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Von Esterhazy bis zur *Schöpfung*

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Franz Joseph Haydn's musical career started around the age of six when his father's cousin, Johann Mathias Frank, offered to have Haydn live and study music in Hainburg, Austria. Haydn had already shown signs of a budding musician; all the more reason to have young Haydn travel to study with his father's cousin, the choir director of the Hainburg church. As a vocalist, Franz Joseph Haydn was adept to singing pieces his father, Mathias Haydn, would play.¹ While in Hainburg, he was exposed to Roman Catholic liturgical singing as well as performances on harpsichord, and violin. At the age of seven Haydn had become a choir boy at Stephansdom in Vienna.

Along with lessons in voice, harpsichord and violin, he began theory lessons from Georg Reutter, the Kapellmeister at the Stephansdom. Outside of these lessons, Haydn studied Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* which would impact his composition career later in his life.² Unfortunately, his career as a singer came to an end when his voice broke when he was eighteen. Reutter had suggested that Haydn become a castrato in order to keep his singing voice the same, however, his father refused this.

After Haydn's voice broke, Haydn's career as a freelance musician and teacher. He began composing music for liturgy and chamber music. Haydn noted that leaving the choir could have negatively impacted his musical career, but accredited his early on success to the commissions he received from composition. He learned fundamentals of composition from Italian composer and opera singer Nicola Porpora in Vienna as well as accompanied the teacher's voice lessons.³

¹ James Webster, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

His first full time employment following his release from the choir was as the music director for Count Morzin in 1757 until 1760 or 1761.⁴

Haydn drew inspiration for liturgical compositions from his predecessors in a time when the church's choice in music was considered conservative.⁵ In fact, the Austrian reception to Haydn's compositions in this genre was not positive. Rooted in tradition, Austrian Masses were expected to be sung in Gregorian chant. Haydn challenged this tradition with pieces like the *Missa Brevis in F* that were texturally homophonic with imitation and captivating melodic flow. Another Mass that qualified as a popular piece was *Missa Brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo* due to its simplicity in execution and its easy-to-follow melody. Perhaps the appeal of Haydn is due to his exposure to different class structures, but nonetheless, he wrote pieces that were adored by all classes. It may have also been the intent of Haydn as well to perform some of these liturgical pieces away from the church as freestanding pieces. He began experimenting with different time signatures, elaborate ritornellos and soloists in the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*⁶. With very limited room for expression, it was in these ways that Haydn was able to show his personality as a servant to Prince Nicolaus.

Haydn started his career at Esterhazy in 1761 as vice-Kapellmeister to Prince Nicolaus and it only took him five years to become full Kapellmeister at the Esterhazy court. The stable salary he received afforded him benefits he could not have as a freelancer. For example, Haydn was writing regularly for court musicians and had access to a professional ensemble and a dedicated venue for their performance. There was no need to search for other patrons because

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Jens Peter Larson *Handel, Haydn and the Viennese Classical Style*, 1988, 139.

⁶ Ibid, 145.

Prince Nicholas had Haydn composing for marionette operas, various duets, solos, and chamber pieces that featured the prince on the baryton, usually with viola and cello⁷.

The baryton is a treble instrument with six bowed strings and nine sympathetically vibrating strings. The six bowed strings are tuned D, G, C, E, A, d', similarly to a viola da gamba or lute, as well as the present day guitar. Haydn wrote around two hundred pieces for the Baryton while he was at Esterhazy.⁸

In addition to benefits, he was also promised housing, but in 1766, he purchased his own house in Eisenstadt because housing was not yet completed at the palace. His newfound financial stability allowed him to have more independence, but this was not long lived. Later, in 1768, construction on Haydn's room at the palace was finally finished. Over the next few years, Haydn would spend less and less time at his own house. Most of his time was spent at Esterhazy and his off time would be spent on travels to Vienna to see friends and search for music. Eventually Haydn sold his house simply because he did not use it enough to justify the costs of keeping it.⁹

While expected to remain within various parameters set by the prince (and expectations of the Church), Haydn composed music almost without competition or musical restriction. His personality and relationship with the Esterhazy grew through compositions like the *Farewell Symphony* in which he conveyed to the prince a strong message concerning the recess of his musicians for the end of the musical season. For some it was not the place for a musician to

⁷ H. C. Robbins Landon *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 1981, 76.

⁸ Kenneth Slowik, *What is a Baryton and Who is Joseph Haydn?*, (2016; Smithsonian Music), Video.

