HAYDN’S CREATION AS A MUSICAL RESPONSE TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT

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by
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APPROVAL SHEET

HAYDN’S CREATION AS A MUSICAL RESPONSE
TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT

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__________________________________________
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__________________________________________
Esther R. Crookshank

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James Parker III

Date_______________________________
To Kelly,

my wife and love,

and to

my parents,

John and Marilee Eaton,

who always believed
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This writing would not exist if it were not for those who guided and supported its conception and development. Dr. Thomas Bolton, supervising professor, was a purposeful and patient guide throughout the process of this writing. Dr. Esther Crookshank and Dr. James Parker also provided valuable insights in regard to the writing in several respects. Significant German translation was performed by Deborah Haller.

The inspiration of many teachers, musicians, and writers, as well as support from family members and friends throughout my musical education formed the structure from which this writing has sprung. My parents, John and Marilee Eaton, and brothers, Scott and Steve, and their families have continually encouraged this writing process, as well as Steve and Ruth Thorn and the rest of my wife’s family. My wife, Kelly, and our daughter, Anne Catherine, have continually undergirded me with their love and understanding regarding the cost of time away from them invested in this project. Many of these family members and friends have prayed for God’s work to be accomplished through this writing.

The aforementioned guidance, scholarship, inspiration, support, and prayers have yielded their result in the following pages. This study is an effort to explore the relationships between theology, philosophy, science, literature, history, music, and aesthetics, and their impact upon sacred music as represented in oratorio of the eighteenth century. As the church finds itself amidst an increasingly secular, self-centered, and
subjective culture we must increase our understanding of sacred music in the light of
timeless, biblical principles. This is my aim, for the glory of our Lord, Jesus Christ.
Soli Deo gloria.

Shawn Tyler Eaton

Louisville, Kentucky

December 2012
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

During the course of the eighteenth century, European society saw dramatic changes in musical style and culture, as well as religious and philosophical thought. These changes were fueled by (1) the acceptance of naturalistic theology, a theology based entirely upon rationalism that denied tenets of revealed truth as was commonly held by proponents of the Christian Church; and (2) the shift in musical patronage from that of the aristocracy and the Church to that which was created primarily for the growing middle class. In this new system the influences of a middle-class, consumer-driven system of musical economics increased the desire for music as a form of expression that was accessible to all. Active within this context of dramatic change, Franz Joseph Haydn and his contemporaries sought to convey a more “natural” expression of emotion in their compositions, moving away from the more intellectually-based counterpoint of the Baroque. Specific aspects of Haydn’s treatment of form, stylistic choice, harmonic language, and selection of texts and text-music music relationships may be linked to musical values derived from Enlightenment tenets.

Haydn’s oratorio, Creation, represents a musical response to, or outworking of, certain tenets of Enlightenment thought. In this light, Haydn’s Creation may be said to represent a considerably different set of compositional goals and musical values from those of earlier major choral works with biblically based libretti, most notably oratorios
by George Frederic Handel. These changes are reflective of, and due in large measure to, the aforementioned cultural shifts. The libretto of *Creation* clearly drifts from the Christian apologetic perspective of Handelian oratorios\(^1\) towards a deistic representation of truth through its revision of the biblical account of creation.\(^2\) Accompanying this shift away from orthodoxy in the libretto, *Creation* shifts musically from the contrapuntal emphasis of the oratorios of the Baroque to the use of a multiplicity of styles, including “the past’s enlightened classicism—in its double fugues, extended arias, Baroque musical rhetoric, and sonata aspects—and the future’s Romanticism.”\(^3\) These two shifts run parallel to each other in their push towards naturalism: the former a manifestation of naturalist theology, the latter a move toward natural expression of emotions as sought by Haydn and his contemporaries.

**The Problem**

In order to understand the impact of the worldview of Haydn and his librettists upon *Creation*, a comprehensive demonstration of the aforementioned shift in approach to the composition of oratorio as a response to the developing cultural shifts in theology, philosophy, and musical expression is necessary. An extensive bibliographic search by the author revealed that such a comparison with respect to theological, philosophical, literary, and musical elements has not been fully explored.

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\(^1\) Calvin Stapert, *Handel's Messiah: Comfort for God’s People* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2010), 76.


\(^3\) Ibid., 280.
Thesis

Important tenets of Enlightenment thought, specifically natural theology and philosophy, mark both the libretto and certain aspects of the music of Haydn’s *Creation*, a work that serves as a mirror of its time and cultural milieu. This dissertation examines and seeks to document the influences of orthodox Christian theology, the natural theology and deist worldview popular during the period, and the literary models by Milton and others in the shaping of the libretto and the music. Because of the work’s performances, publication, and popularity in both Austria and England, its reception history in both countries is examined to reveal to what extent critical reception contributed to its reputation as a significant statement of Enlightenment thought and ideals. Currently there are no comprehensive studies, which outline how theology and philosophy influenced the composition of oratorio during the late eighteenth century. It is the author’s aim that this dissertation will provide a model for future studies seeking to draw theological and philosophical connections with the music of this period.

Background and Definition of Terms

Several terms need to be defined for the purposes of this dissertation. The shortened title “*Creation*” will serve to designate Haydn’s oratorio, *The Creation*. “Oratorio” is defined as “an extended musical drama with a text based on religious subject matter,” usually performed “without scenery, costume, or action.” “Most

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5Ibid.
oratorios place special emphasis on narration, on contemplation, and particularly in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, on extensive use of a chorus."⁶ "Libretto" is defined as "the text of an opera or oratorio; originally, and more specifically, the small book containing the text, printed for sale to the audience."⁷ "Reception" is defined as "the impact of artworks as reflected in the responses of audience, critic, and artist."⁸

Since the second chapter more thoroughly describes the theology, philosophy, and worldviews, which influenced the libretto and music of Creation, only brief definitions of related terms are given here. The terms "Enlightenment" or "Age of Reason," are used synonymously. The Enlightenment "was a philosophical, scientific, and political movement that dominated eighteenth-century thought."⁹ This movement led to a cultural revolution. Based upon growth in discovery of the workings of the natural universe, the Enlightenment emphasized a new reliance upon reason and natural law resulting in an attack upon the "status quo," hence the authority of church and monarchial systems.¹⁰

"Worldview" is defined according to James H. Olthuis as a framework or set of fundamental beliefs through which we view the world and our calling and future in it. This vision need not be fully articulated: it may be so

⁶Ibid.
⁷Ibid., s.v. "libretto."
⁸Ibid., s.v. "reception."
¹⁰Ibid.
internalized that it goes largely unquestioned; . . . it may be greatly refined through cultural-historical development.\textsuperscript{11}

For the purposes of the present discussion, “Christian orthodoxy” is defined as that which defines epistemology, theology, and anthropology in agreement with Scriptural doctrines, the nexus of which are set forth in the Nicene Creed as established by the First Council of Constantinople in the year A.D. 381.

“Naturalism,” “deism,” and “humanism” are defined in light of their eighteenth-century contexts. For the purposes of this discussion, “Naturalism,” or natural theology, is used to indicate a philosophy that defines epistemology, theology, and anthropology only by that which may be learned solely through rational or scientific means. “Deism” is defined as a derivation of naturalism in which God is perceived as “a transcendent God,” who “created the universe but then left it to run on its own.”\textsuperscript{12} Thus deism stood in contrast to the orthodox Christian belief in God’s sovereignty and providential care over creation.\textsuperscript{13} Lastly, “humanism” is defined as another derivation of naturalism, specifically, “a philosophy that usually rejects supernaturalism and stresses an individual’s dignity and worth and capacity for self-realization through reason.”\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11}James W. Sire, \textit{The Universe Next Door: A Basic Worldview Catalog}, 5th ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2009), 18.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 51.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14}Merriam–Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, 10th ed., s.v. “humanism.”
Methodology

This study begins by establishing a foundation for understanding the philosophical, theological, and literary influences upon Haydn’s *Creation*. This includes relevant studies of orthodox Christian theology and worldview, eighteenth-century naturalist theology and its influence upon Haydn’s worldview, as well as the literary models of Milton and others. The libretto is purported to have been written in mid-eighteenth century England, where the principles of natural religion were conceived. These principles eventually reached Austria under the reign of Joseph II (1780-90), just prior to the composition of *Creation*.\(^{15}\) Therefore, orthodox and contemporaneous theology, philosophy, and culture of the two target audiences for the work—Austria and England—are discussed.

Next, a discussion of musical background including styles, philosophies, and genres of the Classical period is included. Of particular interest within the discussion of the Classical symphony is a shift in musical meaning associated with style mixture as revealed in Melanie Lowe’s recent studies of Mozartean symphony.\(^{16}\) In the Classical era, the accessibility of aesthetic meaning begins to break down due to greater subjective desires and uses for music. The minuet in what has been specified as Mozart’s “Great G-minor symphony,” K. 550 serves as a prime example. In Mozart’s time, the minuet was heavily associated with the aristocracy, in this case the Austrian Empire, while the use of


the learned style of canon usually symbolized the Catholic Church. With these two styles of composition, Mozart did something that never would have happened in the Baroque. He combined the “sacred” learned style of canon with the aristocratic social dance of the Minuet in such a way that it provided a “clashing . . . of musical symbols”.

Lowe contends that contemporaneous audiences would have disassociated the meaning of these two conventions as they were heard in this movement. This discussion begins to set the platform for the aim—achieved in chapters 4 and 5—to determine how the message of Creation was affected by mixing styles traditionally associated with oratorio, such as fugue and recitative, with contemporaneous operatic and original proto-romantic styles.

Provided in the aforementioned musical background is a discussion of three works which were precursors to Haydn’s Creation, seeking to clearly establish the theological, philosophical, and musical shift of Haydn’s oratorio from that of more apologetic sacred works—specifically Handelian oratorio. Also, the author has researched and presented a comprehensive list of prior settings of the biblical story of creation or of Paradise Lost. Hence, both chapters 2 and 3 serve to establish a comprehensive background and context from which the analysis of Creation has been accomplished.

In chapter 4 analysis of the text and music of Creation is provided, based upon theological, philosophical, literary, and musical background. This study demonstrates how natural theology impacted the libretto. Also examined are relevant articles of James

17Ibid., 112–24.

18Ibid., 124.
Webster, Hermann Danuser, Siegemund Levarie, and Lawrence Kramer, which provide a structural framework for the analysis of the oratorio specifically in regard to style mixture, and the writings of Mark Berry and others that outline prominent text-music relationships. Together these are used to demonstrate a parallel between the influence of natural theology and naturalistic expressions in the music. Musical analysis is not comprehensive in this study, but it is provided when relating to the aims of this paper.

In chapter 5 the reception of Creation by audience and critics has been researched, comparing and contrasting that of Austria and England. This study has grouped affirmative and negative appraisals of the oratorio separately. Consideration has been given to the oratorio’s demonstration of religious tolerance and inclusivity of styles and the impact of these components upon the oratorio’s success.

Lastly, the author seeks to make conclusions regarding findings in the aforementioned studies.

**Related Literature**

Literature essential to this study includes biographies, primary source material, musicological materials and musical analysis, theological and philosophical material, as well as literature related to the development of the libretto.

H. C. Robbins Landon’s *Haydn Chronicle and Works* has served for decades as the definitive biography. The fourth volume, *The Years of “The Creation” 1786-1800*, includes many primary source letters regarding reception of Creation, as well as chapters

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on Haydn’s life and work in Vienna leading up to its composition, and analysis of the work. Nicholas Temperley’s book on *Creation*\(^{20}\) also provides a rich collection of resources for this study, including religion in Georgian England and Catholic Austria, studies relating to the literary background of the libretto, reception, textual and musical treatment, and excerpts from historic-critical essays. Bruce MacIntyre’s book on *Creation*\(^{21}\) provides over 100 pages of musical analysis; an overview of religious, Masonic, and literary influences; as well as many references to the work’s reception. Additional reception studies are found in *Haydn and His World*,\(^{22}\) edited by modern Haydn scholar Elaine Sisman.

Additional primary source material includes Vernon Gotwals’s translation of G. A. Griesinger’s *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* and the *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn* by A. C. Dies,\(^ {23}\) both of which were contemporaneous biographies of Haydn. *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*,\(^ {24}\) translated by H. C. Robbins Landon, includes several letters referred to in Temperley’s and MacIntyre’s books on *Creation*. Contemporaneous treatises, such as

\(^{20}\)Temperley, *Haydn*.

\(^{21}\)MacIntyre, *Haydn*.


C. P. E. Bach’s *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*,\(^\text{25}\) Johann Mattheson’s *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*,\(^\text{26}\) and Johann Quantz’s *On Playing the Flute*,\(^\text{27}\) shed light on the philosophy of music composition of the time.

A significant model for this study is Mark Berry’s article “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology.”\(^\text{28}\) Berry’s article covers information related to librettist Gottfried van Swieten’s and Haydn’s worldviews; origins of the libretto; the appropriateness of the work for its audience; and textual and musical manifestations of Enlightenment philosophy and theology found in the work. Also important to understanding the influence of the *Zeitgeist* upon the libretto is Martin Stern’s article in *Haydn-Studien*, “Haydns *Schöpfung*, Geist und Herkunft des van Swietenschen Librettos: Ein Beitrag zum Thema ‘Säkularisation’ in Zeitalter der Aufklärung.”\(^\text{29}\) An understanding of the structural framework of the music of *Creation* is gained through the


aforementioned articles by James Webster, Hermann Danuser, Siegmund Levarie, and Lawrence Kramer.

Theological and philosophical studies in worldview are found in Andrew Hoffecker’s *Revolutions in Worldview: Understanding the Flow of Western Thought* as well as James Sire’s essential work *The Universe Next Door*.

Literature related to the libretto includes Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and the Authorized Version of the King James Bible, from both of which much was borrowed. Also important is *This Great Argument: a Study of Milton's De Doctrina Christiana as a*

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35 Sire, *The Universe Next Door*.


Gloss upon Paradise Lost. De Doctrina Christiana is a study by Milton of his Christian theology.

38Maurice Kelley, This Great Argument; A Study of Milton’s 'De Doctrina Christiana' as a Gloss Upon Paradise Lost (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941).
CHAPTER 2
THEOLOGICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND
LITERARY BACKGROUND

The bearing of orthodox Christian theology upon the libretto of *Creation* is particularly relevant to this study. In order to distinguish how the libretto of Haydn’s *Creation* drifts from the Christian apologetic perspective toward a deistic perspective, we must understand the essentials of orthodox creation theology for Christians in both Austria and England during the eighteenth century. Since these theological perspectives are somewhat different, due to their Roman Catholic and Anglican origins respectively, they will be outlined separately. The foundations of both, however, may be found in the historic creeds of the Church. The Nicene Creed, formulated by the First Council of Nicea in the year 325, is accepted “as the first dogmatic definition of the solemn Magisterium of the Church, [in which] creation is attributed to the Person of the Father, an attribution which does not, of course, exclude the creative role of the Son and the Holy Spirit.”


2. Ibid.
In 381, the First Council of Constantinople adopted the Nicene doctrine of creation in its revision. Subsequently, according to Jose Morales, “The Second Council of Constantinople (553) established central points of Christological doctrine but its teaching begins with a statement on the creative activity of God.” The Second Council also established the three functions of the Trinity in the creation: “For one is the God and Father from whom all things are, one is the Lord Jesus Christ through whom all things are, and one the Holy Spirit in whom all things are.” The Second Council was the first that spoke clearly regarding the role of the Holy Spirit in the creation. Although the inclusion of distinct functions of individual members of the Trinity may at first seem impertinent to this study, the importance of the inclusion of the Son is vital concerning the doctrine of original sin.

**Augustinian Versus Pelagian Thought on Original Sin**

A robust view of biblical creation theology includes the vast ramifications for mankind after the Fall, including the doctrine of original sin and its effect upon man’s moral abilities. The biblical understanding of moral freedom from the ancient Western Church is based upon Augustine of Hippo’s (354-430) influence. Augustine argued starkly against the British monk Pelagius (early fifth century), who believed “that the human will has no necessary natural inclination to evil.” Therefore, claimed Pelagius,

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3Ibid.

4Ibid.

5Ibid.
humans have the ability apart from God to choose to do good. Thus, “while the ability to obey comes from God, both the will to obey and the act of obedience arise from human nature itself.”

Augustine contrasted Pelagius with an understanding based upon the Genesis fall: Adam and Eve were created with the ability to choose to obey God’s commands or to disobey, or sin. Along with this ability came “gifts of immortality and integrity.” They were holy in the sight of God until they disobeyed and ate of the forbidden fruit. At this point they entered into a sinful state and were stripped of the gifts of immortality and integrity, “their wills being inclined to concupiscence, and enslaved to evil.”

Furthermore, Augustine argued that a certain number of elect are chosen by God to be saved from condemnation for their sin and, along with grace, are given faith. The initial faith that enables grace to be bestowed upon the person is also a gift of God to the elect, operative only through prevenient grace. The result is that those enslaved in sinful state are now freed to “good dispositions,” “enabling the will spontaneously to choose the good,” thus the redeemed are “free to obey.”

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7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 16, 17.

9 Ibid., 18.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.
Eighteenth-century Anglican theology of creation and its fuller implications can be determined by examining several sections from the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* (1562), which the church still espouses today. The first two articles affirm that God alone is the creator of all things, and that this Creator is made up of three persons:

I. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity
There is but one living and true God, ever-lasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.  

Article 7 assures that all men at all times must be atoned for by Christ’s (the only mediator’s) sacrifice in order to receive redemption from sin:

VII. Of the Old Testament

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be

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13Ibid.
received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.\textsuperscript{14}

The aforementioned Nicene Creed was established as central to Anglican doctrine in the eighth article:

VIII. Of the Three Creeds

The Three Creeds, \emph{Nicene Creed}, \emph{Athanasius's Creed}, and that which is commonly called the \emph{Apostles' Creed}, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.\textsuperscript{15}

Of particular importance to the theology of the reformers, and thus the theology of the Anglican Church, was the doctrine of original sin through Adam as established in the ninth article. The remaining articles here relate to the connection between original sin and the promise of the second Adam, Jesus Christ, in Genesis 3:15:

IX. Of Original or Birth-sin

Original Sin standeth not in the following of \emph{Adam}, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of \emph{Adam}; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek, "Phronema Sarkos", which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

X. Of Free-Will

The condition of Man after the fall of \emph{Adam} is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God,
without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

XI. Of the Justification of Man

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII. Of Good Works

Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgement; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XIII. Of Works before Justification

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XVIII. Of Obtaining Eternal Salvation Only by the Name of Christ

They also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.¹⁶

The manner of qualification of those who receive salvation in Jesus Christ is explained in part by the seventeenth article:

XVII. Of Predestination and Election

Predestination to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out

¹⁶Ibid.
of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to
honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be
called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through
Grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by
adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they
walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to
everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of
sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in
themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh,
and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things,
as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation
to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards
God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have
continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most
dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or
into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set
forth to us in holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed,
which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.  

Therefore, from the above articles one can deduce eighteenth-century Anglican
theology related to this paper as follows. God alone, in three persons (Father, Son, and
Holy Spirit), is creator and preserver of “all things, both visible and invisible.” God, the
Son, in addition to his role in creation, is the sacrifice for all sins. In regard to original
sin: (1) All mankind has inherited the stain of Adam’s sin so that he is “very far gone
from original righteousness, and of his own nature inclined to evil,” so that he deserves
damnation. (2) Free will was given up after the Fall of Adam, so that man cannot do good
works on his own and cannot come to faith without God’s grace working within him for

17Ibid.
18Ibid., Article I.
19Ibid., Article IX.
his regeneration. (3) Righteousness before God then only comes by the merit of God the Son, Jesus Christ. (4) Furthermore, good works only come as the “fruits of faith” following justification. These works do not earn us salvation, yet are pleasing to God as they come out of faith, a demonstration of the regenerated state. (5) As follows, works done before justification are still sinful, as they are not worked through the Holy Spirit. (6) No “light of Nature” or other source of faith can save us from damnation, only the Lord Jesus Christ.

Orthodox Roman Catholic Theology: Austria

The historic Roman Catholic Church formulated its concepts of creation based upon the Old Testament, particularly Isaiah 40-55 and Genesis 1. Although the Genesis account relates concepts similar to the Babylonian epic, Enuma Elish, it also emphasizes differences from it and other creation myths. Genesis affirms that the world is created by one God, by word alone without struggle or sexual generation, and all that is made is good. To these OT themes, the NT adds the relation of creation to Jesus Christ: it is through the Word of God, who became flesh in Jesus, that all things were made (John 1:1-14); “all things were created through him and for him” (Col 1:16). Catholic doctrine on creation develops the biblical themes, with three particular emphases:

1. God is the creator of all that is. This was affirmed especially against all forms of Gnosticism, which tends to hold that the material world is not from the supreme

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20Ibid., Article XII.

21 Ibid., Article XVIII.

God. Thus, from the second century onward, the language of creation *ex nihilo* (from nothing) has been used, to exclude the position (not excluded in the OT) that God shaped the world from a preexisting formless matter.

2. All that is, is good. Though there is genuine evil, this evil is secondary, not part of the fundamental nature of what is. Against Gnosticism the fundamental goodness of all things, as deriving from the one, good God, is affirmed.²³

3. The created world is truly distinct from God; pantheism is rejected. The world does not emanate necessarily from God’s nature, but is created freely.

These teachings were pronounced in their most authoritative form at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).²⁴

In addition, the Catechism of Trent (1566), issued by order of Pope Pius V and effective until the version given by Pope John Paul II in 1992, gives an expanded explanation of the Apostles Creed’s statement, “I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.” This includes statements about God’s absolute sovereignty and about the role of each person of the trinity in creation:

**God Preserves, Rules And Moves All Created Things**

We are not, however, to understand that God is in such wise the Creator and Maker of all things that His works, when once created and finished, could thereafter continue to exist unsupported by His omnipotence. For as all things derive existence from the Creator's supreme power, wisdom, and goodness, so unless preserved continually by His Providence, and by the same power which produced them, they would instantly return into their nothingness. This the Scriptures declare when they say: How could anything endure if thou wouldst not? or be preserved, if not called by thee?

Not only does God protect and govern all things by His Providence, but He also by an internal power impels to motion and action whatever moves and acts, and this in such a manner that, although He excludes not, He yet precedes the agency of secondary causes. For His invisible influence extends to all things, and, as the Wise

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²³Ibid., 115.

²⁴Ibid., 116.
Man says, reaches from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly. This is the reason why the Apostle, announcing to the Athenians the God whom, not knowing, they adored, said: He is not far from every one of us: for in him we live, and move, and are.

Creation Is The Work Of The Three Persons

Let so much suffice for the explanation of the first Article of the Creed. It may not be superfluous, however, to add that creation is the common work of the Three Persons of the Holy and undivided Trinity, of the Father, whom according to the doctrine of the Apostles we here declare to be Creator of heaven and earth; of the Son, of whom the Scripture says, all things were made by him; and of the Holy Ghost, of whom it is written: The spirit of God moved over the waters, and again, By the word of the Lord the heavens were established; and all the power of them by the spirit of his mouth.25

Also from the Catechism of Trent are statements related to man being created in God’s image and the responsibility that this implies for mankind:

Man's soul He created to His own image and likeness; gifted him with free will, and tempered all his motions and appetites so as to subject them, at all times, to the dictates of reason. He then added the admirable gift of original righteousness, and next gave him dominion over all other animals. By referring to the sacred history of Genesis the pastor will easily make himself familiar with these things for the instruction of the faithful.26

Furthermore, recorded in the Fifth Session of the Council of Trent are the following statements regarding the doctrine of original sin:

1. If any one does not confess that the first man, Adam, when he had transgressed the commandment of God in Paradise, immediately lost the holiness and justice wherein he had been constituted; and that he incurred, through the offence of that prevarication, the wrath and indignation of God, and consequently death, with which God had previously threatened him, and, together with death, captivity under his power who thenceforth had the empire of death, that is to say, the devil, and that


26Ibid.
the entire Adam, through that offence of prevarication, was changed, in body and soul, for the worse; let him be anathema.

2. If any one asserts, that the prevarication of Adam injured himself alone, and not his posterity; and that the holiness and justice, received of God, which he lost, he lost for himself alone, and not for us also; or that he, being defiled by the sin of disobedience, has only transfused death, and pains of the body, into the whole human race, but not sin also, which is the death of the soul; let him be anathema: whereas he contradicts the apostle who says; By one man sin entered into the world, and by sin death, and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned.

3. If any one asserts, that this sin of Adam,—which in its origin is one, and being transfused into all by propagation, not by imitation, is in each one as his own,—is taken away either by the powers of human nature, or by any other remedy than the merit of the one mediator, our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath reconciled us to God in his own blood, made unto us justice, sanctification, and redemption; or if he denies that the said merit of Jesus Christ is applied, both to adults and to infants, by the sacrament of baptism rightly administered in the form of the church; let him be anathema: For there is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved. Whence that voice; Behold the lamb of God behold him who taketh away the sins of the world; and that other; As many as have been baptized, have put on Christ.27

Therefore, essential Catholic orthodox theology of the eighteenth century as pertains to this study can be summarized as follows. (1) God, functioning in three persons, is alone the creator, preserver, and sustainer of all things. (2) He is sovereign over all He has created, working all events according to His providence. (3) God created all things ex nihilo, out of nothing. (4) Although He alone creates from nothing, He created man, male and female, uniquely in His image and gave them dominion over all other animals. (5) However, once Adam, the first man, disobeyed God’s command by eating of the fruit of the forbidden tree, he was stripped of his immortality and original

righteousness, given bent to sin. (6) Furthermore, these penalties for sin have been
communicated through Adam, as the father of mankind, to the entire the human race, and
may only be removed through the merit of “the one mediator,” Jesus Christ. In regard to
man’s ability for moral goodness, this writer was unable to find evidence that eighteenth-
century Catholics adhered to this before salvation, but found only the following from the
Catechism of today, first given by Pope John Paul II in 1992:

> Although it is proper to each individual, original sin does not have the character of a personal fault in any of Adam's descendants. It is a deprivation of original holiness and justice, but human nature has not been totally corrupted: it is wounded in the natural powers proper to it, subject to ignorance, suffering and the dominion of death, and inclined to sin—an inclination to evil that is called “concupiscence”. Baptism, by imparting the life of Christ's grace, erases original sin and turns a man back towards God, but the consequences for nature, weakened and inclined to evil, persist in man and summon him to spiritual battle.²⁸

**Summary of Anglican and Catholic Eighteenth-Century Worldviews**

The eighteenth-century orthodox Anglican and Roman Catholic worldviews can be determined from these theological discussions to be very similar. Representatives from each would see all matters of existence in this life and the next as a function of dependence upon God. God is creator and preserver, working in all things at all times. Furthermore, this dependence includes our dependence upon Christ for salvation in order to restore the moral capabilities of man present before the stain of original sin.

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²⁸“Catechism of the Catholic Church—The Fall” [on-line]; accessed January 31, 2012; available from http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p1s2c1p7.htm; Internet.
Enlightenment Philosophy and Natural Theology

The prevailing Western philosophy of the day in both England and Austria was that of the Enlightenment. Hoffecker offers a synopsis of Enlightenment activity in Europe and America:

Summaries of this age emphasize the following: new epistemological methods in philosophy produced an “age of reason” in which autonomous methods of rationalism and empiricism replaced traditional alliances between philosophy and theology in the search for truth; rising confidence in Newtonian science provided powerful new perspectives on nature and the laws by which it operates; a new intellectually elite class, the philosophes, believed that reason mated with science could inaugurate an era of progress politically, economically, and socially; and new religions such as deism and Unitarianism challenged outmoded faiths of Protestantism and Catholicism.

In reality there were three branches of Enlightenment development manifesting themselves primarily in England, France, and Germany. Parallel with the philosophical developments of Enlightenment thought was a series of spiritual renewal movements, or “Awakenings”: the Evangelical Awakening in Britain, Jansenism in France, Pietism in Germany, and the Great Awakening in America. The influence of both the Enlightenment and the Awakenings took part in shaping the worldview of each culture. There was not yet the distinct division between sacred and secular life that would occur in the nineteenth century, relegating the sacred into public and the secular into private spheres of influence.

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30 Ibid., 241.
Both influences, however, display a “‘subjective turn,’ a decisive shift in worldview from theocentric thinking to various degrees of anthropocentrism.”

**England’s Enlightenment Philosophers**

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England there were several thinkers who developed a host of ideas that have been described collectively as deism. Central among them were Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1582-1648), John Locke (1632-1704), Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), John Toland (1670-1722), and Matthew Tindal (1657-1733). Lord Herbert formulated one of the first works promoting natural religion. De Veritate (1624), “proposed a radical change in religious a priori from revealed doctrine and piety to rational truth.” Hoffecker describes Herbert’s philosophy as outlined in this landmark work:

Herbert contended that principles of natural religion derive not from Scripture, confirmed by the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit, but from reason itself. An advocate of innate ideas, he enumerated five “Common Notions of Religion” as the basis for all religions: belief in the existence of a Supreme Being; this deity ought to be worshiped; virtue and piety are the proper forms of worship; sins ought to be expiated by repentance; rewards and punishments exist both in this life and the next.

Although De Veritate does not explicitly deny the above Christian tenets, “in a subsequent writing, Herbert intensified his opposition to traditional notions by directly attacking revelation and challenging biblical authority.” Herbert, “clearly established the modus operandi for deism—affirm only what common notions of reason allow, and

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31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., 243.

33 Ibid.
attack elements of any religion that do not meet rational criteria.”\textsuperscript{34} Locke’s approach was considerably different than Herbert’s. In addressing epistemology, toleration, government, and religious subjects, he worked to increase intellectual understanding in these areas and agreement among them. “His synthesis reexamined the foundations in each field of thought and attempted to unite the emerging fields of science and rationalism with prevailing Christian thinking.”\textsuperscript{35} The founder of modern empiricism, he assumed that a person has no knowledge apart from that which is experienced through the senses and contemplation. Although it seemed to promise certainty, his empiricism would produce skepticism, because “Locke’s epistemology could not assure the knower that ideas correspond with the objects they represent.”\textsuperscript{36} Locke distinguished knowledge in the following way:

1. \textit{According to reason}, are such propositions whose truth we can discover, by examining and tracing those ideas we have from sensation and reflection; and by natural deduction find to be true or probable.
2. \textit{Above reason}, are such propositions whose truth or probability we cannot by reason derive from those principles.
3. \textit{Contrary to reason}, are such propositions as are inconsistent with, or irreconcilable to, our clear and distinct ideas. Thus the existence of one God is according to reason; the existence of more than one God contrary to reason; the resurrection of the dead, above reason.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., 243–44.
\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 244.
\textsuperscript{36}Ibid.
Thus, “Locke treated religion almost entirely as a matter of individual intellectual belief. Assent to what passed the test of reason captivated his attention. What claimed to be revelation must submit to reason’s judgment.”

Although his ideas would eventually be used to support the deist cause, Newton was a professing Christian. His *Optics* (1730) stated “God in the beginning formed matter . . . of such sizes and figures, and with such other properties, and in such proportion to space, as most conduced to the end for which he formed them.” Hoffecker continues to relate Newton’s thoughts, “Because creation displays clear signs of intelligence, ‘it’s unphilosophical to seek for any other origin of the world, or to pretend that it might arise out of a chaos by the mere laws of nature.’” Also according to Hoffecker, Newton “viewed the universe as a marvelously coordinated system, a masterpiece produced by a grand designer,” and he believed that, “God’s existence was absolutely necessary for the operations of nature. As a master lawgiver or mechanic, God could and did intervene to perform miracles and correct irregularities in the universe.”

Along with testifying to his Christian faith, and in addition to his monumental works in science, Newton also published writings on theology.

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38 Hoffecker, *Revolutions in Worldview*, 245.

39 Ibid., 247 n.19.

40 Ibid., 246.

41 Ibid., 247.

42 Ibid., 247 n.19.
Those who followed Newton’s theories regarding intelligent design went a step further. Removing God from the picture, they “outstripped themselves as they invented metaphors to redefine the character of the universe: a vast machine or a watch designed so wisely by a watchmaker that it runs on its own without outside intervention.”

