dominacion intrusa.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, I, 173. Carlota Joaquina (1775–1830), daughter of the future Charles IV and María Luisa of Parma, married João VI of Portugal.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, I, 183 note. See the facsimile of the Choron and Fayolle 1810 edition (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), p. 321. Choron and Fayolle merely repeated Haydn’s own account published in 1801 by Breitkopf & Härtel as foreword to the vocal version of *The Seven Last Words* (Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza*, p. 616).



to collect from renters). His circumstances from 1809 to his death account for the loss of his manuscripts, including his correspondence with Haydn.

Despite loss of both Micón's correspondence and the original score sent Cádiz, the music itself continued a central musical experience in Cádiz to the end of the nineteenth century. Manuel de Falla, born at Cádiz November 23, 1876, recalled Haydn's *Seven Last Words* in its original instrumental version as the experience that awakened his musical vocation.

That the influence of Haydn's *Seven Last Words* on the life and work of Manuel de Falla was paramount can be proved not only from his own verbal testimony but also from the components of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara that he organized in 1922 with exactly the same instrumentation that Haydn called for in his Cádiz-commissioned work. The *Seven Last Words* influenced even such compositions of Falla as his Concerto and the *Retablo de Maese Pedro*. Assessing Haydn's work for Cádiz, Falla qualified it thus: "What equilibrium! Not a note too many, not a note less than needed. Absolute perfection. Marvellous!"

At eleven years of age Falla played the keyboard version at his first public appearance in San Francisco Church, Cádiz. Haydn's *Seven Last Words* more than any other work anticipated Falla's own esthetic creed—not a note too many, not a note less than needed.⁴⁸

IV

Haydn's longest running Spanish noble patron (beginning October 20, 1783)⁴⁹ was the Countess-Duchess of Benavente, María Josefa de la Soledad Alonso Pimentel (1752-1834). Wife of her cousin the ninth Duke of Osuna, Pedro [de] Alcántara Téllez Girón y Pacheco, whom she married December 29, 1771,⁵⁰ she had the means to maintain her own private orchestra at their Madrid Puerta de la Vega palace upon her return there from Mahón and Barcelona in October of 1783,⁵¹ and at a country estate 9 km from Madrid bought that same month.⁵² Equal in luxury to the Trianon at Versailles, their country estate (the so-called Alameda de Osuna) hosted Goya in the mid-1780's.⁵³ In 1784 he painted her alone, in 1786 her husband, in 1788 the pair with four of their children.⁵⁴ Before his deafness, their palace contained 22 Goya paintings flanked by Van Dyck, Rubens, Tintoretto, Murillo, and Sánchez Coello canvasses. Looking back on her glory as collector, patron, and society leader, the

⁴⁸Manuel Orozco, *Falla Biografía ilustrada* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 1968), pp. 14, 17.

Not only at Cádiz but also in the few New World possessions that still belonged to Spain in 1876—the year of Falla's birth—Haydn's *Seven Last Words* continued rating as a cynosure. See "Las siete palabras de Haydn" by José de Castro y Serrano (1829-1896; elected member of Real Academia Española in 1889), published in the San Juan, Puerto Rico periodical, *La Lira*, 1/3 (April 13, 1876; copy in General Archive of the Government of Puerto Rico).

⁴⁹Nicolás A. Solar-Quintes, "Las relaciones de Haydn con la Casa de Benavente," *Anuario Musical*, 11 (1947), 86.

⁵⁰Carmen Muñoz de Figueroa, Condesa de Yebes, *La Condesa-Duquesa de Benavente* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1955), p. 8.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵³Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, 1, 19.

⁵⁴These dates given for plates 243, 254, and 260 in Desparmet Fitz-Gerald disagree with Gudiol's dates (*Goya* [1971]), 1, 73 and 83, who gives 1787 for the countess-duchess alone, 1789 for the pair with children. Of her nine children she lost four in infancy or early childhood. Concerning her and her children, see Alberto y Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos* (Madrid: Nueva Imprenta Radio), LXX (1953), 19 and XXXVII (1955), 105.



Marqués de Mendigorria in his *Intimate Memories* recalled her as not only “the most distinguished lady of high rank in Spain [but also] the most elegant high-born lady in Europe.”⁵⁵

As intermediaries in drawing up and maintaining her contract with Haydn initiated October 20, 1783, she used Tomás de Iriarte⁵⁶ at Madrid and his correspondent Carlos Alejandro de Lelis at Vienna. The contract (drawn up in Italian) stipulated Haydn’s delivery of at least twelve substantial orchestral and chamber works annually. Of the twelve substantial works, eight were to be symphonies. Haydn further obliged himself to send her copies of whatever else he wrote every six months, omitting only such works as other patrons commissioned for their private use.

The schedule of payments called for 324 florins 21 creutzers equalling 4300 reales, to cover the six months, February 1 to August 1, 1785.⁵⁷ Although comparisons are hazardous, the countess-duchess paid Goya 30,000 reales for his two large paintings now hanging in Valencia Cathedral⁵⁸—St. Francis Borja taking leave of his family and St. Francis Borja assisting a dying man (painted in 1788–1789 and 1789–1790, or both in 1788). But despite being very well paid, Haydn chafed under the obligation of sending so much music. Lelis explained Haydn’s discomfiture to Tomás de Iriarte, the countess-duchess’s Madrid go-between, in a letter dated March 24, 1785.⁵⁹

As I think I told you in my last letter, Haydn has been in Vienna.^[60] I had an opportunity to talk with him at length and to let him know the contents of your letter translated into good German. Haydn much regrets that his conduct has satisfied neither you nor the Countess of Benavente when he was flattering himself to have punctually obeyed the contract promising to send each year around twelve pieces (not “at least twelve pieces”). He thought that he was to send “everything” except what others commissioned for private use—not just symphonies and quartets. As a result, he contemplated sending one year 9 works, another year 10, 11, or 18 (having promised to send “everything”), the number of works depending on what was needed in the chapel of his prince [Nikolaus, 1714–1790] or whatever else his prince required him to compose.

He sent the Masses because I told him that they were wanted, because he thought they entered the terms of the contract without requiring separate payment, and because naturally they fell within the rubric of “all his music.” Likewise, he sent two quartets written for the Duke of Alba who for two years had so vehemently solicited them and who paid for them at the same rate as two previous quartets. Since the Duke of Alba [courtesy title gained by the melomane 11th Marqués de Villafranca, José Álvarez de Toledo (1756–1796),⁶¹ at his marriage in 1775

⁵⁵Fernando Fernández de Córdoba, Marqués de Mendigorria, *Mis Memorias Íntimas*, 2d. ed. (Madrid: Est. Tip. de “El Liberal,” 1899), I, 57 (cap. iii): “fui presentado por mi hermano Luis á toda la sociedad, y particularmente en casa de la duquesa viuda de Benavente y de Osuna, que era la mas encopetada dama de España y de mayor elegancia y rango de Europa. Aquella señora vivía en el palacio llamado de la Puerta de la Vega.”

