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Diplomats as Musical Agents in the Age of Haydn

by Mark Ferraguto

Abstract

Vienna's embassies were major centers of musical activity throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Resident diplomats, in addition to being patrons and performers, often acted as musical agents, facilitating musical interactions within and between courts, among individuals and firms, and in their private salons. Through these varied activities, they played a vital role in shaping a transnational European musical culture.

This essay identifies fifteen resident diplomats who made significant contributions to Vienna's musical scene during Haydn's lifetime. Exploring their correspondence and other contemporary sources, it highlights the ways in which diplomatic musical exchanges, interventions, and collaborations helped to shape the era's musical culture. An examination of Charles Burney's visit to Vienna in 1772 from the perspective of "insider" and "small-world" networks further elucidates the central role diplomats played in the city's salon life.¹

I. Introduction

By 1803, Vienna hosted nearly fifty embassies, more than any other European city.² While firsthand accounts indicate that these embassies were major centers of musical activity, neither the breadth of diplomats' musical affairs nor the role of music in their professional lives has been adequately explored. In addition to being prominent patrons, performers, and even composers, diplomats acted as musical agents, fostering musical

¹ I would like to thank Stuart Paul Duncan and Damien Mahiet for their help in improving and refining this text.

² Antoine-Chretien Wedekind, *Almanac des Ambassades* (Braunschweig: Frederic Vieweg, 1803), 169-80.

connections within and between courts, among individuals and firms, and in their own salons. Focusing on a selection of diplomats who served in Vienna during Haydn's lifetime, this essay examines the varied musical activities of the *corps diplomatique* and the crucial role it played in the transfer of musical personnel, goods, and ideas across Europe and beyond.

Table 1 (p. 3) lists fifteen foreign diplomats who, during their official residencies in Vienna, contributed to the city's musical life in significant ways. This list, by no means exhaustive, includes only those resident diplomats for whom a relatively substantial record of musical participation survives. Not included here are Austrian diplomats such as Ludwig Cobenzl, Klemens von Metternich, and Gottfried van Swieten, all of whom actively participated in the city's musical life but did not serve there in a representative capacity.

Letters, memoirs, and other sources allow us to distinguish three primary ways in which these and other contemporary diplomats acted as musical agents. First, they arranged and conducted *exchanges* of musical personnel, goods, and information, either at the behest of their courts or through personal initiative. Such exchanges were central in the formation of Europe's transnational musical culture. Second, they supported performers and composers either through *interventions* on their behalf (writing recommendation letters, interfacing with publishers, arranging for performances on foreign soil) or through *collaborations* (libretto writing, translation, even co-composing). Third, they served as major hubs in what historian Brian Vick has called "salon networks," drawing together a select company of politicians, musicians, artists, and literati and thereby fostering fruitful musical *connections*.³ While this typology is meant to be neither rigid nor restrictive, it offers one way of assessing the breadth of diplomats' musical activities through a number of interrelated examples. Each overarching category—exchanges, interventions and collaborations, and connections—is explored in a separate section below.

³ Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 112-52.

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Table 1: Musically Active Diplomats Serving in Vienna During Haydn's Lifetime

Name	Represented	Served	Sources
Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules (1763–1844)	France	1798	Mörner 1952, Landon 1976–80, Sipe 1998, Clive 2001
De la Gardie, Jacob Gustaf (1768–1842)	Sweden	1799–1801	Grade 1931, Mörner 1952, Landon 1976–80
Dolfin [Delfino], Daniele Andrea (1748–98)	Venice	1786–(?)92	Preto 1991, Link 1997
Durazzo, Giacomo (1717–94)	Genoa	1749–52	Clive 1993, Brown 2015
Gemmingen-Hornberg, Otto Heinrich Freiherr von (1755–1836)	Baden	1782–1805	Gugitz 1964, Clive 1993
Golitsyn, Dmitry Mikhailovich (1721–93)	Russia	1761–1792	DeNora 1995, Link 1997, Petrova 2015
Griesinger, Georg August (1769–1845)	Saxony	1804–13, (?)1815–45	Biba 1987, Clive 2001
Keith, Sir Robert Murray (1730–95)	Great Britain	1772–92	Link 1997, Du Toit 2004
Mastrilli, Marzio, marchese di Gallo (1753–1833)	Naples	(?)1786–97	Link 1997, Rice 2003, Sperber 2008
Murray, David, 2nd Earl of Mansfield (Lord Stormont) (1727–96)	Great Britain	1763–72	Burney 1775, Scott 2004
Nissen, Georg Nikolaus (1761–1826)	Denmark	1793–(?)1812	Clive 1993, Servatius 2012
Razumovsky, Andrey Kyrillovich (1752–1836)	Russia	1792–99, 1801–07	Wassiltchikow 1893–94, Razumovsky 1998, Ferraguto 2014
Silverstolpe, Fredrik Samuel (1769–1851)	Sweden	1796–1802	Mörner 1952, Landon 1976–80, Kuschner 2003–06
Sorkočević, Luka (1734–89)	Dubrovnik	1781–82	Everett 1993–94, Van Boer 2012, Samson 2013
Taruffi, Giuseppe Antonio (1722–86)	Rome (Holy See)	(?)1765–(?)72	Burney 1775, De Rossi 1786, Godt 2010

As the first step toward a larger study, this essay builds on a growing multidisciplinary interest in the topic of music and diplomacy.⁴ With the notable exception of the Congress of Vienna, the role of music in the lives of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century diplomats has received little scholarly attention.⁵ And yet this topic has much to tell us about both the transmission of musical materials and ideas and the specific means by which musical practices contributed to the pursuit of power and peace. For Haydn scholars, exploring the mechanics of musical diplomacy also sheds new light on the contributions of such seminal figures in Haydn's biography as Georg August Griesinger, Fredrik Samuel Silverstolpe, and Gottfried van Swieten.

