Composing Authority in Six Forged "Haydn" Sonatas

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On the morning of 14 December 1993 musicologist H. C. Robbins Landon stood before a crowded London press conference and announced that six Haydn keyboard sonatas (Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g) had been rediscovered after more than two hundred years (fig. 1).[1] The response was electric: articles featuring celebratory soundbites from musicologists sprang up overnight in international news outlets, Harvard University scheduled a lecture recital for the following February, and the BBC moved to secure the first radio broadcast of the sonatas.

Earlier that winter Landon had received an unusual package from Vienna. Sent by his colleague Eva Badura-Skoda, it contained a bulky sixty-five-page photocopy of what appeared to be a handwritten copyist's manuscript of the six Haydn scores along with a series of tapes.[2] The

Research undertaken for this project was generously supported by the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) and by the Richard F. French Fellowship from the Harvard University Department of Music. I am grateful to Winfried Michel, Armin Raab, and Stephen Roe for their willingness to correspond with me during the preparation of this article. I also wish to thank those who read and provided feedback on the text before its publication, including Alexander Rehding, Suzannah Clark, Emily Dolan, Christopher Hasty, Kay Kaufman Shelemay, W. Dean Sutcliffe, Michael Uy, and the anonymous reviewers for this journal. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

[1] An article on the front page of the *Times* of London had already alerted the public that morning. Barry Millington, "Lost Haydn Sonatas Found in Germany," *Times* (London), 14 December 1993, 1, 29.

[2] Scores of the six sonatas have since been published. Joseph Haydn, *Sechs Sonaten für Klavier*, edited and completed by Winfried Michel (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, BP 2557, 1995).

The Journal of Musicology, Vol. 35, Issue 1, pp. 104–143, ISSN 0277-9269, electronic ISSN 1533-8347. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/JM.2018.35.1.104

FIGURE 1. H. C. Robbins Landon holding photocopies of the "rediscovered" manuscripts. © Denzil McNeelance, News UK & Ireland Limited, 14 December 1993

tapes contained audio recordings of the works performed—on a 1790 Johann Schanz fortepiano, no less—by Eva's husband, Paul Badura-Skoda, himself a well-known pianist and musicologist.[3] Playing the tapes with the scores, Landon found the music to be "extremely original, though strong influences of C. P. E. Bach and, curiously, Domenico Scarlatti could be observed."[4] The title line of his piece about the rediscovery for *BBC Music Magazine* heralded nothing less than "The Haydn Scoop of the Century."[5]

Yet all was not as it seemed. In the weeks following the 14 December press conference the euphoria surrounding the Haydn "scoop" swiftly dissipated. As readers will have gathered, it quickly became apparent

[3] Paul Badura-Skoda's interpretations of the sonatas were released on CD in 1995. The text on the back cover of the disc attributes the works to "Joseph Haydn (??)." Paul Badura-Skoda (fortepiano), *Six Lost Piano Sonatas by Joseph Haydn (Unauthorized Version)*, recorded October 1993, Koch International, 3-1572-2, 1995, compact disc.

[4] H. C. Robbins Landon, "A Musical Joke in (Nearly) Perfect Style," *BBC Music Magazine*, February 1994, 10.

[5] H. C. Robbins Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," *BBC Music Magazine*, January 1994, 11.

that, rather than rediscovered masterpieces, the sonatas were modern forgeries—newly composed works deliberately misattributed to Haydn. More specifically, the compositions are what philosopher Jerrold Levinson has termed "inventive" forgeries. Put simply, inventive forgeries are newly created works falsely attributed to an existing author, as opposed to copies of authentic artworks—paintings, for example—intended to be passed off as originals (a phenomenon Levinson calls "referential" forgery).[6] But we are getting ahead of ourselves. Before considering the disquieting reality that lay behind these compositions, I will first outline the musicological context for the illusion that confronted Landon when he first opened the fateful package.

How to Forge a Missing Link

Table 1 provides an overview of established chronologies for the group of Haydn's solo keyboard sonatas in Hob. XVI generally accepted to have been composed before around 1772.[7] Here we have a compelling if murky picture of a repertoire that remains contested in several important senses.[8] Consider, for example, the discrepancies between the systems of numbering—by Christa Landon, Anthony van Hoboken, and

[6] While inventive forgeries are relatively common in the history of musical composition, it is difficult (and perhaps impossible) to imagine a referential forgery of a piece of music. For a detailed explanation of "referential" and "inventive" categories of forgery see Jerrold Levinson, *Music, Art, and Metaphysics: Essays in Philosophical Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 103.

[7] The sources collated in table 1 and discussed throughout this section are: A. Peter Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 110–11, 123; Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957), 733–81; H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 1: *The Early Years, 1732–1765* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 224–25; H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2: *Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 335; László Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn: Instruments and Performance Practice, Genres and Styles*, trans. László Somfai and Charlotte Greenspan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 353–65, originally published as *Joseph Haydn zongoraszonátái: Hangszerválasztás és előadói gyakorlat, műfaji tipológia és stíluselemzés* (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1979); and James Webster and Georg Feder, *The New Grove Haydn* (London: Macmillan, 2002), 126–29. Feder's invaluable work list first appeared in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 8 (London: Macmillan, 1980), s.v. "Joseph Haydn."

[8] Methodologies of authentication—stylistic, source-based, and otherwise—have been a point of dispute in Haydn scholarship for decades. A useful introduction to the topic may be found in James Webster, "External Criteria for Determining the Authenticity of Haydn's Music," in *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, D.C., 1975*, ed. Jens Peter Larsen et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 75–80. For an extensive bibliography see Horst Walter, "Literatur zu Echtheitsfragen bei Joseph Haydn," in *Opera incerta: Echtheitsfragen als Problem musikwissenschaftlicher Gesamtausgaben*, ed. Hanspeter Bennwitz et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 193–204.

Georg Feder, respectively—listed in the three leftmost columns.[9] As one would expect, the scholarly chronologies summarized in the five rightmost columns do not offer a total consensus either. In addition to the suggested dates of composition, attributions referred to as questionable or inauthentic (where such data is provided) have been shaded in dark gray, indicating which of the studies reported the work to be suspect. That in numerous cases Hoboken, Landon, Somfai, Feder, and Brown disagree either about the likely authenticity of the works or about their period of composition will come as no surprise to those familiar with this corpus and the challenges it poses for musicology. Dated autograph manuscripts for Haydn's early keyboard works are scarce, necessitating a certain amount of informed estimation.[10] Moreover, for reasons involving the developing role of commercial publication in late-eighteenth-century Europe and the attendant financial potential of anything associated (however tenuously) with the booming "Haydn" brand, the composer remains—as John Spitzer has explored at length—"perhaps the most notorious [of all musical figures] when it comes to spurious works."[11]

Most striking about table 1 is the chronological "missing link" that disrupts this group of solo keyboard sonatas in the late 1760s. For some two centuries the only extant evidence for the existence of the seven lost works shaded in light gray and numbered Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g–h was a series of four-measure incipits recorded in a document known as the *Entwurfkatalog*, or "draft catalogue."[12] Around 1765 Haydn began laboriously inscribing the opening measures of his compositions in this manuscript at least in part as a means of combating opportunistic misattributions from unscrupulous eighteenth-century copyists and publishers. By the twentieth century the *Entwurfkatalog* had become one of the most important documents in Haydn source studies and chronology, offering tantalizing hints at the existence of numerous lost works that might still be "out there" waiting to be unearthed. In the 1930s Jens Peter Larsen was able to place the seven missing sonatas later catalogued as Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g–h "around 1767–1770" by virtue of the paper on which their undated

[9] It should be noted that Hoboken's 1957 numbering for the keyboard sonatas was itself adapted from the older system devised by Päsler for volume 14 of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe* published in 1918. For Hoboken's explanation of his relationship to Päsler and other early editions see Hoboken, *Haydn Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1, 733.

[10] The lack of extant autograph manuscripts from this period is sometimes speculatively attributed to the fire that destroyed Haydn's house in Eisenstadt in 1768.

[11] John Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution in Western Art Music" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1983), 153.

[12] As Hoboken himself noted, the Sonata Hob. XVI:2f is in fact identical with Hob. XVI:14, which is why Hob. XVI:2f is absent from most modern chronologies. See Hoboken, *Haydn Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1, 736.

TABLE 1.
Chronologies of Haydn's early solo keyboard works from Hob. XVI

C. Landon No.	Hob. XVI No.	Feder No.	Key	Date (Hoboken, 1957)	Date (Landon, 1978/80)	Date (Somfai, 1979)	Date (Feder, 1980)	Date (Brown, 1986)
1	8	—	G Major	before 1766	—	probably before 1760	before 1766 (before 1760?)	ca.1760
2	7	—	C Major	before 1766	—	probably before 1760	before 1766 (before 1760?)	1750s
3	9	—	F Major	before 1766	—	probably before 1760	before 1766 (before 1760?)	1750s
4	G1	—	G Major	—	—	probably before 1760	before 1760?	1750s
5	11	—	G Major	before 1767	—	—	before 1767	—
6	10	—	C Major	before 1767	—	probably before 1760	before 1767 (before 1760?)	1750s
7	D1	—	D Major	—	—	—	1788–89	1750s
8	5	—	A Major	before 1763?	—	—	before 1763 (ca.1750–55?)	ca.1750–55
9	4	4	D Major	before 1760?	—	probably earlier than 1765	ca.1765?	ca.1761/2–ca.1767
10	1	—	C Major	before 1760	—	—	ca.1750–55?	1750s
11	2	—	B-flat Major	before 1760?	—	probably ca.1762	before 1760?	ca.1760
12	12	—	A Major	before 1767	—	—	before 1767 (ca.1750–55?)	1750s
13	6	1	G Major	before 1766	—	up to 1760	before 1766 (before 1760?)	ca.1760
14	3	3	C Major	before 1760?	—	probably from the early 1760s	ca.1765?	ca.1761/2–ca.1767
15	13	—	E Major	before 1767	—	probably from the early 1760s	before 1767 (before 1760?)	ca.1760
16	14	2	D Major	before 1767	—	probably from the early 1760s	before 1767 (before 1760?)	ca.1761/2–ca.1767
17	Es2	—	E-flat Major	—	—	—	ca.1755?	ca.1750–55

C. Landon No.	Hob. XVI No.	Feder No.	Key	Date (Hoboken, 1957)	Date (Landon, 1978/80)	Date (Somfai, 1979)	Date (Feder, 1980)	Date (Brown, 1986)
18	Es3	—	E-flat Major	—	—	—	ca.1764?	ca.1750–55
19	—	12a	E Minor	—	—	ca.1765	ca.1765?	ca.1765
20	18	17	B-flat Major	1767?	ca.1766–67 (or later?)	ca.1770–72	before 1778 (ca.1771–73)	ca.1767/68
—	16	—	E-flat Major	?	—	—	ca.1750–55?	ca.1750–55
—	17	—	B-flat Major	?	—	—	before 1768	—
21	2a	5	D Minor	before 1767?	ca.1765–66(?)	—	ca.1765–70?	—
22	2b	6	A Major	—	ca.1765–66(?)	—	ca.1765–70?	—
23	2c	7	B Major	—	ca.1765–66(?)	—	ca.1765–70?	—
24	2d	8	B-flat Major	—	ca.1765–66(?)	—	ca.1765–70?	—
25	2e	9	E Minor	—	ca.1765–66(?)	—	ca.1765–70?	—
26	2g	10	C Major	—	ca.1765–66(?)	—	ca.1765–70?	—
27	2h	11	A Major	—	ca.1765–66(?)	—	ca.1765–70?	—
28	5a	15	D Major	—	ca.1765–66(?)	probably ca.1768–69	ca.1767–70	ca.1767–68
29	45	13	E-flat Major	1765/67	1766	1766	1766	1766
30	19	14	D Major	1767	1767	1767	1767	1767
31	46	16	A-flat Major	1765/67	ca.1767–68 (or slightly later?)	ca.1768–69	before 1778 (ca.1767-70)	ca.1767/68
32	44	18	G Minor	1765/67	ca.1768–70 (or slightly later)	ca.1771	before 1778 (ca.1771–73)	ca.1770
33	20	36	C Minor	1771?	1771	draft 1771 / published 1780	1771	begun 1771 (finished by 1780)

■ questionable or inauthentic ■ missing

incipits had been written.[13] In an almost-too-perfect musicological *coup de théâtre*, each of the sonatas that Landon presented to the world in December 1993 opened with a phrase matching the incipit for one of these compositions. At a stroke, six of the missing puzzle pieces at the crux of Hob. XVI had slotted seamlessly into place.[14] Or so it seemed.