⁹ *Ibid*, 77.

dictate what the prince ought to do with his court, but the respect that Prince Nicolaus had for Haydn allowed for this kind of communication.¹⁰

Haydn travelled to Vienna in the winter in search of new music and to see friends while other travelling musicians and actors were invited to and housed at Esterhazy to perform. However, Haydn had no direct competitive influences to direct his musical style. Near the end of his life Haydn told Georg August Griesinger, a contemporary biographer of Haydn, that Nicolaus had nothing but approval for all of Haydn's works and that Haydn could use the orchestra he headed as a sort of tool for experiments. Haydn also told him that he had no contemporaries working at Esterhazy to make him doubt himself and so he became original.¹¹ Some genres that Haydn was especially prolific in were opera, marionette opera, and symphonies. In only five years Haydn produced about twenty symphonies, including the *Farewell Symphony*¹².

Prince Nicolaus always favored Haydn, both in compensation and personal treatment. In 1760 Haydn started at 400 gulden (equivalent to \$4,302 today) salary¹³, and as of 1779, Haydn's salary was 782 gulden (\$8,410) annually as well as many other amenities such as wine, lard, candles, and pork.¹⁴ Haydn was even given a 1000 gulden (\$10,755) annual pension once Prince Nicolaus died in 1790.¹⁵

The Prince also often helped Haydn in times of need. In 1764, Haydn became very seriously ill and asked the Prince for help. Prince Nicolaus told Haydn he may purchase all the necessary medicines at the court's expense, but also made it clear that none of the other musicians were to

¹⁰ James Webster, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online.

¹¹ Ibid, 75.

¹² Jens Peter Larson, "Handel, Haydn & the Viennese Classical Style" 1988, 98.

¹³ H. C. Robbins Landon *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 1981, 44.

¹⁴ Ibid, 82.

¹⁵ Ibid, 92.

expect this special treatment. Again in 1768 and 1776 the Prince came to Haydn's aid when his home was severely damaged by fire. Both times the Prince helped by paying fully to restore and furnish the house.¹⁶

More instances of Prince Nicolaus's good will toward Haydn are shown musically. While the baryton was the Prince's favorite instrument, he held the notion that the instrument should only be played in one key. Haydn believed this instrument to be playable in many keys, so he practiced secretly by night, then performed a concert of new baryton music in front of the Prince. Instead of demeaning Haydn because of his insubordination, the Prince instead dismissed Haydn's display of prowess by telling Haydn that this musical knowledge is what Haydn was paid for, and that no less was expected from Haydn.¹⁷

Kind gestures from Prince Nicolas were like others that Haydn accepted from royalty and aristocracy, but Haydn seemed to have rejected the notion that he was associated with these people. It was association to aristocracy that he believed to be contrary to his own identity as a peasant who originated from a small village. However, according to the Haydn scholar Georg Fefer, there is a disconnect with the actual timeline of his life leading up to employment at Esterhazy. This leads to the notion that Haydn was even remotely a peasant in any form.¹⁸ For example a young age, Haydn left the village he was raised at to live with his uncle in Hainburg. Hainburg is further east than Vienna, but considerably larger and urban and from there he later travelled to Vienna to work for the Esterhazy. But the majority of his life, after 6 years of age, Haydn was around sprawling urban communities in Austria. It is true Haydn's life and

¹⁶ Ibid, 81

¹⁷ Ibid, 76.

¹⁸ Ibid, 101.

experiences deviated greatly from what is typically expected from a peasant or aristocracy, but he remained in his own distinctive class aside from any of his acquaintances¹⁹

Regardless of class identity or political affiliation, Haydn joined the Freemasons and was initiated in 1785. This fraternal organization brought the brightest literary minds and prominent members of different disciplines together across Vienna. This meant for Haydn that intellectuals like his own would be listening and reflecting the ideas presented in his much more elaborate works. Popularity in the fraternal organization did not ensue due to Haydn's use of Masonic symbolism, but he rather found an audience of intellectuals that appreciated music dedicated to the enlightenment and its principles.

Up to this time, while Prince Nicolaus was alive, Haydn never considered leaving Esterhazy. This was either because the Prince would not let him, or because he did not want to. Nicolaus's successor, Anton, however, negotiated a one year leave with Haydn.²⁰

On New Year's Day, 1791, Haydn travelled to London for the first time. Haydn wanted to go to London because it was very large -- by far the biggest city Haydn had ever been in. His curiosity was provoked by London's customs, climate, women, and, of course, music. Haydn had many friends in different areas of London; he knew the Duchess of York, the Earl of Abingdon, poet and playwright Thomas Holcroft, doctors, bankers, and even merchantmen. Haydn also had a few lady friends with who he kept in touch in various capacities through the years. Maria Anna von Genzinger seems to be his favorite of these, as he kept correspondance with her most often.²¹

¹⁹ David P. Schroeder *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 1990, 25.