In Toland’s treatise *Christianity not Mysterious, Showing that there is nothing in the Gospel Contrary to Reason, nor above it; And that no Christian Doctrine can properly be Call’d a Mystery* (1696), he moves beyond Locke’s three qualifications of reason, “insisting that any religious claim be fully intelligible,” so that those that were seen as “mysterious” were “ascribed to pagan influences.” “Medieval ‘worship’ therefore became the very antithesis to ‘religion,’ which consists in moral behavior.”

Tindal’s *Christianity as Old as the Creation* was the highest expression of English deism and so was nicknamed “the deists’ Bible.” “He changed the nature of the religious a priori from glorifying God to doing good: ‘to do all the good we can, and thereby render ourselves acceptable to God in answering the end of our creation.’” Tindal begins his argument for universal natural religion by reasoning that God must have one standard of knowledge to judge all men of all times:

> If God never intended mankind should at any time be without religion, or have false religions; and there be but one true religion, which all have been ever bound to

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43 Ibid., 247.

44 Ibid., 248.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid. Hoffecker notes here that Tindal’s statement stands in direct opposition to the Westminster Shorter Catechism’s first question and answer: “What is the chief end of man? To glorify God and enjoy him forever.”
believe and profess; I can’t see any heterodoxy in affirming that the means to effect this end of infinite wisdom must be as universal and extensive as the end itself; or that all men, at all times, must have had sufficient means to discover whatever God designed they should know and practice.  

Furthermore, Tindal maintained that this standard must be attained through the use of reason common to all:

If God will judge mankind as they are accountable, that is, as they are rational, the judgment must hold an exact proportion to the use they make of their reason. If God designed all mankind should at all times know what he wills them to know; and has given them no other means for this but the use of reason; reason, human reason, must then be that means. For as God has made us rational creatures, and reason tells us that ’tis his will that we act up to the dignity of our natures, so ’tis reason must tell us when we do so. As the eye is the sole judge of what is visible, the ear of what is audible, so reason of what is reasonable.

Since the natural order and laws that God has set up “always and exclusively determine the events in nature neither mystery nor miracles exist.” Surprisingly to us perhaps, although English deists stood in opposition to the doctrines of “the Trinity, original sin, and the atoning work of Christ,” they simply believed that they were creating a progression of Christianity to the next reasonable epoch, rather than working against it. Deist philosophers such as David Hume were more militant critics of biblical revelation. Hume’s writings “captured his era’s philosophic mind in its most skeptical form.” He doubted man’s ability to clearly perceive the self (where Descartes’ philosophy was grounded: *cum ergo sum*, “I think, therefore I am”), and worked to destroy several

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48 Ibid., 110.


50 Ibid., 249.
conventions, including the “knowledge of the ego or self, knowledge of God or metaphysical reality, knowledge of cause and effect that serves as the basis for modern science, and knowledge of miracles that proves the truth of revealed religion.”

According to Hoffecker, “Hume’s treatment of the self reflects the emergence of the modern autonomous self, as distinguished from traditional language about the soul and its relation with God (as made in the Image of God) that was rooted in biblical revelation.”

**England’s Enlightenment Culture**

The English thinkers had a massive impact upon the Enlightenment across the European continent. According to Roy Porter,

> Throughout the eighteenth century Aufklärer of all nations revered English government, society and opinion as the pure crystal of the Enlightenment. Angolphiles celebrated the British constitution, law and freedom, the open wave of English society, its religious toleration and prosperity.

That English philosophers were celebrated instead of chastised by ecclesiastical authorities was admired in France, the other nation where philosophy was cultivated. Their influence was in government, moral and ontological philosophy, the arts, and beauty. In addition, Porter explains,

> Deism, as a rational religion and, more sharply, as a stab at historical Christianity, sped to France from the writings of Toland, Tindal, Collins, Wollaston, Woolston, and those scions of aristocratic natural religion, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, and his

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51 Ibid., 250.

52 Ibid., 249 (esp. n. 26).


54 Ibid.
mouthpiece, Pope. Moral benevolism also flowed to the Continent from English sources, Locke and Shaftesbury, Addison and Steele. 55

According to Porter, Enlightenment ideals were embraced in England within the circles of the faithful, since there was essentially no church defense present in the academic education of children. 56 The pursuit of “life, liberty, wealth and happiness” 57 became the chief goals of the society, however this pursuit was closely tied to a collective happiness for the people, and morality or virtue was held high as the means to attain this, so that “‘self-love’—so long as it was ‘reasonable’—was a virtuous spur to Christian action.” 58

Conversely, there was a pervasive optimism that allowed new freedoms from traditional morality, religion, and societal expectations. Locke spread the concept that original sin left no mark upon mankind, and Priestley that man’s ceaseless desires were good because they inspired progress, amidst the boundless ability of man to understand the universe. However, new moral freedoms of individuals were checked by the collective consciousness of a society that guarded against infringement upon the happiness of others. 59

Neither were governmental polices an obstacle to Enlightenment ideals. In fact, after 1688 the constitution embraced such concepts as representative government, religious toleration, and property rights. Neither were individual ambitions, such as free

55 Ibid., 2.
56 Ibid., 6.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., 10.
speculation or the pursuit of personal happiness, hindered by regulation. Ramifications of this included England’s free-market economy which was deepening the middle-class hold on the culture and society as a whole, with “petty-bourgeois aspirations, the growth of service industries, the commercialization of leisure and knowledge” now partaking in the shaping of values that the elite previously dominated. However, the leaders of the English Enlightenment had to come up with a way for a society based upon subjective individuality, libertarian freedom, and benevolence, to sustain itself without reaching self-destruction. Their answer was “inclusiveness.”

All but the extremists of the religious conservatives and hardened criminals were amiably living amongst one another in mutual acceptance. Means to this consensus included paternalism through philanthropic humanitarian efforts and the community of various classes through public social events (i.e., sports gatherings, the theatre, and resorts). Additional contributors were the universal concept of self-improvement and the free market system, which supported it. Through these and other means the English strove for a reconciliation of differences as evident in the embrace of seeming opposites: “individual and society, trade and gentility, conscience and self-love, science and religion, Locke’s mental sensation and reflection, or even Priestley’s monistic fusion of matter and spirit.” Thus, the English shied away from dogmatic stances for “stoical

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60 Ibid., 7–8.
61 Ibid., 11.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid., 11-13.
humanism and the other-worldly solutions of Augustinian Christianity” in favor of more progressive answers created by universal goals.\textsuperscript{64}

The path to preventing “hedonic liberty [from] being self-destructive . . . lay in [a] progressive equilibrium resulting from the mechanics of open market forces . . . [and] in establishing a rational framework of cosmic order and moral imperatives.”\textsuperscript{65}

“Enlightenment opinion sought to replace militancy with a civil and political order.”\textsuperscript{66}

“As Peter Gay emphasized, the Enlightenment translated the cosmic question, ‘How can I be good?’ into the pragmatic, ‘How can I be happy?’”\textsuperscript{67} Therefore, social refinement of the society was paramount, though this social harmony was rooted in the reasonableness of the natural order. The concept of a rational cosmos was universally accepted as expressed in natural religion, natural law, and evolutionism (Erasmus Darwin’s). The focus was not the power of the state but the harmony of individuals within society. However, possessive individualism would eventually ruin the “enlightened” state of the society, as it spurred inevitable class conflicts. Thus, social harmony would come to an end, and with it produce a greater need for discipline in the workplace as well as the reduction of humanitarian sentiments to a place of lesser effectiveness.\textsuperscript{68} By the end of

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 13–14.

\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., 14.


\textsuperscript{68}Porter, “\textit{The Enlightenment in England},” 15-17. Erasmus Darwin was Charles Darwin’s grandfather.
the century, the dramatic strife of the French Revolution caused conservatives to reject Enlightenment thought entirely. This was coupled with the booming Evangelical society which “anathemized rational religion” as a pragmatic mechanism, devoid of transcendent meaning. Regardless of these developments at the close of the century, the Enlightenment had made its permanent mark upon English society, emerging later in such expressions as “Victorian self-help liberalism.”

**Austria’s Enlightenment Culture**

Acceptance of Enlightenment ideals in Austria was spurred on by a mixture of societal and political goals. It stemmed from the desire for (1) better education for the nobility and for the Catholic clergy; (2) the desire for a better economy to bolster the military in an effort to protect Habsburg lands from further losses to other nations; and finally, (3) the desire for protection against internal monarchical despotism. Although the Jesuits were in control of the educational systems in Habsburg lands in the first half of the eighteenth century, their influence was held in place by “benevolent toleration of the proliferation of religious fraternities and outward ceremonial observance in the religious life of ordinary people.” This gave way to a reduction of academic standards in the parochial education systems. As a result, concerns over poor Jesuit education were proliferated among the nobility, and increasingly they consigned to attend Protestant

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70Ibid.

universities. Consequently, Counter-Reformation ideals were embraced with a renewed focus upon education. Ultimately, this led to a new Catholic Reform movement involving ideology held by Enlightenment philosophers and “advocated a drastic reduction in outward observances, feast days and monastic orders, a concentration on the mass and a greater concern for practical Christian charity.”\textsuperscript{72} In addition, according to Ernst Wangerman, “the political and military crisis which Maria Theresa inherited and which culminated soon after her succession . . . brought the Habsburg government and Catholic Reform movement together into an effective partnership.”\textsuperscript{73} Reform goals centered on improving the military and involved the economy and educational systems. After the two groups joined forces economically, the Jesuits were eventually removed from their positions of authority in education and dissolved due to their demonstrated lack of support of the government. At the same time, in 1758, the new Pope, Clement XIII, “followed a ‘hard’ line and refused to give papal assent to any more reforms like the reduction in feast days agreed [upon] in 1751.”\textsuperscript{74} Thus, further ecclesiastical reforms could only continue as the government took the upper hand in regard to matters of the church in Austria. Thus, an Erastian relationship between church and state was established by decree, relying upon historical Canon law precedent that discouraged the Pope’s power over the Austrian church.\textsuperscript{75} After the removal of the Jesuits and the

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid, 128.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 129.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
disbanding of their order, “Reform Catholics became a major channel of communication between the Enlightenment and the population of the Habsburg lands.”76 Next, there was a great increase in the education of the clergy for the theological focus of their duties, but also with a moral emphasis that was in strong connection to biblical teaching and principles of benevolence prevalent at the time. “Rational conviction”77 became the thrust of the reformers’ faith as they worked to equip priests with the means to persuade church members of the legitimacy of Catholicism. Thus the reformers worked toward a Catholic version of the Enlightenment, even opposing religious intolerance based upon their ministry of reason and pastoral care.78 Moral training and ‘Socratic dialogue’ became hallmarks of the new training given to primary school children, fused with religious training and examples from the Bible. The focus was upon analyzing the narratives for moral lessons and character.79

The rational thrust of the Reform Catholics “left little room for the traditional ‘fear of God,’ which was part of pre-Enlightenment Christianity in both its Catholic and Protestant varieties. Thus, according to Gall, this popular fear of God did not redound to his glorification. The rationale became that “as God had endowed men with the faculty of reason, their love of him should not be based on fear but on a rational understanding of

76Ibid., 130.
77Ibid., 131.
78Ibid.
79Ibid., 132.
his wisdom and benevolence towards his creatures.”\(^{80}\) Gall’s *God’s Loving Arrangements and Order for the Goodness and Happiness of Men* teaches,

But we human beings have cause to take special delight in our existence, since of all living creatures on earth we enjoy most of the good things. For this was God’s chief purpose with us human beings, to make us his noblest creatures on earth and to make us exceedingly happy. God is our most benevolent father.”\(^{81}\)

Wangermann expresses well the net results of this shift in doctrinal emphasis and relates it to Haydn’s oratorios and Joseph A. Gall’s religious tract of 1787:

Gall was expounding a Catholic version of the characteristic Enlightenment conception of nature, anticipating almost verbatim Gottfried van Swieten’s libretto for Haydn’s *Creation* and *Seasons*. This closeness to the mainstream of the Enlightenment facilitated in some cases the transition from Reform Catholicism to the vaguer, more secular ‘natural religion,’ which excluded systematically anything not considered susceptible to rational comprehension. During the 1780’s there were persistent reports and denunciations that students passing through the reformed theological schools were drifting into irreligion. In nearly every case which was actually investigated, it transpired that some of the students could not reconcile the teaching of the benevolent God with the doctrine of hereditary sin. There is no doubt that in the teaching of the Reform Catholics this doctrine was allowed to evaporate in the warm sunshine of their Enlightenment optimism. The role of grace was reduced to that of rendering necessary aid to men in their efforts to restrain their selfish inclinations and passions.\(^{82}\)

Wangermann admits that though Reform Catholicism was sometimes a pathway to rational religion or deism, this was not necessarily the outcome. It might instead lead to a “*pietas Austricana*”\(^{83}\) that was more intellectual, with emotion that was

\(^{80}\)Ibid.

\(^{81}\)Ibid., 132–33. This is another statement that is in direct contrast with the Westminster Confession’s chief end of man, which is “to glorify God and enjoy Him forever.”

\(^{82}\)Ibid., 133.

\(^{83}\)Ibid.
expressed reservedly, resembling neo-classism. In the schools, under Maria Theresa, however, there began the proliferation of Enlightenment ideas, encouraged by Baron Gottfried van Swieten, the imperial ambassador in Berlin. Joseph I would go even further in this regard, as he diminished censorship and advocated public writings that would subvert conservative approaches to faith and devotion, and encourage loyalty to his ideals. This included a great number of pamphlets purporting religious toleration and discouraging monasticism.

From about 1784 forward, the support of Joseph’s reforms waned. Concern was growing concerning Joseph’s potential as a despot ruler. Wangermann believes that Paul Weidmann’s epic Der Eroberer (1786), the story of a ruler who begins with the most humanitarian ideals but later gives way to the temptation to become oppressive and self-centered, contributed to the people’s lack of faith in any solely empowered ruler. Such skepticism prompted various arguments for the freedom of the press, so that the people themselves could distinguish good from evil. Also, groups such as the Freemasons were working to encourage the moral strength of the nation as an effort to deter despotism. Freemasons “saw themselves as a ‘secret school of wisdom,’ following in the footsteps of the priests of Ancient Egypt and of the early Christians.”

By their doctrine of virtue they sought to teach rulers that rewards for virtuous actions greatly outweighed those penalties gained through vice or evil. Although these events collectively worked to

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84 Ibid., 133–34.
85 Ibid., 135–36.
86 Ibid., 137–39.
deter despotism, the alliance formed between Habsburg absolutism and Enlightenment philosophers had accomplished much that would last, including Reform Catholicism.\(^{87}\)

In summary, the Austrian embrace of Enlightenment principles may be understood as follows. The focus upon reason and rational conviction as the basis of faith undermined to some degree the fear of God. Central to the new human-centered view of the created order was an understanding of God primarily as benevolent ruler. This view, fueled by, and combined with, Enlightenment optimism, both dimmed the Reform Catholics’ view of original sin and encouraged the spread of religious tolerance. In addition to these developments was the strong emphasis upon morality and virtue in accordance with Enlightenment values and as deterrent to the formation of despotic leaders.

**Haydn’s Worldview**

It was amidst this world of religious and philosophical controversy that Haydn was to create his monumental oratorio, *Creation*. Although Haydn, by many accounts, was a devout Roman Catholic, he was also undeniably a child of the Enlightenment. As both of these aspects of his worldview influenced his composition of *Creation*, each is examined here.

**Haydn as a Roman Catholic**

Haydn was very religiously inclined, and was loyally devoted to the faith in which he was raised. He was very strongly convinced in his heart that all human destiny is under God’s guiding hand, that God rewards the good and the evil, that all talents come from above. All his larger scores begin with the words *In nomine Domini*, and

\(^{87}\)Ibid., 140.
end with *Laus Deo* or *Soli Deo Gloria*. [In the name of the Lord, Praise to God, To God alone the glory]. “If my composing is not proceeding so well,” I heard him say, “I walk up and down the room with my rosary in my hand, say several *Aves*, and then ideas come to me again.”

Although this statement from Haydn’s primary contemporaneous biographer demonstrates his piety, many other aspects of his life point to his advocacy of Enlightenment principles. Mark Berry sees in Haydn “a strong, but hardly a God-fearing, faith.” He notes further:

> If many of the more radical French philosophes would have rejected Haydn’s belief in the guiding hand of the Almighty, most *Aufklärer* would not. The true religious conservatives were those who declared “new” music—anything post-Palestrina—to be profane and offered their own derivation of the word “oratorio”: *oratorio a non orando* (“a performance of prayerful music is so called because no one prays”).

According to Temperley, “The composer’s own religious orientation is believed to have been one of simple faith, but of an optimistic and tolerant kind not inconsistent with Enlightenment philosophy.”

Griesinger states regarding Haydn’s faith,

> Haydn left every man to his own conviction and recognized all as brothers. In general, his devotion was not of the gloomy, always suffering sort, but rather cheerful and reconciled, and in this character, moreover, he wrote all his church music. His patriarchal, devout spirit is particularly expressed in *The Creation*, and hence he was bound to be more successful in this composition than a hundred other masters. ‘Only when I had reached the half-way mark in my composition did I perceive that it was succeeding, and I was never so devout as during the time that I

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was working on *The Creation*. Every day I fell to my knees and prayed God to grant me the strength for a happy completion of this work.  

This demonstrates that although he was a devoted Catholic, he was tolerant of others’ beliefs. Also, as we shall see, his penultimate statement, when contrasted with the Enlightenment nature of *Creation*, makes commentary upon the true nature of Haydn’s devotion.

**Haydn as an Enlightenment Honnête Homme**

In order to fully understand Haydn’s worldview, one must understand the literary influences upon him. Schroeder argues that Haydn was greatly impacted by eighteenth-century poets and philosophers. Austria lagged significantly behind Germany in its exposure to Enlightenment philosophy as a result of a ban in place until 1780. Consequently, Austrians upon the removal of the ban demonstrated more interest in the earlier Enlightenment writings, instead of the contemporary literature, which foreshadowed the Romanticism of the nineteenth century. These were the mid-century writers, rather than the *Sturm und Drang* writings of poets such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.  

Haydn favored several of these poets, including Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, Karl Wilhelm Ramler, Johann Georg Jacobi, Friedrich von Hagedorn, Johann Caspar Lavater, and especially Christian Fürchtegott Gellert

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(1715-69), who was the most widely read German of the time\textsuperscript{93} and, it seems, Haydn’s hero.\textsuperscript{94} Thus, he “was an Enlightenment honnête homme,” or virtuous man.\textsuperscript{95} Literati such as these saw Haydn not merely as a musician who provided diversion, but due to his achievements in order and proportion, as an Enlightenment participant. Their influence played a significant role in establishing his predilection for these values.\textsuperscript{96} There is no better indication of literature that influenced Haydn’s thinking than the list of books in his library as recorded in his estate documents of 1809. Haydn’s library included Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times*, as well as Adam Smith’s essays on morality, including *A Theory of Moral Sentiments, or an Essay towards an Analysis of the Principles by which Men naturally judge concerning the Conduct and Character, first of their Neighbours and afterwards of themselves*.\textsuperscript{97} In addition, his library contained eight books placed on the Roman Catholic Church’s Index of forbidden works.\textsuperscript{98} Haydn’s library included several works falling under the heading “Writings on Freemasonry and the Literature of Esoteric Lore,” including Gerolamo Cardano’s *Revelation of Nature* (in German). This sixteenth-century work stands not so distant from Enlightenment theology as one might suspect, equating “the

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\textsuperscript{93}Ibid., 21.

\textsuperscript{94}Ibid., 10.

\textsuperscript{95}Berry, “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology,” 29.

\textsuperscript{96}Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 21.


light of the world soul with the eternally ruling principle of generation and motion.”

Although he did not attend meetings after his initiation, Haydn was a Mason. The leader of Haydn’s Masonic lodge was Ignaz von Born. The lodge, which named itself ‘Zur Wahren Eintracht’ (For True Harmony), sought to foster “the goals of the Enlightenment in all areas of endeavor.”

German writer Johann Georg Schlosser wrote a book on Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), which he cast in the form of a letter to Born. The book, Shaftesbury’s Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times, outlines his moral outlook according to Enlightenment philosophy, and deals significantly with art, including music. The sending of this to Born was “a recognition that the ideas of the Enlightenment which Born espoused and practiced were fundamentally similar to Shaftesbury’s thought.”

Shaftesbury believed that virtuous character and taste in art are deeply connected. Thus, the discretion, which enables one to have taste regarding beauty in morality, “moral sense,” and taste in beauty in music or poetry, “aesthetic sense,” may be understood to be of the same substance.

Shaftesbury stated, “The most natural beauty in the world is honesty, and

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100 Schroeder, Haydn and the Enlightenment, 10.

101 Ibid., 11.

102 Schroeder, Haydn and the Enlightenment, 15.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.
moral truth. For all beauty is truth.”

Furthermore, he states his purpose for his writing of the book: “[t]o assert the reality of a beauty and charm in moral as well as natural subjects; and to demonstrate the reasonableness of a proportionate taste, and determinate choice, in life and manners.” Shaftesbury believed that by encouraging beauty in either morals or taste in art, the other area would be influenced as well. He writes,

And thus the sense of inward numbers, the knowledge and practice of the social virtues, and the familiarity and favour of the moral graces, are essential to the character of a deserving artist, and just favourite of the Muses. Thus are the Arts and Virtues mutually friends: and thus the science of virtuosos, and that of virtue itself, become, in a manner, one and the same.

However, it should be noted that this concept of taste resulted from intuition trained in the learning of rational concepts as they relate to art. Schroeder states,

Music for Shaftesbury was a favourite image in discussions of the parallels between natural and moral order: ‘For harmony is harmony by nature. . . . So is symmetry and proportion founded still in nature. . . . ‘Tis the same case where life and manners are concerned. Virtue has the same fixed standard. The same numbers, harmony, and proportion will have place in morals; and are discoverable in the characters and affections of mankind.’

Schroeder comments,

One could argue then, that the didactic role of the arts was not indirect moral instruction, but was in refining and directing the audience in its ability to read or

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107 Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners Opinions, Times*, 3:303.


109 Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 1:338.

110 Ibid., 1:353.
listen: ‘There must be an art of hearing found ere the performing arts can have their due effect, or anything exquisite in the kind be felt or comprehended.’"\(^\text{111}\)

In Shaftesbury’s writings, the method that he puts forth and exemplifies in carrying out this didactic role for the arts was a rhetorical process with “new potential for intelligibility which, when taken up by a composer like Haydn in instrumental music, has far reaching implications.” Through this rhetorical process, various modes of persuasion were used, such as humor, surprise, and the juxtaposition and resolution of forces. Humor strengthened the author’s rapport with the audience. \(^\text{112}\) Poets thus would strive to ‘recommend wisdom and virtue . . . in a way of pleasantry and mirth.’\(^\text{113}\) Surprise, or “manipulation of audience expectation,” was linked to humor, and involved the irony of lightly handling weighty subjects, or the use of paradox. The juxtaposition and resolution of opposing forces such as good (represented by “beauty,” “proportion,” and “harmony”) and evil (represented by “deformity,” “disproportion,” and “dissonance”) may provide a backdrop for the larger harmony of optimism. Good is seen in the same respect as harmony, which “is the state towards which the universe in all respects gravitates.”\(^\text{114}\) For example, Haydn’s Symphony No. 103, presents an amalgamation of “opposing forces” which permits the listener to receive these as a new whole. As Schroeder notes, “It is in


\(^{112}\) Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 18.


this way, consistent with the thinking of Shaftesbury, that he [the listener] is able to
embrace morality in the sense of the Enlightenment.”115 Later Schroeder asserts,

Tolerance, that key manifestation of enlightened morality, had for over a century
been official policy in England as a result of the Toleration Act of 1689.
Shaftesbury had argued for intellectual as well as religious tolerance, and
subsequent thought in England reinforced this view.116

In addition, two related works by Schlosser that may or may not have been familiar to
Haydn were Ueber Toleranz and “Fragmente über die Aufklärung.” According to
Schroeder, “the idea of tolerance was also central to Born’s scheme . . . [and] to Haydn’s
approach to symphonies in the eighties and nineties.”117

Shaftesbury’s connection with Born and the Freemasons, as well as his
influence upon the contemporaneously popular Christian Gellert, were very likely the
greatest vehicles for his impact upon Haydn.118 Although Gellert was influenced by the
third Earl of Shaftesbury’s writings on aesthetics, Gellert tipped the Englishman’s
equilibrium toward the truth of the good and away from that of the beautiful. This
adaptation of Shaftesbury, through the meditation of Scottish writers such as Francis
Hutcheson and Adam Ferguson, was more consonant with Gellert’s German piety
and the needs of his Leipzig students, for whom he felt great moral, indeed pastoral,
responsibility.119

115 Schroeder, Haydn and the Enlightenment, 20.

116 Ibid., 98.

117 Ibid., 11.

118 Ibid.

119 Berry, “Haydn’s Creation and Enlightenment Theology,” 29.
Furthermore Berry states, “Gellert’s view of literature, that it should not only entertain but also improve the taste and morals of society, corresponds with Haydn’s statement of belief that he had done his duty and had “been of use to the world through my works.”

Interestingly, Gellert, who was noted as being pious, was “largely supportive” of Shaftesbury’s writings in this regard. Incidentally, Gellert wrote the very celebrated *Spiritual Odes and Songs* in praise of God’s creation. According to Swedish diplomat Fredrik Samuel Silverstolpe, a personal friend of Haydn, among his collection of Germany’s finest poetry, “it seemed Gellert was his hero.” Haydn owned a copy of his complete works, and set part-songs of many of his *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Gellert’s and Haydn’s perspectives were seen as similar; as Mozart was associated with Klopstock, Haydn was with Gellert. In 1766, it was published in the *Wiener Darium* that “in short, Hayden [sic] is that in the music which Gellert is in poetry.”

Gellert was influenced by Shaftesbury, but also by two early proponents of Shaftesbury’s ideas, Francis Hutcheson and David Fordyce. Gellert often used Shaftesburian terms such as ‘moral sense’ and linked this sense with beauty. Schroeder states,

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122 Ibid., 11-12.


In Gellert’s scheme of things a special relationship existed between the writer and his reading public or audience. Gellert believed that literature should educate, entertain, and improve society in matters of morals, taste, and intellect, all of which were intimately bound together.\textsuperscript{126}

Gellert strove to be attractive to those in society “whose morals and intellect he believed to be exemplary, and the audience had its morals, intellect, and sense of taste reinforced by the writer’s literary characters, situations, and moral writings.”\textsuperscript{127} As a “populist,” this direction spawned new literary genres, such as the novel and the sentimental comedy, which Gellert helped create. These were fused with a “natural” manner of expression stemming from the middle class, as well as an enduring sense of moral values. Within these were plots in which moral characters faced ethically unsolvable situations. For example, in Gellert’s novel, \textit{Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin} (1746), resolution to the drama demands that characters are forced to make concessions to evil actions regardless of which way they turn. Thus, similar to Shaftesbury, these fostered a proliferation of a certain level of tolerance in regard to ethics.\textsuperscript{128}

Along with Shaftesbury, the development of taste was very much a part of Gellert’s value system. But taste in the eighteenth century was a much more substantive concept than it is today, enveloping “reason, feeling, virtue, and morals, and consequently was the cornerstone of social relevance.”\textsuperscript{129} Taste was to Gellert, “\textit{eine}

\textsuperscript{126} Schroeder, \textit{Haydn and the Enlightenment}, 22.

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 23.

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid. Also see Eric Blackall, \textit{The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, 1700-1775} (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1959), 204, regarding natural expression.

\textsuperscript{129} Schroeder, \textit{Haydn and the Enlightenment}, 23.
richtige, geschwinde Empfindung, vom Verstande gebildet’ (a genuine, immediate feeling, shaped by intellect).”

Taste worked in individuals to achieve balance between feeling and thinking, between impulse and adherence to conventions or rules. According to Schroeder, Gellert believed

that the creation of great works of art precedes the rules, and hence, the rules are derived from the works themselves. While a knowledge of the rules was essential to the artistic process, an assiduous following of them would probably yield nothing more than a dull, insipid work.

Thus, although Gellert was very devout in his faith, his Christian goals became interwoven with that of the Enlightenment, yielding their “most convincing expression in secular forms.” Similarly, “In devising a musical language to achieve his goals, . . . [j]ust as Gellert developed a more natural language in his writing, Haydn gradually drew more heavily on musical source material which could appeal to a broad social spectrum.”

Haydn’s “populist” style is confirmed in a letter to William Forester regarding his Seven Last Words: “Each Sonata, or rather each setting of the text, is expressed only by instrumental music, but in such a way that it creates the most profound impression even on the most inexperienced listener.”

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132 Ibid., 25.

133 Ibid. See also H. C. Robbins Landon, The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 60.
to adherence to the rules of art was also similar to Gellert’s, 135 believing that “a narrow adherence to the rules oftentimes yields music devoid of taste and feeling, that many things had arbitrarily taken on the stamp of rules, and that in music only what offends a discriminating ear is absolutely forbidden.” 136

Although Gellert and Shaftesbury may be seen as primary representatives of the various literary influences upon Haydn’s worldview, especially as it pertained to the composition of music, others worthy of mention according to Schroeder include Johann Mattheson, Gotthold Lessing, Franz Sales von Greiner, Gottfried van Swieten, Aloys Blumauer, Johann Baptist von Alxinger, and Joseph von Sonnenfels. Schroeder’s extensive study demonstrates that there were multiple similarities in literary styles of those who influenced Haydn. These include the common bond between writer and audience based upon the desire for an improved social order. Morality was considered the means to achieve this, taught primarily through the betterment of taste. 137

**Haydn and the Masons**

As mentioned above, Haydn’s connection with the Masons was one of his primary ties to the circles of contemporaneous literati. Schroeder’s book contains a chapter on Haydn’s Masonic lodge, ‘Zur Wahren Eintracht,’ showing that, although there are not explicit examples of Masonic elements in his music, his interest in the lodge cements his ties to Enlightenment philosophy and his interest in achieving goals of such

135Ibid., 26.


137Schroeder, Haydn and the Enlightenment, 32.
philosophy in his music. At the forefront of the interests of the lodge was “the battle against all kinds of ‘ignorance, prejudice and superstition.’”\textsuperscript{138} The lodge was active in Enlightenment political and literary reform during and after empress Maria Theresa’s reign. The lodge’s influence upon Haydn is seen in his Paris symphonies and those composed afterward, which “argue most eloquently for tolerance, intelligence, and morality.”\textsuperscript{139} One can understand Haydn’s specific sentiments toward the lodge from a letter written to Court Secretary Franz Philipp von Weber (also the lodge’s Master of Ceremonies), as he states “the highly advantageous impression which Freemasonry has made on me has long awakened in my breast the sincerest wish to become a member of the Order, with its humanitarian and wise principles;”\textsuperscript{140} and in anticipation of his initiation he writes to Count Anton Georg Apponyi of Vienna, of “the inexpressible Joy of being among a circle of such worthy men.”\textsuperscript{141}

Lectures delivered in the lodge were recorded in the \textit{Journal für Freymaurer}, which was not regulated for censorship since it was solely for Masonic readers. Born and Sonnenfels began the journal, which was edited by Aloys Blumauer. Through their efforts with the lodge, they were able to distinguish the lodge among all others in Vienna.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 35-36.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{140} Landon, \textit{The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn}, 48.