II. Exchanges

From patronage and performance, to the hosting of private entertainments, to the oversight and attendance of ceremonies and festivities, diplomats were expected to engage in numerous and varied musical activities as part of their professional duties.⁶ One such activity concerned the transfer of musical personnel and goods throughout Europe and beyond. Availing themselves of couriers rather than the slower post, diplomats stationed throughout the continent regularly fulfilled commissions and exchanged gifts and goods with their own courts and with foreign ones. In so doing, they

⁴ For an overview, see Damien Mahiet, Mark Ferraguto, and Rebekah Ahrendt, "Introduction," in Ahrendt et al., eds. *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-16, esp. 7-8.

⁵ On the musical politics of the Congress of Vienna, see Otto Biba, "The Congress of Vienna and Music," in Ole Villumsen Krog (ed.), *Danmark og Den Dansende Wienerkongress. Spillet om Danmark/Denmark and the Dancing Congress of Vienna. Playing for Denmark's Future* (Copenhagen: Christiansborg Slot, 2002), 200-14; Damien Mahiet, "The Concert of Nations: Music, Political Thought and Diplomacy in Europe, 1600s-1800s" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2011), 196-237; Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 59-101; Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 112-52, and "The Vienna Congress as an Event in Austrian History: Civil Society and Politics in the Habsburg Empire at the End of the Wars against Napoleon," *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (Apr. 2015): 109-33; and "1815: Musik zum Siegen und Tanzen," special issue, *Österreichische Musik Zeitschrift: Ein Europäisches Forum* 70, no. 1 (2015).

⁶ The diaries of Count Zinzendorf contain numerous mentions of concerts at diplomatic residences. See Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 2 (1997): 205-57.

not only helped to build the infrastructure (*Kapellen*, opera companies, libraries, etc.) required for the performance and study of music, but also played a vital role in shaping a transnational European musical culture.

The diplomatic transfer of musical personnel was largely bound up with the competitive climate of the eighteenth-century theatre. With emperors and impresarios alike on the lookout for foreign (especially Italian) virtuosos, the well-placed diplomat could prove a valuable asset. No more auspicious an example exists than in 1783, when Emperor Joseph II ordered Count Durazzo, his ambassador at Venice and the former director of the imperial theatres in Vienna, to engage a company of Italian singers for a comic opera to be given at the Viennese court. In tenor Michael Kelly's words, the decree stated that "no expense was to be spared, so that the artists were of the first order; that no secondary talent would be received amongst them, and that characters were to be filled by those engaged, without distinction, according to their abilities; and the will of the director appointed by the Emperor."⁷ According to an anecdote that Durazzo related to his guests along with the order, the decree resulted from a dispute between the emperor and a French company of actors, who, while "drinking their wine and abusing it," chided the emperor over the quality of the Burgundy at Schönbrunn. The emperor answered that he felt the wine to be quite satisfactory but that perhaps a better vintage was to be found in France, to which nation he promptly expelled the entire troupe. Whatever its veracity, the anecdote was little more than a pretext for the reinstatement of Italian *opera buffa* to the Burgtheater stage, where German *Singspiel* had become unpopular. After signing contracts with Durazzo, the virtuosos Kelly, Nancy Storace, Francesco Benuci, and Stefano Mandini set out for Vienna where they would help to inaugurate a new era in Italian comic opera.⁸

⁷ Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, including a Period of Nearly Half a Century; with Original Anecdotes of Many Distinguished Persons, Political, Literary, and Musical*, Vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 194.

⁸ Daniel Hertz, *Mozart, Haydn, and Early Beethoven, 1781-1802* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009), 30-31.

The transfer of musical personnel could also result from a diplomat's own initiative. Fredrik Samuel Silverstolpe, a Swedish diplomat in Vienna who is well known in the Haydn literature, went out of his way to try to secure a position in Stockholm for the Swedish-German composer Paul Struck. Struck, in his twenties, had been a pupil of Albrechtsberger in 1795 and Haydn from 1796 to 1799 in Vienna. Silverstolpe wrote directly to King Gustav IV of the young man's abilities, noting affectionately (if hyperbolically) that Haydn called him "the most skilled pupil he ever taught" (*den skickeligaste élève han danat*).⁹ Silverstolpe wrote fourteen more recommendation letters on Struck's behalf to Swedish dignitaries and noblemen and purchased forty-four volumes of German keyboard music as a present for Struck before his journey.¹⁰ While the young composer did not ultimately attain his hoped-for position of court conductor of the *Hovkapellet*, he was inducted into the Swedish Royal Academy of Music, participated in the first Swedish performance of Haydn's *The Creation* in 1801, and composed a cantata dedicated to Queen Fredrika; he would later return to Vienna and conclude his career in Pressburg.¹¹

Diplomats also played a key role in the transfer of musical manuscripts and printed editions throughout the continent, due in large part to imperial commissions. As John Rice has shown, Empress Marie Therese relied on Count Ludwig Cobenzl, Austrian ambassador at Paris, and the Marchese di Gallo, the Neapolitan ambassador, to supply her library with new music. In a letter of 1802, Cobenzl explained that "Y[our] M[ajesty] need only indicate to me what pieces you do not yet have, and I will purchase them. After Y. M. has obtained in this way everything good that is available at the moment, I will be on the look-out for what is newly available, in order to acquire everything that is

⁹ Silverstolpe to Gustav IV (2 October 1799), quoted in C.-G. Stellan Mörner, *Johan Wikmanson und die Brüder Silverstolpe: Einige Stockholmer Persönlichkeiten im Musikleben des Gustavianischen Zeitalters* (Stockholm: Ivar Hæggströms Bocktryckeri, 1952), 342-3.

¹⁰ Mörner, *Wikmanson*, 346.

¹¹ Anders Lönn, "Struck, Paul," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed 5 August, 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26992>).