²⁰ James Webster, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*.

²¹ H. C. Robbins Landon *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 1981, 117.

Haydn was brought to England by Johann Peter Salomon, a concert producer and violinist from Bonn. Salomon had emigrated to England in 1781 and, once news of Prince Nicolaus's death reached London, he travelled back to Vienna to acquire Haydn and take him to London. Salomon was a freemason and commissioned Haydn for Symphony No. 83 which coincidentally lined up with Haydn's initiation to the Freemasons in 1785²².

Haydn worked much for Salomon, writing symphonies and quartets for Salomon to fill his concerts. Many of Haydn's most well-known works come from this time such as Haydn's "Surprise" symphony, written in 1791. At the end of the year, Prince Anton requested Haydn back to the palace. Haydn informed the Prince that he had just signed a new contract for another year with Salomon and would need another year in London. While the Prince was displeased with Haydn, he did not dismiss him from the court and Haydn still stayed in London. Haydn eventually stayed in London until 1795.²³

In addition to writing for Salomon's concerts, Haydn took on a number of students at the pianoforte. Complaining of overwork, Haydn called a pupil of his, Pleyel, to come help conduct concerts, briefly causing a stir in the musical community when Pleyel's music became popular in England. It was said that he may be usurping his master, though Haydn laughed this off, knowing that his own technique was far better than his pupils, even if Pleyel's music was also a crowd favorite.

When Haydn arrived in London, all the newspapers printed articles about his arrival and Haydn was called on more than he could handle to dine out with those who wished to greet him

²² Jens Peter Larson, "Handel, Haydn & the Viennese Classical Style" 1988, 98.

²³ James Webster, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*.

personally. Haydn was flattered by all this, but at the same time wished for a bit of quiet. He complained in a letter that there was too much city noise for him to concentrate on his work.²⁴

In spring 1792, Haydn wrote to Prince Anton to inform him of his return to Esterhazy, where he would serve the Prince once more. On the way back to the prince's court in Bonn, Austria, Haydn met Beethoven. This led to Haydn teaching Beethoven counterpoint using Fux's book *Gradus ad parnassum*. These lessons did not last long, however, and Beethoven soon moved on to other teachers.²⁵

Haydn decided not to return to London in 1793. Instead he used the year off to write more music so as to have an array of new works to put on the stage upon his return in 1794. When Haydn did return, his acclaim was greater than ever. He was also far wealthier than he had been in Austria working for the Esterhazy house. During his few years in London, he profited 13,000 gulden (\$139,813), the equivalent to almost twenty years' salary at Esterhazy, and grossing almost twice that much.²⁶ However, Haydn soon returned to the Prince at Esterhazy. After Prince Nicolaus died, his successor Prince Anton only reigned one year before his own death. Then Prince Nicolaus II called Haydn back as Kapellmeister once more to get the musical scene back to its former glory. Though Haydn was free in England and had no need to work for the Esterhazy house any longer, he left England once his engagements were fulfilled because of his loyalty to the family after all the warmth they had given him over the prior years.

27

²⁴ H. C. Robbins Landon *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 1981, 118.

²⁵ James Webster, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ H. C. Robbins Landon *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 1981, 141.

Prince Nicolaus II did not spend much time at Esterhazy, however, and preferred to be in Vienna and Eisenstadt. Due to his new prince, new audience, and new demands, Haydn started to focus mainly on writing Masses, oratorios, and string quartets after 1795. A slightly out of character piece that Haydn wrote during this time was his *Trumpet Concerto in Eb*. The keyed trumpet had been recently introduced to the orchestra and this led him to write the concerto in 1796. It was written for Anton Weidinger and first performed on March 28, 1800. This piece, even though not characteristic of his output at the time, has become one of Haydn's most well known and often played works.²⁸

In 1791, while in London, Haydn attended the Handel Festival where he heard Handel's music, specifically his oratorios in new light. He saw how Handel's oratorios had become a national symbol. This concept of creating music, including liturgical music, geared towards a specific country and its people inspired him to write his own oratorio for the Austria.²⁹ This did not happen, however, until he moved back to Austria in 1795.³⁰

Haydn became known as a cultural hero through his music when he returned to Austria. His music became focused on politics, culture, and ideology during this time, resulting in very few purely instrumental works.³¹ The composer was attributed to beginning what is called the Viennese Classical Style and along with Mozart, the style was rooted in and often oppressed by the conservative artists who resided in Vienna³². As is characteristic of the classical period was an emphasis on the audience and the notion of musicians as entrepreneurs. This shaped Haydn's

²⁸ Ibid, 159.