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 49.
regarding its connection to Enlightenment political and social ambitions. This included Born’s activity as an Enlightenment pamphlet writer.\textsuperscript{142}

Moral training was the preliminary and most vital part of the preparation for initiation in Haydn’s lodge. Schroeder states, “Morality was, of course, fundamental to the work of every writer of the Enlightenment, and this received the strongest possible reinforcement from Freemasonry.”\textsuperscript{143} Other aspects of the order were its emphasis upon wisdom and virtue, as these, rather than financial status or other means, were considered the platform for equality. Such a platform was helpful to Haydn in gaining Masonic acceptance and in the proliferation of Enlightenment musical works through their influence.\textsuperscript{144} Although the church did not advocate Freemason activity (action against the masons was first taken in Papal Bull issued in 1738),\textsuperscript{145} this seemed not to bother Haydn too much, along with many of his contemporaries. As to Haydn’s spirituality, we should note that Haydn’s library did not house even one devotional book, although it contained many banned books.\textsuperscript{146} Haydn’s symphonies contain no cryptic Masonic symbolism.

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\textsuperscript{142} Schroeder, \textit{Haydn and the Enlightenment}, 37.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., 38.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} “\textit{Humanum-Genus: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Freemasonry}” [on-line]; accessed on November 5, 2012; available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_1-xiii_enc_18840420_humanum-genus.html; Internet. See “5. The first warning of danger was given by Clement XII in the year 1738, (3) and his constitution was confirmed and renewed by Benedict XIV (4) Pius VII followed the same path; (5) and Leo XII, by his apostolic constitution, \textit{Quo Graviora}, (6) put together the acts and decrees of former Pontiffs on this subject, and ratified and confirmed them forever. In the same sense spoke Pius VIII, (7) Gregory XVI, (8) and, many times over, Pius IX. (9).”
\textsuperscript{146} Schroeder, \textit{Haydn and the Enlightenment}, 39.
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Furthermore, there is no proof that his new style of symphonic composition heard in the Paris symphonies is directly linked to his Masonic ties. However, according to Landon, “The Masonic message of The Creation may be established at several levels.”\textsuperscript{147} While this may be doubted, what remains indisputable is that The Creation “presents humanity in a special way, a manner fully consistent with the thinking of the Enlightenment.”\textsuperscript{148}

In short, the influence upon Haydn of a wide social structure infused with Enlightenment concepts caused him to compose in a universally appealing way. We must understand this to some degree as a function of his worldview. Christianity, although universally applicable to mankind, stands upon non-negotiable truths, which may not be reasoned to fit to theological trends or tastes built upon anthropocentric principles, no matter how intellectually refined these tastes may be. As we shall see, in addition to testimony of various scholars above, Haydn’s violation of this principle in his composition of Creation proves that his worldview consisted more of an Enlightenment brand of Christianity than an orthodox one.

**Gottfried van Swieten: Background, Worldview, and Importance to this Study**

Baron Gottfried van Swieten (1734-1803) was the German translator of the original English libretto and was a close collaborator with Haydn throughout the compositional process of his Creation. Familiarity with his background and worldview is


\textsuperscript{148}Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 42.
indispensable to an understanding of the impact of Enlightenment values upon the composition of *Creation*.

Early in his career van Swieten was as Austrian diplomat from 1755 to 1777, when he was often abroad. He served in Brussels (1755–57), Paris (1760–63), Warsaw (1763–64), and England (1769). In the 1780’s, during Joseph II’s reign, he was President of the Court Commission on Education and Censorship working to implement the emperor’s liberal platform.\(^{149}\) In addition to being a career politician, van Swieten was an accomplished composer and patron of music. His endorsement of Enlightenment philosophy is evidenced by his educational reforms, musical activities, and his political reputation. He visited Voltaire in 1768, and in 1770 was likely rejected as imperial ambassador to Rome.\(^{150}\) Visconti, the papal nuncio, noted van Swieten’s intellect but remarked disapprovingly that it was filled with “modern filosofismo.”\(^{151}\) Van Swieten therefore was sent to Berlin on what would be his longest appointment, from 1770-77, to negotiate with Frederick the Great, a quintessential Enlightenment ruler. Other activity demonstrating his philosophical inclinations involved the acquisition of banned French


\(^{150}\) Berry, “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology,” 27.

philosophical works for Prince Kaunitz, chief minister to two Austrian rulers—Maria Theresa and Joseph II.\textsuperscript{152}

From 1777, van Swieten was custodian of the Imperial Library, a position that might infer that he was quite familiar with the literature of the day, including the aforementioned writings of Shaftesbury and Gellert. What is clear is that his musical endeavors reflected the Enlightenment belief in a relationship between taste in morals and taste in music. Around 1785, he formed the Gesellschaft der Associierten to facilitate his musical activities in Vienna, which concentrated on using the music of Handel’s oratorios (van Swieten also celebrated and commissioned works of C.P.E. Bach) to teach aesthetic appreciation.\textsuperscript{153} The concerts put on by the Gesellschaft der Associierten were the large-scale versions of Handel’s oratorios then popular in England, including Mozart’s version of Messiah.\textsuperscript{154} Thormählen’s intriguing article\textsuperscript{155} sheds greater light upon the purpose of his music making:

Art played a significant part in the educational ideal promoted by German intellectuals in the late eighteenth century. Gottfried van Swieten, President of the Court Commission for Education in Vienna and librettist for The Creation, was instrumental in developing and promoting the role of art in the moral education of the individual. His encouragement of active engagement with art sheds new light on the common practice of arranging musical “classics”—in particular large-scale vocal works—for smaller instrumental forces [such as string quartet] around 1800.

\textsuperscript{152} Berry, “Haydn’s Creation and Enlightenment Theology,” 27.


\textsuperscript{155} Thormählen, “Playing with Art ,” 342-76.
Van Swieten’s writings suggest that such arrangements may be understood not merely as entertaining trifles but as the product of the sociopolitical mores of the Enlightenment.\textsuperscript{156}

Essentially what was represented by van Swieten’s efforts was a transformation in moral education in music from that which was a “conceptual dictation of moral values (which the words had served) to a moral education achieved through the inspiration of the individuals’ inner senses of taste, morality, and sociability, of their intellect and of their imagination.” Van Swieten’s understanding was that reason and moral sensitivity should be trained through the use of inner senses. He correlated the outer senses of “hearing and seeing” with the related inner senses of “taste and the imagination” and sought to return the society to a true taste for the beautiful rather than to the contemporaneous proper one. His method was to remove people from their current experience and idioms and use older musical models to train aesthetic discretion.\textsuperscript{157}

If van Swieten had merely created a German translation of the original libretto, the importance of his worldview for this discussion might be of limited interest, but he was integrally involved in the entire compositional process of Creation. The libretto manuscript at the Esterhazy archives at the National Library in Budapest confirms that he made musical suggestions regarding text setting in the margins to Haydn, many of which Haydn employed.\textsuperscript{158} In addition, the poet Franz Grillparzer records that van Swieten heard finished sections of the work before a final draft was made:

\textsuperscript{156}Ibid., 376.

\textsuperscript{157}Ibid., 360-62.

Baron van Swieten let each musical number be pre-rehearsed with a small orchestra as soon as it was ready. He rejected much that was too petty for the great subject matter. Haydn acquiesced gladly, and thus this incredible work that will amaze future generations came into being.\textsuperscript{159}

**Background and Literary Influences upon the Libretto**

The link of Haydn’s worldview to the libretto of *Creation* is clearly stated by Nicholas Temperley:

The theological content of the oratorio, then was well calculated to appeal to the ordinary Christian publics of both Austria and England. Its rationalistic, humanistic, naturalistic and optimistic approach to the creation also matched Enlightenment ideas. These ideas were advanced when the libretto was written and perhaps old-fashioned when the music was composed (as we shall see, it came under fire from some Romantic critics). But they happened to be well suited to Haydn’s personal faith and temperament. Much credit is due to the sagacity of Salomon and Swieten for their respective parts in bringing this perfectly chosen text to the composer’s attention.\textsuperscript{160}

**Origins of the Libretto**

The original libretto for *The Creation* was written in English, but there is no extant copy in any form. Gottfried van Swieten, who was the libretto’s translator from English to German, said this regarding its inception in December 1798:

My part in the work, which was originally in English, was certainly rather more than mere translation; but it was far from being such that I could regard [the libretto] as my own. Neither is it by Dryden . . . but by an unnamed author who had compiled it largely from Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, and had intended it for Handel. What

\textsuperscript{159}Horst Walter, “Gottfried van Swieten's handschriftliche Textbücher zu Schöpfung und Jahrezeiten,” *Haydn-Studien* 1 (1967) 242, in which Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850) is proposed as Grillparzer’s possible informant; quoted in translation in Bruce C. MacIntyre, *Haydn: The Creation,* 55.

prevented the great man from making use of it is unknown; but when Haydn was in London it was looked out, and handed over to the latter with the request that he should set it to music.\textsuperscript{161}

Thus, the authorship is unknown. Griesinger points to a man named Lidley as the provider of the text for Salomon, but Temperley has another theory.

Many writers have assumed that Griesinger’s ‘Lidley’ was really Thomas Linley the elder (1733-95), who was both old enough (if only just) to have written a libretto for Handel and long-lived enough to have offered it for Haydn’s use. . . . Very probably the manuscript Salomon gave to Haydn came from Linley, and it was for that reason that his name was associated with it.\textsuperscript{162}

And according to McIntyre,

Today scholars generally agree that Linley was the provider and not the author of the libretto used by van Swieten. The author of the original English libretto remains a mystery and will probably never be known. Edward Olleson and H. C. Robbins Landon, however, have identified the following potential authors without siding strongly with one or the other: Charles Jennens, Newburgh Hamilton, and, less likely, Mary Delany.\textsuperscript{163}

According to Temperley, however, “the candidacy of Mary Delany for authorship cannot be entertained, for although she did offer Handel a libretto based on \textit{Paradise Lost}, it was concerned with the temptation and Fall, as was Benjamin Stillingfleet’s book for John Christopher Smith’s oratorio \textit{Paradise Lost} (1760).”\textsuperscript{164}


\textsuperscript{164} Temperley, \textit{Haydn}, 20.
More recently, Jenkins’s 2005 article focuses upon the possibility of Charles Jennens as the original librettist. He presents a lengthy case stemming from the fact that “the libretto was said to have been written for Handel.” Jenkins demonstrates several strong similarities including structure, sources, and style of writing between the Creation libretto and libretti of Jennens’s five known oratorios written for Handel. He also uses contemporaneous correspondence, accompanied by some supposition, to cast Jennens as the most likely author. Jenkins worked carefully to discover source material for several passages in the libretto that cannot be accounted for as either from the King James Bible, or Milton’s Paradise Lost. He has uncovered excerpts from Thomson’s The Seasons, and Shakespeare. Jenkins asserts that Psalms excerpts are taken either from the King James Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, Sternhold and Hopkins and Tate and Brady Psalters, or are possibly poetic versions from the ur-librettist. Jenkins also named likely influences of minor poetry, including Milton’s translation of “Psalm VIII,” the “Hymn: On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity,” and Thomson’s “Paraphrase on Psalm CIV.” This demonstrates the original librettist’s extensive knowledge of literature, which he asserts Jennens would have possessed. Interestingly, he proves that Jennens was using excerpts from Milton’s Paradise Lost in his libretti by 1739, and it is generally assumed that the ur-libretto of Creation was written around 1745.  


166 Ibid.
Since we are unsure of the original libretto author’s identity, before we discuss the primary sources for the text, we should first examine how much influence van Swieten himself had upon the text. This question is particularly pertinent to this study, due to van Swieten’s own Enlightenment ideology. A brief outline of relevant scholarly work should suffice. Martin Stern’s 1966 article in *Haydn-Studien* asserts that van Swieten had considerable impact upon the content of the text. Olleson’s article of 1968, however, disproves this, with convincing proof that van Swieten may not have had substantial influence upon the text after all. Olleson brilliantly demonstrates how the English version of the score was not simply a translation from van Swieten’s German version, but actually contained a great amount of the lost original English libretto. He illustrates how the English libretto more closely resembles texts from its Biblical sources and from Milton’s *Paradise Lost* than it does van Swieten’s German version.\(^{167}\) He states,

> The English text to the *Creation*, as we know it from the printed score, was to a considerable extent simply compiled by van Swieten from his model. It seems safe to assume that those parts of the ‘Lidley’ libretto which were used in Haydn’s oratorio have by and large survived—not dimly visible through a translation and a re-translation, but in their original form. Van Swieten’s general method of working was to leave the English of his model as it stood, and to write his German text around it. His own metaphor describes the process exactly: he ‘resolved to clothe the English poem in German garb’ . . . The German libretto was written in such a way that Haydn’s music would fit the original English too.\(^{168}\)

Olleson continues his case, maintaining that since the original librettist would have likely used a translation in the vernacular language available to him at the time it would appear


the librettist was indeed English. In fact, he notes that “the indebtedness of the narrative to the English Bible is not only seen through the German translation; the actual words of the Authorized Version are found in the English text to the oratorio, as printed in the first edition of Haydn’s score.” Temperley, in his article from 1983, demonstrated even further the English text’s close resemblance to the original lost libretto through examination of the librettos used at the earliest English performances (1800), conducted by John Ashley and Peter Salomon. In the article he maintains,

It is clear enough . . . that the London librettos are substantially the same as the original English libretto, except for the possible omission of several sections. It is also clear that, generally speaking, Haydn himself worked with the German text. The fitting of the music to the English, which was always part of the plan, was accomplished (imperfectly enough) by van Swieten, in two principle stages. Before composition, he tried to make the two texts as closely parallel as he could, principally by tailoring his German to the original English, but here and there by altering a word or two of the English to fit his German. After composition, he made whatever further adjustments were necessary in the English text and in the musical rhythms. Though Haydn may not have played a direct part in either process, it seems certain that he must have looked over and approved the results.

Sources, Structure, and Revision

The main sources for the Creation libretto were the creation story in Genesis 1:1-2:3 from the Authorized King James Version of the Bible, 1611; the adaptation of this story in John Milton’s Paradise Lost (revised version published 1674); Psalms, particularly Psalm 19:1-5 (for Nos. 12 and 13) and Psalm 104:27-30 (for No. 28), and Thomson’s The Seasons. Although van Swieten claims to have made changes according to the demands of “musical progress and expression,” and although Temperley’s book

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169 Landon, Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation' 1796-1800, 347.

170 Temperley, “New Light on the Libretto of The Creation,” 204.
displays no substantiation as to the breadth of these changes, “there is . . . some internal evidence of structural changes.”\textsuperscript{171} According to Temperley, “[t]he original text had considerable strength as a design for a large-scale musical work.”\textsuperscript{172} It was constructed in three parts with the following scheme:

- **Part I:** Days one through four
- **Part II:** Days five and six
- **Part III:** Adam and Eve’s expression of mutual love in paradise.\textsuperscript{173}

Furthermore, each day represented in the text likely followed this pattern:

- A. Prose from Genesis, in the past tense, for recitative.
- B. Commentary in verse, in the present tense, for aria or ensemble.
- C. Prose, in the past tense for a recitative introducing . . .
- D. Choral hymn of praise by the heavenly host.\textsuperscript{174}

In the original text, “For the Third, Fifth and Sixth Days, A and B were recycled to allow for a second act of creation on the same Day; C and D then followed.”\textsuperscript{175} Interestingly, Part 3 represents a complete departure from the biblical narrative. Here the recitatives are set in free iambic poetry, with text reminiscent of Milton.\textsuperscript{176}

**The Theology of Milton’s *Paradise Lost***

In 1941 Maurice Kelley’s *This Great Argument: A Study of Milton’s De Doctrina Christiana as a Gloss upon Paradise Lost* presented correlations among

\textsuperscript{171}Temperley, *Haydn*, 20-21.

\textsuperscript{172}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{173}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{174}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{175}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{176}Ibid., 23.
Milton’s systematic theology, *De Doctrina Christiana*, and *Paradise Lost* in respect to several key points of Christian theology, including the Fall, salvation from sin, and predestination. 177 Despite the fact that the identity of the author of *De Doctrina* and the date of its composition have been called into question, due to its “Miltonic” substance Benjamin Myers’s 2006 study corroborates that “the treatise remains a highly significant feature of the theological context within which *Paradise Lost* must be situated.” 178 Milton’s treatise differs from post-Reformation orthodox salvation theology on an ecumenical basis in regard to irresistible grace, as well as in doctrines of election and reprobation. According to Myers, it uses aggressive polemics in opposition to the Reformed orthodox concept of predestination, articulating it as God’s mercy “[sic], upon having foreknowledge of the Fall.” 179 Later Myers states,

> The theological significance of this depiction of universal election [in *Paradise Lost*] can hardly be overstated. In resisting the division of predestination into election and reprobation, *Paradise Lost*’s theology is sharply discontinuous with all the major post-Reformation theological traditions. The seventeenth-century predestinarian controversies among Reformed orthodox, Arminian and Amyraldian theologians centered on the question of the grounds of God’s decision to elect some and reject others; but all such theologians shared the assumption that predestination formally consists of both a decree to elect and decree to reject. 180

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179 Myers, *Milton’s Theology of Freedom*, 48-49, also n. 250: CPW 6:168; CM 14:90. Here the treatise differentiates its position from that of Reformed orthodoxy, in which God predestines in order to display both his mercy and his justice.

180 Ibid., 77.
In its support of universal election, *Paradise Lost* “moves toward the great nineteenth-century theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who countered the understanding that ‘if everything is to be neat and logical, we must admit a foreordination by which some are predestined to damnation, as others to blessedness,’ supporting instead a ‘single divine foreordination to blessedness’ that encompassed the entire human race.”181 *Paradise Lost* does refer to some as “[e]lect above the rest,” but this refers to different levels of election, not to the divine election of some to salvation and some to reprobation.182 However, according to the treatise, rejection of God’s grace is possible. In regard to reprobation, Milton’s *De Doctrina Christiana* takes a more Arminian stance, as opposed to the Calvinistic stance,183 attributing “blind[ing]” and “harden[ing]” to the individual, when God gives them over “unto their own corrupt desires.”184 Thus in *De Doctrina Christiana* regarding “the sufficiency and universality of grace: ‘God, to show the glory of his long-suffering and justice, excludes no one from the way of repentance and eternal salvation, unless that person has continued to reject and despise the offer of grace, and of grace sufficient for salvation, until it is too late.’”185

Though it differs in respect to predestination from post-reformation theologies, Milton’s theology, as summed up in *De Doctrina Christiana* and demonstrated in

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181 Ibid., 78.
182 Ibid., 77.
183 Ibid., 83
184 Simon Episcopius’s *The confession or declaration of the ministers or pastors which in the United Provinces are called Remonstrants, concerning the chief points of Christian religion* (London: Printed for Francis Smith, 1676; Lexington: The University of Kentucky), microfilm, chap. 6, no. 4, 113. Also see Meyers, *Milton’s Theology of Freedom*, 83.
Paradise Lost, can be shown to support Anglican and Roman Catholic worldviews in regard to the necessity of eternal salvation from sin. However, it rests on a Pelagian, rather than Augustinian, view of original sin and the Fall in that it holds to man’s moral goodness in his ability to choose salvation. Moving an even greater step away from post-reformation traditions, the Creation libretto’s omission of the Fall altogether, which contrastingly is included in both the Genesis account as well as the Paradise Lost version of the creation story, results in a libretto with much greater resemblance to natural theology than to orthodox Christian theology in both England and Austria. This resemblance is what chapter four will attempt to examine in regard to the libretto as well as the music of Haydn’s Creation.

185 Ibid., 83.
CHAPTER 3
MUSICAL BACKGROUND

Essential to the analysis of the libretto and music of Haydn’s Creation in regard to the influence of contemporaneous theology, philosophy, and literary influences, is an understanding of late eighteenth-century musical values and how these values played out in the context of music from which Haydn’s Creation would emerge. Among those who influenced these values were the musical treatise writers of the eighteenth century, including Haydn’s only professed musical model, Carl Philip Emanuel Bach, as well as Joachim Quantz, and Johann Mattheson. Before addressing their influence directly, it is necessary to briefly discuss some of the basic styles which were prevalent at the time, including polyphony, known as the ‘learned style;’ ‘style galant;’ ‘Empfindsamer Stil;’ and ‘Sturm und Drang.’ A general review of styles, treatise writers, ancient theory from which the Classical period treatises are derived, and musical rhetoric, will lead into a presentation of the values inherent in the treatise writers’ perspectives and corresponding styles that were displayed in contemporaneous symphony, opera, and sacred choral music. Concluding this chapter will be a discussion of Haydn’s musical aesthetics and rhetoric. This will form the necessary background of understanding from which an analysis of the libretto and music of Haydn’s Creation as an expression of Enlightenment ideals may be understood.
Musical Styles

During the last half of the eighteenth century the abundant architectural use of complex contrapuntal techniques that had developed over centuries, reaching its zenith in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach, gave way to the more transparent texture of homophonic writing. This did not mean the complete rejection of all polyphony, but it was used with far less frequency, usually reserved for times when more gravitas was required.

Polyphony

Polyphony, also known as counterpoint or “learned style,” is more closely associated with the music of Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque music. In counterpoint, two or more independent melodic lines are interwoven to form what is often a rich harmonic texture. Counterpoint is often set imitatively in that a given melody, or ‘theme,’ is repeated exactly or with modifications by one or more instrumental or vocal sections within an ensemble. Two of the larger genres that employed imitative counterpoint before the Classical period were ‘fugue’ and ‘theme and variations.’ Fugue is “the most fully developed procedure of imitative counterpoint, in which the theme is stated successively in all voices of the polyphonic texture, tonally established, continuously expanded, opposed, and reestablished.”¹ See Example 1 of fugal texture from Bach’s *Well-Tempered Clavier*:

An example of theme and variations used in oratorio is the chorus, “For unto Us a Child Is Born,” from Handel’s *Messiah*, wherein the music contains sections of imitative counterpoint interspersed with sections of declarative homophony (wherein all voices proclaim the same text at once). Strongly associated with Baroque counterpoint was an elaborate learned system of rhetorical musical meaning, which was derived from the way a classically trained orator organizes and develops the argument of his text. This type of musical meaning was encouraged by Martin Luther:
Luther’s mandate for music to deliver “sermons in sound” had several important results over time. It gave new life to an ancient connection between musical composition and classical rhetoric, which after all shared music’s new purpose of moving an audience in a particular direction. It reinforced the Baroque composer’s notion of himself as an artisan: not an artist “expressing” a personal idea or feeling—a conception the Baroque composer would have found entirely strange—but as a professional with an assigned task and learnable, teachable methods of doing it. Combined with the Baroque infatuation with encoded allegory, this concept of music as an oratorical craft inspired a vast compositional vocabulary of passages, rhythms, key changes, and other devices that could telegraph in music the meaning of a text, the language of what came to be known as “musical-rhetorical” figures. 

This system included musical imagery, or ‘pictorialism,’ in which an object such as that found in nature or otherwise was depicted in the way it sounded or for the feelings that the image evoked. It also included ‘text-painting,’ a practice originating in the Renaissance as a way to depict the emotion or action of a text with a musical imitation, such as the rising of the sun by an ascending melodic line or chord progression. Although there were certainly secular applications of polyphony, as with the madrigal and its predecessors, from the Middle Ages into the eighteenth century polyphony was strongly associated with, and employed in, church music for its rich meditative qualities complementary to devotional worship.

**Homophony**

Several stylistic influences from different points of origin affected the use of homophonic texture in the Classical period, demonstrating a change in emotional display.

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These including *style galant* from France, as well as *Empfindsamer Stil* and *Sturm und Drang* from Germany.

**Style galant.** Galant style, or ‘*style galant*,’ is “the free or homophonic style as opposed to the strict, learned, or contrapuntal style,” including “light texture, periodic phrasing [made of three to four bar phrases³] with frequent cadences, liberally ornamented melody, simple harmony, and free treatment of dissonance.”⁴ In the eighteenth century,

The French term *galant* was widely used for the courtly manner in literature and in titles suggesting courtly flirtation, as in the opera-ballet *L’Europe galante* (1697) by Andre Campra. This was a catchword for everything thought to be smart, chic, smooth, easy, and sophisticated.⁵

Galant style emphasized a naturally expressive rather than a cultivated approach to melodic writing (as opposed to polyphony) and was most prevalent early in the Classical period. Examples include entertaining operatic arias of Leonardo Vinci, Leonardo Leo, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, and Johann Adolf Hasse.

**Empfindsamer Stil.** *Empfindsamer Stil* is defined in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* as follows:

The north German “sensitive” or “sentimental” style of the mid-18th century. The noun from of *empfindsam* is *Empfindsamkeit*, sometimes translated as “sensibility” in its earlier meaning of emotional sensitiveness (as in Jane Austen’s


⁵Grout and Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 446.
Sense and Sensibility). The goal of Empfindsamkeit was the direct, natural, sensitive, and often subjective expression of emotion.

The *empfindsam* style may be considered a dialect of the international gallant style, characterized by simple homophonic texture and periodic melody. Particular traits of the *empfindsam* style are the liberal use of appoggiatura or sigh figures, exploitation of dynamic nuance, and frequent melodic and harmonic chromaticism. Carl Heinrich Graun’s *Der Tod Jesu* (1755) is the principal large-scale work of the *Empfindsamkeit*, while C.P.E. Bach’s lieder and his later keyboard pieces (especially the fantasies and sonatas) best express its more intimate side. The *empfindsam* vocal style generally tends toward melodic simplicity, as one would expect given its deal of pure, heartfelt song. The keyboard idiom, however, is often exceptionally intricate and refined, incorporating extensive ornamentation and complex rhythmic differentiation below the beat level; in part this style reflects the preference of *empfindsam* composers for the clavichord.6

This “‘expressive style’ of C. P. E. Bach and his contemporaries often exploits the element of surprise, with abrupt shifts of harmony, strange modulations, unusual turns of melody, suspenseful pauses, changes of texture, sudden *sforzando* accents and the like.” 7

**Sturm und Drang.** The “subjective, emotional qualities” of *Empfindsamer Stil* at their height were referred to by some as ‘*Sturm und Drang.*’ This musical movement of the 1760’s and 1770’s was derived from German literature, and first exhibited “tormented, gloomy, terrified, and irrational feelings,” which were later moderated.8 Haydn’s symphonies Nos. 26, 39, 44, 45, 49, all from 1768, illustrated *Sturm und Drang* effects as well as the musical sublime (for the sublime, see p. 100-102).

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7Grout and Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 475.

8Ibid.
Philosophies of Music

Classical Treatise Writers

We must understand the general compositional philosophies of composers of Classical period in order to help accurately frame reception studies of Haydn’s *Creation*. The following composers and major treatise writers were those with which Haydn would have been familiar, and may well have influenced his philosophy.

**Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.** C. P. E. Bach (1714-1788), the most famous son of Johann Sebastian Bach, is well-known for his compositions, but even more so for his exceptional playing on the clavichord. He was considered by renowned poet and admirer Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock to have “raised the art of performance through teaching and practice to its perfection.” His *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* is still hallowed today for its excellent instruction. In this treatise he demonstrates a sincere respect for the works of his father, but clearly presents his stylistic preference for the French *style galant* over the counterpoint of the Baroque. According to Mitchell, for C. P. E. Bach’s music “was, above all else, a vehicle for the expression of the emotions. Music must languish, it must startle, it must be gay, it must move boldly from one sentiment to another; these were the requirements that had to be met by the composer.”

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10Ibid., 16.
The goal of these sentiments was to relate “expressive nuances to an audience whose heart must be stirred.”\textsuperscript{11} Closely related to this understanding were English novels, which were invented in the eighteenth century, and the aforementioned \textit{Sturm und Drang} poetry. His style was not aligned with the formal superficiality of the rococo, but rather “was replete with personal expressiveness, with song.” This perspective is very apparent in his autobiography,

“My principal aim, especially of late, has been directed toward playing and composing as vocally as possible for the keyboard, despite its defective sustaining powers. This is no easy matter if the sound is not to be too thin or the noble simplicity of melody ruined by excessive noise. . . . I believe that music must, first and foremost, stir the heart. This cannot be achieved through mere rattling, drumming, or arpeggiation, at least not by me.”\textsuperscript{12}

**Johann Mattheson.** Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) was prolific composer first of opera and later of sacred music. He wrote several musical treatises, among which \textit{Der vollkommene Capellmeister} (1739) stands as notable for its compendium of instruction for the director of church music, “including an attempt to systematize the doctrines of rhetoric as they apply to music.”\textsuperscript{13} Mattheson was a resident of Hamburg, Germany. Ernest Charles Harris notes that “[j]ust as competing philosophies flourished in this intellectual-cultural crossroads,” Hamburg was a city, in this time, of diverse musical styles, including that of J. S. Bach.\textsuperscript{14} Italian music was popular, and “French

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13}Randel, \textit{The Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music}, s.v. "Mattheson, Johann."

musical techniques and English pragmatism together with native German traits blended to move music and other aspects of life in new directions.”¹⁵ Mattheson’s style was individualistic and modern. Accordingly, along with C.P.E. Bach, Mattheson stresses the importance of good melody in Capellmeister, and demonstrates a predilection for French versus Italian music.¹⁶ Griesinger commented that Haydn not only read Capellmeister, but he completed all of its exercises.¹⁷

**Johann Joachim Quantz.** Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) is most noted for his *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (On Playing the Flute) (1752), his service at the court of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and his over 200 flute sonatas and 300 flute concertos. The aforementioned treatise covers much more than flute playing, devoting sections to accompaniment, and “criteria for evaluating compositions and musicians.”¹⁸ Notably, he studied counterpoint with Gasparini. Quantz expresses much concern regarding the practice of contemporary composition, commenting that most people who play an instrument consider themselves to be composers without the

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., 4.


benefit of training as a composer, leaning on “natural ability” alone.\textsuperscript{19} He goes on to voice his concern for the future of music, 

For if learned and experienced composers gradually disappear; if modern composers rely entirely upon natural ability, as many do at present, and consider learning the rules of composition superfluous or even harmful to good taste and good melody; and if the operatic style, although good in itself, is abused, and interspersed in pieces where it does not belong, so that church and instrumental compositions are adapted to it and everything must smack of operatic arias, as already happens in Italy, we may justifiably fear that music may gradually lose its former splendor, and that the art may finally suffer the same fate among the Germans, and among other peoples, as that suffered by other lost arts.\textsuperscript{20} 

Quantz continues his argument by relating his thoughts regarding counterpoint. Although he believed that a pedantic use of counterpoint was not a good use of it, he maintained, in this age of expression, that the composer should know the rules of counterpoint so as to know how to apply them even in \textit{galant} style. Furthermore, he acknowledges that past composers often were so concerned with technical ability that they neglected music’s “most essential part, that which is intended to move and please,” but that any science, including counterpoint, is susceptible to being unappreciated by an individual until he studies it, and upon studying it, appreciation comes. Only then can “pleasure” and “love” come in its use as well.\textsuperscript{21} Regarding sacred music, he writes,

\begin{quote}
In general a serious and devout style of composition and performance is required in church music of any type. The style must be very different from that of an opera. To attain the desired object, it is to be hoped that this point is always properly considered, especially by the composers. In judging a church composition, which ought to stir us to praise of the Almighty, excite devotion, or engender
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 22.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 23.
gravity, you must consider whether its designated purpose is observed from beginning to end, whether the character of each type is maintained, and whether anything contrary to this character is introduced. Here the composer has the opportunity to demonstrate his ability both in the so-called elaborate style and in the touching and affecting style of the composition (the latter requiring the highest degree of skill).\textsuperscript{22}

**Historical Philosophies of Music**

In order to understand the antecedents of all these eighteenth-century theories we must first look at the musical thought of the ancient Greeks. The basic philosophies about music in the Classical period originated with Hellenistic thought. Next, understanding the progression from that of ancient Greek philosophy through early Christian, Renaissance, Medieval, and Baroque philosophies is necessary to better clarify our understanding of the musical philosophy of the Classical period for purposes of this study.

