

Arranging the Canon

keyboard arrangements, publishing practices and the
appropriation of musical classics, 1770-1810

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Elena Pons Capdevila, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

The rise of arrangements was central to musical life in late eighteenth-century Europe. Opera arias were published in piano-vocal scores, symphonies were circulated in keyboard versions, and arrangements were used for entertainment and education, and for the repeated performance of larger works. Because of their nature, arrangements pose a challenge to the work concept as well as to the notion of authorship, contributing to the debates that currently emerge when performance is conceptualized as a source of meaning. Furthermore, the study of arrangements problematizes not only the concept of the 'authentic' text, but also the values that support notions of the musical canon.

This thesis aims to investigate various aspects of keyboard arrangements of orchestral and vocal music, in England and German-speaking lands between 1770 and 1810. Firstly, it examines the discourse surrounding arrangements using as evidence numerous unexplored reviews and prefaces of printed music. Secondly, it explores the place of arrangements in economic history and the history of consumption, situating them within publishing practices and music collecting (uncovering an unstudied collection of a female amateur musician, Maria Halsted Poole). Thirdly, the thesis examines the technique of arrangement, exploring the difficulties in balancing fidelity to the original with idiomatic keyboard writing. Finally, it explores arrangements of Haydn music as an example of the confluence of some of the aspects discussed in the rest of the thesis, with particular emphasis on the ways in which Haydn's music was appropriated for and by English audiences. This thesis shows how the study of the conception and dissemination of arrangements allows for a better knowledge of publishing practices and of the reception history of musical works, and offers new ways to analyze the rise of the musical

classics.

Table of Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	9
<i>List of Figures</i>	10
<i>Editorial Note</i>	15
Chapter 1 : Introduction: Arrangements, the Work Concept and the Public Sphere	17
1.1. <i>Consumer Culture, Reading Practices and the Public Sphere</i>	27
1.2. <i>Divided Audiences: the Tension between Connoisseurs and Amateurs</i>	43
1.3. <i>Keyboard Arrangements from the 16th to the early 18th Centuries</i>	49
1.4. <i>Methodology and Synopsis</i>	53
Chapter 2 : ‘Arrangement’ as a Category in 18th-century Musical Discourse: Work, Canon and Commerce	63
2.1. <i>Educating the Liebhaber: Musical Taste and the Classics.</i>	69
2.2. <i>The Conflict between Commerce and Werktreue</i>	84
2.3. <i>Expression, Criticism & Performance</i>	94
2.4. <i>Arrangements in English Musical Discourse: Truthfulness and the Classics</i>	102
<i>Conclusion</i>	109
Chapter 3 : The London Music Trade and the Making of Keyboard Arrangements: Instruments, Publishers and copyright	111
3.1. <i>Instruments: Prices, Manufacturers and Sales Techniques</i>	114
3.2. <i>London Music Publishers: Sales Catalogues, Retail Prices and Marketing Techniques</i>	123
3.3. <i>Marketing Strategies: Serial Publication and Selection of Repertory in the Age of ‘the Rage for Music’</i>	130
3.4. <i>Copyright and the Legality of Arrangements</i>	140
3.5. <i>Publishers and Arrangers: the Financial Dealings</i>	149
<i>Conclusion</i>	158
Chapter 4 : Keyboard Arrangements, the Private Sphere and the Female Accomplishments in Late Georgian England	161
4.1. <i>Public and Private Spheres: the Market and the Household</i>	162
4.2. <i>Music and the Female Accomplishments</i>	170

4.3. Arrangements in the Home	176
4.4. Arrangements as represented in Private Music Collections	184
Conclusion	201
Chapter 5 : The Craft of Arrangement: Keyboard Idiom versus Textual	
Fidelity	205
5.1. Reviewing G. Benda's <i>Ariadne: Forkel and the Schwickert Editions</i>	208
5.2. Haydn's Corrections on A. E. Müller's <i>Die Jahreszeiten</i>	225
5.3. Arranging C. F. Abel's <i>Symphonies Op. 1</i>	242
Conclusion	253
Chapter 6 : Appropriating Haydn: English and German Arrangements of	
Haydn's Music, 1780–1810.	255
6.1. Haydn's Popularity: Qualitative and Quantitative Perspectives	261
6.2. Haydn: his Arrangements and his Arrangers	268
6.3. <i>Symphonies for the Keyboard and String Quartets for the Voice</i>	275
6.3.1. <i>The Case of Symphony No. 53</i>	289
Conclusion	308
Conclusions	311
<i>Bibliography</i>	317
<i>Appendices</i>	337
<i>Appendix A: Haydn symphonic arrangements in London</i>	337
<i>Appendix B: Haydn Ballads</i>	344

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Johann Adam Hiller's published arrangements and parodies of sacred choral and operatic works of other composers.	73
Table 4.1: Inventory of Maria Halsted Poole's Music, Saltram House, Devon, Volume GG.2.10. Asterisk (*) indicates signature of Maria Halsted Poole.	185
Table 4.2: Inventory of Maria Halsted Poole's Music, Saltram House, Devon, Volume GG.2.11. Asterisk (*) indicates signature of Maria Halsted Poole.	186
Table 6.1: Collections of Ballads adapted from Haydn instrumental music with added English poetry published in London. The year of publication is that of the British Library catalogue except the ones in brackets, which are those provided by Gretchen A. Wheelock.	285
Table 6.2: Arrangements of symphony No. 53 published 'as performed' at the concert series	291

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Bourdieu's French literary field in the second half of the nineteenth century	56
Figure 1.2: In red, the changes that arrangements may have occasioned in the balance between high and low intellectual prestige.	58
Figure 2.1: Hiller's arrangement of <i>Zémire et Azor</i> . Voice and keyboard in two staves (page 27). RISM A/I G 4499.	81
Figure 2.2: Hiller arrangement of <i>Zémire et Azor</i> . Voice and keyboard in three staves (page 60). RISM A/I G 4499.	82
Figure 2.3: Corfe's vocal score with an additional stave of Handel's 'Guardian Angels' from <i>The Triumph of Time and Truth</i> ..	105
Figure 3.1: <i>World</i> , 28 th March 1791	126
Figure 3.2: Upper part of Bland's Subjects Catalogue published in 1792 within Joseph Haydn, <i>Three Grand Trios for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for a German Flute or Violin & Violoncello. Op. 34 or 59</i> . (British Library shelfmark g.445.i.(2.))	132
Figure 3.3: <i>World</i> , 13 th March 1788.	134
Figure 3.4: <i>World</i> , 30 th October 1788.	137
Figure 3.5: 27 th March 1800 in <i>Oracle and Daily Advertiser</i> .	148
Figure 4.1: First page of an arrangement of 'For tenderness form'd', an air in <i>The Heiress</i> , adapted from Giovanni Paisiello 'Saper Bramate'. Saltram House (National Trust) shelfmark GG.2.11	189
Figure 4.2: Keyboard part of the first movement of Pleyel's Trio B. 431. Passages that are eliminated in the arrangement are indicated with a red line and changes are indicated with a dotted line. Ignace Pleyel, <i>Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin & Violoncello [...] by Ignace Pleyel</i> , (Paris: Bonjour, n.d.).	192
Figure 4.3: Binding on GG.2.10	203
Figure 5.1: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement (p. 13), Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement (p. 12) of Benda's <i>Ariadne auf Naxos</i> .	214
Figure 5.2: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's <i>Ariadne auf Naxos</i> . Bar 261 in Benda's arrangement.	215

- Figure 5.3:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 308 in Benda's arrangement. **217**
- Figure 5.4:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 273 in Benda's arrangement. **218**
- Figure 5.5:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 380 in Benda's arrangement. **219**
- Figure 5.6:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 471 in Benda's arrangement. **221**
- Figure 5.7:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement (p. 27) and Forkel's improvement suggestion of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. **222**
- Figure 5.8:** 'Die dürsten Wolken', bars 46–48 in A. E. Müller's keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as 'No. 76'); as arranged by Neukomm. **236**
- Figure 5.9:** 'Sie steigt herauf', bar 90–91 in A. E. Müller's keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as 'No. 52'); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 108). **237**
- Figure 5.10:** 'No. 144': 'Hier steht der Wanderer nun', bar 99 in A. E. Müller's keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as 'No. 144'); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 200). **239**
- Figure 5.11:** 'Knurre, schnurre', bar 24 in A. E. Müller's keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as 'No. 148'); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 206). **240**
- Figure 5.12:** 'Dann bricht der große Morgen an', bar 54 in A. E. Müller's keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as 'No. 166'); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 231). **241**
- Figure 5.13:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 1–4. **244**
- Figure 5.14: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 11–14.** **245**
- Figure 5.15:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 1–2. **245**
- Figure 5.16:** Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 45–47. **246**

Figure 5.17: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 2, bars 19–22.	247
Figure 5.18: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 3, bars 1–2.	248
Figure 5.19: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 4, bars 1–4.	249
Figure 5.20: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 5, bars 45–48.	250
Figure 5.21: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 3, bars 24–26 (and repeated in 79–81 in D).	250
Figure 5.22: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 5, bars 1–8.	251
Figure 5.23: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 4, bars 1–3.	252
Figure 6.1: In red, the changes that arrangements may have occasioned in the popularity/prestige balance of Haydn's music in England.	260
Figure 6.2: Total of published arrangements of Haydn's music up to c.1800 by city as recorded in RISM A/I. Red = keyboard arrangements; blue = non-keyboard arrangements.	266
Figure 6.3: The Oracle Public Advertiser, 17 th April 1796.	283
Figure 6.4: Haydn Symphony No. 53, Andante (bars 1–16).	290
Figure 6.5: Comparison between the orchestral version and the three arranged versions of the first bars of the Vivace of Haydn's Symphony No. 53.	294
Figure 6.6: Comparison between the orchestral version and the three arranged versions of bar 192 within the recapitulation of the Vivace of symphony No. 53.	295
Figure 6.7: Comparison between the orchestral version and the three arranged versions of the bars 81–83 of the Andante of symphony No. 53.	297
Figure 6.8: Comparison between the three arranged versions of bars 25–32 of the Vivace of symphony No. 53.	298
Figure 6.9: Comparison between the three arranged versions of bars 121–26 of the Vivace of symphony No. 53.	299

- Figure 6.10:** Comparison between the three arranged versions of bars 24–28 of the Presto of symphony No. 53. **300**
- Figure 6.11:** *A prelude and duet to Auld Robin Gray*. British Library shelfmark G.296.(8.) **304**
- Figure 6.12:** Ballad 'Morning' in *Twelve English Ballads* edited by Samuel Arnold and published by Longman & Broderip. **307**

Editorial Note

When quoting from primary sources, original spelling has been maintained. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Musical transcriptions are my own and maintain the original clefs unless otherwise indicated. When citing printed arrangements, the arranger has been included when indicated in the original source. Where primary sources are undated, approximate dates have been added using the British Library Catalogue of Printed Music as a guide.

Chapter 1 : Introduction: Arrangements, the Work Concept and the Public Sphere

Many relevant aspects of the present understanding of music seem to have originated in the decades around 1800. Therefore, study of that particular period is relevant to an understanding of not only the characteristics of that era but also the subsequent development of musical culture and how it has been studied up to the present day. Social conditions, economic contexts and philosophical concerns at the end of the eighteenth century affected the consumption and conceptualization of music and centred musical activity on composers and their works. In her groundbreaking book *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (1992) Lydia Goehr considers the late eighteenth century as the period in which musical practice was increasingly regulated by the concept of the musical work (that is, the understanding of a musical work as the ‘composer’s unique, objectified expression, a public and permanently existing artefact made up of musical elements (typically tones, dynamics, rhythms, harmonies, and timbres)’).¹ A sense of *Werktreue* posed by E. T. A. Hoffmann in ‘Beethovens Instrumental-Music’ (1810) highlighted the notion that performers should not let their personality intrude in a performance, but rather should bring into being ‘all the wonderful, enchanting pictures and impressions the composer sealed in his work with magical power’,² thus encouraging the idea that musical works were fixed in their notation and meaning. Although some scholars have considered the particular association of the concept with the late eighteenth

¹ Lydia Goehr, ‘Being True to the Work’, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 47/1 (1989), 55.

² E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Beethovens Instrumentalmusik’, in Edgar Istel (ed.), *Musikalische Novellen und Aufsätze*, I (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1900), 53. Quoted (and translated) in Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.

century as doubtful,³ Goehr's central claim is that the work concept is embedded in the notion of music as an autonomous art having its roots 'in a peculiarly romantic conception of composition, performance, notation, and reception'.⁴ Thus, the work concept is not a neutral one; rather, it implies certain assumptions regarding the composer as the creator of a fixed musical product. Consequently, Goehr considers that the familiarity of the concept has led to the term being applied anachronistically to music of earlier periods, and this has become a fundamental problem for music historiography.

Michael Talbot, seeking to modify Lydia Goehr's claim, observes that at the start of the nineteenth century musical activity and musical thought changed from a genre-centred to a composer-centred model.⁵ He states that before 1800, composers generally focused their attention on one genre, as he argues 'positive feedback from patrons, publishers and audiences caused them to produce more of the same rather than to venture into new territory'.⁶ Similarly, but with a different approach Matthew Gelbart specifies that 'conceptions of genre and style from before and during the eighteenth century not only bypassed questions of who originated materials or styles, but also did not even take much account of who used material; rather, they were primarily concerned with how it was used.'⁷ Thus, Gelbart argues that only after 1720 was there a gradual change in identifying the original context in which music was produced and understanding this aspect as a definer of the music.⁸ Furthermore, only after 1800 composers gradually aimed to master all musical genres, and at the same time, distinguish themselves from other categories of musician such as performers. Axel Beer points

³ Reinhard Strohm, 'Looking Back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept', in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 138.

⁴ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 113.

⁵ Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness' in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 172.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁷ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

out that even in the early nineteenth century those musicians that in the present day would be referred to as composers rarely specified this profession and when they did, they tended to add it to other professions such as virtuoso players, court musicians, Kapellmeisters etc.⁹

The assumptions conferred by the nineteenth-century work concept were questioned by twentieth-century philosophers such as Roman Ingarden (1893–1970). He claimed the musical work was neither physical nor mental (that is, it is different from its score and its performances) but an intentional object, ‘something that we can create only intentionally and not in reality’.¹⁰ More recently, current theories of performance studies have also questioned the assumptions of the work-concept in a similar way, by pointing out the instability and unreliability of the musical text and its notation, as well as the limitations of a scholarly focus on composers and their intentions. Scholars such as Nicholas Cook highlight the importance of performance as a generator of meaning instead of ‘simply reproducing the meaning that resides elsewhere’,¹¹ that is, the meaning placed in the work by the composer. Considering performance as a generator of meaning implies that the musical work is not fixed but subject to change. Borrowing from Richard Schechner, Cook suggests that ‘instead of a single work located “vertically” in relation to its performances, then, we have an unlimited number of instantiations of a musical work, all on the same “horizontal” plane’.¹² In this horizontal field of instantiations ‘there is no ontological distinction among the different modes of a work’s existence’. This inclusive thinking would suppress the hierarchical importance usually given to the ‘original’ over other

⁹ Axel Beer, *Musik zwischen Komponist Verlag und Publikum* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2000), 16.

¹⁰ Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity* (London: Macmillan Press, 1986), 120. Translation from the original *Untersuchungen zur Ontologie der Kunst. Musikwerk – Bild – Architektur – Film* (Tübingen: Niemeyer: 1967).

¹¹ Nicholas Cook, ‘Music as Performance’ in Herbert, Trevor, Martin Clayton, and Richard Middleton (eds.), *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 185. Also in Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9–32.

¹² Nicholas Cook, ‘Music as Performance’, 187.

notated or performed 'texts', and allow arrangements to have equal priority with the composer's purported *Urtext*.

Furthermore, if performers are creative agents that contribute to the meaning of the musical text, other possible mediators may also assist in the generation of musical meaning. For instance, book historians such as Roger Chartier suggest the importance of publishers and readers as active participants in the creation of the meanings of texts.¹³ Chartier himself contemplates the possibility of a sociology of texts that can create protocols of description that take into consideration 'all printed matter other than books and all texts that do not use words', and that 'consider in the same analytical perspective the whole process of production, transmission, and reception of texts, whatever their form might be.'¹⁴ Using these arguments as a starting point, it seems worth taking into account the importance of figures such as arrangers, music publishers, performers and audiences as contributors to the meaning of a musical work.

All these considerations regarding notions of the 'work concept', performance as a source of meaning, the changing status of the composer and the relevance of mediators, intertwine in the study of late eighteenth-century arrangements. For a long period, such arrangements were not considered worthy of study. The Romantic conception of a work as a fixed musical product with a single author led to the view of arrangements as incomplete and unauthentic music. For instance, early scholars focusing on eighteenth-century music such as Charles Cudworth acknowledged the proliferation of keyboard arrangements of symphonies by composers such as William Shield, but he interpreted it as an indicator of the limited success of the pieces. For him, if a piece had survived only as an arrangement it meant it was not

¹³ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 7–9. Also Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 1989), 6–7.

¹⁴ Roger Chartier, 'Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe: Sociology of Texts and Literature', *Book History*, 8 (2005), 38.

successful enough to be issued in parts.¹⁵ Thus, Cudworth regretted the lack of original texts of symphonies and avoided looking into the significance of the practice of arranging or the importance of the arrangement's changes in the context and space of its performance. In a music history focused on composers and their works, arrangements and arrangers are often regarded as an embarrassment. Furthermore, the study of arrangements itself has been neglected for many years because of the low artistic value placed on the genre and the difficulties of fitting it into restricted and established categories.

Instead, arrangements are an extreme example of the instability and unreliability of the musical text as explored by Stanley Boorman.¹⁶ First, they present a work in a form and or orchestration different from what is assumed to be the composer's original intentions. Second, they challenge the notion that the musical 'text' is the work of a single author, instead showing how a disseminated composition might result from the combined efforts of composer, editor, arranger and publisher. Third, arrangements imply the music being performed in different contexts, gaining new meanings dependent on its reception. Because of their nature, arrangements challenge the notion that the meanings of a musical work are primarily created by the composer.

The practice of arrangement has been the object of recent studies focussing on the Baroque period¹⁷ and late Romantic era¹⁸ and, as will be seen, there is some research on arrangements in the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the full ramifications of the practice of arrangement in the period between 1770 and 1810 have not been fully explored. Arrangements were central to musical life in this period: opera arias were published in piano-vocal scores, symphonies in

¹⁵ Charles L. Cudworth, 'The English Symphonists of the Eighteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 78th Sess. (1951–1952), 42.

¹⁶ Stanley Boorman, 'The Musical Text', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). 403–423.

¹⁷ Particularly relevant appears to be the recent publication: Sandra Mangsen, *Songs without Words: Keyboard Arrangements of Vocal Music in England, 1560–1760* (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2016).

¹⁸ Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen and Klaus Pietschmann (eds.), *Jenseits der Bühne: Bearbeitungs- und Rezeptionsformen der Oper im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011).

keyboard versions, and arrangements were used for entertainment and educational purposes, and for the premieres and repetition of larger works.¹⁹ The decades around 1800 paved the way for the importance of arrangements in nineteenth-century music publishing, where, as argued by Thomas Christensen, piano-vocal scores of opera were not only 'the key foundation of operatic literacy for many musicians before the age of the radio broadcast and phonograph' but also the medium through which amateurs would know, judge and reproduce music they may or may have not heard in the opera house.²⁰ This ability to disseminate music also implies that arrangements played a central role in the development of a musical canon.

Despite their importance in the late eighteenth century, arrangements of this period tend not to be included in editions of composers' complete works, are irregularly catalogued in reference databases such as *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*,²¹ and are often excluded from concert programmes and recordings (particularly when they are not written by the composer of the original work). Some recent exceptions have been shown by scholar-performers such as Christopher Hogwood and John Irving, who have made editions or recordings of arrangements.²²

Another difficulty encountered in the study of arrangements is the unspecificity of the term 'arrangement' itself. It refers to different degrees of proximity to the arranged piece, from the minor revision to outright new composition. Malcolm Boyd, writing in the *New Grove*

¹⁹ Wiebke Thormählen, 'Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna', *The Journal of Musicology*, 27/3 (2010), 368.

²⁰ Thomas Christensen, 'Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera', in Kate van Orden (ed.) *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York: Garland Press, 2000), 69 and 84.

²¹ www.rism.info

²² Ludwig van Beethoven, *Beethoven and the art of Arrangement / Grand Trio op. 38 (after the Septet op. 20) & Piano Quartet op. 16 (after quintet for piano and winds)*. Ensemble DeNote. Omnibus Classics CC5007, 2015. Joseph Haydn, *Twelve ballads arranged by William Shield*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Bicester: Edition HH, 2013). Joseph Haydn, Symphony No. 73 'La Chasse' for flute, string quartet, and pianoforte ad libitum arranged by John Peter Salomon (Bicester: Edition HH, 2012). Also, Joseph Haydn, *12 London Symphonies / Arranged for flute, two violins, viola, cello and fortepiano ad libitum by Johann Peter Salomon*. La Tempestad. Música Antigua Aranjuez MAA010, 2013.

Dictionary, states that the term applies to ‘any piece of music based on or incorporating preexisting material’. However, he also points out that the common use of the term means ‘the transference of a composition from one medium to another or the elaboration (or simplification) of a piece, with or without a change of medium’.²³ *Die Musik in der Geschichte und Gegenwart* includes a definition for ‘Bearbeitung’ by Thomas Bösche that includes a variety of subcategories such as ‘Arrangement’ or ‘Klavierauszug’, and lists a range of possibilities regarding arrangements.²⁴ Both definitions consider terminological nuances. The *New Grove* differentiates between arrangements and transcriptions whereas in the *MGG* the term ‘Bearbeitung’ encompasses the different techniques and types of arrangement that include changes in the scoring, for instance instrumentation, orchestration, keyboard arrangement (*Klavierauszug*), retouches (*Retuschen*), intabulation, parodies, opera arrangement (Opernbearbeitung), pasticcio or potpourri, etc.

Given the multiplicity of meanings and nuances that the term includes and in the context of the study of arrangements, it seems pertinent to address not only the practice of arrangement but also the historical definitions. In northern Europe, dictionaries or *Lexika* of the period provide a starting point to detect definitions of ‘arrangement’ in the decades around 1800. The first clear observation from looking at the sources is that the French or English word ‘arrangement’ or the German word ‘Bearbeitung’ are not included. Many dictionaries of the period do not include the term at all (such as Jacques Lacombe’s *Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts*, 1752, Jean Jacques Rousseau’s *Dictionnaire de musique*, 1768, John Binns’s *Dictionarium musica*, 1770, or Johann Georg Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 1771–1774) or provide a very practical definition. For instance, Thomas Busby’s *A Complete Dictionary of Music* (1801–1834) defines

²³ Malcolm Boyd, ‘Arrangement’ in *Grove Music Online*, available at <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 2 March 2017.

²⁴ Thomas Bösche, ‘Bearbeitung’ in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel and London: Bärenreiter, 1994), 1321–1338.

arrangement as 'that extension, or selection and disposal, of the movements and parts of a composition, which fit and accommodate it to the powers of some instrument or instruments for which it was not originally designed by the composer.'²⁵ Since these definitions are practical rather than conceptual, they are of limited value for the purposes of this dissertation. Most published editions of mid- to late-eighteenth-century arrangements were entitled with the name of the original work with the subtitle 'arranged', 'adapted', 'aggiustato', 'estratto', 'ridotto', 'arrangé', 'accomodé' for a particular instrument or instruments. In other languages such as German or Spanish, longer formulations were common, and diverse verbs were used. For example, some keyboard arrangements are described 'für das Clavier bestehend', 'aufs Clavier gesetzt' or 'puestos para piano-forte'. Alternatively, in the case of German titles, some sources used the term *Auszug*, as in 'in einen Clavierauszug gebracht', 'im Auszuge', 'als Auszug herausgegeben', 'in ein klaviermässigen Auszug', 'in einem Klavierauszug', among others. Under these titles it is possible to find arrangements of single works, collections of various arrangements of the same genre of pieces (dances, overtures, etc), as well as collections of operatic extracts.