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good enough to deserve to be sent to you.”¹² Wealthy diplomats like Russian ambassador at Vienna Dmitri Mikhailovich Golitsyn and his successor Andrey Razumovsky amassed considerable libraries of their own; their zeal for collection was both a public display of connoisseurship and a reminder to foreign guests of Russia’s cosmopolitan character.¹³

Imperial commissions could also include other musical objects not easily obtainable through local channels. A 1795 letter from Razumovsky in Vienna (prior to his official posting there) to Count Platon Zubov, favorite of Catherine the Great, indicates that the Russian court looked to its diplomatic network for certain high quality musical provisions:

I take advantage with the greatest eagerness of a courier leaving from here to acquit myself of the commission that Y[our] E[xcellency] kindly gave me to have sent to her some music with a provision of violin strings of the best quality that one could find in Vienna coming from Italy. A particular advantage that these ones have is to be quite dependable. Regarding the quantity I determined it according to the proportion of the sizes and of the need to replace the strings on the instrument [i. e., according to the respective string tensions]; in this fashion there are twelve packets of chanterelles [E strings], eight of the A string, and six of the other D. The whole for the sum of 96 florins, 30 xr. [kreuzer], contained in a tin case for their conservation.¹⁴

¹² Count Cobenzl to Marie Therese (3 February 1802), quoted and trans. in John A. Rice, *Empress Maria Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 23.

¹³ See Maria Petrova, “The Diplomats of Catherine II as Cultural Intermediaries: The Case of the Princes Golitsyn,” in Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding and Ellen R. Welch, eds., *Intermédiaires culturels/Cultural Intermediaries: Séminaire international des jeunes dix-huitémistes (2010: Belfast)* (Paris: Honoré-Champion, 2015), 83-100, and Mark Ferraguto, “Beethoven à la moujik: Russianness and Learned Style in the ‘Razumovsky’ String Quartets,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 77-124.

¹⁴ “Je profite avec le plus grand empressement d’un courrier partant d’ici pour m’acquitter vis-à-vis de V. E. de la commission qu’elle a bien voulu me donner de lui faire parvenir de la musique avec une provision de cordes à violon de la meilleure qualité qu’on puisse trouver à Vienne venant d’Italie. Un avantage certain qu’ont celles-ci, c’est d’être d’un bon usage. Quant à la quantité je l’ai réglée selon la proportion des grosseurs et du besoin de renouveler les cordes sur l’instrument; de cette manière ce sont douze paquets de chanterelles, huit de la corde A et six de l’autre D. Le tout pour la somme de florins 96 30 xr.,

It is difficult to know precisely how many strings were contained in a “paquet,” but this was unquestionably a large order. In the 1770s, Viennese A and D strings could be purchased for three kreuzer each, E strings for four kreuzer each. Imported strings were much more expensive: one Viennese instrument maker charged three times as much for Italian cello strings as for domestic ones.¹⁵ Based on these prices—which evidently stayed consistent over the next two decades—Razumovsky would likely have paid around nine kreuzer for each imported A and D string and around twelve kreuzer for each imported E string.¹⁶ At the higher rate of twelve kreuzer per string, the sum of ninety-six florins, thirty kreuzer (= 5790 kreuzer) implies a minimum of about 482 strings (roughly eighteen per packet), or enough upper strings to outfit 160 instruments.¹⁷ An order of this size would certainly have accommodated the violin section of a large court *Kapelle* and then some, even in St. Petersburg where oversized ensembles were in vogue.

Another chief task of diplomats was the exchange of information, and musical information was no exception. The diplomat was, after all, obliged to provide an “exact and faithful account” of everything that went on at a foreign court, “both with respect to the negociation [sic] confided to him, and also with regard to any other affairs which may happen during his residence there, and which may be of any importance to his Government.”¹⁸ Musical reports, often embedded within longer dispatches, not only

compris dans une caisse de fer blanc pour leur conservation.” Razumovsky to Zubov, n. d. [Spring 1795], quoted in Alexandre Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, trans. Alexandre Brückner (Halle: Tausch & Grosse, 1893–94), Vol. 2, Part 4, 26.

¹⁵ Richard Maunder, “Viennese Stringed-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 52 (April 1999), 28.

¹⁶ I have not been able to find prices for imported strings in the 1790s, but in 1797, one Viennese music shop advertised “Gute Saiten à 4 kr,” suggesting that inflation over two decades had a negligible impact on the cost of (presumably) locally made strings. *Wiener Zeitung* (11 February 1797), 442.

¹⁷ Why Razumovsky only purchased upper strings may be explained by the fact that G strings were typically overwound with wire rather than pure gut, and were hence both more dependable and more expensive.

¹⁸ “Diplomacy,” in Edward Smedley et al., *Encyclopedia Metropolitana* 18 (London, 1845), 36.

portrayed the cultural scene at a foreign court or capital but also provided details about such matters as the engagement (or dismissal) of personnel and even the musical tastes of the reigning sovereign and the public. Reporting back to the Dresden court on a Munich production of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* in February 1773, the Saxon minister saw fit to note that "Her Highness the electress is strongly in favor of this opera, which meant that those who respect the wishes of this august princess took care to say no more."¹⁹ Such accounts of musical and theatrical events contributed to painting a larger picture of the political climate at a court or capital.

Silverstolpe regularly corresponded with members of his family about musical happenings in Vienna. His letters reflect more than a passing interest in music; they reveal a man who was deeply ensconced in the city's musical scene and who aimed to describe it in detail to an eager readership back in Stockholm. He often asked for the choicest bits of news to be passed along to Pehr Frigel, Secretary of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music, to whom he also planned to send a series of reports on music in Vienna in which Haydn, Kozeluch, Vanhal, Albrechtsberger, and Salieri would all "play a certain role."²⁰ Other letters contain information explicitly earmarked for Frigel, such as the "annotations concerning Viennese musicians" he included in a letter of 25 April 1798, to his brother Axel Gabriel:

The greatest now living male singer, Marchesi, is in Vienna and will soon perform in the theatre. The greatest female singer, Lady Billington, was like Marchesi engaged for several months, but she will not come, because she has a French lover whom she cannot leave. Marchesi is a castrato. Besides him, the castrato

¹⁹ Moritz Fürstenau, "Glucks Orpheus in München 1773," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 4 (1872): 216-24. Quoted and trans. in Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740-1780* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 206.