⁵⁶Iriarte justly praised her literary skills, her artistic and musical knowledgeability, and her horsemanship in an *Epistola joco-seria á la Excm. Sra. Condesa de Benavente*. Cotarelo y Mori published the entire verse epistle (from a manuscript catalogued Madrid Biblioteca Nacional S-418) in *Iriarte y su época*, pp. 478–483. Iriarte constantly frequented her Puerta de la Vega and Alameda palaces.

⁵⁷Solar-Quintes, “Las relaciones,” pp. 85–86.

⁵⁸Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, I, 20, note 2.

⁵⁹Solar-Quintes, pp. 83–84.

⁶⁰Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza*, p. 671.

⁶¹Concerning him, see Blanco Soler, Piga Pascual, and Pérez Petinto, *La Duquesa de Alba y su tiempo* (Madrid: Talleres Gráficos Marisal, 1949), p. 83, note 146, and pp. 102–103. A victim of tuberculosis, he died at Seville in 1796.



with the 13th Duquesa de Alba, Maria Teresa Cayetana (1762-1802)] did not object to his having them published here or elsewhere for his own profit, and since as yet no copies have been printed or distributed, Haydn saw no reason to omit them from the compositions due the Countess of Benavente last year. But if unwelcome works, he will return the money received for them.

He certainly did not foresee your annoyance because he failed to supply the requested wind instrument duets. He does not like to work with instruments for which he does not write outstandingly. He sent the chorus because it belongs to the symphony that precedes it [presumably the overture and opening chorus from *Il ritorno di Tobia*⁶³]. However, the both cannot count as one single work. I always importuned him for the stipulated number of pieces, but he cannot every time complete the exact number of compositions like a shoemaker supplying shoes. It was at my suggestion that he agreed to deliver every year one of his operas, although none had been required. But he will most happily accept relief from a promise the fulfilling of which has already cost him heavily in copying fees.

After our having argued at length, I finally prevailed upon him to sign an appendix⁶³ [February 12, 1785] to the previous contract [October 20, 1783]; I enclose a copy. From its provisions you will see that he has agreed to all that you asked for, and that he has signed to forfeit a half-year allowance (which for Haydn is a significant sum) in case we withdraw from the contract because of his negligence. Furthermore, to tie his hands (as it were) by making him afraid of himself breaking the contract, I fixed a penalty of 100 florins payable by the party that withdraws from the contract on mere whim.

Since payment for the first half of his second year was delayed from October 1 [1784] to February 12 [1785], I arranged with him for the contract to run from February 1 of this year [1785]. In fulfillment he gave me a Symphony that I sent you February 16 along with the book of *Orlando* [*Paladino*, Haydn's opera performed at Esterháza December 6, 1782] and a letter for Sr. [Francisco] Flores.⁶⁴

Having hopefully settled this affair to your satisfaction and the Countess's, I must confess to you my infinite grief over Haydn's negligence in not having done what was desired of him and your resulting dissatisfaction with me. To excuse myself and to avoid appearing lax in discharging a commission from someone whom (for so many different reasons) I wished to serve and please, I take the liberty of reminding you of some paragraphs in letters that you kindly sent me on the matter.

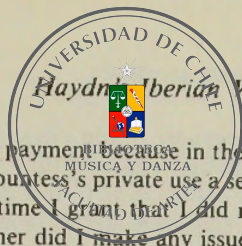
Concerning the opera, you wrote June 30 [1784]: "The Countess will greatly appreciate your arranging to send her Haydn's yearly opera. Also, any from years past will be highly esteemed, because we know none of them." Therefore I did not hesitate to accept his latest opera (the first sent). In light of his vehement desire, I counted it as two (of the twelve) annual pieces. He himself wished to count it for three pieces, and certainly was not willing to have it counted for naught.

My hope that you and the countess would be at least moderately satisfied with what Haydn works I sent last year (it was impossible for me to obtain more) rested on the clause in the contract calling for "about twelve pieces." Moreover, you yourself remarked in your [June 30, 1784] letter on the "semi-impossibility" of Haydn's fulfilling the whole contract when you wrote: "We do not see how Haydn can have time and mind to provide all that he is offering and will be content with his discharging half the obligation."

⁶³Haydn Yearbook, iv (1968), 133.

⁶⁴Solar-Quintes, pp. 86-87.

⁶⁵The countess-duchess employed Francisco Flores = Flórez to keep the ducal instruments in repair and in tune. In 1806 she paid him 6,300 *reales de vellón* for a "fortepiano made of special wood known only to English piano builders." See Condesa de Yebes, pp. 88-90.



I accepted the two quartets for separate payment because in the same letter you said: "By all means ask Haydn to compose for the Countess's private use a set of quartets for violin, oboe, French horn, and cello." At the same time I grant that I did not halt payment because the quartets lacked the desired winds. Neither did I make any issue of the quality of the music. You yourself when first commissioning me insisted that "the Countess wants *everything* that Haydn composes."

These were the reasons for my accepting everything that Haydn wished to give, and for counting all of it among his twelve yearly stipulated pieces. These were also the reasons for flattering myself that I did not altogether displease the countess with what was provided—even though I myself (as my letters revealed) complained of Haydn's negligence. Now that everything is clarified, sorted out, and impossible to misunderstand, I do hope that all will sail smoothly from now on. Whatever else happens you will hopefully not blame me for carelessness or lack of desire to serve you faithfully and sincerely in every detail.

I forgot to say that Haydn promises to indemnify you for the two of last year's pieces that you complained of. [Franz] Aspelmayr [1728–1786] has not yet given me his music but I hope to have it in hand shortly and to send it at the first opportunity via the Marqués de Matallana or José de Ocariz [diplomat, 1750–1805] at Paris.

Kindly give my obedient regards to don Bernardo [de Iriarte, 1734–1814, Tomás's elder diplomat brother], and call on your most faithful and loving agent for whatever further service pleases you.

Carlos Alejandro de Lelis

This verbose and repetitive letter seems to have temporarily mollified both Tomás de Iriarte and the Countess of Benavente = Duchess of Osuna. On July 26, 1787, the Countess-Duchess authorized her accountant's giving Tomás de Iriarte 4000 *reales de vellón* to send "José de Aiden" at Vienna "for the pieces that he composed and were sent here for my orchestra." With a letter dated April 22, 1789, at Vienna, Carlos Alejandro de Lelis, their continuing agent in dealing with Haydn, included a bill for 24 minuets and 24 contradanzas by Joseph Haydn (450 florins), for a Mass of his sent the autumn of 1788 (16 florins), and for a Mass by Michael Haydn (180 florins) about to be sent.

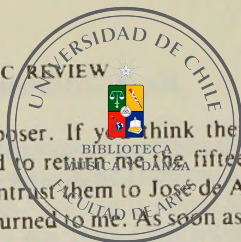
Vienna, April 22, 1789

Most esteemed Sir:

In my letter of March 21, 1789, I told you of my apprising Joseph Haydn that whatever costs I incurred in behalf of the Duchess of Osuna [= Countess of Benavente] had to be collected against a written bill. Yesterday I accordingly drew on Brentano Cimaroli the sum of 7700 *reales de vellón*, equalling after exchange 700 florins. I ask that you arrange for [Cimaroli's] timely reimbursement.