A typology of different kinds of arrangements in the decades around 1800 can be established. In her thesis on keyboard arrangements, Marlise Hansemann claims the 'real' *Klavierauszüge* are different from a melodic part with a figured bass; arguing that a *Klavierauszug* has always to include other orchestral parts to the keyboard.²⁶ A more extensive typology can be made depending on the publishing format and scoring of arrangements:

- Arrangements for solo keyboard (which can include symphonic and chamber works arranged for the keyboard).

²⁵ Thomas Busby, *A Complete Dictionary of Music* (London: Richard Phillips, 1813).

²⁶ Marlise Hansemann, *Der Klavier-Auszug: von den Anfängen bis Weber* (Borna-Leipzig: Helmut Meyen, 1943), 1.

- Piano-vocal arrangements especially of opera. They may be published in 2 staves with words written above, or 3 staves (keyboard on 2 staves and voice on 1 staff), or staves for choir plus 2 staves for keyboard.
- Arrangements for keyboard and accompaniment with separate parts.
- Arrangements for chamber ensembles.

An alternative typology could be made according to the use of arrangements:

- Arrangements for amateurs, usually to be performed in the home. Often music is simplified from the original; usually printed.
- Arrangements for professional musicians, to study compositional technique. May be printed for this purpose or may be manuscript arrangement made by the individual.

These uses show different levels of appropriation ranging from faithful transcriptions to such radical appropriation that the genre of the original composition is changed (such as Haydn's *Ballads*, studied in Chapter 6, where a string quartet movement is arranged as a song).

This thesis aims to study the discourses and practices surrounding arrangements in the period 1770 to 1810, to better understand debates about the musical work, performance, domestic music-making and publishing practices (and their role in shaping the relationship between canon and commercial repertoires) and to place these debates in an economic and social context. Furthermore, it aims to show how in an economically and socially crucial time such as the decades between 1770 and 1810, in which there was a strengthening consumer culture and the development of a middle class, arrangements expose the changing balance between apparent opposites such as prestige and popularity, adaptation and fidelity. Embedded in their

economic and social context, arrangements show the changing patterns in the uses and audiences of the original music.

The period between 1770 and 1810 saw crucial changes in the expansion of the institutions of sociability and the book trade. Music played an important role in these changes. Firstly, large cities were, to some extent, centres of intellectual and artistic activity where music contributed to public and private entertainment. Secondly, the market for music publishing and instrument making expanded significantly. In the case of arrangements, and more specifically keyboard arrangements, their creation and dissemination depended largely on printing technology and the market for printed music. In the period between 1770 and 1810, arrangements, and more specifically keyboard arrangements, proliferated widely, most probably because they responded to various trends and needs. By exploring arrangements of the same composition in different geographical areas, this thesis will elucidate possible local tastes and practices.

Eighteenth-century Europe was not unified regarding economy or technology, but musical practices (and cultural products) can be traced in different countries in various forms. By considering two different areas in Europe, this thesis will show some general trends in the uses of arrangements, but also highlight particular uses and local practices. To provide a general overview of the phenomenon and depending on surviving sources, different chapters of this thesis will focus to different extents on sources from German-speaking territories or from England. Although the political circumstances were different, both territories experienced a growth in material culture and consumerism in the late eighteenth century.²⁷ Furthermore, the commercial relationships between England (and particularly London) and some German speaking territories such as Saxony or Prussia are evident in many aspects of late eighteenth-century musical life. This influence is particularly visible in the musicians and instrument makers

²⁷ Michael North, *'Material Delight and the Joy of Living': Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 170.

who emigrated to London (such as Johann Christian Bach or Johannes Zumpe)²⁸ as well as in a shared enthusiasm for certain music such as that of Joseph Haydn. As the largest city in Europe in this period, London was not only a focus for the expanded market of music publishing and instrument making but also a centre of intellectual and artistic activities in which music achieved a significant role in public and private entertainment.²⁹ Thus, a particular ‘unprecedented fervour for musical entertainment’ or ‘rage for music’ led to various innovations in London musical life, such as the proliferation of concert series.³⁰ Cities such as Leipzig and Berlin were central to the German Enlightenment and the establishment of a public sphere: Berlin’s cultural life was centred on the Prussian court and included the development of extensive periodical publications, and Leipzig had a strong intellectual life centred on its university and the book trade. The study of arrangements in other relevant areas such as France is beyond the scope of the present thesis. The growing middle class and growing sense of the public sphere present in these German cities and London will be explored in the following section.

1.1. Consumer Culture, Reading Practices and the Public Sphere

To understand the market for late eighteenth-century printed music, many economic aspects need to be studied. This section will explore the rise of the middle class as a factor in the changes in consumption that occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Then, it will turn to consider the public sphere and its importance in the development of a critical judgement. In this context, the section will focus on the commercialization of books and its repercussion in the reading practices.

²⁸ As it will be explained in Chapter 3, Michael Cole relates the arrival of some instrument makers to London to the coronation of Queen Charlotte.

²⁹ Jenny Nex, ‘Longman & Broderip’ in Kassler, Michael (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 9. Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 53.

³⁰ Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 34 and 54.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, some parts of Europe witnessed major changes in industry, agriculture and social life. These changes were very pronounced in England, which will be the focus of the following paragraphs, but could also be discerned in some north and central German territories. As argued by J. H. Plumb with reference to England, the decline in the death rate and the growth in population allowed the expansion of the economy and increased the home and international market.³¹ Although the early history of consumer society seems to be still little explored, the expansion of the market in eighteenth-century England was a central development of what has been considered by some as a consumer revolution.³² As Neil McKendrick points out, late eighteenth-century men, women and their children had access to a greater number of goods. As he puts it, there was 'such a convulsion of getting and spending, such an eruption of new prosperity, and such an explosion of new production and marketing techniques, that a greater proportion of the population than in any previous society in human history was able to enjoy the pleasures of buying consumer goods.'³³ For McKendrick, this revolution was only possible in eighteenth-century England thanks to its rising wages, a spiralling consumerism driven by individuals seeking to emulate each others' wealth and social mobility, and a rising moral popularity of spending.³⁴ He asserts that English society fostered the entrepreneurs' opportunities that allowed them to exploit new customer demand.

Although McKendrick's claim that eighteenth-century Britain witnessed the birth of a consumer society is central in the development of a history of consumerism, his timeframe has been rejected by recent scholarship. For instance, John Styles explains that the expansion of

³¹ J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Reading: Penguin Books, 1950), 78–90.

³² Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982).

³³ Neil McKendrick, 'Commercialization and the Economy', in *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 9.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 13–24.

consumption was slow and took place over many centuries.³⁵ This argument is, however, rejected by Carole Shammas, who similarly to Lisa Jardine, opt to shift the focus of the consumer revolution to other periods and locations.³⁶ In a rather less critical way, Maxine Berg argues that even if the eighteenth century did not witness such a revolution, there was a 'product revolution' in which the pinnacle of new consumer products was achieved.³⁷ Other scholars such as Margot Finn points out women's participation on the economy as a possible cause of the British economic expansion.³⁸ (Both Finn and Berg's argument will be further explored in Chapter 4.) Significantly for this thesis, Michael North identifies consumer culture also in German-speaking territories, where a growing number of consumers had access to books, pictures and fashion as well as concerts and theatrical performances.³⁹

Some of the reasons for disagreement among scholars regarding the change in consumer behaviour in late eighteenth-century England derive from their assumptions about the immediate causes, that is, the role of population growth and the rise of the middle class.⁴⁰ (Definitions of the middle class vary between historians and economic or political theorists. Peter Earle defines it as comprising 'commercial and industrial capitalists and professional men who work hard to make profits and improve themselves'.)⁴¹ On the one hand, baptism records and early census returns allow population growth to be mapped.

³⁵ John Styles, 'Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 535. Also in Claire Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making in Eighteenth-Century England', in John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds.), *Gender, Taste and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (London: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2006), 151.

³⁶ Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996).

³⁷ Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.

³⁸ Margot Finn, 'Women, Consumption and Coverture in England, c. 1760–1860', *The Historical Journal*, 39/3 (1996), 703–722.

³⁹ Michael North, 'Material Delight and the Joy of Living', 169.

⁴⁰ Peter Razzell, 'The Growth of Population in Eighteenth-Century England: A Critical Reappraisal', *The Journal of Economic History*, 53/4 (1993), 743–771. Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (London: Methuen, 1989).

⁴¹ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 327.

According to Thomas Piketty, Europe experienced population growth in the eighteenth century at a rate of 0.5% per year between 1700 and 1820.⁴² In England, with no internal wars in this period, the increase in population was exceptional in comparison to other countries and particularly acute in the later eighteenth century, growing from 6.62 to 13.25 million between 1771 and 1831.⁴³ More specifically, in the eighteenth century London's population almost doubled from 575,000 to 900,000 inhabitants.⁴⁴ In German territories, population growth was initially hindered by the Seven Years' War (1754–1763) and other military campaigns. Nevertheless, the number increased from around 18 million to 27.4 million between 1790 to 1840.⁴⁵ Both large cities such as Berlin and smaller ones such as Leipzig experienced a significant increase: between 1787 and 1831 Berlin's population doubled (from 114,606 to 229,843)⁴⁶ and between 1792 and 1830 Leipzig's population increased from 29,431 to 40,946 inhabitants.⁴⁷

On the other hand, the expansion of the middle class has proven to be a more elusive topic, despite being central in the conceptualization of the development of a capitalist economy in Britain, and also later in the so-called Biedermeier period in early nineteenth-century German lands. Because of the economic and social character of the middle class, the discourse around it is embedded in political and philosophical standpoints. In recent decades the reasons for the expansion of the bourgeoisie, as well as their purchasing power, have

⁴² Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 250–51.

⁴³ Edward Anthony Wrigley, 'British Population during the "long" Eighteenth Century: 1680-1840', in Roderick Floud, Paul Johnson (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 64.

⁴⁴ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 53.

⁴⁵ These numbers correspond to the population within the territories of what we call Germany nowadays. Ulrich Pfister and Georg Fertig, 'The Population History of Germany: Research Strategy and Preliminary results', *Max-Planck-Institut für Demographische Forschung Working Paper*, WP 2010-035 (2010), 5.

⁴⁶ 'II. Statistik und Sehenswürdigkeiten von Berlin' in *Berliner Adreßbuch 1878* (Berlin: Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin, 2002), 183. Slightly different numbers are provided for 1831 (248,682 inhabitants) in Rolf Gehrman, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Norddeutschlands zwischen Aufklärung und Vormärz* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag A. Spitz, 2000), 429.

⁴⁷ G. F. Knapp, (ed.), *Leipzigs Bevölkerung. Mittheilungen des Statistischen Bureaus der Stadt Leipzig*, (Leipzig: Rat, 1872), 6.

been questioned partly due to the lack of statistical evidence from the eighteenth century regarding people's occupation. Furthermore, some concerns with the way the evidence is interpreted stem from recent historical studies of wealth distribution, particularly since the publication of Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Beyond definitions of class, most scholarly studies of consumption have relied on statistical evidence of income to evaluate the purchasing power of the population. Relying on Elizabeth Gilbot and A. H. John, McKendrick argued that the fall in the price of food allowed a gradual increase of the real wages over the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ It has been assumed that fashion controlled the values for the elite and middling classes of the eighteenth century, who bought clothing and domestic items such as glass, chinaware or mirrors which were connected to forms of sociability.⁴⁹ However, although McKendrick's interpretation has been widely followed, 'it remains extremely difficult to establish which sections of the population benefited and to what extent increased income was used to acquire manufactured consumer durables and semi-durables, as opposed to food and other nondurables, or leisure.'⁵⁰ Furthermore, new studies of economic inequality, such as Philip T. Hoffman and his collaborators, argue the opposite: in the decades before 1815, the price of food increased as did the inegalitarian trends of wealth distribution.⁵¹ Despite the contradiction regarding wages, most approaches seem to agree on a fall in the prices of luxury goods and the cost of servants. The so-called new history of economic inequality is grounded on a comparison between the price of staples and the price of luxury goods, instead of a comparison between wages

⁴⁸ Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 23.

⁴⁹ Maxine Berg, 'Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective', in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 186. Also in Maxine Berg, 'New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England', Maxine Berg, Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650–1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 66–67.

⁵⁰ John Styles, 'Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England', 537.

⁵¹ Philip T. Hoffman, David Jacks (et al.), 'Real Inequality in Europe since 1500', *Journal of Economic History*, 62/2 (2002), 322–55.

and the price of staples.⁵² This new approach is particularly relevant to the study of music, because it takes under consideration luxury goods, the category under which musical instruments and printed material are to be found. According to Hoffman and his collaborators, ‘missing the fact that luxuries became relatively cheap means underestimating the rise in the relative purchasing power of the leading Western European countries, which consumed relatively more of the cheapening luxuries and relatively less of the increasingly expensive staple foods.’⁵³ In the case of German-speaking territories, North argues that middling classes and elites increasingly had similar taste in art and participated in the same cultural offerings. Nevertheless, in comparison to England, North argues that the middle classes did not change consumer practices or ‘appropriated culture as their exclusive field of endeavour’ until later in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴

Regarding music, the eighteenth century has been traditionally characterized by a rise of domestic music-making in England ‘based on the growth of the bourgeois middle class, both in number and influence.’⁵⁵ In Protestant German lands some of these developments would take place later on, in the Biedermeier period of the early nineteenth century when domestic music-making became central for the bourgeois society.⁵⁶ In general, it has been assumed that a fall in prices affected goods such as musical instruments and printed music, resulting in their greater availability and the adoption of keyboard instruments (especially square pianos and fortepianos) by members of the middle class. These ideas are perpetuated by writers such as Cyril Ehrlich who state that the piano was ‘a coveted possession, symbolic of social emulation and achievement, within reach of an ever-widening

⁵² Ibid., 324, 328–9.

⁵³ Ibid., 329.

⁵⁴ Michael North, ‘*Material Delight and the Joy of Living*’, 169–170.

⁵⁵ Rudolf Rasch, ‘Introduction’, in Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 7.

⁵⁶ Dahlhaus characterizes Biedermeier music by ‘an intermingling of convivial culture, educational function, and bourgeois self-display.’ See Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 174.

circle of eager purchasers.⁵⁷ Confronted with new interpretations of inequality such as that by Hoffman and his collaborators, David Hunter questions the traditionally accepted causes for the growth of the musical market in particular.⁵⁸ Hunter argues that due to the economic conditions of the period, only the wealthiest would be able to afford the purchase of a keyboard instrument, music lessons and printed music. Although Hunter does not claim that music was solely for the social elite, he sees the expansion of the musical market as a result of an increase of the elite in absolute numbers and a more effective penetration of this market by music sellers and instrument makers.⁵⁹

Beyond the economic analysis of purchasing power, other scholars seek an understanding of trends in consumer behaviour. In other words, beyond the improvements in the production and distribution of goods, can changes in consumer behaviour explain the expansion of the market? In this context, Thorstein Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) has been widely accepted to explain the eighteenth-century purported consumer revolution.⁶⁰ Veblen's theory states that in conspicuous consumption, 'preferences are determined socially in relation to the positions of individuals in the social hierarchy'.⁶¹ According to Veblen, individual consumption needs to be maintained as evidence of the leisure with which the class spends their non-productive time.⁶² Although this theory considers the changes in consumer conduct, it has

⁵⁷ Cyril Ehrlich, *The piano: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 9.

⁵⁸ David Hunter points out that there is no evidence of the increase of the piano sales 'beyond the level necessary to substitute for decline in output of the harpsichord and clavichord (the keyboard instruments previously preferred), let alone proof of a direct relationship between sales of pianos and of printed music, or who it was that purchased pianos, any such claim must be treated as propaganda.' Footnote in David Hunter, 'Music' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V, 1695-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 752.

⁵⁹ David Hunter, 'Music', 752.

⁶⁰ Referred to in Colin Campbell, 'Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth Century England', in John Brewer and John Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 40.

⁶¹ Andrew B. Trigg, 'Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption', *Journal of Economic Issues*, XXXV/1 (2001), 99.

⁶² Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1912), 22-23.

been criticised for its focus on motives of emulation that 'purport to account for conduct from the point of view of the individual, but actually only deal with single abstract, postulated notions of subjective meaning'.⁶³ As Colin Campbell argues, consumption can be imitative without being necessarily emulative, in other words that consumption patterns were not necessarily a consequence of 'the desire to be regarded as equal in social standing to those who were their acknowledged social superiors'.⁶⁴

The importance of consumer conduct affected the expenditure on both material objects and leisure activities (such as gardening, reading, horse-racing, theatre or concert-going). J. H. Plumb discerns the commercialization of leisure from the 1690s onwards, and its development as an industry by the 1750s and 1760s.⁶⁵ Peter Burke however, points out the difficulties of applying the term 'leisure' to the preindustrial era. According to him, there were various terms that referred to the opposite of work in the early modern period, as well as examples of the profusion of recreational activities.⁶⁶ As it will be shown later on, in the late eighteenth century, some of these recreational activities took place in institutions of sociability such as coffee houses and pleasure gardens, spaces that became relevant to the development of criticism.

Another crucial factor in late eighteenth-century changes of consumption was the expansion of a printing industry that was increasingly conceived as a commercial rather than a state- or patron-controlled enterprise. Like other consumer goods such as textiles or furniture, the production of books and other printed matter increased remarkably in the late eighteenth century. In Britain and Ireland, between 1740 and 1800, and particularly in the 1780s, the number of

⁶³ Colin Campbell, 'Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth Century England', 44.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 40–41

⁶⁵ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 265.

⁶⁶ Peter Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present*, 114 (1995), 136–150.

published titles increased.⁶⁷ In Michael F. Suarez's analysis of the *English Short-Title Catalogue*, he asserts that there was an increase of 390 per cent in the annual output of published titles, 'from a low of 1,744 per annum in 1723 to 6,801 in 1793.'⁶⁸ In Germany across the entire eighteenth century, according to the book fair catalogues 166,400 prints were published, 110,300 of which were published in the latter half.⁶⁹ Thus, as Rudolf Engelsing asserts, 'two thirds of the output was produced from 1750 onwards.' This increase in the publication of books is also to be seen in the increasing number of new titles present in the book fair in Leipzig which increases from c. 980 new titles for the year 1700 to 4,000 for the year 1800.⁷⁰ Particularly significant appears to be the steady increase of titles from the 1760s onwards, coinciding with the end of the Seven Years' War: 1,198 titles for 1760; 1,807 for 1770; 2,642 for 1780; 3,560 for 1790; 4,012 for 1800.

These circumstances, together with the relaxation of censorship in England and Germany, encouraged a wide profusion of newspapers and journals.⁷¹ In line with these events, there was a rising sense of copyright which itself reflects the commodification of print – the author or publisher wanted to claim copyright to profit from this new commodity.⁷² As Roger Chartier points out, the society 'was unified by the circulation of written works that authorized the communication and discussion of thoughts',⁷³ and this way of communication was for Kant,

⁶⁷ James Raven, 'The Book as a Commodity', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V, 1695–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 92.

⁶⁸ Michael F. J. S. Suarez, 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record, 1701–1800', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V, 1695–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 43.

⁶⁹ Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre* (Stuttgart: J. b. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973), 53.

⁷⁰ Michael North, 'Material Delight and the Joy of Living', 8.

⁷¹ For Germany see Michael North, 'Material Delight and the Joy of Living', 6–7 and with regard to music Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the late eighteenth century: Aesthetic issues in instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁷² For England see Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993). For Germany see Martha Woodmansee, 'The Genius and Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the "Author"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 17/4 (1984).

⁷³ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 26.

the only vehicle for the public use of reason. This new form of communication played also a central role in the development of notions of the public sphere, discussed below.

The widening market led to changes in what types of books were published. In addition to newspapers and journals, the commercial purpose of the book changed leading to a specialization of publishing. Publishers exclusively devoted to music emerged, such as Breitkopf in Leipzig and Longman & Broderip in London, as well as publications targeted specifically at women or children. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, there was a growth in the production of scientific and belles-lettres books, which benefited from the relative decline of religious books that took place in Germany and France.⁷⁴ In addition to the specialization of publishing with regard to subject, the tasks of publishers expanded to include the methods of distribution. As John Feather puts it:

Although various devices such as prepublication private subscription were widely used from the second quarter of the century onwards, to achieve true commercial success there was no substitute for widespread distribution through the ever-growing number of book-shops across Europe.⁷⁵

It would be interesting to quantify and compare the output of printed music across the period, but as Hunter points out, the inadequate bibliographical control, particularly regarding the problem of dating

⁷⁴ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 88. Also Robert Darnton, 'History of reading', in Peter Burke (ed.), *New perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 161. More specific numbers for Germany can be found in Michael North, *Material Delight and the Joy of Living*, 9.

⁷⁵ John Feather, 'The Commerce of Letters: The Study of the Eighteenth-Century Book Trade,' in *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 17 (1983–1984), 409. Quoted in Sarah Adams, 'International Dissemination of Printed Music During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in Hans Lenneberg (ed.), *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing* (Newark: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 22.

printed music, makes it almost impossible.⁷⁶ Yet although the lack of dates on copies makes such a study more complex, scholars such as Rudolf Rasch have been able to date some eighteenth-century music of certain publishers by using catalogues and plate numbers.⁷⁷

Another significant aspect of the market for printed books reflected the transformation of its audience. Beyond the economic significance of the increasing consumption of goods, the emergence of a public sphere and the spread of literacy not only stimulated print culture but also transformed reading practices. This shift in the way books were read has been characterized by Rolf Engelsing as a transformation from an 'intensive' to an 'extensive' reading.⁷⁸ As Melton explains, before this transformation, intensive reading was an oral and familial activity, and a devotional aid when, for example, the family gathered around a Bible or prayer book.⁷⁹ By contrast, the extensive reader 'moved among a greater variety of texts' including skimming in order to search particular information.⁸⁰ Thus, reading practices became less devotional and more individual and silent. As Chartier puts it, 'A communitarian and respectful relation to the book made up of reverence and obedience, gave way to a freer, more causal, and more critical way of reading.'⁸¹ Judging from the rise in the presence of books in post-mortem inventories of domestic servants and journeymen workers, Chartier points out that in France, during the eighteenth century, 'there was both an increase in both the proportion of the population that owned books [...] and the size of their libraries'.⁸² More specifically, Chartier shows that the collections of books owned by learned professionals grew from 1–20 volumes at the start of the eighteenth century to 20–100 volumes at the end of the century, and

⁷⁶ David Hunter, 'Music', 751. Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data history of music', *Early Music*, 43 (2015), 649–660.

⁷⁷ Rudolf Rasch, 'La famosa mano di Monsieur Roger: Antonio Vivaldi and his Dutch publishers', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, 17 (1996), 89–135.

⁷⁸ Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1974), 182–195.

⁷⁹ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 89.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁸¹ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, 90.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 69.

the collections owned by nobles and legal professions increased from 20–50 to 100–300 volumes over the same period. Personal libraries in England and German-speaking lands probably showed a similar growth in size.