²⁰ Silverstolpe to Carl Gudmund Silverstolpe (3 May 1797), quoted in Mörner, *Wikmanson*, 316. The reports were evidently the basis of Silverstolpe's published account of his friendship with Haydn, which appeared in 1838. The account is reproduced in German in C.-G. Stellan Mörner, "Haydniana aus Schweden um 1800," *Haydn-Studien* 2, no. 1 (1969): 1-33, 24ff. It appears as a series of translated extracts in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1976-80), Vol. 4 (251-2, 256-7, 264, 266, 318, and 335).

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Crescentini is considered the chief; I heard him often a year ago, although not with the great enthusiasm that reigns everywhere. – Kreuzer, who composed Lodoiska, departed with ambassador Bernadotte. – Haydn's Creation, a new oratorio, will be performed in 8 days for the first time. I already heard the majority of it from the author himself playing from the score.²¹

Silverstolpe's reference to composer and violinist Rodolphe Kreutzer's departure with Bernadotte is of special interest in the context of diplomatic musical exchanges. Kreutzer, primarily remembered today as the dedicatee of Beethoven's Op. 47 sonata, arrived in Vienna with Bernadotte's party when the latter took over as French ambassador in February 1798.²² On 13 April at around 7 p.m., Bernadotte gave the order to hoist the French tricolor flag on the balcony of his residence as a provocation. A crowd quickly formed and the situation escalated. Austrian officials intervened, but before military reinforcements could arrive, a mob broke through the embassy gate, destroyed the windows and kitchen furniture on the ground floor, and damaged two carriages. The flag itself was taken down, torn, and burned. Following the incident, which lasted until about 2 o'clock in the morning, Bernadotte demanded a passport from the Austrian government and fled the capital.²³ Kreutzer hence ended his Viennese

²¹ "Der grösste jetzt lebende Sänger, Marchesi, ist in Wien und wird bald im Théâtre auftreten. Die grösste Sängerin, Frau Billington, war gleich Marchesi auf mehrere Monate engagiert, sie kommt aber nicht, da sie einen französischen Liebhaber hat, den sie nicht verlassen kann. Marchesi ist Castrat. Neben ihm gilt der Castrat Crescentini als der Vornehmste; ihn habe ich vor einem Jahr oft gehört, obgleich nicht dem grossen Enthousiasmus der überall herrscht. – Kreuzer, der Lodoiska componiert hat, ist mit Botschafter Bernadotte abgereist. – Haydns Schöpfung, ein neues Oratorium, wird in 8 Tagen zum ersten Mal aufgeführt. Ich habe den grössten Teil davon schon von dem Auctor selbst aus der Partitur spielen gehört." Silverstolpe to Axel Gabriel Silverstolpe (25 April 1798), quoted in Mörner, *Wikmanson*, 329-30.

²² According to a dubious claim by Anton Schindler, it was Bernadotte who provided Beethoven with the inspiration for the "Eroica" Symphony. See Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: Eroica Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 30-33.

²³ The incident is related in *A Faithful Account of the Riot in Vienna, The 13th of April, 1798, occasioned by the French Ambassador's Hoisting in that City the National Flag of France, by an Eye Witness, translated from the Original German, published at Vienna, April 23d, 1798* (London, 1798). David Wyn Jones discusses the episode in relation to Viennese censorship of Haydn's music in "Haydn, Austria and Britain: Music, Culture and Politics in the 1790s," in Richard Chessser and David Wyn Jones, eds., *The Land of Opportunity: Joseph Haydn and Britain* (London: The British Library, 2013), 1-21, 16-20.

tenure prematurely and returned to France where he would enter into the musical service of Napoleon. Silverstolpe, for his part, would eventually come to know Bernadotte in quite a different capacity when he (Bernadotte) was elected heir-presumptive to King Charles XIII of Sweden, later becoming King himself.

III. Collaborations and Interventions

Another way in which diplomats acted as musical agents was through direct collaboration with—and/or intervention on behalf of—composers and performers. In these instances, whether resulting from personal conviction, national interests, or both, diplomats assisted musicians in the production and dissemination of their works, in the facilitation of their geographical mobility, and in the shaping of their careers and reputations.

The most prominent diplomatic musical collaborator of the eighteenth century was, of course, Gottfried van Swieten. After diplomatic training in Brussels, Paris, London, and Warsaw, Swieten served as Viennese ambassador to the court of Frederick the Great in Berlin from 1770 to 1777. On his recall to Vienna, he became Prefect of the Imperial Library (a position he would retain until his death), and in the early 1780s, president of the Court Commission on Education and Censorship, where he was instrumental in implementing Joseph II's liberal reforms.²⁴ His musical contributions to Viennese life are manifold and need not be fully rehearsed here; among them were the founding of the Gesellschaft der Associierten Cavaliers to promote the performance of oratorios; the commissioning of Mozart's orchestrations of Handel's *Acis and Galatea* (1788), *Messiah* (1789), *Alexander's Feast* (1790), and *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* (1790); the commissioning of C. P. E. Bach's six magnificent string symphonies "*für Kenner*" (1773);

²⁴ On music's role in Swieten's educational reforms, see Wiebke Thormählen, "Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna," *The Journal of Musicology* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 342-76.

and the arrangement of the librettos for Haydn's three oratorios, *The Seven Last Words* (1796), *The Creation* (1798) and *The Seasons* (1801).²⁵

Haydn's autobiographical sketch of 1776 suggests that Swieten was already advocating for him while active as a diplomat in Prussia: "In the chamber-musical style I have been fortunate enough to please almost all nations except the Berliners. . . . Despite this, they try very hard to get all my works, as Herr Baron von Sviten [sic], the Imperial and Royal Ambassador at Berlin, told me only last winter, when he was in Vienna: but enough of this."²⁶ Their principal collaboration, however, revolved around the three oratorios. As Edward Olleson notes, Swieten became "increasingly independent" as a librettist: while the librettos of *The Seven Last Words* and *The Creation* are largely adaptations of preexisting material, in *The Seasons*, "the whole conception is his own; the individual scenes are mostly to be found in Thomson's poem, but their organization into a libretto is the work of Swieten."²⁷ In preparing both *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, moreover, Swieten—a fairly prolific if sometimes belittled composer in his own right—made notes in the margins offering musical suggestions, many of which Haydn adopted. In spite of oft-repeated criticisms of Swieten's tendency toward picturesque gimmicks such as the croaking frog of *The Seasons*—which Haydn himself wrote off as "Frenchified trash"—it is difficult to imagine how either of the large-scale oratorios could have come into being without Swieten's financial assistance, institutional support, or creative prodding. Swieten's well-documented reverence for the music of Handel and Bach—developed during his travels and residency at Berlin—likely also had an influence on the character

²⁵ For a fuller account of Swieten's musical activities, see Edward Olleson's entry in *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University, 2009), 377-9.