The style-historical significance attributed to the years around 1770 in much of the foundational Haydn scholarship from the twentieth century is difficult to overstate. For his part Larsen had asserted: "The crucial period of Haydn's development was, without argument, the years from about 1765 to 1772."[15] "Everyone who is used to regarding Haydn as the harmless personification of a traditional classicism," he wrote, "should study the works of this period to get to know him as a revolutionary."[16] The broader mid-century literature is rife with lengthy descriptions of the strikingly wide array of musical features that distinguish Haydn's so-called *Sturm und Drang* works from the implicitly unmarked "galant" compositions that preceded them: from "learned-style counterpoint," "sonata da chiesa form," and "melodic ellipsis" to "enhanced rhythmic tension," "abrupt contrast[s] of key," and "widely extended harmonic phrasing."[17]

Stylistically speaking the Sonata in C Minor Hob. XVI:20 in particular had long been considered exceptional in a number of important ways, making its apparent date of 1771 difficult to account for in strictly teleological narratives of the composer's life and work.[18] It was often held up as a strong

[13] Jens Peter Larsen, *Three Haydn Catalogues* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1979), xvii. For a detailed account of Larsen's research on the *Entwurfkatalog* see Jens Peter Larsen, *Die Haydn-Überlieferung* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1939), 209–50.

[14] Haydn did not group Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g–h as a "set" in the *Entwurfkatalog*. The perceived appropriateness of a rediscovered group of six works is probably a result of the six-work "opus concept." See Elaine Sisman, "Six of One: The Opus Concept in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Century of Bach and Mozart: Perspectives on Historiography, Composition, Theory, and Performance*, ed. Sean Gallagher and Thomas F. Kelly (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 79–107.

[15] Jens Peter Larsen, "The Challenge of Joseph Haydn," in *Handel, Haydn, & the Viennese Classical Style*, trans. Ulrich Krämer (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1988), 95–108, at 105; first published as "Joseph Haydn, eine Herausforderung an uns," in *Bericht über den internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien, 1982*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1986), 9–20.

[16] Jens Peter Larsen, "On Haydn's Artistic Development," in *Handel, Haydn, & the Viennese Classical Style*, trans. Ulrich Krämer (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1988) 109–115, at 112; first published as "Zu Haydns künstlerischer Entwicklung," in *Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer zum 70. Geburtstag überreicht im Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. Hans Zingerle (Innsbruck: Leopold-Franzens-Universität, 1956), 123–29.

[17] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 273–77; Larsen, "The Challenge of Joseph Haydn," 105; and Wilfrid Mellers, *The Sonata Principle* (London: Rockliff, 1957), 22.

[18] More recent scholarship has revealed that the evidence dating Hob. XVI:20 to 1771 is far from conclusive. As A. Peter Brown explains, the composer's apparent inscription of the year "1771" on the autograph manuscript (F-Pn MS-133) "cannot be taken at absolute face value, for Haydn's orthography for the final numeral is not clearly written, and the autograph is incomplete." The unfinished autograph might just as well have sat around

candidate for the first composition Haydn wrote with the dynamic range of the fortepiano in mind, and it remains the earliest keyboard work that the composer himself seems to have associated with the weighty generic tag of "sonata" as opposed to "divertimento."[19] As if to sum up all this, Landon—in the 1970s—referred to Hob. XVI:20 as "Haydn's single but monumental contribution to the *Sturm und Drang* in the field of the piano sonata."[20]

Yet there is a compelling sense in which such "single monumental contributions" resist the evolutionary and teleological models of musical style popular for much of the twentieth century. "An artistic style," wrote Guido Adler in his 1911 text *Der Stil in der Musik*, "does not simply appear, like Athena from the head of Zeus, but rather develops in a calm and steady ascent."[21] Whether we speak in terms of epochs, schools, individual artists, or a particular work, for Adler stylistic change is "based on laws of becoming belonging to the rise and fall of organic development."[22] If we take these axioms seriously (however unfashionable they may be today), then the date of 1771 for Hob. XVI:20 proposed by Landon puts a great deal of pressure on the 1767–70 missing link in Haydn's keyboard output. It is all too easy to become seduced by the idea that the lost works must hold the key, if not to "a calm and steady ascent," then at least to some form of compositional logic underlying Haydn's apparent shift of voice.[23]

Decades before the events of late 1993 and early 1994, Landon maintained that the *Entwurfkatalog* incipits alone shed significant light on Haydn's compositional development despite, in each case, consisting of no more than four measures of music. Commenting on their far-flung and minor-tinged key signatures, for example, he proposed that the lost sonatas should be considered "a watershed" after which Haydn's keyboard works were no longer "teaching vehicles," but rather "artistic forms to be developed on their own terms."[24] In an illuminating passage from volume 2 of his *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, Landon leaned even harder on Haydn's missing link:

gathering dust until the work was finally completed for publication as the sixth sonata of the Auenbrugger group in 1780. See Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 120.

[19] Concerning Haydn's use of the word "sonata" with reference to Hob. XVI:20, along with the possibility that the composer had access to a fortepiano around 1770 see Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, 2:343. The issue of Haydn's intentions regarding keyboard instruments has provoked a good deal of disagreement. For a brief summary see Howard Pollack, "Some Thoughts on the 'Clavier' in Haydn's Solo Claviersonaten," *Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 74–91.

[20] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, 2:340–41.

[21] Guido Adler, *Der Stil in der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 14.

[22] Ibid., 13.

[23] Landon was by no means alone in subscribing to this idea. A. Peter Brown wrote in 1986: "The seven 'lost' sonatas might provide more clues to the evolution of this new style, which is hinted at in Hob. XIV:5 (*recte* XVI:5a), but there seems to be little hope for their recovery." Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 14.

[24] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, 1:225.

> [T]he presence of the C-minor Sonata [in 1771] is not all that unique. Alas, some of its immediate predecessors, in D minor and E minor [i.e., Hob. XVI:2a and 2e], have been irretrievably lost, but even judging from the *incipits* (especially of that in E minor) we can imagine that they must have been similar in mood, if perhaps not in perfection of language, to No. 33 [i.e., Hob. XVI:20].[25]

To adapt a now ubiquitous epistemological concept from Donald Rumsfeld, the seven missing sonatas came to function in Landon's account of Haydn's stylistic development as "known unknowns" spanning the gulf between the early keyboard works completed before 1767 and the tempestuous minor-mode sonatas composed in the early 1770s.

Style, Chronology, and Piltdown Man

Historiography is replete with warnings about the dangers of speculating about such hazy "known unknown" periods. In 1912—just one year after Adler's *Der Stil in der Musik* invoked evolution as a model for musical style history—a five-hundred-thousand-year-old missing link in the evolution of the human species appeared to have been unearthed by a worker in a gravel pit in East Sussex (fig. 2). Only in 1953, after more than forty years in the British Museum, was the skull known as "Piltdown Man" definitively exposed as a forgery—the collage of a medieval human cranium, an orangutan lower jaw, and a set of fossilized chimpanzee teeth.[26] When considered alongside Piltdown Man's "ape-like" orangutan jaw, the enlarged forehead of the human skull conformed perfectly to early-twentieth-century hypotheses about how the missing link in our ancestry should appear—i.e., with the prodigious brain appearing ahead of other physical features distinguishing *Homo sapiens* from their predecessors. The intellectual moral demonstrated by this bizarre object is as relevant for historians of music as it is for scientists: forgery succeeds most spectacularly when given the opportunity to provide the single absent piece of evidence necessary to bolster a cherished narrative. "Missing links" that have been subjected to years of academic speculation provide perfect openings for forgers to concoct the very things that experts expect to find.[27]

[25] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, 2:335 (italics original).

[26] The evidence was swiftly made available to the public at large in *Time Magazine*, "End as a Man," 30 November 1953, 83–84. The literature that has since emerged on Piltdown Man is immense. For the classic book-length account see J. S. Weiner, *The Piltdown Forgery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

[27] In a poignant parallel to the Piltdown case, Haydn's skull has been subject to counterfeiting. Shortly after his death in 1809 the composer's head was stolen from its grave by an accountant and phrenological enthusiast named Joseph Rosenbaum. When Prince Nikolaus Esterházy II pressured him for its return in 1820, Rosenbaum submitted

FIGURE 2. John Cooke, *Piltdown Gang* (1915)

Following his press conference Landon declared that the forged sonatas clarified "in a particularly striking way Haydn's search for a new musical language of strength and beauty," demonstrating precisely this kind of confirmation bias.[28] In his article for *BBC Music Magazine*, he went on to assert that the rediscovered works foreshadowed the composer's turn toward *Sturm und Drang* by demonstrating "an increased interest in minor keys, used in a dramatic and emotional fashion [alongside] a sharpened awareness of dynamic contrast, the use of silence, and of surprise, whether in a sudden change of key or in an unexpected modulation."[29] It was exactly what he had predicted more than a decade earlier.[30]

Just as the theories that inspired Piltdown Man have little bearing on modern biology, post-Adlerian "evolutionist" accounts of style history would be considered *passé* by the vast majority of musicologists today. In the field of Haydn studies James Webster's 1991 monograph on the "Farewell" Symphony has done much to debunk received wisdom about the composer's stylistic development.[31] In this article, I do not intend to undermine any of this important revisionist work or the modern research tradition that has emerged from it. As Webster argues, we should treat grand narratives about Haydn's musical development with suspicion, seeking instead to "interpret differences in style not teleologically, but as the display of different facets of his musical persona, as responses to differing conditions and audiences."[32] Far from seeking to revive the old evolutionist models of Haydn's development, I contend that these traditions provided fertile ground for forgery precisely because of their widely acknowledged flaws.

A Musical Joke?

At 3:38 p.m. central European time, just hours after the end of Landon's 14 December conference in London, the German press agency ddp/ADN released a report that the Joseph Haydn Institute (a Cologne-based organization engaged with the immense project of editing a Haydn

a fake decoy. Only in 1954 was the true skull reunited with the rest of Haydn's bones (since relocated to a tomb at the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt) in an elaborate ceremony. See Davin Wyn Jones, ed., *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), s.v. "Haydn's Skull."

[28] Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," 11.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, 2:335.

[31] James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[32] Ibid., 358.

Gesamtausgabe for G. Henle Verlag) had already examined photocopies of the sonatas and had rejected the source as a forgery on the afternoon of 10 December—i.e., four days earlier.[33]

Like Landon, the Haydn Institute had received these photocopied scores from Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, both of whom appear—like their American colleague—to have been sincerely impressed by the musical quality of the sonatas. Eva Badura-Skoda had particular musicological reasons to be excited about the rediscovery. The stylistic content of the works, including their use of a wide and expressive range of dynamics, seemed to support her pre-existing thesis that the fortepiano "existed in Vienna in the first half of the eighteenth century . . . and [was] readily available from the 1760s onwards."[34] Paul, who had completed a number of Schubert's unfinished piano works for Henle, drew stylistic conclusions about the works similar to Landon's. On first encountering the "rediscovered" sonatas, he described them as being "so original and contain[ing] so many unexpected and surprising turns that [he felt] quite sure that Haydn [was] the composer."[35]

But the story of the Haydn forgeries does not begin with the Badura-Skodas. The first package of photocopied manuscripts containing the sonatas had been delivered to them in Vienna many months earlier ("at the beginning of 1993," as Paul later recalled).[36] It had been sent by a Münster-based flutist, recorder player, and composer named Winfried Michel. In addition to authoring many original works (including compositions calling for metronomes and musical clocks alongside more conventional forces), Michel has also completed fragments as diverse as W. F. Bach's Trio Sonata in A Minor F. 49 and Glinka's Sonata for Viola in D Minor. According to his story, he had discovered the manuscript copy of the six missing Haydn sonatas in the collection of a local octogenarian woman who had possessed them for years without comprehending their true value.[37] Recognizing the composer's name and suspecting the re-emergence of the lost works for which generations of musicians had been searching, he produced a photocopy of the manuscript, promptly sending it to an expert—Paul Badura-Skoda—to solicit a second opinion. It was this same photocopied source that Landon

[33] Markus Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 19 January 1994, 29.