Despite this general increase in the production of printed material and the growth of the literary market, the prices of printed matter in the eighteenth century remained high both in Germany and England.⁸³ These high prices made the accessibility of the book more dependent on the audience's wealth, limiting the number of books and promoting its repeated reading. It was not until the introduction of new printing technologies such as offset lithography in the nineteenth century that accelerated production speed and affordable prices were possible. However, the wider accessibility of traditional libraries and the rise of reading clubs, lending libraries and booklending shops or *cabinets de lecture* in the latter half of the century allowed a greater consumption of a wide variety of books.⁸⁴ Thus, the emergence of a public sphere and its institutions in that period fostered the new reading practices and the increase of volumes in a household described by Chartier.

To be sure, extensive reading did not change overnight or eradicate intensive reading. As Robert Darnton points out, reading evolved in different directions and had different forms among social groups.⁸⁵ However, examining reading practices can help understand the ways in which knowledge was apprehended. More specifically, a move to 'extensive reading' among music-lovers can help explain possible changes in listening practices and an increased need for music education. For example, Johann Adam Hiller gave advice to amateurs

⁸³ Melton points out that purchasing the Bible 'would have consumed around a day and a half of a German artisan's earnings'. Other examples are pamphlets from the *bibliothèque bleue* in and in 17th and 18th-century France, which 'cost about 10 percent of a laborer's weekly income', and "high literature" such as Daniel Caspar von Lowenstein's *Arminius and Thusnelda* (1689), 'was equal to the monthly salary of a German town Clerk.' James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 89.

⁸⁴ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 104–110. Also Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, 70 and 137.

⁸⁵ Robert Darnton, 'History of reading', 165.

over twelve issues of his periodical *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* on building a music library, including the selection of repertory and the choice of books of music theory and criticism.⁸⁶ In the context of the expansion of reading, arrangements could play an important role as cheap printed music that allowed for music to be disseminated and become the object of criticism.

The rise of extensive reading happened simultaneously with the increasing notion of a public sphere where literature is discussed and taste is formed. In his book *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, James van Horn Melton points out a new usage of the word *public* that appeared in the seventeenth century and was firmly established by the eighteenth century. Unrelated to state authority, as was used in Ancient Rome, this new usage 'referred rather to publics whose members were private individuals rendering judgment on what they read, observed, or otherwise experienced.'⁸⁷ Thus, precisely this period has been pinpointed as the starting point of a so-called public sphere. The causes of this emergence, together with the relationship between public and private spheres, have been an object of debate since the publication of Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1962.⁸⁸ Habermas suggested that what he called the 'bourgeois public sphere' was the product not only of the rise of modern nation-states, but also the expansion of national and international markets. As Melton summarizes it, these markets

hastened the flow of information as well as the circulation of goods, as communication networks grew wider and denser through improvements in

⁸⁶ Johann Adam Hiller, 'Kritischer Entwurf einer musikalischen Bibliothek', *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (Leipzig: Verlag der Zeitungs-Expedition, 1768).

⁸⁷ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 1.

⁸⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied und Berlin: Luchterhand Verlag, 1962). English translation: Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991),

transportation, the growth of postal services, and the newspapers and commercial sheets circulating in response to the heightened demand for information relevant to foreign and domestic markets.⁸⁹

Most importantly, Habermas and his critics agree on considering the public sphere (that is, 'the zone in which authority, by way of continuous administrative acts, maintained contact with private people'⁹⁰) as the sphere of 'public opinion'. This 'public opinion' was recognized as the arbiter 'in matters of taste and politics'. In other words, a new mode of representation emerged, in which private persons were provoked to make critical judgements. Thus, as T. C. W. Blanning puts it, 'By exchanging information, ideas and criticism, these [private] individuals created a cultural actor –the public– which has dominated European culture ever since.'⁹¹

Some of the above-mentioned concepts, as they were used in the eighteenth century, certainly seem to be paradoxical. Firstly, as Chartier clarifies, 'public opinion' was represented by Enlightened men and 'was the reverse of popular opinion, which was multiple, versatile, and inhabited by prejudice and passion.'⁹² Secondly, the boundary between private and public space was flexible and ambiguous. As Dena Goodman points out, both concepts 'were in the process of articulation, such that no stable distinction can or could be made between them.'⁹³ An apparent paradox in this regard can be found in Kant's understanding of 'public use' and 'private use'. For Kant, 'private' community referred to a determined and circumscribed community (i.e. a congregation, a state etc.) in opposition to a 'public' community, which was an

⁸⁹ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 5.

⁹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 24.

⁹¹ Timothy C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.

⁹² Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, 27.

⁹³ Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory*, 31/1 (1992), 14.

undetermined and unlimited community (i. e. the ‘society of world citizens’).⁹⁴

The chronology of the emergence of this public sphere as suggested by Habermas has been also widely disputed. Habermas argued that the public sphere emerged first in the literary realm and then in the political one. On the contrary, Blanning and Melton argue that in England, political debate flourished in the mid-seventeenth century, and political journalism emerged before the appearance of sentimental novels and moral weeklies in the early eighteenth century. Furthermore, the idea of ‘public opinion’ as a political tribunal first emerged in France around the 1720s and 1730s.⁹⁵ Another argument in this regard is offered by William Weber who suggests that in France and England, ‘public opinion’ became the authority as far as taste was concerned, because of the withdrawal of the monarch as cultural arbiter by 1700.⁹⁶ Furthermore, Weber asserts that, although the public sphere and ‘public life’ are strongly related, there is a distinction between them. Weber claims that “‘public life’ amounted to a set of professional, social or cultural communities, within each of which a political process took place parallel to that of the public sphere.”⁹⁷

Other aspects of the public sphere as conceived by Habermas have been questioned. First, in the English context, Harold Love argues that there is no clear historical evidence of Habermas’s public sphere in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Love points out that coffeehouses, societies, and clubs, were places where like-minded people met. Therefore, there was no space for discussion between divergent groups of people, thereby relinquishing the fundamental aspect that constitutes the public sphere. Although Love agrees that the ritual of the paying and receiving visits was a ‘social concomitant to the

⁹⁴ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, 24.

⁹⁵ Timothy C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture*, 14. James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 10.

⁹⁶ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 18–19.

⁹⁷ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 19.

public sphere',⁹⁸ he points out that its participants were mainly the gentry and pseudo-gentry. This criticism leads to the second aspect of Habermas's theory that has been widely questioned: the bourgeois origin of the public sphere, which relates to the above-mentioned elusive nature of the middle class. Although Habermas's public sphere is rooted in class identity, Blanning argues that it was rather heterogeneous, with a high proportion of clergymen and nobles. In addition, this heterogeneity also applied to the political opinions of the people operating within the public sphere. Thus, Blanning highlights that the relationship between the public sphere and the state varied depending on the territory and the period.

To be sure, some of the ideas of the 'public sphere' emerged at different moments in different territories throughout the century. Nevertheless, the Enlightenment offered two elements that provided the circumstances for the new tribunal of aesthetic criticism to consolidate: firstly, the expansion of institutions of sociability, and secondly, the expansion of print. Both aspects are in fact, part of an expansion of consumer culture, as discussed earlier in this chapter, itself related to social changes such as the growing economic power of the bourgeoisie. The institutions of sociability in which criticism took shape included clubs, cafés, societies, salons and academies, as well as spaces that became publicly accessible to those who could afford them, such as theatres, concert halls or museums.⁹⁹ These cultural amenities proliferated throughout Europe as part of the commercialization of leisure resulting in the formation of entertainment districts such as the boulevards in Paris, the pleasure gardens in London's Ranelagh, the Apels Garten in Leipzig, and the Prater in Vienna.¹⁰⁰ In this context, arrangements served the growing market of amateurs wanting music

⁹⁸ Harold Love, 'How Music Created a Public', *Criticism*, 46/2 (2004), 258. The ritual of the visit is described in Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in the late-Stuart England: the Cultural World's of the Verneys, 1660–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 87.

⁹⁹ Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life', 6.

¹⁰⁰ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 2.

for conspicuous consumption, allowed music to reach the private home and paradoxically allowed a 'public' view to emerge.

1.2. Divided Audiences: the Tension between Connoisseurs and Amateurs

As already mentioned, the wider availability of print material not only affected reading practices but also made it possible for a wider public to engage with a larger amount of printed matter. The increase of printed matter gave books a lower status,¹⁰¹ and increased the importance of selecting the right reading matter and educating taste. These developments led to audiences being considered as a central factor in contemporary discourses. Furthermore, the usage of the word 'public' as in the 'audience' of a book, a concert, or an exhibition was established.¹⁰² This focus on audiences was particularly evident in the context of music, in which audiences were divided into different categories depending on their sophistication or musical knowledge. Even editions of music in the period highlighted in their titles the audience they aimed to attract.

In Germany, musical publications refer to the audience in terms of *Kenner* (connoisseurs) and *Liebhaber* (amateurs). In this regard, scholars such as Matthew Riley and Yonathan Bar-Yoshafat explore both terms in relation to the typologies of listeners as understood by eighteenth-century sources. As pointed out by Bar-Yoshafat, the meaning of term *Liebhaber* changed during the eighteenth century from referring to an amateur listener in opposition to a professional one, to gaining a narrower sense of 'the untaught and inexperienced music-lover, who stands in opposition to the skilled, knowledgeable connoisseur.'¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 92.

¹⁰² Ibid., 1.

¹⁰³ Yonathan Bar-Yoshafat, 'Kenner und Liebhaber – Yet Another Look', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 44/1 (2013), 22.

According to Johann Georg Sulzer's entry in his *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (1771–74), *Kenner* are those who are in a position to judge the inner value of the art works and appreciate their completeness.¹⁰⁴ This shows how the notion of *Kenner* developed in conjunction with a work concept that required those of unusual refinement to discern the genius behind a musical composition. Most importantly, as pointed out by Riley, in his definition of *Kenner*, Sulzer situates them between the *Künstler* (artist) and the *Liebhaber*. Each of these figures judge the musical work in a different way; thus, *Künstler*, *Kenner* and *Liebhaber* represent three different levels of perception. Whilst the artist judges the artwork according to its obedience to the rules (an aspect highlighted in music criticism from the 1770s),¹⁰⁵ the *Kenner* compares the artwork to an ideal artwork according to its nature, thus being in touch with the 'magical' qualities of the work.¹⁰⁶ The *Liebhaber* judges on the basis of feeling, without reason or reflection.¹⁰⁷ In other words, while the *Liebhaber's* response occur on the emotional level, the *Kenner* has an ideal prototype from which he measures the perfection of the artwork. As Riley puts it, 'If the

¹⁰⁴ 'Diesen Namen verdient in jeden Zweig der schönen Künste, der, welcher die Werke der Kunst nach ihrem innerlichen Werth zu beurtheilen, und die verschiedenen Grade ihrer Vollkommenheit zu schätzen im Stand ist.' Johann Georg Sulzer, 'Kenner', in *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste Dritter Theil* (Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1793), 5.

¹⁰⁵ 'Alle drey urtheilen über die Kunstwerke, aber auf sehr verschiedene Weise. Der Künstler, wenn er nicht zugleich ein Kenner ist, und er ist es nicht allemal, beurtheilt das Mechanische, das, was eigentlich der Kunst allein zugehört; er entscheidet, wie gut oder schlecht, wie glücklich oder unglücklich der Künstler dargestellt hat, was er hat darstellen wollen, und in wie fern er die Regeln der Kunst beobachtet hat.' Johann Georg Sulzer, 'Kenner', in *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste Dritter Theil*, 5–6.

¹⁰⁶ 'Der Kenner beurtheilet auch das, was ausser der Kunst ist; den Geschmack des Künstlers in der Wahl der Sachen; seine Beurtheilungskraft in Ansehung des Werths der Dinge; sein ganzes Genie in Absicht auf die Erfindung; er vergleicht das Werk, so wie es ist, mit dem, was es seiner Natur nach seyn sollte, um zu bestimmen, wie nahe es der Vollkommenheit liegt; er entdeket das Gute und das Schlechte an demselben, und weiß überall die Gründe seines Urtheils anzuführen.' *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰⁷ 'Der Liebhaber beurtheilt das Werk blos nach den unüberlegten Eindrücken, die es auf ihn macht; er überläßt sich zuerst dem, was er dabey empfindet, und denn lobt er das, was ihm gefallen, und tadelt, was ihm mißfallen hat, ohne weitere Gründe davon anzuführen. Man ist ein Liebhaber, wenn man ein lebhaftes Gefühl für die Gegenstände hat, die die Kunst bearbeitet; ein Kenner, wenn zu diesem Gefühl ein durch lange Uebung und Erfahrung gereinigter Geschmack, und Einsicht in die Natur und das Wesen der Kunst hinzukommt; aber ein Künstler wird man allein durch Uebung in der Kunst.' *Ibid.*, 5–6.

Liebhaber “judges” art according to feeling, however, the artist judges merely according to whether certain rules have been obeyed.’¹⁰⁸ By contrast, as Bar-Yoshafat puts it, the *Kenner* ‘is aware of the “ideal-types” (*Urbild*) underlying the nature of music: while listening, he compares the ideal he has learned to identify with its implementation (or lack thereof) within a particular piece.’¹⁰⁹ These differences may also be due to the nuances between Sulzer’s and Forkel’s concept of *Liebhaber* (highlighted in Chapter 5).

In his *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802), Heinrich Christoph Koch provides a more practical definition of *Liebhaber*. Koch identifies the term as referring to two different kinds of person:

Often people call with this word not only persons who do not occupy themselves with the practice of music, but possess so much sensitivity for it that it is a pleasure and comfortable subsistence of the spirit, but also those who practise music as a side occupation for their pleasure and not as an employment for their subsistence.¹¹⁰

On the one hand, *Liebhaber* are non-professionals that are sensible and obtain pleasure with music but with no knowledge of the art. On the other hand, moving closer to Sulzer’s notion of *Kenner*, the *Liebhaber* or *Dilettante* are those who possess an intuitive or self-taught fine artistic feeling that allows them to distinguish the beautiful in an artwork. As he puts it:

¹⁰⁸ Matthew Riley, ‘Johann Nikolaus Forkel on the Listening Practices of “Kenner” and “Liebhaber”’, *Music & Letters*, 84/3 (2003), 418.

¹⁰⁹ Yonathan Bar-Yoshafat, ‘Kenner und Liebhaber’, 22.

¹¹⁰ ‘Oft bezeichnet man mit diesem Worte nicht allein diejenigen Personen, die sich nicht mit der Ausübung der Tonkunst beschäftigen, aber so viel Empfänglichkeit für dieselbe besitzen, daß sie ihnen zum Vergnügen und zu einer angenehmen Unterhaltung des Geistes gereicht, sondern auch diejenigen, welche die Musik als eine Nebenbeschäftigung zu ihrem Vergnügen, und nicht als Erwerbsmittel zu ihrem Unterhalte, ausüben.’ Heinrich Christoph Koch, ‘Liebhaber’ in *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann dem Jüngern, 1802), 900–901.

This last type of *Liebhaber* is preferably and particularly named with the Italian word *Diletante*, to distinguish them from the first [type of *Liebhaber*], who possesses no real knowledge of the art but has a natural disposition, or as a consequence of their self-education, such a fine artistic feeling that they can feel the beautiful of the products of art in their execution.¹¹¹

In addition, Koch clarifies that this first definition of *Liebhaber* is the one that is usually contrasted against the *Kenner*,¹¹² because in comparison to the latter, the *Liebhaber* ignore the reason why the artwork is beautiful.

These are particularly those, to whom people refer to when opposing *Kenner* and *Liebhaber*, because they can feel and be moved by the beautiful of art without really knowing why it is beautiful or without knowing specific aesthetic or mechanical means, through which it is expressed.¹¹³

Beyond aesthetic considerations, sources such as reviews published in journals give more detailed descriptions on the practices of *Liebhaber*.

¹¹¹ 'Diese letzte klasse der Liebhaber bezeichnet man lieber und bestimmter mit dem italiänischen Worte Diletanten, um sie von der ersten zu unterscheiden, die eigentlich gar keine Kenntnisse der Kunst, wohl aber, es sey nun natürliche Anlage, oder es sey Folge ihrer Selbstbildung, ein so feines Gefühl besitzen, daß sie das Schöne der Produkte der Kunst bey ihrer Ausführung empfinden können.' Heinrich Christoph Koch, 'Liebhaber' in *Musikalisches Lexikon*, 901.

¹¹² H. C. Koch defines a *Kenner* as follows: 'Kenner nennet man diejenigen Personen, die das Schöne oder Schlechte in den Produkten der Kunst nicht allein richtig empfinden, sondern auch die besondern Ursachen angeben können, warum dieses oder jenes in denselben schön oder schlecht seyn. Man setzt die Kenner oft den Liebhabern der Kunst entgegen, weil die letztern zwar die Wirkung des Schönen oder Schlechten empfinden, aber keine Kenntnisse von den Ursachen desselben haben.' Heinrich Christoph Koch, 'Kenner' in *Musikalisches Lexikon*, 828.

¹¹³ 'Diese insbesondere sind es, von denen man spricht, wenn man Kenner und Liebhaber einander entgegen setzt, weil sie das Schöne der Kunst empfinden und dadurch gerührt werden, ohne eigentlich zu wissen, warum es schön ist, oder ohne sie besondern, sowhol ästhetischen, als mechanischen Mittel zu kennen, wodurch es hervorgebracht wird.' Heinrich Christoph Koch, 'Liebhaber' in *Musikalisches Lexikon*, 901.

As Johann Gottlieb Portmann described it in 1792, *Liebhaber* return home after the premiere of the opera and discuss at mealtimes their favoured passages:

The famous composer [C. D. von Dittersdorf] aimed his work in comic operas to the large public, which is used to bring to the dinner table right after the first evening, a couple of passages of the opera, and give their judgement, and to amuse themselves a little while with it. [C. D. von Dittersdorf] does not really compose [comic operas] for the *Kenner*.¹¹⁴

Among other details, he describes *Liebhaber* as those who voice their opinion on what they have heard (and perhaps what they could play via arrangements).

Other commentators such as Ernst Ludwig Gerber, composer and former pupil of J. S. Bach, included music publishers, critics, and theorists within the category of amateur. Thus, Gerber seems to relate to the Italian sense of dilettante as included by Koch, that is, individuals who did not make their living from music. In *Gedanken über das Studium der Geschichte der Musik in Deutschland*, he states:

Fortunately, among the lovers (*Liebhaber*) and venerators of music are to be found from time to time men of broad cultivation who take precious pains to concern themselves with matters that have been neglected by the professionals. Who can fail to mention in this connection the names of Mizler, Ebeling, Eschenburg,

¹¹⁴ 'Der berühmte Komponist [C. D. von Dittersdorf] richtet sich in komischen Opern bloß nach dem zahlreichern Publikum, welches gewohnt ist, gleich den ersten Abend aus der neuen Oper ein paar Passagen mit zum Abendtisch zu bringen, sein Urtheil darüber zu fällen und sich ein Weilchen damit zu belustigen. Für die Kenner schreibt er sie eigentlich nicht.' Johann Gottlieb Portmann, 'Dittersdorff, für das Clavier eingerichtet von Hrn. Ignaz Walter', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 109/1 (1792), 139.

Schubart, Rellstab, von Eschstruth, and Cramer? And who were those to whom we owe the greatest debt as specialized music historians, a Mattheson, Marpurg, or Hiller, or most recently the worthy Abbot Gerbert of St. Blaise— did they not all function as amateurs in their work?¹¹⁵

As has been shown, late eighteenth-century definitions of *Liebhaber* raise various aspects for consideration. Firstly, some commentators characterize *Liebhaber* for their ability to perceive the beauty of music but without being able to reflect on it. Secondly, most commentators relate the *Liebhaber* to different levels of musical education. As stated by Koch, there seem to be different types among the *Liebhaber*. While some *Liebhaber* may not have any musical education, other will have extensive knowledge of music. The distinction from *Kenner* or *Künstler* then lies in the extent to which music is their main source of income. In conclusion, the understanding of musical amateurs did vary depending on the purpose of the text in which the word was used, and the stance of the commentator. To be sure, as shown in Gerber's quotation, some arrangers may have been considered *Liebhaber*, with the ambivalence that this status may imply.

Although in England there was less theoretical debate about the types of listeners, the tastes of English audiences were also discussed. Similarly to Portmann's quotation above, a central concern was the

¹¹⁵ 'Zum Glücke fanden sich unter den Liebhabern und Verehrern der Musik hin und wieder Männer von ausgebreiteter Gelehrsamkeit, welche durch ihre schätzbaren Bemühungen dasjenige zu ersetzen suchten, was bisher in diesem Fache gefehlet hatte. Wem fallen hier nicht die Namen eines Mizler, Ebeling, Eschenburg, Schubart, Rellstab, von Eschstruth und Cramer bei? Und wer waren selbst diejenigen, denen wir das mehrste in dem Fache der Geschichte, sogar vollständige Werke, zu danken haben, ein Mattheson, Marpurg, Hiller, und neureichst, der um die Musikgeschichte so sehr verdiente und verehrungswürdige gefürstete Abt. Gerbert zu St. Blas? Arbeiteten sie nicht alle als Liebhaber an ihren Werken?' Ernst Ludwig Gerber, 'Gedanken über das Studium der Geschichte der Musik in Deutschland', *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* (Speier: Expedition dieser Zeitung, 1789), 188. Quoted in Vincent Duckles, 'Johann Adam Hiller's "Critical Prospectus for a Music Library"', in H.C. Robbins Landon and Roger E. Chapman (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), 178.

audiences the composer targeted. In this regard, the lawyer and gentleman John Marsh (1752–1828) addressed the issue (possibly putting forward an underlying division among audiences):

Perhaps the proper test of excellence in this art should not be, that it affords pleasure to professors and connoisseurs only, but to the greatest number of amateurs indiscriminately taken.¹¹⁶

According to Simon McVeigh, London audience members included various degrees of refinement, from musicians to cultivated amateurs who guided the broad musical public.¹¹⁷ As argued by McVeigh, the latter ‘less refined’ audiences included people of different social classes, and outnumbered the rest.¹¹⁸ To be sure, this distribution of population influenced the musical market and also the concerns about the decline of musical taste. As will be seen in Chapter 2, the discourse around arrangements offers a more detailed insight into the nature of amateur audiences and their relation to commerce and popularity in the music trade.

1.3. Keyboard Arrangements from the 16th to the early 18th Centuries

The practice of arrangement as considered in this thesis concerns the period between 1770 and 1810, when arrangements were widely disseminated among amateurs as a way to play tunes mainly in domestic settings. However, the practice of arranging and adapting preexisting material is one that has been constant through music history, and this historical background to late eighteenth-century

¹¹⁶ John Marsh, ‘A Comparison Between the Ancient and Modern Styles of Music’ (1796), in Charles L. Cudworth ‘An Essay by John Marsh’, *Music & Letters*, 36 (1955), 161. Quoted in Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century London from Mozart to Haydn*, 224.

¹¹⁷ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 224.

¹¹⁸ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 224–225.

practices must be briefly considered. Books such as *Musikalische Metamorphosen*, edited by Silke Leopold, precisely highlight this continuity: techniques ranging from parody and cantus firmus composition to variations, paraphrases, reductions and orchestrations, were used in both sacred and secular works across music history.¹¹⁹ As Theodor Göllner puts it, ‘from the Middle Ages to the time of Bach’s death, the history of music is full of adaptations and arrangements in the form or *contrafacta*, parodies, intabulations and the like’.¹²⁰

In many contexts, arrangements were used for pedagogical purposes by professional musicians: to learn certain compositional techniques, or to learn performing skills such as accompaniment. As Göllner points out, the practice of intabulation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was followed by the typical organist who ‘strove to reach the level of an acknowledged artist by first adapting already existent pieces of vocal ensemble music, then imitating them and finally developing his own independent keyboard style on the basis of what he had learned from the masters of vocal polyphony.’¹²¹ German tablature books could notate all parts of a vocal work or reduce it to the harmonic or contrapuntal essentials. Some of these tablature books were printed (such as Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach, *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulatur*, Leipzig 1571, and Johannes Rühling, *Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument*, Leipzig 1583), others were manuscript collections made by organists to contain an institutional or personal repertory. Furthermore, Cleveland Johnson argues that tablatures were ideal for cantors or directors because ‘the score-like arrangement of each individual voice provided, at one glance, all the information necessary for rehearsal or performance purposes.’¹²² Thus, he asserts that conductors used tablatures including all voices, but also most probably

¹¹⁹ Silke Leopold (ed.), *Musikalische Metamorphosen: Formen und Geschichte der Bearbeitung* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992).