²⁶ Haydn to Mademoiselle Leonore (6 July 1776), in H. C. Robbins Landon, ed. and trans., *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn* (Fair Lawn, NJ: Essential Books, 1959), 18-21, 20.

²⁷ Edward Olleson, "Gottfried van Swieten: Patron of Haydn and Mozart," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 89th session (1962-63), 70.

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of Haydn's oratorios, just as it did on Mozart's music of the 1780s (and on the development of Vienna's "serious" music culture more generally).²⁸

While Swieten collaborated in highly visible ways with contemporary composers, other diplomats labored behind the scenes as third parties to benefit them. One such figure was Haydn's first biographer Georg August Griesinger. Griesinger arrived in Vienna in the spring of 1799 to tutor the nine-year-old son of Count Johann Hilmar Adolph von Schönfeld, the Saxon ambassador. He soon began to take on diplomatic duties himself, rising to the position of secretary of the Saxon legation in 1804 and later councillor. During his residency, he served as the Viennese representative of the Leipzig firm Breitkopf & Härtel, then the most prestigious music publishing firm in the German-speaking lands. Leveraging his diplomatic skills, he ensured that the firm became Haydn's principal publisher late in life, negotiating among other things its publication of the "*Oeuvres Complètes de Joseph Haydn*" (twelve volumes of keyboard music, keyboard trios, and songs issued between 1799 and 1806), and of five of the six late masses, plus the earlier *Missa Cellensis*.²⁹

Silverstolpe, too, interfaced with Breitkopf & Härtel on behalf of a celebrated composer, in this case the late Joseph Martin Kraus. Silverstolpe and his family championed the music of Kraus, the German-born Kapellmeister in Stockholm from 1788 until his death in 1792.³⁰ Along with his brother Gustaf Abraham, Silverstolpe persuaded the Leipzig firm to publish Kraus's *Oeuvres Complètes*; the brothers not only spearheaded the project but also subsidized it. Kraus was still an unknown to many outside of Sweden

²⁸ On Handelian elements in *The Creation*, see Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 4, 398-9. On Swieten and serious music culture in Vienna, see DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 20-27.

²⁹ While much of the correspondence between Griesinger and Gottfried Härtel was destroyed during the Second World War, a good deal had been copied or excerpted. It is collected in Otto Biba, "*Eben komme ich von Haydn...*": *Georg August Griesingers Korrespondenz mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf & Härtel 1799-1819*. Zurich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1987.

³⁰ On the close relationship between Kraus and the Silverstolpes, see Bertil H. Van Boer, *The Musical Life of Joseph Martin Kraus: Letters of an Eighteenth-Century Swedish Composer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

(though Haydn admired him greatly), and the music did not sell well, but three volumes made it to print in Leipzig and were distributed in Sweden by the Silverstolpes.

Silverstolpe also intervened as a third party on Haydn's behalf. It was through his instigation that Haydn became one of the first foreigners to be elected to the Swedish Academy of Music as an honorary member. To be sure, there was an element of national competition here: as Silverstolpe noted in 1797, Haydn had already been made a doctor of music in England, and the accolade so flattered him that he had become "more inclined to undertake a third trip to that country."³¹ By awarding honorary memberships to Haydn, Naumann, Salieri, and Albrechtsberger, Silverstolpe hoped to entice them to travel (or travel back) to Sweden, in order to enhance the prestige of its musical culture and to "give a great lustre" to its music.³² (One sees here how interventions could easily morph into exchanges). He also hoped that the arrangement would enhance his own prestige, asking his brother, "In case the project is dropped, you should nevertheless credit me with the honour of having made the proposition."³³

Perhaps the most ambitious of Silverstolpe's musical interventions—rising in some respects to the level of a collaboration—was his project to translate *The Creation* into Swedish in advance of its Stockholm première (which he helped to arrange). Silverstolpe's superior, Swedish ambassador to Austria Graf De la Gardie, financed the project, and together, the two diplomats translated Swieten's libretto from German, altering the text of the recitatives where necessary to preserve the correct sense. Haydn himself checked and approved the translation, and it appeared in print in 1800, not long

³¹ Silverstolpe to Axel Gabriel Silverstolpe (27 December 1797), quoted in Mörner, *Wikmansson*, 323-24. Translated in Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 4, 268.

³² Ibid. Estelle Joubert has shown how Johann Gottlieb Naumann's appointments at the Swedish and Danish courts—attained through diplomatic networks—earned him the reputation as a "cultural ambassador from Dresden." Estelle Joubert, "Opera Composer as Cultural Ambassador? Diplomatic Relations and Politics Surrounding Johann G. Naumann's Foreign Appointments," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, PA (November 2013), 5.

³³ Ibid.

before the Swedish premiere on 3 April 1801.³⁴ As C.-G. Stellan Mörner remarks, it is amusing to think that in the middle of the Napoleonic Wars, two active diplomats in Vienna had enough spare time to engage in an elaborate translation project of this kind.³⁵ To be sure, this was a labor of love and the result of Silverstolpe's personal esteem for Haydn's music. But the project was by no means incidental to politics; rather, the publication and performance of a Swedish-language version of *The Creation* meant that Northern European audiences would have access to the most celebrated musical work in Europe, placing Stockholm on a par with Vienna, London, and Paris in terms of its cultural program. If, according to a Parisian correspondent for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the oratorio's earliest French-language performances were "as much a triumph for France as for the fatherland of this immortal artist," then its Swedish-language performances would, in theory anyway, be equally so.³⁶ In adapting *The Creation* for Stockholm, Silverstolpe and De la Gardie aimed to highlight the city's modish cosmopolitanism while asserting Sweden's cultural competitiveness on the international stage.