Michael Haydn's Mass (which I had tried out here by some music lovers who found it to be excellent) will go with a French special courier who will not delay leaving here for Paris. With it will go six very fine new quartets by a certain Galus [= Johann Mederitsch-Gallus (1752–1835)],⁶⁵ who is making quite a stir here just now. I paid him fifteen gold ducats for them. They are either for the Duchess of Osuna or the Duke of Alba, who very much wanted quartets. Do with them whatever pleases you.

⁶⁵Karl Pfannhauser, "Mozarts kirchenmusikalische Studien im Spiegel seiner Zeit und Nachwelt," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, XLIII (1959), 197, note 211. Concerning Hob. III:B4, G5, C8, F2, D2, and G1, see also Georg Feder, "Apokryphe „Haydn“-Streichquartette," *Haydn-Studien*, III/2 (April 1974), 146–147.



I send them sealed by the composer. If you think them not appropriate, send them back sealed. The composer has agreed to return me the fifteen ducats if they come back with his seal, unopened. You need only entrust them to José de Anduaga who will send them to Paris, whence I will see that they are returned to me. As soon as I have the minuets and contradanzas they will be sent promptly.

My obedient regards to [your brother] don Bernardo. Call on me freely for any further needed services. I enclose a copy of my bill [paid by Brentano Cimaroli].

Expenses incurred on the Duchess of Osuna's account
 Trip to Esterháza and 6 postings from Vienna, 30 florins
 Mass [of Joseph Haydn] sent last autumn, 16 florins
 Michael Haydn Mass at 40 ducats = 180 florins
 24 Minuets and 24 contradanzas by Joseph Haydn, 450 florins
 Letter Postage, packing, 6 florins
 6 quartets by Galus [= Mederitsch-Gallus] 67 Florins

Having received Haydn's music, who played it for the Countess of Benavente = Duchess of Osuna? The Osuna ducal orchestra, directed in 1784 and 1785 by José Lidón⁶⁶ (1748-1827,⁶⁷ fourth organist of the Royal Chapel October 20, 1768), passed to Luigi Boccherini's direction March 1, 1786 at an annual 1000 reales.⁶⁸ In that same year Boccherini's sole zarzuela, *La Clementina*, was produced at their Puerta de la Vega palace. Rafael García, concertmaster, doubled as music archivist. Blas Laserna (1751-1816), renowned tonadilla composer, played a harpsichord. The names of the orchestra musicians Juan Ponce, José Vidal, and Eustaquio León constantly recur in ducal accounts.⁶⁹ Royal chapel musicians were often borrowed for Osuna ducal festivities. Because of the distance from Retiro to their Alameda palace outside Madrid, the royal double bass player Juan Cos received extra expense money for cartage.

How were the ducal orchestra musicians dressed? On March 19, 1785, all the orchestral musicians were required to wear "velvet, waistcoats of glacé silk embroidered in gold, epaulets embroidered in gold and silver, all clothing lined with silk." From time to time the blind violin virtuoso Carlos Dimas played concertos to the especial delight of the ladies. As for instruments: a harpsichord imported from England cost 2,390 *reales de vellón*; English violins were also imported.

So famous by 1798 had become the Countess-Duchess's music library, not only for works by Haydn and Boccherini but also for compositions by the less well remembered such as Francesco Pasquale Ricci and Franz Anton Rösler = Antonio Ros[s]etti, that Salamanca cathedral authorities wrote her asking for some "exquisite pieces of ecclesiastical music from your exquisite collection, and especially for the latest Masses of Haydn and Pleyel."⁷⁰

None of Haydn's music sent the Countess of Benavente = Duchess of Osuna remains in possession of Osuna ducal house descendants. How much she lost by unsecured loans can only be guessed. In 1795, for example, was loaned Haydn's

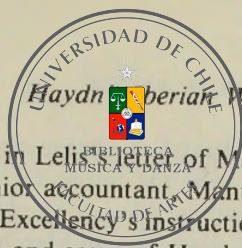
⁶⁶Condesa de Yebes, p. 86.

⁶⁷"Samuel Rubio, on the Fortieth Anniversary of his Ordination," *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall 1980), 14-15.

⁶⁸Solar-Quintes, "Nuevos documentos sobre Luigi Boccherini," *Anuario Musical*, II (1947), 89.

⁶⁹Condesa de Yebes, pp. 86-87.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 88. According to the Condesa de Yebes, pp. 94-95, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Archivo de Osuna, contains an 1824 inventory of the countess-duchess's vast musical library.



opera *Orlando Paladino* mentioned in Lelis's letter of March 24, 1785. On August 15, 1795, the countess-duchess's senior accountant Manuel de Cubas, wrote her a note saying, "I have conveyed Your Excellency's instructions to the musician Rafael [García], that he deliver the libretto and score of Haydn's opera entitled *Orlando Paladino* to Juan Moliner, Encarnación singing chaplain, on condition that he take care to go back and pick it up later."

One sale from the Osuna music archive that can be traced is that of the six Mederitsch-Gallus quartets sent with Lelis's letter of April 22, 1789. These were sold a collector in Bilbao, and in 1957 were inventoried as doubtful Haydn quartets in Hoboken, 1 (Gruppe III: B4, G5, C8, F2, D2, g1).⁷¹

So far as other Haydn contacts with Spain go: in either 1791 or 1795 Goya painted the elegant, still youthful Duke of Alba standing beside a piano with a violin and his black tricorne on top of it.⁷² He holds in his hand an open oblong music book. The title reads *Cuatro canc.⁵ con Acomp.¹⁰ de Fortep.^o del S.^r Haydn*. Like Haydn's string quartets commissioned by the same duke in 1783, can these "four Haydn songs with piano accompaniment" be still slumbering in the archives of the House of Alba, as Georg Feder surmised in "Die Überlieferung und Verbreitung der handschriftlichen Quellen zu Haydns Werken (Erste Folge)," *Haydn-Studien*, 1 (June 1965), 42?⁷³ According to Feder, Haydn referred to the Alba-commissioned quartets in a letter to his publisher Artaria dated April 5, 1784: "My quartets now in progress (half of which are finished) are quite small, consisting of but three pieces [= movements]; they will be sent to Spain." Feder also hypothesized that the four-movement D minor quartet completed in 1785 (Hob. III: 43) was destined for Spain.

V

Haydn's Latin American contacts began October 27–29, 1785, with the two-day Esterháza visit of the world travelling Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda (1750–1816).⁷⁴ Having met George Washington, John Adams, Andrew Hamilton, and numerous other celebrities during his United States tour in 1783, Miranda sufficiently enjoyed the confidence of Adams's future son-in-law Colonel William Stephens Smith (1755–1816) for them to tour the European continent together in 1785. Arriving at Rotterdam August 22, they thence journeyed to Potsdam, Dresden, and Prague, reaching Vienna October 14. On Wednesday October 26 at 2 p.m. they parted company—Smith returning to London and his bride-to-be via Paris, Miranda journeying next to Esterháza on funds loaned him by the wealthy Smith.

As his diary reveals, Miranda played the flute and prided himself on his musical knowledge.⁷⁵ A letter from one English friend dated June 7, 1777, promised him

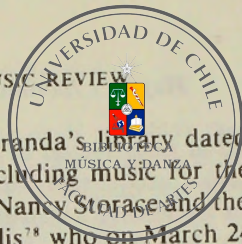
⁷¹See footnote 65.