[34] This research has since been published as Eva Badura-Skoda, "The Viennese Fortepiano in the Eighteenth Century," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249–58, at 258.

[35] Paul Badura-Skoda attributes this to a letter he wrote to Winfried Michel after receiving the photocopied scores. Quoted in Paul Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*, trans. Florence Daguerre de Hureaux.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Millington, "Lost Haydn Sonatas Found in Germany," 1, 29.

received from Eva shortly before he announced the find to the press in December 1993.

It is important to note that Michel's putative find followed hard on the heels of a series of sensational manuscript rediscoveries that entered musical lore after receiving significant attention in the press. As recently as September 1993 an autograph notebook containing previously unknown keyboard works by Henry Purcell had turned up in Devon.[38] Two years before that, Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*—a work that the composer claimed to have destroyed following its initial performances in the 1820s—had been recovered from an Antwerp organ loft.[39] Perhaps the most remarkable of all these musical rediscoveries occurred at a Haydn festival in Melbourne in 1982. After one of the performances, an audience member approached conductor and musicologist Christopher Hogwood with a plastic shopping bag. In the bag were what appeared to be the missing autograph scores of the String Quartets Nos. 3–6 from Haydn's Op. 50 "Prussian" set. Despite the apparent improbability of these priceless manuscripts reappearing in Australia almost two hundred years after their composition, the documents—like the Berlioz and Purcell scores before them—turned out to be the genuine article.[40]

Repeated often enough, rediscovery narratives like these take on lives of their own, encouraging us to imagine hidden treasures in every dusty attic. In the act of telling such stories, we often omit the painstaking process of academic authentication because it cannot match the excitement of the rediscovery itself. There is a real danger that, when a new "lost work" turns up, we remember past archival conquests and forget the questions that were asked of them. If such things were possible in the past, why couldn't six of the seven missing Haydn sonatas show up in Münster?

In this case things were not so simple. Once the Haydn Institute's repudiation of the sonatas had been made public, attempts to retrieve the original of what the German press took to calling the "Westfälische Handschrift" (Westphalian Manuscript) fell flat. It was reported that the mysterious elderly woman in Münster—apparently the only person other than Michel to have consulted the original MS—"did not want her name and address to be known" or was otherwise in a state of health too "precarious" for her to be disturbed.[41] The Badura-Skodas later printed

[38] Allan Kozinn, "Found: Unknown Music and Inkblots by Purcell," *New York Times*, 13 December 1993, C11.

[39] Hugh MacDonald, "Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*," *19th-Century Music* 16 (1993): 267–85.

[40] For a full account see W. Dean Sutcliffe, *Haydn: String Quartets Op. 50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 37–47.

[41] Joseph McLellan, "Sonata Big Deal—Or Is It?," *Washington Post*, 17 February 1994, C9; and Peter Lennon, "A Haydn to Nothing," *Guardian*, 4 January 1994, A3.

excerpts from one of Michel's letters to Eva in which he insisted: "No-one and nothing could make me break my word, expressly given—even in the name of academia. . . . It is out of the question for me to disclose the name and address of the woman in possession of the manuscript."[42]

In the absence of the original source, news organizations, including those that had previously reported a genuine find, began issuing detailed retractions and clarifications as early as 16 December 1993, citing the Haydn Institute's reservations about the authenticity of the works.[43] By January 1994 a broad consensus had emerged: the find from Münster was too good to be true. Paul Badura-Skoda's Harvard lecture recital and the BBC Radio premiere of the works were swiftly and quietly cancelled. While no charges were ever brought against him (with no substantial financial gain, what would have been the crime?), the media pointed with little hesitation to Michel as the prime suspect in one of the twentieth century's most striking cases of musical forgery.[44] Landon, meanwhile, penned a follow-up to his "The Haydn Scoop of the Century" article: in the February issue of *BBC Music Magazine*, he now rebranded the sonatas as a brilliant "hoax." Attempting to defuse the situation, he concluded this new article with a quip: Haydn, one of the "greatest of musical jokers," might have "enjoyed this whole episode too."[45]

Guilt and Shame

The consequences of the affair are not so easily laughed off. But before we judge Landon and the Badura-Skodas too sternly, we would do well to imagine ourselves in their shoes. Stories such as this pose substantial historiographical and ethical challenges. Cases in which forgeries "ring true" under expert scrutiny are a long-neglected but important element of our shared disciplinary history. And yet it must be acknowledged that there are some compelling reasons for this neglect. Talking about such episodes is often bitterly difficult, for it involves dwelling on the mistakes and shortcomings of our peers, our predecessors, and—by implication—

[42] "Niemand und nichts wird mich dazu bestimmen, ein persönliches, ausdrücklich gegebenes Versprechen nicht einzuhalten—auch nicht, wenn das im Namen der Wissenschaft geschieht. . . . Name und Ort der Besitzerin der Handschrift kann und werde ich nicht weitergeben." Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas* (translation amended).

[43] The articles about the forgeries that appeared in German media on 16 December 1993 are too numerous to list. For a representative sample see dpa, "Wahrscheinlich eine Fälschung," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 16 December 1993, FEUI.

[44] The authors of the most substantial newspaper articles about the case in English (Peter Lennon) and German (Markus Langer) both drew this conclusion. See Lennon, "A Haydn to nothing," A3; and Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," 29.

[45] Landon, "A Musical Joke in (Nearly) Perfect Style," 10.

our discipline. In a deeply competitive academic climate that promotes the cultivation of seemingly unbroken chains of immaculate professional success, this is not a trivial problem.

Uncomfortable as it may be, our own social and institutional authority as academics remains inextricable from serious critical engagement with forged works of art. It is an ugly truth that, when cases of mistaken authentication come up for public discussion, cries that "the emperor has no clothes" are sure to follow from those keen to take the experts down a peg. As art historian Max Friedländer observed in his 1929 essay *Über Fälschung alter Bilder* (The Forgery of Old Pictures), the "errors of distinguished art scholars are welcomed by malicious lovers of sensation" in large part because they allow "the laity [to] conclude, not without satisfaction, that there is no reliable professional knowledge in the sphere of art."[46] Laymen—we are told—have "no conception" of how judgements about artistic authenticity are made, and therefore anyone claiming to be a connoisseur "comes on the scene like a magician, whom the mob, flitting from credulence to suspicion, is only too ready to expose as a charlatan."[47]

Friedländer's prose is evocative precisely because he does so little to conceal the antagonism and recrimination that forgeries tend to provoke. Unable to make informed decisions on their own, non-experts are branded a collective "mob" (Menge) the moment they question the authority of the artistic connoisseur by invoking the charge of "charlatan" (Scharlatan). As Cambridge librarian and musicologist Charles Cudworth put it in an important 1954 essay on musical spuriosities, there is another side to this story. The public, he explains, often comes to have "a sneaking admiration for [the forger], as one who has managed to hoodwink the experts, those dastardly enemies of the common man."[48] Given that forged works tend principally to harm those in positions of considerable social, institutional, or economic privilege—academics, experts, collectors, and their ilk—it is all too easy to render the art forger as a Robin-Hood-like trickster figure uniquely prepared to storm the ivory towers of authenticity and good taste.[49]

[46] Max J. Friedländer, "The Forgery of Old Pictures," in *Genuine and Counterfeit: Experiences of a Connoisseur*, trans. Carl von Honstett and Lenore Pelham (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1930), 35–53, at 47–48; first published as "Über Fälschung alter Bilder," in *Echt und Unecht: Aus den Erfahrungen des Kunstkenners* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1929) 19-33, at 28-29.

[47] Ibid., 48.

[48] Charles L. Cudworth, "Ye Olde Spuriosity Shoppe, Or, Put It in the Anhang—Part 1," *Notes* 12 (1954): 25–40, at 39–40.

[49] Countless works of popular fiction have portrayed art forgers as relatable outsiders, underdogs, or anti-heroes spurned by an oppressively elitist art world. Literary examples from the last decade alone include B. A. Shapiro, *The Art Forger* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books, 2013); Allison Amend, *A Nearly Perfect Copy* (New York: Random House, 2013); and Michael Gruber, *The Forgery of Venus* (New York: HarperCollins Books, 2008).

There is a dark side to all this. In the current moment of climate change denial and anti-vaccination movements, a cultural paradigm consistently branded "post-expert" and even "post-truth" by academics and journalists alike, Friedländer's and Cudworth's association of forgery with populist anti-intellectualism could not feel more relevant.[50] We live in an age rife with distrust in which, as Bruno Latour has written, "the smoke of the event has not yet finished settling before dozens of conspiracy theories begin revising the official account, adding even more ruins to the ruins, adding even more smoke to the smoke."[51] The oppressive fear of the "known unknown" that Donald Rumsfeld conjured up in February 2002 has become emblematic of the paranoia that besets much of modern life. If there is one thing we seem to know for certain in the new millennium it is that there are truths the experts are either unwilling or unable to tell us.[52] Writing in response to this state of affairs, the philosopher and conceptual artist Jonathon Keats has recently made the controversial assertion that "[f]orgers are the foremost artists of our age," in no small part because their work captures the "anxious mood" of contemporary culture in ways that more conventional texts cannot.[53] "We need"—so Keats asserts in his 2013 study—"to compare the shock of getting duped to the cultivated angst evoked by legitimate art," above all as a means of recognizing "what the art establishment will never acknowledge: No authentic modern masterpiece is as provocative as a great forgery."[54]

For academics more than most, forgery is never a victimless act. When reputation and prestige are valuable commodities, one does not have to spend any money to buy into an illusion and suffer grievously for it once the veil is lifted. Consider the so-called "Sokal Affair" of 1996, in which physicist Alan Sokal famously succeeded in publishing a faux-postmodernist nonsense article on the "Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity" in the prestigious cultural studies journal *Social Text*.[55] Sokal's article combined deliberately absurd algebra with baseless

[50] The Oxford English Dictionary, for example, recently declared "post-truth" its 2016 Word of the Year. The term is defined as "Relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief." See *Oxford English Dictionaries Online*, s.v. "post-truth," accessed 18 September 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/post-truth.

[51] Bruno Latour, "Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern," *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 225–48, at 228.

[52] Numerous book-length critiques of this paradigm have been published in recent years. See for example Tom Nichols, *The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why it Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[53] Jonathon Keats, *Forged: Why Fakes Are the Great Art of Our Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3–4.

[54] Ibid., 4.

[55] Alan D. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries: Towards a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," *Social Text* 46/47 (1996): 217–52; reprinted with

critical assertions, including the satirical claim that the axiom of equality was an outgrowth of set theory's "nineteenth-century liberal origins."[56] As he later explained, the parody was a politically motivated attempt to call the disciplinary authority of science studies into question and, more broadly, "to combat a currently fashionable postmodernist/poststructuralist/social-constructivist discourse . . . which is . . . inimical to the values and future of the Left."[57] We cannot "combat false ideas in history, sociology, economics, and politics," Sokal wrote, "if we reject the notions of truth and falsity."[58]

The 1990s was also the decade associated with the rise of the so-called new musicology. The story is a familiar one: traditional positivist research models that had implicitly granted "the music itself" a substantial degree of aesthetic autonomy came under increasingly heavy fire, exposing the classical canon and, in particular, music theory to a series of probing cultural critiques. Writing in response to such scholarship in 1995, Pieter van den Toorn pre-empted many of Sokal's concerns about the "epistemic relativism" of cultural studies when he complained that his peers were coming to value theoretical methodologies and abstract musical structures "solely as sociopolitical comment and for the opportunity they afford for such comment."[59] If critical and analytical systems are simply mirrors of our own cultural-aesthetic prejudices, then how can we possibly discuss musical values like authenticity and originality with common standards of evidence?

Forgeries, hoaxes, and the debates they provoke can productively be read as by-products of broader anxieties about truth and ways of knowing. Such acts of deception hit hard in the academic world precisely because they can all too easily become associated with feelings of guilt and shame that carry real professional consequences. The danger is that, by refusing to engage with subjects that trouble our authority as scholars, we condemn some of the most revealing elements of our past to be written out of the field. Reinhold Brinkmann opens his brief but compelling outline of the neglected musicological topics of plagiarism, misattribution, and forgery by lamenting: "Even within the closed walls of

annotations in idem, *Beyond the Hoax: Science, Philosophy and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5–92.