**Ancient Greek Thought on Music.** For the purposes of this dissertation these philosophies may be essentially outlined in two viewpoints as expressed by Plato. Important background regarding the first viewpoint begins with the theories of Pythagorus, who recognized the relevance of certain small-number ratios to the intervals recognized as consonant and invariant in the music of the day. By the 5\textsuperscript{th} century BCE the Pythagoreans were speculating that similar ratios should be discoverable everywhere in the world. That music embodies numerical principles and somehow answers to the laws of nature seems already to have been accepted everywhere, from China to Babylon; the Pythagorean contribution was to make this hitherto mysterious relationship amenable to rational inquiry. The ratios found in musical intervals were sought in the distances of planets, in the compositions of stuffs, in the souls of good men and in everything that contributed to cosmic order. Musical structures should thus have

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., 306.
analogues in the human mind and in the world at large, and their felt but ineffable meaningfulness should be explicable by those analogies.\textsuperscript{23}

As evidence of music’s relation to the cosmos, the ratios that Pythagoras discovered to be inherent in the musical intervals of the perfect fourth, perfect fifth and the octave (3:4, 2:3, 1:2) in music were later discovered to be the same “proportions . . . found in the distances between the orbits of the planets.”\textsuperscript{24} Newton discovered in his studies of white light a strong correlation between the relationship of wavelengths, or colors, seen through a prism and the “proportional ‘distances’ between the tones in a musical scale.”\textsuperscript{25} Plato’s concepts of musical ethos were closely related to Pythagorean theory. Plato’s Republic (c. 380 BC) postulates that a person’s speech patterns and manner of thinking (temperament) can be assigned certain types of music that match it. Furthermore, he believed that this music, when performed, would tend to recreate these characteristics originally held in the composer, “so that the performer becomes the same sort of person as his composer-teacher.”\textsuperscript{26} Similarly, the ethos theory was used in the Doctrine of Affections developed by Baroque musical theorists and was part of Baroque musical rhetoric,

Far from being anachronistic, the doctrine of affections had an almost Newtonian character: Specific musical figures had been demonstrated empirically—by Baroque audiences said in contemporary reports to swoon, wail, weep, and shout for joy at just the right moments—to evoke specific emotional results, with a force as


\textsuperscript{24} Gaines, Evening in the Palace of Reason, 48.


\textsuperscript{26} Sparshott and Goehr, “Philosophy of Music, II.”
reliable as the one that attracts an apple to the ground. But of course they worked: Our reaction to the numerical proportions (thus musical intervals) was divinely ordained, after all, given that they are the fundament of our universe and ourselves. ‘It cannot be otherwise that an individual’s temperament is moved and controlled through well-written music,’” Weckmeister wrote. ‘For an individual is both inwardly and outwardly, spiritually and physically, a divinely created harmonic being.’”

A second recurring philosophical view of the ancient Greeks contrasted the first in its view that music takes place within its own “self-contained world of sound.” This purely technical perspective on music encouraged the development of “mastery on more and more elaborate instruments, performing techniques and sound patterns.” Related to these two general philosophic views, Plato made a distinction between two types of music, “one, the true music, rationally based and logically developed, exemplifies the structural principles of all reality, including the human mind; [while] the other music, impressionistic and fantasticated, merely imitates the sounds of nature and the passing show of temporary feelings.”

**Early Christian philosophy.** Augustine’s thoughts regarding music may be summarized as follows:

We find St Augustine (4th century) torn between three attitudes to music: exaltation of musical principles as embodying principles of cosmic order; ascetic aversion from music-making as carnal; and a recognition of jubilation and congregational song as respectively expressing inexpressible ecstasy and promoting congregational brotherhood. Being a rhetorician and not a musician by training, he thought of the

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28 Sparshott and Goehr, “Philosophy of Music, II.”

29 Ibid.
numerical side of music as embodied in poetic metres rather than in music proper, but the other two attitudes left him agonizing: it is as if a man were seduced by worship.  

Boethius (sixth century) and Christian writers such as St. Chrysostom (c. 400) further built upon Plato’s theories. In the sixth century, Boethius conceived of three musics: *musica mundana*, the music of the spheres or “harmony” as achieved by cosmic order; *musica humana*, relating the harmony or order present in the physical body as well as in virtuous behavior; and *musica instrumentalis*, as that which man creates in sound. The congruence of Boethius with Neoplatonic and Christian thought is apparent: that man, “can and should associate himself with the higher, intelligible level of reality, but turns in his weakness to the lower, sensuous level.” It was thought that the human voice was part of *musica humana*, since it may be conceived of as “a direct embodiment of intelligence.” Furthermore, St. John Chrysostom (c. 400) and other Christian writers saw the singing of the psalms as a *philosophical* (use of the mind) and *literal* singing of praise, thus further crystalizing the demarcation between Plato’s two types of music: thus “a low, sensual, instrumental, secular music is contrasted with a an exalted, intellectual, vocal, sacred music.”

**Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque philosophies.** “Medieval aesthetics in general rests on the ancient theory of beauty, as that which gives immediate pleasure

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.
when perceived, rather than on a theory of art.”

Therefore, polyphony was primarily valued because it adhered to this desire for ancient beauty. However, polyphony was also tied with Boethius’s cosmological order, or harmonia mundi, emphasizing mystery and the musical ratios that formed the universe. This thought originated with Eriugena in the ninth century, who “used the fact that cosmic order is one of simultaneous complexity to explain the peculiar value of polyphony. For the first time, musical harmony was equaled with the internal relationships of an audible object.”

In the Renaissance, however, Tinctoris, Glarean, and John Case would see music from the standpoint of empirical evidence as purely a human activity, rather than from either of the two Greek viewpoints of music as a “model of the cosmos,” or as “self contained” as a “closed science.” Thus began a shift away from the view of music as a metaphor for cosmic order and from ethical correlations to an emphasis upon the genius and rigor of the composer. This initiated the “tension between polyphonic skill and melodic feeling [genius], between art and nature.”

Also differing with Platonic thought was Zarlino (1558), “instead of saying (with Plato) that the harmony and rhythm of a piece should be determined by those actually inherent in the accompanied words and their meanings, he demanded that harmony and rhythm be those perceived as suiting the general feeling-tone of the subject matter of the words.”

In the Baroque period,

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33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.
humanistic thought led to contrasting thoughts regarding how music could influence human “passions,” as a method to being more than mere entertainment. Methods of text setting for the voice were posed as solutions, but this left little for the rising instrumental music. Solutions were pursued in finding rhetorical values for music, since rhetoric “afforded the only actual model for the articulation of temporally extended forms on a large scale; secondly, it formed the basis of genteel education; and thirdly, of most direct relevance, the ancient treatises on rhetoric had as their avowed aim the systematic analysis of the passions and the means of working on them.”

Included in the pursuit of musical rhetoric was the aforementioned Doctrine of Affections—as Baroque composers believed that texted music should be crafted to induce the same emotion as the text and that “different musical moods could and should be used to influence the emotions, or affections, of the listeners.” A “unity of affections” was believed to be best, wherein each piece would sustain a single affection for its entire length. This ideal was commonly practiced in Baroque period music and demonstrated a contrast from secular polyphonic madrigals of the Renaissance or symphonies of the Classical period.

The Doctrine of Affections was thus similar to earlier Platonic thinking that certain modes (similar to keys) in music would encourage certain types of character.

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37 Ibid.
38 Craig M. Wright, Music in Western Civilization (Belmont, CA: Thomson Schirmer, 2006) 236.
Musical Rhetoric in the Enlightenment

By 1750, the direction of musical rhetoric was changing from that which was objective and rational in the Baroque to that which was emotional and subjective. One of the characteristics of this shift was a move away from the use of text-painting figures in music. One proponent of this facet of the shift was J. N. Forkel, one of the last theorists to attempt a codification of musical rhetoric. Forkel’s writings regarding rhetoric “incorporated a progressive view of human psychology based on recent English philosophy. . . [which] regarded the affections not as remaining constant until acted on but as inherently mobile and subject to an infinite number of modifications.” As a result his Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik (1788) “emphasizes concepts related [mainly] to musical ideas”:

Figures used to illustrate a text—a principal subject of previous musical rhetorics—are virtually ignored. Rather than being rationally quantifiable, as in Baroque music, affects are now considered entirely subjective and highly personal. Each piece reflects the inner character of its composer, and consequently Forkel considered superfluous the formulaic loci topoi that once aided the invention of both oratorios and musicians. Despite the importance of rhetoric in his thought, Forkel clearly regarded music as a true universal language superseding speech, which is merely conventional and therefore arbitrary.40

Furthermore, Hoyt asserts,

It is . . . difficult to see classical rhetoric as part of a comprehensive Weltanschaung [worldview] influencing the compositional choices of late 18th-century musicians. In fact, the ability of contemporaneous theorists to relate the six-part oration to both the da capo aria and sonata form (see Bonds, 1991) suggests that rhetoric did not provide models for composers; rather, writers on music seem to have adapted rhetorical concepts to conform—however tenuously—to musical practice. . . .

Indeed, the trajectory of rhetoric in the 18th century reflects significant changes in the way creativity was conceptualized: instead of following rules and formulae (such as are set forth in rhetorical treatises), artists came to be seen as forming their style according to their own nature.  

**Haydn’s musical aesthetics and rhetoric.** Haydn scholar James Webster has written a concise overview of Haydn’s musical aesthetics, which sheds important light upon the study of the structure and musical styles of *Creation*. Melody was of great value to Haydn, so much so that he was critical of those who composed but had never learned to sing. Haydn stated, “Singing must almost be counted among the lost arts, and instead of song, they let instruments dominate.” The first goal for Haydn, according to biographer Dies, was “to engage the intellect by a charming and rhythmically right melody,” which would then serve finally “to touch the heart in various ways.” This encompassed a certain type of rhetoric, however, “expression remained paramount.” For example, Haydn’s “characteristic” symphonies relate serious concepts including “time and the seasons, religious observance, ‘ethnically’ significant melodic materials, the hunt, and associations with the theatre or literary sayings.” It is probable that the thematic material of these symphonies would have been known from the contemporaneous culture.

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41 Ibid.


43 Ibid.


Such ideas, along with text-painting, were “extra-musical associations” that were part of Haydn’s musical rhetoric, as Webster elaborates: 46

Again this is most obvious in his vocal music, in which (like Handel) he was a brilliant and enthusiastic word-painter. No more than his “tailoring “his music for his audiences . . . should this trait be taken as a fault for a “problem” (as was done in the age of “absolute music”). On the contrary, it is but one aspect of what has been called his “musical imagery,”47 which comprises key associations (e.g., E♭ with the hereafter as in “Behold, O weak and foolish man” in The Seasons) semantic associations (e.g. the flute with the pastoral, as in Symphony no. 6 and elsewhere in the 1761 “times of day” trilogy) and musical “conceptualizations” (e.g., long notes on “E-wisekeit” in The Creation or “ae-ter-num” in the late Te Deum). But rhetoric is a matter not only of “figures” and topics, but also of contrasts in register, gestures, implications of genre, the rhythms of destabilization and recovery, and so on, especially as these play out over the course of an entire movement—all in order to “move the heart.”48

Webster asserts that originality was very important to Haydn’s self-image and his popularity. Haydn believed that “access to artistic ‘laws’ is open to persons who have both training and experience, and taste; their judgments are at once individual and definitive.”49 This philosophy’s emphasis upon “freedom” is an appeal to increasing middle-class aspirations in the last part of the century. However, Haydn also attested that his isolation at Esterhazy encouraged his originality.50 Haydn’s originality encompassed

46 Webster, “Haydn’s Aesthetics,” 32-33.


48 Webster, "Haydn's Aesthetics," 33-34.

49 Ibid., 35-36.

50 Ibid., 36. Also see related quote by Haydn recorded in G. A. Griesinger, Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn, in Vernon Gotwals, Joseph Haydn, 17.
the freedom of his expressiveness, which emphasized “playfulness,” as observed by Swedish diplomat Frederik Samuel Silverstolpe:

During the discussion that followed [after a presentation and elucidation of the “Chaos” movement of *The Creation*] I discovered in Haydn, so to say, two physiognomies. The first was penetrating and serious, and was present when he spoke of the sublime, and only the expression *sublime* was necessary to set his emotion into a visible motion. However, in the next moment this sublime mood [*Stimmung*] would be chased away fast as lightning by an everyday humor [*Laune*] and he would fall into a jovial demeanor with a lasciviousness that was to be seen in his eyes and quickly passed into playfulness. This was the most common physiognomy; the other had to be excited in him.51

Also important to Haydn was musical “coherence,” “correctness in technical matters,” “variety, [and] wit; stylistic mixture.” Regarding coherence, Haydn stated to Griesinger:

Once I had seized upon an idea, my whole endeavor was to develop and sustain it in keeping with the rules of the art. . . . This is where so many of our new composers fall down. They string out one little piece after another; they break off when they have hardly begun, and nothing remains in the heart when one has listened to it.52

According to Webster, Haydn argues here that the “rules of art” are principles which, when not followed, endanger the composer of artistic failure. In his humor, wit is the managing feature here, emphasized by “intelligence” and “originality” joined to “mere joking” and “high spirits.” This was a trait of Haydn’s, even in church music.53 Griesinger states,


In the mass that Haydn wrote in 1801 it occurred to him in the *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi* that frail mortals sinned mostly against moderation and purity. So he set the words *qui tollis peccata, peccata mundi* to the trifling melody of the words in the *The Creation, Der thauende Morgen, o wie ermuntert er!* [The dew dropping morn, oh, how she quickens all!] But in order that this profane thought should not be too conspicuous, he let the *Miserere* sound in full chorus immediately thereafter.\(^{54}\)

Webster notes,

> This intrusion of ‘profane’ music into this mass (1801) so offended the Empress Marie Therese (who in general adored Haydn and his music) that she ordered that the passage be changed in the materials used at the Hofkapelle. In fact, however, such stylistic mixtures were fundamental to Haydn’s music, notwithstanding that they offended critics from the 1760’s in Berlin until at least the 1970’s, many of whom manifested a deep ambivalence towards Haydn’s (and Mozart’s) sacred vocal music altogether.\(^{55}\)

As aforementioned, Haydn’s nature was twofold. However, in addition to being serious and jovial, he was sincere and musically sensitive. Thus, when referring to his music we must be careful of being too simplistic when referring to how the nature of various sections of music corresponds to these sides of his personality.\(^{56}\)

> Haydn’s rhetoric was, “one based upon yet clearly differentiated from both rigorous aspects of traditional rhetoric and the conventional characteristics prevailing in the musical style of his day.” Haydn’s rhetoric includes a *refutatio* by way of “confirm[ing] a decorum of style in recognition of departures from it.” In this way, Haydn’s rhetoric ceases to follow the ancient pattern of *dispositio* (the six-part outline of


\(^{55}\)Webster, "Haydn's Aesthetics," 39.

\(^{56}\)Ibid., 41–42.
a speech according to rules of classical rhetoric), rather it uses a more “liberal use of
corcepts, terms, and techniques that were formulated in Antiquity.” Shohat states,

The diversity of rhetorical expressions in Haydn’s compositions ranges from
abundant musical metaphors to the stylistic mixture that yields musical humor, and
from the blending of miscellaneous topoi to deflections from formal patterns. Taken
together, these “Ciceronian” expressions feature a lessening of restricted versions,
thus implying a personal commentary on well-established, rudimentary stylistic
codes. Viewed in terms of refutatio, Haydn’s rhetorical elements require an intimate
familiarity with the stylistic codes that are being altered, since his refutation in fact
“confirms a decorum of style in recognition of departures from it.” This type of
refutation is symptomatic of musical rhetoric at the end of the eighteenth century; it
is no longer analogous to a neatly ordered speech as found in Antiquity, the parts of
which are arranged as a verbal disposition. Rather a reservoir of affective strategies
is available to the composer, out of which discrete devices are freely chosen at will
for the sake of an effective audience reception.

Placing Haydn within the arc of musical rhetoric spanning from the Baroque to the
Romantic periods helps to contextualize Haydn’s use of rhetoric. Both Haydn and
Beethoven are prominent in the “first Viennese modernism” (James Webster’s term).
Later, the evolving Romantic period would eventually effect the “replacement of the
mechanistic model [based upon cause and effect] with idealism.” “Idealism sets music
apart from its previous rhetorical ties since it avoids any particular messages that are
targeted directly at an attentive listener.” E.T.A. Hoffman, Haydn’s younger
contemporary, stated, “Haydn’s compositions are dominated by a feeling of childlike
optimism, . . . a world of love, of bliss, of eternal youth, . . . no suffering, no pain; only

57 Yifat Shohat, ”Haydn’s Musical Rhetoric: Compositional Strategy, Audience
Reception, and Connection with Classical Oration“ (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers, The State University of
New Jersey, 2006), 154.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., 158-59.
sweet melancholy longing for the beloved vision.”

Shohat asserts, “This typically Romantic notion discloses a marked change in the way musical rhetoric came to be perceived, as the historical perspective it offered on Haydn’s ‘childlike optimism’ poses him as the last towering figure of a composer-orator.”

**Predominant Musical Genres**

This section gives background regarding the secular and sacred musical genres which were prevalent in the Classical period and which influenced the composition of Creation.

**Secular Music of the Classical Era**

The influence of both opera and symphony were pronounced upon the sacred music of the period. Hence, the understanding of these genres and the musical values that they represented are indispensable to this study.

**Opera.** The aforementioned influential Enlightenment treatise writers and musical philosophies give us an understanding of the spirit of the times in which Haydn lived in regard to music making and composition. If there is one thing that can be said of the music of eighteenth-century Europe, it is that it was a mixture of styles. Various national styles, primarily French, Italian, and German composed of “high” (serious,

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complex) and “low” (light, jovial, simple), contrapuntal and homophonic approaches converged to create what is known as the “continental” or Viennese Classical style. The Enlightenment middle class was greatly influential in this process as public subscription concerts increased the demand for a “universal” (international) and “natural” music. This new musical culture demonstrated a stark contrast to days past when the approval of a noble patron or of the church was essential. The music of the day was valued if it was “noble as well as entertaining; . . . expressive within the bounds of decorum; . . . ‘natural’—free of needless technical complications and capable of immediately pleasing any sensitive listener.”

Certainly this was rejection of the “high” style of polyphony, although polyphony co-existed with the new as “old styles yielded only gradually to new styles.” Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783) presented a balanced view of the new developments in music regarding the galant and emfndsam styles, both of which emphasized the virtuosity of a solo performer:

In the past century, through the introduction of the opera and the concerto, music has received a new impetus. The arts of harmony are beginning to be pushed forward, and more melismatic ornaments are being introduced into singing. Thereby the so-called galant or free and light style and a much greater variety of beat and movement have gradually appeared. It cannot be denied that the melodic language of the emotions has gained extraordinarily thereby. . . . Certainly much as been gained in fire and liveliness and other manifold shades of feeling through the multiplicity of the new melodic invention and even through clever transgressions of the strict harmonic rules. But only great masters know how to take advantage of them.

Doubtless the Italians must be thanked for the delicate and very supple genius and the fine sensibility (Emfndsamkeit) of the music of recent times. But most of

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62 Grout and Palisca, A History of Western Music, 442–44.
what has corrupted good taste has also come out of Italy, particularly the dominance of melodies that say nothing and merely tickle the ear.\textsuperscript{63}

Music in the Classical period developed a sophisticated form of melodic invention that sought to communicate \textit{emotions} in the same organized manner that a trained orator would present them. Although oration served as a model, it will be shown that classical rhetoric was of a different nature than Baroque musical rhetoric. Johann Mattheson’s \textit{Capellmeister} (1739), and most famously, Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749-1816) in his \textit{Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition} (Introductory Essay on Composition, 1787) each outlined in their treatises a method for training the composer to develop his rhetoric in subject and predicate form, likened to a musical sentence.\textsuperscript{64} Although music built on this type of construction may have been thought to be more capable of expressing a greater variety of emotions within a given movement, the association of \textit{symbolic rational meaning} previously assigned to the rhetoric of counterpoint was being replaced. Whereas the counterpoint of the Baroque would sustain one emotion or “ethos” throughout a given movement in order to induce this state in the listener (and in texted music in accordance with the thematic subject of the text), in the Classical period, musical phrases and periods were worked out to resonate with the constantly changing natural emotions of man. This was in accordance with eighteenth-century psychology,

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\textsuperscript{64}Grout and Palisca, \textit{A History of Western Music}, 449.
which observed that emotions in man seem to continuously change in regard to various influences.\textsuperscript{65}

Opera in the first half of the eighteenth century initiated many of the above style traits of the period. Opera sought to influence the morals of its audience by either “caricaturing” the mistakes of the characters through comic opera (regarding the nobility in \textit{Le Nozze di Figaro}), or through portraying “models of merciful and enlightened rulers” in \textit{opera seria}. \textit{Opera buffa}, or Italian comic opera, was often performed in the local dialect and frequently juxtaposed comic and serious roles and involved romantic encounters between them, as well as tension between classes, reflective in part to the rise of democracy and individual freedom. Comic opera was also reaction against the rules of \textit{opera seria} (as observed in Metastasian operas). Musical simplicity was demonstrated in comic opera’s use of keyboard only as accompaniment for recitatives, arias composed of brief catchy melodies set in repetition (these also were \textit{da capo}) and supported by basic harmonies.\textsuperscript{66} National comic opera, which was in part a response to the demand for eighteenth-century naturalness, employed each nation’s respective language and musical style, appearing in Italy as \textit{opera buffa}, in France as \textit{opéra comique}, in England as \textit{Helland opera}, and in Germany as \textit{Singspiel}.\textsuperscript{67}

\textit{Opera seria} often contrasted the passions of characters (“love against duty,” for example) with stories of Greek origin. A given plot would provide a variety of scenes

\textsuperscript{65}\textit{Ibid.}, 448.
\textsuperscript{66}\textit{Ibid.}, 451–452.
\textsuperscript{67}\textit{Ibid.}, 461.
—“pastoral or marital episodes, solemn ceremonies, and the like.” Acts of “heroism” or “sublime renunciation” often composed the conclusion of the drama. Alternating recitatives (advancing the action) and arias (“dramatic soliloquies”) were largely the components of these three-act operas, although they were sometimes complimented by duets and larger ensembles including chorus.68

**Symphony.** One of the most substantial changes for the orchestra from the Baroque into the Classical period (between 1750 and 1820) was its great increase in size. Haydn’s experience with orchestras as one of the most prominent instrumental and symphonic composers of the period clearly demonstrates this. From the 1760s to the 1780s and 90s his orchestras grew in size from sixteen players for private performances for the prince at Esterhazy, to between sixty and over seventy in major concert hall performances at the later part of the century. This growth was largely due to the increased demands of volume for the increased audience size in modern concert halls,69 but could also be interpreted as an increase in entertainment value. During this time, symphonic writing generally accepted newer musical structures, which replaced the counterpoint and figured bass.70

The progression of Haydn’s instrumental style is noteworthy. Haydn’s early works clearly display an affinity with *style galant*, and the maxim that “light, cheerful, __________________

68Ibid., 455.


and agreeable sounds” should predominate according to ‘enlightened aestheticism.’”  

Haydn’s symphonies of 1768-1772, however, were of a “dramatic, highly personal and mannered” nature. But by the late 1770’s Haydn’s symphonic style was characterized by Rosen as having

restraint put upon his most characteristically violent inspirations [earlier Sturm und Drang], and the new smoothness of surface. Most significant . . . is a synthesis of continuity and articulation, a beautiful understanding of the ways that accent and cadence could be combined to form an impelling sense of movement without falling back onto the unvaried rhythmic textures of the Baroque.  

A recurring trend in the Classical period was its mixture of styles. In chapter one, Melanie Lowe’s analysis of musical meaning in Mozart’s “Great G-minor symphony,” K. 550 was discussed. She notes in this work a combination of styles involving canon and minuet, which independently held objective musical meanings for the listener, likely resulting in a “clashing . . . of musical symbols.” Lowe further asserts that this mixture of styles within the same movement would have confused the listener, ultimately disassociating the meaning of the two conventions, due to the “listener’s inability to construct meaning.” In other similar instances of style mixture, however, she asserts that Classical composers intended “through their interaction [of these otherwise distinct styles to] inspire the listener to hear new and distinct meanings.” Regarding the music of the period Lowe mentions that such “canonic experimentation with minuets . . .


72 Rosen, The Classical Style, 151.

is not at all unusual in mid-century chamber music;” in orchestra works, however, it is a rarity. She cites minuets from two Haydn symphonies, the Symphony in G Major, No. 3 (by 1762), and Symphony in G Major, No. 23 (1764), as examples of this last type.  

Other developments in the Classical symphony were due to the influence of opera. Opera composers were working to provide orchestral music that would not simply serve as backdrop for the action, but supply a musical equivalent for each action, word, and emotion. A brilliant application of these qualities was applied by Haydn to instrumental music, allowing these varied expressions to hold together.  

**Religious Music of the Classical Era**

The above shifts in secular music directly impacted sacred music in the second half of the eighteenth century. As the focus of music shifted into the secular sphere at the beginning of the century, opera and instrumental music became the primary influence upon church music and oratorio. Olleson describes the development of contemporaneous choral music:

> Choral music underwent little of the organic growth that was shaping and transforming the symphony, string quartet, and concerto; rather than developing inwardly, it tended more to mirror the stylistic and formal developments that were taking place in other genres.  

The Italian *missa solemnis* was composed with many similarities to *opera seria*. “The six great Masses that Haydn wrote after his final return from London have been called the

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74Ibid., 112-13.

75Rosen, 153-54.
composer’s ‘symphonic legacy.’” However, there was still a distinct understanding of a “church style” during this period, marked by the fact that often the same composer of opera and church music would write the two in a different manner, the first in Neapolitan style or *galant* style, and the second in *stile antico* or contrapuntal style. Others sought a compromise between the use of contrapuntal a cappella choral music and the Neapolitan solo motet.

**Cantata mass: function versus concert.** The “cantata mass” was the answer to this dilemma, wherein the text was broken up and set in several separate movements composed of solo arias, ensembles, and chorus. The influence of opera resulted in a “mixed style” in the *missa solemnis*, which tended to lack continuity between sections, encouraging a mishmash between showy operatic homophonic solo sections and thoughtful contrapuntal choral sections. However, Olleson observes that these challenges were “not necessarily shortcomings,” as “the music for soloists could at its best have exquisite sensitivity and grace” and “choral writing . . . [otherwise thought of as] perfunctory” or “dull, could be both vigorous and strong.” Bach’s B-minor Mass and Mozart’s C-minor Mass give evidence of this.

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77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 289.

79 Ibid., 290–91.
In Vienna, however, there was greater adherence to the older styles of sacred music than in some places, as they held esteem for the music of Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741). Although this was true, Haydn in his youth sang in the choir of Johann Georg Reutter the younger (1708-72), who was known for a move toward the Neapolitan style. The weakness of his composition Olleson characterizes as “bald, non-thematic choral homophony accompanied by scurrying, equally non-thematic string passagework,” referring to his Neapolitan style as devoid of “grace and charm.”  

However, other composers, such as Matthias Georg Monn (1717-50) employed the use of old and new styles more conservatively, employing “solo numbers in a contrapuntal style,” choral use of counterpoint as well as “declamatory chordal texture.”

A contrast can be seen between the church music of Joseph Haydn, which was chastised by Antonio Salieri as possessing “gross sins against the church style,” and of his brother Michael Haydn. Both began composing in the Reutter tradition, but Michael increasingly used an approach employing an increased collaboration between voices and orchestra. Here the choir displays a “real thematic interest of its own, as in the Credo of his ‘Missa Sti Amadi’ (1776), instead of being secondary to orchestra figuration.” Also, Michael kept “liturgical propriety in view.”

Joseph Haydn’s prowess as an instrumental composer would enable him to become a leader in his use of symphonic writing to bridge the gaps between movements.

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80 Ibid., 293-94.
81 Ibid., 295.
82 Ibid., 297-298.
of sections in the mass. Joseph and Michael Haydn’s late masses “show not so much a rationalization of the ‘cantata mass’ as a more expansive treatment of the missa brevis, where each liturgical unit remained intact.” The symphony allowed composers to set each section of the Ordinary to match the inherent suggestions of form that the text provided, keeping them intact. This approach maintained the traditional use of ritornello form alongside the addition of sonata form. However, the use of formal approaches to instrumentation did not solve the church musicians’ challenges. It was not enough to simply fragment the mass text into the ‘cantata mass’ or randomly set these texts in a ‘sonata form.’ Consideration for ‘musical balance’ between styles often took precedence over maintaining a strong correlation between text and music. Composers still would often misrepresent the prayer for peace that ends the Agnus Dei with symphonic fireworks. Eventually, the development of a blended style consisting of a “more relaxed musical texture, in which there is less distinction between harmony and counterpoint” would lead to the “melodic chorus” of Joseph and Michael Haydn. This functioned to replace the older Neapolitan mass style, “in which the solo voices dominated insignificant orchestral accompaniment, the orchestra in turn dominated casual homophonic choral writing . . . [and] the chorus took the lead for the formal fugues.” While Joseph Haydn’s work in this arena added value to the Neapolitan mass, it is clear that this Enlightenment mass style demonstrated a mixture of values incorporating the

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83 Ibid., 298–99.
84 Ibid., 299.
85 Ibid., 299–300.
older polyphonic rhetorical value of Baroque devotion and the newer subjective melodic enticements of secular entertainment. The score of Haydn’s *Creation* attests that this mass style contributed to its composition.

**Influence of Handelian oratorio.** Haydn’s visit to England in 1791-92 was to give him the musical inspiration for his *Creation*. His attendance at the Handel Festival at Westminster Abbey afforded him hearings of celebratory performances of *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt*. Giuseppe Carpani, an acquaintance of Haydn, stated that Haydn confessed . . . that when he heard the music of Hendl [sic] in London, he was struck as if he had been put back to the beginning of his studies and had known nothing up to that moment. He mediated on every note and drew from those most learned scores the essence of true musical grandeur.

Also, we know from van Swieten’s accounts that he essentially wanted Haydn to compose a Handelian oratorio in German garb. Thus Haydn’s inspiration from the Handel Festival and van Swieten’s encouragement worked together to form the basis for how *Creation* would take shape.

Essentially, Handel was the creator of English oratorio after having failed as an opera composer in England. His oratorios were a combination of characteristics from “English masque and anthem, the French classical drama, the Italian opera seria and

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oratorio volgare, and the German Protestant oratorio. The primary influences of Handelian oratorio upon Creation were the following features: (1) musical-devotional entertainment performed in a concert hall, (2) its composition in three acts, (3) styles and forms borrowed from Italian opera and English sacred choral music, including a mixture of operatic recitatives, arias, and chorus.

One of the most salient features of Handel’s oratorio writing is his use of the sublime. One can see that this was achieved by polyphonic choruses and influences of opera seria. Handel’s sublime included both biblical and musical aspects. In the first half of the eighteenth century biblical prose and poetry were considered to be the most sublime written material. The anonymous treatise On the Sublime (incorrectly attributed to Longinus) supported this belief and “profoundly influenced English literature and criticism.”

The author of the treatise describes the sublime as

- Boldness and Grandeur in the Thoughts’;
- ‘the Pathetic, or the Power of raising the Passions to a violent and even enthusiastic degree’;
- ‘a skillful Application of Figures, which are two-fold, of Sentiment and Language’;
- ‘a noble and graceful manner of Expression . . . not only to chuse out significant and elegant Words, but also to adorn and embellish the Stile, by the Assistance of Tropes’; and
- ‘the Structure and Composition of all the Periods, in all possible Dignity and Grandeur.

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89 Ibid.


The unnamed author asserts, “the sublime not only persuades, but even throws an Audience into a Transport.”92 He also states, “the Mind is naturally elevated by the true Sublime,” and “the Sublime makes near Approaches to the Height of God.” Fascinatingly, according to Smith, “England in the eighteenth century is far more the age of the sublime than the age of reason.”93 The last is striking considering the philosophy prevalent at the time. Prophecy and miracles were often the focus in Handelian oratorios. Thus much of the material for many of the great eighteenth-century poets had sacred origins, including, of course, Milton and Thomson. Smith calls The Seasons “the greatest lyric poem of the period, a devotional work, an embodiment of the religious sublime,”94 and Thomson himself acknowledged its “links with a devotional literary tradition which included the Pentaeuch, the Book of Job, and Paradise Lost.”95 Smith states, “Oratorio drew on and supplied a less individualized Anglican congregation hymn, in which ‘I’ was submerged in corporate praise or appeal and in which the literary hymn acquired a musical voice.” 96

The celebratory performances of Handel’s oratorios that Haydn attended at Westminster Abbey contained a massive numbers of performers, exceeding one thousand. These numbers dwarfed the original performing forces for which Handel wrote

92Ibid.

