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Reception History and the Trauma of Real History: Decoding the Pantomime in Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony

Zgodovina recepcije in travma resnične zgodovine: dekodiranje pantomime v Haydnovi »Simfoniji slovesa«

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IZVLEČEK

Haydnova vključitev pantomime v finale »Simfonije slovesa« predstavlja radikalno kršitev splošnih pričakovanj, podobno kot Beethovnova uvedba zbora v IX. Simfonijo, pa vendar ni še nobeden analiziral te pantomime ali dekodiral njene pomenne. Zgodovina recepcije te skladbe vsiljuje misel o paradoksalni mešanici stopnjevanja zgodovinskega spominjanja in nekakšne hotene amnezije.

ABSTRACT

Haydn's incorporation of a pantomime into the finale of the 'Farewell' Symphony constitutes as radical a violation of generic expectations as Beethoven's introduction of a chorus in the Ninth Symphony, yet until now no one has analyzed this pantomime or decoded its meanings. The reception history of this piece suggests a paradoxical mixture of heightened historical recollection with a sort of willed amnesia.

Despite the resurgence of interest in Haydn over the last century and the explosion of Haydn scholarship, the reception history of his music suggests a curious sort of

deadlock; certain reductive images of Haydn, many of them dating from the nineteenth century, have persisted in the face of all contrary evidence—not only the smiling face of ‘Papa Haydn,’ but also the stereotypes of his music as representing childlike innocence, cheerfulness, and the like. To be sure, these notions have served a variety of ideological functions over time, and James Garratt is right to stress the differences that metaphors such as fatherhood played in constructing images of Haydn in different cultural situations (Garratt 2005, 228). Nevertheless, it is hard to dispute Michael Spitzer’s conclusion that at least by comparison with widespread evaluations of Mozart and Beethoven, ‘our conceptual framework really does appear to have a blind spot’ where Haydn is concerned (Spitzer 1998, 177). Certainly Haydn’s position in musical culture has suffered since his virtual apotheosis at the end of the eighteenth century.

Although musicologists sometimes blame romanticism for this shift in Haydn’s fortunes, this move tends to idealize his contemporaries, imagining an almost perfect state of communication between Haydn and his eighteenth-century listeners. Leon Botstein, for example, links the decline of Haydn’s reputation in the nineteenth century to a number of factors, including what he calls ‘the demise of philosophical listening.’ In his view, eighteenth-century audiences were uniquely attuned to Haydn’s meaning because they were accustomed to interpret music as a rational argument, so that ‘a Haydn symphony therefore became a philosophical argument whose command of the sense of beauty and the sublime, the rational and the emotional, mirrored back to the listener through total engagement in the moment of hearing . . . the fundamental coincidence of truthfulness and rationality in the world and in the mind’ (Botstein 1998, 29). This mode of engagement was more than aesthetic, because it included ‘the capacity of the perceiver to recognize and respond to intrinsic structural parallels between truth and beauty’ (Botstein 1998, p. 29). Ironically, for all his suspicion of romanticism, the story he tells here betrays a romantic nostalgia for a lost organic community, because the change he describes goes beyond any musical criteria to suggest nothing less than a fraying of the social bond itself, as ‘music-making and listening became analogous to the experience of reading alone’ (Botstein 1998, 32). As valuable as Botstein’s research is, therefore, I wonder whether this notion of philosophical listening truly represents a model to emulate, and whether we should cede so much authority to Haydn’s contemporaries as the ideal audience for his music. Supplementing Botstein’s ‘philosophical listening’ with what we might call ‘psychoanalytic listening’ might allow us to question the way that he invites us to identify with certain images of the eighteenth-century listener. The idea that a Haydn symphony ‘mirrored back to the listener . . . the fundamental coincidence of truth and rationality in the world and in the mind’ provides the sort of reassuring image of wholeness that Lacan associates with the mirror stage. By locating the true meaning of Haydn’s music in the past, it also condemns us to searching for a lost object, for a vanished time when truth coincided with beauty.

Perhaps what time effaces through the transmission of works of art is not necessarily beauty but rather its dark twin, neither harmony nor balance nor perfection nor any of the attributes traditionally associated with beauty, but instead something unbalanced, out of joint, something from which we might even recoil. If this is true, then the reception history of art would resemble a series of failed encounters or attempts to neutralize

or domesticate the thing that Gertrude Stein identified when she remarked that ‘every masterpiece came into the world with a measure of ugliness in it’ which results from ‘the creator’s struggle to say a new thing in a new way.’ Faced with a painting like the Sistine Madonna, often considered a touchstone of beauty, Stein believed that ‘it’s our business as critics to stand in front of it and recover its ugliness’ (quoted in Wilder 1986, 29). The creative struggle to which Stein refers is more than a search for novel artistic techniques; it also involves an encounter with what Adorno calls ‘real history itself, with all its suffering and all its contradiction’ (Adorno 2002, 147). If Haydn, despite his obvious ability to please his audience, nevertheless registered the contradictions and antagonisms of his age, there may be elements in his work that foster resistance because they expose the gap between truth and beauty; in such cases, the only privilege afforded an artist’s contemporaries is to be witnesses to this ‘ugliness.’ Both the monumentalization and the trivialization to which he has been alternately subjected may constitute defensive reactions against this form of artistic truth.