[56] Ibid., 63.

[57] Alan D. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries: An Afterword," *Dissent* 43 (1996): 93–99; reprinted in idem, *Beyond the Hoax: Science, Philosophy and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 93–104, at 95.

[58] Alan Sokal, "A Physicist Experiments with Cultural Studies," *Lingua Franca,* May/June (1996): 62–64; reprinted in idem, *The Sokal Hoax: The Sham that Shook the Academy,* ed. Lingua Franca (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 49–53, at 52.

[59] Pieter C. van den Toorn, *Music, Politics, and the Academy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 61.

the academy it is possible to become trapped, stymied by a surprising discovery that undermines your confidence in the trustworthiness of your own discipline, of scholarship in general."[60] What would happen if we reappropriated these uncomfortable experiences of entrapment, lost confidence, guilt, and shame themselves as sites of self-knowledge? How might musicology address the topic of forgery if—as William Cheng has recently suggested—we were to lay aside readings that "seiz[e] critical authority to prove, persuade, and even punish," seeking instead to "defetishiz[e] control as a de facto positive value"?[61] This is by no means to suggest that scholars should abandon their commitments to truth by retreating into the kind of epistemic relativism that Sokal feared. Any awareness we might have about the potential fallibility of our discipline necessarily demands a degree of critical distance and, indeed, control. Yet there is a delicate balance to be struck. Now more than ever we need the study of forgery to highlight the valuable insights that might be gained from confronting the ways in which we—as scholars, musicians, and human beings—are led astray.

Let us return, by way of example, to Landon's and Paul and Eva Badura-Skoda's reflections on the forged "Haydn" works, this time with the benefit of hindsight. Strikingly, all three individuals continued to insist on the reality of their aesthetic experiences even after the works were determined to be fake, maintaining their initial high regard for the musical qualities of the compositions. In February 1994, Eva Badura-Skoda gave a talk in Santa Barbara, California, in which she openly declared the Westphalian Manuscript to be "a clever forgery," arguing elsewhere that—despite any personal embarrassment the works might have caused—the six sonatas still deserved to be performed not least because "whether the music is authentic or not, everyone wants to hear it now."[62] Writing the liner notes to his own 1995 CD issue of the works more than a year after the Haydn Institute made its doubts public, Paul Badura-Skoda repeated his initial assessment that the sonatas were "not some dilettante's attempts at forgery, but precious musical works" despite numerous admittedly "unusual" passages.[63] As if to sum up, Landon

[60] Reinhold Brinkmann, "The Art of Forging Music and Musicians: Of Lighthearted Musicologists, Ambitious Performers, Narrow-Minded Brothers, and Creative Aristocrats," in *Cultures of Forgery: Making Nations Making Selves*, ed. Judith Ryan and Alfred Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2003), 111–25, at 111–12.

[61] William Cheng, *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 42; open access text available online at https://www.press.umich.edu/9293551, accessed 20 September 2017.

[62] Eva Badura-Skoda's Santa-Barbara paper is discussed in Michael Beckerman, "All Right, So Maybe Haydn Didn't Write Them. So What?," *New York Times*, 15 May 1994, 33. See also McLellan, "Sonata Big Deal—Or Is It?," C9.

[63] Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*.

commented to the press late in December 1993: "If it is a fraud it is the most brilliant fraud I've ever heard of. I don't mind being taken in by music this good."[64]

Considered seriously, these comments stake out fragile new frontiers for a discipline that has, so far, almost uniformly refused to engage with forgeries after they are exposed. Landon's admission that he was "taken in" by the quality of the music could be read as a gesture toward the "defetishization of control" that Cheng and others have begun to call for in the discipline. Could it also serve as a model for engaging with forgeries as evidence of how the raw aesthetic experiences of musical compositions "take us in" as scholars wrestling with the competing claims of both historical truth and aesthetic beauty?[65]

The Westphalian Manuscript

More than two decades after the initial scandal, what are we to make of the Westphalian Manuscript and the sonatas that it contained as interlinked historical artifacts? It is significant that the works were repudiated primarily on the evidence of material anachronisms discovered by figures associated with auction houses and editorial research institutes. Consider the title page reproduced in figure 3a, complete with conspicuous ink blotches. In the lower right quadrant is a stamp—crossed out yet clearly visible—suggesting that the original had been in the library of an episcopal see (Eigentum des BischöflStuhles) before being moved to another collection in the mid-twentieth century (Sammlung Hegenkötter, 1956). Eva Badura-Skoda proposed an Italian provenance around 1805 after having consulted a "copy" of the watermark (which Michel supposedly traced from the manuscript hidden away in Münster).[66] Yet

[64] Quoted in Jim McCue, "Haydn Experts Say Lost Sonatas Are Clever Hoax," *Times* (London), 31 December 1993, 5.

[65] Pulling apart John Keats's romantic fusion of "truth" and "beauty" has been a recurrent trope in the classic musicological literature of the last four decades. We might, for example, dissect Keats in terms Carolyn Abbate adapted from Vladimir Jankélévitch in 2004 (gnostic/drastic). Alternatively—turning back the clock to replace ineffable presence with the autonomous masterwork—one could just as well invoke the more conservative language used by Carl Dahlhaus in 1977 (historical/aesthetic). Regardless, the nagging questions that drive all such anti-Keatsian binary oppositions are never more clear or more urgent than in cases of forgery. How, precisely, does music (beauty) relate to its factual historical context (truth)? And can we, as musicologists, ever really claim to do justice to both? See Carolyn Abbate, "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?," *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 505–36; and Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, translated by J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), chapter 2, "The Significance of Art: Historical or Aesthetic?," 19–33; first published as *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (Cologne: Musikverlag Hans Gerig, 1977).

[66] Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," 29.

FIGURE 3A. Westphalian Manuscript, Title Page. From the H. C. Robbins Landon Collection (Box 78; Folder 11), Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University

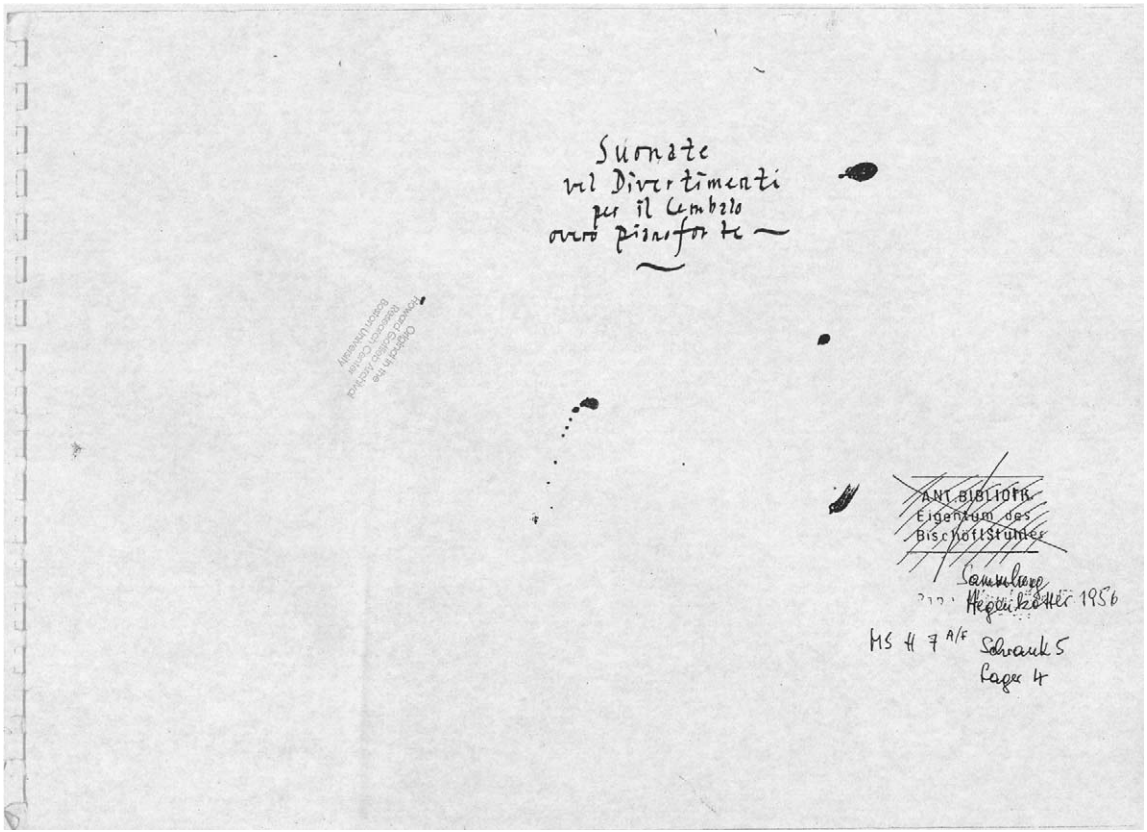
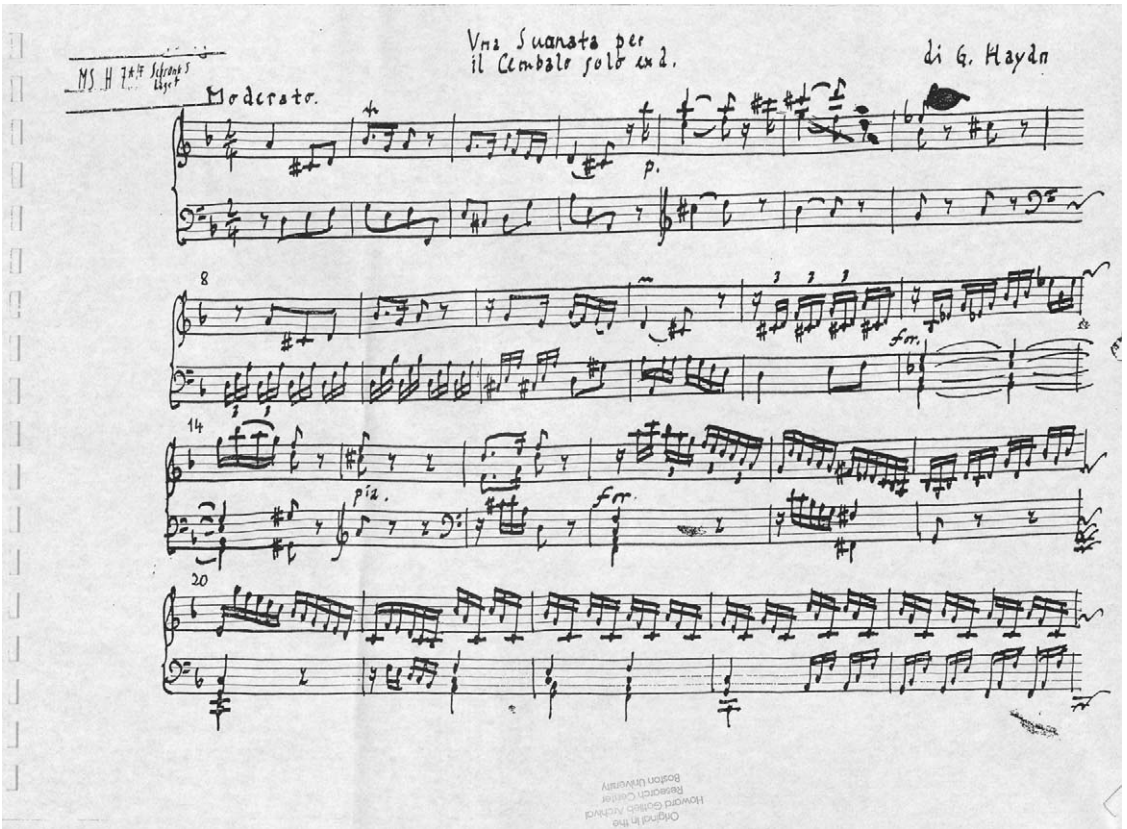