93Smith, Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought, 109.

94Ibid., 112.


96Smith, Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought, 113.
his oratorios, greatly pronouncing the sublimity of the music. “The sublime here [was] understood not in the Kantian metaphorical sense, but as the eighteenth-century form of artistic rhetoric—articulated by Burke—associated with great force and the ‘delightful horror’ of the infinite.” This distinguishes a difference in the nature of the sublimity of Handel’s original performances and that of the Creation, which was based upon the festival performances heard in the 1790’s. Haydn composed into his oratorio the musical fireworks that were later added to Messiah (commissioned by van Swieten and written by Mozart) and other oratorios.⁹⁷ Haydn was the ideal candidate to accomplish this, considering his mastery of composition for the modern Classical orchestra.

Precursors to Haydn’s Creation

In order to understand more clearly the theological and philosophical influences upon the text and music of oratorio as it progressed through the eighteenth century, particularly regarding the story of creation, it is appropriate to look at works that were similar in subject matter written immediately before Haydn’s Creation. There are three particular works that appear to be transitional between the more Christian apologetic settings prevalent in Handel’s oratorios and the more humanistic setting of Haydn’s Creation. Before these are examined it is important to note that there were several settings of the creation story or of the story of Adam and Eve in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The writings of three Haydn scholars have brought these works

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to the author’s attention. Georg Feder’s article mentions several scholars who have cited antecedent works:

In his *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (History of the Oratorio), Arnold Schering mentions three works that appeared before the 1798 premier of Haydn’s oratorio *Creation: Die Schöpfung* (Creation) by Benedict Kraus (before 1790), *Die Schöpfungsfeier oder Die Hirten in Midian* (The Celebration of Creation or the Shepherds in Midian) by Johann Samuel Carl Possin (c. 1782) and *Das Hallelujah der Schöpfung* (The Creation’s Hallelujah) by Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1797). One can add to this list also Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s setting of Klopstock’s ode *Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste* (Morning Song at the Feast of Creation) (1783). Howard Smither fails to mention these works except for that by von Kunzen, since these are not actually oratorios but cantatas. Nevertheless Haydn’s “oratorio,” as his *Creation* is designated in its original title, was sometimes called “cantata,” and Benedict Kraus's “cantata,” as the composer calls it, is labeled in other copies “oratorio.” Actually the *Creation* by Kraus, aside from its brevity demonstrates distinct parallels to Haydn’s *Creation*, in content and structure, whereas parallels exist to a far less degree between the cantatas by Kunzen, Possin and Bach, but not at all in the English oratorio *Creation* (c.1789) by Thomas Busby, if we may judge from its two extant arias.

Secondly, MacIntrye lists preceding settings of the story of Adam and Eve or of the creation account:

[A]n oratorio, anonymous, *Creation del mondo*, was performed at Santa Maria della Fava in Venice, 1672-73; Johann Eheile’s *Adam und Eva, oder Der erschaffene, gefallene und aufgerichtete Mensch* (text by Christian Richter), a sacred opera, was performed in 1678 in Hamburg; Johann Christian Schiefendecker’s *Die Historia der ersten Eltern* (text by A. Lange) was part of an Abendmusik concert in Lübeck in 1708; “Creation,” part 1 of Omnipotence (text by Samuel Arnold and Edward Toms), a pasticcio made from Handel’s “Chandos Anthems,” was performed in London in 1774; and Friedrich L.A. Kunze’s *Halleluja der Schöpfung* (text by Jens Baggesen), a setting of the creation, was performed in Stockholm in 1797.

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99 Ibid., 329.

Thirdly, Neil Jenkins’s article discusses the influence of three settings of *Paradise Lost* upon the libretto of Haydn’s *Creation.*\(^{101}\) It includes a setting of Milton’s *Morning Hymn* by John Ernst (Johann Ernst) Galliard, 1728; another setting of the same by James Harris, 1761; and Benjamin Stillingfleet's setting of *Paradise Lost*, set by Christopher Smith, first performed in 1760, 61.\(^{102}\)

**Three Works Displaying the Transition from Handelian Oratorio to Haydn’s *Creation***

The oratorios of Handel were aligned with efforts of the period to defend orthodox Christianity against deism. The moral impact of music was considered as important in the earlier part of the eighteenth century when Handel’s oratorios were composed, as it was in the latter part of the century, when Haydn’s *Creation* was composed. However, when placing the theological message of Haydn’s *Creation* up against that of Handel’s oratorios, the contrast is stark. Handel’s works stand alongside Christianity instead of apart from it when proclaiming their moral message. Ruth Smith notes that “the years of the oratorios’ first performances, 1732-52, are also the years of the major Anglican rebuttals of deism.” She continues her chapter, “The Defence of Christianity” with the assertion,

> Once we locate the librettos against this background of energetic debate— in which many participants felt that the bases of Christianity were being threatened— they appear more polemical, more committed and more complex than we realized. When

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\(^{102}\) Ibid.
they are read alongside the topics of the debate and the arguments of the orthodox defence they are seen to bear so close a relation to that defence as to seem part of the response to contemporary freethinking.\textsuperscript{103}

She then concludes the chapter,

In short, the connections between the matter of the oratorios and arguments of the freethinkers are so strong that we can confidently assign the librettos as contributions to the defence of Christianity, and recognize that many of their individual topics, including several which may initially elude or perplex the modern listener, were vital issues for the authors and for their audiences.\textsuperscript{104}

It seems ironic that the very works that inspired Haydn to compose his oratorio carried a message of Christian defense against the tenets of deism, the very theology to which the \textit{Creation} would ultimately lend its support. One may wonder what transpired in oratorio between the time of the premiere of Handel’s last oratorio in 1752 and the time of the composition of Haydn’s \textit{Creation} in 1798 to enable such a dramatic shift in ideology. The author has selected for brief examination three works that seem to bridge the gap theologically and musically. Although the settings of Milton’s \textit{Morning Hymn} (No. 30 in Haydn’s \textit{Creation}) by Galliard and Harris may have had impact upon the libretto of Haydn’s \textit{Creation}, since these are smaller works, the Stillingfleet and Smith setting of \textit{Paradise Lost} has been chosen for consideration here. The other two works that are considered are the \textit{Creation} by Benedict Kraus as well as \textit{Auferstehung und Himmelsfahrt Jesu} by C. P. E. Bach. This study will emphasize the fact that Haydn, although a great influence in the world of music, was a product of his time, as he and other composers were similarly influenced by the Enlightenment.

\textsuperscript{103} Smith, \textit{Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth–Century Thought}, 142.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 156.
Paradise Lost, an oratorio by Benjamin Stillingfleet (1702-1771) and John Christopher Smith (1712-95). Smith’s approximation with Handel makes his oratorio particularly important to this study. Smith’s father was Johann Christoph Schmidt, who originally came to London in 1716 to be “Handel’s treasurer and principle copyist.” The younger Smith was not only assistant to Handel, but from 1759-1768 conducted the annual performances of Messiah at the Foundling Hospital. Regarding the librettist, Stevenson and Seares state, “Stillingfleet’s entry in the Dictionary of National Biography begins by identifying him as ‘naturalist and dilettante,’ a phrase at first glance disconcerting, but one that accurately defines the delighted attention of an intelligent gentleman, of moderate means, to a wide range of pursuits.”

According to Stevenson and Seares, Stillingfleet paid careful respect to the design of Milton’s epic, striving to “preserve thematically significant patterns.” His shortened version of Paradise Lost relates Adam’s and Eve’s life in Eden: “In Act 1 angels and the human pair rejoice; in Act 2 the Fall takes place; in Act 3 Michael dismisses Adam and Eve from paradise but foretells the nativity through which paradise will be restored.” This intention to more fully represent Milton’s story positions this oratorio in theological contrast with van Swieten’s libretto of the Creation. However, what is in common between the two oratorios is their “determined movement toward a

105 Smither, The Oratorio in the Classical Era, 245.


107 Ibid., 47.
happy ending,” as was expected with English oratorio. Conditions of performance of this work yield “a view of eighteenth-century theatrical practice, social, economic, and cultural.” Stevenson and Sears state, “How much of *Paradise Lost* could be presented in an oratorio depends partly on the librettist’s knowledge and critical taste, partly on the expectations of a contemporary audience.” If this is true, it would signify that the English audience of the earlier part of the century was still receptive to receiving the message of the Fall and ultimate redemption to come in Christ. Could it be that this is the reason Handel declined to work with the libretto that would eventually be set by Haydn?

Regarding the music, certain characteristics of the choruses and arias are especially notable. Regarding the choruses, the musical style is generally Handelian; however, there is a missing aspect of “relentless power” as found in some of Handel’s choruses. Smith’s choruses function to cater to the tastes of two musical eras, “with a pre-classic tendency not to state his case in too bold a fashion precariously balanced by an inclination toward the more flamboyant instrumental idioms of the Baroque.” “This dichotomy of approaches is even more clearly reflected in the arias. It is instructive to examine them act by act, as one can discern changes in Smith’s approach to the arias seemingly in response to changes in the drama.” Before the Fall, the most prevalent meters are in triple, while after the Fall, most meters are in duple or quadruple.


110 Ibid., 115.

111 Ibid., 115–17.
wonders if this was done as indicative of man’s holy state before the Fall (three
representing alignment with the Trinity) and his sinful state afterward. Although most of
the arias of the work are pre-classic in feel, Smith used musical style to illustrate the Fall:

In general the [post-Fall] arias . . . show a compromise between Baroque techniques
of continuous expansion through motivic and sequential generation (as much in the
string as in the vocal parts) and those of a simpler pre-classic character where
phrases tend to be balanced and the harmonic rhythm moves more slowly. At the
crisis point the arias of Eve and Adam skillfully blend aspects of both styles,
capturing the drive and energy of the Baroque aria, together with its often angular
vocal lines and driving instrumental basses, which tend to disguise the slower
harmonic rhythm and more subtly balanced phrase patterns of the later era.  

Instrumentally, Smith recalls Handel’s French overture approach with a fugue:

Written at a time when composers throughout Europe were experimenting with new
approaches to the structural organization of their orchestral material, this oratorio
steadfastly turns its back upon current developments and commences with a French
overture of a type that Handel was using in his very earliest works of the first
decade of the century.  

Stevenson and Seares believe that this work “shed valuable light upon the
mixed currents of British musical life of the mid-eighteenth century and upon the
responses of one composer to the twin demands of maintaining an increasingly venerable
tradition and breaking free of the past.”  

Also notable are the mention by Stevenson and
Seares of two antecedents to Smith’s oratorio. These two other settings of Paradise Lost
are Richard Jago’s (1715-1781) Adam, or the Fatal Disobedience, Compiled from the
‘Paradise Lost’ of Milton and Adapted to Music, and the “semi-opera” (apparently

112 Ibid., 116–18.
113 Ibid., 123–24.
114 Ibid., 125.
intended to be part stage play and partly sung) by John Dryden, published in 1677 as *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man: an Opera.*

**Benedict Kraus’s “Creation.”** Sometime before 1790 Benedict Kraus composed a cantata with libretto by Johann Christian Hohnbaum (1747-1825) on the subject of creation. Here are briefly mentioned a few of the parallels which, according to Feder, Kraus’s and Haydn’s versions of the creation share. Hohnbaum’s text covers only Genesis 1:31 and Genesis 2:1-4a “like Adolf Schlegel’s poem ‘Creation’ (1748), and therefore avoids the second creation narrative (Gen. 2, 4b-25 and Gen. 3) about the Fall.” Thus, both Kraus’s and Haydn’s settings are limited to six days of creation. Feder also observes that Hohnbaum’s libretto is similar to van Swieten’s in its humanistic treatment of the creation of man, although it differs in that Hohnbaum’s also offers praise to God in the same number. Also similar are the inclusions of words or passages, which must have come from another source other than Genesis or Milton.

**C. P. E. Bach’s Oratorio, *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu.*** Although not a creation setting, C. P. E. Bach’s *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (The Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus) is significant to this study because Bach was the only composer that Haydn claimed as a musical model, and because two of this oratorio’s performances in 1788 were celebrated by van Swieten. Smither, regarding details from a published report of the performance, supposed these performances to have been

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115 Ibid., 54.

sponsored by the Gesellschaft der Associierten.\textsuperscript{117} According to Smither, “Bach’s \textit{Auferstehung} is among the most original oratorios of its time.” The premiere, on 18 March 1778, at Hamburg’s Concertsaal auf dem Kamp was received very well as reported by a Hamburg newspaper.\textsuperscript{118} The theology and text are briefly examined here.

Regarding the theology of this oratorio, Will states,

Lyric works illustrate the competing demands made on sacred music by an era that subjected religion to Enlightenment critique. German Aufklärer typically did not turn to atheism as the corollary of a rational worldview; instead, Protestant intellectuals in particular strove to reconcile the ideals of Enlightened thinking with the tenets of Christianity. Among the results was the mid-century movement known as \textit{Neologie} (i.e., “Neue Theologie,” New Theology), which sought to preserve the belief in God and the moral teachings of Jesus while downplaying the “irrational” miracles and revelations through which God, in the Bible telling, educates and redeems humanity.\textsuperscript{119}

Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-1798), the librettist of both Graun’s \textit{Der Tod Jesu} and C.P.E. Bach’s \textit{Die Auferstegung}, essentially worked from a revisionist understanding of the New Testament as he resonated with the contemporaneous New Theology. However, much of the realm of the sacred was still held to be inexplicable. Thus “the lyric oratorio was caught between a tendency to see God working through human feeling and morality on the one hand, and through miraculous intervention on the other.” \textit{Die Auferstehung}, according to Richard Will, finds itself squarely in the middle of this conflict. “Text and music negotiate a middle ground between \textit{Neologie} and a more orthodox religion,

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\textsuperscript{117} Smither, \textit{A History of the Oratorio}, 346.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 436.
\end{flushleft}
striking a precarious balance between the humanly observable excellence of Jesus’ character, and the rationally incomprehensible mystery of his resurrection and ascension.”

Regarding the text, “natural and unnatural phenomena” that surround the resurrection are portrayed in the first recitative, No. 3. No. 20 portrays the ascension of Jesus, the text reading, “Astonished, they see the radiance of his face. In a bright cloud they see the chariot of fire waiting. . . .” Following this is a celebratory chorus. The halo of strings present in J.S. Bach’s passions is used when Jesus speaks in scenes after the resurrection. The text compares the miracle of the resurrection to “astonished nature”—“Der Herr der Erde steigt emport aus ihrem Schoss, tritt auf den Fels, und zeigt der staunen den Nature sein Leben.”

Smither struggles to classify this work’s musical style, undecided on simplifications such as Empfindsamer Stil and Sturm und Drang, although its text is undoubtedly characterized by Empfindsamkeit. He states, “Bach’s oratorio is simply a product of his personal and unconventional musical style and his evident desire to offer an intense setting of the Ramler text.” Smither notes that the harmony is considerably colorful for its time. Also, “Bach’s orchestral accompaniments to the vocal lines in the arias and duet tend to be more active and at times more contrapuntal than is typical in his time, yet the vocal lines are not obscured by this activity.”

120 Ibid., 86.


122 Ibid., 437–39, 447.
Will asserts that *Die Auferstehung* never attained to the positive reception of Graun’s *Der Tod Jesu* (as Bach predicted it would), due to “a combination of musical and theological considerations.” He concludes that the “‘compound of Empfindsamkeit and monumentality,’ which Ludwig Finscher notes in the work, would have further challenged those whose standard of sacred music was Graun’s even more old-fashioned—in musical terms—*Der Tod Jesu*”:

If Ramler’s text insures that *Die Auferstehung* remains as concerned with the human as it does with the divine, Bach’s music endows even human participants in the life of Jesus with heavenly auras, and his conclusion disperses all sentiment into the sublime. The oratorio is both Neologist and orthodox, balancing a rational religion of feeling and morality against the irrational power of revelation.  

**Conclusion**

Clearly there were precedents to Haydn’s *Creation* that were affected by the aforementioned shifts in musical style and philosophy prevalent in various genres of the period. In the case of oratorio, these included shifts—theologically and musically—from that of the more apologetic approach of Handel’s oratorios to that which leaned toward the encouragement of natural theology. The three works briefly examined above illustrate these shifts. Of the three, Stillingfleet’s and Smith’s oratorio serves as the most conservative model theologically. Holding with greater accuracy to Scripture and to Milton than van Swieten’s libretto, it not only preserves the Fall but foretells the coming of the atonement. Kraus’s and C. P. E. Bach’s works display a turn toward natural theology, with the former’s neglect in presenting the Fall and representation of humanism, and the latter’s conflict between orthodoxy and Neology. Musically, Smith’s

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oratorio, and it would seem Bach’s as well, demonstrate a transition from the Baroque sublimity of Handel towards more Classical approaches. Interestingly, Smith’s *Paradise Lost* uses not only changing metric emphasis, but also the styles of the two eras, “skillfully blend[ing] aspects of both styles”\(^{124}\) to illustrate the shift of the innocence of man to the fallen state.

\(^{124}\) Stevenson and Seares, *Paradise Lost in Short*, 116–118.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE LIBRETTO AND MUSIC OF CREATION
IN ITS THEOLOGICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL,
LITERARY, AND MUSICAL CONTEXT

Built upon the background provided in the previous two chapters, this chapter will provide the principal analysis of this writing. The author will demonstrate the degree to which Enlightenment culture, including philosophy, theology, literature, and musical influences, directly impacted Haydn and Baron van Swieten in their design of the libretto and music of Creation. This analysis is therefore not comprehensive, but designed specifically with the aforementioned in mind. First will be a brief discussion of the contrasting purposes between Milton’s epic and Haydn’s oratorio; second will be an analysis of the libretto; and third will be an analysis of the music of Haydn’s Creation, emphasizing its structural framework and text-music relationships. A parallel will be demonstrated between the influence of natural theology and naturalistic expressions in the music.

Contrasting Purposes: Milton’s Paradise Lost and Haydn’s Creation

John Milton’s own words give insight to his Christian perspective:

The end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as
we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection.¹

According to this statement, it would seem that “to know God aright” implies the incorporation of a Christian anthropology that puts man’s concern for himself and his morality within a God-centered worldview. From Milton’s epic we know that he intended to “justifie the ways of God to men.”² As Flinker states, this was done “in the wake of the fall of Adam and Eve.” In contrast to this apologetic stance is Haydn’s version of creation, which leaves out the occurrence of original sin. Flinker asserts “without their [Adam and Eve’s] sin, Pauline Christianity loses most of its force.”³ At least part of Haydn’s intended purpose for Creation was given in a letter to friends from Bergen. Stern summarized Haydn’s words, “The very thought of occasionally being a source of ‘pleasure’ and ‘happiness’ for others seemed exhilarating to him; every time he wanted to give up because of several obstacles, a secret feeling uplifted (raised) him and whispered (to him)”⁴:

On this earth there are so few happy and satisfied people, misery and sorrows are following them everywhere, so maybe your work is going to be a fount now and then, from which the sorrowful and duty-burdened man may draw his rest and renewal in some moments.⁵


⁵“Joseph Haydn an den Musik vereinsleiter Jean Philipp Krüger in Bergen Insel
Another insight into Haydn’s purpose for the work can be found in an excerpt from a letter to his friend Charles Ockl (1801), the rector at a parish church in the village of St. Johann near Plan, after *Creation* was performed in the church without permission from the priest, who was under the false impression that the composer’s name was “Heiden,” which in German means “heathens.”

The story of the creation has always been regarded as most sublime, and as one which inspires the utmost awe in mankind. To accompany this great occurrence with suitable music could certainly produce no other effect than to heighten these sacred emotions in the heart of the listener, and to put him in a frame of mind where he is most susceptible to the kindness and omnipotence of the Creator. — And this exaltation of the most sacred emotions is supposed to constitute desecration of a church? . . . No church has ever been desecrated by my Creation; on the contrary: the adoration and worship of the Creator, which it inspires, can be more ardently and intimately felt by playing it in such a sacred edifice.  

Hatting observes that this statement serves as a personal acknowledgement from Haydn of the influence of the Enlightenment upon himself.  

We may assume that she is referring to Haydn’s emphasis upon the reception of “kindness and omnipotence of the Creator” and upon the “exaltation of the most sacred emotions.” In understanding the purpose for the composition of *Creation* we must also bear in mind van Swieten’s aforementioned purpose for music: to develop the true artistic taste of individuals.


distinguished from that of being “proper,” in such a manner as it would cultivate moral taste in the individual.

Textual Analysis: Revisionist Handling of the Theology of the Bible and *Paradise Lost*

Clearly the text of *Creation* holds to orthodox theology in regard to its adherence to God as creator of the universe, but this basic truth was also held in natural theology. Its push towards deism (influenced by naturalism) is not only evident in its representation of God as merely benevolent and good (lacking mention of His justice), but also in its lack of emphasis upon the influence of Satan and demons, and especially its lack of mention of the Fall.

**God as Creator of the Universe**

Clearly the libretto falls in line with orthodox Christian theology when it speaks of God as Creator of the universe. “And God said ‘let there be light’” is just the first of commands of creation followed by God’s creation of the “firmament,” “lights in the firmament,” waters and seas, the earth or “dry land,” and all that live in them. This of course includes the creation of man ‘in His own image . . . male and female.”

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Existence and Influence of Satan and Demons

The description of chaos in *Paradise Lost* implies much more than just the forming of the cosmos by God.\(^9\) It also describes:

A dungeon horrible, on all sides round  
As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames  
No light, but rather darkness visible  
Served only to discover sights of woe,  
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace  
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes  
That comes to all; but torture without end  
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed  
With ever-burning sulfur unconsumed:  
Such place eternal justice had prepared  
For those rebellious, here their prison ordained  
In utter darkness, and their portion set  
As far removed from God and light of Heaven  
As from the center thrice to the utmost pole.\(^10\)

Scriptures referring to chaos before creation are found in Isaiah 27:1; 51:9-10; Psalm 74:13-14; 89:9-10; 148:4-7; Job 9:13; 26:12-13. Here chaos is referred to as the monsters Leviathan and/or Rahab in the sea. Scripture portrays the creation event as the “quelling of chaos.”\(^11\) In Milton’s epic, the spirits, or demons, remain free to be in the world. Also in his epic, Satan is one of the principal characters and is at work to ruin the new creation. However, in Uriel’s aria, “Now Vanish Before the Holy Beams,” the “shadows” of hell’s spirits are forced away by the newly created light:

Now vanish before the holy beams  
The gloomy dismal shades of dark:

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\(^10\) Milton, *Paradise Lost*.

\(^11\) Mark Seifrid, email correspondence with author, August 18, 2012.
The first of days appears
Disorder yields to order fair the place;
Affrighted flee hell’s spirits black in throngs;
Down they sink in the deep of abyss
To endless night.  

The newly created order that results is one where the spirits of hell thereafter reside in hell, or the “abyss,” never to be spoken of again for the rest of the oratorio. This “order” is cited by several authors as a symbol of the Enlightenment. According to Alexander Pope’s *Essay on Man*, order was “a constant preoccupation of the Enlightenment— theologically, socially, and politically.” According to Berry, this aria symbolizes the expelling of the “supernatural from nature;” . . . “[as] science, or ‘natural philosophy’ had to some extent ‘disenchanted’ a world, as witnessed, for example as early as Milton’s Ode on the Morning of Christ’s Nativity.” Berry continues with the assertion that this aria serves to illustrate the Enlightenment’s rationalist expelling of the whole idea of Satan and original sin as ridiculous notions of the past. Berry asserts that “light” was “the quintessential symbol of Enlightenment”—related to van Swieten’s encouragement of rational religion—but also mentions that “Joseph Anton Gall, a colleague of Swieten’s during the 1780s and subsequently Bishop of Linz, explained that the Redeemer had returned the world to a semiparadisiacal condition, that is, restored ‘light’ to the world, since God in his goodness could not bear to leave man in his fallen state.”  

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15Ibid., 34–35.
eighteenth-century orthodox Christians would have agreed with Gall’s statement, and asserted that it was the Word, Jesus Christ, through whom all things were created. However, they would also have believed that His victory over Satan in the world was ultimately won in His crucifixion and resurrection. Whether Haydn was actively intending to represent an Enlightenment ideal or an orthodox one is thus unclear here, however we know that Swieten had rigorously pursued the religious enlightenment of the society.

**Representation of God as Benevolent and Good, and thus Worthy of Worship**

In Hymn No. 30, the praise of God is given for the blessings of his goodness to mankind. The text begins with, “By thee with bliss, O bounteous Lord, The heav’n and earth are filled. This world, so great so wonderful, Thy mighty hand has framed.” It then follows with the text, “ever blessed be his pow’r” and the exhortation of several elements of nature to praise his name along with “ye living souls . . . now and ever more.” According to Berry, this hymn textually and musically carries out Gall’s Reform Catholicism, which encouraged instructors not to ceaselessly “threaten with the Devil,” but to encourage a love and praise for God based upon “rational understanding.” Thus, it encourages knowledge of his benevolence and “chief purpose . . . to make us the noblest creatures on earth and to make us exceedingly happy.”

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16 Ibid., 38.


18 Berry, “Haydn’s Creation and Enlightenment Theology,” 38.
theological leaning toward rational religion supported the belief in God based upon the reasonable assertion of the design of creation, although England’s emphasis upon this may have been earlier in the century. It is noteworthy that at the end of each part of *Creation* is a chorus of praise unto God for his handiwork as creator. Tovey noted that the subject of the *Creation* included the glorification of God:

> And so it happens that the subject of this oratorio is quite clearly and positively the Creation, up to and including Man’s capacity to glorify God; and it is equally clearly not *Paradise Lost*, nor the conjugal felicity of Adam and Eve (‘Graceful consort! Spouse adored’, &c.).

Furthermore, he claims that Adam and Eve fulfill the answer to the purpose for all that is alluded to by Raphael, “the end was not achieved; there wanted the master-work that should acknowledge all this good.” Tovey claims that this is a reference to one of the Westminster Shorter Catechism’s chief premises:

> Q. What is the chief end of Man?
> A. To glorify God and to enjoy Him forever.

This may be true. However, was this praise of Him the result within the context of an orthodox Christian worldview of Him or of an Enlightenment worldview? The difference here is critical in seeking to understand the fullness of its message.

**Omission of the Fall**

The occurrence of the Fall is entirely ignored in the libretto of *Creation*, resulting in the implication that there is no necessity for the redemption of mankind.

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19 Donald Francis Tovey, *Vocal Music*, vol. 5 of *Essays in Musical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 122.

20 Ibid.
through Jesus Christ. There is only one textual allusion to original sin, or the fall of mankind through Adam. In Uriel’s aria: “O Happy Pair, and Ever Happy Still,” as the angel sings a warning to the happy couple. The textual-musical relationships and context regarding this instance will be discussed below.

Musical Analysis

Architectural Framework of the Music

The architectural framework of the music in Haydn’s *Creation* is of primary importance to this study on several structural levels. It is important on a smaller level from the standpoint of the pattern of arias, recitatives, and choruses and the types of texts and music sung in each. The framework is important on both smaller and larger levels in regard to an alternation of style both between what Webster refers to as Haydn’s “sublime and pastoral”\(^{21}\) or what Danuser refers to as the “sublime and idyllic.”\(^{22}\) These structural features of *Creation* are integrally valuable to the overall message of the oratorio.\(^{23}\) Secondly, textual-musical relationships result in many representational aspects in the music of Haydn’s oratorio. These aspects are related to the larger structure and to individual numbers and their respective content. Thus, in this section will be examined first the structure and how it contributes fundamentally, acting as a framework for the


\(^{23}\) Ibid., 52, 70–71.
interpretation of the oratorio.\textsuperscript{24} Secondly will be considered movements and the text-music relationships within these movements, as identified by Haydn scholars that distinguish Haydn’s 	extit{Creation} as an Enlightenment work and clarify its message.

Examination of four scholars’ writings—James Webster, Hermann Danuser, Lawrence Kramer, and Siegmund Levarie—serves to demonstrate the foundational understanding of the architectural framework of Haydn’s 	extit{Creation}. “In Parts I and II, although there are many variations and the First Day is altogether different, each remaining Day (or pair of Days) is based on the following ideal sequence:”

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Prose narrative from Genesis (recitative), leading to . . .
  \item Commentary in verse (aria or ensemble), [followed by . . .]
  \item Narrative (recitative), leading to . . .
  \item Chorus of praise.\textsuperscript{25}
\end{enumerate}

Here we see the typical eighteenth-century pattern of recitative-aria, or recitative-chorus. Also each day progresses to a sublime chorus in praise of God for his creation. Thirdly, the most prominent choruses of the entire work are found at the end of Parts 1 and 2. As Webster points out, 	extit{Creation}, along with 	extit{The Seasons} and his late masses, are located precisely in the middle of a progression in music history as part of Kant’s “dynamic sublime,” a contrast to the usual eighteenth-century sublime, which also included Haydn’s and Mozart’s later symphonies and the Mozart’s 	extit{Don Giovanni} and 	extit{Die Zauberflöte}, as well as Beethoven’s third and fifth symphonies.\textsuperscript{26} Webster calls Haydn’s Chaos “not literally chaotic,” but paradoxical. It is chaos depicted through the disrupted

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 41-78.
\textsuperscript{25} Webster, “The Sublime and the Pastoral in 	extit{The Creation} and 	extit{The Seasons},” 153.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 153–54.
\end{quote}
order of music, which finally “resolves an unstable C minor into the radiant purity of C major.” The presentation of the sublime climaxes at “and there was light,” as part of a progression across three separate movements (overture, recitative, chorus), from paradoxical disorder to triumphant order; it offers a perceptible and memorable experience of that which is unfathomable, unthinkable: the origins of the universe and of history. The remainder of Part I takes place as it were during the reverberation of this event.

Secondly, in regard to the architectural organization, choruses emphasizing the sublime generally alternate with solo numbers in Haydn’s pastoral style, resulting in a powerful contrast in mood and aesthetic. Here Haydn’s pastoral is characterized by orchestral pictorializations, which serve to “idealize nature.” Webster comments,

These effects soon become anathema to “absolute” musicians. But it is famously a characteristic of pastoral that its naivety is only apparent; those sweetly mourning shepherds know more than they can say. And it was notoriously the fate of pastoral that from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth, critics by and large marginalized it as a “conventional” or “artificial” genre (parallel to the traditional denigration of comedy in comparison to tragedy). Formerly considered naïve, or merely humorous, in fact they reveal profound compositional shaping and even psychological insight.

“Equally important, however, is the word-painting’s role in articulating the optimistic deism of The Creation because they induce us to identify with nature while it is still the original ‘Arcadia.’”

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27 MacIntyre, Haydn, 73.


29 Ibid.


31 Ibid., 156.

32 Ibid.
Danuser, in his 2008 article “Mishmash or Synthesis? On the Psychagogic Form of The Creation,” seeks to “explore how and in what ways the spiritual effect . . . of Haydn’s music, confirmed by the work’s rich and diverse reception history . . . may be said to be based upon a structural foundation.”

Georg Feder asserts that Creation contains a mixture of literary styles including epic, dramatic, hymnic, poetic, as well as the biblical texts. In 1801 Karl Friedrich Triest wrote that Creation includes a mixture of “sacred and theatre styles,” likely referring to the distinction between counterpoint and operatic styles. These various combinations are what has led some to see it as a “mishmash” of style. Danuser has provided a most straightforward and comprehensive structural analysis of Haydn’s Creation regarding this mixture of styles. He terms the sublime as “‘Model I’ [which] drives-rhetorically-toward a climax,” identifying this with contrapuntal choruses. Secondly, he terms the “Idyllic” or pastoral as “‘Model II’ [which] moves away—anti-rhetorically or lyrically—from climax,” identifying this with the arias and recitatives. He explains that the “antagonistic” concepts of the “sublime” and the “beautiful” (idyllic, or pastoral) were pervasive in the philosophy of aesthetics around the time of the composition of Haydn’s Creation. Thus, essentially both Webster and

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33 Danuser, “Mishmash or Synthesis?” 43.