IV. Connections

Diplomats also helped to foster musical connections in their salons, an aspect of their activities that can be productively viewed from the perspective of networks. In his study of salon culture and political sociability during the Congress of Vienna, Brian Vick observes that the social, political, literary, and artistic elite of Europe were interlinked through two types of networks. *Insider networks*—chains of individuals connected by

³⁴ The libretto's complete title is "Skapelsen. / Oratorium satt i Musik / af / *Joseph Haydn*, / Doctor i Tonkonsten, / Capellmästare / hos Regerande Fursten af Esterhazy, / Ledamot / af / Kongl. Svenska Musicaliska Academien. / Öfversättning. / Wien, / Tryckt hos Mathias Andreas Schmidt, / K. k. Hofboktryckare. / 1800." Mörner, *Wikmanson*, 355, note 1.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 354-5.

³⁶ "Die Aufführung dieses erhabnen Oratoriums ist ein eben so glorreicher Triumph für Frankreich, als für das Vaterland dieses unsterblichen Künstlers." "Briefe über Musik und Musiker in Paris," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, no. 30 (22 April 1801): cols. 509–15, 509. Quoted and trans. in Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 4, 580.

marriage, family, friendship, collegiality, or common belief or purpose—connected certain individuals within a broader social context. “Such networks,” as he notes, “are delineated as much by whom they exclude as whom they include, and exhibit a high degree of ‘clustering,’ whereby two individuals with close ties to one another likely also share close ties with others in the group.” *Small-world networks*—networks formed around “the strength of weak ties” such as correspondence—connected individuals and small groups at a social or geographical remove from one another. In these networks, necessarily more inclusive than exclusive, clustering is less pronounced and individuals or groups can potentially be connected “in just a few steps, anywhere in the world...” Considering these two types of networks together, Vick proposes visualizing social relations among the European elite as a complex web or net, “with threads running from one person to another representing their social interactions”; these threads come together to form clusters or hubs where social interactions become most dense, as for example in the bustling capital cities of Paris and Vienna.³⁷

The *corps diplomatique* had elements of both an insider network and a small-world network. Because diplomats and their spouses ran many of Europe’s prominent salons, they served as insider network hubs, drawing together intellectuals, politicians, artists, and musicians of like mind or station.³⁸ At the same time, they acted as nodal points of high connectivity linking together large swathes of individuals (for example, Berliners to Viennese, or Parisians to Bostonians) through correspondence and travels. While diplomats were by no means the only social group to move between these two types of networks, they did so perhaps more fluidly and consistently than any other, due to their similar educational and sociocultural backgrounds, multilingualism (and almost universal knowledge of the French language), inviolability during travel, and access to couriers.

³⁷ Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 114.

³⁸ In Vienna, unlike Paris, males were often (though not exclusively) the central figures of the salon. Ibid, 121.

Mapping social relationships provides one way of conceptualizing the role of diplomats in stimulating and fostering musical connections. As a case study, consider Charles Burney's visit to Vienna in 1772, during which he interacted closely with two resident diplomats, Lord Viscount Stormont of Great Britain and Abate Giuseppe Taruffi of Rome. Burney's account of the visit, as recorded in his second travelogue *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, is a valuable resource in thinking about networks. Not only did Burney encounter numerous distinguished musicians and music lovers during his residency, but he also noted meticulously how and through whom he made nearly every one of his acquaintances. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the Viennese salon network in which he moved with some precision.

Visualizing this network proves complex because of the high degree of clustering: individuals regularly moved from salon to salon, maximizing their ties with others in the network. Rather than representing each individual's ties to every other individual in the network, then, we may examine how Burney moved through the network via his first encounters. Figure 1 maps Burney's first encounters with significant personalities in the city. Lines connect Burney to each individual he met, whether through direct contact or through one or more intermediary contacts. Red boxes indicate primary contacts, blue boxes secondary contacts (resulting from primary ones), green boxes tertiary contacts (resulting from secondary ones), and so on. To be clear, the map does not represent a network in the strict sense—for which certain requirements must be met and which, ideally, would involve a much larger data set—but rather Burney's experience of making acquaintances within a network.³⁹ As such, it provides a glimpse into a much more complex and extensive system.

³⁹ In a formal network, each actor must be connected to at least two other actors. See Mike Burkhardt, "Networks as Social Structures in Late Medieval and Early Modern Towns: A Theoretical Approach to Historical Network Analysis," in Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle, eds., *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400-1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014): 13-43, 14.