FIGURE 3B. Westphalian Manuscript, First Page of Forged D-Minor Sonata "Hob. XVI:2a." From the H. C. Robbins Landon Collection (Box 78; Folder 11), Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University



when subjected to thorough interrogation, the autographic features of the scores raised the suspicions of manuscript specialists including not only Stephen Roe at London's Sotheby's (an attendee at Landon's press conference), but also the impressive group of scholars assembled by the Haydn Institute on 10 December.[67]

The Haydn Institute appraisers expressed strong concerns about the presence of anachronistic textual characters in the subtitles (including a forward slash and modern quotation marks) alongside numerous other peculiarities of musical notation. As Horst Walter—the institute's director—memorably summarized, the manuscript was "overloaded with 'antique' elements."[68] It even appeared to have been written with a steel-nibbed pen rare until decades after the "1805" date implied by the watermark.[69] Meanwhile, Roe developed his own suspicions about the source. Working from a photocopy of the opening page of the Sonata in D Minor Hob. XVI:2a that had been distributed to Landon's audience in a press pack (the same page reproduced in fig. 3b), he observed that the rests were inscribed in a manner common in handwritten sources only after twentieth-century developments in the printing of sheet music.[70] More curious still, the German shelving mark "MS H $7^{A/F}$, Schrank 5, Lager 4"—visible in the upper-left corner of figure 3b—had, bizarrely, been written in a hand identical to that of the score's notation and Italian paratext (i.e., the title "Suonata per il Cembalo solo," and name of the author, "di G. Haydn").[71] As Roe himself said when I interviewed him about the case, it is "extraordinarily unlikely" that a librarian would be the copyist of a manuscript, and even more farfetched that the same copyist would write the shelving mark in a language other than the Italian native both to the paratext and to the manuscript's country of origin.[72]

The final nail in the coffin came when samples of the handwriting used in the Westphalian Manuscript were compared to the MS for an F-major harpsichord sonata by the Italian Baroque composer Giovanni

[67] The twelve participants in the Haydn Institute's appraisal of the sources were: Eva Badura-Skoda, Martin Bente, Otto Biba, Gudrun Busch, Georg Feder, Sonja Gerlach, Marianne Helms, Klaus Hortschansky, Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, Günter Thomas, Horst Walter, and Robert von Zahn. See Horst Walter, "Eulenspiegeleien um Haydn," *Haydn-Studien* 6 (1994): 313–17, at 314.

[68] Ibid., 315; and Robert von Zahn, "Der 'Haydn-Scoop of the Century': Qualität und Schwächen einer Fälschung," *Concerto: Das Magazin für alte Musik* 11 (1994): 8–11, at 8.

[69] dpa, "Gefälscht?," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18 December 1993, 25.

[70] McCue, "Haydn Experts Say Lost Sonatas Are Clever Hoax," 5.

[71] For an overview of the concept of "paratext" see Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); first published as *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

[72] Stephen Roe (Head of Musical Manuscripts, Sotheby's Auction House), interview by author, Sotheby's Atlantic Avenue Branch, New York, NY, 4 June 2014, digital recording.

Paolo Simonetti that had been published in facsimile by the small Münster-based press Mieroprint Musikverlag.[73] Despite seemingly producing dozens of works for recorder, flute, violin, viola, harpsichord, and numerous combinations of the above, Simonetti never existed. Alongside another fictitious eighteenth-century composer named "Tomesini," G. P. Simonetti was an invented pseudonym under which Michel had composed an extensive collection of Baroque pastiche, publishing his works with Mieroprint and the Swiss "Amadeus" Verlag throughout the 1970s and 1980s.[74] Betraying an affection for the cryptographic, Michel even hid a clue to the shared identity behind the two pseudonyms in the construction of the names themselves: "Tomesini" and "Simonetti" are near anagrams of one another.

A less subtle hint about the authorship of the works can be found in the paratexts to editions of music by "Simonetti" and "Tomesini." As exemplified by figure 4, such publications are in fact invariably prefaced with the assurance that they have been "composed [!] and edited by Winfried Michel" (komponiert und herausgegeben von Winfried Michel). Generally placed in small print on the title page far beneath the emboldened names of Simonetti and Tomesini, the implicit authors, this assurance is easily mistaken for any of a host of more conventional (and guileless) paratextual formulas, among them "completed and edited" (ergänzt und herausgegeben) or "arranged and edited" (bearbeitet und herausgegeben).

The glass slipper clearly fit. Because of the similarities between the textual and musical handwriting in the Simonetti facsimile and the Westphalian Manuscript, the obvious conclusion was that the latter document had not been produced by a nineteenth-century copyist—as Eva Badura-Skoda had argued—but was rather from the same twentieth-century hand that had "composed and edited" Simonetti's and Tomesini's editions.[75] Once picked up in the wider press, these new revelations quickly resolved any lingering doubts about the authenticity of the "Haydn Scoop of the Century" in the public sphere.[76]

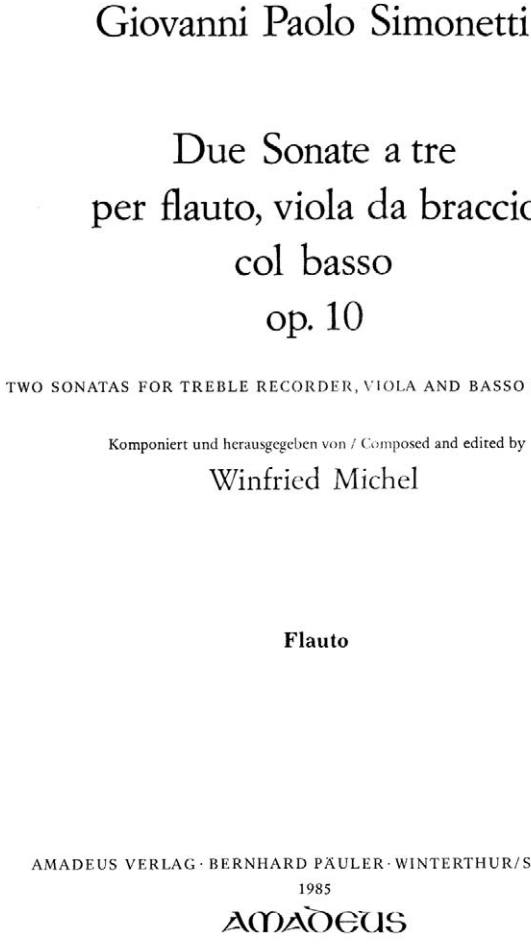
[73] A description of the sources and a reproduction of the score in question can be found in Zahn, "Der 'Haydn-Scoop of the Century,'" 11.

[74] Bruce Haynes has discussed Michel's Simonetti/Tomesini works as defining examples of what he calls "period composition." See Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 210–13.

[75] In 1994 Michel had three of the forged Haydn sonatas (Hob. XVI:2a, 2b, and 2g) published independently in a small print run. The editor's foreword to this edition knowingly acknowledges that the manuscript "shows similarities in writing style and rastration to scores of Tomesini's keyboard works." See Joseph Haydn (attributed), *Sechs Sonaten für Klavier 1–3*, first edition by Winfried Michel (Münster: Urtext Edition, 1994), 4.

[76] Lennon, "A Haydn to nothing," A3; and Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," 29.

FIGURE 4. Title Page, "Giovanni Paolo Simonetti," *Due Sonate a tre per flauto, viola da braccio col basso, op. 10,* composed and edited by Winfried Michel (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, BP 424, 1985)



Revenge of the "Antiquarians"

Having so recently declared a major academic coup, numerous media outlets struggled to backtrack in the wake of these revelations. As a result, musicology's standards of evidence and structures of accountability were

suddenly cast into the limelight as subjects for the kind of public scrutiny that the discipline rarely attracts. In the *Guardian*, Peter Lennon critiqued the musicological community as one in which "the status of a document is apparently conferred not by its own antecedents so much as by the status of the messenger who delivers it."[77] While he clearly considered Landon and the Badura-Skodas to be naïve at best, much of Lennon's harshest criticism was reserved for Fiona Maddocks, the editor of *BBC Music Magazine* who had printed Landon's declaration that the forgeries constituted the "Haydn Scoop of the Century." In a particularly telling turn of phrase, Lennon portrays Maddocks as still "defending her experts against what she described scornfully as the 'antiquarians' (as distinct from music experts) who just looked at bits of paper and did not concentrate on the quality of the music."[78]

By drawing a distinction between, on the one hand, a guilty party of music experts occupied with style and cultural value and, on the other, a class of empirically minded antiquarians responsible for unmasking the truth, Lennon not only taps into conservative anxieties about the state of the humanities after postmodernism, but also rehearses some of the harshest rhetoric surrounding what historians Francis Blouin Jr. and William Rosenberg have dubbed the "archival divide" in academic culture.[79] For a musicological example of this phenomenon, consider the dispute between Joseph Kerman and Edward Lowinsky that flared up following the former's address to the American Musicological Society in 1964.[80] One of Lowinsky's greatest grievances with Kerman's remarks was rooted in what he saw as a rigidly hierarchical vision of musicology in which scholarly editions, paleography, sketch studies and the like served merely to facilitate Kerman's ultimate intellectual product: a distinctly American brand of criticism. By describing Kerman's idealized critic as "the lord of the manor" to whom "lower orders" of scholars are unjustly made subservient, Lowinsky highlighted the issues of class and power that he saw in this division of labor.[81] He argued that by separating the work from the score as one separates hermeneutic data from an empty archival vessel, musicology would risk becoming deeply imbalanced,

[77] Lennon, "A Haydn to nothing," A3.

[78] Ibid.

[79] For more on the archival divide see Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg, *Processing the Past: Contesting Authority in History and the Archives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[80] The address was subsequently published as Joseph Kerman, "A Profile for American Musicology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 61–69; reprinted in idem, *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 3–11.

[81] Edward Lowinsky, "Character and Purposes of American Musicology: A Reply to Joseph Kerman," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 222–34, at 228.

factional, and overspecialized. The distilling and bottling of raw musical content in critical editions would have to be conducted outside of the American musicological complex by good-natured archivists "whose business it is to serve music on a silver platter ready to be criticized."[82] Yet the objection to Kerman's proposed model of musicology went further than this. As Lowinsky and those who sympathized with him saw it, focusing academic energy on the aesthetically and interpretatively interesting without due regard for the true would mean putting the critical cart before the archival horse. It would create a dangerous academic culture in which grievous factual errors could go unchallenged.

Concerns about the extent to which "criticism" entails a less thorough verification of facts have hardly gone away. Lowinsky's statements capture much of the disciplinary anxiety that was still present when news of the "Haydn Scoop of the Century" broke in the new-musicological climate of December 1993. In the eyes of commentators such as Lennon, Michel's forgeries provided a rare opportunity for the Lowinskian "antiquarians" on the wrong side of the archival divide to gloat at Kerman's "lords of the manor" when the stakes were at their highest. It was, after all, the steel-nibbed pen and the shelving number, not literary-style criticism, that won the day. Or so the argument went.