²⁹ Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: The Creation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, 3-4.

³⁰ James Webster, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Jens Peter Larson, "Handel, Haydn & the Viennese Classical Style" 1988, 239.

exploration into musical ideas to be less about his own adventure, but again attempting to fit into expectations of those receiving his music.

He then came to the realization that his music and his name would become a part of history and it is for this reason that he wrote *The Creation* as well as other vocal works near the end of his career.³³ He had never written an oratorio before this part of his life. This fact along with the magnitude of the piece makes *The Creation* a monumental composition.³⁴

The Creation is seen as a culmination of Haydn's career due to the fact that no other piece that he wrote met the high caliber of this oratorio.³⁵ At this time, oratorios were viewed more as a theatrical production rather than something from the Church.³⁶ With the inspiration from Handel's oratorios, *The Creation* was written with the people of Austria in mind. The libretto comes from the Bible as well John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and was translated by Baron Gottfried van Swieten in Vienna.

What makes *The Creation* the greatest feat of Haydn's career are the size and the techniques that he implemented. It was written for an 180 musicians orchestra along with soloists and a chorus.³⁷ His time with the orchestra in London led to his use of the soloists and chorus and the interplay between the two.³⁸ Being in London also affected the way he portrayed emotion. The uplifting tone, especially in the third part, which is a cantata by Adam and Eve praising God, reflects his time at the Handel Festival in London; specifically the brilliance of his oratorios.³⁹ Haydn also added drama to this work. He kept the part of the score where light was

³³ Karl Geiringer and Manton Monroe Marble, "Haydn's Sketches for 'The Creation.'" *The Musical Quarterly*.

³⁴ Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: The Creation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, 5.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 1,8.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 1.

³⁷ Landon, H. C. Robbins, *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 1981, 182.

³⁸ James Webster, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

introduced a secret so that all would be stunned when the loud light chord thundered through the hall. At the creation's first private performance, when the light was first introduced the crowd was so overcome that the orchestra could not continue immediately.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Landon, H. C. Robbins, *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 1981, 182.

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<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44593>.

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Brown, A. Peter. "Authentic, Allowable and Possible in Performing Haydn's *The Creation*." *The Musical Times*. 131, no. 1764 (February 1990): <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/966391.pdf>

The Creation was a breakthrough work for Haydn giving him great critical acclaim and spread his name even further than it had been before. Multiple versions of the manuscript exist and there is a little bit of debate over how Haydn performed the work originally. Instructions on how many woodwind players are needed are unclear. This will be useful information as we further explore *The Creation* in relation to Haydn's journey from Esterhazy to London because we can better compare his work style in different periods of his life. The author, Peter A. Brown, was a musicologist at Indiana University School of Music until 2003.

Freeman, Edward "Atlas to Freeman's Historical Geography: Maps of Central Europe 1780 and 1801" *University of Texas Libraries*, Longman's and Green Co. Third Edition, accessed January 23rd, 2018. https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/central_europe.html

These maps show the changing borders of Western Europe during the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte in France. The Holy Roman Empire saw a reduction in size as well as other areas in central Europe; particularly Prussia and Austria. Edward A. Freeman, the historian who produced the maps, was a professor at Trinity College in Oxford when he published the atlas. He made the maps as a companion to his in depth analysis of European geography.

Geiringer, Karl and Manton Monroe Marble. "Haydn's Sketches for 'The Creation.'" *The Musical Quarterly*. 18, no. 2 (April 1932): <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/738739.pdf>

Haydn's manuscript writing style changed after visits to England. He started revising his work and taking better care of his scores, making revisions, and writing more cleanly. *The Creation* has extensive sketching, often completely different than what survived into the final work. Haydn's earlier works were much more based on sure instinct without much reviewing. This information shows us how Haydn changed because of his travels and will help us better explain Haydn's approach to work through the years. The author, Karl Geiringer, was an Austrian born musicologist who eventually moved to the United States.