If ‘ugliness’ is something that we must retrieve from the oblivion of time, this suggests that reception history can involve acts of forgetting and distorted memory that Ricoeur finds in historical experience, and which he describes as ‘*too much* memory here, *not enough* memory there,’ processes he explains through the transfer of Freudian notions from the clinical to the collective level (Ricoeur 2004, p. 79; emphasis original). One arena for such forgetting involves the generic frameworks through which we classify and interpret art; the very identity of a work can change if we alter the network of genres in which we position it, as when a satire like *Gulliver’s Travels* is read as a children’s book. As Fredric Jameson has shown, it is through these networks that real history can impinge on the work of art, so that ‘the coexistence or tension between several generic modes or strands’ can allow a text to function as ‘a socially symbolic act—as the ideological, but formal and immanent—response to a historical dilemma’ (Jameson 1981, 141, 139). Haydn’s experimentation with genres—inventing new ones, combining or subverting old ones—may be one place where his works encounter real history; a quest to discover how the ugliness of real history scars the musical event via the conflict of genres may enable us to reverse the deadlock that seems to characterize the reception history of Haydn’s music.

II

A test case here might be Haydn’s Symphony No. 45 in F# minor, composed in 1772 and known as the ‘Farewell’ for its famous ending in which the musicians gradually depart until only two muted violins remain, an effect that persuaded Haydn’s patron, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy, to allow his musicians to leave Eszterháza Castle, where the Prince had extended his usual summer sojourn, so they could rejoin their families in Eisenstadt. Although Nicholas Mathew rightly observes that Haydn’s works often straddle the divide between the occasional work and the emerging ‘work concept’ (Mathew 2007), the ‘Farewell’ bears the traces of its occasion to an unusual degree. Indeed, Richard Taruskin believes that ‘the concluding movement is so outlandish that without

knowledge of the circumstances of its composition it would be altogether baffling' (Taruskin 2004, 528). The piece was effectively composed for an audience of one, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy; it was performed only once under Haydn's direction, and there is no record that he ever saw fit to revive it. Like the play within the play in *Hamlet*, the 'Farewell' was written to catch the conscience of the King—or in this case the Prince. By staging a protest—however coded and concealed—on behalf of his musicians, Haydn effectively inscribes the politics of the event into the very fabric of the piece, sending this message by violating the conventions of genres that Haydn himself had done so much to establish. The reception history of this piece suggests a paradoxical mixture of heightened historical recollection and a sort of willed amnesia, a surfeit of memory on the one hand and a dearth of it on the other.

Consider, for example, the frequent attempts to recreate the external circumstances of the first performance in great detail, starting at least as early as Mendelssohn's revival of the piece at one of his 'historical concerts' in Leipzig on February 22, 1838, in which the musicians blew out their candles before leaving the stage. Later performances have even dressed the musicians in powdered wigs and knee-breeches, as happened at a well-publicized concert conducted by Serge Koussevitzky at Carnegie Hall in 1939, where even the ushers were dressed in 18th-century attire: 'without batting an eye, poker-faced Koussevitzky led his men through Haydn's rococo whimsy, bowed gravely, pinched out his candle and left the stage' (*Time*, February 20, 1939). Freud's distinction between 'remembering' and 'repetition' can illuminate these appropriations of the symphony as a vehicle for nostalgic evocations of the eighteenth century as a world of 'rococo whimsy.' A failure to remember the meaning of past events can lead to an unconscious repetition or 'acting out' of the event, in which the patient 'reproduces it not as a memory but as an action; he repeats it, without, of course, knowing that he is repeating it' (Freud 1958a, 150). The costumed reenactments of the symphony not only romanticize the *ancien régime* as a realm of quaint manners and candlelit charm, but also unconsciously act out its aristocratic fantasies of role playing and make-believe; after all, it was Marie Antoinette who played at being a shepherdess, and the entertainments at Esterháza not only included masquerade balls but also mock battles staged by the Prince's grenadiers, as well as crowds of gaily attired peasants who were exploited to foster an illusion of social harmony, but whose actual living conditions were vastly different (Gates-Coon, 53-54, 114). In 1773, Haydn's musicians even wore Chinese costumes when they performed for Empress Maria Theresia (Tolley 2001, 358). Ricoeur makes the case that the relationship between personal and community identity allows us to transfer such Freudian concepts from the level of individual memory to that of collective memory (Ricoeur 2004, 78). The costumed reenactments of the symphony constitute a failure of collective memory and suggest an inability to remember the meaning of history. Far from being the expression of an idyllic age, the 'Farewell' was composed during a time of intense class antagonism in the Esterházy lands; in 1766, for example, Prince Nicolaus was forced to flee one of his palaces when it was surrounded and then briefly occupied by an angry mob of peasant women (Gates-Coon 1994, 74). These performances in eighteenth-century garb also superimpose a new genre onto the piece, which becomes an example of historical reenactment, a genre that includes