Yet Lennon's narrative of musicological incompetence and the authority of physical objects over abstract works was by no means the only way of reading the Haydn forgeries. A scholar in the early 1990s could just as well go in the opposite direction: problematizing traditional musicological axioms by suggesting that the relationships between style, authorship, and identity are not always as clear as we might like them to be. This was the position that Michael Beckerman hinted at when—looking back at the case from May 1994 in a provocative article for the *New York Times*—he dismissed the ability of musicologists to distinguish between the raw compositional content of Michel's forgeries and that of genuine Haydn works. Beckerman asserted that, when it came to the Westphalian Manuscript, "Not a single musician or scholar [was] willing to say for sure whether, on the basis of the score alone, these pieces are by Haydn."[83] As he saw it, unless there is "something in the music that *couldn't* be by Haydn (like five measures of Joplin or Schoenberg)," we musicologists "have no tools, theoretical or otherwise, for proving the case either way."[84] All this led Beckerman to restate what is, in essence, the same iconoclastic question that postmodernist cultural aesthetics has

[82] Lowinsky, "Character and Purposes of American Musicology," 228.
[83] Beckerman, "All Right, So Maybe Haydn Didn't Write Them. So What?," 33.
[84] Ibid. Italics original.

always asked about successful art forgeries: "[I]f someone can write pieces that can be mistaken for Haydn, what is so special about Haydn?"[85]

Strong words. Beckerman's take on the forgeries met with considerable resistance from James Webster, whose rebuke appeared in the *Times*'s letters section two weeks later.[86] Rejecting the article's argument as "misinformed," Webster cited his own low opinion of the quality of the sonatas alongside a quotation attributed to the Haydn Institute in the German press stating that the works "exhibit a host of technical faults, as well as inconsistencies in thematic construction and large-scale form . . . that arise from compositional insufficiency."[87] In his own account of the Haydn Institute's 10 December appraisal, Horst Walter declared that, in "the best philological tradition," the discussion was concerned "first and foremost with the source, with its construction, its age, and its provenance."[88] Yet Walter took pains to clarify, in tune with Webster, that the committee had also raised just as many critical objections "directed against the compositional style, against the music itself."[89]

Was Beckerman right to imply that the facts of source criticism and provenance predetermined any such objections to "the music itself"? Do we really need something as blatant as "five measures of Joplin or Schoenberg" to repudiate the sonatas on stylistic grounds? To attempt to demonstrate analytically at this stage that the works could not be by Haydn would be tautological. In the interest of not letting Michel's music fall silent I will instead do the opposite: I will attempt—counterfactually—to understand these works as if Haydn really had been the author. Unorthodox as this approach may appear, the point is dead serious. This is no trick, not a Sokal-style academic satire, but rather an earnest attempt to capture the ways in which these compositions have been intentionally designed to lead listeners and analysts astray. If I invoke the subjunctive mood here it is not an act of sarcasm but rather one of sympathy with those who were put in the position of evaluating these works without the benefit of hindsight.

[85] Beckerman, "All Right, So Maybe Haydn Didn't Write Them. So What?," 33.

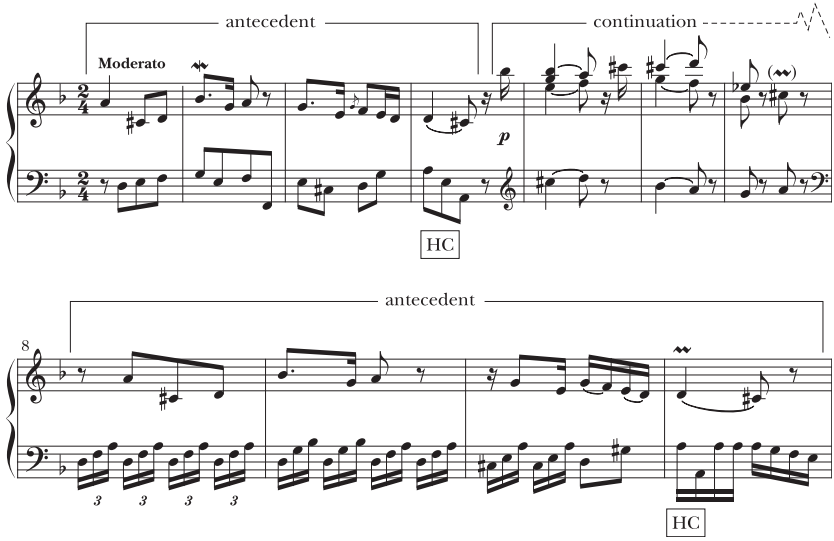
[86] James Webster, "Haydn Forgeries: More than Sour Notes," *New York Times*, 29 May 1994, H4.

[87] Quoted in ibid. See dpa, "Gefälscht?," 25. "Die Kompositionen selbst enthielten eine Fülle von satztechnischen Mängeln, Unstimmigkeiten in der Themenbildung und im formalen Aufbau."

[88] Walter, "Eulenspiegeleien um Haydn," 314.

[89] Ibid., 315. "Im Sitzungsprotokoll des 10. Dezember 1993 sind die zahlreichen kritischen Anmerkungen dokumentiert, auch die nicht minder zahlreichen Einwände, die sich gegen den Kompositionsstil, gegen die Musik selbst richteten."

EXAMPLE 1. Winfried Michel, Forged "Haydn" Sonata in D Minor, "Hob. XVI:2a," i, mm. 1–11



As If

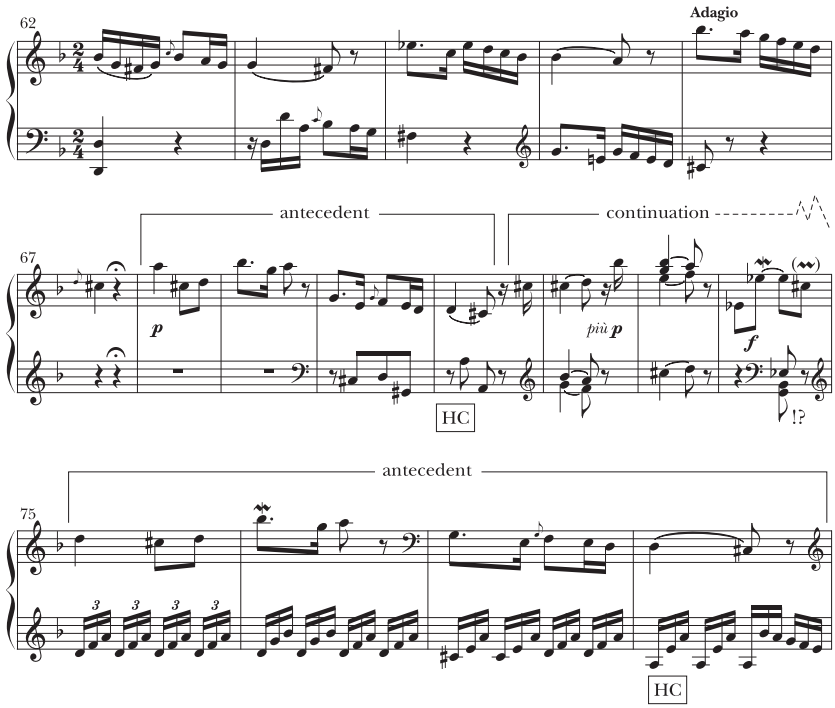
Example 1 shows the opening of the Sonata in D Minor Hob. XVI:2a. This is the work Landon consistently singled out as the "particularly striking" example among six "extremely original" rediscovered compositions.[90] Consider the opening phrase: while the first four measures—familiar from the *Entwurfkatalog* incipit—form a well-behaved antecedent ending with a half cadence, the fragmentation in measures 5 and 6 implies an emerging antecedent and continuation structure (or "hybrid 1," as William Caplin has called it).[91] The continuation should, conventionally speaking, close with a perfect authentic cadence spanning measures 7–8.[92] Yet this does not happen. The breaths of silence created by the offbeat rests in measure 7 do not lead to cadential resolution on the following downbeat, but rather to a newly agitated iteration of the

[90] Landon, "A Musical Joke in (Nearly) Perfect Style," 10.

[91] For an explanation of "hybrid" phrase structures see William E. Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 59–63.

[92] As Caplin writes, "Unlike a sentence, [a hybrid 1 structure] almost always closes with a PAC to complement the weaker cadence ending the antecedent." William E. Caplin, *Analyzing Classical Form: An Approach for the Classroom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105.

EXAMPLE 2. Winfried Michel, Forged "Haydn" Sonata in D Minor, "Hob. XVI:2a," i, mm. 62–78



opening antecedent phrase. This is the iconoclastic "use of silence and of surprise" that Landon described as characteristic of Haydn's new musical language in general and the rediscovered Sonata in D Minor in particular.[93] Resisting symmetry and balance, measure 8 functions not as an ending, but as a new beginning. With its thwarted unstressed dominant, the non-conclusion of the first phrase in measure 7 creates the effect of an incomplete thought that cuts itself off like a scratched record skipping backwards.

The compositional consequences of the destabilizing gesture in measures 7–8 echo throughout Hob. XVI:2a's opening movement. As example 2 shows, the recapitulation of the opening phrase (beginning at m. 68) serves—if anything—to magnify the unease that characterized its expositional parallel. In contrast to the *forte* of the development that preceded it, the return of the primary subject is whispered *piano* and

[93] Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," 11.

attenuated by the initial absence of the left hand's accompanying bass voice, here taking on an almost ghostly quality. A more timid and unsatisfying arrival could hardly be imagined. Indeed, one would be forgiven for wondering whether the mere shadow of the primary subject that emerges from the pregnant pause held in measure 67 is, in fact, the true onset of the recapitulation at all.[94]

A more convincing dramatic highpoint comes at measure 74, when the sonata returns to *forte* leading into the reiteration of the primary subject at measure 75. Tellingly, the dynamic emphasis at measure 74 corresponds to the precise moment that the exposition first went awry, harking back to the fateful V chord in measure 7 that prematurely ended the opening phrase. Yet—crucially—there is no true V chord to be heard in measure 74. As if to amplify the phrase-structural interruption that set the sonata on its wayward course, the composer telescopes the Neapolitan and dominant sonorities in this measure to such an extent that $\flat\hat{2}$ and $\sharp\hat{7}$ in D minor give the distinct impression of an augmented-sixth sonority resolving outwards not as an intensification of the dominant, but rather as a "tritone-substituted" dominant-function chord moving directly to the tonic.[95] The *forte* emphasis on this sonority further suggests a motion that disperses into measure 75, amplifying the portentous expositional moment of phrase-structural elision in measures 7–8 into what would have sounded—at least to Haydn's first audiences—like nothing short of a cadential train wreck.

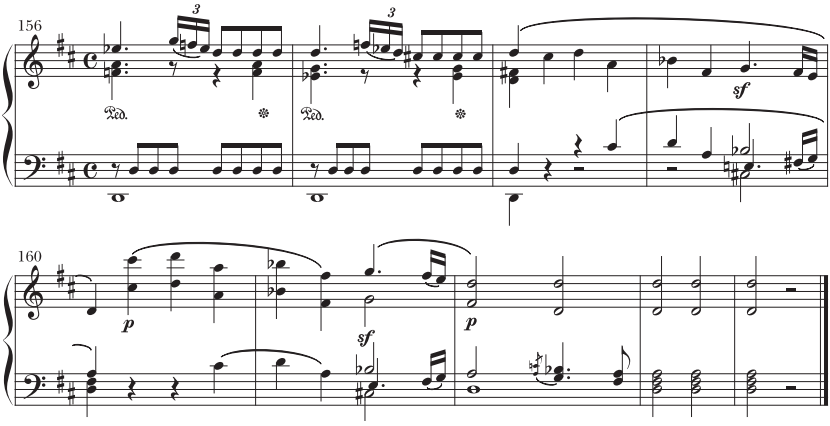
In style-historical terms, it need hardly be noted that the implicit use of a tritone-substituted dominant at such an important structural moment is a bold gesture for the late 1760s. Conventional wisdom, after all, holds that such sonorities belong to the tonal grammar of significantly later eras.[96] Yet this spot of precocious harmonic color is not without late-eighteenth-century analogs. Written a mere decade or so after Hob. XVI:2a, the closing passage of Mozart's *Idomeneo* Overture, reproduced in example 3, deploys—at measure 157—an augmented-sixth chord above a tonic pedal functioning in its immediate context as a dominant confirming D major as the global home key via the double

[94] Haydn's proclivity for deploying the trope of "false recapitulation" in the *Sturm und Drang* years has been well documented (if inconsistently applied) since at least the era of Tovey. For a helpful overview see Peter A. Hoyt, "The 'False Recapitulation' and the Conventions of Sonata Form" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1999).

[95] On the similarities (and differences) between tritone substitutions and dominant-function augmented-sixth chords see Nicole Biamonte, "Augmented-Sixth Chords vs. Tritone Substitutions," *Music Theory Online* 14, no. 2 (2008), accessed 21 September 2017, http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.08.14.2/mto.08.14.2.biamonte.html.

[96] For an example of a putatively anachronistic "jazz-influenced" sonority turning up in an authentic Haydn composition, consider the sumptuous dominant ninth chord that appears—held by a fermata, no less—in the first movement of the Sonata in C Minor Hob. XVI:20, measures 25–26.

EXAMPLE 3. W. A. Mozart, Overture from *Idomeneo*, K.366 (1781), mm. 156–64. Arranged for Piano Solo by Richard Metzdorff



leading tones ♭$\hat{2}$ and ♯$\hat{7}$.[97] It is only after the curtain goes up on act 1 that the G-minor sonority ushered in by the opening recitative retrospectively recasts the overture's final chord as a dominant in a moment of rich functional play.[98] The question of whether the rediscovered Haydn sonata might have influenced the younger man's bold harmonic choice remains a matter of historical speculation.