¹²⁰ Theodor Göllner, ‘J. S. Bach and the Tradition of Keyboard Transcriptions’, in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), 253.

¹²¹ Theodor Göllner, ‘J. S. Bach and the Tradition of Keyboard Transcriptions’, 254.

¹²² Cleveland Johnson, *Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures 1550–1650* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 126.

used copies of the organist's continuo part as an alternative. As pointed out by Johnson, Michael Praetorius explained that the continuo part saved the organists the hassle of arranging.¹²³ Furthermore, as argued by Gregory Johnston, tablatures were used not just for solo keyboard performance of vocal music but also to accompany it, because a contrapuntally accurate accompaniment was seen as preferable to a vertically oriented realization of a figured bass.¹²⁴ These two ways of keyboard accompaniment through a polyphonic arrangement or by improvisation above a figured bass, persisted in the seventeenth century, with intabulations of contrapuntal genres such as canzonas and motets.¹²⁵ Rebecca Herissone has argued that the organ books of Anglican church music in the decades after 1660, containing skeleton scores of anthems, need to be likewise interpreted as contrapuntal outlines to be followed by the keyboard accompanist.¹²⁶

According to Sandra Mangsen, in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England arrangements were central to keyboard amateurs. In addition to keyboard pieces arranged from dances, songs and ballads by composers such as William Byrd, John Bull or Orlando Gibbons, arrangements were part of teaching and personal manuscripts and printed in collections such as Playford's *Musick's Hand-maid* (1663, 1678 and 1689).¹²⁷ The rise of public musical culture in 1690s London encouraged keyboard arrangements of theatre tunes. Mangsen states that the first keyboard collection of arrangements of a single opera was

¹²³ Ibid., 129–30. 'Die Tabulatur aller Parteyen ist zwar vor dieser zeit erfunden worden, dass man sie solte recht schlagen, wie sie abgesetzt stünde, vnd war gar wol gethan, vnd wer sie recht verstehet, vnd ex tempore daraus wol schlagen kan, der folge ihr auff's beste er immer kan. Aber dieweil es gar ein schwehr ding ist, vnd auch langweilig, dieselbe recht secur zuschlagen, vnd die Menschen so sie erfunden vnd gelehret waren, zuvor gestorben, oder auff's weniste gar alt ist, so wer es von nöthen, nach dem das Alter mangelt, sich der mühe auch zu überheben. Darmit man aber in einem Concert ohne solche weitläuffigkeit vnd difficultet alsobald zugleich mit einschlagen könnte, so ward der Bassus Continuus, welcher den eine schöne Consonanti am vnd Harmoniam machet, erfunden.' Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum, III* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), 129 [149].

¹²⁴ Gregory Johnston, 'Polyphonic keyboard accompaniment in Early Baroque: An alternative to Basso continuo', *Early Music*, 26/1 (1998), 51–64.

¹²⁵ Theodor Göllner, 'J. S. Bach and the Tradition of Keyboard Transcriptions', 255–56.

¹²⁶ Rebecca Herissone, *'To fill, to forbear, or adorne': The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006).

¹²⁷ Sandra Mangsen, *Songs without Words*, 12–20 and 189.

Giovanni Bononcini's *Camilla* published by John Walsh in 1706, shortly after its premiere at Drury Lane.¹²⁸ Following Playford, John Walsh published anthologies of keyboard music containing works by several composers, in which original compositions were 'far outweighed by arrangements'.¹²⁹ Thus, publications of this time include keyboard overtures of four arrangements of Purcell operas, and music collections for amateurs such as *The Harpsichord Master*, *The Ladys Banquet* and *The Ladys Entertainment* (all of them started by Walsh in 1708). The latter publication was issued in four books, of which the first two (published in instalments) included a mixture of original music and arrangements of arias, as well as French overtures (2nd book). The other two books (published in 1709 and 1711) were arranged by William Babell (ca. 1690–1723) and included arrangements of songs of recently performed operas as well as Italian overtures (4th book).¹³⁰ Around 1715 another of Babell's collections was published, including arrangements of Handel's *Rinaldo* in his *Suits of Harpsicord and Spinnet Lessons, Collected from The Most Celebrated Master Works*, providing insight into performance practice by notating differently the rhythmic notation of both Handel's editions and the French overture.¹³¹ In addition to Babell, Walsh also published collections of Handel's overtures arranged for the keyboard between 1726 to 1758.¹³² It is revealing that almost all of his overtures were arranged for the keyboard and were reprinted; hence, as Terence Best argues, they may have sold well.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 65. Giovanni Bononcini, *A Collection of the Song Tunes and Ariets in the Opera of Camilla Contriv'd and Fitted to the Harpsicord or Spinnet by Mr. Ramondon* (London: John Walsh, 1706).

¹²⁹ Ibid., 60. Mangsen explains that single-authored anthologies such as Purcell's posthumous *A Choice Collection* (1696–99) and William Babell *Suits* (1717) included mainly arrangements.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 69–92. Also Graham Pont, 'Handel's Overtures for Harpsichord or Organ: An Unrecognized Genre', *Early Music*, 11/3 (1983), 313.

¹³¹ Ibid., 313–14.

¹³² *XXIV Overtures fitted to the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1730), *Handel's Sixty Overtures from all his Operas and Oratorios Set for the Harpsicord or Organ* (c. 1755) and *Handel's Overtures from all his Operas and Oratorios Set for the Harpsicord or Organ* (1760). Listed in Terence Best, 'Handel's overtures for Keyboard', *Musical Times*, 126, (1985), 88.

In France, in the last decades of the seventeenth century keyboard arrangements of Lully's orchestral music, such as dances and most importantly French overtures, started to be published. The first known volume of operatic transcriptions, *Pièces de clavecin*, was published by Jean-Henri D'Anglebert in 1689, and includes original compositions and arrangements of Lully's stage works.¹³³ Graham Pont highlights that D'Anglebert's keyboard overtures 'are not mere transcriptions: they are creative reworkings for a different medium and milieu, and reveal a mature, idiomatic technique that reflects an evidently well-established custom of performing Lully's music on the harpsichord.'¹³⁴ Moreover, Pont points out that since D'Anglebert and Lully, the keyboard overture was a distinct genre that generally consisted of transcriptions of orchestral music but sometimes, in the case of French overtures, consisted of music specifically composed for the keyboard.¹³⁵ In contrast to monarchical France, the vogue for keyboard overtures in England continued beyond the first half of the eighteenth century, possibly reflecting the growing consumer culture and sense of a public sphere as outlined in the previous section of this chapter, and offering an opportunity to bring operatic and orchestral music to the domestic space. Although the uses and purposes of keyboard arrangements did change during the eighteenth century, aspects of how arrangements were conceptualized can be traced back to earlier forms of transcription and arrangement. As will be argued in Chapter 2, arrangements continued to be crucial to the commercial side of the music trade, but also served didactic purposes for professional and amateur musicians.

1.4. Methodology and Synopsis

To understand the complex practices associated with keyboard

¹³³ David Chung, 'Keyboard Arrangements and the Development of the Overture in French Harpsichord Music, 1670–1730', *Early Keyboard Journal*, 19 (2001), 33–67.

¹³⁴ Graham Pont, 'Handel's Overtures for Harpsichord or Organ', 311.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 311–312.

arrangements in the decades 1770 to 1810, this dissertation draws on a range of methodologies. Earlier sections of this chapter have already indicated relevant approaches from economic history and the history of consumption. In addition I draw upon book history, notably Roger Chartier's notion of appropriation, that is, the view that the meanings of a cultural artefact are not fixed by the original author, but liable to be adapted by editors, publishers, printers, readers, among others. As Roger Chartier points out, 'each structure for the transmission of the written word profoundly affects its possible uses and interpretations'.¹³⁶ In other words, the physical format and paratexts (material such as the preface or title-page that is used as a frame and accompanies the main text) have significance for its reception, use, circulation and reading practices. Chartier notes how the changing formats through which a text circulated change the meanings given to it by readers. For example, Chartier highlights the role played in seventeenth-century France by the *Bibliothèque bleue* (cheap books printed in large quantities and sold by pedlars) that, thanks to their new printed form and wide dissemination, were received by very different audiences and developed different meanings from the original ones. Thus, Chartier's notion of appropriation enables us to consider the activities of editors, publishers, readers and arrangers as creative acts of transformation. I will apply the notion of appropriation to the activities of arrangers (considered in Chapters 2 and 5), showing how their work modified the original meanings of compositions. In addition I consider the activities of publishers (Chapter 3) and readers / owners (Chapter 4) in creating new meanings for the musical arrangements they published or purchased. Although arrangements offer a complex example of the shifting identity of a musical work (that is, how much can the musical work be changed before it can be considered a different work), particularly in terms of the changes of instrumentation, they are also the musical texts in which the idea of the musical work is conveyed,

¹³⁶ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 21.

and create a galaxy of connections spreading away from the original work.

Another important method for this thesis is Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the cultural field. Writing about literary culture in nineteenth-century France, Bourdieu considers that literary and artistic works need to be understood in their system of social relations. He argues that

the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production but also the symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of belief in the value of the work.¹³⁷

Thus, similarly to Chartier, Bourdieu acknowledges the role played by mediators (critics, publishers etc.) as producers of meaning. Furthermore, Bourdieu develops a diagram of the literary field where he takes under consideration all the elements that he considers central for the analysis of works of art. Bourdieu considers the position of the literary or artistic field in a dominated position within the field of power and in a dominant position within the field of class relations. If the field of power is legitimized by the possession of economic or political power, the literary or artistic field would be in a dominated position because, although it has a high degree of symbolic forms of capital (for example cultural capital), it has a low degree of economic capital. More specifically, Bourdieu considers the literary field as defined by opposing principles of hierarchization, which are the heteronomous and autonomous principles, that is, the ability to refuse to be subject to forms of symbolic capital: whilst the heteronomous principle is subject to external factors, the autonomous principle is subject to specific and internal factors. The cultural practices between

¹³⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), 37.

the principles (or poles) of hierarchization are also located according to three principles of legitimacy: the legitimacy granted by the producers themselves, the legitimacy granted by bourgeois taste, and the legitimacy granted by the popular ordinary consumer (see Figure 1.1).¹³⁸

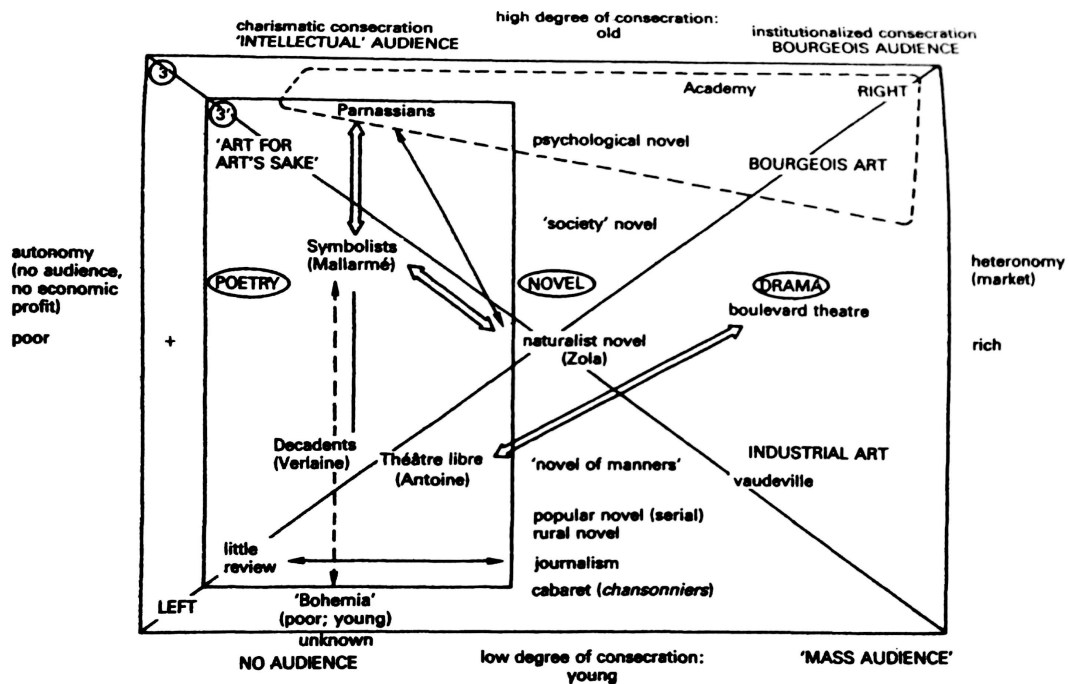


Figure 2 French literary field in the second half of the 19th century; + = positive pole, implying a dominant position, - = negative pole, implying a dominated position

Figure 1.1: Bourdieu's French literary field in the second half of the nineteenth century¹³⁹

Bourdieu's example of the French literary field is an attempt to explain the relationship between canon and commerce in nineteenth-century literature; a relationship that is also important for the present topic. If we were to consider some of these aspects in the context of late eighteenth-century arrangements, some changes and simplification would be pertinent. In this period, most music production was still effectively considered a craft and a means to create a profit. To be sure, forms of patronage in the period coexisted with commercially oriented

¹³⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 37–51.

¹³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 49.

businesses (particularly in England). Audiences in the late eighteenth century would be varied and, although a 'mass audience' was not present, a sort of 'bourgeois audience' may have been present. Nevertheless, as will be argued in Chapter 2, prestige (often associated with a sense of a musical canon) and commerciality were oppositional forces in the discourse of arrangements. Considering these aspects, Figure 1.2 shows a suggestion of the position of the different musical genres in relation to their intellectual prestige and their commercial success in the context of late eighteenth-century England. In this context, arrangements (whose effect is showed in red in Figure 1.2) are able to increase the popularity and commerciality of certain music and expand the genres which can be performed in the domestic setting. This diagram is relevant to Chapter 2, which examines how the discourse on arrangements was shaped by the opposing forces of commercial profit versus a sense of musical canon. I will also return to this diagram in Chapter 6 when I will explain how the arrangements of certain Haydn compositions may have changed their position relative to intellectual prestige and the level of commercial interest (for instance, when a movement from a string quartet was reworked as a vocal ballad).

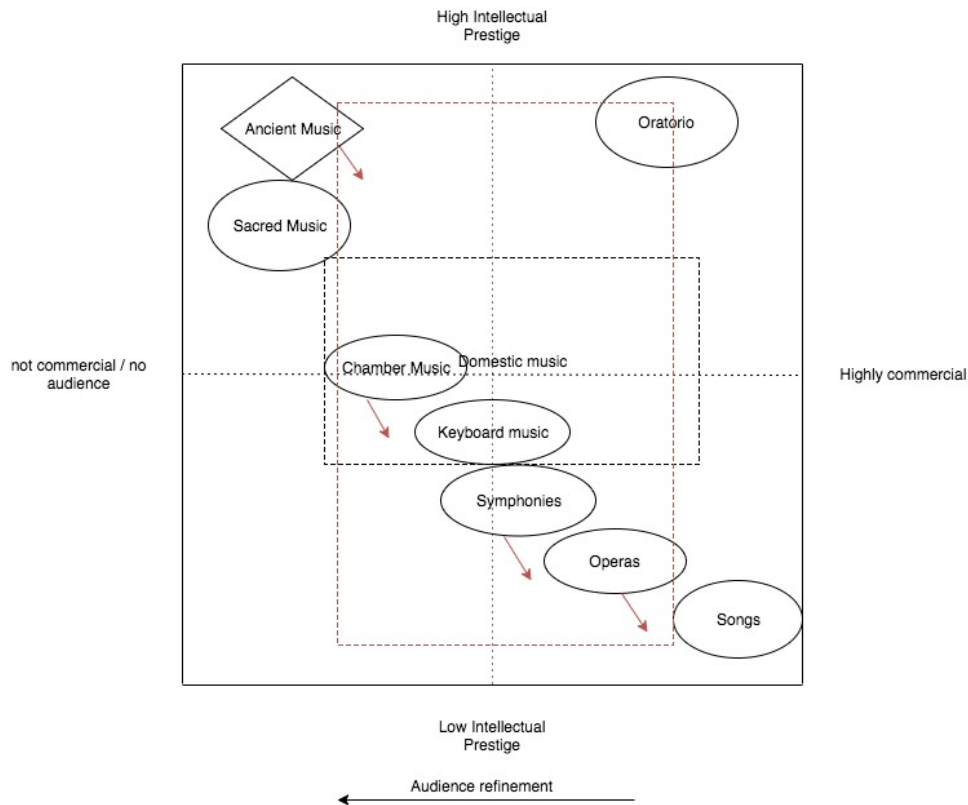


Figure 1.2: In red, the changes that arrangements may have occasioned in the balance between high and low intellectual prestige.

In such a context, the refinement of the audience would increase inversely to the commerciality of the music. Although simplistic, Figure 1.2 graphically summarizes some of the main elements of the thesis and may be used as reference in the following chapters. It should be noted that the relative positions of musical genre would change according to the particular decade and geographical location. Furthermore, the position of some genres may be different depending on the focus of the enquiry: for example, although sacred music was of limited interest for publishers of this time, other methods of dissemination and performance may have made this music particularly prevalent. In addition, more detailed numbers of musical publications (and music performances) could potentially give a more objective perspective on the relative position of genres and thus, to the effect that arrangements may have had upon them.

The last relevant concept for the present thesis is that of musical canon. According to Jim Samson’s entry in *Grove Music Online*, canon is

'a term used to describe a list of composers or works assigned value and greatness by consensus' and that 'tends to promote the autonomy character, rather than the commodity character, of musical works.'¹⁴⁰ In eighteenth-century Europe, a canon of musical works arguably became established by the new bourgeois class aided by taste-making institutions such as journals and publishing houses. William Weber specifies that the canon that arose in late eighteenth-century England is the 'performing' canon, in opposition to the 'scholarly' canon and the 'pedagogical' canon.¹⁴¹ The pedagogical canon, that is, the part of the musical canon that is linked to the teaching of music and involves the emulation of works of previous composers, will be considered in relation to arrangements in Chapter 2, particularly the activities of Johann Adam Hiller. As argued by Weber, this pedagogical canon interacts with the performing canon, that is, the repertory 'defined as sources of authority with regard to musical taste' and thus in relation to the public rendition of selected works.¹⁴² These notions of canon will be present throughout the present thesis, particularly in relation to publishers and composers in Chapters 3, 4 and 6, in which Haydn will be shown to have had a special status among composers. The specific emergence of a performing canon of earlier composers such as Handel and Purcell will also be discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

This introductory chapter has shown some of the possibilities of the study of arrangements. As already argued, this study has been overlooked because of the lack of scholarly interest until recently, not only through the publication of books and articles, but also publications of eighteenth-century arrangements. One of the challenges of the study of arrangements relates to the open-ended potential meanings of the term. Therefore, the second chapter will deal with the discourse

¹⁴⁰ Jim Samson, 'Canon (iii)', in *Grove Music Online*, available at <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 22 February 2017.

¹⁴¹ William Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 339–340.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 340.

concerning arrangements as found in both German and English sources. It examines the historical dimension of arrangements by exploring the definitions given in late-eighteenth century German sources, including dictionaries such as H. C. Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon*, prefaces to arrangements such as those by J. A. Hiller, and reviews of arrangements, such as those by J. F. Agricola and D. G. Türk. In these sources, arrangements are appraised according to a mix of criteria including an emerging sense of *Werktreue* (with consequent emphasis on the composer as an authorial figure), a pragmatic concern for dissemination, and ideals of musical education. Regarding England, the chapter considers prefaces to editions that highlight similar perspectives on arrangements: the difficulties of reconciling the practicality of arrangements with the composer's intentions, popularity and prestige.

Chapter 3 looks at the commercial motives underpinning the growth in arrangements. It focuses on instrument manufacture, and publishing and marketing strategies, to provide an insight into the production and sale of arrangements in England. For this purpose it relies on primary sources such as catalogues, press advertisements, and printed music sources. Furthermore, it considers financial and legal issues regarding arrangements particularly in relation to the establishment of copyright laws.

Chapter 4 will use Chartier's idea of appropriation to allow an understanding of the role of performers and 'readers' as creators of musical meanings. Thus, it will consider the purpose of arrangements in the context of domestic music-making. Arrangements of symphonic and operatic music offered the possibility of disseminating music easily and transporting it from the public to the domestic space. In a period of rise of the public sphere, a focus on the domestic space draws attention to purchasers or 'readers' as active agents in the transformation and appropriation of music. Focusing on England, this chapter will explore the extent to which these purposes were achieved by examining personal diaries and extant musical sources, such as the diaries of the

Burney family members, Jane Austen's music manuscripts and surviving sheet music in English country houses. The chapter will show the centrality of taste and gender in the domestic use of arrangements.

Chapter 5 provides closer scrutiny of the technique of arrangement by analysing different arrangements of the same pieces. As shown in Chapter 2, late eighteenth-century discourse on arrangements considered not only their suitability for certain audiences, but also assessed the craft of arrangement in terms of compositional technique. Thus, the chapter will consider three case-studies in which a detailed discourse developed around different arrangements of the same pieces: firstly, J. N. Forkel's critique of keyboard arrangements of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*; secondly, Haydn's corrections of A. E. Müller's keyboard arrangement of *Die Jahreszeiten* (in addition to S. Neukomm's own keyboard arrangement); and thirdly, C. F. Abel's critique of the arrangements of his Overtures op. 1 published by J. Longman. These examples raise many issues about the competing demands of *Werktreue* versus idiomatic writing for the keyboard.

Finally, Chapter 6 will focus on arrangements of Haydn's music, which was extensively adapted in late eighteenth-century Europe. The chapter will document the dissemination and reception of Haydn's music and show the possibilities of comparing the different ways in which his music was adapted and appropriated in English and Germanic territories. The chapter will also explore the ways in which publishing conventions and copyright agreements shaped the practice of arranging Haydn's music. The chapter will provide a case study of vocal and instrumental arrangements of Haydn symphony No. 53. By focusing on keyboard and chamber arrangements of symphonic music, this chapter will explore the relationship between popularity, economic success, prestige and canon.

Chapter 2 : 'Arrangement' as a Category in 18th-century Musical Discourse: Work, Canon and Commerce

As in many other contexts, the study of the origin and use of a word or concept provides information about the discourse around it. Because of its nature, the term 'arrangement' has a multiplicity of meanings and nuances and refers to different degrees of appropriation and adaptation. Therefore, it seems pertinent to discuss the concepts as well as the discourse on arrangements in the period under consideration. To that end, this chapter will investigate the eighteenth-century discourse concerning arrangements as found mainly in three types of sources: contemporaneous dictionaries, music criticism, and the prefaces of musical publications. Since music criticism was much more developed in German-speaking territories, the discussion will be mainly confined to German sources (with the exception of some English sources at end of the chapter); close analysis of these writings will elucidate the different viewpoints on arrangements and its purposes, as well as the social context in which arrangements were used.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, late eighteenth-century Europe experienced a remarkable increase in the number of newspapers and journals that responded to the Enlightened ideals of the propagation of knowledge. As part of their educational mission, periodicals and journals included reviews of books, fostering in this way an interest in a variety of texts and novelties. Thus, journals did not only offer an overview of recent publications but also contributed to the formation of the public's taste.¹ In English newspapers, notices of new books appeared around 1646, developing into book reviews by the 1690s, and becoming an integral part of journals such as the *Monthly Review* by

¹ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 93. Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 20.