such diverse phenomena as Civil War reenactments, living history museums, and the revival of medieval tournaments by hobbyists (During 2007, 313).

In contrast to this fixation on external details, the evidence for the actual circumstances of the first performance has often been ignored or misinterpreted, even by scholars whose respect for historical data is otherwise punctilious. Here the work of James Webster is especially instructive. In *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style*, Webster seeks to revise the categories through which we hear the symphony; instead of classifying it as absolute music, he wants us to hear it as a programmatic symphony, and also believes it is a 'through-composed' piece that anticipates the design of such later multi-movement structures as Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. Webster rightly regards Georg August Griesinger's early Haydn biography as the most reliable account of the origins of the symphony:

One year, against his usual custom, the prince determined to stay in Eszterháza for several weeks. The ardent married men, thrown into utter consternation, turned to Haydn and asked him to help. Haydn hit upon the idea of writing a symphony in which, one after the other, the instruments fall silent. At the first opportunity, this symphony was performed in the prince's presence. Each of the musicians was instructed that, as soon as his part had come to an end, he should extinguish his light, pack up his music, and leave with his instrument under his arm. The prince and the audience at once understood the point of this pantomime; the next day came the order for the departure from Eszterháza. Thus Haydn related the occasion for the Farewell Symphony to me; the other version, that Haydn thereby dissuaded his prince from his intention to dissolve the entire *Kapelle*, . . . is to be sure more poetic, but not historically correct. (Griesinger 1963, 19, quoted in Webster 1991, 1)

Griesinger's account becomes the basis for Webster's program, which he portrays as 'the musician's journey home from the wilderness of F-sharp minor to their safe and comfortable family hearths in Eisenstadt' (Webster 1991, 117).

Despite the authority that he ascribes to Haydn's early biographer, however, Webster is not a very careful reader of Griesinger, whose description of the men as 'ardent' hints at an element of sexual frustration that Webster does not acknowledge. The erotic motif is even more pronounced in the first sentence of Griesinger's account, a sentence that Webster omitted, indeed, the only part of the story he failed to quote: 'Among Prince Esterházy's *Kapelle* there were several vigorous young married men who in summer, when the Prince stayed at Eszterháza, were obliged to leave their wives behind in Eisenstadt' (Griesinger 1963, 19).

If Webster omitted this sentence, perhaps it was because it clashed with the narrative of bourgeois domesticity he constructs, in which the musicians are merely longing for 'their safe and comfortable family hearths' and the piece is about 'a desperately longed-for journey home.' Albert Christoph Dies, another early Haydn biographer, is even more explicit about the theme of erotic longing and frustration:

They were all spirited young men who looked longingly toward the last month, the day, the hour of departure, and filled the palace with lovelorn sighs. 'I was young and gay and consequently no better than the rest,' said Haydn with a smile. (Dies 1963, 100).

There is no mention of children and hearths, nothing like the rather Victorian idealization of the nuclear family that seems to color Webster's analysis. Ignoring the specific conflicts to which the historical record attests, he tries to universalize the meaning of the symphony, in the belief that 'feelings of homesickness are well-nigh universal' (Webster 1991, 119). This G-rated version of the 'Farewell,' like a film suitable for general audiences, not only represses the libidinal energy of the piece, but may also distort the political stakes involved, sentimentalizing what may have been a more charged form of protest.

Another curious distortion in the reception history of the 'Farewell' involves mistakenly viewing the finale as a comic piece, as one of Haydn's jokes. This is evident even in the inventory of Haydn's estate prepared immediately after his death, which calls it the symphony 'with the joking finale' (Quoted in Webster 1991, 2), and it continues to the present day. A New Year's Day concert in Vienna in 2009, conducted by Daniel Barenboim, demonstrated how firmly entrenched the comic image of the piece may be; feigning surprise at the departure of each musician, Barenboim mugged for the amused audience, shrugging his shoulders in comic disbelief, and eventually sitting down next to one of the two remaining violinists as if to encourage him to stay (Barenboim 2009). Webster is surely correct, however, to characterize the ending as sublime and solemn rather than humorous. If laughter often functions as a mode of psychic defense, one has to wonder what these joking versions of the finale are defending against. Once again, we see that reception history can transform the genres through which we understand a work; the comic performances of the piece view it through the lens of parody. Even these parodic renditions, however, can disclose certain truths about our present situation. By ending with Barenboim conducting an empty stage, for example, his performance inverts the image of the conductor as a tyrannical father figure (think of Toscani, Koussevitzky, Karl Muck, and other authoritarian conductors), so that father is now unmasked as an impotent, ridiculous figure, and thus well suited to our current society, in which 'the very symbolic function of the father. . . is increasingly undermined' (Žižek 1999, 334).