⁷²Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *Texte*, II, 65, assigned the painting to 1791. Gudiol, *Goya* (1971), I, 224, opted with better documentary reason for 1795 (in which year the duke who died at Seville in June of 1796 was 39). The portrait reproduced in Gudiol, III, 410–411 (figs. 470 and 471 [detail]), now hangs in the Prado (N.º 2449).

⁷³Fisher, "A Group," *Haydn-Studien*, IV/2 (May 1978), p. 69, note 15, discounts this possibility.

⁷⁴*Archivo del General Miranda Viajes Diarios 1750–1785* (Caracas: Editorial Sur-América, 1929), I, 435. In 1785 Miranda (who held the rank of lieutenant-colonel when leaving Havana for the United States June 1, 1783) traveled by his wits, not as any army general.

⁷⁵Concerning his musical acquirements, see José Antonio Calcaño, *La ciudad y su música (Crónica musical de Caracas)* (Caracas: Tipografía Vargas, 1958), pp. 120–121.



sheet music.⁷⁶ A list of Miranda's library dated March 6, 1780, mentions music books and sheet music, including music for the flute.⁷⁷ While at Vienna he met among other operatic stars Nancy Storace and the buffo Francesco Benucci. Also he met Carlo Alejandro de Felis⁷⁸ who on March 24, 1785, had renegotiated Haydn's contract with the Countess-Duchess of Benavente.

As everywhere else that he travelled from Boston to Constantinople to St. Petersburg, Miranda arrived at Esterháza well armed with letters of introduction (doubtless including Felis's). In his diary Miranda thus describes his visit:

Upon arriving at Esterháza [Thursday, October 27, 1785],⁷⁹ the famous Haydn, for whom I was carrying letters, at once joined me and showed me the whole palace, library, picture gallery, cascades, theater, and so forth. He gave me the following information. This prince's annual income is 700,000 florins. In his service are 340 persons in all categories. His grenadiers' company attired in Prussian style enrolls 150 men. He has 400 horses in his stables. The theater which continues exhibiting the whole year round costs him an annual 30,000 florins; salaries are for life. At night [October 27] I attended the opera and there saw the Prince [1714-1790] who is about 70 years old. With him were his niece and his mistress,⁸⁰ an uncouth woman. The acting was cold. The orchestra consisted of 24 instruments. Haydn played the harpsichord [*el clave*].

The next morning Haydn came early and we went in a coach supplied by the Prince to see the spacious and beautiful park. The temples of Diana and Apollo, the hermitage, and a small pavilion called the "Bagatelle" [Chinese pavilion] (costing 80,000 florins), all made of excellent wood, are pretty. I talked at length with Haydn on musical matters and he agreed with me on Boccherini's merits.⁸¹ The lake [Neusiedlersee] on which the palace is situated is seven German miles in circumference and contains ample fish. To keep up the park requires the daily services of one hundred men. At 11 a.m. on the 29th I left for Pressburg [= Bratislava], capital of Hungary.

I arrived there at 5 p.m. That night I saw a German opera given at the private theater of Count [Johann Nepomuk] Erdödy.⁸² On October 30 at 2:30 p.m. I left Pressburg, and that night at 8 p.m. arrived back in Vienna.

In 1785, the year of Miranda's Esterháza visit, Haydn's fame soared aloft in Mexico when the Mexico City publisher Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros issued Tomás de Iriarte's poem *La Música*.⁸³ The copy of the Mexican edition once owned by Max-

⁷⁶William Spence Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929), I, 18. John Turnbull after being entertained by Miranda at Cádiz wrote him a letter of thanks from Gibraltar.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, I, 20.

⁷⁸*Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 434.

⁷⁹As date of Miranda's arrival, Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza*, pp. 36 and 673, erroneously cites October 26. Miranda left Vienna at 3 p.m. October 26. He spent the night at a miserable inn three posts from Vienna. It took him another two posts to reach Esterháza October 27. See Miranda, *Archivo*, I, 435.

⁸⁰Elizabeth Claire had been Prince Nicolaus's "darling" since no later than 1781. A notorious womanizer, Miranda's own taste was none too exquisite. Concerning his visit to a brothel at Prague Sunday, October 9, 1785, see *Archivo*, I, 416.

⁸¹In a letter to his publisher dated at Esterháza May 27, 1781, Haydn sent his "respectful compliments" to Boccherini via Artaria (Robbins Landon, p. 447).

⁸²Concerning operas translated into German by Franz Xaver Girzick for Count Erdödy's Pressburg productions, see Robbins Landon, p. 671.

⁸³José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México (1539-1821)* (Santiago de Chile: En Casa del Autor, 1911), VI, 431 (item 7568).



imilian passed on Francisco Asenjo Barbieri's death to the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional.⁸⁴

The Latin American colonial centers richest in Haydn early imprints and hand copies appropriately begin with Caracas, Miranda's birthplace. "National Library Publications in Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela," *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall 1980), 46-47, specified the Sieber parts antedating 1813 of twenty-one Haydn symphonies. Cayetano Carreño's hand-copied parts for Symphony 73 (*La Chasse* of 1781) and the elder José Francisco Velázquez's printed parts for 96 certify use before 1800. The Imbault parts for Symphonies 83 and 102 are dated 1793 and 1801. The Sieber parts of the *Seven Last Words* sonatas were published in 1788. Various dated parts of the 1767 *Stabat Mater*, the 1796 *In Tempore belli* and 1798 *Nelson Masses*, and the 1800 *Te Deum* give some idea of the Haydn vocal works archived at the Escuela de Música "José Ángel Lamas." The Escuela archive also contains a local composer's adaptation as a *Salve Regina* dated 1825 of the duet "Dunque, oh Dio, quando sperai" from *Il Ritorno di Tobia*, and the younger Velázquez's arrangement with Spanish text of a trio from Part II of *The Creation*.⁸⁵

Rio de Janeiro disputes honors with Santiago de Chile for second place, so far as quantity of catalogued Haydn items goes. In 1955 Mercedes Reis Pequeno called attention to 1801 and 1802 full scores of the *Seven Last Words* (oratorio version) and of *The Seasons* at the Brazilian National Library.⁸⁶

Adagio per Clavicembalo del Sigr. Haydn. Bonn: Simrock [1796/97]. Plate number 34. Piano arrangement of London Symphony No. 93, second movement. Hoboken, 1, 803.

Adagio per il Forte-Piano. Bonn: N. Simrock [1802]. Plate number 186. Arrangement of Largo assai in E from String Quartet, Op. 74 (1793). Hoboken, 1, 804.

Adagio pour le Piano Forte n. 1. Bonn: Simrock. Separate publication of slow movement from Symphony No. 99. Plate number 53.

Choeur de la Création du Monde D'Haydn. Arrangé en Duo à quatre mains par Muzio Clementi. Paris: M^{elles} Erard. Plate 764. Four-hand arrangement of "And God made the firmament" (No. 4).