1745.² In Germany, the development of book reviews coincided with the emergence of learned journals. As pointed out by Margot Lindemann and Herbert Rowland, these journals offered a substitute to the still rare public and private libraries.³ The first learned journals emerged in the late seventeenth century (*Acta Eruditorum*) and proliferated in cities such as Leipzig and Halle. In 1765, Christoph Friedrich Nicolai founded in Berlin the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (1765–1794), one of the most important organs for review, which featured contributions from prominent figures of all disciplines of the German Enlightenment, an endeavour that has been paralleled with that of the French *Encyclopédie*.⁴

In German-speaking lands, reviews of sheet music and musical events were found in a wide variety of publications and played an important role in contemporary aesthetic thinking. However, as Mary Sue Morrow argues, only three types of periodicals featured music reviews consistently: (1) music magazines, including single-author publications such as Johann Mattheson's *Critica Musica* (1722–1725) or Johann Nicolaus Forkel's *Musicalisch-kritische Bibliothek* (1778–1779), as well as collective endeavours such as Johann Adam Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten*, (2) scholarly review journals, which despite their high scholarly level, addressed a wide range of topics for a broad audience, such as the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (1765–1794) and the *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* (1715–1784); and (3) political newspapers, which included reviews on literature or music in an occasional column devoted to scholarly matters, such as those published in the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (1724–) or the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung* (1770–1778).⁵ Although there was no

² James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 93.

³ Herbert Rowland, 'The Physiognomist Physiognomized' in Herbert Rowland, Karl J. Fink (eds.), *The Eighteenth Century German Book Review* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994), 17. Margot Lindemann, *Geschichte der deutschen Presse bis 1815* (Berlin, Colloquium Verlag, 1966), 188.

⁴ Klaus L. Berghahn, 'From Classicist to Classical Literary Criticism, 1730–1806', in Peter Uwe Hohendahl (ed.), *A History of German Literary Criticism, 1730–1980* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 68.

⁵ Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 22–29.

equivalent in England to this developed sphere of periodicals discussing music, some of the concerns expressed in German journals can be found in prefaces to music editions printed in London.

Because of their novelty, arrangements were the subject of reviews in German-speaking lands within the first two categories of periodicals, and therefore in journals not specifically devoted to music. These reviews used arrangements as an opportunity to discuss general questions of the style and composition of the original piece. Most of them included remarks on the arrangement itself and a few contained an extensive analysis of the arrangement. The value attributed to arrangements varied widely among the reviewers. In some cases, reviewers started by clarifying the impossibility of assessing the value of a piece from an arrangement (although they certainly managed to do so, and sometimes quite pointedly). Beyond these considerations, arrangements tended to be criticized for their inability to produce the same effect as the original work, but praised for their value as a tool to disseminate music and educate public taste. As will be shown, in a time when the musical work concept and a sense of canon were developing, arrangements were subject to a range of views that reflected the conflicted opinions on these ideals.⁶

Regarding music criticism, this chapter is mainly based on reviews of arrangements between 1760 and 1800 as published in the musical journals *Musikalisch-Kritische Bibliothek* (1778–1779) and Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (1766–1770), as well as the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (1765–1793) which represents non-musical specific journals addressed to a general readership. Laurenz Lütteken also picks them out in his systematic index of German musical criticism in the eighteenth century.⁷ Although these sources have proven to be very enlightening, an exhaustive study of all the reviews of arrangements as found in all

⁶ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 222.

⁷ Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *Die Musik in den Zeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts: eine Bibliographie, mit Datenbank auf CD-ROM* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004).

German journals of the late eighteenth century is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Interestingly, as already mentioned, some concerns that appear in the German reviews are echoed in some English sources. Thus, some prefaces of arrangements published in England have also been included in the present chapter. In addition to the reviews, this chapter will also refer to relevant sources such as dictionaries and prefaces of musical publications. All the perspectives on arrangements provided by these sources will be articulated, taking as a starting point the definition of 'Clavierauszug' included in Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon*.

Heinrich Christoph Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* published in 1802 is one of the few dictionaries that includes the term 'Clavier-Auszug' (keyboard arrangement). Koch initially defined the term as 'a reduction of the chief content of all voice-parts of a full-scored composition onto a few systems'.⁸ Most interestingly this definition explains that arrangements have manifold purposes, including their use as pedagogical and practical exercises as well as a tool for dissemination. As he puts it, the purpose of the keyboard arrangement is not only to make it practicable for an ensemble piece to be performed by one person, but

one seeks through this [procedure] mainly to disseminate artworks in an inexpensive way, to connoisseurs and music-lovers, partly for study, partly for practice among small circles, [more] than can happen through editions of the complete score.⁹

⁸ 'Wenn der Hauptinhalt aller Stimmen eines vollstimmigen Tonstückes auf wenigen Liniensystemen vorgestellt wird, so nennet man eine solche concentrirte Partitur einen Clavier-Auszug.' Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann dem Jüngern, 1802), 342.

⁹ 'Sie haben nicht sowohl zur Absicht, daß sie von Einzelnen Personen, so wie ein fürs Clavier arrangiertes Tonstück, vorgetragen werden sollen, sondern man sucht durch dieses Verfahren hauptsächlich solche Kunstwerke auf eine wohlfeilere Art unter Kenner und Liebhaber der Kunst, theils zum Studium, theils zur Privatausübung derselben unter kleinen Zirkeln, zur verbreiten, als es durch die Herausgabe der vollständigen Partitur geschehen kann.' Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, 342.

Thus Koch says that arrangements achieve a wider dissemination than other published formats. In this regard, Koch most probably highlights the very limited dissemination of full scores, which were rarely printed because of their cost, their unwieldy format and their limited market. Regarding the making of arrangements, Koch argues that particularly when arrangements are not by the same composer, they

require not only an extensive knowledge of harmony, and the most accurate study of the artwork, but also a very fine artistic feeling, in order to bring out the features of the parts of the full score, and transfer to the arrangement the [features] that are necessary to outline the composer's idea.¹⁰

Hence, the arranger needs to have a deep understanding of the composer's work, and must show creativity in order for the arrangement to realize the creative vision of the original author. Koch's definition reflects yet another significant point: a concern to respect the composer's ideal. He argues that:

it has to be accurately considered and felt, which of the subsidiary and inner parts can be omitted, and what is necessary to be included, if the composer's ideal is not to be mutilated.¹¹

¹⁰ ‚Die Verfertigung eines solchen Auszuges, besonders wenn er von dem Verfasser des Kunstwerkes nicht selbst gemacht wird, setzt nicht allein viel Kenntniß der Harmonie, und das genaueste Studium des Kunstwerkes, sondern auch ein sehr feines Kunstgefühl voraus, um aus den Stimmen der vollständigen Partitur alle die Züge heraus zu heben, und in den Auszug übertragen, die zum Umriss des Bildes des Tonsetzers nöthig sind'. Ibid., 343.

¹¹ ‚Es muß dabey auf das genaueste erwogen und gefühlt werden, was in den Neben, und Füllstimmen wegbleiben kann, und was davon nothwendig aufgefaßt werden muß, wenn das Ideal des Komponisten nicht verstümmelt werden soll'. Ibid., 343.

Koch's definition of the keyboard arrangement is interesting because he uses the term 'Kunstwerk' (artwork). Although arrangements might seem a distortion of the musical work, the use of the term 'Kunstwerk' implies a strengthening version of the work concept and of the notion of an idealised 'work' that can be perceived via various intermediary versions such as an arrangement. Thus, these notions appear to relate to the increasing emphasis on the idea of the work rather than its notated form, also present in Hoffmann's quotation in relation to *Werktreue* (mentioned in Chapter 1 p. 17).¹² At the end of the entry, however, Koch clarifies that he does not pretend to advocate an equal value for arrangements and the full score. As he puts it:

It would take too long to value properly this procedure, namely to describe an artwork in an arrangement (a practice that no doubt has to thank its existence to merely financial reasons); hence, we may still remark only, that for the connoisseurs, such an artwork can assert itself only in its perfect form, that is, in the complete score.¹³

Despite the German hypotaxis, this justification highlights some interesting points. First, in order to avoid declaring whether or not arrangements are artworks, he concludes that, for the connoisseurs, the artwork is only to be found in the complete score. Second, the wording of the last part of the definition suggests that 'artworks' are organic beings in themselves, in short that 'artworks' assert themselves in different forms. In this regard, Koch seems to emphasize more the idealised work, and less the music as the creation of composers, arrangers or performers. Third, the last sentence shows a reluctance to put undue value on arrangements. This could be due to an awareness

¹² Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 1.

¹³ 'Es würde hier zu weitläufig seyn, dieses Verfahren, nemlich ein Kunstwerk im Auszuge darzustellen, (eine Gewohnheit, die ohne Zweifel ihr Daseyn bloßen Finanzoperationen zu verdanken hat,) gehörig zu würdigen; daher nur für jetzt die Bemerkung, daß sich für den Kenner ein solches Kunstwerk nur in seiner Vollendung; das heißt, in seiner vollständigen Partitur, behaupten kann.' Ibid., 343.

that he was balancing the competing demands of commercial/educational functions on one hand, and the ideal of a musical work on the other hand. In addition, he also emphasizes that arrangements are commercial tools and that precisely the 'financial reasons' are the feature that makes them unsuitable to be considered an 'artwork'.

In this definition, Koch summarized many of the aspects involved in the concept of arrangement. First, he acknowledges the 'artistic' abilities required to arrange, highlighting in this way the pedagogical benefit of the process of arranging for the arranger. Secondly, by comparing arranging to publishing, Koch refers to the ability of arrangements to disseminate musical works. Thirdly, he refers with apparent disdain to the commercial purpose of arrangements, pointing out the different needs of amateurs and connoisseurs when using printed music. Finally, Koch highlights the creativity implied in an arrangement and the role played by the arranger. These four points summarize themes that recur throughout the critics' reviews of arrangements as well as prefaces of collections of arrangements, and will be used as a starting point to approach the discourse surrounding arrangements. This chapter starts by focusing on the role of keyboard arrangements in the education of taste, particularly building awareness of canonized composers such as Handel. It will then analyze the discourse surrounding the commercial purposes of arrangements in opposition to the emerging notion of *Werktreue*. Then, the chapter will consider the value assigned to arrangements in relation to the effect of their performance, and discussion of the technical ways to achieve a good arrangement. Finally the chapter will examine some of the central elements of this discourse present in the prefaces of English keyboard arrangements.

2.1. Educating the *Liebhaber*: Musical Taste and the Classics.

The growth of literary criticism from the 1760s onwards, epitomized by C. F. Nicolai's *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, can be linked to ideas of the public sphere. As argued in Chapter 1, and as stated by Nicolai, the development of literary criticism within book reviews provided a sort of public space or forum for open literary discussion.¹⁴ Yet reviews promoted another Enlightened ideal: the desire to educate and establish regular criteria for taste and judgment. As Richard Fischer explains, through his journals Friedrich Nicolai 'sought to equip an educated (but fractionalized) readership with critical standards, and to inculcate habits of reason and fairness that had hitherto been applied rather wantonly in the exercise of critical authority.'¹⁵ The ideal not only encouraged the popularization of knowledge but also the dissemination of critical assessments that fostered an enlightened aesthetic thinking. Of particular interest to Nicolai was to offer critiques of the 'mediocre trash which many people still think has merit'.¹⁶ However, as argued by Klaus L. Berghahn, the history of the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* itself highlights the tensions of this ideal. Although Nicolai attempted to reach a broad readership 'through a popular and popularizing criticism', the rapid increase of publications forced him to report only on half of the books produced every year. By the 1770s the ideal of a public sphere proved impossible: 'criticism was already limping hopelessly behind a market oriented toward rapid turnover; the Enlightenment idea of a homogeneous literary public that could be guided by criticism proved a fiction.'¹⁷ Many of these same tensions can be observed within specialist music criticism, in particular the attempt to educate *Liebhaber* versus the unstoppable commercialism of the music trade.

¹⁴ James Van der Laan, 'Nicolai's Concept of the Review Journal' in Herbert Rowland, Karl J. Fink (eds.), *The Eighteenth Century German Book Review* (Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994), 97.

¹⁵ Richard Fisher, 'Introduction: Concept Formation In The German Review Journal' in Herbert Rowland, Karl J. Fink (eds.), *The Eighteenth Century German Book Review* (Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994), 90.

¹⁶ Nicolai to Herder, 24th December 1768. Quoted in Klaus L. Berghahn, 'From Classicist to Classical Literary Criticism, 1730–1806', 68.

¹⁷ Klaus L. Berghahn, 'From Classicist to Classical Literary Criticism, 1730–1806', 68–69.

Some of this specialist criticism was practised by Johann Friedrich Agricola, former pupil of J. S. Bach and one of the early exponents of keyboard arrangements in the German speaking territories, in his contributions to the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*.¹⁸ In his 1775 review of Reichardt's *Vermischte Musikalien*, Agricola, made a general statement on taste, responding to the author's preface:

Without understanding music as neither a dry object of reason, nor as an empty object of joke, one [the composer] should yet also well discern the taste of the listener, by linking the pleasant and agreeable with the fundamental. Never can all listeners have the same taste. Never can they be satisfied in the same way. However, the wish to amuse the true connoisseur with only highly wrought, artful, obscure things is as wrong as to succumb too much to the public's taste, when it remains stuck for years, to the more than too often low, boring and irregular music, in certain provinces and countries, in pieces which it should not have achieved prominence.¹⁹

In the review, Agricola seemed to refer to the notion of *prodesse et delectare*, used by Cicero to legitimize fiction and certain types of art. This notion was subsequently repeated by seventeenth- and

¹⁸ The reviews' authorship used in this chapter are those provided in Gudula Schütz, *Vor dem Richterstuhl der Kritik: Die Musik in Friedrich Nicolais Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek 1765–1806* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007).

¹⁹ 'Ohne die Musik weder zu einem blos trockenem Gegenstande des Verstandes, noch zu einem leeren Gegenstande des Witzes zu machen, sollte man doch auch, bey Verbindung des Angenehmen und Gefälligen mit dem Gründlichen, den Geschmack der Zuhörer wohl unterscheiden. Niemals können alle Zuhörer einerley Geschmack haben. Niemals können sie also auch alle auf einerley Art befriediger werden. Aber so unbillig es ist, nur mit gearbeiteten, künstlichen, finstern Sachen die eigentlichen Kenner vergnügen zu wollen, so unbillig ist es auch wieder, dem Geschmacke des Publikums, wenn es etwann einmal gewisse Jahre an der mehr als zu oft niedrigen und platten, oft unregelmäßigen Musik die zeither in gewissen Provinzen und Ländern, in Stücken wo sie nicht sollte geherrschet haben, kleben geblieben ist, allzuviel nachgeben; [...]' Johann Friedrich Agricola, 'Vermischte Musikalien von Joh Friedr. Reichardt. Riga, bey Joh. Fr. Hartknoch, 1773', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 23/2 (1775), 524.

eighteenth-century writers as a justification for art, and also was a central ideal to the Enlightenment and the endeavour of the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. Agricola believed that music should amuse and also provide instruction in the fundamentals, an aesthetic notion that art should delight and also teach its audience. As shown, Agricola was mainly concerned with the differences between connoisseurs and the 'public' or amateur taste. Given that in other reviews Agricola tends to judge music against contrapuntal rules,²⁰ it is certainly interesting that he would allow a dialogue between rule-bound 'fundamentals' and taste. As it will be argued later on, this general concern explains some of the reasons why arrangements gave rise to controversial opinions.

These concerns in aesthetic and musical education were central to the career of Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804), Leipzig musician and publisher. As publisher and editor of the musical journal *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (1767–1770), Hiller aimed to assist music listeners to develop taste.²¹ Particularly with the growth of music publishing after the Seven Years War, his magazine was a counterpart to Breitkopf's growing activities as a music publisher. Apart from music criticism, Hiller was involved in various musical activities such as composition and arrangement, performance, music publishing and music education, and his texts provide an interesting insight into the value of arrangements. In most of his arrangements, generally published in the decades after the *Wöchentliche Nachrichten*, he included a short preface justifying the arrangement and the changes it presented, and explaining how it should be used. Hiller's arrangements divide into three categories: firstly arrangements of both his own and other composer's *Singspiele*, secondly arrangements (or parodies) of choral music, and thirdly collections of aria arrangements. Under the first category, Hiller arranged his own *Singspiele* (e. g. *Lisuart und Dariolette*, *Die Jagd*; *Politis*, *oder Das gerettete Troya*; *Die Aerndtekrantz*) and also Georg Benda's *Der*

²⁰ Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 49 and 52.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

Dorffahrmarkt (1776), and André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry's *Zémire et Azor* (1783). These arrangements were usually published as a keyboard-vocal score, probably reflecting the publishing reality that this was the only viable form of publication for large-scale choral or theatrical works. In this case, the arrangements sometimes included the text, and sometimes one or more staves were used for the voices. Under the second category, Hiller arranged choral music by composers such as those listed below in addition to his *Kantate auf die Ankunft einer hohen Landesherrschaft*, his first published arrangement (1765). The arrangements of choral music were published as a keyboard score (with text), or for choir on two staves plus keyboard. In addition, he arranged (or rather expanded) Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* as an orchestral score with four voices. Under the third category, Hiller arranged operatic arias and published them in the form of collections.

Table 2.1: Johann Adam Hiller's published arrangements and parodies of sacred choral and operatic works of other composers.

<p>G. B. Pergolesi: <i>Stabat mater</i> keyboard with German translation (1774), 4 voices and instruments with German translation (1776)</p>	<p><i>Johann Baptist Pergolesi: Stabat mater, oder Passions-Cantate, mit der deutschen Parodie des Herrn Klopstocks, in einem Clavierauszuge. Zum Besten der neuen Armenschule zu Friedrichstadt bey Dreßden.</i> RISM A/I P 1373</p>
<p>G. F. Handel: <i>Utrecht Te Deum</i> with Latin translation (1780)</p>	<p><i>Johann Baptist Pergolese vollständige Passionsmusik zum Stabat mater, mit der Klopstockischen Parodie; in der Harmonie verbessert, mit Oboen und Flöten verstärkt, und auf vier Singstimmen gebracht von Johann Adam Hiller.</i> There is no RISM A/1 number, but there is RISM ID no.: 650014774 (RISM online).</p>
<p>J. Haydn: <i>Passionsmusik des Stabat mater</i> keyboard (1781)</p>	<p><i>Georg Friedrich Händels Te Deum laudamus, zur Utrechter Friedensfeyer ehemals in Engländischer Sprache componirt, und nun mit dem bekannten lateinischen Texte herausgegeben von Johann Adam Hiller.</i> RISM A/I H 1204.</p> <p><i>Des Herrn Joseph Haydn Passionsmusik des Stabat Mater, mit einer deutschen Parodie, in einem Klaviermäßigen Auszuge herausgegeben von Johann Adam Hiller.</i> RISM A/IH 4630.</p>
<p>J. A. Hasse: <i>Die Pilgrimme auf</i></p>	<p><i>Die Pilgrimme auf Golgatha. Passionsoratorium, mit der</i></p>

<i>Golgatha</i> keyboard (1784)	<i>deutschen Übersetzung in einen Clavierauszug gebracht von Johann Adam Hiller. RISM A/I H 2237.</i>
C. F. Graun: <i>Der Tod Jesu</i> keyboard (1785)	<i>Herrn Carl Heinrich Grauns [...] Passions-Cantate: Der Tod Jesu, in einem Clavierauszuge herausgegeben von Johann Adam Hiller. RISM A/I G 3554.</i>
[F. L. Gassmann, J. A. Hasse, Maio, G. Sarti, J. A. Hiller, J. C. Bach, A. Prati, P. Anfossi]: <i>Deutsche Arien und Duetten von verschiedenen Komponisten</i> keyboard (1785)	<i>Deutsche Arien und Duette von verschiedenen Componisten, in Concerten und am Claviere zu singen, herausgegeben von J. A. Hiller. RISM B/II, 152.</i>
G. F. Handel: <i>Auszug der vorzüglichsten Arien und Duetten und Chöre aus Händels Messiah</i> keyboard (1789)	<i>Auszug der vorzüglichsten Arien, Duette und Chöre aus Georg Friedrich Händels Messiah und Judas Maccabäus, in clavirmässiger Form, von Johann Adam Hiller. RISM A/I H 644.</i>
[J. A. Hasse]: <i>Meisterstücke des Italienischen Gesanges</i> with German translation (1791)	<i>Meisterstücke des italiänischen Gesanges, in Arien, Duetten und Chören, mit deutschen geistlichen Texten [...] in Partitur, herausgegeben von Johann Adam Hiller. RISM A/1 H 2273.</i>
W. A. Mozart: <i>Requiem</i> with German translation (1791)	<i>W. A. Mozarts Seelenmesse mit untergelegtem Deutschem Texte. Im Verlage der Breitkopf & Härtelschen Musikhandlung in Leipzig. There is no RISM A/I number but a possible RISM ID no.: 452521536 (RISM online)</i>
W. A. Mozart: <i> Davide Penitente</i> with German translation (1791)	<i>Cantata Daviddes Penitente, con l'Orchestra composta da W. A. Mozart. Parte I. [sic] Partitura. Osterkantate mit einer Parodie von Joh. A. Hiller. RISM A/I M 4147.</i>

As can be seen from his arrangements, parodies, and publications, Hiller promoted through his selection a canonization of composers and works. On the one hand, he selected contemporary stage works, and on the other hand, he selected choral works by earlier composers. Hiller's arrangements and editions of choral works highlight the significance of composers such as Pergolesi and Handel in the shift of sacred choral music away from liturgy and worship and towards the concert hall. In a time when sacred vocal music was becoming an aesthetic category rather than an adornment of the liturgy (and was starting to be performed in institutions outside the church) it became important for musicians and music-lovers to understand and

appreciate earlier composers of choral works.²² In other words, it became important to perform canonized composers whose music aroused feelings of sublimity, rather than music by local cantors that fitted local occasions.

In the introduction to his keyboard-vocal arrangement of Haydn's *Stabat Mater* (1781), Hiller advocated the promotion of works that in his opinion deserved acclaim from larger audiences. Hiller claimed that 'this abundance of new compositions is indeed an indication that the public's love for music is stronger than it was in earlier times'.²³ Although he saw this as a positive indication, he also highlighted the difficulty faced by the amateur in developing 'good taste'. As he put it,

Music-lovers, at least most of them, are not always able to judge properly the quality or the lack of quality [of the published pieces]. The mere novelty has appeal for [music-lovers], and they are content merely when they

²² Stephen Rose, 'Lutheran Church Music' in Simon P. Keefe, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Hiller's selection did not respond to everyone's taste. For instance, Hiller arranged Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* because he considered the piece worth preserving. However, in a review of an arrangement with German text of Pergolesi's *Salve Regina*, Türk clearly states that to preserve the honor of Pergolesi the piece should not have been published. 'Dem bekannten Stabat mater eben dieses Verfassers in jeder Rücksicht so ähnlich, wie ein Ey dem andern, so daß man fast alles schon gehört zu haben glaubt. Uebrigend ist Pergolesi's edle Simplizität, aber dabey zu große Einförmigkeit und fehlervolle Setzart schon bekannt. Durch den sehr magern Klavierauszug hat das Stück och verlohren, weil dadurch die Fehler in der Harmonie desto fühlbarer werden, wie Seite 8. T. 1. Die deutsche Parodie mag, als Poesie für sich betrachtet, gut seyn: nur paßt sie, sowohl in Absicht der Declamation, als des Charakters, nicht überall zur Musik. [...] Nach unserer Meynung hätte Hr. O. zu Pergolesi's Ehre, dieses Salve regina nicht öffentlich bekannt machen sollen'. DANIEL GOTLOB Türk 'Johann Baptist Pergolesi's Salve regina im Klavierauszuge mit deutscher Parodie von C. A. Overdeck, zum Besten des Armeninstituts der Stadt Lübeck herausgegeben. Lübeck, im Comission bey Donatius. 1785' *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 79/1 (1788), 430.