Perhaps the most striking omission in the reception history of the piece, however, is the almost total failure by musicologists to interpret the finale as a dramatic event, as an experiment in theater. The mid-eighteenth century saw a revival, or perhaps a reinvention, of the ancient genre of serious pantomime; this species of wordless acting accompanied by music would have been well known to Haydn. The idea of including a pantomime in a symphony may have been as radical an innovation as Beethoven including a chorus in the Ninth, yet almost no one has taken this pantomime seriously or analyzed its layers of meaning (or its resistance to meaning). Even Webster, whose monograph on the piece aspires to be exhaustive, did not have a word to say about its visual aspects in almost 400 pages. Spitzer said more than he knew when he complained about our 'blind spot' for Haydn; this pantomime has remained almost invisible to scholars, hidden in plain sight. Only Thomas Tolley, who has examined the influence of the visual arts on Haydn, constitutes a partial exception here; his work will be discussed below (Tolley 2001). There is evidence that at least some of Haydn's contemporaries were sensitive to the theatrical effects

of the piece. Dies, for example, who knew Haydn quite well, wrote that ‘Haydn wisely had recourse to acting. The putting out of the lights, the going away, and the like, were actions that spoke to assist the music and earn it the nickname Farewell Symphony’ (Dies 1963, 102). At least the comic interpretations of the finale have a grain of truth in that they stage the ending as a dramatic event even as they reduce it to a silly prank.

The sudden intrusion of a pantomime into a symphony constitutes a radical change of genre, subverting our expectations and violating the social contract between author and audience that the concept of genre implies. In the ‘Farewell,’ our experience as listeners undergoes a radical transformation, since we are suddenly forced to *look* as well as listen, to move from a mode of perception in which vision plays a subordinate role to one in which the eye demands equality with the ear. Challenging Botstein’s description of listening to a Haydn symphony as an act of ‘total engagement in the moment of hearing,’ the pantomime jolts us out of our immersion in aural experience, and may even engage our tactile and kinesthetic senses. As Žižek has shown, such changes of genre ‘can unleash a tremendous ideologico-critical potential’ (Žižek 1992a, 267). The visual aspects of the pantomime invite new modes of identification and new possibilities for reflecting on our experience, and the pantomime may not be the only new genre that erupts into the piece at this point.

A series of significant blind spots have emerged in analyzing the reception history of the finale. Attempts at a literal recreation of the first performance coexist with amnesia about the actual circumstances of that event, resurrecting an idealized image of the past without the erotic frustration and inequities of power found in the historical sources. The eruption of a pantomime during the finale, the actual presence of bodies in motion, is either rendered invisible, sublimated into the philosophical contemplation of an imaginary program, or reduced to the low comedy of a prank. Since these problems of reception history revolve around the notion of genre, an attempt to recover what I have called the ugliness of real history in this piece might begin by reconstructing the unique constellation of genres at work in the finale.

III

Before addressing the topic of genre, however, we need to do some preliminary work to clarify the historical situation in which the symphony was composed. In many respects, the ‘Farewell’ resembles some forms of modern conceptual or performance art in which the identity of the event depends on an archive. Like the Happenings staged by Allan Kaprow in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s, ‘what might otherwise be considered mere collateral archival materials are integral to the phenomenal qualities of the work of art we conjure up in our mind’s eye’ (Potts 2008, 120). The performance directions for the ending are scanty; the only evidence for the exit of the players in the score itself are the words ‘nichts mehr’ in two of the instrumental parts in the autograph. The anecdotes about the piece related by Griesinger and Dies, and apparently sanctioned by Haydn, therefore, are an important source for reconstructing the ending. Understand-

ing the dynamics between Haydn, his musicians, and their patron may also provide a vital point of entry to this piece, allowing us to understand how the structure of the piece might reflect and critique specific power relationships at the Esterházy court. This exercise in history, however, will not aim so much at reviving eighteenth-century habits of spectatorship but rather at finding what elements of the piece might have provoked resistance in the audience.