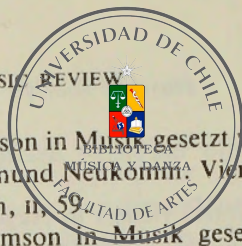
Choix de Douze Simphonies D'Haydn arrangées pour le Forte Piano avec accompt. de Flute, Violon & Violoncelle (ad libitum) par Clementi. n.º 4 [98]. Florence: Giuseppe Lorenzi. Plate number 687D. In the same series appeared nos. 7-12 (Symphonies 104, 103, 102, 99, 101, 100), all arranged by Clementi. Plate numbers: 687G, 687H, 687I, 687K, 687L, 687M. Piano score and parts.

Collection complete des Sonates de Piano d'Haydn. . . . Gravée par Richomme. Paris: Chez Pleyel [1801]. Volumes 1-3 and 5 contain 42 accompanied piano sonatas, volumes 4 and 6 contain 15 piano sonatas, 3 caprices, 1 Air Varié, and The Seven Last Words for piano. Concerning this collection see Hoboken, *Beilage zu Band I*, page 7 (Coll. Son. 2). Les Sept Dernières paroles de J. C. Pour piano, last item in the 6ème livraison, is Haydn's oeuv. 19.

⁸⁴Subirá, *El compositor Iriarte*, 1, 87.

⁸⁵See "National Library Publications" for further details concerning items mentioned in this paragraph.

⁸⁶*Edições raras de obras musicais Coleção Teresa Cristina Maria* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1955), p. 10, items 33 and 38. Facsimile of title page of *Die Jahreszeiten* opp. p. 4.



- Die Jahreszeiten nach Thomson in Musik gesetzt von Herrn Joseph Haydn. Für das Klavier übersetzt von Sigmund Neukomm. Vienna: Artaria [1802]. Plate number 1584. 238 pages. Hoboken, 1, 39.
- Die Jahreszeiten nach Thomson in Musik gesetzt von Joseph Haydn. Partitur. Originalausgabe. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel [1802]. 2 volumes.
- Die Worte des Erlöesers am Kreuze, in Musik gesetzt von Joseph Haydn. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1801. 112-page score.
- Grande Sonate à 4 Mains arrangée par C. F. Ebers d'une Symphonie de l'OEuvre 98. Bonn: N. Simrock. Plate 639. N.º II. Plate 640. [Symphony 102].
- Haydn's Creation. Recit. "And God Created Man"—Air. "In Native Worth." London: J. Alfred Novello. [No. 36 in Novello's Collection of the favorite songs, duets, trios, quartets & choruses composed by Handel, Haydn & Mozart with an accompaniment for the organ or pianoforte by Vincent Novello].
- J. Haydn's Simphonien fürs Pianoforte bearbeitet von C. D. Stegmann. Bonn: N. Simrock. Plates 1001-1005, 1007-1018, 1020, 1023-25. Items II through V, VII-XVIII, XX, XXIII-XXV = Symphonies 95, 85, 69, 66, 94, 75, 82, 83, 71, 90, 47, 96, 48, 92, 70, 67, 44, 87, 61, 64. All 21 arrangements run between 15 and 19 pages each. The series began being published in 1810. Hoboken (*Beilage*, Coll. Sy. 17c) credits a total of 31 symphonies to the series and spells the arranger's name Stegmann.
- La Création du Monde. Oratorio en trois parties. Musique d' Haydn. Traduit de l'Allemand, mis en vers français par Joseph A. Ségur. Arrangé pour être exécuté au Théâtre des Arts par D. Steibelt. (Exécuté le 3. Nivose an 9e) [1800]. Paris: M^{lles} Erard. First French edition. 324 pages, lacking frontispiece and final chorus.
- N.r 7, 8, 9 of Haydn's Grand Symphonies Composed for Mr. Salomon's Concerts, and arranged for five Instruments vizt. two violins, a German flute, a tenor, and a violoncello with an accompaniment for the Piano Forte ad libitum by J. P. Salomon. London: Robert Birchall. Hoboken, 1, 215, 220, and 224, identifies these as Symphonies 102, 103, and 104. See also his *Beilage zu Band I*, Coll. Sy. 3b and Coll. Sy. 15a.
- Six Quatuors de Jos. Haydn arrangés pour le Piano-Forte à 4 mains par C. D. Stegmann. Bonn: N. Simrock [1819]. Plates 1500, 1504, 1505, 1511, 1512 (N.º IV missing from the set). Op. 71, nos. 1-3, Op. 74, nos. 2-3. Hoboken, 1, 427. Opp. 71 and 74 belong to 1793.
- Sonate pour le Piano Forte avec accomp: de Violon & Violoncelle ad libid: arrangée des Sinfonies Op: 98 de J. Haydn. Bonn: N. Simrock [1798?]. Arrangement of Symphony No. 99 (1793). Hoboken, 1, 204. The Rio copy postdates the first issue [1797], despite bearing the same plate number 53.
- Sonate pour le Piano-Forte . . . OEuvre 99. Bonn: N. Simrock [1800]. Plate number 112. Dated at London, 1794, this is the E, Major "Sonata composta per la Celebra Signora Teresa de Janson." Hoboken, 1, 780.
- Simphonie Célèbre de J. Haydn, composée pour le concert de Salomon arrangée pour le Piano-Forte à quatre mains par W. Watts. N.º III. Bonn & Cologne: N. Simrock. Plate number 1270. [Symphony No. 95 (1791)].
- Simphonie Célèbre . . . arrangée pour le Piano-Forte à quatre mains par W. Watts. N.º IIII. Bonn & Cologne: N. Simrock. Plate 1274. ["Miracle" Symphony]. Hoboken, 1, 193.



VI. Variations faciles et Agréables pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte. Vienna: Artaria [1791]. Plate number 331. Hoboken, 1, 789

The Escola de Música library, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro owns the eight parts of the first edition of the *Ouverture à Gd. Orchestre* [Orlando Paladino] *Composée par J. Haydn* (Bonn: N. Simrock, Plate 556) and duplicates of two full scores held by the Biblioteca Nacional: *Die Worte des Erloesers am Kreuze in Musik gesezt* (1801) and *La Création du Monde* (Paris: chez M^{lles} Erard [1800]; title page engraved by Choffard). The Escola de Música library also owns two psalms by José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767–1830) based on motives from Haydn's *Creation*. Nunes Garcia composed both these *Creation* psalms in 1821: *Laudate Dominum Omnes Gentes . . . Com duas Rabecas, duas Clarinetas, 2 Trompas, 4 Vozes, e Baixo Composto no Anno de 1821 . . . arranjado sobre alguns motivos da Grande obra da Creação do Mundo do Immortal Haydn* and *Laudate Pueri Dominum* with the same instrumentation of 2 violins, 2 clarinets, 2 French horns, four-part mixed chorus, and continuo.⁸⁷ As Luis Merino aptly observed in his definitive 1976 article on Haydn's works and influence in Latin America to 1900, these two psalms are the sole Latin American equivalents of the *Messen nach Motiven aus den Oratorien* listed in Hoboken, II, 125–127,⁸⁸ and discussed by Karl Schnürl in "Haydn's „Schöpfung“ als Messe," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, xxv (1962), 463–474. Schnürl signaled some fifteen psalms in Austrian archives based on Creation motives. *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, Austrian National Library S.m. 21588, takes the aria *Mit Würd und Hoheit* ("In native worth") for its source. Nunes Garcia bases his *Laudate Dominum* on *Die Himmel erzählen* ("The Heavens are telling"). To open his *Laudate pueri*, Nunes Garcia levies the first chorus of the *Creation*, *Und der Geist Gottes* ("And the Spirit of God").