36 Danuser, “Mishmash or Synthesis?” 42.

37 Ibid., 51–52.
Danuser associate the pastoral with Haydn’s images, although Danuser also believes there exist “higher order images” (which are still subsumed into the idyllic) which are a lower order of the sublime than the choruses (see “Illustrations of the ‘Sublime-Idyllic’ Effect,” p. 134ff.). 38 Music-aesthetician Christian Friedrich Michaelis (1770-1834) asserted,

The sublime moves us profoundly, touches our inner being, unsettles us, defeats us, so as to bestow upon us the joy of manly aspiration and self-ennoblement. In contrast, the beautiful moves us more easily and gently, touches us more on the surface than within, enlivens us without unsettling us, and holds us in harmonious balance and sweet calm of the spirit.39

While Model I tends to dominate in Parts 1 and 2, in Part 3 Model II is emphasized. Thus, “Parts 1 and 2 are analogous to the sublime, and the whole of Part 3 is analogous to the idyllic.” Danuser clarifies the shift in the emphasis, asserting that in Part 3, “the spheres of sublime and idyllic have been changed into the human, and the paradisiacal is elevated to a prolonged moment.”40 One may note again that this “moment” excludes the Fall, as omitted by the librettist from Milton’s epic. Danuser continues,

On the one hand, the models are individualized, “humanized”; on the other hand, they are raised yet another step higher. Model II becomes retrospectively basal and gains a certain importance with respect to content through the complementary gender opposition of husband and wife.41

38Ibid., 54–55.


40Danuser, "Mishmash or Synthesis?" 70–71.

41Ibid.
First Part

|----|---------------|---------|----------------|

Second Part

|----|----------|---------------|---------|

Third Part

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<td>34. Chorus</td>
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Figure 1. Danuser’s “schematic overview” contrasting the sublime (Model I) and idyllic (Model II).

$^{32}$Considering the writings of Levarie, Tovey, Danuser, and Kramer that were consulted for this chapter, this number would seem controversial regarding its classification on the chart. Due to its Model I and Model II aspects it seems it could be classified either way. It may be considered a Model I duet and chorus due to the following: (1) its sublime choral fugal finale; Tovey wrote of No. 30 as “the sublimest number since the Representation of Chaos;” and (2) Levarie’s description of Haydn’s use of parody technique, as borrowed from comic opera, emphasizing a contrast between “high” and “low” styles in Nos. 30 and 32 respectively (see below). However, its Model II idyllic sections (heard especially in the duet), and its textual emphasis upon the praise of God in light of his blessings upon mankind, position it as key in what Danuser describes as the “anthropological turn” of Part 3, emphasizing the idyllic portrayal of mankind in paradise. Also, see below (pp. 132ff.) for Kramer’s description of what he calls the “higher-order image” that is solidified in this number as a turn away from the sublime.

$^{33}$It seems that this number was originally misnamed and misclassified on the chart and that it should be a Model II dialogue and recitative, as seen above. While it seems to emphasize the idyllic, a shift can be heard within the dialogue from Model I as sung by Adam to Model II as sung by Eve. This seems to reflect Danuser’s typical analysis of Model II arias and recitatives as discussed below on p. 134ff.
The charts in Figure 1 above demonstrate the alternating stylistic pattern between Danuser’s Model I and Model II as they appear throughout the oratorio.

Furthermore, related to this larger level contrast between the sublime and idyllic, Levarie earlier asserted that the length of Part 3, several times curtailed in performance as advocated by Tovey, was created by Haydn to accomplish a roundness of form, presenting both aspects of man’s nature. He states,

To Haydn, man was the crown of all creation. Man, therefore, has to be shown in both his aspects as partaking of divinity and succumbing to worldly pleasures. God has touched him, but the snake will get him. He is heroic but also pathetic. He is the protagonist but also his parody. The two halves of Part III demonstrate the point in clear musical terms . . . . The first and second halves of Part III follow and illuminate each other like main and secondary plots in a play. They necessarily supplement each other. The heroic action is immediately repeated but in parody. To Haydn and the audience, which first heard Die Schöpfung, this technique was standard. It answered well-established expectations. The commedia dell’arte abounds in situations in which the fate of the serious lovers is comically mirrored by that of the ‘lower’ couple. Opera buffa, by origin and definition a kind of parody of opera seria, used the double plot as a stock device. Haydn showed his affinity to the Neapolitan style by choosing librettos by Goldoni for three of his operas.

Levarie continues his argument giving as an example Haydn’s opera Le Pescatrici (1769) (on a libretto by Goldoni), where Haydn demonstrated this “stock device” in his musical writing. Albeit, Levarie admits, Die Zauberflöte seems to be “the closest model for much of the general attitude of Die Schöpfung [Creation].” As Die Zauberflöte is noted for

44Danuser, "Mishmash or Synthesis?" 67.

45Tovey, Vocal Music, 124.


47Ibid., 316.
many Masonic connections, a thorough comparison with *Creation* would prove interesting. Scholars such as Chailley,49 Landon,50 and Schroeder,51 it seems, have only begun such study.

Is there also an even larger structural level in which one can see the aforementioned stock device of parody (as presented by Levarie) represented in *Creation*? In *Die Zauberflöte*, Pamina and Tamino represent the “higher” couple, whereas Papageno and Papagena represent the “lower.” As Danuser noted, in *Creation* one see a shift from a sublime emphasis in Parts 1 and 2 upon God and his creative actions to an idyllic emphasis upon Adam and Eve in Part 3. Therefore the contrast in emphasis beginning in Part 3 may also be seen as a sort of parody. However, the most notable connection may be within Part 3, as Levarie noted, where the contrast between “higher” and “lower” styles is presented between two duets, Nos. 30 and 32. This contrast is seen foundationally in the text of each, as Levarie notes, “The first duet in Part III addresses itself to God and praises His creation”:

48Ibid., 316–17.


Heaven and earth are full of Thy goodness, O Lord.
This great wonderful world is Thy work.
All creation worships Thee eternally.\textsuperscript{52}

The second duet is focused upon the joys of human love and earthly delights:

Dearest spouse, at your side every moment is bliss. Precious husband, near you my heart swims in joy. What would be fruit, flowers morning dew, evening breezes without your company? You make me enjoy everything double.\textsuperscript{53}

Next, the music compounds this contrast exhaustively. The first uses the chorus (heavenly choir) while the second does not. The brass choir is subtracted in the second duet and key structure is simplified, not to mention that the “slow lyrical section, oriented toward triple metre [of the first], leads to a faster joyous section in duple time [in the second].” Also the second “display is very characteristic of the Vienna popular song of the time.” The phrasing of the second is square (four bars) while that of the first includes “six, seven and more complex numbered measures. The second includes country dance styles including the (accent on e) ecossaise rhythms.”\textsuperscript{54} Also Levarie claims there were several musical devices that the Vienna audiences associated with \textit{opera buffa} and \textit{Singspiel} rather than oratorio:

The reversal of the reiterated ‘\textit{ohne dich, ohne dich’} to ‘\textit{mit dir, mir dir}’ (cf. the duet of Susanna and the Count); the playful breaking up of a phrase by rests (bars 138 ff.; cf. ‘Silberglockchen, Zauberflöten’ of the Three Ladies); the jocular imitation of a short phrase (bars 148 ff.; cf. Papageno-Papagena); the sentimental preparation of the final cadence of each strophe (cf. similar tempo changes in the quartet from \textit{Die Entführung aus sem Serail}); the effusive accents on an inarticulate exclamation

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{52}Levarie, “The Closing Numbers of \textit{Die Schöpfung},” 317.
\textsuperscript{53}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., 318.
One can clearly see how this second duet is an expression of musical naturalism in the Neapolitan style. Webster adds to the commentary on Haydn’s use of the above contrasting high and low devices:

*The Creation* too is not an oratorio in either primary sense: a religious drama entailing characters and a storyline; or a lyric, cantata-like work intended for performance in divine service. The dominant modes in both are narrative, contemplation, and celebration. . . . Both works [*Creation* and *The Seasons*] reflected and revalorized the enlightened-conservative sensibility of the Viennese elite at the turn of the nineteenth century. Both are essentially deistic in outlook; both “speak” of high and low, sacred and secular, in a way that only Haydn’s “popularizing artistry” or “artful popularity” could articulate. Most importantly, both are organized in terms of a mixture of two aesthetic modes ordinarily thought of as contrasting: the sublime and the pastoral. (Beethoven aptly characterized both librettos as *Lehrgedichte*, “didactic poems,” a characterization that Swieten would surely have endorsed.)

So we must ask, what exactly is the robust message of Haydn’s *Creation*?

What indeed is it teaching, as Beethoven suggested? The answer will come from adding several scholars’ analyses to the above discussion. But first will be considered Lawrence Kramer’s article asserting that proceeding from the most sublime point of the oratorio, the creation of light, the sublime is “rescinded.” He claims that “the sublime in the *Creation* is incendiary, but it burns out fast. . . . What really matters about it are its embers.” He asserts,

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55Ibid., 319.

56Webster, “The Sublime and the Pastoral in *The Creation* and *The Seasons,*” 153.

The withdrawal of the sublime gradually becomes coextensive with the creation itself and the place of humanity in the order of creation, reflecting (and refashioning) a historically specific understanding not only of the sublime but also, and more weightily, of the conditions of possibility for knowing the world and defining the human.  

Kramer states, “The withdrawal of the sublime is the precondition for a creation narrative from which the Fall, too, has been withdrawn—the first chapter of what in Haydn’s day would have been called a universal history, the last chapter of which had yet to be written.” He defines three steps in which the “recalling” takes place, explaining that “the work as a whole, like the divine work it describes, unfolds on a principle of cosmos as analogy”:

First the withdrawal of the sublime reveals a logic of essence disclosed in the activity of Adamic naming. The medium of that logic is the image, in its primary or primordial form. Subsequently, the withdrawal of the primary image reveals the same logic of essence as a property of music. Music fills the void left by the departed image just as the image has filled the void left by the departed sublime. The result is the emergence of a higher-order image that visualizes—musically depicts—a portion of the order of creation that cannot otherwise be seen.

In developing the steps above, Kramer explains that part of “Adamic naming” in this case is the musical creation of “transparent” images. This musical characterization of animals via text-music relationships creates a concreteness or “transparency” through images, which tear down the presentation of the sublime that precedes them. Secondly, Kramer explains that in Part 2 of the oratorio musical expression essentially replaces the images

58 Ibid., 41.
59 Ibid., 45.
60 Ibid., 53.
of Part 1, but with the same type of transparent “essence” as the images evoked. An exception to this step would certainly be Raphael’s recitative, “Straight opening her fertile womb,” where the images of Part 1 return. In Part 3, the “higher-order image” is then materialized in No. 30. Here the emphasis turns toward the human, as Kramer claims:

Where the sublime is withdrawn, the human appears. And the form in which it appears is the prototype of community, or that which was rapidly becoming this prototype in the nascent bourgeois order of Haydn’s Europe, namely the domestic couple, realized musically in forms of reciprocity that exclude the disruptive otherness of the sublime, including that of human sexuality.

The recalling of the sublime may be correlated on some level with the aforementioned parody technique as introduced by Levarie and especially with the contrast between the “sublime” and the “idyllic” as taken from Webster and Danuser. Kramer asserts that with the images, “there is an effect of miniaturization, as if we were hearing the musical equivalent of a bestiary, or of Milton’s own pseudo-bestiary, a series of illustrations, as for a children’s book or an illuminated Bible.” Kramer argues that everything occurring after the sublimity of chaos and light are representations of a rescinding of the sublime. Although Kramer does not remark on the sublimity of the contrapuntal choruses, he does see the more sublime nature of the depiction of the sun in No. 12 and its comparison with

61 Ibid., 41–52.
62 Ibid., 53.
63 Ibid., 51.
64 Ibid., 41.
the pastoral nature of the depiction of the moon in the same number. Danuser sees this type of comparison within other numbers as well as outlined below. The rescinding of the sublime is thus observable on the larger level, especially between Parts 2 and 3, but also between individual numbers—as Levarie noted between numbers 30 and 32—and as seen in Danuser’s chart on page 127 and within particular numbers, such as No. 6 below.

Illustrations of the “Sublime-Idyllic” Effect

It is important to recognize that there are two very different types of sublime present in the oratorio: (1) the sustained sublime of the choruses, and (2) the sublime represented by imitative images as are seen in the arias and recitatives. The analysis of the following represents the movement from sublime to idyllic or pastoral as it is most apparent within individual numbers in the Creation. Model II (A: sublime—B: idyllic) in Parts 1 and 2 is represented by Nos. 3, 6, 12, 15, 21, and 24. The opening stanzas of No. 6, “Rolling in Foaming Billows,” are as follows:

Rolling in foaming billows
Uplifted roars the boist’rous sea.
Mountains and rocks now emerge
Their tops into the clouds ascend,
Thro’ th’open plains outstretching wide
in serpent error rivers flow.
Softly purling glides on
thro’ silent vales the limpid brook.

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65Ibid., 48ff.
66Danuser, "Mishmash or Synthesis?" 50-59.
67Ibid., 54-59.
In this aria, the sublime or “epic” is clearly represented by lines 1-6 of the poetry and the corresponding music as seen in the excerpt in Example 2 below. As Danuser explains:

Example 2. Haydn, Creation, No. 6 “Rolling in Foaming Billows,” excerpt from introduction and A section: measures 7-18, voice and orchestra (piano reduction).

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The sublime topics are consistently foregrounded in three successive phrases; the music for lines 1-2 which includes the orchestra introduction paints the storm-ravaged sea (D minor, mm. 1-12, 13-26); in lines 3-4 “the peak of the mountain” [“der Berge Gipfel”] is illustrated by upward striving (F major, mm. 27-49); and the musical setting of lines 5-6 represents the flow of the broad river with sculpted melodic figures (F major modulating back to D minor, mm. 50-72). 

Conversely, the music and the text of lines 7-8 are a representation of the pastoral, or idyllic:

When the dominant imperfect-cadence resolves into the parallel key of D major, the music is led to the final lines (7-8) of the aria, in which the return to the D tonality opens a new realm to the listener: the sphere of the idyll. A simple exchange between tonic and dominant harmonies serves as the harmonic background as a steady stepwise melody sets a repeat of the opening setting (mm. 73-93, 93-113), corresponding to the aesthetic topic of the text (D major, mm. 73-121).

See Example 3 with measures representative of this section. Thus, beginning at the B section, we see an example of a Model II aria with musical structure moving from sublime to idyllic, which corresponds with the textual pattern proceeding from epic to lyric. No. 32, the aria “In Native Worth and Honor Clad,” also proceeds in this pattern as the text exhibits below:

In native worth and honour clad,  
With beauty, courage, strength adorn’d  
To heav’n erect and tall, he stands a man,  
The Lord and King of nature all.

The large and arched front sublime  
Of wisdom deep declares the seat,  
And in his eyes with brightness shines the soul,  
The breath and image of his God.

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71 Danuser, “Mishmash or Synthesis?” 55.

72 Ibid., 52–55.
With fondness leans upon his breast
The partner for him formed,
A woman, fair and graceful spouse,

Her softly smiling virgin looks,
Of flow’ry spring the mirror,
Bespeak him, love, and joy, and bliss.\(^{73}\)


\(^{73}\)Joseph Haydn, *Die Schöpfung*. 
Haydn’s text-music relationships here correlate with the vivid change between the first and second parts of the aria, varying from the description of man to the description of woman. Although the melodic material of this section is at first the same as that which accompanies the creation of man (see Example 4), by measure 60 the music is transformed from the sublime to the beautiful (see Example 5).\textsuperscript{74}

In summary, the significance of the structural framework in \textit{Creation}’s grand design is important to this study because: (1) it demonstrates how the \textit{Creation} was influenced by \textit{opera buffa}, and thus how Haydn’s composition of sacred music was influenced by contemporaneous techniques that represented an increase in the communication of values at play in the ‘lower,’ naturalistic, emotional, and subjective side of secular entertainment; (2) it demonstrates that Haydn’s oratorio was not a “mishmash” of styles as Schiller wrote, but that it was done in line with Haydn’s idiosyncratic tendencies to compose works of “artful popularity”; and (3) it demonstrates what Kramer would call a “rescinding of the sublime”\textsuperscript{75}—further substantiated in the writings of Webster, Danuser, and Levarie regarding Haydn’s use of alternating styles in the oratorio.

\textsuperscript{74}Danuser, “Mishmash or Synthesis?” 59.

\textsuperscript{75}Kramer, “Recalling the Sublime,” 41-57.
measures 10-24, tenor and orchestra (piano reduction).

Analysis of Text-Music Relationships: Chaos, Light, and Rescinding the Sublime

Following are examples of sections of *Creation* that demonstrate either strong orthodox or Enlightenment ideals, which in effect add to Kramer’s rescinding of the sublime. By extension, in this argument, these may be asserted to be a rescinding of
orthodoxy. Related to this is the key scheme of the oratorio. A thorough traditional musical analysis of *Creation* is not provided, but rather the focus is upon that which pertains directly to this study.

**Symbolism Related to Key**

Understanding key association in the eighteenth century is crucial to the understanding of Haydn’s use of key progression. Basically the overall key structure of the oratorio spans from C to B flat, with C being predominant. Prominent scholars disagree as to whether this progression of keys has symbolic significance, and those that assign it significance disagree as to its meaning. According to Landon, the key of C was associated with the celebration of important rulers. More specifically to sacred music, it was the key of the Austrian solemn mass (*missa solemnis*) in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Following this line of thought, one might assume a connection between the two uses related to the Mass’s celebration of God’s sovereign rule. D minor was long associated with Haydn’s *Sturm und Drang* movements. Similar to C, the key of D major was known as a key of “brightness” and “rejoicing.” Much of Parts 1 and 2 is in C, symbolic here of heaven and the association of man with God himself. However, from the beginning of Part 2 there is a strong departure from C, which only returns with the creation of man in God’s image in No. 24. From here Nos. 26-28 descend in key, the first and third sections, according to Landon foreshadowing the ending of the oratorio in

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76 MacIntyre, *Haydn: 'The Creation,'* 68.

B flat, with E flat, which he calls “the humanistic, Masonic key *par excellence,*” in No. 27. Landon asserts that the use of this key is mimicking Mozart in *Die Zauberflöte* as a key that could easily resolve to C, aligning the pair with good (Sarastro in the opera, or God in the oratorio), or B flat aligning them with evil. According to Landon, No. 28 gives us the answer in B flat. He asserts that much of the key structure of *Creation* is related to *Paradise Lost*’s portrayal of a fall from holiness, first of Satan and then of man. Landon, Levarie, and others believe this is illustrated in the music by a descending progression of key, and its ultimate ending in No. 24 in B flat, rather than C. However, Feder stresses that the same keys that they claim as symbolizing the Fall in Part 3 of the oratorio (B flat and E flat) are keys already used in Parts 1 and 2. Contrastingly, Feder believes that C major and B-flat major make up “two tonal poles,” in which C major is “Creation’s joyful approachable key, and B-flat major is a key that—at least in the movements—piously approaches the creator.” As shall be seen in the analysis of the final numbers below, Berry’s recent assessment resonates with this in so far as B flat portrays man as a lower part of the divine-human hierarchy. Also of note: of the six final masses of Haydn, four are in B flat, which one could suppose very well accounts for its use in the *Creation.* Webster adds that the frequency of Haydn’s use of it may have been

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78Ibid., 401–02.


80Levarie, “The Closing Numbers of *Die Schöpfung,*” 320.

because B flat was commonly the highest pitch Haydn wrote for soprano choral parts.\footnote{James Webster and Georg Feder, “Haydn, Joseph, Sacred Vocal Music,” \textit{Grove Music Online}; accessed August 4, 2012; available from http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.bts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/44593pg8?q=Haydn+Sacred+Vocal\&search=quick\&pos=1\&_start=1\#firsthit; Internet.}

Landon asserts, that “the tonal construction of \textit{The Creation} is of great intricacy, and is inextricably connected with the symbolic nature of Swieten’s text and, even more, Haydn’s music.”\footnote{Landon, \textit{Haydn: The Years of “The Creation” 1796–1800}, 402-03.}

Although this may be true, it should be reiterated that this author’s research has revealed no statements of corroboration by Haydn in relation to a musical representation of the Fall. At any rate, if intended it would be a subtle reference for such a cataclysmic event as the Fall. See the chart below for a representation of the key scheme of the oratorio.\footnote{Feder, \textit{Joseph Haydn}, 24–25. Note: This chart has been altered from the original to better suit the purposes of this dissertation.}

\begin{center}
\textbf{PART I}
\end{center}

\textbf{First Day: Chaos and Night, Light and Day}

\textit{Scene 1}

\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\textbf{No. 1} & \textbf{C minor/ C major} & \textbf{Introduction (Representation of Chaos) Recitative (Raphael, Uriel) and Chorus: Bass/Choir/Tenor} \\
& & “In the Beginning God Created the Heaven and the Earth”
\end{tabular}
No. 2 A major Air (Uriel) with Chorus: “Now Vanish Before the Holy Beams” Tenor/Choir

Second Day: Firmament, Atmospheric Appearances

Scene 2

No. 3 Recitative (Raphael): Bass
   “And God Made the Firmament”

No. 4 C major Solo (Gabriel) and Chorus: Soprano/Choir
   “The Marv'lous Work Beholds Amazed”

Third Day: Land and Sea, Rivers and Mountains, Plants

Scene 3

No. 5 Recitative (Raphael): Bass
   “And God Said, Let the Waters Under the Heaven”

No. 6 D minor/D major Air (Raphael): Bass
   “Rolling in Foaming Billows”

Scene 4

No. 7 Recitative (Gabriel): Soprano
   “And God Said, Let the Earth Bring Forth Grass”

No. 8 B-flat major Air (Gabriel): Soprano
   “With Verdure Clad the Fields Appear “
Scene 5

No. 9    Recitative (Uriel):    Tenor
        “And the Heavenly Host Proclaimed the Third Day”

No. 10  D major    Chorus:    Choir
        “Awake the Harp, the Lyre Awake”

Fourth Day: Sun, Moon, and Stars

Scene 6

No. 11    Recitative (Uriel):    Tenor
        “And God Said, Let There Be Lights in the Firmament”

No. 12    Recitative (Uriel):    Tenor
        “In Splendour Bright is Rising Now”

No. 13    C major    Chorus with Soli (Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael):    Choir/Soprano Tenor/Bass
        “The Heavens are Telling the Glory of God”

PART II

Fifth Day: Fish and Birds

Scene 7

No. 14    Recitative (Gabriel):    Soprano
        “And God Said, Let the Waters Bring Forth”
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<th>No. 15</th>
<th>F major</th>
<th>Air (Gabriel):</th>
<th>Soprano</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>“On Mighty Pens Uplifted Soars”</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 16</td>
<td>Recitative (Raphael):</td>
<td>Bass</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“And God Created Great Whales”</td>
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<td>No. 17</td>
<td>Recitative (Raphael):</td>
<td>Bass</td>
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<td>“And the Angels Struck Their Immortal Harps”</td>
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<td>No. 18</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>Trio (Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael):</td>
<td>Trio</td>
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<td>“Most Beautiful Appear”</td>
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<td>No. 19</td>
<td>Trio and Chorus:</td>
<td>Trio/Choir</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“The Lord is Great”</td>
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**Sixth Day: Land, Animals, and Humans**

*Scene 9*

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<tr>
<th>No. 20</th>
<th>Recitative (Raphael):</th>
<th>Bass</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“And God Said, Let the Earth Bring Forth the Living Creature”</td>
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<td>No. 21</td>
<td>Recitative (Raphael):</td>
<td>Bass</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Straight Opening Her Fertile Womb”</td>
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<td>No. 22</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Air (Raphael):</td>
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<td>“Now Heav’n In All Her Glory Shines”</td>
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*Scene 10*

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<tr>
<th>No. 23</th>
<th>Recitative (Uriel):</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“So God Created Man In His Own Image”</td>
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146
No. 24  C major  Air (Uriel):  Tenor
“In Native Worth and Honour Clad”

Scene 11

No. 25  Recitative (Raphael):  Bass
“And God Saw Ev’rything that He Had Made”

No. 26  B-flat major  Chorus  Choir
“Achieved is the Glorious Work”

No. 27  E-flat major  Trio (Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael):  Soprano/Tenor/Bass
“On Thee Each Living Soul Awaits”

No. 28  B-flat major  Chorus  Choir
“Achieved is the Glorious Work”

PART III

Scene 12

No. 29  E major  Recitative (Uriel):  Tenor
“In Rosy Mantle Appears”

No. 30  C major  Hymn (Eve, Adam, and Chorus):  Soprano/Bass/
“By Thee With Bliss, O Bounteous Lord”  Choir

Scene 13

No. 31  Recitative (Eve, Adam):  Soprano/Bass
“Our Duty We Have Now Performed”

No. 32  E-flat major  Duet (Eve, Adam):  Soprano/Bass
“Graceful Consort! At Thy Side”
Scene 14

No. 33    Recitative (Uriel):                  Tenor
          “O Happy Pair, and Every Happy Still”

No. 34    B-flat Chorus with Soli:             Choir/Soprano
          major “Sing the Lord, Ye Voices All!”  Alto, Tenor, Bass

No. 1. Introduction
(Representation of Chaos)

This number includes an instrumental section, “The Representation of Chaos,” as well as recitative sung by Raphael (bass), and Uriel (tenor), and a choral section. As described by Landon, “in short, ‘Chaos’ is the most modern piece of music of its time.”

The movement uses harmony in a very unconventional way for the common practice period with the purpose of ironically depicting chaos through a highly organized art form. Haydn’s use of harmony blurs a firm sense of tonal center by leading the listener to anticipate cadences, which are then averted. Rosen calls this movement a “slow movement sonata form,” in regard to its use of aspects of sonata form which he deems essential to any larger expressions of the musical language. Chaos is represented within this structure by the “absence of clear articulation of the large phrase-groups, which merge and blend with each other, and by the withholding of clear and definite cadences.” Nevertheless, the best choice of key identification results in a classifying


it—as Webster calls it—an “unstable C Minor [which resolves] into the radiant purity of C Major.” Thus, the orchestral section moves from the depiction of chaos via a sense of tonal disorder to the overwhelming sense of order with which the cadence in C Major finally depicts the creation of light (see Example 6). Johann Georg Sulzer wrote in his _Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste_ (1772-74),

> We are moved as little by the wholly inconceivable as if it never existed. If we are told that God created the world _ex nihilo_ . . . we experience nothing at all, since this lies totally beyond our comprehension. But when Moses says, ‘And God said: Let there be light; and there was light,’ we are overcome with astonishment because we can at least form some idea of such greatness; we hear to some extent words of command and feel their power.

Sulzer’s words help us to understand the profound importance of Haydn’s Representation of Chaos for its contemporaneous listeners. As Berry states, “There, despite what many would have thought, he has shown that the apparently ‘inconceivable’ can be conceived and received in the sublime manner.” It is the power of “word” set to Haydn’s music against the backdrop of chaos that produces such a powerful effect at the moment of the creation of light. More pertinent to this study, Tovey claimed that Haydn was likely mixing the Nebular Hypothesis as theorized by Kant in his Universal Natural History and


88 Webster, “The Sublime and the Pastoral in _The Creation and The Seasons_,” 155.


90 Berry, “Haydn’s _Creation_ and Enlightenment Theology,” 34.
Theory of the Heavens, which had been widely read by the 1790s, with Christian orthodoxy. Regarding the “Representation of Chaos,” Tovey states,

He [Haydn] has a remarkably consistent notion of it, which harmonizes well enough with the Biblical account of the Creation; not less well with the classical notions of Chaos, whether in Hesiod or Ovid; but most closely with the Nebular Hypothesis of Kant and Laplace, which almost certainly attracted Haydn’s attention. 

Even the Nebular Hypothesis (an evolutionary theory) was attempting to define “the traditional Christian doctrine of Creation in space and time (whose validity would be both proven and denied in his subsequent critical philosophy).” Kant argued, “there is a God precisely because nature can proceed even in Chaos in no other way than regularly and orderly.” MacIntyre asserts that the musical battle between major and minor tonality (or light vs. darkness) may be representative of the battle between God and Satan. As aforementioned Paradise Lost gives us a description of the chaos that implied more than just the forming of the cosmos and earth by God:

As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
A dungeon horrible, on all sides round
With ever-burning sulfur unconsumed:
Such place eternal justice had prepared

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91Tovey, Vocal Music, 114.
92Berry, “Haydn’s Creation and Enlightenment Theology,” 33.
94MacIntyre, Haydn: ‘The Creation,’ 79.
For those rebellious, here their prison ordained
In utter darkness, and their portion set
As far removed from God and light of Heaven
As from the center thrice to the utmost pole. 95

Related to this passage, Tovey comments,

His librettist, the Baron Van Swieten, did not give him Milton’s phrase ‘loud misrule of Chaos’, and this is just as well, for the work has nothing to do with the fiery ocean into which the rebel angels fell, and Haydn’s symphonic nebular hypothesis is much more musical, as well as more universal. 96

The extra-musical meaning does not end here. Kramer builds on the evolutionary and Christian interpretations of Tovey asserting that there are musical references to Boethius’s harmonia mundi in Haydn’s development from chaos to light. Opening on unison C (see Example 7), Kramer cites Haydn’s Urklang (first sound), as a sound “not yet intelligible, not yet even music.” 97 Kramer continues his explanation of the opening measures:

Measure 2 quietly begins motion in tempo by adding tone to tone, assembling the raw materials of harmony. The middle C at the core of the Urklang reappears as a bass, first of a minor interval, (c1-e♭1), then of a major chord (c1-e♭1-a♭1). Neither tonic nor dominant nor in root position, this first—call it the chaos chord—is a model of instability. It progresses to dissonant polyphony around the dominant of C minor in measure 3, which in turn leads to a linear unison statement in measure 4. The unison rather grimly echoes the texture of the Urklang, but it also consolidates the dominant of C minor. The next measure will bring disruption—a new orchestral thrust that fades into the chaos chord—but a horizon of consonance has been traced, a cadence promised. Tonal harmony has evolved from unharmonized tone.

With this gesture, Haydn forms the nucleus of everything to follow. He at once invokes the Classical/Christian metaphor of harmonia mundi and makes that

95 Paradise Lost, I, 61–74.
96 Tovey, Essays in Musical Analysis, 114–15.
metaphor evolutionary, scientific, modern, by deferring its realization in a cadence, projecting the cadence forward as the outcome of a more comprehensive process.\textsuperscript{98}


Kramer asserts that the contemporaneous Enlightenment society would have been very familiar with the concept of the music of the spheres,

For Haydn, who lives in a fully Newtonian world, the same metaphor [\textit{harmonia mundi}] embodies an awesome mystery that arises at the crossroads of human reason and transcendental truth. By articulating a natural alliance between these terms, \textit{The Creation} voices a principal Enlightenment ideal. Yet the extravagance of Haydn’s expressive means, and perhaps of their reception too, suggests a certain strain, a penumbral acknowledgment that the ideal is already breaking down.\textsuperscript{99}

Interestingly, there was a tradition in the Renaissance that believed that before the Fall, man could literally hear the music of the spheres, and that only because of our fallen condition are we deafened to it.\textsuperscript{100} Kramer sums up his discourse related to this:

To put this in other terms the creation cadence intertwines the tradition of hearing the light with eighteenth-century representations of spiritual harmony that speak of human perfectibility, the recovery of nature as unfallen and divinely ordered, the

\textsuperscript{98}Ibid., 144–45.

\textsuperscript{99}Kramer, “Music and Representation,” 160.