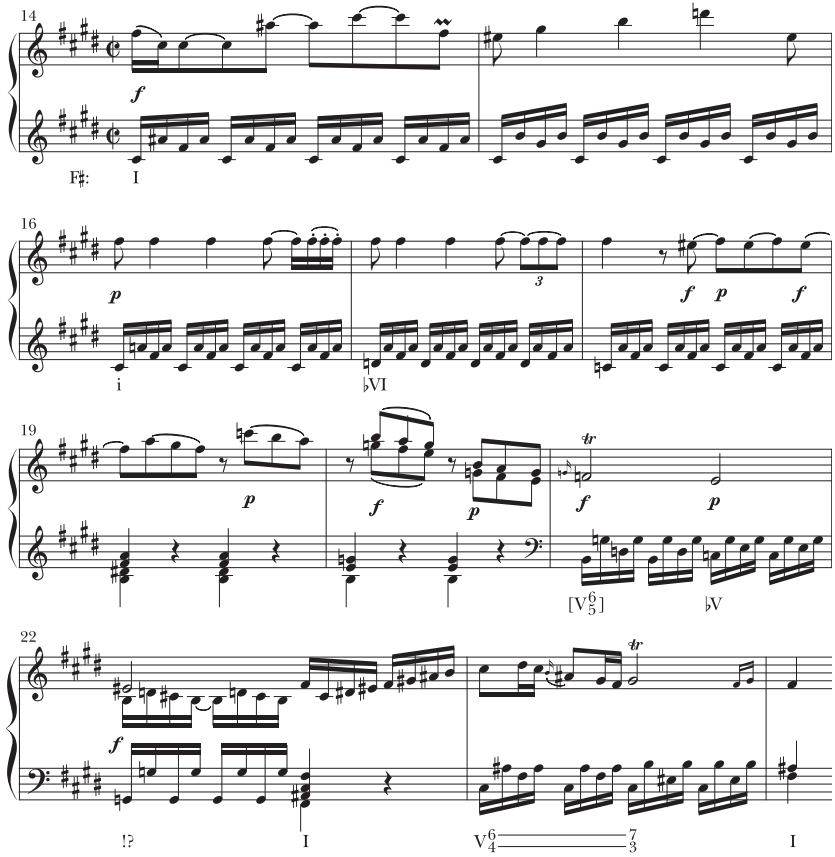
While Landon was right to pick up on the particularly strong presence of *Sturm und Drang* characteristics within Hob. XVI:2a, it is by no means the only work among the rediscovered sonatas to point to the harmonic language of the nineteenth century and beyond. Example 4 shows a particularly precocious passage from the Sonata in B Major Hob. XVI:2c that can now take its rightful place in the repertoire alongside the Symphony No. 46 and the Baryton Trio Hob. V:5 as one of only three works that Haydn composed in this rare "enharmonic" key.

Having arrived in the expected global dominant for the subordinate subject at measure 14, the composer focuses in on its tonic pitch, F♯,

[97] An extended discussion of this example can be found in Mark Ellis, *A Chord in Time: The Evolution of the Augmented Sixth from Monteverdi to Mahler* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 200ff.

[98] The first movement of Hob. XVI:2a arguably engages in a similar form of play. Around measure 88 the recapitulation pivots into the subdominant, allowing the augmented-sixth chord that adopted a dominant function (in D minor) at measure 74 to reappear at measure 90 in the guise of a true predominant-function chord, now in the context of G minor.

EXAMPLE 4. Winfried Michel, Forged "Haydn" Sonata in B Major, "Hob. XVI:2c," i, mm. 14–24



which the right hand persistently intones at the top of the texture. By measure 16 modal mixture has transfigured this same F♯ into the root of a *chiaroscuro* minor sonority. At measure 17 the alberti figuration in the left hand drifts into the local chromatic submediant ♭VI as the little finger pushes measure 16's bass C♯ up to D♮. A common-tone diminished triad in measure 18 (again, supporting F♯) pulls us to B^7 at measure 19. Here at last the F♯ spell is broken: measure 19's bass B is transformed into a leading tone tonicizing C major (i.e., local ♭V) in measure 21, now a tritone apart from the supposed key of the subordinate subject. In measure 22, ♭V's dominant, G^7, suddenly resolves back to F♯ major in another(!) tritone-substituted cadence, this time yielding the first root-position tonic

chord in the subordinate key. During the six measures of music from measure 14 to measure 19, F♯ has served as the root of a major triad (F♯+); the root of a minor triad (F♯-); the chordal third of a major triad (D+); the chordal fifth of a dominant seventh chord (B^7); and as a constituent tone in a diminished triad ($F♯^o$), all while it is emphasized in the uppermost contrapuntal voice.

Using a single common tone to wander through so many corners of chromatic space so quickly would be striking enough in late Schubert. In an eighteenth-century keyboard sonata composed before his birth (not least one that uses the enharmonic key of B major as its tonal home) such a passage, climaxing in a tritone substitution, is beyond extraordinary. It is easy to see what Landon meant when he wrote that the rediscovered works often arouse surprise through "a sudden change of key or . . . an unexpected modulation."[99] Even C. P. E. Bach—a frequently cited influence on Haydn in the *Sturm und Drang* years and arguably the most prominent eighteenth-century advocate of chromatic mediant relationships—might have balked at such a passage.

Double Bluff

Now that we know the truth it is impossible to believe in these forged works, with their stylistic sojourns to the outer limits of eighteenth-century tonal and form-functional grammar. Yet having closed the "as if" section of this essay, it is also hard not to sympathize with Paul Badura-Skoda when he thanked Michel for the photocopies of the Westphalian Manuscript, writing that he was "quite sure that Haydn [was] the composer" precisely because the sonatas were "so original and contain[ed] so many unexpected and surprising turns."[100] Much of today's analysis pedagogy inculcates advocacy on behalf of the composer as the overriding goal behind acts of musical observation. We do not expect geniuses to do things by the book. And so the surprising and the unexpected have slowly but surely become synonymous with the inventive and the original to such an extent that analysis is hardwired for appreciation, not authentication. A purely "descriptive" approach such as this only makes sense if we feel safe in assuming that all legitimate objects of discussion will be *prima facie* Great Works.[101] Analyzing a composition that deviates from

[99] Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," 11.

[100] Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*.

[101] "Prescriptive" music analysis has hardly disappeared, though it is now practiced primarily in the pedagogical assessment of counterpoint and model composition assignments. On the important historical distinction between prescriptive theories of music (also called "practical" or "regulative") and descriptive music analysis see Thomas Christensen,

stylistic norms not because it is inspired or ingenious but because it is anachronistic or just plain bad has become, broadly speaking, unthinkable.[102] From the perspective of a forger, this makes us easy marks.

None of this answers a crucial question: why, precisely, would someone go to the trouble of producing these sonatas in the first place? Although it is possible to make money from such things, there is no substantial financial incentive to forge musical works comparable to the lucrative rewards available to those who forge oil paintings.[103] This is especially true when the work in question is transmitted through a putative copyist's score like the Westphalian Manuscript, rather than as a forged autograph. One possible justification is the sheer pleasure to be gleaned from immersing oneself in—and recreating—a beloved historical idiom. As Anthony Grafton wrote in an influential 1990 exploration of the topic, one might just as well be driven to forgery by love as by hate.[104] Following Landon's press conference the *Times* of London declared that the "new" Haydn sonatas were "timeproof treasure[s]" that would serve to "satisfy man's backward-looking passion and longing for basic values in a changing world."[105] Even if the objects of our "backward-looking passion" are fabricated (as such things often are), who would not want to satisfy such a longing? Yet if this were all that Michel was aiming for, why take the extra step from "period composition" (Simonetti and Tomesini, in Bruce Haynes's terminology) to forgery?[106]

Another compelling possibility would be to read the forgeries as compositional critiques—whether of aesthetic snobbery, expertise, or academic authority itself. Such a reading is seductive not only because it recalls the desire to "hoodwink the experts" described by Cudworth, but also because it pins down the difference between the Westphalian

introduction to *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–22, at 13–14.

[102] The history of the discipline offers a number of telling exceptions that prove this rule. Heinrich Schenker and Hugo Riemann, for example, both published scathingly critical analyses of works by their contemporary (and Riemann's former student) Max Reger with the apparent aim of demonstrating how "bad" music might violate the laws of counterpoint and tonality. For discussion of these respective analyses see Daniel Harrison, "A Theory of Harmonic and Motivic Structure for the Music of Max Reger" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1986), 43–61; and Alexander Rehding, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10–14.

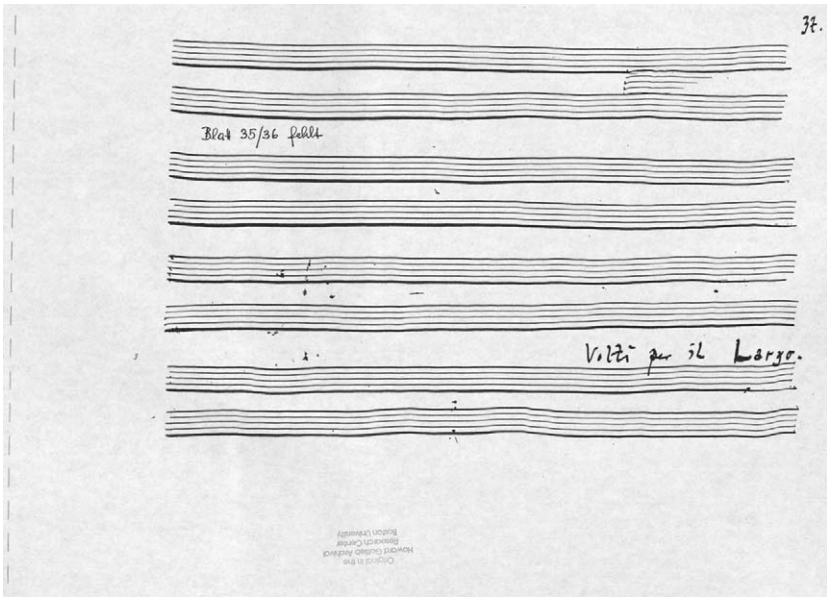
[103] This economic fact is a consequence of what Nelson Goodman has termed the "allographic" (i.e., multiple-token) nature of musical works. For an explanation of Goodman's distinction between "allographic" and "autographic" artforms see Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, 1968), 112–23.

[104] Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (London: Collins & Brown, 1990), 39.

[105] "Timeproof Treasure," *Times* (London), 14 December 1993, 17.

[106] Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 210–13.

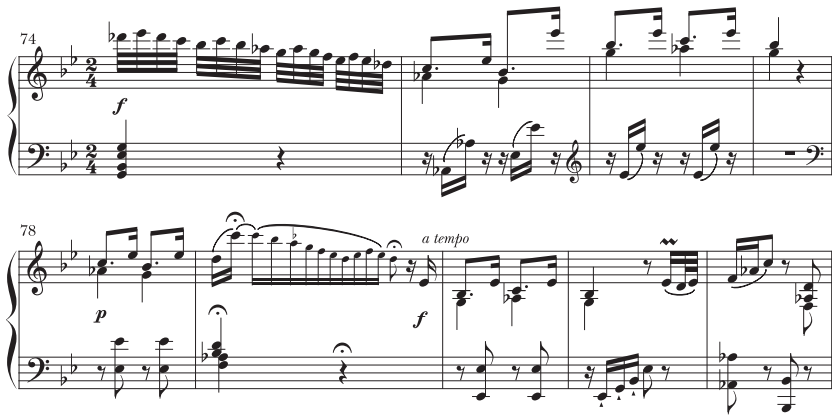
FIGURE 5. Westphalian Manuscript, page 37. From the H. C. Robbins Landon Collection (Box 78; Folder 11), Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University



Manuscript and Michel's earlier pastiche work. Beyond simply creating a work in a historical style, the act of representing the manuscript as a rediscovered copyist's score "containing the 6 Haydn sonatas"—as the Badura-Skodas always claimed Michel had done in his communications with them—surely constitutes musical forgery in the true sense of the word.[107] Moreover, if such a lauded expert as Paul Badura-Skoda took the bait, Michel's virtuosity in imitating historical styles would have passed the ultimate test. Even if they were repudiated after the fact, the forged "Haydn" works would enact a great deal of public mischief on the edifices of taste and authority that underpin modern classical-music connoisseurship, puncturing the boundary between fiction and reality in ways that Simonetti and Tomesini never could.