Sigismund Neukomm, who spent five years (1816 to 1821) at Rio de Janeiro, kept the readers of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* aware of Brazilian musical developments. The issue (xxii/23) of June 7, 1820, column 401, includes a communication from Rio de Janeiro that mentions Nunes Garcia's successfully conducting the Royal Chapel premiere of Mozart's *Requiem* December 19, 1819; and also, distribution of vocal parts for an imminent performance of the *Creation* to be directed by Nunes Garcia.⁸⁹ When Neukomm composed a *Rondo aus der Schöpfung, fürs Clavier varirt* he gave an example followed in Nunes Garcia's *Compendio de Musica e Methodo de Pianoforte*. Written in 1821 for his two sons, Nunes Garcia's *Compendio* contains motives extracted from Haydn.

The anonymous "music lover" who translated the first New World biography of Haydn dedicated it to Neukomm. Translated from Joaquim Le Breton's⁹⁰ *Notice*

⁸⁷Cleofe Person de Mattos, *Catálogo temático das obras do Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1970), pp. 121–122 (items 78 and 79).

⁸⁸"Presencia de Joseph Haydn en Latinoamérica Colonial y Decimonónica: Las Siete Ultimas Palabras de Cristo en la Cruz, y Dos Fuentes en Chile," *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxx/135–136 (October–December 1976), p. 13.

⁸⁹Luíz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, "Sigismund Neukomm, An Austrian Composer in the New World," *Musical Quarterly*, xlv/4 (October 1959), 476, incorrectly dated the issue January 20, 1820.

⁹⁰F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875), II, 68, identified Le Breton as a Theatine ordinand who married when the Revolution erupted, who prospered politically, and



NOTICIA HISTORICA

DA VIDA E DAS OBRAS

DE

JOSE HAYDN,

DOCTOR EM MUSICA,

MEMBRO ASSOCIADO DO INSTITUTO DA FRANÇA
E DE MUITAS ACADEMIAS.

LIDA NA SESSÃO PUBLICA DE 6 DE OUTUBRO DE 1810
POR

JOAQUIM LE BRETON,

*Secretario Perpetuo da Classe das Bellas Artes,
Membro da de Historiã e Literatura antiga,
e da Legião de Honra.*

TRADUZIDA EM PORTUGUEZ
POR HUM AMADOR,

E DEDICADA AO SENHOR

SEGISMUNDO NEUKOMM,

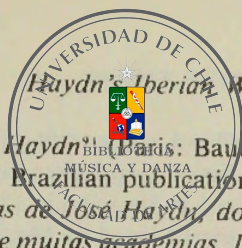
*Cavalleiro da Legião de Honra, Membro da Sociedade
Real de Musica da Suécia, da Sociedade Imperial
Philharmonica de S. Petersburgo, da Academia
Real das Sciencias de Paris, &c.*



RIO DE JANEIRO. NA IMPRESSÃO REGIA.

M. DCCC. XXI.

Com Licença da Mesa do Desembargo do Paço.



sur la vie et les ouvrages de Joseph Haydn (Paris: Baudouin, Imprimeur de l'Institut de France, 1810), the 84-page Brazilian publication bore this imposing title: *Noticia historica da vida e das obras de José Haydn, doutor em musica, membro associado do Instituto da França e de muitas academias. Lida na sessão publica de 6 de outubro de 1810 por Joaquim Le Breton . . . Traduzida em portuguez por hum amador, e dedicada ao senhor Segismundo Neukomm, Cavalleiro da Legião de Honra, Membro da Sociedade Real de Musica da Suecia, da Sociedade Imperial Philharmonica de S. Petersburgo, da Academia Real das Sciencias de Paris, &c.* (Rio de Janeiro: na Impressão Regia, 1820).⁹² The native of Bahia Balthazar da Silva Lisboa (1781–1840), whom Joaquim de Vasconcellos with good reason identified as translator (*Os músicos portugueses* [Oporto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1870], 1, 198–199), was a doctor of both canon and civil law from Coimbra University whose extensive publications include the colonial annals of Rio de Janeiro in seven volumes.⁹³

In neighboring Argentina, a Guarani Indian (born 1764 at San Carlos in the Paraguay Jesuit reductions; died August 26, 1794, at Buenos Aires after ten years' residence there) left among his music scores inventoried at death an unspecified number of Haydn symphonies. Changing his Indian name Cristóbal Pirioby to the more fashionable Spanish name of José Antonio Ortiz when settling at Buenos Aires in 1784 as music teacher and music instrument maker, he possessed at death scores not only by Haydn but also by Boccherini, Clementi, Davaux, Gossec, Lidón, Pleyel, Stamitz, and Viotti.⁹⁴

The earliest manuscript in Chile containing a Haydn work belonged in 1973 to Guillermo Marchant Espinoza.⁹⁵ Entitled *Libro Sexto* on the cover, this 98-folio manuscript carries also on the cover the name of María Antonia Palacios (the presumed original owner). Copied between approximately 1780 and 1790, the *Libro Sexto* contains works for organ, harpsichord (*clave*), piano, and *salterio*. The most frequently encountered composer is the otherwise unknown Juan Capistrano

who was secretary of the Classe des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France until October 1815. Gathering a group of literary and artistic figures who were disenchanted with the Restoration, he led the group to João VI's court at Rio de Janeiro where he died the year before the Portuguese translation of his Haydn notice appeared. In 1814 he published a notice of Grétry's life.

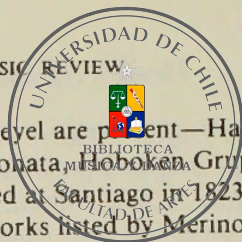
⁹² Georg August Griesinger castigated Le Breton's partly plagiarized notice (containing several questionable anecdotes) in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, xiii/8 (February 20, 1811), 148–151. See also Hoboken, *Discrepancies in Haydn Biographies* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1962), p. 15: "many of the anecdotes, as Haydn told them himself, sounded completely different from the subsequent versions."

⁹³ Alfredo do Valle Cabral, *Annaes da Imprensa Nacional do Rio de Janeiro de 1808 a 1822* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1881), pp. 178–179. See Corrêa de Azevedo, *Bibliografia musical brasileira (1820-1950)* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1952), 154; facsimile of title page opposite p.150. See also Vitor Wittkowski, "História da primeira biografia musical editada no Brasil," *Musica Sacra* (Petrópolis), vii/8 (August 1947), 144–146 (Corrêa de Azevedo, p. 80).

⁹⁴ In a supplementary volume to the facsimile reedition of his *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro (1834-1835)* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Leitura, 1968), p. 29, Pedro Calmon said that in 1820 Silva Lisboa was living in isolation on his country estate. He idolized D. João VI. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, xxii/23 (June 7, 1820), 401–402, served as Vasconcellos's authority for identifying Silva Lisboa as Le Breton's perspicacious translator and corrector.