Let us start by considering social life at Eszterháza more closely; we will better understand the predicament in which Haydn's men found themselves—and all the players in Haydn's *Kapelle* were men—if we examine their working conditions. They were forced to follow a strict code of courtly etiquette to which Haydn's contract of 1 May 1761 alludes: Haydn 'and his subordinates shall always be in uniform, and said Joseph Heyden himself shall not only present a proper appearance but [he] shall also require his subordinates to make their appearance in white stockings, white linen, powdered, with either pigtail or hairbag, all of them just alike, following the instructions which have been given to them' (quoted in Gates-Coon 1994, 165). The Prince's control over his men not only involved docking their pay for minor infractions, but in one instance even included public flogging and jail time for one of Haydn's singers (Gates-Coon 1994, 173). This control even extended to their sex lives, because he not only forced them to leave their wives at Eisenstadt for months at a time, but also required them to ask his permission to marry.

Although Haydn was allowed to bring his wife with him to Eszterháza (not necessarily a favor, given the strains of their relationship), he was bound to Eszterháza just as much as the men, and could not leave without the Prince's permission—permission which was seldom granted. Despite his later rationalization that the remoteness of Eszterháza forced him to become original, he complained about his 'wasteland,' his *Einöde*, on more than one occasion, and his access to hearing the best recent music in Vienna and elsewhere was certainly constrained by this. For a composer eager to understand the changing tastes of contemporary audiences and the latest trends in compositional style, this must have been a source of frustration. If we consider the relationship that is often drawn between sex and creativity, the Prince exerted a control over Haydn's creative life that paralleled his control over the sex lives of his musicians. Indeed, Haydn's first contract formally gave his employer control over Haydn's creative work, because all of his compositions were the Prince's property:

At any time, upon command of His Princely Highness, the *Vice-Capel-Meister* is obligated to compose whatever music His Highness shall require, [nor] is he to communicate such new compositions with anyone, much less allow them to be copied, but rather reserve them for His Highness exclusively, and most particularly [he should] not compose anything for anyone else without knowledge and gracious permission of His Highness. (quoted in Gates-Coon 1994, 165-66)

Regardless of whether this clause in the contract was strictly enforced, it constituted a symbolic claim to ownership of Haydn's imagination and intellectual labor. These conditions did not change until Haydn signed a new contract on 1 January 1779, seven years after the 'Farewell' was composed.

The constraints under which Haydn and his men worked are perhaps best seen by contrast to the conditions under which actors lived at Eszterháza. The Prince was very fond of theater, apparently preferring indelicate farces and pantomimes, so he often kept a troop of actors at his disposal; Haydn was often required to write incidental music for their performances. Unlike the musicians, however, the actors were not required to wear livery, and they could even appear unshaved; they seemed to occupy a position outside the court hierarchy, one that gave them greater freedom of movement. An account by Baron Riesbeck, published in 1784, confirms this: 'He often engages a troupe of players for months at a time, and apart from some servants he is the whole audience. They have his permission to appear uncombed, drunk, and disheveled' (quoted in Landon 1978, 99-100). Even more significantly from the perspective I am sketching here, the actors were less confined in their domestic arrangements, and could bring their wives with them to Eszterháza.

IV

With this historical background in mind, let's look at the finale—and I have promised to *look* at it as well as *listen* to it. Here we must resist the easy familiarity of the stories we've heard about the piece; we think we know what the ending means only because we've been told so many times. We have to recover the shock of the first performance, the sheer astonishment of the Prince at the departure of the first musicians, the perplexity of the audience witnessing something for which there was really no precedent. Eventually the Prince may have ended his hermeneutic doubt by concluding that this was Haydn's discreet way of asking permission for the musicians to leave Eszterháza, but that moment of closure, which is now the standard story about the piece, would only have come after a long period of uncertainty in which conflicting interpretations competed for attention; not all of these were subject to Haydn's control.

Even before the pantomime begins, the piece displays a series of drastic disruptions and discontinuities. There is some controversy over whether this symphony has four movements or five; some commentators regard the concluding Adagio as an independent fifth movement, while others consider it part of the fourth movement, a Presto in F# minor. Both views can find support in the text. The Presto, which is in sonata form, shows every sign of hurtling to a conclusion. We have heard a complete exposition, which is repeated, followed by a development and partial recapitulation; if the design were completed according to our expectations, the finale would resemble several of Haydn's other minor-keyed symphonic finales of the 1770s, including No. 44 in E minor and no. 49 in F minor ('La Passione'). Instead, Haydn interrupts the progress of the recapitulation, prolonging the dominant from m. 144 to m. 150, followed by a lengthy silence. An Adagio begins in A major, 3/8 time, in the guise of a slow minuet. Since the Presto is never resumed and its sonata design is never completed, one can see why some consider the Adagio a separate movement. Yet the harmonic plan of the Adagio is not what we would expect in an independent movement; since it ends in F# major rather than A major, its tonal trajectory provides tonal closure to both the Presto and to the symphony

as a whole. Thus its status as a complete movement is ambiguous, and this may be the point. In any case, the Adagio constitutes an excess, an unexpected surplus.