[107] In the letter enclosed with the photocopy of the Westphalian Manuscript sent to Paul Badura-Skoda in 1993, Michel wrote: "Es handelt sich um die Ablichtung eines MS (vermutlich einer Kopistenabschrift), das die 6 Sonaten Haydns beinhaltet, von denen meines Wissens nur die Incipits aus Haydns eigenhändigem 'Entwurfkatalog' bekannt waren." Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas* (translation amended).

EXAMPLE 5. Michel's Completion of the Forged "Haydn" Sonata in B-flat Major, "Hob. XVI:2d," i, mm. 74–82



One last musical detail illustrates this point. In producing a work to match the incipit of the Sonata in B-flat Major Hob. XVI:2d, Michel seems to have deliberately neglected to provide the retransition and the beginning of the recapitulation after measure 65. As shown in figure 5, page 37 of the manuscript—which follows hard on page 34—is inscribed with a note that pages 35 and 36 are "missing" (Blatt 35/36 fehlt). Presumably the intention was to simulate a corrupted historical source, leaving Hob. XVI:2d as an artificial fragment. Stunningly, it also enabled Michel to submit a completion of his own composition when he sent the sonatas to Paul Badura-Skoda.

An excerpt from this "completion" is reproduced in example 5. The passage is remarkable not only because of the V_3^4 chord that concludes the retransition at measure 79, but also—and more profoundly—because of a subdominant recapitulation (starting at the upbeat to measure 80) that recasts the primary subject in E♭ major rather than the expected B♭ major.[108] Haydn deployed this latter technique far more sparingly than contemporaries such as Dittersdorf and Boccherini. And while Michel may simply have been unaware of this, it is also conceivable that the peculiarity of his completion was, on some level, deliberate. In other words, Michel may have used the only section of the compositions marked as his own as a means of veiling his abilities as a forger, much as a pool shark might feign a lack of skill so as to divert suspicion from the

[108] For an example of Haydn ending a retransition on an inverted dominant-seventh chord see measure 131 from the first movement of the Sonata in E-flat Major Hob. XVI:49.

greater deception.[109] If this was the intent, the gambit paid off amply when Paul Badura-Skoda wrote that Michel's reconstruction "was not really . . . a convincing answer," adding that he believed his own completion to be "better and better adapted to the style of the work, whether or not it is Haydn's."[110] Michel's invention of an artificial missing link within his forgery of the missing link left by Haydn holds a peculiar power. By convincing the Badura-Skodas and Landon that his own compositions were at once not worthy of Haydn (in the case of the completion) and at the same time indistinguishable from the work of the master himself, he could assert a strong claim: it was the authorial signature on the score—not the notes on the staff—that distinguished his compositions from those of the great masters, even in the eyes of the experts.

Art and its Imponderables

Assertions about creative motivation are always difficult to adjudicate. But cases of forgery in which the author denies the act offer a special challenge. Our story resumes in winter 2015, when I succeeded in contacting Michel. The account of the sonatas he gave me differed substantially from the press coverage of 1993 and the statements provided by the Badura-Skodas. In the course of our brief correspondence, I discovered that he is now willing to implicate himself in their composition not as "forgeries," but rather as "completions." In an attempt to do justice to his account of events, I quote Michel at length:

> After finishing the works . . . I then (in 1993?) sent the 6 keyboard sonatas in my handwritten completion to Paul Badura-Skoda in Vienna. . . . Yes, the Haydn Institute pointed out that the sonatas, in their completed form, were not composed by J. Haydn, and that is of course the case! On this point the subtitle in the Amadeus edition is correct: "edited and completed by W. Michel." As regards the discussions that took place at that time, the following must be emphasized: there can of course be no talk of "forgeries," what we are discussing are simply "completions," as have frequently emerged in the course of the European musical tradition. . . .[111]

[109] In the 1995 "Amadeus" edition in which the sonatas were published, Michel provides a second, less extreme completion suggestion (Ergänzungsvorschlag B) in which the recapitulation begins in the global tonic. See Haydn, *Sechs Sonaten für Klavier*, 54. Paul Badura-Skoda's completion of Hob. XVI:2d, which can be heard on his CD recording of the works, also recapitulates the primary subject in the global tonic.

[110] Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*.

[111] "Nach den oben erwähnten Werkergänzungen habe ich dann (1993?) die 6 Clavier-Sonaten in meiner handschriftlichen Vervollständigung Paul Badura-Skoda in Wien zugeschickt. . . . Ja, das Haydn-Institut hat darauf hingewiesen, daß die Sonaten in

This is an astonishing admission. No mention is made of the elderly woman who was supposed to have possessed the original Westphalian Manuscript according to the press coverage and the numerous statements of the Badura-Skodas. Instead, Michel explicitly refers to the document that caused so much consternation not as a historical copyist's manuscript, but rather as "my handwritten completion" (meiner handschriftlichen Vervollständigung). Needless to say, the authorial paratext "di G. Haydn," the stamp "Eigentum des BischöflStuhles," the annotation "Sammlung Hegenkötter 1956," and the shelving number "MS H $7^{A/F}$ Schrank 5, Lager 4"—all clearly visible in figures 3a and 3b—tell a different story. So does the damning statement—in the annotation to figure 5—that the score for the Sonata in B-flat Major Hob. XVI:2d was missing two pages. If Michel had always intended to represent the Westphalian Manuscript simply as his own "handwritten completion," then why did he pretend that part of the source had been lost? Or give it a stamp stating that it had once been the "property of an episcopal see"? Moreover, why does Michel's name appear nowhere in the document's paratexts alongside the attribution to Haydn? For all the reasons described above, the Westphalian Manuscript was and remains a forgery. And yet today Michel is staunchly unwilling to reveal how much of the sonatas were his own compositional work:

> For me personally it is essential that those who want to play these pieces interpret them in the given form as wholes; that is why I do not want the material that was available to me at the time to be separated from my completion. . . . For this reason, I can and want only to confirm that enough coherent and compelling original material from Haydn was available to me that it was a simple matter to complete the sonatas in a few weeks.[112]

Despite having blatantly suggested that he had discovered a sixty-five-page historical source back in 1993, Michel was careful in his communications with me never to contradict the idea that the pre-existing material for his "completions" consisted only of the four-measure incipits

ihrer vervollständigten Form nicht von J. Haydn sind, und das ist natürlich so! Die Amadeus-Ausgabe bringt daher auch den korrekten Untertitel: 'herausgegeben und ergänzt von W. Michel.' Es muß jedoch nach der damaligen Diskussion betont werden: von 'Fälschungen' kann selbstverständlich keine Rede sein, es handelt sich schlicht um 'Werkergänzungen,' wie es sie im Lauf der europäischen Musiktradition häufig gab. . . . " Winfried Michel, letter to author, 4 December 2015.

[112] "Mir persönlich liegt nach wie vor am Herzen, daß derjenige, der die Stücke spielen will, sie in der vorgelegten Form als Ganzes interpretiert; daher möchte ich nicht, daß das mir damals vorliegende Material von meiner Weiterführung separiert wird. . . . Ich kann und will deshalb nur bestätigen, daß mir zu dieser Werkgruppe soviel schlüssiges und zwingendes Originalmaterial Haydns zur Verfügung stand, daß es mir ein Leichtes war, die Sonaten in wenigen Wochen zu komplettieren." Ibid. (emphasis original).

from the *Entwurfkatalog*, and nothing more. Asked about this very issue in a 1994 interview with a Dutch newspaper, Michel hinted that it "could well have been the case" that he was working only with the first few measures of each sonata, claiming: "with a composer of Haydn's caliber a little material is very compelling. . . . The notes were so strong that Haydn guided my hand as if it were his own."[113]

Laying aside Michel's deceptive statements about the authorship of the Westphalian Manuscript, the argument he advances about the act of compositional completion is revealing. A die-hard organicist with a taste for mysticism could indeed make the bizarre claim that the finished sonatas were somehow "contained within" the motivic material from Haydn's four-measure incipits such that writing down the rest would be a mere formality. If we like what we hear, Michel seems to say, we have no business asking how (or by whom) the ineffable musical sausage gets made. As he put it to the Badura-Skodas during an increasingly heated exchange of letters from 1993, our obsession with "authenticity" and "famous names" is symptomatic of the ways in which "what people choose to call academia hinders our appreciation of a work of art."[114] Michel drew on this same rhetoric of the ineffable in his correspondence with me when he closed his narrative of events with the gnomic and seemingly definitive statement that while "Academia is committed to 'get to the bottom of everything': and rightly so! 'Art' has its imponderables [Unwägbarkeiten]."[115] "There are," he wrote, apparently suggesting that I not press him any further, "boundaries and points of friction that should be accepted."[116]

One urgent question remains: if the Westphalian Manuscript was always in some sense a critique, then how do we, as musicologists, respond? Are we satisfied that it was merely a well-executed joke or hoax to be laughed at and forgotten? Or does its success—however momentary—warrant a more serious reappraisal of the ways in which we hear value and authorship in organized sound, whether or not we consult physical sources?

In seeking an answer, we should be in no doubt that the stakes are high. These were not the first forgeries that our discipline has had to confront, and they will not be the last. If we are indeed facing the dystopian prospect of a "post-expert" and "post-truth" age, the questions

[113] Paul Luttikhuis, *NRC Handelsblad Rotterdam*, 18 February 1994; quoted in Walter, "Eulenspiegeleien um Haydn," 316–17.

[114] "Gewiß ist das Sich-blind-Starren auf 'Echtheit' und 'berühmte Namen' ein Symptom für unsere heutige Kunstrezeption. Die sogenannte Wissenschaft verstellt dabei oft genug den Blick auf das Kunstwerk." Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas* (translation amended).

[115] "Die Wissenschaft ist bemüht, allem 'auf den Grund zu gehen': recht so! Die 'Kunst' hat ihre Unwägbarkeiten." Michel, letter to the author, 4 December 2015.

[116] "Das sind Grenzen und Reibeflächen [sic], die akzeptiert werden sollten." Ibid.

that forgery asks of us deserve serious answers. Nobody is going to die if a sonata turns out not to be by Haydn. Yet important legal and ethical ideals such as copyright and intellectual property are underpinned by a robust author concept that we abandon at our peril. As Michel wrote to me, it is indeed the business of academics to ask questions, and, where possible, to "get to the bottom of everything." The forged Haydn sonatas remind us that telling truth from falsehood in music is vital precisely because it is so difficult. It demands humility and self-knowledge. It means being prepared to resist speculation about "known unknowns," instead admitting the limits of our mastery. And it requires us to remain open to the idea that, from time to time, those who seek to deceive us may know us better than we know ourselves.

ABSTRACT

In December 1993 news broke that six keyboard sonatas whose rediscovery was being hailed as "The Haydn Scoop of the Century" were, in fact, not by Haydn at all. It soon emerged that the compositions—initially believed to be the lost Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g—were not simple misattributions, but rather something that has rarely been discussed in the music world: modern forgeries deliberately constructed to deceive scholars and listeners.

Adapting philosophical and art-historical writing on forgery to music, this article examines the six "Haydn" sonatas in the context of contemporary debates about expertise, postmodernism, and the author concept. Analyzing the stylistic content of the works in question sheds new light on musical forgeries as artifacts of aesthetic prejudice and anti-academic critique. More broadly, it suggests that the long-overlooked phenomenon of forgery poses questions about authorship, authority, and truth itself that have an important place in our shared history as musicologists.

Should our standards of evidence be rooted in historical sources, musical style, or some combination of the two? What kind of relationship do we believe exists between composers and their works? And is there any inherent reason—cultural, ethical, or otherwise—that we cannot write music like Haydn's today? In posing such questions, the story of the forged Haydn sonatas provides us with a unique opportunity to reflect on the values and future of the field.

Keywords: musical forgery, Joseph Haydn, authorship, authenticity, Winfried Michel, Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g