\textsuperscript{100}Ibid., 156.
creation of amity through idealizing the work of civilization. The role of *The Creation* as a utopian ritual is the real significance of the bursts of applause that, in Haydn’s day, regularly used to greet the annunciation of light.\(^{101}\)

**No. 2. Air (Uriel) with Chorus: “Now Vanish Before the Holy Beams”**

As Berry affirms, this sole mention of Satan and his demons in *Creation* is very different from *Paradise Lost*,\(^ {102}\) where he is a primary character. The dramatic tenor solo with chorus concludes the first scene (also the first day). This is begun by the driving away of the “shadows” of hell’s spirits by God’s light (see Example 8). In Milton’s story, these will continue to inhabit and spy upon the world.\(^ {103}\) Once A major is reestablished in this number’s key scheme, “[a] new created world springs up at God’s command.”\(^ {104}\) Landon asserts,

> It was the eighteenth-century concept of order restored, it was Masonic symbolism (even the tripartite form) and man’s longing for symmetry; it was Josephinian Enlightenment and the negation of darkness and violence, the banishment of ‘Unordnung and frühes Lied’ [disorder and early song].\(^ {105}\)

This concept of “order,” used repeatedly in the work, was “a constant preoccupation of the Enlightenment—theologically, socially, and politically.”\(^ {106}\) Pervasive in *Creation* is a

\(^{101}\) Ibid., 157.

\(^{102}\) Berry, “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology,” 35.


\(^{105}\) Ibid., 415–16.

tension “which poses the spontaneous joys of paradise against the need to enforce (and not just in paradise) the regime of natural and social hierarchy.”

If the work were to


hold to this need in regard to Divine sovereignty, in this aspect, one could affirm that it falls in line with Christian orthodoxy. However, as aforementioned, according to Berry this aria also is a metaphor for the eradication of the “supernatural from nature.” Thus man was “rescued [via the light of rationalism] from the clutches of Satan and the Fall,” now seen as silly notions of the past. This perspective would have been compatible with Enlightenment religion of England and Austria, and appealing to its adherents.¹⁰⁸

**No. 8. Air (Gabriel): “With Verdure Clad the Fields Appear”**

Likely, “With verdure clad’ in B¨ is the “most famous single aria in Creation.”¹⁰⁹ It exemplifies Haydn’s pastoral style and thus is an echo of Rousseau’s call, “Back to nature!” This call was resisted by Mozart, “because of upbringing and inclination.”

But Haydn, always closely attached to the soil, and now with immense sophistication of musical language, was able to sum up eighteenth-century man’s longing for real nature. In a civilization with so much magnificent artifice, the ‘Back-to nature’ movement was vitally important, indeed life-saving (or at least, in Haydn’s case, life-enhancing). The horn calls (bars 16, 18 and of course later) are all part of Haydn’s bag-of-tricks to conjure up the field and hedge: *La chasse* was never far from man’s concept of nature in those days, and certainly not from Haydn’s. Yet his references to it are oblique: the Aria is in the ‘hunting metere of six-eight, yet we are never given the direct horn calls à *La Chasse* (= Symphony No. 73). The horn and the metre are there, but the ‘calls’ are nostalgic rather than martial.¹¹⁰

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¹⁰⁸ Berry, “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology,” 36.


¹¹⁰ Ibid., 418–19.
Haydn’s emphasis on the beautiful in nature as opposed to the sublime is seen in Example 9.

Example 9. Haydn, *Creation*, No. 8 “With Verdure Clad the Fields Appear,” measures 1-10 and mm. 15-19, soprano and orchestra (piano reduction).
No. 9. Recitative (Uriel): “And the Heavenly Host Proclaimed the Third Day” and No. 10. Chorus: “Awake the Harp, the Lyre Awake”

Landon gives an adequate analysis of this number for this study:

If there is any part of the Oratorio which suggests a direct comparison with Handel, this Chorus is surely it: partly because it is in Handel’s characteristic trumpet key of D, partly because we have a fugue in the middle. But we must recall that this modernized Handel, with the orchestration of the Mozart-ized Messiah and with the trumpets restricted (as they were in Mozart’s much criticized adaptation).\[111\]

No. 13. Chorus with Soli (Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael): “The Heavens Are Telling the Glory of God”

Here the key of C returns again as a metaphor for order (see Example 10). The key is established at the opening and after an exciting sequential deviation, returns with great fanfare.\[112\] In addition to noting the significance of the return to C major, Landon notes that the flute figures from measures 31 and forward are imitative of dove calls, important because the dove is “the ancient symbol for ‘Et incarnates est’” (the incarnation). Landon remarks that the same symbol appears again in Haydn’s Shöpfungsmesse of 1801, as indication of peace pervading the atmosphere as the result of Christ made flesh.\[113\] MacIntyre notes, “van Swieten and Haydn could have considered ‘the word’ resounding ‘in all lands’ as ‘the Word,’ a symbol of God and Christ, the ‘light’ upon the earth.”\[114\]

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\[112\] Ibid., 420.


\[114\] MacIntyre, *Haydn: ‘The Creation’*, 120.
Interestingly, MacIntyre gives evidence that the opening theme of this movement “has strong motivic connections within the oratorio as a whole.” The melodic pattern using scale degrees 5-1-2-3-1 is “related to a later theme of the movement, but one can hear it as an Ur-Melodie, a fundamental melody that has relationships with earlier and later movements, specifically, nos. 5, 9, 16, 19, 24, 28, and 30.” MacIntyre cites several musical examples illustrating these relationships.

The central importance of this piece can be seen in Haydn’s symbolic use of the key of C (order) combined with: (1) the powerful homophonic declamations of “the heavens are telling the glory of God,” and (2) the “order” possibly implied by correlations between polyphony and harmonica mundi, in addition to (3) the many other echoes in the oratorio of the opening theme. From these associations, one can understand that contemporaneous Newtonian audiences would have once again made strong textual and musical connections with Boethius’s harmonia mundi. The message that the world was created by God seems to be reinforced by all of these connections.

No. 16. Recitative (Raphael): “And God Created Great Whales”

God’s command to “be fruitful and multiply” is illustrated by the use of a five-part rhythmic contrapuntal texture of orchestral strings. Sisman points out Haydn’s text painting in the large scale melodic shape, in which the highest pitch in each phrase

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115 Ibid., 121.
116 Ibid., 121–23.
117 MacIntyre, Haydn, ‘The Creation,’ 139.

expands upward, B flat—C—D and then returns to A, accompanied by ascending chord progressions (see Example 11).\(^{118}\)

Sisman asserts:

The real issue here is the meaning of God’s injunction: first, life is meant to fill the available spaces He has created for this purpose, so that nature will resound with His praises, and second, by extension, life is meant to continue. The principles of plentitude and continuity are thus exemplified in a musical texture that explores the very ground and nature of fundamental things. These elements were identified by Lovejoy in his classic study as the essence of the “Great Chain of Being,” a central Enlightenment idea about the logical connections in reality. As a musical emblem of an idea, the “Be fruitful” recitative is presented in a rhetorical mode of direct address. . . . Thus the setting differs in its degree of presence from those specializing in description; it becomes part of a general truth, even an abstraction. Finally, it is part of a blessing: it embodies a holy truth about the purpose of life. And God is the agent. If the spirit of God could be heard moving on the face of the waters and if the creative power of God could be heard in the light-summoning pizzicato, then here we have the voice of God envisioning the plenum.\(^ {119}\)


\(^{119}\)Sisman, “The Voice of God in Haydn’s *Creation*,” 164.
Supporting Sisman’s assertions as to how the “voice of God” is heard in *Creation* is
MacIntyre’s reminder that “in the eighteenth-century sacred music, the words of God and
Christ were traditionally delegated to the bass voice.”120 Here the text is set for a bass
soloist, so one could assert that this passage, as much of the oratorio, illustrates a
synthesis of Enlightenment philosophy and orthodox Christian belief. Interestingly,
*Creation* omits the ‘Creation Mandate’ as given unto man in Genesis 1:28, “And God
blessed them, and God said unto them, “Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the
earth.”121 Sisman observes, “The text of The *Creation*, which has thus far followed the
King James Bible closely, omits the second command, indeed more or less ending its
bible-derived material at this point.”122 It should be noted that Sisman gives several
examples as to how Haydn used text-music connections to display the power and voice of
God (i.e.: spirit of God moving over the face of the waters, and the light summoning
pizzicato, as well as the creation of animal life). Her article is masterful in its explanation
of how Haydn used “general” or “broad assertions of faith” mixed with its “particular”
expression of images.123 However, it is what is left out of the oratorio’s general faith
proclamations that are of greater concern to this study, as orthodox Christianity requires
much greater scriptural adherence regarding its belief in God than does natural theology.

120 MacIntyre, *Haydn, 'The Creation,'* 139.

121 “The Official King James Bible Online”; Authorized Version; accessed on August


123 Ibid, 159–73.
No. 22. Aria (Raphael): “Now Heav’n in All Her Glory Shines”

Although most of creation has already taken place, the text of this aria is derived from *Paradise Lost*, book seven, as well as Genesis 1:26 and its call from God for the creation of mankind:124 “And God said, let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.”125 MacIntyre points to the fact that the aria uses harmonic openness to signify that it is awaiting “completion” in the next recitative and aria. Haydn sets this number in D major, one of the aforementioned traditional keys for brightness—associated earlier with the rising of the sun in number 12—to “announce the arrival of God’s ‘enlightened’ creature: the human being.” Similarly the aria’s majestic style correlates with man’s role as “‘King’ and overseer of God’s creation.”126

No. 23. Recitative: “So God Created Man in His Own Image” and 24. Air (Uriel): “In Native Worth and Honour Clad”

The creation of man is a centerpiece of the work’s “Enlightenment humanism.” According to Berry, this movement almost equates the praise of man with the praise of God. He furthermore asserts that this aligns the work more to Renaissance humanism than it does orthodox belief of Anglicans or Catholics.127

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125 “The Official King James Bible Online.”
In native worth and honour clad,
With beauty, courage, strength adorn’d
To heav’n erect and tall, he stands a man,
The Lord and King of nature all.

The large and arched front sublime
Of wisdom deep declares the seat,
And in his eyes with brightness shines the soul,
The breath and image of his God.128

The piece is in the key of C, which is the key of the opening “light” choral passage, and “The Heavens are Telling the Glory of God.” It is the only instance of this key in Part 2 of the oratorio. As Berry states, “the natural world receives secondary enlightenment when God creates man in his own image.”129 The text here is from Milton: “Two of far nobler shape and tall,/Godlike erect, with native Honour clad./In naked Majesty seem’d Lords of all.” In favor of orthodoxy, the work denies the spirit of the times which would push toward a view of man based upon romantic wonder and mystery. Instead it reserves this emotion for the breath of God, as expressed in the accompanying harmony.130 “The breath and image” are symbolized by a wonderful modulation to A flat.131 MacIntryre reminds us that the phrase, “Lord and King of Nature all” comes from Genesis 128, “in which humans are granted dominion ‘over every living thing that

127 Berry, “Haydn’s Creation and Enlightenment Theology,” 37.
128 Haydn, Die Schöpfung, 246-53.
129 Berry, “Haydn’s Creation and Enlightenment Theology,” 38.
130 Ibid., 38.
131 Landon, Haydn: The Years of ‘The Creation’ 1796-1800, 422.
moveth upon the earth.” So in one sense this aria is an orthodox statement of “admiration of man at his best.” Thus, Berry asserts that this ennoblement of the highest created figure of authority on earth gives clarity to the great emphasis upon order which precedes it. However, one can see that mankind as highest in the order of creation is ultimately given a deistic self-sufficiency in Haydn’s *Creation*, without the libretto’s mention of original sin.

**No. 26. Chorus: “Achieved is the Glorious Work”**

MacIntyre maintains that this chorus is modeled upon Handel’s choruses in its “orchestral ritornellos, bass lines of continuous eighths, and glorious fugues that evolve into declamatory homophony.” Also Handelian are chords in concerto response style between the chorus and orchestra in mm. 11-12, as well as “the sopranos ascending fourths on ‘Our song let be the praise of God,’ a motive that is forcefully imitated by the rest of the chorus (mm. 20-24).” The music and text of this movement return in No. 28, to which MacIntyre assigns a “timeless quality” regarding the music of the double fugue.

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133 Berry, “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology,” 38.

134 Ibid.

No. 30. Hymn (Eve, Adam and Chorus, “By Thee with Bliss, O Bounteous Lord”; and No. 32. Duet (Eve, Adam), “Graceful Consort! At Thy Side”

In Hymn No. 30, the praise of God is given for the blessings of God’s goodness to mankind. Here again the music is in C, extolling God as “bounteous Lord,” whose “word call’d forth this wond’rous frame,” and to “praise thee now and ever more.” The above hymn, textually and musically carries out Gall’s Reform Catholicism which encouraged instructors not to ceaselessly “threaten with the Devil,” but to encourage a love and praise for God based upon “rational understanding,” in this case, the knowledge of his benevolence and “chief purpose . . . to make us the noblest creatures on earth and to make us exceedingly happy.” Both Austria’s and England’s leaning toward rational religion supported the belief in God based upon the reasonable assertion of the design of creation, although England’s emphasis upon this may have been earlier in the century. In Nos. 31 and 32 Adam and Eve are on their own in the garden. The key of E flat is used in No. 32 [via B flat in 31]. As aforementioned, Siegmund Levarie asserts that No. 32 is a parody of No. 30, with the listener earthbound, only in the presence of man. He notes that while Nos. 30 and 32 have two different textual emphases, the first centers upon God and His praise, and the second upon man and his “earthy pleasures.” James Webster argues that these are not “worldly pleasures” as in

136 Berry, "Haydn's Creation and Enlightenment Theology," 38.

137 Ibid., 38.

138 Ibid., 38, 39.

the sense of sinful sexuality, however, because sexual union in Eden’s paradise was chaste. Furthermore, this biblical truth was affirmed by Milton:

Hail, wedded love . . .
. . . sole propriety
In Paradise of all things common else. . . .
Far be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets,
Whose bed is undefiled and chaste pronounced . . .

Thus, Webster claims,

Swieten and Haydn portrayed Adam and Eve as human in both senses: as created in the image of God, and as our parents; but they did not portray them as subject to the fall, certainly not in this love-duet. Indeed it was precisely this “earthy” tune that Haydn notoriously—gloriously—recycled in the “Creation Mass.” . . . The Creation originated in a conservative but optimistic context of belief in rational understanding and human progress, in which the dominant religious sense was deistic rather than dogmatic. . . . It was one of the last visions of Enlightenment, beside which can be set only Die Zauberflöte and (in a later Utopian mode) Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.

No. 33. Recitative, Uriel: “O Happy Pair, and Ever Happy Still”

Different English translations of the text can vary the meaning of Uriel’s warning to Adam and Eve. In German, it reads as follows:

O glücklich Paar, und glücklich immerfort,
Wenn falscher Wahn euch nicht verführt
Noch mehr zu wünschen, als ihr habt,
Und mehr zu wissen als ihr sollt!

142 Haydn, Die Schöpfung, 413.
As MacIntyre points out,

Literally, the German means: “Oh happy couple, and happy forever and ever, if false fancy (Wahn) does not lead you astray to wish for more than you have and to know more than you should.” Than—not as, the usual translation—is the correct rendering of the conjunction als in the context of the final two lines. The librettos for the first London performances correctly used than but had a different punctuation and word order for the second line: “If not, by false conceit, misled.”

MacIntyre adds the decent of the melodic line to Levarie’s assertion that the descent in chords is symbolic of the Fall. However, Kramer explains that this brief warning placed within its context serves again as part of the Enlightenment message of the oratorio:

The withdrawal of the sublime is the precondition for a creation narrative from which the fall, too, has been withdrawn – the first chapter of what in Haydn’s day would have been called a universal history, the last chapter of which had yet to be written. This withdrawal is not just a matter of omission, nor even of the distinction between representing the fall and intimating it. *The Creation* makes the intimation, and could hardly have done otherwise, but it withdraws the fall by treating the intimation as an irritant. Just before the jubilant final chorus, a sour recitative exiles itself from the paradise of C major and sounds the word of warning. But the recitative lasts all of twenty-five seconds before the finale swallows it up. Like everyone in its audience, the work knows the fall is on the way, but it refuses to dwell on the fact. It acknowledges what it must and then bites its tongue.

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No. 34. Chorus with Soli: “Sing the Lord, Ye Voices All”

The final Chorus is a chorus of praise in the key of B flat. As aforementioned, Levarie’s and Landon’s conclusion is that Haydn drops the key here to signify the Fall,

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143 MacIntyre, *Haydn, 'The Creation,'* 213.

144 Ibid, 214.

demonstrating his lack of support for its omission in the libretto. Along with Feder, Berry presents another point of view. He believes that the drop in key, ending the work on B flat, when it begins in C and emphasizes C, is a simply a signification of the “hierarchy within God’s Creation.”\(^{146}\) Thus, by ending on B flat, Haydn is signifying that man, although created in God’s image and as His vice-regent on earth, is still lower than God himself.

Although, Part 3 is largely the voice of Adam and Eve,

The last word is God’s presence filtered through the most palpable musical idea of the work: the Light motive, in the final fugue to the final chorus, . . . [to the text]

“The Lord is great.” Haydn unites general and particular, divine and human, just as in “real life” he united the people with their Emperor by means of a the remarkable new national anthem (“Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser”) he had composed while working on *The Creation*.\(^ {147}\)

Although this claim may be true, as numerous Haydn scholars have attested to in this writing, Haydn’s uniting of God and man was in an Enlightenment, optimistic sense, not in the orthodox Christian sense which necessitates the mediation of Jesus Christ for removal of sin.

**Conclusion**

Alongside *The Seasons*, Haydn’s *Creation* stands as one of the final monuments to Enlightened Catholicism. *The Creation* is the product of an environment very different from that in which Bach assembled the Mass in B minor, but also quite distinct from that in which Beethoven composed the Mass in D. . . . Throughout Swieten’s libretto, deistic thoughts inspired by contemplation of nature are converted into direct prayers of thanksgiving and praise to the living God. . . . It is not the theology of the later Hegel or of romantic Christianity, but the moralism of the later eighteenth century: one can imagine those who dwelled beneath the heavenly canopy praying, after a fashion similar to the subjects of Hegel’s Kantian

\(^{146}\) Berry, “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology,” 40.

\(^{147}\) Sisman, “The Voice of God in Haydn’s *Creation*,” 169.
kingdom, that all rational creatures should have no law other than that of their moral conscience.\footnote{148}

A robust understanding of the intended message of Haydn’s \textit{Creation} may be based upon knowledge of (1) the purpose of the work according to Haydn; (2) it’s revisionist theology; (3) its use of a mixture of musical styles resulting essentially in what Kramer calls a rescinding of the sublime; and (4) the cumulative weight of text-music relationships in the work as observed by several Haydn scholars. From the author’s studies, all seem to position it as a work in which both text and music were thoroughly influenced by the Enlightenment.

The influence of humanistic optimism, a component of natural theology, is the primary element of this Enlightenment influence. According to Haydn, the purposes of the work were essentially (1) the “pleasure” and “happiness” of others; and (2) “to heighten . . . sacred emotions in the heart of the listener, and to put him in a frame of mind where he is most susceptible to the kindness and omnipotence of the Creator.” Historical studies of Enlightenment values place pleasure and happiness at the center of importance, and according to Wangemann, Austrian Enlightenment Reform Catholicism emphasized the benevolence of God at the expense of the fear of God. The de-emphasis of God’s just nature is expressed in the \textit{Creation} primarily by its lack of mention of the Fall and the promised punishment incurred by mankind. Its push towards natural theology is also expressed by the libretto’s great restriction of the influence of Satan and demons in the world, when compared with their depiction in both \textit{Paradise Lost} and the Bible.

\footnote{148}{Berry, “Haydn’s \textit{Creation} and Enlightenment Theology,” 44.}
An emphasis upon naturalism, or what Kramer calls “rescinding the sublime,” can also be seen in the work’s musical display as presented in its mixture of musical styles. Kramer associates the musical sublime with the orchestral expression of chaos and the appearance of light, while Danuser associates the sublime with Haydn’s use of contrapuntal choruses; Webster affirms both of these associations. These sublime musical expressions may be associated with the biblical sublime as described in chapter three. Thus may be seen a parallel between an expression of the biblical sublime (Christian orthodoxy) in the musical sublime, and a contrasting parallel between the natural theology expressed in the libretto (representing man in paradise and apart from the Fall), and the naturalistic expression of music through images which “idealize nature” and opera buffa (style galant) solo sections in Part 3. As Webster asserts, “the word-paintings [have a] role in articulating the optimistic deism of The Creation because they induce us to identify with nature while it is still the original ‘Arcadia.’” When these are seen in the context of “recalling” or “rescinding” the sublime, the ultimate message of the oratorio may be more closely oriented with natural theology.

A clarification should be made here between Danuser’s and Kramer’s thinking. According to Danuser, each successive chorus in Parts 1 and 2 intensifies the amplification of the sublime. On one level this would seem to contrast Kramer’s assertion of continual rescinding of the sublime, as Kramer makes no mention of the choruses (after the creation of light) as being part of the sublime. However, considering

\[149\] Webster, “The Sublime and the Pastoral in The Creation and The Seasons,” 156.

\[150\] Danuser, “Mishmash or Synthesis?” 64.
(1) the humanistic shift of emphases, postulated by Danuser between Part 2 and Part 3; and (2) the lack of presentation of the Fall, the cumulative “spiritual effect” would seem to be one of Enlightenment optimistic theology. This effect is created by a counterpoint between (1) rescinding of the sublime through the celebration of earthly images peaking with an emphasis upon mankind and his life in the beauty of the created world; and (2) a magnification, or celebration of God through the use of sublime choruses as the one who has initiated these great wonders. In this sense, the use of the sublime assumes an Enlightenment cast in its celebration of a humanistic vision. This was, after all, the intended purpose of van Swieten’s moralizing artistry.

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151 Ibid., 74–75.
The established place that Haydn’s *Creation* enjoys today in the canon of great oratorio masterpieces is largely unquestioned. But how was the work viewed at the time it appeared in Austria and England? For the purposes of the present study, consideration of the work’s reception in England and Austria will be limited to roughly the twenty years following the premiere in 1798. This limitation is important not only because this study seeks to measure the contemporaneous reception of the *Creation* by its two target audiences, but also to illustrate the great shift taking place in musical taste and composition during the late-Classical and early romantic periods. There were many immediately after the premiere who seemingly were challenged by Haydn’s depiction of chaos, while just a few short years later there were those who could no longer relate to the imagery of the text-painting. Those hearing and studying this work today are far removed from the wake of shifting worldview around the time of its composition, but this was not the case for those who lived at the time of Haydn.¹

Introduction to Reception History

Before citing historic record regarding the contemporaneous reception of Creation it is important to discuss factors that significantly contributed to the reception of this work. Phillip Downs remarks as to the inclusivity of the oratorio:

All aspects of the composition of The Creation, whether accompanied recitative, unaccompanied recitative, aria or chorus, all receive the blessing of Haydn’s inspired and imaginative intellect, and in the all embracing miracle of the oratorio, that goes beyond any one religion in speaking to all mankind, childlike naiveté and mature intellect are united much as in Mozart’s Die Zauberflöte. And as with Die Zauberflöte, Haydn’s Creation met with popular and widespread success, again demonstrating that the ideals of eighteenth century music were not exclusive but inclusive, and they reached over boundaries of class, nationality, and religion to embrace all thinking and feeling people. Haydn’s achievement places him beside Mozart and Beethoven as one of the great humanists of music.\(^2\)

As the above quotation implies, the ideal of religious tolerance was closely related to inclusivity during the Age of Reason or Enlightenment. As mentioned in chapter 2, Haydn was likely influenced by the tolerance movement through the literature of Shafesbury and Gellert as well as others. Why was the message of religious tolerance important to the success of Haydn’s Creation? Three scholars, Feder, Downs, and Thormählen, uncover the answers. Feder asserts that

It would have been a disadvantage for the work’s broad/general acceptance to keep the role of Satan and to depict Adam and Eve as the first sinners, as had been done for centuries in the adaptations [of the Biblical creation narrative] which pointed to the redemption through Jesus Christ, namely the greatest of these, John Milton’s Paradise Lost (completed in 1663 and published in a definitive edition in 1674 in twelve “books”) . . . In its fundamental orientation, Haydn’s oratorio follows more a new direction of creation poems that are no longer interested in original sin and redemption, but rather in the dignity, beauty, and purposefulness of the creation, poems that connect their marveling observation with praise about the greatness and graciousness of God, if not actual (scientific-theological) proof of his existence.

After mid-century, such poems took on a sentimental hue [emfindsamer Färbung]; several were set to music.³

Assuming this statement of Feder is true, this knowledge must color our understanding of the reception of Creation, as expressed in the general tenor of the following accounts, and give testimony to the prevalence of Enlightenment philosophy’s influence in both contemporaneous Austrian and English societies. Also apparent is that musical tolerance (or inclusivity) was part of the success of Creation. A. Peter Brown comments that the formula for its success was its “marvelous integration of the popular and learned, and its adaptability to local [performance] requirements.” He also credits its “marvelous synthesis of Baroque textures and rhetoric, classic simplicity, and romantic color.”⁴

Thus, inclusivity was demonstrated in the Creation in both its mixture of styles and its universal message of creation theology. The latter, through the failure to mention sin and the need for a savior, opened wide the door for van Swieten to realize a vision for an oratorio that encouraged natural theology’s message of moralism as cultivated through the development of taste in music.⁵ Thus, we see a second way (besides Kramer’s concept of Haydn’s rescinding the sublime) that the music itself, apart from the theology expressed in the libretto, was likely intentionally written to encourage natural theology. In any case, it seems highly likely that Swieten’s experience as a successful musical

³Georg Feder, Joseph Haydn: ‘Die Schöpfung’ (Kassel: Barenrieter, 1999), 16. This quotation was translated by Deborah Haller and Esther Crookshank.


⁵In chap. 2, van Swieten’s Enlightenment philosophy pertaining to this was discussed, which was the same as the Third Earl of Shaftesbury’s and Gellert’s—that by instilling taste for beauty in art, one could also fashion moral taste in the individual.
patron and role as co-architect with Haydn had dramatic influence upon the philosophical intentions and the successful reception of Creation.

Research reveals that Landon has compiled the largest known ensemble of contemporaneous English and Austrian materials regarding the reception of Creation. A review of these materials reveals both affirmative and negative appraisals of the oratorio. Reception materials mentioned below are limited to those that specifically demonstrate how Creation was impacted by the Enlightenment.

**Positive Austrian Reception**

The Austrian reception of Creation was overwhelmingly positive despite criticism in regard to certain aspects of the oratorio. This positive reception was typical, as Temperley states:

*The Creation has proved to be one of the most universal of musical works, gaining acceptance among all classes and in all lands where European music is appreciated. It has been a standard throughout Europe from Haydn’s time until our own.*

The first season of performances all took place at the Palais Schwarzenberg, Vienna. Silverstolpe gives an account of patron Prince Schwarzenberg’s reaction to one of the early rehearsals, “Prince Schwarzenberg . . . was so utterly enchanted by the many beauties of the work that he presented the composer with a roll containing one hundred ducats, over and above the 500 that were part of the agreement.”

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of the first performances, “a number of first-hand accounts bear witness to the ecstatic reception and the furor that followed in Viennese aristocratic circles. Because of the enormous demand, two additional performances were given on 7 and 10 May.”  

Temperley makes the distinction that these performances of 1798 were “exclusive and semi-private.” The first performance for the general public took place at the Burgtheater on March 19, 1799. This performance differed from earlier ones in that it included “additional parts for bass trombone and contrabassoon and tripled the wind parts, as shown in some of the early sources.” As Temperley states,

This time the performance was on a grander ‘public’ scale, though still small by comparison with the Handel Festival which Haydn had witnessed in 1791. The most reliable accounts suggest that about 180 performers took part, as in all Haydn’s full-scale performances of the work: probably about 120 players and 60 singers (men and boys). . . . The success of this performance was stupendous, indeed rarely equaled in the history of music.

The following account is taken from the diary of Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, who attended the first public performance:

At about 4 o’clock Agnes and Tonerl and I went to Haydn’s concert at the Burg Theater. Never since the theatre was built has there been such a fearful and dangerous press. Pfersman let us through the office and gallery to the box-office, and we were thus able to get good seats. [Landon’s preface to this states that although the concert started at 7:00, it was already crowded outside the theatre by 4:00.]

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8Temperley, Haydn, 35–36.


10Ibid., 35–36.

The performing forces including orchestra together with chorus, numbered 400. Notes taken from the memoirs Johan Fredrik (violinist and composer), cousin of the more famous Franz include the following.

The whole thing went off wonderfully. Between the sections of the work, tumultuous applause; during each section, however, it was as still as the grave. When it was over, there were calls, ‘Father Haydn to the front! Father Haydn to the front!’ Finally the old man came forward and was greeted with a tumultuous Applaudissement and with cries, ‘Long live Father Haydn! Long live music!’ The imperial majesties were all present and joined in the ‘bravo’ calls.  

Landon writes regarding the response to this initial public concert:

All things considered, Haydn had entered the hearts of his countrymen in a way that no composer had ever done to that extent previously. It is really almost as if The Creation was man’s hope for a peaceful future (uncertain, at best in 1799) and man’s consolation for a clouded present. That it brought real comfort, consolation and joy to thousands of Viennese and, very soon, other Europeans, is clear from every document quoted above. Never in the history of music, not even Handel with his Messiah (hardly known, for example, in France, Spain, Italy, or Russia), had a composer judged the temper of his time with such smashing success.  

Beethoven compared one of his own works successes, Septet, Op. 20 for four stringed and three wind instruments, to Creation. Landon states,

When it was first performed at one of the concerts in the Palais Schwarzenberg, where it was highly appreciated, Beethoven said, grimly, “That is my Creation” (“Das ist meine ‘Schöpfung’”). At that point he obviously placed the Septet on the same level as Haydn’s Oratorio. Later he was to rue the Septet’s popularity (‘He could not endure his Septet and grew angry because of the universal applause with which it was received’, as Czerny observed to Mozart’s biographer, Otto Jahn).  

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The following review excerpts are by musician Carl Zelter from the sixth letter dated January 8, 1801, of a collection: *Letters to a Friend about Music in Berlin*, regarding a performance given on January 5 at the Royal Opera House.\(^{15}\)

Among all the products of recent German art, Haydn’s *Creation* is without doubt the most original and free. It can only be compared to itself and is therefore difficult to judge. From the praise and criticism which are known to me in writing and by word-of-mouth, I soon realized in judging this very special [eigen] work that one cannot start from the old theory of oratorio (if there exists such a thing); but this Oratorio, as the master has now decided to entitle it, constitutes a new task for the musical aesthete, who must work out for it a new theory as valuable as the old one, which neither cuts nor pricks.\(^{16}\)

Interestingly, Zelter felt that only Handel in *Messiah* worked into his oratorio a “general” sense of music as it was commonly understood in Protestant public worship:

The first and only man who transferred this spirit of generality to Protestant church music was the immortal Handel in *Messiah*, which he also called an oratorio, though the generally understandable (and understood) text consisted of simple phrases from the Bible that filled the heart, fortified the senses, strengthened love and nourished the spirit.\(^{17}\)

Zelter continues, “Of all this we find nothing in Haydn’s *Creation*, it is a ‘creation’ of its own kind, a free play of the Art, which serves the master’s hand in constructing a new garden, a new earth.” He then describes the Overture, representing chaos, appreciating its “huge forces,” and its programmatic nature. He sees the overture and creation of light as a “tone poem,” delighting in its highlighting of “the true imagination of a great soul which should, and does, describe to the inner mind gigantic forces which gradually give


\(^{17}\) Ibid., 587.
way to order.”\footnote{18} Regarding \textit{Creation’s} purpose Zelter asserts that it is focused upon “ideals and instrumental music,” an interesting comment considering the background of its creators. Furthermore, he describes the music as seeming independent from the words,\footnote{19} and referring to Haydn’s genius at work he states,

Everything warm, moving, that comes from participation and sympathy, is purposely avoided, and the poem stops just where sorrows and passions begin, before the Fall, with only the significant warning to the first human couple not to crave for more than they know and have. With every right, one could call this work of art the Paradise of Music. It is a garden, full of the loveliest flowers, crops, herbs and trees, so that imitators of the great master may have a rich harvest for their operas and concertos.\footnote{20}

Regarding style, “Haydn remains . . . the finest model of his time. Apart from learned sections and the figured passages, in which one learns to recognize the experienced master, it is the free motion here, with which everything moves according to the beautiful rules, that is heavenly and unique in its fashion.”\footnote{21}

Continuing this overwhelmingly positive review Zelter states, “What I have said here can and must only serve to open the door to an ever vital criticism; or if possible to establish a criterion whereby the obviously lost observer may follow the path of a new comet [Haydn] on the horizon of Art, which rises to high places.”\footnote{22}

\footnote{18}Ibid.\footnote{19}Ibid., 588.\footnote{20}Ibid.\footnote{21}Ibid.\footnote{22}Ibid, 589.
Zelter’s article also points out Haydn’s “penchant for the comic turn and the fact that he is more successful therein than in a serious vein. . . . If one wanted to describe the character of Haydn’s compositions with two words, they would be, I think, *artful popularity* or *popular* (meaning easily understood, penetrating) *artistry.*” He also refers to *Creation*’s mixture of “church and theatrical styles,” and makes complaints as to the unworthiness of the text for such a master as Haydn, due to its forcing the “description of objects rather than subjects.”