As in the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, which introduces an orchestral version of the 'Ode to Joy' theme before allowing the human voice to sing it, Haydn prepares the radical disruption of his pantomime by starting the Adagio as a purely instrumental piece. When the pantomime begins, we see a carefully choreographed series of exits. The winds leave first, starting with Oboe I and Horn II, which play their last notes in m. 32. The bassoon finishes in m. 47, followed by Oboe II in m. 54 and Horn I in m. 55. Then the strings start to leave, thinning out from the bottom up. After a lengthy solo, the double basses leave in m. 67, followed by the cellos in m. 77. During this concluding section, the violins are divided into four parts, so that each part would have been played by a single instrument in Haydn's *Kapelle*. Violins III and IV finish in m. 85 and depart, followed by the violas in m. 93, leaving only Violins I and II, which continue to the end, playing *pp* and with mutes. Since the men were instructed to pack up their music, blow out their candles, and leave with their instruments under their arms, we see an orderly and repeated series of actions. Although these gestures would be unremarkable in the course of the musicians' daily lives, by detaching them from their normal context and making them part of the piece, Haydn effectively brings the external circumstances of the performance into the work itself, making the 'outside' part of the 'inside.'

The fact that Haydn's men execute a pantomime turns them into actors, and they become like the actors at Eszterháza, freed for a moment from the constraints of court life. One of the uncanny things here is that although Haydn's men become actors, they are impersonating *themselves* rather than portraying fictional characters as we might expect in a play or in the other forms of drama with music such as opera or ballet. The space of the performance does not represent a fictional space; we are not in Denmark or Verona or Troy. In theater the difference between the bodies onstage and their dramatic roles, along with the scenery and the entire fictional apparatus, creates a comfortable distance for the spectator, who becomes free to identify with one character or another, or even to identify with '*him- or herself as pure gaze*—that is, with the abstract point which gazes upon the scene' (Žižek 1992a, 223). In the 'Farewell' we have theater without illusion, so that this invisible barrier between performers and spectators is decisively breached. This transgression of barriers can foster anxiety, making us sense our implication in the performance, and making us unsure of what to identify with. The dreamlike qualities of pantomime, to which Arthur Symons, an important Symbolist poet and critic, has called attention, also come into play here. According to Symons, pantomime can create a dreamlike sense of irreality, in which speech seems to be not simply missing but prohibited (Symons 1906, 383). The actions that the musicians execute are simply performed without explanation; there are no words, as in opera, nor even a scenario, as in ballet, to explain what is going on. The uncanny potential of this prohibition of speech becomes clear if we recall Freud's insight that 'in dreams dumbness is a common representation of death' (Freud 1958b, 294).

This transgression of barriers between audience and performers explains why modern performances in 18-century garb reduce the piece to kitsch; transforming a contemporary concert hall into the Esterházy court introduces the very element of

theatrical illusion that the 'Farewell' was designed to subvert, turning the piece into an exercise in nostalgia. Žižek has analyzed the phenomenon of nostalgia in the reception history of certain cinematic genres such as *film noir*, in which 'we are fascinated by the gaze of the mythic 'naïve' spectator . . . who was 'still able to take it seriously' (Žižek 1992b, 114). In costumed reenactments of the 'Farewell,' we are split between our own ironic distance and our identification with the gaze of an eighteenth-century spectator who could still take Haydn's 'rococo whimsy' seriously.

From the standpoint of the rigid social hierarchy of the Esterházy court, the ending of the piece, in which the men gradually leave the hall before the piece is over, would have constituted a symbolic violation of court etiquette. Normally the men, who performed standing, would remain standing until the Prince left, a ritual that reinforced his status as the one with power over movement, a power he had lately demonstrated by his decision to keep the men at Eszterháza. As Norbert Elias emphasized in his classic study of court etiquette, such rituals were meant to make power visible, to represent it in concrete, physical terms, so that we don't merely know who is in charge, we also experience it in the very disposition of our bodies and the arrangement of our physical space (Elias 1983). Under the cover of art, however, Haydn reverses this relationship; the men are suddenly free to leave, while the Prince is immobilized as spectator. As the men depart one after another, they are suddenly visible as individuals, a fact emphasized by Haydn giving some of them solos just before they depart. This recognition of individuality once again represents a reversal of norms, because life at Eszterháza revolved around the individuality and whims of its Prince. This inversion of the social hierarchy, however, does not suggest the element of parody that Bakhtin associated with carnival; it is solemn rather than parodic, and is certainly very far from the grotesque celebration of the lower body found in carnival.