⁹⁵ Antonio Monzón, "Un profesor indígena de música en el Buenos Aires del siglo XVIII," *Estudios Revista de la Academia Literaria del Plata*, lxxviii/422 (September 1947), 142–146.

⁹⁶ Samuel Claro Valdés and Jorge Urrutia Blondel, *Historia de la música en Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Orbe, 1973), p. 60. Among composers of the 29 pieces, Claro Valdés identified Llorente, seventeenth-century chapelmaster of Huesca Cathedral, as the earliest.



Coley.⁹⁶ Both Haydn and Pleyel are present—Haydn at folios 16^v–19 with the first movement of his C Major Sonata, Hoboken Gruppe XVI, Nr. 35 (I, 759).⁹⁷

Isidora Zegers, who arrived at Santiago in 1823, brought with her, or acquired in Chile, the following vocal works listed by Merino:

Die Jahreszeiten (Les Saisons) von J. Haydn Clavierauszug von Ferd. Ries. Bei N. Simrock in Bonn. Pl. Nr. 212 [1802]. (Hoboken, II, 60)

Ariane à Naxos. Cantate pour voix seule avec Accompt. de Piano, composée par le célèbre J. Haydn. Paris: chez M.^{me} V.^{ve} Laumer. Text in French and Italian. Pl. Nr. 3170 (Hoboken, II, 296–299)

Song 'Forgive me', composed, to German Words, by Haydn, and never before published in England (The English words by P. L. Courtier).⁹⁸

Her bound music volume now at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música contains also Creonte's aria *Il pensier stà negli oggetti* from Haydn's 1791 opera *L'Anima del Filosofo (Orfeo ed Euridice)*; *D^r. Haydn's, VI Original Canzonettas, for the voice with an accompaniment, for the piano-forte* (Hoboken, xxvii Nr. 25–30); *O tuneful Voice* (Hoboken, xxvii Nr. 42); and songs 2–5 from *Second Set of D^r. Haydn's, VI Original Canzonettas, for the Voice with an accompaniment for the piano forte* (Hoboken, xxvii Nr. 32–35).

The richest Haydn treasure trove in Chile belongs to Santiago Cathedral. The four masses in this archive were published by Joseph Alfred Novello, the 21 symphonies derive chiefly from the Parisian publisher (Charles Simon) Richault.⁹⁹

Missa Sti Nicolai (Sechsviertel-Messe). G Major [1772]. Handcopied from Novello N.º 7 (Haydn Society No. 4). "Score arranged by V. Novello from a manuscript in Rev. C. J. Latrobe's possession."

Missa in honorem b. Bernardi de Offida (Heiligmesse). Bb Major. [1796]. Novello edition "N.º 1" (Haydn Society No. 8).

Missa in angustijs. (Nelson-Mass). D minor [1798]. Novello "N.º 3" (Haydn Society No. 9).

Missa solennis (Schöpfungsmesse). Bb Major [1801]. Messe à quatre voix avec Accompagnement d'Orgue. "N.º 4." Paris: M.^{me} V.^{ve} Canaux. Organ part arranged by V. Novello.

Benedictus à Quatre Voix. Paris: Chez P. Porro [Rue J. J. Rousseau No. 14], 1809. Hoboken, II, 106. Excerpted from Schöpfungsmesse.

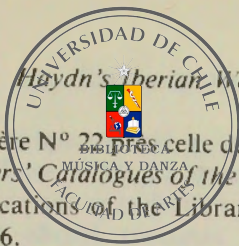
Symphony No. 63 ("La Roxolane"), in C Major [ca. 1777]. Parts edition published between 1812 and 1815. Symphonie Pour Orchestre Composée par J. Haydn A

⁹⁶Luis Merino, "Presencia de Joseph Haydn," p. 8, lists: Sacris Solemnis, 1783 (fol. 57); Sonata Lengueteria en Ambas [manos], All^o Vivo 1786 (fols. 89–90); Sonata con su Largo y Alegro, 1787 (fols. 82^v–85); Nueve Divertimientos Músicos para Organo Compuestos, 1789 (fols. 7^v–16); Sonata All.^o, 1790 (fols. 79–80^v); Sonata Ygual Registro de Lengueteria, 1790 (fols. 81–82). At fols. 19^v–22 are "two sonatas composed by Juan de Lambida, copied in Bilbao"; at 61^v–77^v "seven sonatas 'orgánicas' for piano or harpsichord composed by Vicente Joachin Castellón, keyboard teacher in Madrid, opus 1, price six pesetas."

⁹⁷Merino, p. 9. First edition published by Artaria in 1780.

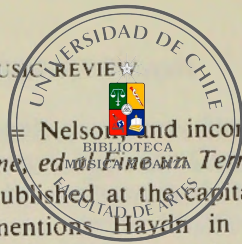
⁹⁸Not listed in Hoboken, II, 245–253.

⁹⁹Claro definitively inventoried this collection in *Catálogo del Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Santiago de Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Instituto de Extensión Musical, Universidad de Chile, 1974). For Haydn holdings, see pp. 42–44.



- Paris Chez Sieber père rue Coquillière N° 22. Pres. celle de J. J. Rousseau. See Cari Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Stockholm: Publications of the Library of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, II, 1955), p. 136.
- Symphonie à Grand Orchestre Composée par J. Haydn A Bonn Chez N. Simrock N.° 6 Ouvrage Proposé par Souscription. No. 74, in E♭ [ca.1780]. Edition published in 1810. Hoboken, 112 (last item), and supplementary Beilage.
- Symphony, No. 76 in E♭. Score published by Richault as "N.° 37."
- Symphony, No. 77 in B♭. [ca.1783]. 19th-century score, edited at Paris by Richault [6915 R.] as "N.° 35."
- Symphony, No. 78 in C Minor [ca.1783]. 19th-century score, published at Paris by Richault [6915 R.] as "N.° 36."
- Symphony, No. 79 in F Major [ca. 1784]. Richault score, "N.° 39."
- Symphony, No. 80 in D minor [ca. 1784]. Richault score, "N.° 38."
- Symphony, No. 81 in G Major. Richault score, "N.° 40."
- Symphony, No. 82 ("L'Ours"), in C Major [1786]. Nineteenth-century printed score headed "4^e Sinfonie." (Paris: Chez S. Richault [Boulevard Poissonnière 26 au 1^{er}; 6915R.]).
- Symphony, No. 85 ("La Reine") in B♭ [1785/86]. Handcopied score, headed "Lansa Maestro de Capilla de la Catedral." Concerning this first of the Paris Symphonies see Hoboken, I, 147-153; H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition & Rockliff, 1955), p. 402 ("Nos. 85 and 86, which are amongst the finest symphonies Haydn ever wrote").
- Symphony, No. 92 ("Oxford") in G Major. Handcopied parts, heavily used. Hoboken, 172-175. Robbins Landon, p. 405 ("No. 92 . . . seems to sum up, to round off the enormous number of symphonies Haydn had written up to this point").
- Symphony, No. 93 in D Major [1791]. Richault score, "N.° 45."
- Symphony, No. 94 ("Surprise") in G Major [1791]. Score. Symphonie à Grand Orchestre. Prix. 12 fr. No. 42. Paris, Chez S. Richault, Boulevard Poissonnière 26 au 1^{er}. 6915 R.
- Symphony, No. 96 ("Miracle") in D Major [1791]. Richault score, "N.° 43."
- Symphony, No. 97 in C Major [1791/92]. Richault score, "N.° 44."
- Symphony, No. 98 in B♭ [1792]. Richault score, "N.° 46."
- Symphony, No. 99 in E♭ [1793]. Collection de Sinfonies de divers auteurs arrangées pour deux Violons, deux Altos, Basse, 2 Hautbois ou 2 Clarinettes & 2 Cors par C. F. Ebers. N°1 de Haydn Es dur Prix 2.45 X^r. A Offenbach sur le Mein chez Jean André.
- Symphony, No. 100 ("Military") in G Major [1794]. Richault score: "Symphonie N.° 48 Le Militaire ou Turque."
- Symphony, No. 102 in B♭ [1794/95]. Richault score "N.° 52."
- Symphony, No. 103 ("Drumroll") in E♭ [1795]. Richault score "N.° 50."