**Negative Austrian Reception**

There is evidence that *Creation* was not received positively by everyone, however. In a letter regarding performances presented on April 7 and 8, 1800, Eipeldauer (no full name given) writes: “In the Theatre this time they gave the famous *Creation* for the benefit of the widows of musicians, and the entrance price was doubled; but it wasn’t so full as I would have thought.” In another letter he wrote of the reaction of some less erudite attendees:

> On the last Palm Sunday she [my wife] took me with her to *The Creation,* and she did me a great favour thereby, for I could hear that beautiful music another twenty times. But that night in the taproom I met a couple overseers with their worthy [*gestrengen*] wives from the country; and they didn’t seem to like the beautiful *cantati* [sic] as much as I had. ‘Leave me alone with your Creation,’ said one of the men to me. ‘If I’d known, I’d have stayed home and paid gladly for her [ticket]. . . .’ ‘Oh, you won’t get me in there again,’ said the other. ‘That Uriel sticks in my stomach. Hey, Waiter! Give me a quart . . . of Erlauer, so I can unstick meself.’

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The worthy ladies started to laugh at this conceit, and laughed until their sides shook [d’Wampen gewackelt hat]. Finally one of them asked who the gentleman was who wrote the Cantati. ‘Don’t rightly know,’ said the other lady, ‘but as far as I remember he had something of a Turk or a heathen [Haiden] in his name.’

Landon notes that:

Eipeldauer is registering two significant facts about this performance . . . of the oratorio: 1) it was not full; 2) people were beginning to speak out against the work. In a word, the Viennese were losing interest in their darling. In the light of Eipeldauer’s criticism (which must, in Vienna, take the place of daily criticism such as we know from London), the empty hall for the first performance of the Trumpet Concerto a few days earlier begins to form part of a pattern.

One of the most scathing early reviews was by Kapellmeister, writer, and composer F. L. A. Kunzen (1761-1817) on October 20, 1801. Some of the more pertinent remarks to this study are quoted at length below. Landon asserts about Kunzen’s review, “Apart from being a curiosity in its own right, it was to prove grimly prophetic of the attitude towards Haydn the man, Haydn the artist, and The Creation.”

First, a few words about the text, if it is not already lost effort to write anything at all about that potpourri [Machwerk]. If one had wanted to set a trap for a composer and to reveal him in all his nakedness, I cannot imagine anything more successful. One considers the biblical sayings chosen without selection, the detailed cataloguing of all living creatures and finally Adam and Eve, who act wise beyond the event on the earth and produce much loud chatter about their impressions—those are the poem’s ingredients. If anyone could dare to set this to music, it naturally had to be such a man as Haydn, whose musical talent displays itself more in instrumental effects than in places where it would be necessary to portray feelings and passion.

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25 Ibid., 161 (see Heft 16, 4th letter, 25), cited in Landon, Haydn: The Years of The Creation,’ 1796–1800, 547–48. Landon footnotes: “This pun on Haydn’s name is not readily understandable to English–speaking readers. ‘Haydn’ is pronounced in German just like the word for heathen (‘Heiden’ or, as Eipeldauer writes in dialect, ‘Haiden’); the word ’Turk’ was then synonymous for a barbarian.”


After criticizing the poet’s idea of portraying chaos with music, due to the innate
orderly characteristics of music, Kunzen continues,

_In the beginning . . . it was dark and empty;_ but empty the Overture is not, though
dark enough; but I could nowhere discover the _Spirit of God_ moving on the face of
the waters. But since I do not wish to write a review, I must be more brief. . . . As
well and as diligently as the choruses are composed, and grand though he reveals
himself therein as a harmonist, and much as he displays his art in the use of the
orchestra: yet one cannot escape the impression that the music does not fit the words
and the words do not fit the music; or the that the declamation is faulty and sloppy;
that the persons are not characterized, that for example the archangels sing more
badly than Adam and Eve; that the recitatives are dry and uneven, the vocal parts
are treated like instruments and drowned by the noise of the instruments; that the
vocal line is broken off and not prominent enough; . . . that the descriptions
_[Mahlerein]_ of the snowflakes (a visible object!), of the roaring lions, the twittering
larks, the cooing doves, the lamenting nightingale (though the poet says that in those
days they did not yet lament) and the constant painting put us back to the times of
the rainbow-maker _Telemann_; that the style is uneven, sometimes old-fashioned,
sometimes religious, but often all too theatrical; that it does not lack for quotations,
ductility and trivial movements, which stand out the more when compared to the
sublime choruses. Who has not meanwhile realized that many of the mistakes
enumerated above may be laid to the poet and that he is the real sinner here.²⁸

From the above we may wonder if Kunzen was concerned about the librettist’s
omission of original sin. He is certainly concerned with its apparent “potpourri” of texts,
and in the final comments, the music as well. Shortly after the initial years of embracing
of the work, one of the more universally criticized aspects of _Creation_ was its prevalent
use of tone-painting or ‘naturalism.’ This was a part of earlier music that was giving way
to the increasing romantic ideas about music.²⁹ Friedrich Wilhelm Josef von Schelling
wrote scathingly of “the illustrative, something that only a debased and decadent taste can
demand of music, taste of the kind that nowadays enjoys the bleating of sheep in Haydn’s

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Temperley, _Haydn_, 43.
In light of this study’s aims in demonstrating the effects of the Enlightenment and naturalism upon this sacred work, it is particularly important to note that the Church opposed it. As Temperley states,

There was nothing in it that directly challenged official Christian teachings. Nevertheless, the Church quickly registered its objection to the work and banned it from sacred buildings, presumably because of its associations, its secularity of thought and expression and its absence of emphasis on human sinfulness.31

Nevertheless, Landon asserts that Creation’s unbroken performance through the years in Vienna testifies to the height of its celebration there, just as Handel’s Messiah was celebrated in England and America.32

**Positive English Reception**

As research reveals, regardless of the “controversy” accompanying its appearance in England the Creation was still performed quite often there,33 not surprising considering the earlier acclaim of Haydn’s London Symphonies. Creation was more fully embraced however beginning with Sir George Smart’s performance at Drury Lane Theatre in 1813 incorporating readings from Paradise Lost, and beginning the same year it was regularly performed in major British choral festivals.34 In The Morning Herald,


31Temperley, *Haydn*, 16.


33Ibid., 577.

March 28, 1800, just between printings of advertisements by two rival conductors (John Ashley on 27 March and J. P. Salomon on 29 March) for the premier performances of *Creation*, was the following about the oratorio:35

If ever HANDEL’S Oratorio of the MESSIAH had a rival in grandeur and sublimity, it is that of HAYDN’S oratorical composition entitled the CREATION, and which to the high expectation of every Musical Connoisseur in this city, is announced for the present evening, being its first performance in this kingdom.— Many persons now in London, who have heard this celebrated Oratorio at Vienna, assert, that it has repeatedly been known to attract an audience of upwards of six thousand persons.36

After the March 28th London premiere (Ashley’s), the *Morning Herald* printed the following on March 29, 1800:

The Oratorio of CREATION, composed by Haydn, was performed at Covent-Garden last night with much deserved applause. It is certainly a fine composition, in every respect worthy of its great author. It combines with the happiest effect the agreeably simple with the most sublime strains; and although not equal in grandeur to the divine compositions of the immortal HANDEL, is, nevertheless, on the whole, a very charming production.37

Commenting on the above premiere regarding the “light” passage, eyewitness Dr. Burney, states:

Finding a blank leaf at the end of my reflections of the prelude or opening of the *Creation*, [I may] observe, that though the generality of the subscribers were unable to disentangle the studied confusion in delineating chaos, yet, when dissonance was tuned, when order was established, and God said,

“Let there be light! – and there was light.” . . .


The composer’s meaning was felt by the whole audience, who instantly broke in upon the performers with rapturous applause before the musical period was closed.³⁸

Landon suggests that we learn three things from these statements regarding the London premiere:

(1) that many listeners found ‘Chaos’ of a modernity and dissonance more than they could accept; (2) that the work was a success; but (3) a certain objection to Haydn putting himself in competition with Handel may be distinctly felt in the newspaper criticism. This was the small beginning of a British movement which was to end up piling scorn, ridicule and even hate on all or parts of Haydn’s Oratorio: we shall, in this biography, watch this tendency develop to the point, at the end of the nineteenth century, when a British critic could call the work ‘a third rate Oratorio.’³⁹

As cited in Temperley, the heading to the following quote reads: “From a letter in defence of modern music published in The Monthly Magazine (London) for 1 March 1811 (vol.31 pp. 133-6), signed ‘W.G., Leicester, 1814’. The author was undoubtedly William Gardiner, the Leicester hosier, amateur musician and writer.”⁴⁰

To exemplify what has been stated, we must open that treasure of musical sublimity, the Oratorio of the Creation. Here we find every voice and instrument conspiring to raise the mind of man to contemplate the wonderful work of God. . . .

The exquisite feeling in the songs, and the taste displayed in the accompaniment, exceeds in beauty every thing we have hitherto felt or conceived. The collision of the trumpets and trombones, and the awful motion of the bass, render the choruses terrific and grand. The concluding movement of The heavens are telling the glory of God, is penned with a majesty of thought that transcends the powers of musical expression. With our present means we can scarcely produce a shade of what the imagination of the musician would intend.⁴¹


⁴¹Ibid.
Negative English Reception

Landon writes concerning the developing contemporaneous negative response, “Despite the controversy with which The Creation was now surrounded, it was very frequently performed, both in London, and in the provinces (at Worcester in 1800, at Hereford with Madame Mara in 1801, and at Gloucester in 1802 with Mrs. Billington).”

Although this is true, England had a slanted response to the Creation in two respects: “the feeling that Haydn had set himself up as a rival to Handel, the great national composer; second, the defects of the English text and (even more) the unfortunate way it had been fitted to the music.” Some even thought that the Adam and Eve’s conversational text was too intimate or sexual in nature. Demonstrative of this is the following from Thomas Busby’s critique of 1819:

But what are the real and prominent features of the composition? A series of attempted imitations of many things inimitable by music, the sudden creation of light happily expressed by an unexpected burst of sound, airs not abundantly beautiful or original, smothered with ingenious accompaniments, and choruses in which the composer toils under his incumbent weight, labours in fugue, copies with a faint pencil the clear lustre of a glorious prototype, and supplies the absence of true taste and dignity, with the congregated powers of a complicated band.* My respect for the great talents of Haydn obliges me to be sorry that his judgment did not forbid his compromising himself in oratorial composition. In his operas and cantatas, his failure was only partial; in his oratorios, almost total.

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43 Temperley, Haydn, 44.

44 Ibid.

The added note indicated by the asterisk above contained one final shot:

*If in any one of the melodies of the Creation, I could discover the celestial grace of Sacchini, in the recitatives the profound science of Sebastian Bach, or in the choruses, a single example of that transcendent force of imagination, profound adjustment of parts, or sublimity of aggregate effect, so uniformly conspicuous in Handel, I would allow Haydn to be an oratorio composer.*

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**From a Review of the Work by Berlioz**

Noted composer Hector Berlioz presented likely the harshest of critiques some twenty years following the premiere, at a time when Romanticism was in full bloom:

The Conservatoire presented Haydn’s Creation complete last Sunday. I stayed away; I have always felt a profound antipathy for this work. . . . I give you that opinion for what it’s worth. Its lowing oxen, its buzzing insects, its light in C which dazzles one like a Carcel lamp, and then its Adam, Uriel, Gabriel, and the flute solos and all the amiabilities really shrivel me up—they make me want to murder somebody. The English love a pudding with a layer of suet; I detest it. Suet is exactly what surrounds the musical pudding of papa Haydn. Naïveté is all very fine, but too much of it we don’t need! . . . I wouldn’t give an apple for the privilege of meeting Eve in the woods; I am sure she is stupid enough to bring shame to the good God, and is just what her husband deserves.

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**Conclusion**

Martin Stern summarizes succinctly and vividly the tremendous positive response which the work received on the whole:

*The Creation* brought in the biggest box-office returns in the history of Vienna; it conquered, in one fell swoop, about the turn of the century, a Europe divided by war; it reunited all classes—Catholic Austria, Anglican England, Evangelical Berlin and even a laicized Paris—in admiration, and repeatedly moved thousands and thousands of listeners to tears of devotion and emotion. It brought, with the approval of the First Consul, to the composer the highest musical order that

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the French republic could confer, and remained the most frequently performed choral composition in Prussia for decades. To all this van Swieten’s text contributed its part though that part is difficult to measure precisely. If one reads the letters of gratitude and the reports of those performances which were sent to Haydn, or circulated and/or published by listeners and critics, one begins to get the impression that in this libretto the wishes and dreams of a whole generation were realized artistically; for otherwise such an echo cannot be explained. To have realized these needs shows that van Swieten, even if not primarily creative, must have had astounding powers of perception amounting almost to seismographic sensitivity. For not only Haydn, who since the deaths of Gluck and Mozart was unquestionably the leading composer of his age, but also van Swieten might have said that his language was understood by the whole world. 48

Although there were contentions with the work’s libretto and with its interspersing of sacred and theatrical styles, the overwhelming approval of the work in general demonstrates the consistency of its robust message with the public’s worldview in Austria and England. This reception affirms its universal and paradisiacal message of hope and optimism, which through its lack of mention of the Fall and the philosophical influence of van Swieten leans toward natural theology. Could it be as Feder suggests that the Creation was assisted in its reception by its more natural theological stance? Apart from the superiority of Haydn’s score, this may be why earlier creation settings such as Smith and Stillingfleet’s Paradise Lost, were much less successful.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

Due to the complex nature of a subject that encompasses theology, philosophy, science, literature, history, music, and aesthetics, before writing a concluding synthesis of this material it seems prudent to reiterate summaries of certain findings of each chapter and in some instances to include additional commentary.

Chapter 2 revealed that Haydn’s and van Swieten’s worldviews can be determined through their words and actions indicating where they stood in relationship to the spectrum of orthodox Christian theology and natural theology of the period. It seems that they held a common belief in the innate moral goodness of man. Van Swieten worked to educate others in this doctrine through his reforms, while Haydn was himself a Mason and identified strongly with their Enlightenment ideology, which included concepts of religious tolerance and innate moral ability. Furthermore, the demonstration of principles of tolerance in Haydn’s symphonies gives evidence to his Enlightenment values. Hence both men seemed to demonstrate a worldview in line with natural theology. In contrast, those contemporaries with orthodox Christian worldviews would have seen all matters of human existence as a function of dependence upon God, including the acquisition of moral goodness only through Christ.

Chapter 2 also discussed the impact of the Enlightenment tolerance movement upon the artistic community. In relation to Haydn, this influence upon his worldview
affected his values in the process of decision-making. The influence upon Haydn of a wide social structure infused with Enlightenment concepts encouraged him to compose in a universally appealing way. Christianity, although universally applicable to mankind, stands upon non-negotiable truths, which may not be reasoned to fit theological trends or tastes built upon anthropocentric principles, no matter how intellectually refined these tastes may be. In addition to testimony of various scholars, Haydn’s violation of this principle in his composition of *Creation* proves that his worldview consisted more of an Enlightenment brand of Christianity than an orthodox one.

According to Thormählen, Swieten’s involvement in the musical life of Vienna was largely motivated by his desire to cultivate taste for artistic beauty and moral sentiment. Along with others, such as the third earl of Shaftesbury and Gellert, Swieten believed that by teaching good taste in music he could improve the inner sentiments of the person in regard to moral behavior. Essentially what was represented by the trend of van Swieten’s efforts as impresario in Vienna was a transformation in moral education in music from that which was formerly objectively communicated through text, to that which would be subjectively interpreted via instrumental music. However, he chose older models to teach taste for artistic and moral beauty. His formation of the *Gesellschaft der Associerten* (c. 1785) concentrated on using Handel’s oratorios (but also included the music of C. P. E. Bach) to teach aesthetic appreciation.

Additionally, chapter 2 discussed sources of the original English libretto of *Creation*, which included the Psalms and Milton’s *Paradise Lost* as most prominent, however, Jenkins has also identified Thomson’s *The Seasons*, as well as excerpts from Shakespeare. The recent scholarship of Jenkins exploring the possibility of Charles
Jennens being the original librettist is fascinating, as he was the librettist for five of Handel’s oratorios (including *Messiah*), and it is generally accepted that the *Creation*s original libretto, composed around 1745, was originally intended for Handel. Van Swieten’s precise influence upon the libretto is somewhat clouded. Though we know he may have omitted sections, according to Olleson and Temperley, his primary task was in fitting the original libretto to work in both German and English versions of the score. In addition, the theology of Milton’s *Paradise Lost* as revealed in conjunction with the study of Milton’s summary of theology, *De Doctrina Christiana*, reveals that it rests on a Pelagian, rather than Augustinian, view of original sin and the Fall in that it holds to man’s moral goodness in his ability to choose salvation. Moving much further away from post-Reformation traditions, the *Creation* libretto’s omission of the Fall altogether, which contrastingly is included in both the Genesis account as well as the *Paradise Lost* version of the creation story, results in a libretto with much greater resemblance to natural theology than orthodox theology in both England and Austria.

Chapter 3 demonstrated a contrast between musical values that existed in the Baroque and previous historic periods with those which developed in the Classical period. This contrast was corroborated in the writings of the primary eighteenth-century treatise writers and featured a move from polyphonic styles generally categorized to be mathematical, rational, and objective in meaning to the development of homophonic styles which were more emotional and subjective in meaning. There was a correlation drawn between Plato’s two types of music and the early Christian understanding of essentially (1) an “exalted, intellectual, vocal, sacred music” and (2) a “low, sensual, instrumental, secular music.” A discussion of the changing approach to musical rhetoric
was also explained essentially in the change from polyphonic, harmony-based styles to homophonic, melody-based styles. This change very likely continued the shift, begun in the Renaissance, away from cosmological correlations of music to ratios found throughout the created order, which for centuries cast polyphony (emphasizing harmony) with cosmic significance. The discussion of the homophonic styles in comic opera of the Classical period demonstrated a shift from music functioning to encourage a particular emotional state in man, to that which was more individualistic, based upon new understanding of the general fluctuating state of man’s emotions. Concurrently, due to rising middle-class influence, music was being crafted increasingly in light of its popular reception by the general public. All of this history points heavily to the conclusion that music was moving from more profoundly functional music toward that which was designed for greater entertainment value.

One of the prominent features of the Classical period was the development of the symphony orchestra and symphonic forms with Haydn as one of the most influential proponents. This can be interpreted in two ways. Although an increase in the size of the orchestra was necessary to fill the need for more volume in the large public concert halls being built during the period, the development of the symphony also could be seen as a means to boost the entertainment value of the orchestra. Also discussed was the clash of

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1As quoted and referenced in chap. 4 is Kramer’s assertion that with the “chaos chord” Haydn “at once invokes the Classical/Christian metaphor of *harmonia mundi* and makes that metaphor evolutionary, scientific, modern, by deferring its realization in a cadence, projecting the cadence forward as the outcome of a more comprehensive process.” One can see how the ancient theory of the music of the spheres (*harmonia mundi*) as associated with the universe, which was mathematically correlated with polyphony, could have carried spiritual significance for the church in light of such passages as Psalm 19 (“The heavens are telling the glory of God.”), or Job 38:7.
musical symbols employed when Austrian composers such as Haydn and Mozart mixed
genres such as minuet (an Austrian aristocratic social dance) and canon (polyphony
associated with church styles) within the same musical movement. This could, as Lowe
points out, either point to a new meaning for these styles or could disable the audience’s
understanding of any clear associated meaning.

The influence of Handelian oratorio was discussed with emphasis upon the
sublime quality of music as a result of its borrowings from opera seria. In contrast, it is
important to remember that later in the eighteenth century composers such as Haydn and
Mozart were borrowing from the styles of comic opera in the setting of sacred music. In
the eighteenth century, biblical prose and poetry were considered among the most
sublime of literature. Similarly, the audience of Handel’s oratorios recognized a strong
connection between music and text represented by the sublime. The increase in number
of singers and instrumentalists in the oratorios of the period is demonstrated in the
festival performances of Handel’s oratorios upon which Haydn based his design of the
Creation. This great increase in performing forces seems important to the discussion of
middle-class Enlightenment influence, albeit oratorio’s classification even in the Baroque
as a genre of entertainment and instruction. Although the numbers would grow during his
lifetime, Handel’s original performing forces for his oratorios numbered roughly 36-40
(12-16 instrumentalists and 24 singers), whereas the celebratory performances at
Westminster are noted to be at one thousand performers. While at least one account
records the first performance of Haydn’s Creation for the general public at 400
performers, the typical size forces for performances led by Haydn totaled 180 (120
players and 60 singers).
Finally, in chapter 3, Haydn’s approach to aesthetics and rhetoric was discussed. Overall it appears that Haydn effectively mixed rational and emotional content in his musical language, with the use of many extra-musical associations, including text-painting and imagery of the Baroque. Haydn also used “digression from [musical] conventions” as a rhetorical device. One of the concluding chapters of Shohat’s dissertation asserts, “the wealth of Haydn’s digressions surveyed in the course of this study—from his rich Ciceronian-like expressions to humorous aspects, topical mixture, and deflections from overall patterns—may all be viewed as refutatio of stylistic norms.”

Thus Haydn’s use of refutation resembles Cicero’s definition: “that part of an oration in which arguments are used to impair, disprove, or weaken the confirmation or proof in our opponents’ speech.” Haydn worked to convince the listener in some way that regarding previously stated material “the assumption is correct, yet the final conclusion is not.” Thus Shohat states, “the basic ‘assumptions’—or regulated musical procedures—are being referred to, yet the ‘conclusion’—or commentary on specific procedures—produces a different result than expected.”

Chapter 4 examined the essential message of the Creation by looking at (1) the purpose of the work according to Haydn, which was the “pleasure” and “happiness” of

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3 Ibid., 136–37.


others; (2) its revisionist theology, including (a) neglect of the portrayal of original sin in the libretto (and the subsequent need for a savior to reestablish moral ability and right standing of mankind with God), and (b) restriction of the powers of darkness from their work in the world—both of these elements contrast *Paradise Lost* and Scripture; (3) Haydn’s use of multiple musical styles including sublime Handelian choruses (emphasizing the praise of God) and the contrasting use of diverse arias incorporating naturalistic imagery ultimately classified as Haydn’s pastoral; and (4) the cumulative weight of text-music relationships as examined from the work of several Haydn scholars. As multiple scholars attest, it is a message of Enlightenment optimism. This message is corroborated when viewing *Creation* as a push towards deistic naturalism in both theological and musical approach as displayed in Haydn’s contrasting use of multiple styles. The studies of Webster, Danuser, Levarie, and Kramer in his concept of “rescinding” of the sublime in the *Creation* assist this understanding. Haydn obviously celebrated the sublime in Handel’s oratorios and in his masterpiece, the *Creation*, however the progressive use of the sublime from the beginning to end of the *Creation* also suggests its use to celebrate a contrary message. In the representation of chaos and creation of light, it seems Haydn and van Swieten pose a question as to whether the sublime will ultimately be associated with Christian orthodoxy or with natural theology. The question is posed in relation to natural theology with its associations to Kant’s Nebular Hypothesis. It is posed in relation to Christian orthodoxy with its associations to Scripture’s account of chaos quelled by creation; clear connections with the “word” of God which according to Scripture created the heavens and the earth (ultimately the “Word,” Jesus Christ, in John 1); and finally with associations to *harmonia mundi*. As the
oratorio progresses, the answer is revealed through the contrasting musical presentation of the sublime—primarily through contrapuntal choruses—and the “idyllic” or “beautiful”—through transparent imagery, on four levels: (1) between the sublime emphasis in Parts 1 and 2 and the idyllic emphasis of Part 3, (2) between individual numbers (choruses versus recitatives and arias), (3) within individual recitatives and arias, and similarly, (4) through the use of parody technique as posed by Levarie in Part 3. These all seem to work together to position the ultimate message of the text and music—including the sublime—with naturalism.

In chapter 5, inclusivity and tolerance as elements of Enlightenment society and as incorporated into Haydn’s *Creation* were emphasized as components of its successful reception. Inclusivity was demonstrated in its mixture of styles and its deistic message of creation theology. It can be seen that the latter of these opened wide the door for van Swieten to realize his likely intention for an oratorio that encouraged natural theology’s moralism. According to Thormählen, this moralizing artistry was integral to the purpose of van Swieten’s work as impresario in Austria. Furthermore, although there were contentions with the work’s libretto and its interspersing of sacred and theatrical styles, the overwhelming approval of the work in general demonstrates the consistency of its robust message with the public’s worldview in Austria and England. This positive reception affirms acceptance of its deistic and paradisiacal message of hope and optimism, which, through its failure to mention the Fall and the philosophical influence of van Swieten and others, leans toward natural theology. Could it be, as Feder suggests, that the *Creation* was actually assisted in its reception by its more natural theological
stance? Apart from the superiority of Haydn’s score, this may be why earlier creation settings, such as Smith and Stillingfleet’s *Paradise Lost*, never achieved wide acceptance.

A synthesis of the above material leads to additional conclusions. Haydn’s *Creation* was one of the most successful oratorios of all time. This is demonstrated not only by its positive reception, but by its longevity in performance from the time of its premiere up to the present day. Its ultimate message of Enlightenment optimism was the result of both its religious tolerance and musical inclusivity. The message of religious tolerance is plainly seen through the libretto’s omission of the Fall. Its message of musical inclusivity can be seen in its mixture of styles which crossed the boundaries of normative standards for the setting of sacred texts. When evaluated together, both text and music point to naturalism, as the sublime is “recalled” or “rescinded” into the beautiful or “idyllic” in what Webster terms the “pastoral” in reference to Haydn. When seen through the perspective of patterns in Haydn’s musical rhetoric this becomes even more evident. His approach to composition can be seen, according to Shohat, as a “*refutatio* of stylistic norms,” allowing him “commentary on specific procedures—producing a different result than expected.” 

Secondly, according to Lowe, Haydn likely mixed sacred and secular styles such as canon and minuet to produce “new and distinct meanings,” albeit intended for “attentive, knowledgeable and reflective listeners.”

It is easy to see how *Creation* could be interpreted as a refutation not only of theological norms, but also of music as a partner to sacred text. It would seem that

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6Ibid.

Swieten’s “moralizing artistry” was the perfect match for this unique vision, as it was based upon the concept that taste for instrumental music could form taste for morality. The distinction between moralism within the context of orthodox Christianity and moralism as a tenet of natural theology is vital in regard to Haydn’s *Creation*. *Creation*’s implied moralism falls short of orthodoxy in its failure to mention the Fall and in its leaving man in a state of paradise. These qualities of the libretto and of the oratorio as a whole demonstrated via text-music relationships and the alternation of “high” and “low” styles signify a leaning toward the belief that humankind is sufficient in and of itself to make good moral choices. This belief is squarely in line with natural theology. Therefore theology, morality, and music were becoming more important with respect to fellow man, than with respect toward God and His Word, since God was, after all, “benevolent.”

Besides being a landmark in the history of western art music, Haydn’s *Creation* was part of a massive shift in musical meaning and the transformation of relationships between text and music within the genre of oratorio. Chapter 3 demonstrated that Stillingfleet and Smith’s *Paradise Lost* (1760), C.P.E. Bach’s *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (1777–78), and Kraus’s *Creation* (before 1790) also contributed to this transition. The transformation did not end with Haydn. As the succeeding Romantic era unfolded, it would ultimately, in Yifat Shohat’s words, effect the “replacement of the mechanistic model [based upon cause and effect] with idealism . . . . Idealism sets music apart from its previous rhetorical ties since it avoids any particular messages that are targeted directly at an attentive listener.”

Creation is positioned in the crossroads between a formalist approach to music in which musical meaning—especially in texted music—is tied to rhetoric, and the idealist approach in works composed to be “absolute and autonomous,” whose meaning ultimately would be received subjectively by the listener. The Creation’s seeming refutation of normative standards regarding music as a partner to sacred text places it squarely at this juncture.

This study of Haydn’s Creation clearly demonstrates that the manner in which a composer combines sacred text and music is a function of his or her worldview, and that the composers approach to text-music relationships sends a theological message. Thus, it would seem sacred music cannot be viewed as autonomous—as held by Romantic composers and some ancient Greek thinkers—as taking place in a “self contained world of sound,” but rather must be viewed as that which is “rationally based and logically developed, exemplifying the structural principles of all reality, including the human mind.”

Thus the comprehensive dynamics of theology, philosophy, science, literature, history, music, and aesthetics—the entire cultural environment—must ultimately be taken into consideration in the creation of sacred music, in order to ensure orthodox integrity in the robust meaning, i.e., the functional theology, of a given work. It would seem that for those concerned with functional theology—the true devotional impact of sacred music—that the timeless principles of Scripture must be applied in the

\[^9\] Ibid., 162.

consideration of these complex dynamics, as it is these dynamics that influence the music’s ultimate effect upon the listener. It is hoped that the preceding study will have implications for composers as well as scholars, and that contemporary writers of sacred music will seek to exemplify scriptural worldview and values in their works and circumspectly avoid cultural influences and values that may distort an otherwise orthodox Christian perspective and message.
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ABSTRACT

HAYDN’S CREATION AS A MUSICAL RESPONSE TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT

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Important tenets of Enlightenment thought, specifically natural theology and philosophical naturalism, mark both the libretto and certain aspects of the music of Haydn’s Creation. The opening chapters of the dissertation establish the philosophical, historical, literary, and musical milieu as shaped by leading thinkers of the period. Influences of important precursors are discussed, including Milton’s Paradise Lost and earlier “creation” oratorios.

The libretto of Creation, through its revisionist treatment of the biblical account of creation, reflects a shift from the orthodox Christian, apologetic perspective of Handelian oratorio toward a deistic representation of biblical truth. Paralleling this shift away from theological orthodoxy is The Creation’s departure from the contrapuntal textures of Baroque oratorio—associated by James Webster and Hermann Danuser with the element of the musical “sublime”—to a pluralistic musical palette including elements from secular genres such as opera and symphony. These parallel shifts move the work toward naturalism. The Creation’s ultimate message is one of Enlightenment optimism produced by the oratorio’s religious tolerance—demonstrated by the omission of the Fall narrative—and musical eclecticism.
Musical inclusivity is conveyed by a mixture of styles and conventions that cross normative standards for setting sacred texts. The analysis of text-music relationships in *Creation* builds on theoretical constructs of Danuser and Kramer, focusing on smaller- to larger-level musical sections that demonstrate the contrast in style and values represented by the sublime and idyllic. Both texts and music of *The Creation* elevate values of naturalism while simultaneously “rescinding” the sublime element into the beautiful or “idyllic.” Concluding chapters focus on reception history of *The Creation* in both Austria and England, Haydn’s two target audiences for the work.
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