The fact that the Adagio represents a genre associated with the decorum and hierarchy of the *ancien régime*—the minuet—affiliates this finale with what some have called the rituals of the upper body. According to Wye Jameson Allanbrook, 'by 1770 [the minuet] had split into two distinguishable types,' one relatively quick in tempo, the other noticeably slower; she associates the slower type with the stage, and the need to exaggerate the gestures of the dance to project it 'beyond the proscenium' (Allanbrook 1983, 33). From the perspective of the tensions between the power of the ruling elite and the protest staged by this piece on behalf of the performers, the fact that Haydn's men depart to the strains of an aristocratic dance seems especially significant; it confers an aura of nobility on them even as it reminds us that they are excluded from the world of privilege associated with this dance. Although we hear a minuet, the musicians are walking rather than dancing. Normally in a symphony, we would not expect a minuet to be danced, but given the movements of the performers here, it is natural to question the relation of their gestures to the music. Given the femininity that much eighteenth-century discourse attributes to the minuet as a genre (Head 1995), the use of a minuet here may call to mind the longing of the musicians for their wives (and again we must recall that all of Haydn's *Kapelle* were men).

As the minuet progresses, we gradually become aware of another new genre in the finale: as the musicians depart, we move from the public world of the symphony to the

intimate sphere of chamber music; after starting with a relatively small but powerful orchestra, the piece ends with an extended duet for two solo violins. As Adorno and others have noted, the social economy of chamber music involves equality and dialogue, in which all performers are on an equal footing and are individualized. Ending with two violins might recall the moments when Haydn played chamber music with his patron, moments of temporary equality; the ending reflects sociability rather than isolation—two violins cooperating, rather than just one, two individuals in harmony. Indeed, Haydn himself may have played one of these violin parts at the first performance. Although this equality was only possible in the private sphere of chamber music, its representation here allows us to glimpse a utopian future.

This utopian moment, however, may not be Haydn's last word, and the conclusion may be charged with ambivalence. If we imagine the last two violinists duplicating the gestures of the other musicians—packing up their music, blowing out their candles, and so on—then the pantomime continues in silence. Several commentators, including Webster, have remarked on the 'insubstantiality' and 'incompleteness' created by Haydn's decision to end the music not on the usual root position tonic triad, but on the less stable I⁶. What they may not realize, however, is this incompleteness may signal that the end of the music is not the end of piece. In describing Georges Balanchine's staging of an orchestral piece by Webern, in which the performers continued to dance after the music stopped, Žižek compares the dancers to 'the living dead, who dwell in an interstice of empty time; their movements, which lack vocal support, allow us to see not only the voice but silence itself' (Žižek 2009, XXX). In much the same way, the silent pantomime makes silence visible; it is like the void, the empty place of the Thing, that Lacan considered the origin of the work of art (Lacan 1992, 130).

V

We have not yet exhausted the meanings of this pantomime, nor have we uncovered all of its generic associations. So far, we have discussed how the repetitive actions of the piece might evoke social rituals; these same actions, however, might also echo certain religious rituals with which Haydn was familiar. Indeed, Thomas Tolley, who is the only scholar who has addressed visual elements in the 'Farewell,' relates the gradual extinguishing of candles in the last movement to the Catholic ritual known as *Tenebrae*, performed on the eves of Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday during Lent. In this ceremony, a series of candles (usually fifteen, although the precise number has varied over time) is extinguished one by one, until only a single candle remains, representing Christ. Psalms are sung after putting out each candle, so the parallel to the 'Farewell' is significant, since in each case candles are extinguished to a musical accompaniment. Tolley's discovery allows him to explain the presence of a Gregorian chant in the Trio of the Minuet (mm. 41-46), because this chant, which Haydn also used and explicitly marked in his Symphony No. 26, the 'Lamentatione,' is one associated with the *Tenebrae* ritual (Tolley 2001, 86-87). Although Webster has noted the possible presence of a chant

here, he does not explain its significance, nor does it play a role in the elaborate program he constructs for the symphony (Webster 1991, 67).

Since Tolley's primary concern involves the influence of the visual arts on Haydn, he treats the finale more as a static tableau than as a series of actions; in focusing on darkness as a symbol of farewell, he does not analyze the piece as a pantomime, nor does he decode other meanings as I have done. His insight allows us, however, to reinforce the connections I have drawn between this symphony and the consternation that both Griesinger and Dies attribute to the 'ardent husbands' among Haydn's men. Practices of abstinence, including sexual abstinence, are associated with Lent, and the extinguishing of candles in the finale would have called these Lenten privations to mind. This interpretation of the ending as a sort of religious ritual does not abrogate the secular meanings I proposed earlier; as Mladen Dolar has suggested, there is a 'close link between the erotic and the religious function that inhabits the very core of music' (Dolar 2002, 93).