Landon, H. C. Robbins. *Haydn: A Documentary Study*. Spain: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1981. Print.

This book includes details of the Eszterhaza Castle and other historical notes besides those directly related to Haydn, like Prince Nicolaus. Haydn enjoyed working for the Esterhazy's. He enjoyed his freedom to experiment with composition due to the fact that he was isolated from outside competition and influence. Haydn had a great relationship with Prince Nicolaus; he pledged his lifelong loyalty to the Prince because of the latter's generosity. This source; contains mostly information about Haydn's life rather than his music. This serves as a

good resource for finding out what in Haydn's life pushed him towards such a career. The author, H. C. Robbins Landon, was an American musicologist, journalist, and historian who was focused on the music of Mozart and Haydn.

Larsen, Jens Peter. *Handel, Haydn and the Viennese Classical Style*, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, 1988. Print.

One of three sections in this book is dedicated to Haydn exclusively and his relations to other classical composers most notably Beethoven. In this section, Haydn's compositions are compared to Beethoven. Additionally, Mozart and Haydn's uncertain relationship are clarified. For example, Pg. 117 describes the relatively short timeframe the two would have been in contact with each other, but also describes in detail the esteem both had for each other. This will be effective in exploring Haydn's Viennese career and the developments he made as a musician. Larsen was a scholar of Haydn. He began his career post-1940's and became the general editor of the Haydn Society and furthermore a respected musicologist who worked with Adolf Sandberger. Sandberger was an astute researcher of Haydn, often accredited to recovering some of his later works.

Schroeder, David P., *Haydn and the Enlightenment* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990. Print.

This book looks at the relationship of Haydn and his English audiences. Connections are made between Haydn's earlier patrons and his later ones in London. It is divided into three sections, *Haydn and the Enlightenment* can help disseminate research into coherent sections. This leads well into the latter part of his life where Haydn was no longer a servant. Schroeder was a choral musician who has studied *The Creation* and other repertoire of Haydn. An undergraduate at Kings College, Schroeder became a musicologist at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia, Canada.

Slowik, Kenneth. *What is a Baryton and Who is Joseph Haydn?*. Smithsonian Music, 2016, Video. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38TV03oReJw>

This video includes what a baryton is, a demonstration of how it is played, and how Josef Haydn used it. This instrument was an important part of Haydn's career while at Esterhazy because his employer, Prince Nicolas played the baryton. This meant that Haydn wrote many pieces that the prince could play on the instrument. The speaker in this video, Kenneth Slowik, is a cellist and an artistic director of the Smithsonian Chamber Music Society.

Temperley, Nicholas. *Haydn: The Creation*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991. Print.

The analysis of Haydn's *The Creation* begins with his time in London. He went to the Handel Festival in 1791 where he heard Handel oratorios that were created for the people of England. With this inspiration and all of his composition skills from his time in Esterhazy and London, he wrote *The Creation*, the greatest work of his career. Nicholas Temperley is a

musicologist and professor of music at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. Temperley is focused on 19th century British music and English popular church music.

Thomas, Günter. "Esterházy." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed December 4, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09020>.

Esterhazy palace was built by Prince Nikolaus, brother of Prince Paul Anton, who appointed Haydn to the position of vice-Kapellmeister. After being appointed, Haydn served Prince Nikolaus for nearly three years and provided the family with a variety of compositions including church music. This will yield good information of what environment Haydn was in while working for the Esterhazy's as well as what was some explanation for the compositions he wrote while stationed there.

Webster, James and Georg Feder. "Haydn, Joseph." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed December 5, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44593>.

This article is a summary of Haydn's entire life including details of his youth, personality, music, and life in Vienna, Esterhazy, and London. What Haydn's life was like on a daily basis is included as well as milestone events. Little of Haydn's life was documented until he moved to Esterhazy and the position of vice-Kapellmeister that was created when he came. The author, James Webster, is an American musicologist who is focused on the works of Haydn as well as other composers of the Classical Era. This source will be a good general reference for all things as it has such a broad range of information.

Abstract: Joseph Haydn's career included a range of interests, jobs and royal duties that tells a story of the time in which he lived. The focus of this research includes the life and works of Haydn and how his journey from being stationed in Esterhazy to being self-employed in London affected his music. This journey will be shown through differences in his writing style from early works through his later works from London, including *The Creation*, as well as his several job appointments.

Keywords: Baryton, The Creation, Esterhazy, Freelancer, Haydn, London, Prince Nicolaus, Servant.