Mexico City Cathedral music—much less thoroughly inventoried than Santiago de Chile music—includes the full score of Haydn's offertorium composed in 1772 and published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1813, *Ens aeternum attende votis (Walte gnädig o ew'ge Liebe)*; two Masses with orchestra reduced for organ by Vincent Novello: *Messe à quatre voix avec Accompagnement d'Orgue, N.° 1* (Paris: Nicou-Choron & Canaux, Boulevard S.^t Denis [1839]) = Heiligmesse Mass, and N.° 3



(Nicou-Choron & Canaux) = Nelson and incomplete parts of the orchestral *Sette sonate, con un Yntroduzione*, ed. *Fineman Terremoto* = Seven Last Words.

The *Diario de México* published at the capital during the twilight years of the viceroyalty (1805–1818) mentions Haydn in issues dated November 18 and December 16, 1806, March 20, 1810, November 24, 1809, and April 2, 1810. The first three of these allusions attest to the popularity of Haydn's instrumental works in Mexico, the last two articles review his life and musical innovations.

Luis Medina, the *vigüela* player who died at Mexico City November 2, 1806, left his most indelible mark with the stage piece *Siana y Silvio*. "Many times we heard him interpret various pieces of Haydn, capturing [on the *vigüela*] the sweetness and vigor of the originals," affirms his necrology.¹⁰⁰ The pianist who died the same year as Medina, Mariano de Soto Carrillo, "found nothing beyond his powers in any Haydn work, playing always with style, suavity, and expression."¹⁰¹ Manuel Antonio de Corral, who, unlike the previous two players, emigrated to Mexico City from Madrid, played Haydn's Variations [in F minor]—and was accused of plagiarizing them.¹⁰²

According to Haydn's necrology published in the November 24, 1809, issue, "he was born at Rohrau on the border of Austria and Hungary. He was a choirboy in St. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna. At sixteen he was a composer of works as learned as they were original. Someone asked him one day in the midst of a crowd, who was the greatest composer of the century. How can you ask me that, when Mozart is alive, he replied."¹⁰³

The longer necrology published in the issue of April 2, 1810, contains these remarks on his musical style:

Whatever gifts can adorn an artist were joined together in Haydn—fertile invention, immense facility, daring in extending the boundaries of art, variety of means for imparting novelty to his compositions, and, above all, the most refined taste that kept his genius from ever degenerating into extravagance. Haydn was the father of harmony.

He showed how to take a theme or a melody and, without ever quitting it or obscuring it, conjure up a series of effects by means of modulation that causes it to appear new at every instant. In fine, he knew how to endow his works with inexhaustible beauties even in the absence of that most powerful of adjuncts, the human voice singing text. One need not be a musician to sense his merits. A practiced ear is alone sufficient to delight in the animation, joyousness, and tender melancholy of his symphonies. In those moments when he seems to be finding his way, then the pleasure becomes even more enticing for sensitive souls. How sensitive must

¹⁰⁰ *Diario de México*, iv/414 (November 18, 1806), 322: "Muchas veces le oimos glosar varias piezas de Hayden, equivocandose con la dulzura y vigor del original."

¹⁰¹ *Diario*, iv/442 (December 16, 1806), 436: "Soto-Carrillo no encontraba dificultad en ningun papel de Haydn, tocaba con estilo, dulzura, y expresion." Soto-Carrillo and Agustín Horcasitas (died April 3, 1806) were the paramount Mexico City pianists in 1805. *Endechas* in memory of Soto-Carrillo appeared in the *Gazeta de México*, tom. 12, num. 11.

¹⁰² *Diario*, xii/1631 (March 20, 1810), 315. To prove him a fecund composer in no need of plagiarizing Haydn, his defender published Corral's list of compositions at pp. 313–315.

¹⁰³ *Diario*, xi/1515 (November 24, 1809), 600: "El incomparable compositor Haydn murió de extenuacion el día 31 de mayo en Gumpendorf, uno de los arrabales de Viena . . . Nació en la aldea de Rohrau, situada en los confines de Austria, y de Hungría. Fué niño de coro de la Iglesia de S. Estevan de Viena, y á la edad de diez y seis años fué compositor, y dió piezas de un estilo tan sabio como original. Le preguntaron un día en un corro de muchas personas, quien era el mejor compositor del siglo, y contestó; ¿como podeis preguntarme eso, viviendo Mozart?"



have been his own soul! And to think that he had lived his days with Vienna under the heel of Napoleon! His most famous compositions are *The Seven Last Words*, *The Creation*, and *The Seasons*.¹⁰⁴

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¹⁰⁴*Diario*, xii/1644 (April 2, 1810), 365-366: "Cuantos dotes pueden adornar á un artista, tantos se reunieron en Hayden, fecundidad de invencion, facilidad inmensa, osadía para extender los alcances del arte, variedad de recursos para dar novedad á las composiciones, y sobre todo, el gusto mas delicado para no pasar los limites mas allá de los cuales el genio degenera en extravagancia. Hayden ha sido el padre de la harmonia. . . .

El enseñó, como sin abandonar el canto ó melodia, como sin confundirlo, ni obscurecerlo, puede tener una sucesion de efectos por medio de la modulacion, que le hace aparecer nuevo á cada instante. En fin, él supo encontrar bellezas inagotables en el arte, aun cuando no se vale de su recurso mas poderoso, cual es la voz humana y la palabra.

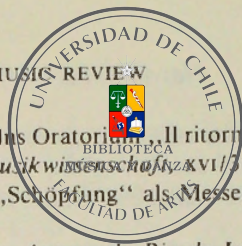
No es menester ser músico para conocer este mérito; basta un oido exercitado, para probar en sus sinfonías, ya las decididas impresiones de animacion, de alegría, de ternura melancólica; ya aquella mezcla de movimientos indecisos, aquel placer cuanto mas vago mas hermoso que es el encanto de las almas sensibles. ¡Cuanto debia serlo la suya!



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