VI

A pantomime that invades a symphony; a symphony that turns into chamber music; a quasi-religious ritual performed to an aristocratic dance; these are some of the unexpected genres that emerge and interact in the finale. There is still at least one more genre at work here, and I have already alluded to it above: even though he was writing in the eighteenth century, Haydn anticipates the modern notion of performance art, a phenomenon usually associated with the twentieth century and beyond, in some uncanny ways. Haydn's violation of the conventions of performance and his transgression of the boundaries between what is 'inside' the piece and what is 'outside' it looks ahead to later experiments such as Berio's *Sequenza III*, in which the singer laughs, or Stockhausen's *Momente*, in which the piece begins with the performers applauding; in these works of the twentieth-century avant-garde, the performers usurp functions usually reserved for the audience. As Lyotard explains in his essay on *Sequenza III*, 'in the course of concerts as we know them, laughter is limited to the audience, to the public side Placing the laughter on the stage violates the sacred space in which musicians play' (Lyotard 1993, 52). Similarly, in the course of concerts as we know them, musicians do not walk out while the piece is being played; this is a privilege reserved for the audience, who may signal their displeasure in this manner, but the 'Farewell' stands this convention on its head.

There are at least eight features that the 'Farewell' shares with many examples of performance art:

- 1) Unlike opera or ballet, which represent relatively standardized and institutionalized modes of combining music and theater, the 'Farewell' stages a unique experiment in mixing media, looking ahead to later experiments.

- 2) The fact that the symphony took place in the same room which had been consecrated by court ceremonial, and which was at the very center of the Prince's palace, is integral to what I have called the symbolic violation of court etiquette staged by this piece, making the performance space part of the work/event. In this respect the 'Fare-

well' resembles what we now call 'site-specific' art.

3) As in many examples of performance art, the performance space does not represent a fictive space, and does not create an illusion.

4) As in many examples of performance art, the actors do not impersonate anyone.

5) Both the 'Farewell' and performance art contain ritualized actions, ordinary gestures that are taken out of their everyday contexts and framed as an object of attention.

6) In executing these actions, the performers' bodies become part of the work/event rather than incidental vehicles for it; the actual musicians who had been interchangeable servants walk out as if to demonstrate that the music we have been consuming and taking for granted was actually produced by real human beings, by these actual bodies.

7) All of these qualities give the 'Farewell' something of the same 'political edge' that many critics associate with performance art.

8) Finally, all of these qualities, including the site-specific nature of the piece, turn the symphony into an unrepeatable event, much like the 'oneoff' sort of event that Kaprow intended each of his Happenings to be. If this comparison seems anachronistic, this cuts both ways: although it imports a twentieth-century concept to explain an eighteenth-century phenomenon, it also suggests that the modern concept may not be quite as novel as we had thought.

In a very real sense, the finale of the 'Farewell' is so closely connected to the circumstances of the first performance that it cannot be repeated—it can only be remembered or commemorated in performances that acknowledge their distance from the original event; it can only be reconstructed through a kind of archive. Attempts to repeat the original performance in powdered wigs and knee-breeches stage a kind of failure of our collective, cultural memory, our inability to remember what was shocking about that performance. Thinking of the 'Farewell' in these terms may enable us to resist the habits of reception that have dogged Haydn's music and allow us to discover its uncanny futurity.

If the 'Farewell' represents some sort of performance art *avant la lettre*, one can see why it has suffered so many misappropriations, however well intended. Haydn created a new genre in this piece; the categories needed to comprehend the piece did not exist until the piece was composed. This sort of radical originality is what Wordsworth had in mind when he wrote that 'every great and original writer, in proportion as he is great and original, must himself create the taste by which he is to be relished' (Wordsworth 1984, 103). Haydn is still waiting for our taste to catch up with him.

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POVZETEK

Zgodovina recepcije Haydnove »Simfonije slovesa« razkriva vrsto pomembnih belih lis. Poizkusi natančno poustvariti prvo izvedbo v noči 18. stoletja obstajajo sočasno z amnezijo, ki zadeva resnične okoliščine dogodka; na eni strani obnavljajo idealizirano podobo preteklosti, pri čemer pa ignorirajo erotično frustracijo in nepravilnosti moči, o katerih govorijo zgodovinski viri. Freudovo razlikovanje med »spominjanjem« in »ponavljanjem« more osve-

tliti polastitev simfonije kot sredstva za nostalgčno obujanje preteklosti. Izbruh pantomime v finalu, to je resnična prisotnost teles v gibanju, se ali napravi nevidno, sublimirano v filozofski kontemplaciji imaginarnega programa, ali pa zreducira na raven komedijantske potegavščine. Ker se ta vprašanja zgodovinske recepcije vrtijo okrog pojma zvrsti oziroma žanra, bi poizkus obnove skaženosti resnične zgodovine kazalo začeti z rekonstrukcijo enkratne konstalacije žanrov, ki so bili na delu v finalu.