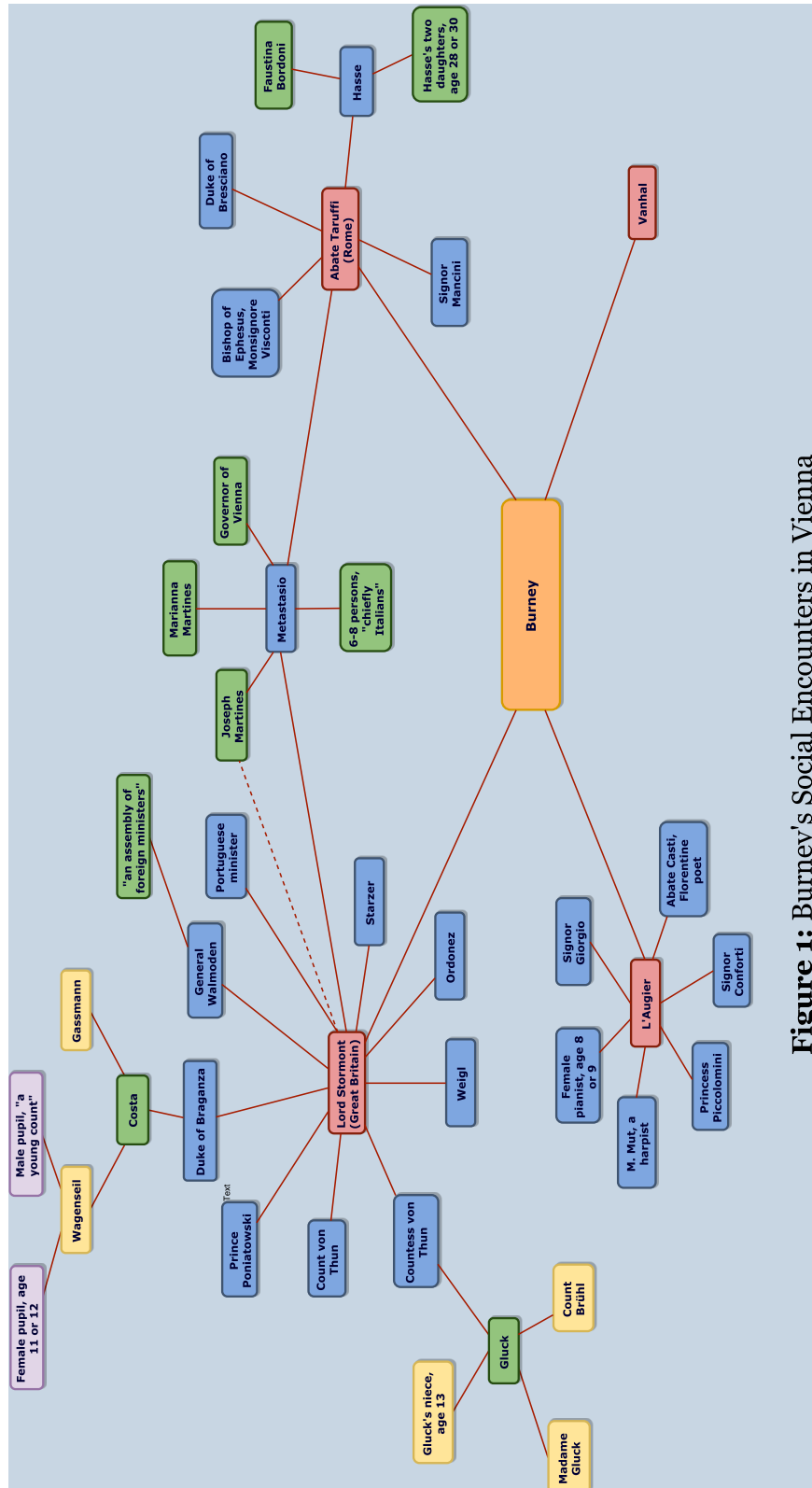


Figure 1: Burney's Social Encounters in Vienna

Prior to his arrival in the city on August 30, Burney had arranged for letters of recommendation to the British ambassador Lord Viscount Stormont, the secretary of the papal nuncio Abate Giuseppe Taruffi, and the imperial physician Louis Alexandre Laugier (or L'Augier), among others. Armed with these letters along with printed copies of *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* and the plan (in multiple languages) for his general history of music, Burney first arrived at Stormont's. The British minister at Munich, Lewis de Visme, had written the recommendation letter to Stormont, and the small-world connection quickly bore fruit:

I very soon obtained an audience, and [Stormont] condescended to enter heartily into my views, and to interest himself about them immediately on my arrival. This was a most fortunate circumstance for me, as his long residence here, had furnished opportunities for his being perfectly acquainted with all such persons and things as I wished to know; and that universal esteem and respect, which a steady, judicious, and amiable conduct had acquired him, joined to his high rank and station, rendered him all powerful in whatever cause he espoused.⁴⁰

Indeed, over the course of Burney's two-week visit, Stormont's connections to the city's musical insider network proved to be invaluable; as Burney elsewhere notes, "it was to his lordship's influence and activity, that I owed the greatest part of my entertainment, and the information I acquired during my residence at Vienna."⁴¹

Burney dined with Stormont on six separate occasions, during which he made a number of important acquaintances. These included the musical patrons Count and Countess Thun, the Duke of Braganza, Prince Poniatowski (brother to the King of Poland),

⁴⁰ Charles, Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces, or The Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for A General History of Music*, 2nd edn., Vol. 1 (London, 1775), 220.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 219-20.

General Walmoden of Denmark, and an unnamed Portuguese minister, as well as the celebrated composers Weigl, Ordonez, and Starzer. These links multiplied into further connections as his visit progressed: through Countess Thun, Burney met Gluck and his family; through Braganza, the iconoclastic composer Costa (“a kind of Rousseau, but still more original”); and through Costa, the composers Wagenseil and Gassmann (the latter of whom would helpfully grant Burney access to the archives of the imperial chapel).⁴²

Stormont also presented Burney to the staff of the Imperial Library, arranging for him to gain access not only during regular hours, but also “on holidays, and in vacation time, when it was denied to others.”⁴³ Since the passing of Swieten’s father, Gerard van Swieten, the office of principal librarian had remained vacant; however, deputy librarian Joseph Martines (whom Burney would also encounter later through Metastasio) was doubtless among those bookkeepers who assisted him in his researches with “unlimited politeness and courtesy.”⁴⁴ (The dotted line in Figure 1 indicates Burney’s possible first encounter with Martines through Stormont).

Both diplomats, Stormont and Taruffi, wrote application letters on Burney’s behalf to procure an audience with Metastasio.⁴⁵ This was no insignificant task, as Metastasio had cultivated an aura of inaccessibility; before leaving England, Burney had been assured “that it would be in vain for me to attempt even a sight of Metastasio, as he was totally worn out, incommunicative, and averse to society on all occasions.”⁴⁶ This turned out to

⁴² *Ibid*, 260.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 275.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ For the purposes of discussion, I consider correspondence within a city to establish or affirm insider network connections and correspondence between cities to establish or affirm small-world network connections.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 233-4.

be an exaggeration: Metastasio regularly hosted a select group of friends in the evenings and “had a kind of levee each morning, at which he was visited by a great number of persons of high rank and distinguished merit.”⁴⁷ The applications of Stormont and Taruffi elicited affirmative response letters at around the same time; due to protocol, Burney first saw Metastasio with Stormont and then on the following day with Taruffi, after which more visits ensued. (Because Burney was formally introduced to Metastasio by both Stormont and Taruffi, Figure 1 treats these encounters as equivalent). Metastasio’s lively salons resulted in additional encounters for Burney, most notably with the talented composer, keyboardist, and singer Marianna Martines (Joseph’s sister).