²³ 'Bey der Menge großer und kleinerer musikalischer Werke, die jetzt so häufig zum Vorschein kommen, muß man allerdings eines gewissen Nachtheils wegen, der Musik dadurch erwachsen kann, in Sorgen seyn. Auf einer Seite ist dieser Ueberfluß an neuen Musikalien zwar ein Beweis, der jetzt starker gewordenen Liebe zur Musik, als sie vor einiger Zeit noch war; allein der Geschmack des Liebhabers ist dabey auch sehr in Gefahr, eine falsche Richtung, und niemals einige Festigkeit zu bekommen.' Johann Adam Hiller, *Des Herrn Joseph Haydn Passionsmusik des Stabat Mater, mit einer deutschen Parodie, in einem Klaviermäßigen Auszuge herausgegeben von Johann Adam Hiller* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1781), n. p. RISM A/I H 4630.

get a new musical work for their money. They can rarely insightfully tell if it is good, average or bad. At best, in this or that piece, the name of the composer helps them to have a clue; but also then their judgement will always only rely on their one-sided and insufficiently educated taste.²⁴

Echoing Nicolai's aforementioned concern of people reading 'mediocre trash', Hiller argued that music-lovers had no education regarding taste. He maintained that this ignorance prevented them from assessing the value of music, highlighting his stance on a debate on whether music should be judged purely from the composer's name or for the intrinsic qualities of the composition. Hiller complained not only that music-lovers were satisfied with novelty, but also that they were ignorant of religious music, which showed the rising secularization of society.²⁵ As Hiller pointed out:

There is so much [music] printed and engraved on copper for the private music-lover, and so little for the public use of music, particularly sacred and church music. And even when a few good oratorios come out, they make a little house (*sehr kleines Häuslein ausmachen*) against the swarm of symphonies, quartets, trios, sonatas, and song collections; and many other good works whose quality is already decided stay unknown to the world, and find

²⁴ 'Die Liebhaber, wenigstens ein großer Theil derselben, sind nicht immer im Stande von ihrem Werth oder Unwerth richtig zu urtheilen; die bloße Neuheit hat Reiz für sie, und dann sind sie zufrieden, wenn sie für ihr Geld nur ein neues Notenwerk erhalten haben. Ob es gut, mittelmäßig oder schlecht ist, wissen sie selten mit Einsicht zu sagen; allenfalls hilft ihnen, bey einem oder dem andern Werke, der Name des Verfassers auf die Spur; und auch dann werden ihre Urtheile sich immer nur auf ihren einseitigen und noch nicht gnugsam gebildeten Geschmack beziehen [...]'. Ibid., n. p.

²⁵ Stephen Rose, 'Lutheran Church Music', 127–167.

themselves only in the hands of those music-lovers who prefer to own the good instead of the new.²⁶

As shown by his own publications and arrangements, Hiller had a comprehensive publishing programme encompassing recent composers and also those of earlier periods such as Handel and Pergolesi, highlighting the 'good' instead of the 'new'. He continued his claim by arguing that 'I am keen to seek some notable works, and through our versions, give them more usefulness, and in that form make them well-known to the public.'²⁷ In this way, Hiller justified the changes introduced in the process of arranging or 'improving' of the pieces.

Hiller published two arrangements of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, a keyboard version (1774) and an 'improved' full score version (1776) (see Table 2.1). While the keyboard arrangement did not include many changes in the music, the full score arrangement did. Hiller's 'improved' arrangement added two voices to the original scoring for soprano and alto, and also added wind instruments (flutes and oboes); for a text, he used the German translation of the *Stabat Mater* by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803). As Magda Marx-Weber points out, the multiple changes in the melodic lines and cadenzas are not due to the change of text, but as Hiller argues, to update the work to suit contemporary taste.²⁸ These kinds of changes were widespread in the late eighteenth century as shown by Mozart's arrangement of Handel's *Messiah* (1789),

²⁶ 'So viel nun auch für die Privat-Liebhaberen gedruckt und in Kupfer gestochen wird, so wenig geschieht gleichwohl für den öffentlichen Gebrauch der Musik, besonders der geistlichen oder Kirchenmusik. Und wenn auch einige gute Oratorien bisher zum Vorschein gekommen sind, so machen sie doch gegen den Schwarm von Simonien, Quartetten, Trii, Sonaten und Liedersammlungen, noch ein sehr kleines Häuslein aus; und viel andere gute Werke, deren Werth entscheiden ist, bleiben immer noch der Welt unbekannt, und finden sich nur in den Händen derjenigen Liebhaber, die mehr das Gute als das Neue zu besitzen wünschen.' Johann Adam Hiller, *Des Herrn Joseph Haydn Passionsmusik des Stabat Mater*, n. p.

²⁷ 'Ich habe mir es daher angele[g]en seyn lassen, einige nahmhafte Werke aufzusuchen; ihnen, nach unsern Verfassungen, mehr Brauchbarkeit zu geben, und sie, in dieser Gestalt, öffentlich bekannt zu machen.' *Ibid.*, n. p.

²⁸ Magda Marx-Weber, 'Parodie als Beispiel dichterischer Anpassung an Musik: Klopstocks deutscher Text zu Pergolesis *Stabat Mater*', in Bush Gudrun and Antony Harper (eds.), *Studium zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 279.

which includes wind instruments (such as clarinets, flutes, oboes, bassoons, and horns) and a German translation of the text.

To achieve his goal of updating Pergolesi, Hiller explained that

the most that I did, concerns the middle voices: reinforcing the harmony and sometimes a different distribution of the same [voices]. If I have now and then given to the first soprano voice the tenor or the second [soprano voice] to the bass, it has been only a swapping around, and in those phrases where it seemed appropriate. Those phrases have improved most in both four-voice settings. I have used the wind instruments as an adornment, rather than wanting to misuse them.²⁹

This quotation shows the role, even the duty, of the arranger in updating works from the past, exposing the use of arrangements as tools for canonization. Additional information about this introduction is provided in another edition of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* reviewed in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1834. Although the review contains exact quotations of Hiller's publication, it also presents information that is not found in the consulted print,³⁰ and may have been added in later editions of the arrangement. In this excerpt, Hiller states that 'the hard work of our good composers is certainly to be praised. But if we completely forget the previous goodness; if we spare the small trouble of giving it the shape that it ought to have in our understanding, then we act unfairly.'³¹ This claim reinforces Hiller's perspective on

²⁹ 'Das meiste, was ich gethan habe, geht die Mittelstimmen an. Verstärkung der Harmonie, bisweilen eine andere Vertheilung derselben. Daß ich die erste Sopranstimme hin und wieder dem Tenore, so wie die zweyte dem Basse gegeben habe, ist zur Abwechselung, und bey den solchen Sätzen geschehen, die sich dazu zu schicken schienen. Das meiste mögen wohl die beyden vierstimmigen Sätze gewonnen haben. Die blasenden Instrumente habe ich zur Verschönerung brauchen, aber nicht mißbrauchen wollen.' Johann Adam Hiller, *Johann Baptist Pergolese vollständige Passionsmusik zum Stabat mater*, n. p.

³⁰ British Library, shelfmark Hirsch IV.891.

³¹ 'Der Fleiss unserer braven Componisten ist allerdings zu loben. Wenn wir aber alles vorhergegangene Gute darüber ganz vergessen; wenn wir die kleine Mühe scheuen,

arrangements by stating that arrangements are indispensable to recover the music of the past and learn from canonized composers, ideas that resonate with those of Gottfried van Swieten, a central figure in the Austrian education.³²

In the preface of his *Meisterstücke des Italiänischen Gesanges* however, Hiller expressed different opinions on arrangements. Published in 1791, the *Meisterstücke* were not keyboard arrangements, but they included violins, viola, voice and bass (in this order in the score), and occasionally adding wind instruments such as flutes, oboes or horns. In the preface Hiller suggests techniques for reading different clefs and reducing up to five voices to the keyboard, and argues that in this way it is simple to reduce complex textures for keyboard performance. He proceeds by stating that although he arranged music for the keyboard, he preferred to publish full scores, and that both amateurs and professionals should prefer full scores to keyboard arrangements:

If every dilettante and musician does not eventually prefer vocal scores (*Singepartituren*) to the lean and confused keyboard arrangement, it could only be attributed to a lack of thirst of knowledge and true love to the matter.

He continues by giving some of the reasons why he published keyboard arrangements as opposed to a full score:

I know well that I am myself the author of keyboard arrangements, and that to avoid making them too confusing, I preferred to make them as lean as possible; but that was at a time when music studies in Germany

ihm diejenige Gestalt zu geben, die es nach unseren Verfassungen haben soll, so handeln wir ungerecht.' *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 36/1 (January 1934), 6.

³² Wiebke Thormählen, 'Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna', *The Journal of Musicology*, 27/3 (2010), 342–376.

were still very sluggish and sparingly run. I was looking to encourage it and I succeeded. Now we do not want to remain at the first level; as music is said to progress so powerfully, we should progress also in this piece and start finally to read the full score.³³

Thus, according to this preface, Hiller published arrangements because of the lack of knowledge among his readers. In this particular preface he therefore encouraged amateurs finally to acquire the skills to read the score and to play from it at the keyboard.³⁴ He continued by emphasizing the superiority of this practice as compared to playing arrangements.

Who would want to ride a hobbyhorse when he could command a steed? Who would, when invited to a feast at a banquet table prefer to eat gruel and potatoes in the kitchen?³⁵

Thus in this case Hiller advocated the publication of full scores in their original form, and also their reduction for keyboard in performance .

³³ 'Es würde nur Mangel an Wißbegierde und an wahrer Liebe zur Sache verraten, wenn jedem Dilettanten und Musiker Singepartituren künftig nicht lieber sein sollten, als magere und verworrenen Klavier-Auszüge. Ich weiß wohl, daß ich selbst der Urheber der Clavierauszüge bin, und daß ich, um sie nicht verworrener zu machen, sie lieber so mager als möglich gemacht habe; aber das war zu einer Zeit, wo das Musikstudium in Deutschland noch sehr sparsam und schläfrig betrieben ward. Ich suchte es zu ermuntern, und es ist mir gelungen. Nun aber sollten wir aber doch nicht auf der ersten Stufe stehen bleiben; sollten, da (wie man sagt) die Musik so mächtig fortschreitet, doch auch in diesem Stücke fortschreiten und uns endlich einmal bis zum Partiturlesen erheben.' Johann Adam Hiller, *Meisterstücke des Italiänischen Gesanges*, (Leipzig: Johann F. Junius, 1791), n. p.; RISM A/1 H 2273, British Library shelfmark F.200.a.

³⁴ In the following paragraph Hiller specifies that if the amateurs learn to read the score, it allows them to multiply the pleasure because they are able to play the keyboard ('auf dem Clavier vortragen') whilst thinking of the musical elements they cannot retain on the keyboard.

³⁵ 'Wer wird noch auf Stecken reiten, wenn er ein Pferd regieren Kann? Wer wird, wenn er an eine volle Tafel geladen ist, sich lieber in der Küche an Hirsebrei und Kartoffeln sattessen wollen?'. Quoted in Thomas Christensen, 'Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera', in Kate van Orden (ed.) *Music and the Cultures of Print*, (New York: Garland Press, 2000), 83. (His translation).

Beyond the education of taste of the amateur, arrangements had another pedagogical purpose (already shown in Chapter 1 in relation to keyboard tablatures in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries): they helped professional composers to develop particular skills and acquaint themselves with other composers' music. This particular function is shown in Hiller's preface of his arrangement of Grétry's *Zémire et Azor*.³⁶ Hiller stated that arrangements were useful to composers, to study other composers' work. As he put it, by arranging *Zémire et Azor* he had the possibility 'to accurately examine the composition of Grétry more deeply than through listening or even by diligently looking at the score.'³⁷ Similarly to the above-mentioned Handel arrangements, the resulting vocal arrangement is published both in two and three staves (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2). The use of C clefs for the right hand, rather than G clefs, suggests this source was aimed more at professionals, or was intended to encourage amateurs to learn how to read music in more challenging combinations of clefs.



Figure 2.1: Hiller's arrangement of *Zémire et Azor*. Voice and keyboard in two staves (page 27). RISM A/I G 4499.

³⁶ Johann Adam Hiller, *Des Herrn Gretri Zemire und Azor eine comische Operette in vier Aufzuegen mit einer deutschen Uebersetzung in einem Clavier-Auszuge* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1783). RISM A/I G 4499.

³⁷'Zemire und Azor war fast auf allen deutschen Theatern gespielt worden, und hatte auch allen gefallen; von dieser Operette wünschte man vornehmlich einen Clavierauszug, und wandte sich an den Verleger des gegenwärtigen; diese wandte sich an mich, um ihm einen solchen Auszug zu machen, und ich willigte um so viel lieber in diese Arbeit, da ich dadurch Gelegenheit bekam, den Gretrischen Satz genauer zu untersuchen, als es bey einer vorübergehenden Anhörung, oder flüchtigen Durchsicht der Partitur geschehen kann.' Johann Adam Hiller, *Des Herrn Gretri Zemire und Azor*, n. p.

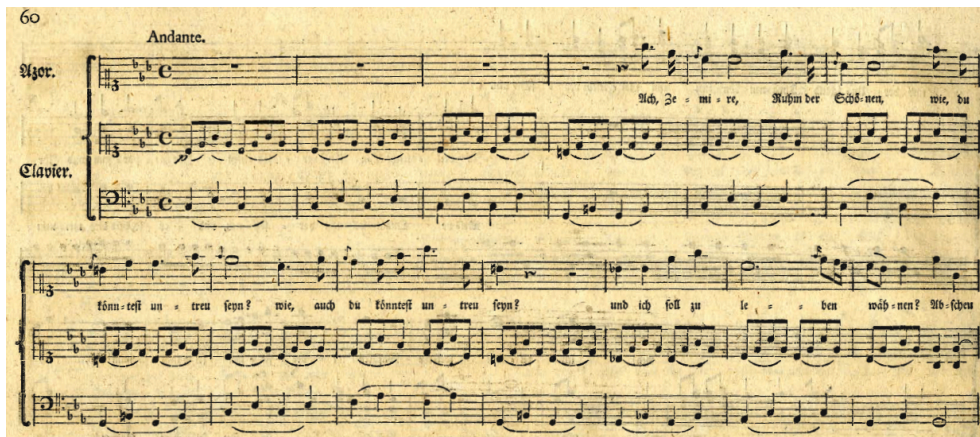


Figure 2.2: Hiller arrangement of *Zémire et Azor*. Voice and keyboard in three staves (page 60). RISM A/I G 4499.

In addition to Hiller's prefaces, music criticism in the periodical press provides further information on the educational purposes of arranging. Although reviewers did not always highlight the purpose of an arrangement as mainly pedagogical, they often point out its suitability for music education. For instance, in a review of Hiller's arrangement of Hasse's *Die Pilgrimmer auf Golgatha* and Grauns' *Der Tod Jesu*, the reviewer points to different aspects of the arrangements that are useful in different ways for amateurs and for aspiring professionals: on the one hand the reviewer highlights the choice of G clef as helpful for amateurs and on the other hand he highlights the use of figured bass to the keyboard part of the arrangement, in order for the possibly aspiring professional musician to practice accompaniment.³⁸

Other commentators such as Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750–1813), former pupil of Hiller and music director at Halle University, highlighted similar aspects in reviews of arrangements. In a 1791 review of Pleyel's chamber music arranged by Johann André, Türk stated that the pieces 'will be without doubt very welcomed by music

³⁸ 'Alle einzelne Singstimmen stehen in diesem [Hasse] Auszuge, zur Bequemlichkeit der Dilettanten, im Discantzeichen. In den Graunischen Tod Jesu aber stehen nur die Arien im Discantschlüssel; in den Recitativen hingegen sind der Tenor- und Bassschlüssel beybehalten, und des Clavierspielers wegen, die Ziffern über den Bass gesetzt worden, um ihm Gelegenheit zu geben, sich im Accompagniren des Generalbasses zu üben. Eben dasselbe ist auch bey den Chorälen und Chören geschehen.' Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, 'Passionsoratorium: Die Pilgrimme auf Golgatha von Herrn Hasse [...]' *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 72/1 (1787), 168–169. Similar comments on the use of figured bass can be found in the above-mentioned Johann Friedrich Agricola, 'Vorbericht' in *Musikalisches Magazin*.

students because they are for the most part light and pleasing'³⁹ and added that 'since there are still not too many easy *Handstücke*, the use of the present collection in the class can be recommended to all music students.'⁴⁰ Later on in the review, Türk even insisted on the usefulness of including a violin part in the arrangement:

Besides, we very much approve that the editor still added a violin part, because by playing with another instrument the student gains more confidence in keeping in time, gets used to play in ensemble, and attains a better performance if the teacher plays well the violin.⁴¹

This fragment highlights a use of arrangements in the context of performance and in the practice of accompaniment. Thus, it shows that in addition to the formation of taste and the canonization of the repertory, arrangements played a role in the development of practical musical skills.

The quotations in this section have shown some examples of how commentators regarded arrangements as serving to educate Enlightened taste and help amateurs navigate through the 'swarm' of printed material in the context of music. Similarly to Nicolai and other critics of popular reading tastes and low literary standards,⁴² some commentators such as Hiller were also concerned about the popular musical tastes and their need of guidance. Music critics considered arrangements as valuable not only in educating the taste of amateur

³⁹ 'werden den Musiklernenden ohne Zweifel sehr willkommen seyn, denn sie sind größtentheils ganz leicht und dabey sehr gefällig.' Daniel Gottlob Türk, 'Petits Airs et Rondos pour le clavecin ou Piano-Forte[...]', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 105/1 (1791), 118.

⁴⁰ 'Uebrigens können wir die vor uns liegende Sammlung, welche der Herausgeber in sechs Sonatinen abgeteilt hat, allen Musiklehrern zum Gebrauch bey dem Unterrichten bestens empfehlen, da wir der wirklich leichten Handstücke noch nicht zu viele haben.' *Ibid.*, 118–119.

⁴¹ 'Wir billigen es übrigens sehr, daß der Herausgeber noch eine besondere Violinstimme beygefügt hat; denn durch den Mitspielen einen andern Instrumentes bekommt der Lernende desto mehr Sicherheit im Takte, er gewöhnte sich daran, zusammenhängend zu spielen, und erwirbt sich einen bessern Vortrag, wenn anders der Lehrer der Violine gut spielt.' *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴² James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 113.

audiences, but in promoting knowledge of earlier repertoires such as Handel's choral works; educating professional musicians; and also developing the practical skills of music amateurs.

2.2. The Conflict between Commerce and *Werktreue*

Koch's definition of *Klavierauszug* makes a special emphasis on the commercial purposes of arrangements. Although it is only added in parentheses, Koch claims, arranging is 'a practice that no doubt has to thank its existence to merely financial reasons'. Thus, in Koch's view it seems clear that the purpose of arrangements is 'merely' commercial, and in opposition to any artistic purpose. As it will be shown, the commercial aspect of arrangements was intertwined with the rapid growth in the trade in printed music and the growing amateur audiences that were intended to buy such printed products. These audiences not only influenced the format of arrangements but also the choice of music that was subject to arrangement. As shown in the context of the literary sphere, this emphasis on the audience (and their abilities and taste) could conflict with Enlightenment ideals, and in the case of music, could conflict with the notion of *Werktreue*. Thus, the commercial aspect of arrangements was criticized by some late eighteenth-century commentators. Nevertheless, other commentators (and arrangers themselves) seemed to be appreciative of the task, thus highlighting the contemporary ambivalence between the value of art and that of craftsmanship.

In addition to arranging as a way of disseminating music, arranging was a response to the wide popularity of a particular work. This is the case of the above-mentioned arrangement of Grétry's *Zémire et Azor*. As Hiller put it in the preface, the operetta

was performed almost in all German theatres, and has pleased everyone; a keyboard arrangement of this operetta was widely desired, and this desire directed

itself on the publisher of the present [publication], who turned to me to do such an arrangement, and I consented with pleasure to this task, because I had the possibility in this way, to examine accurately the composition of Grétry more deeply than through listening or even by diligently looking at the score.⁴³

Furthermore, this also highlights the different ways in which arrangements were commissioned, contrasting with cases in which arrangers themselves chose a piece and looked for publishers interested in their publication (as will be explored in Chapter 3). Another example of how commercial popularity shaped the choice of music to be arranged can be found in a 1791 review of eight arias of Martín y Soler's *Una Cosa Rara* published by Johann André:

The opera *Una cosa rara* or *Lilla* is too well-known and with justification too beloved to the popular taste, for requiring us to recommend [it to] our readers for its flowing and heartfelt arias. It was therefore easy to see from the undivided acclaim of this opera, that many arrangements of it would soon appear.⁴⁴

⁴³ 'Zemire und Azor war fast auf allen deutschen Theatern gespielt worden, und hatte auch allen gefallen; von dieser Operette wünschte man vornehmlich einen Clavierauszug, und wandte sich an den Verleger des gegenwärtigen; diese wandte sich an mich, um ihm einen solchen Auszug zu machen, und ich willigte um so viel lieber in diese Arbeit, da ich dadurch Gelegenheit bekam, den Gretrischen Satz genauer zu untersuchen, als es bey einer vorübergehenden Anhörung, oder flüchtigen Durchsicht der Partitur geschehen kann.' Johann Adam Hiller, *Des Herrn Gretri Zemire und Azor eine comische Operette in vier Aufzuegen mit einer deutschen Uebersetzung in einem Clavier-Auszuge* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1783). RISM A/I G 4499; British Library shelfmark F. 775.b.

⁴⁴ 'Die Oper *Una cosa rara* oder *Lilla* ist zu bekannt, und mit Recht zu allgemein beliebt, als daß wir nöthig hätten, sie unsern Lesern, des fließenden und so ganz aus der Seele geschriebenen Gesanges wegen, zu empfehlen. Es war daher, bey dem ungetheilten Beyfalle dieser Oper, leicht voraus zu sehen, daß bald mehrere Auszüge davon erscheinen würden.' [Anonymous], 'Huit Airs de l'Opera: *Una cosa rara*, de la composition de Mr. V. Matin, arrangés pour le Clavecin, avec Violon ad libitum [...]', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 104/1 (1791), 408.

These quotations indicate the success of this particular work in Germany (originally performed in 1786 in Vienna) as the reason for its publication as an arrangement. Given the popularity of the piece, publishers were eager to have the piece arranged for the keyboard.

Similar examples of popular works arranged by Hiller can be found in reviews of his vocal scores of his own operetta *Die Jagd*. In 1772, about one year after the premiere in Berlin (18 June 1771), an unknown reviewer (possibly Agricola) pointed out:

In Berlin, at least half of the inhabitants know the romance 'Als ich auf meiner Bleiche' (on page 49) by heart. It is sung and played in all streets, in all promenades, in all boat trips, in all parades.⁴⁵

More generally, the reviewer describes the popularity of the arias of both *Die Jagd* and *Der Aerndtekrantz* using the anti-Italian rhetoric of the period, determined to show that German music is superior to that of Italy.⁴⁶ In addition, the reviewer highlights the importance of oral dissemination even pointing out how popular tunes were picked up on different instruments:

The arias of both operettas, which are as good as any from an opera in Italy, are sung in every street here at home, or played now with this instrument, now with that instrument.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Die Romanze S. 49. [A]ls ich auf meiner Bleiche etc. weis, in Berlin wenigstens, die Hälfte der Einwohner auswendig, sie wird in allen Straßen, auf allen Spaziergängen auf allen Wasserfahrten, auf allen Paraden gesungen und gespielt.' [Johann Friedrich Agricola?], 'Die Jagd, eine comische Oper in drey Acten, [...]', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 17/1 (1772), 566.

⁴⁶ Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 48–52.

⁴⁷ 'Die Arien aus diesen beyden Operetten, werden hier bey uns so gut als die aus irgend einer Oper in Wälschland, in allen Straßen gesungen, oder bald mit diesen bald mit jenen Instrumenten gespielt'. 'Die Jagd, eine comische Oper in drey Acten, [...]', [Johann Friedrich Agricola?], 'Die Jagd, eine comische Oper in drey Acten, [...]', 565.

Such quotations show the relevance of arrangements in that their publication was an indication of the popularity of a repertory, a composer or a piece, regardless of the aesthetical and philosophical concerns about *Werktreue* raised in some German reviews.

Major concerns about the commercial aspect of arrangements can be found in a review of Rellstab's arrangement of Gluck's *Orfeo* published in 1794. After criticizing the way the arrangement is made, Türk points out the following:

It is regretful that Mr Rellstab allowed various cuts (*Abkürzungen*). Yes, even all the recitatives are left out. The editor apologizes for that in a mercantile way, with which the admirers of Gluck and his accompanied recitatives should not be satisfied. However, the displeasure of connoisseurs (*Kenner*) seems not to interest Mr R[ellstab] as long as his editorial article is sold.⁴⁸

As shown, Türk is mainly concerned about the integrity of the work, and hence complains about cuts or *Abkürzungen* which, in his opinion, cannot be justified by the commercial aim. Furthermore, he urges knowledgeable audiences not to be content with anything but the composer's intended version, emphasizing a notion of *Werktreue* and highlighting in this way the differences among audiences.

Similarly to Türk's review, other commentators highlight the audience to which the arrangement is targeted, which appears to be defined by the appearance and form of the arrangement. Thus, reviewers point out not only the level of difficulty of the piece, but the

⁴⁸ 'Zu bedauern ist es, daß sich Hr. Rellstab verschiedene Abkürzungen erlaubt hat. Ja, sogar die sämtlichen Recitative sind weggelassen worden. Der Herausgeber entschuldigt sich deswegen auf eine mercantilische Art, womit aber wohl die Verehrer Gluck's und seiner vortreflich begleiteten Recitative nicht zufrieden seyn dürften. Jedoch, das Mißvergnügen der Kenner scheint Hrn. R. eben nicht zu interessiren, wenn nur seine Verlagsartikel gekauft werden.' Daniel Gottlob Türk, 'Orphée, Tragédie en trois Actes par Moline etc. arrangée pour le Clavecin par I. C. F. Rellstab', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 116/1 (1794), 401.

format in which it is presented. This is particularly clear in Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's 1785 review of Johann Gottlieb Naumann's *Amphion*:

The edition of this opera, like the one of *Cora*, is more a reduced score than a keyboard arrangement, and therefore more useful to the connoisseur than to the mere amateur. It would be desirable that commendable works were unabashedly published in full score, and found amateurs that bought them; because the spirit (*Geist*) of the composer can only be discerned in the full score, which encompasses the whole work, and is effective in all its finest parts.⁴⁹

At this date, Schulz was clearly advocating against arrangements of works deemed to have aesthetic value because they did not preserve the completeness of the work, and consequently obscured the intellectual achievements (*Geist*) of the composer. This emphasis on the intellectual achievements of the composer exemplifies the change of focus in music reviews as observed by Mary Morrow as occurring gradually from the 1770s onwards, with critiques based less on how far a work follows the rules of composition, and instead examining works for evidence of creative genius.⁵⁰ In the review, Schulz also seemed to blame the 'mere' amateur musician, who uses and buys arrangements instead of the full score, which he complains cannot find enough buyers. However, Schulz's criticism went beyond the amateur musician. He continued by asserting that

⁴⁹ 'Die Ausgabe dieser Oper ist, wie die der Cora, mehr eine zusammengedrückte Partitur, als ein Clavierauszug, und daher mehr für Kenner, als für blosse Liebhaber brauchbar. Es wäre freylich zu wünschen, daß verdientvolle Werke in voller Partitur ungescheut hervortreten könnten und Liebhaber fänden, die sie kaufen; denn nur in der Partitur erkennt man den Geist des Componisten, der sich über das ganze Werk verbreitet, und in den feinsten Theilen desselben wirksam ist.' Abraham Peter Schulz, 'Amphion. Eine Oper von [J. G.] Naumann', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 64/1 (1785), 84.

⁵⁰ Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 101.

We would like it to be the case that, as in France, arrangements of all sorts (self-made or otherwise) appear only as much as are wanted: the connoisseur knows well what he can hold on to, and the composer appears with all his dignity before the judge's bench of criticism, and not torn and corrupted in his noblest parts, as it often must occur in the irksome keyboard arrangements of larger works.⁵¹

Beyond the interesting point about the supposed practice of arranging in France, these sentences clarify Schulz's main concern about formulating criticism from an arrangement instead of the original work. Also in this case, the reviewer puts forward the centrality of fidelity to the original work. Yet Schulz's complaint against arrangements may also relate to the practices of musical criticism rather than to the genre of arrangements itself. Later on, as will be shown below, his views seemed to change. His criticism could also have been caused by a more general discontent of composers regarding the unavailability of full scores (these concerns can be found in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 99/1 1791;⁵² and particularly in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 111/1 1792;⁵³ and *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 116/1 1794⁵⁴) and the threat of the unauthorized publication of arrangements of their music (an example of this concern is to be found in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 35/1 1778).⁵⁵

⁵¹'Möchten den daneben, wie in Frankreich, selbstgemachte, oder von andern verfertigte Auszüge allerley Art erscheinen, so viel nur wollen: der Kenner wüßte doch, woran er sich halten könnte, und der Componist erschien vor dem Richterstuhl der Kritik in seiner vollen Würde, nicht zerrissen, und an seinen edelsten Theilen zersetzt, wie es bey grossen Werken in den leidigen Clavierauszügen, so oft geschehen muß.' Abraham Peter Schulz, 'Amphion. Eine Oper von [J. G.] Naumann', 84.

⁵² Review by J. F. Agricola of J. Edeling arrangement of F. J. Bertuch's *Elfriede*. (p.125).

⁵³ Review by Daniel Gottlob Türk of J. F. Reichardt arrangement of [J. G. Naumann] *Protesilao* (p. 118).

⁵⁴ Review by Daniel Gottlob Türk of C. F. Cramer's arrangement of Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's *Aline* (p. 403–408).

⁵⁵ 'Ohne zu untersuchen, was der Herausgeber für ein Recht darzu habe, Auszüge aus Operetten herauszugeben, deren Verfasser noch leben, und die noch immer häufig

Other reviews of arrangements provided the opposite perspective, showing a willingness to compromise *Werktreue* in order to educate amateur musicians and reach a wider market. For instance, in a 1785 review of Johann Christoph Kaffka's *Musikalische Beytrag für Liebhaber des deutschen Singspiels* (containing an aria from Hasse's *Antonius und Kleopatra*, a duet from Grétry's *Der Zauberspiegel*, an aria from Joseph Schuster's *Die befreite Sclavin*, and a vocal rondo from Franz Schreker's *Der Schatzgräber*) Türk maintained that:

We would have advised the editor, to publish these two issues of 4 arias preferably as a keyboard arrangement, instead of a quasi-full score of two violins, one or two voices and bass; because for most buyers such sort of arrangement is useless, and from the perspective of the full score too incomplete. In the case of larger works, the authors may have their good reasons to choose this adaptation: but here they should have taken the amateur into consideration.⁵⁶

In contrast to Naumann's *Partitur* of *Amphion* as reviewed above by Schulz, this arrangement is targeted at an amateur audience, which is stated to form the majority of the musical market. In this case, Türk considered the arrangement to be a useless 'Quasi-Partitur' because as

verkauft und neu aufgelegt werden; und was denn auch wohl dem Publiko damit gedient seyn kann, einzelne Stücke aus Operetten, die in aller Musikliebhaber Händen sind, zu erhalten, wollen wir uns nur auf die Wahl der Stücke einlassen.' Johann Friedrich Reichardt 'Deutsche Operetten im Auszuge, mit Musik der besten deutschen Componisten', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 35/1 1778), 177–178.

⁵⁶ 'Wir würden den Herausgeber gerathen haben, die in diesen zwey Heften enthaltenen 4 Arien lieber in einem eigentlichen Klavierauszuge, als in einer Quasi-Partitur, von zwey Violinen, einen oder zwey Singstimmen und der Basse, herauszugeben; denn für die mehrsten Käufer solche Musikstücke ist dieser Art von Auszug unbrauchbar; und als Partitur betrachtet zu unvollständig[.] Bey größern Werken mögen die Herren Autoren ihre guten Ursachen haben, warum sie diese Einrichtung wählen: aber hier hätte doch wohl blos auf Liebhaber Rücksicht genommen werden sollen.' Daniel Gottlob Türk, 'Musikalische Beytrag für Liebhaber des deutschen Singspiels bey dem Clavier', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 64/1 (1785), 470.

a full score it is incomplete and as an arrangement it is impractical for the amateur.

Despite his 1785 preference for full scores in the review of Naumann quoted above, Schulz agreed with Türk's sentiment in a 1787 review of Gottlieb Rohleder's vocal piece *Der Sommer*. As he put it,

Mr Rohleder understands a keyboard arrangement well, when the choir is harmonized above the keyboard score still with four voices in soprano, alto, tenor and bass clefs. This completeness is very convenient for composers, but for the amateur, for whom keyboard arrangements are made, is completely useless and serves to nothing, but it makes an already mutilated work unnecessarily expensive. It would be more laborious for the composer, but easier and more useful for the amateur, if the choral parts were reduced to a single voice with a good keyboard accompaniment.⁵⁷

This excerpt uses the word 'mutilated', resonating with Koch's definition given at the start of the chapter, and shows the opposition between the *Werktreue* tropes of completeness and truthfulness (as associated with the full score), and the pragmatic focus of the keyboard arrangement. Furthermore, it touches upon commercial aspects in a new way, by stating that the inclusion of voices makes the edition unnecessarily expensive (thereby clarifying that price is an important aspect for the consumers of arrangements, an aspect that will be further explored in Chapter 3). Although the reviewer seems to agree in

⁵⁷ 'Unter einem vollständigen Clavierasuzug versteht Hr. R[ohleder] wohl, wenn die Chöre über der Clavierpartie noch vierstimmig in Discant - Alt - Tenor - und Baßzeichen ausgesetzt sind. Diese Vollständigkeit ist zwar dem Componisten sehr bequem, aber dem Liebhaber, für den doch eigentlich Clavierauszüge veranstaltet werden, völlig unbrauchbar, und dient zu nichts, als ein ohnehin verstümeltes Werk unnöthiger Weise zu vertheuern. Mühsamer für den Componisten, aber bequemer und brauchbarer für den Liebhaber wäre es, wenn auch die Chöre nur einstimmig mit guter Clavierbegleitung ausgesetzt würden'. Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, 'Der Sommer, ein Singstück, in Musik gesetzt, und in einem vollständigen Klavierauszuge herausgegeben', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 72/2 (1787), 390.

considering arrangements as suited only to amateurs (*Liebhaber*), given the variations in the concept of amateur in the eighteenth century, as Chapter 1 shows, the activities of an amateur might include a variety of musical practices.

In this regard, Friedrich Gottlieb Nikolaus Müller points out the existence of different types of amateur audiences, whilst discussing an arrangement of a Haydn symphony in 1790:

Since the number of good keyboard pieces, regardless of the amount of composers, is still very small, one must excuse it when a great composer's work that was for the orchestra, is transformed with good choice for other instruments, whereby it can be useful at least to several classes of music amateurs.⁵⁸

In this example, the reviewer puts forward again a sense of *Werktreue* by considering Haydn 'great', his music being portrayed as canonical and expressing the need to 'excuse' the changes made to the original. Nevertheless, the reviewer highlights also the importance of having the widest possible dissemination instead of aiming at one niche of the music market. Similar perspectives can also be found in relation to the audiences of music of earlier composers. In a review of Hiller's arrangement of arias, duets and choirs of Handel's *Messiah*, the reviewer highlights the importance of the dissemination of the work among different types of audiences, that is, music-lovers and professional musicians:

⁵⁸ 'Da die Anzahl wirklich guter Clavierstücke, ungeachtet der Menge Setzer, immer noch sehr klein ist: so muß man es entschuldigen, wenn Werke großer Tonkünstler, die sie fürs Orchester bestimmten, mit guter Auswahl für andere Instrumente umgesetzt werden, wodurch sie wenigstens mehreren Klassen von Musikliebhabern brauchbar werden'. Friedrich Gottlieb Nikolaus Müller, 'Sinfonia da Giuseppe Haydn aggiustata pel Cembalo con Flauto, Violino, et violoncello', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 91/1 (1790), 431.

This arrangement must be extremely welcomed, not only [by] music-lovers, but also [by] masters who do not own the full score; although the latter will wish that no changes would have been made, in order to be in front of the true form of Handel without strange ornamentation.⁵⁹

In this particular case, the reviewer asserts the arrangement is suited for the amateurs but it is also a reference for scholars. Interestingly, the reviewer highlights the shortcomings of the arrangement for music scholars by mentioning how its ornamentation hid ‘the true form of Handel’ (thus again showing a sense of *Werktreue*, here tied to a sense of the composer’s personality), an idea that will be further explored in Chapter 5.

The skeptical views on the business of arrangements were not only grounded in the audience’s taste and the popularity of the music. As shown in Türk’s criticism of Rellstab, arrangers were considered responsible for making cuts to the original music and were accused of being motivated by financial benefit. Thus, reviewers not only considered the importance of mediators such as publishers and buyers in the activity of arranging but, most importantly, they also assessed the work of the arranger. Thus, for example Hiller’s work as an arranger tended to be highly regarded (for example by Reichardt or Türk) but the publications of other arrangers received less appreciative reviews.

Beyond the appraisal of the arrangement, reviewers sometimes explained that mediocre composers were more useful to the progress of the musical art for their arrangements than for the publication of their own works. Nevertheless, some reviewers highlighted the role of arrangements in the process of canonization of a selection of chosen

⁵⁹‘Nicht nur Musikliebhaber, sondern auch Meistern, welche die vollständige Partitur davon nicht besitzen, muß dieser Auszug überaus willkommen seyn; obschon die letztern dabey wünschen werden, daß gar keine Veränderungen damit vorgenommen seyn möchten, um Händeln, ohne fremden Schmuck, in seiner wahren Gestalt vor sich zu seyn.’ Johann Gottlieb Portmann, ‘Auszug der vorzüglichsten Arien, Duette und chöre, aus Georg Friedrich Händels Messias und Judas Maccabäus, in Claviermäßiger Form’, *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 98/1 (1791), 413.

composers that deserved general admiration, such as Reichardt with regard to Hiller's arrangements of Pergolesi, or F. G. N. Müller with regard to A. Z. Steinfeldt's arrangements of C. P. Bach.⁶⁰ In a similar light, Axel Beer points out that many composers such as Friedrich Schneider, Wilhelm Friedrich Riem or August Eberhard Müller considered arranging to be *Brotarbeit* (work to earn one's living). In this way, the composers, together with the reviewers, considered the task of arranging as a craft. Possibly one of these less-regarded composers, Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer stated in a letter that he was very willing to arrange opera because it offered the possibility to acquire a reputation in a different area without straying from the original area of expertise.⁶¹

In conclusion, music critics considered that the making and the evaluation of arrangements was determined by their commercial function. For that reason, many critics regarded arrangements not as representing composers' intentions, but rather as practical means to satisfy the needs of the growing number of amateur musicians. The fear that commercial imperatives could undermine any emerging sense of canon was a crucial catalyst for the developing practice of literary criticism more generally (as seen with C. F. Nicolai's struggles with the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*) and in musical life it contributed to the growing notion of *Werktreue*.

2.3. Expression, Criticism & Performance

It was very natural that these quartets had to lose in the metamorphosis described in the title. Because, for example, what makes much effect on the violin or flute, can have no effect on the keyboard or fortepiano, because on the latter instruments the modification of the tone, the

⁶⁰ Ibid., 412–413.

⁶¹ Axel Beer, *Musik zwischen Komponist*, Verlag und Publikum (Schneider: Tutzing, 2000), 33.

long-held tenutos, or the increase and decrease [of tone], are not possible to the same extent as on the violin or flute.⁶²

This quotation from a review by Türk of Johann André's arrangements of Pleyel's quartets exemplifies one of the concerns of eighteenth-century commentators (also present in Koch's definition of arrangement): the difficulties of keyboard arrangements to achieve the expressive effect of the original scoring. This concern again stemmed from the growing emphasis on the composer's work as an ideal that should not be mutilated. Although all commentators seemed to agree on that point, they certainly had different perspectives on the way to achieve that goal. Whilst some discourses are mainly focused on the effect and expression of the arrangement in its performance, others focused their arguments on the technical elements that to their understanding ensured a good rendering of the music. These two aspects will be the focus of the present section.

The *Musikalisches Magazin*, published by Breitkopf in 1765, was a collection of keyboard pieces that combined both original works for the keyboard and also arrangements of orchestral, vocal, and chamber music works. This combination of arrangements and original works provoked a need for justification both in the preface of the edition, and in its review by J. F. Agricola. In the preface of the edition it is argued that a keyboard arrangement of a concerto had as much value as the original concerto, being transmuted by the process of arrangement into the equivalent of a sonata (a claim perhaps pre-empting Nicholas Cook's notion of horizontal instantiations of a musical work discussed in Chapter 1). As the anonymous author puts it,

⁶² 'Es war ganz natürlich, daß diese Quatuors bey der, auf dem Titel bemerkten Metamorphose verliehren mußten. Denn was z. B. auf der Violine oder Flöte viel Wirkung thut, das kann auf dem Flügel oder Fortepiano sehr effectlos werden, weil auf diesen letztern beyden Instrumenten die Modification des Tones, das lange Aushalten, das Ab- und Zunehmen desselben u. dgl. m. bey weitem nicht in einem so merklichen Grade möglich ist, als auf der Violine oder Flöte.' Daniel Gottlob Türk, 'Deux Quatuor de Mr. Pleyel, arrangés en Sonates pour le Clavecin, ou Piano Forte [...]', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 109/1 (1792), 433.

Would it not be as good as a sonata, when we print (for variety), now and then, the solo part of a keyboard concerto next to the harmonized ritornellos? Yes, sometimes! Regarded as a sonata, one can get the [other instrumental] parts in manuscript from the publisher. The idea is not wrong, since the forlorn solo voices are badly written without them.⁶³

The quotation puts forward the similarities between keyboard pieces such as sonatas, and arrangements of concerti. Despite the complexities of the text of the preface, its author seems to encourage the adaptation of concertos into keyboard sonatas. In addition, the author continues by claiming the value of arrangements of symphonies and arias:

Furthermore: Should Symphonies and arias adapted to the keyboard, which annoy so many Amphions, and yet which are a favourite pastime of many keyboardists and solitary beauties, deserve a place in our musical Magazin? About this there is no doubt!⁶⁴

Thus, in addition to concerti, the author of the preface encouraged readers to overlook the criticisms by Amphions (most probably referring to professional or amateurs that advocate for the work's truthfulness to the original effects) and focus on the interest of keyboardists and 'solitary beauties', whom he described as the main market for these instrumental and vocal arrangements –most probably

⁶³ 'Wenn wir nun aber, zur Abwechslung, bisweilen von einem Clavier-Concerte die Concertstimme, nebst ausgesetzten Ritornellen druckten, würde das nicht eben so gut als eine Sonate seyn? Ja bisweilen! Als Sonate betrachtet, könnte man die Stimmen bey dem Verleger in Manuscript zu haben. Der Einfall ist vielleicht nicht unrecht, denn die verzweifelten Concertstimmen schreiben sich ohnedem nicht gut.' *Musikalisches Magazin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1765), 1.

⁶⁴ 'Nun weiter: Sinfonien, Arien aufs Clavier gesetzt, worüber sich so mancher Amphion ärgert, und die doch manchem Clavierspieler und mancher einsamen Schöne der liebste Zeitvertreib sind, sollten sie wohl einen Platz, in unsern musikalischen Magazin verdienen? Daran ist kein Zweifel!', *Ibid.*, 1–2.

referring to young single females (an aspect that will be further explored in Chapter 4).

In general terms, although the author of the preface may be conditioned by the requirement to sell copies, he did make the effort to emphasize the value of arrangements in a rather persuasive way. In his stern review of the *Musikalisches Magazin*, Agricola explained that he wanted neither to dismiss nor to approve the intention expressed in the preface. In his opinion both composers and music lovers could find reasons for publishing originals or arrangements.⁶⁵ He clarified:

Because it is so true that a symphony or aria can never make the same effect on the keyboard, as it did in the proper places and with the proper scoring: and that the composer, even if he himself was Amphion, should even himself feel pity at the performance of his work in its [new] appearance; it is also true again, that keyboard amateurs wish sometimes to take delight in the invention of a vocal composer: and for that [purpose] they do not always have an orchestra at their disposal. They must manage as well as they can. Although symphonies made on the mere keyboard even less effect than arias.⁶⁶

Thus, similarly to other reviewers, Agricola clearly distinguished the opposition between the interests of amateurs and professional

⁶⁵Wir wollen ihre Absicht, in Ansehung dieser, weder ganz und gar billigen, noch ganz und gar verwerfen: weil von den Componisten sowohl, als von den Liebhabern, Gründe auf beyden Seiten vorgebracht werden können.' Johann Friedrich Agricola, 'Musikalisches Magazin in Sonaten, Sinfonien, Trios und andern Stücken für das Clavier bestehend', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 2/2 (1766), 267.

⁶⁶ 'Denn so wahr als es ist, daß niemals eine Sinfonie oder eine Arie auf dem Claviere die Wirkung thun kann, welche sie am gehörigen Orte, und mit der gehörigen Besetzung gethan hat: und daß also der Componist, und wenn er auch Amphion selbst wäre, mit dem Vortrage seiner Arbeit, in diesem Kleide, freylich wohl selber Mitleiden haben muß; so wahr ist es doch auch wieder, daß Liebhaber des Claviers, sich zuweilen an den Erfindungen eines Sangcomponisten ergötzen wollen: und dazu können sie freylich nicht allemal ein ganz Orchester aufbieten. Sie müssen sich also so gut behelfen, als es seyn kann. Sinfonien thun auf dem bloßen Clavier freylich noch weniger Wirkung als Arien'. Johann Friedrich Agricola, 'Musikalisches Magazin in Sonaten, Sinfonien, Trios und andern Stücken für das Clavier bestehend', 267–268.

musicians (or more specifically composers) and the opposition between the effect achieved by the original scoring of a piece, and the practicalities of performing them arranged for the keyboard.