Burney’s connection to Taruffi, though not quite so robust as his connection to Stormont, introduced him to a different group of musicians and music-lovers. Most significantly, it gave him access to Hasse, Faustina, and their daughters, seemingly not among Stormont’s frequent guests. Connections also resulted from Burney’s primary contact with L’Augier; however, in spite of the physician’s offer to introduce him to Hasse, Gluck, Wagenseil, and Haydn (who was in any case away), it was ultimately through the two diplomats, Stormont and Taruffi, that Burney’s most significant musical encounters took place. As Table 2 shows, Stormont and Taruffi were the hubs through which Burney encountered eleven of the twelve major composers and music professionals he met in the city. (The exception, the thirty-three-year-old Vanhal, had relocated to “an obscure corner of the town” where he seems to have avoided social contact—Burney found him with difficulty only at the end of his stay, announcing himself without introduction).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 234.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 356.

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Table 2: Composers and Music Professionals Encountered by Burney during his Visit to Vienna

Name	Occupation	Social Link(s)
Bordoni, Faustina (1697–1781)	Singer	Taruffi → Hasse
Costa, Antonio da (c. 1714–c. 1780)	Composer/Guitarist	Stormont → Braganza
Gassmann, Florian Leopold (1729–74)	Composer	Stormont → Braganza → Costa
Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714–87)	Composer	Stormont → Thun
Hasse, Johann Adolph (1699–1783)	Composer	Taruffi
Martines, Marianna (1744–1813)	Composer/Singer	Stormont and Taruffi → Metastasio
Metastasio, Pietro (1698–1782)	Poet/Librettist	Stormont and Taruffi
Ordonez, Karl von (1734–86)	Composer	Stormont
Starzer, Joseph (1728–87)	Composer/Violinist	Stormont
Vanhal, Johann Baptist (1739–1813)	Composer	None
Wagenseil, Georg Christoph (1715–77)	Composer	Stormont → Braganza → Costa
Weigl, Joseph (1740–1820)	Cellist	Stormont

At one of Stormont's musical parties, Burney also had a profound encounter with Haydn—not the man, but the music. At the end of the evening, some “exquisite quartets, by Haydn, [were] executed in the utmost perfection” by the Viennese dream team of Starzer, Ordonez, Brühl, and Weigl. Burney recollects that

All who had any share in this concert, finding the company attentive, and in a disposition to be pleased, were animated to that true pitch of enthusiasm, which, from the ardor of the fire within them, is communicated to others, and sets all around in a blaze; so that the contention between the performers and hearers, was only who should please, and who should applaud the most!⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Ibid, 294.

While Stormont can hardly take credit for the quality of the evening's music or of its performances (in which he seemingly did not take part), his role as a salon host facilitated the musical sociability that Burney so vividly describes here. In this way and others, Stormont (along with Taruffi) made it possible for Burney to experience Vienna's musical life from an insider's perspective. Generous to the last, Stormont also ensured that Burney would be admitted to other musical insider networks upon leaving the city, offering him recommendation letters to Dresden, Berlin, and Hamburg.

V. Conclusion: Future Work

The diplomats discussed here represent a tiny fraction of those who served throughout Europe during Haydn's lifetime. In the two decades from 1789 to 1809, Great Britain alone sent at least eighteen diplomatic representatives to Vienna.⁵⁰ Some of these stayed only long enough to fulfill special missions, such as congratulating the emperors Leopold II and Francis II on their accessions; others served for longer stints as ambassadors, secretaries, or *chargés d'affaires*. When one considers that this figure accounts for the official representatives of a single sovereign power in a single European capital over just twenty years, it becomes clear that the number of diplomatic personnel who frequented the theatres and salons of Europe's cities in the long eighteenth century was substantial indeed. To be sure, only a subset of these must have had the musical enthusiasm of a Griesinger, Razumovsky, or Silverstolpe, but all were expected to participate in official events and informal occasions involving music and dance. The letters, writings, and account books of the *corps diplomatique* hence constitute an important and largely untapped resource for scholars of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music.⁵¹

⁵⁰ S. T. Bindoff, E. F. Malcolm Smith, and C. K. Webster, *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1934), 9–13.

⁵¹ In addition to the published correspondence of Silverstolpe (Mörner, *Wikmanson*) and Griesinger (Biba, "*Eben komme ich von Haydn*"), a source of particular interest is the letters of Norbert Hadrava, Austrian diplomat in Naples (Giuliana Gialdrone, "La musica a Napoli alla fine del XVIII secolo nelle lettere di Norbert Hadrava," *Fonti musicali italiane* 1 [1996]: 75–143; on Hadrava, see John A. Rice,

In addition to examining (or reexamining) these sources, the creation of a database of musical diplomats active throughout the period would allow us to more fully conceptualize Europe's transnational musical culture. Such a database could allow the viewer to see the career trajectories of individual diplomats, the roster of those present in a given city at a given time, and their individual contributions to musical life. This project would inevitably require a large-scale collaboration among researchers and would perhaps most logically proceed on a city-by-city basis. The resultant data set, ideally encompassing at least the major European capitals, would provide a new and fascinating window into the era's musical life. It would also create further opportunities for the application of network theory to fundamental questions of musical patronage, mobility, and transmission.

"Improvising Face to Face," *Mozart Society of America Newsletter* 3, no. 2 [27 August 1999]: 5-6). Archival work continues to turn up new materials, including a letter by Haydn (dated 27 September 1802) recently rediscovered by Damien Mahiet in the Metternich archives in Prague (Damien Mahiet, "Haydn and Metternich: A Letter by Joseph Haydn in the Metternich Archives," *Haydn-Studien* 11, no. 1 [December 2014]: 150-65).

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