In a 1790 review of a collection of both orchestral and vocal works for the keyboard entitled *Olla potrida für Clavierspieler*, Adolph Freiherr von Knigge stated that

Since these are only keyboard arrangements, it is impossible to make a certain judgment about such music, which must be acknowledged not only through looking at a paper version but also through the performance of an entire orchestra. Without having previously heard the effect, praising [the music] would be over-hasty, as it would be wrong in this way to condemn it.⁶⁷

Knigge's point, although similar to that made in Agricola's review of the *Magazin* or Schulze's review of *Amphion*, does not only focus on appraising a composition merely from its arrangement, but from any notated version. Thus, he claimed that one can only listen to the effect of the music through its performance (a notion that anticipates present-day critiques of text-centred musicology by the emergent discipline of performance studies). Despite Knigge's criticism, the opposite opinion was stated by F. G. N. Müller regarding Naumann's overture of the opera *Medea*. As he put it,

Mr Rellstab wanted to make this very beautiful overture by Naumann through an arrangement for four instruments more useful and of general benefit. Such a

⁶⁷ 'Da dies nur Clavierauszüge sind; so ist es ohnmöglich, ein bestimmtes Urtheil über eine solche Music zu fällen, die nicht nur nach dem anschauen auf dem Papiere, sondern durchaus vorgetragen von einem ganzen Orchester gewürdigt werden muß. Ohne also vorher den Effect gehört zu haben, zu loben, wäre eben so übereilt, als es ungerecht wäre, auf diese Weise zu tadeln'. Adolph Freiherr von Knigge, 'Olla potrida für Clavierspieler, herausgegeben von Joh. Carl Fried. Rellstab.', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 92/1 (1790), 131.

music loses something in this way. However, this arrangement is so sensibly made, that it is hard to notice, that a large work is published in [a] smaller [form].⁶⁸

This fragment shows the controversy between practicability and truthfulness to the original effect but also highlights the importance of a good arrangement. Thus, despite the divergence of opinion on the value of arrangement, reviewers tended to have a clear idea of what qualities a good arrangement should have. Some of the aspects relate to writing in an idiomatic manner that suited not only the possibilities of the instrument but also the abilities of amateur musicians. An example of these possibilities can be seen in a review by Türk published in 1792, of Hiller's arrangement of *Das gerettete Troja*, in which he stated:

We cannot avoid recommending most highly this operetta to every music-lover who does not merely consume the very modern sing-songs; particularly since Mr Hiller's keyboard arrangements are so comfortable to play whilst not too empty.⁶⁹

This quotation shows that beyond the concerns about originality there were criteria to assess the technique of arranging. Nevertheless, precisely these criteria appear also to be diverse. For instance, Rellstab's arrangements appeared to be appreciated by reviewers such as F. G. N. Müller, but dismissed by Türk, who argued that they were hurried and not practical or suited for the keyboard. As he put it:

⁶⁸ 'Diese sehr schöne Naumannische Ouvertüre hat Hr. Rellstab im Auszug für vier Instrumente brauchbarer und gemeinnütziger machen wollen. Etwas verliert eine solche Musik immer dadurch, indessen ist dieser Auszug so verständig gemacht, daß man es kaum merkt, daß ein großes Werk im kleiner geliefert wird'. Friedrich Gottlieb Nikolaus Müller, 'Ouverture dell Opera Medea composta dal Signor Naumann aggiustata nel Cembalo con Flauto, Violino et Violoncello', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 97/1 (1790), 166.

⁶⁹ 'Wir können daher nicht umhin, diese Operette jedem Musikfreunde, der nicht blos für modernen Singsang eingenommen ist, bestens zu empfehlen; besonders da Hr. Hillers Clavierauszüge so bequem zu spielen, und dabey doch nicht zu leer sind.' Daniel Gottlieb Türk, 'Poltis, oder das gerettete Troja, eine Operette in drey Akten [...]', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 111/1 (1792), 117.

[The arrangement of Gluck's *Iphigenie en Tauride*] appears to us, like most of Rellstab's keyboard arrangements, to be made too hastily. In various places [...] it is overloaded, uncomfortable to play and not practical enough.⁷⁰

Similarly to Koch, Türk's reviews indicate that arranging required a skill, even if arrangements could not be considered artistic or did not achieve the same effect as their originals.

A more detailed example of the aspects that the publisher or editor considered in order to produce an arrangement for the amateur audience can be found again in the preface of the *Musikalisches Magazin*. Addressing directly the amateur audiences, the publisher listed the elements that are preferred by them, that is, playable and idiomatic music, and in a keyboard score without too many fiddly details. As the publisher put it,

[The music amateurs] are happy when they find two suitable main voices that are comfortable, bright, simple, and suited for the keyboard; when now and then a third or even a fourth voice comes in, and yet the performance does not become more difficult; when, in arias, they [music amateurs] do not have that many small notes, next to the main notes, standing in the way and looking as if they did not belong there.⁷¹

⁷⁰ 'Er scheint uns, wie die mehrsten Rellstabschen clavierauszüge, zu flüchtig gemacht zu seyn. An verschiedenen Orten, [...] ist er überladen, unbequem zu spielen und nicht zweckmäßig genug.' Daniel Gottlieb Türk, 'Iphigenie en Tauride, Tragédie en quatre Acte etc. arrangée pour le Clavecin par C. F. Rellstab', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 109/1 (1792), 135.

⁷¹ 'Sie [Herrn Liebhaber] sind zufrieden, wenn sie zwey tüchtige Hauptstimmen finden, die angenehm, munter, leicht, und ihrem Instrumente gemäß sind; wenn bisweilen eine dritte oder gar vierte Stimme darzu kommt, und doch die Ausführung dadurch nicht schwerer gemacht wird; wenn Ihnen in den Arien neben den Haupt-Noten der Singstimme nicht so viel kleine Nötchen in Wege stehen, die aussehen, als wenn sie nicht darzu gehörten?' *Musikalische Magazin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1765), 2.

Furthermore, the publisher continued by giving some advice on the way to perform the collection with regard to the keyboard score, and the optional notes indicated:

[The music amateur] can maybe perform these small notes, when one sometimes fill a small gap in the (singing) voice, or add a violin passage on a long held note; but putting thirds or sixths under the (singing) voice, will seem so superfluous to them as it does to us, particularly when the ritornello is presented in three voices; because they have then so much memory or musical insight, that they can play the frequently-appearing passages more fully voiced according to their wishes.⁷²

Other concerns related to the general discussion of respecting the idea of the original work. Some reviewers focused their criticism on misprints and on what they considered compositional mistakes. Since the publication of arrangements offered an opportunity either to praise or correct them, these reviewers took the opportunity to comment on them. For instance, in Türk's review of Hiller's arrangement of Grétry's *Zémire*, he argued:

No one will blame Mr Hiller for leaving the mistakes which the original genius of Grétry so cleverly knew how to interweave through his operettas; because maybe he wanted but was not allowed to improve [the original], but

⁷² 'Sie können vielleicht diese Nötchen noch vortragen, wenn man etwann eine kleine Lücke in der Singstimme auszufüllen, oder über einer lange aushaltenden Note eine Passage aus den Violinen beyzufügen hat; aber sie Terzien oder Sexten weise unter die Singstimme zu setzen, wird ihnen eben so überflüssig deuchten als uns, zumal, wenn man ihnen das Ritornell schon dreystimmig vorgelegt hätte; da sie denn leicht so viel Gedächtniß oder auch so viel musikalische Einsicht haben, daß sie die oft wieder vorkommenden Stellen nach Belieben vollstimmiger machen können.' Ibid., 2.

only to provide a keyboard arrangement. Yet it is still to be explained, why he left some passages of the symphony so unplayable. Besides, the arrangement is faithful and therefore, it will be welcomed by those music [lovers], and operetta-lovers that appreciate *Zemir und Azor*.⁷³

The concern that arrangements were unable to transmit the expression of the original present in these reviews show the emerging sense of *Werktreue*. At the same time, however, reviews clearly show the possibility of evaluating the task of arranging, and elucidate some relevant although varied features that arrangements ought to have. Thus, even when aesthetic concerns are present in the reviews, they are intertwined with a more pragmatic appraisal of arrangements. A more detailed analysis of the precise technical features considered essential to a good arrangement will be offered in Chapter 5.

2.4. Arrangements in English Musical Discourse: Truthfulness and the Classics

Although there was no equivalent in England to the extensive criticism in German journals, some of the same ideas can be traced. Furthermore, relevant in the context of England was the emergence of what William Weber has considered the first canonic performing repertory, namely 'ancient music'.⁷⁴ Notions of 'ancient music' are present in prefaces of arrangements of composers such as Handel (as explored in Chapter 1). For example, similarly to Hiller, Joseph Mazzinghi (1765–1844) played a significant role in the adaptation and dissemination of Handel's music

⁷³ 'Daß Hr. Hiller die Fehler stehen ließ, womit G[rétry] das Originalgenie, seine Operette so schlau zu durchweben wüßte; wird ihm niemand verdenken, denn er wollte und durfte vielleicht nicht verbessern, sondern nur ein Klavierauszug besorgen. Daher läßt sich auch wohl erklären, warum er einige Stellen in der Sinfonie, [...] für das Klavier so unspielbar gelassen hat. Uebrigens ist das Auszug mit aller Treue gemacht, und wird daher denen Musik, und Operettenfreunden, die *Zemir und Azor* schätzen, sehr erwünscht seyn.' Daniel Gottlob Türk, 'Das Herr Gretry Zemire und Azor, eine komische Operette in vier Akten, mit eine deutsche Uebersetzung in einem Klavierauszuge', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 68/1 (1786), 137.

⁷⁴ William Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 345.

at the turn of nineteenth-century England. Although he was house composer of the King's Theatre and the Pantheon Opera House where he profusely arranged music of contemporary composers, Mazzinghi also arranged overtures and vocal music by Handel, showing his interest in both the fashionable composers and the old 'classics'. Furthermore, Mazzinghi arranged Handel's *Messiah* as a vocal-keyboard arrangement with violin or flute accompaniment (printed and sold by Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co.) and outlined in its preface his intentions in making the edition.⁷⁵ First of all Mazzinghi justified the need of arranging Handel's music, but denied any pretense of improving the work. As he put it:

The attempt to alter or Abridge the Compositions of the Immortal Handel, with a view to improve them, would be the greatest Folly and Presumption an Individual could be guilty of;

After stating the humility of his task he proceeded to highlight the need for the arrangement to disseminate the music of Handel:

at the same time it should be Considered, that at least nine-tenths of the Piano-Forte Amateurs are precluded the satisfaction of Performing this truly sublime Music, not being sufficiently advanced in the Science to render the same Effective when play'd from the score; To remedy such Inconvenience, and at the particular Request of several distinguished Amateurs, This Work, (the result of some Labour,) is presented to the Musical World;

⁷⁵ George Frideric Handel, *Handel's Celebrated Messiah. Abridged and Adapted for the Piano Forte. with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin*, arr. Joseph Mazzinghi (London: Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co., n.d. [wm 1808]). British Library shelfmark H.229.n. (it is not catalogued on RISM). The preface is dated as 1st July 1802.

This last consideration puts forward the intention to protect his music from criticism, highlighting his awareness of the arguments of his detractors. Furthermore, Mazzinghi claimed his arrangement was useful to amateurs who entrusted him to the task because they were not able (that is, they have not the ability) to play from the score. Furthermore, similarly to Koch's definition, he clarified the labor that arranging implies. He continued by highlighting the task of arranging and defending the arrangement from possible detractors.

Under these Considerations it is presumed no Censure can attach, Especially when Convenience and 104 ccommodation[sic] are the only motives for Introducing the work to public notice.⁷⁶

Also in the English context and most probably acquainted with Mazzinghi, the tenor and organist Joseph Corfe (1741–1820) also published arrangements of composers such as Handel and Purcell, in addition to songs and glees and music treatises on singing and thorough bass. In the preface of his anthology of keyboard-vocal arrangements of Handel's arias, *The Beauties of Handel*,⁷⁷ Corfe presented some insightful ideas on arrangements of earlier music. Published in 1803 (printed and sold by Preston), the edition included duets and trios made by Corfe when he was a reputed singing teacher, organist of Salisbury's Cathedral (1792–1804) and Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapel Royal. In this case, Corfe claimed the authority of the arrangement by arguing that it was faithful to Handel's manuscript (probably the autograph scores in the Royal Collection, possibly accessible to Corfe through his work at the Chapel Royal):

⁷⁶ George Frideric Handel, *Handel's Celebrated Messiah*, n. p.

⁷⁷ George Frideric Handel, *The Beauties of Handel, in Two Volumes Consisting of upwards of One Hundred of his most favorite Songs, Duets & Trios, Selected from the various Works of this great Master arranged with a separate Accompaniment for the Piano Forte and figured from the MS. Scores of the Author*, arr. Joseph Corfe (London: Preston for the Author, n.d. [1803-4]); RISM A/I H 1088; British Library Shelfmark R.M.7.e.21.

In the Arrangement of this Work, the Editor has availed himself of the Opportunity afforded him of consulting Handel's MS. Scores and has copied every leading Feature of them *in a separate Line*. The Harmonies in the accompanied Recitatives are *not* the Editor's Explanation of the Through Bass, but are taken faithfully from the Scores, except that the Position of a Chord is sometimes changed. Where the Accompaniment of the Songs is for an Instrument *Obligato*, or any principal Subject carried on, no Alteration whatever has been made, but the whole is given as it stands in the Scores.⁷⁸

Thus, Corfe detailed the way in which he used the scores and followed the original manuscript, thus providing keyboard vocal arrangements in different formats (both including a new staff for the voice and including the voice in the right hand of the keyboard part).



Figure 2.3: Corfe's vocal score with an additional stave of Handel's 'Guardian Angels' from *The Triumph of Time and Truth*..

Corfe continued by acknowledging the instances when the original was altered and justifying such changes:

In many Instances, where that is *not* the Case, the Song part is so blended with the Accompaniment, that the Editor flatters himself it will be more acceptable than if it

⁷⁸ George Frideric Handel, *The Beauties of Handel*, n. p.; the italics are in the original.

had been merely copied and put separate, for in such Instances they produce a most beautiful Effect, particularly in those favourite Compositions ‘From this dread Scene,’ – ‘Farewell, ye limpid Streams,’ – ‘What tho’ I trace,’ &c.⁷⁹

Thus, despite the first statement of strict textual fidelity, Corfe also applied his own criteria to adapt the music to its new purpose. Furthermore, Corfe explained that he used only the treble and bass clefs throughout the publication, suiting amateur audiences but also probably reallocating vocal roles.⁸⁰

English sources of keyboard arrangements sometimes also include comments on the education of taste. Similarly to the *Musikalisches Magazin*, a collection of keyboard arrangements of multiple German composers (among them Haydn, Sterkel, Schobert, Kozeluch and Vanhall) was published in London in 1786 with the title *A set of Twelve Miscellaneous Lessons*.⁸¹ About the arranger of the work, John Relfe, there is no information available beyond other surviving music, consisting mainly of songs and arrangements of vocal and instrumental music. Interestingly, the preface of the lessons (printed by Longman & Broderip for the author) pinpoints some of the aspects seen in German reviews. Relfe started by stating the intention behind the publication:

The design of this Work is to introduce to more general practice the Compositions of the above celebrated Authors, for which purpose the difficulties attending the

⁷⁹ Ibid., n. p.

⁸⁰ ‘Many of the Songs having been printed with the Counter Tenor Clef instead of the Bass, such as “Come, come thou Goddess,” – “Hide me from the Day’s garish Eye,” &c. the Editor has used the Trebble and Bass Clefs *only* throughout the whole of this Publication; but has taken great care to insert the Viola part (when below) in its proper place, an Arrangement never before adopted.’

⁸¹ *A set of Twelve Miscellaneous Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, being a selection of the most admired Compositions of Haydn, Sterkel, Schobert, Kozeluch, Vanhall, & Edelman, Compiled and adapted with others*, arr. John Relfe ([London]: [The Author], n.d.[1786]). British Library shelfmark h.721.qq.(10.); RISM A/I R 1130.

execution of many of them in their original state (which has hitherto been the means of confining them within the circle of superior Performers) is in a great measure remov'd, by reducing many passages of difficult extent within the compass of the Hand, and facilitating others in such manner as to render them more suitable to the general abilities of Harpsicord[sic] Players[.]⁸²

Thus, similarly to the previous quotation of Agricola's review, Relfe highlighted the difficulties of performing compositions in their original versions, even arguing that in this way music had been kept within a small circle of professionals. Thus, Relfe advocated adapting the compositions to the abilities of the harpsichord players, thereby broadening their dissemination. The preface continued by emphasizing the performative aspect of arrangements and highlighting the value of shortening the music (in contrast to Türk's above mentioned criticism of the procedure or *Abkürzungen*):

Those Compositions which from their extreme length were consider'd as too tedious for a private performance, (and which from that cause have been seldom introduc'd but in Public Concerts) are curtail'd, by selecting the most agreeable[sic] and interesting parts, which are arrang'd in such order as to preserve the general effect.

Interestingly, Relfe explains that shortening and arranging the music allows it to be performed in private settings. Thus, the quotation precisely highlights Christensen's ideas of transporting the music from the public to the private sphere explored in Chapter 1.⁸³

A similar perspective can be found in the above mentioned preface of an anthology of arrangements entitled *Select Concert Pieces*

⁸² *A set of Twelve Miscellaneous Lessons*, arr. John Relfe.

⁸³ Thomas Christensen, 'Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera', 68.

published and arranged by Robert Bremner (c. 1713–1789) in which a reference to the original versions and composers is provided at the beginning of each piece. In this case, the preface details the difficulties of attending performances of instrumental music for ensembles of over four performers:

The choicest works of the most eminent composers of instrumental music being in general, written for bands of four or more performers, the pleasure of hearing them often is thereby seldom attainable, and in many situations impracticable an attempt, therefore, to render them fit entertainment for every family possessed of a Harpsichord or Piano Forte, cannot, it is presumed, be unacceptable to the Public.⁸⁴

Bremner referred to arrangements as facilitating family entertainment, emphasizing again the notion of transporting the music of the public concerts to the home.

Another relevant aspect in both Bremner and Relfe's collections is the effect of the original music when arranged for the keyboard (a concern expressed by German writers such as Agricola and Türk). Thus Relfe highlighted (similarly to Mazzinghi and Corfe in their Handel editions) the care he took in producing an arrangement that is true to the original:

Particular care has been taken throughout this Work in endeavouring to render the sense of expressions, and division of the Phrases, a strict observance of which on the part of the player, cannot fail of producing a sensibility of expression, and elegance of effect, seldom

⁸⁴ *Select Concert Pieces, fitted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for the violin*, arr. Robert Bremner (London: R. Bremner, n.d. [1785-1787]); RISM A/I B 4329, British Library shelfmark h.64.(2.).

acquir'd by those whose practice is confin'd to a more unmeaning and common place style of Composition.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, in contrast to other commentators, Relfe's notion of expression may be more related to clear articulation of the phrases (a skill which he encouraged in amateurs), than the expression of any supposed meanings placed in the composition by the original author. Thus the prefaces to late eighteenth-century English keyboard arrangements show a strongly pragmatic viewpoint, as compared to the more idealistic and censorial viewpoints encountered in German sources. However, the English arrangements of 'ancient music' do show a strong sense of musical canon and indicate the value of claiming textual fidelity to the original.

Conclusions

The quotations analysed in this chapter show the mixed opinions in musical culture on arrangements. The change of instrumentation inherent in arrangements had implications not only for those reviewers concerned to assess properly the value of a composition, but also for those concerned with preserving the composer's original intention and sense of *Originalgenie*. Such contested opinions partly reflected the shifting musical priorities as notions of the musical work concept emerged in the late eighteenth century. Faced with arrangements, and with the impossibility to realize enlightened ideals of educating amateur audiences, late eighteenth-century commentators tended to consider the composer's idea as fixed and sealed in the work. Arrangements highlighted the contrast between apparent opposites that proved significant to the development of the musical practices and the musical thinking of the Enlightenment: the *Kenner* and the *Liebhaber*; commercial success versus artistic success; the full score

⁸⁵ *A set of Twelve Miscellaneous Lessons*, arr. John Relfe.

versus the reduction. Eighteenth-century reviewers and composers assessed the advantages and disadvantages of producing a score in a reduced format. On the one hand, they praised the power of arrangements to disseminate music, to increase musical knowledge among composers and performers, and to educate the taste of audiences. On the other hand, arrangements were considered a corruption of the musical text, incapable of expressing the effects of the original. Between the practicality of arrangements and their inability to satisfy an idealised notion of the musical work, reviewers seemed to agree on the parameters that made a good arrangement: to achieve a compromise between the composer's intentions and the idiomatic language of the instrument to which the piece is adapted. Thus, beyond the criticism of arrangements *per se*, there was space to judge the abilities of arrangers and their work.

Chapter 3 : **The London Music Trade and the Making of Keyboard Arrangements: Instruments, Publishers and copyright**

Music is every where the rage—it has spread from the West to the East, and a very elegant concert was given a few evenings ago at a butcher's near Leadenhall-market¹

Three-penny Concerts in Hay-loft, and *Six-penny* Sunday Concerts, at a common Public-house, are proofs that the rage for Music is extending from the higher to the *lowest* classes of society.²

As was argued in Chapter 1, uniquely among other European areas, eighteenth-century England witnessed very pronounced changes in industry, agriculture and social life. These economic and social shifts provide a necessary context for understanding the changes in the music market during a period which culminated in the so-called 'rage for Music' in London, as vividly described in the epigraphs to this chapter. Any economic analysis of purchasing power in late eighteenth-century England is necessarily entangled in political and philosophical standpoints linked to industrialization and the development of capitalism. Although economic historians argue that there was an increase in inequality in this period, historians of consumerism bypass this concern to focus on the increase in demand for goods and the changes in consumption patterns. Following Peter King's study on pauper inventories, Jan de Vries argues that, while in the seventeenth

¹ *The Times*, 23rd February 1788. Quoted in Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 34.

² *The Morning Chronicle*, 15th December 1791. Quoted in Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 34.

century humble people rarely possessed items owned by the middling sort (such as clocks and books), 'The poor paupers of the late eighteenth century were materially better provided than the wealthier husbandmen of a century earlier.'³

Relying on de Vries, Maxine Berg argues that 'the desires and wants for new commodities pushed individual (especially women's) and family behaviour patterns away from self-sufficiency towards market-oriented production and consumption.'⁴ She suggests that even though mainstream economic historians have argued that consumers and their behaviour have little impact on the wider economy, 'they have still provoked a powerful shift in historical explanation.'⁵ Berg argues that one of the essential elements of economic change constituted new commodities that were locally produced and adapted from traditional luxuries that had initially been imported.⁶ According to Berg, these new luxuries or commodities had similarities with the traditional luxury wares but were not produced exclusively for the elite.⁷ These wares were not mass-produced or standardized, but were made with new materials and offered 'in a range of patterns, styles, qualities, and prices' (examples might include personal and household adornments made out of lightweight cottons, metal alloys, stamped brassware, etc.).⁸

During the eighteenth century the idea of luxury changed, together with the distinction between luxuries and necessities. This concept and distinction was central in the political discussion regarding

³ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 151. Referring to Peter King 'Pauper Inventories and the Material Lives of the Poor', in Tim Hitchcock, Pete King, and Pam Sharpe, (eds.), *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor 1640-1840* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 178.

⁴ Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 65.

⁵ Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 27.

⁶ Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 23-28.

⁷ Maxine Berg, 'New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England', in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 65.

⁸ Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 24.

the taxation of goods. (For example, the taxation of tea and sugar changed when they started to be considered as necessities from 1784.)⁹ Thus, luxury was increasingly discussed in relation to taxation and was regarded as a social activity instead of part of a moral discourse in which luxuries had negative connotations of excess and ostentation. In the late eighteenth century, luxuries were not so much a display of power, but a display of taste: they were subject to fashion and meant to change continuously. As observed by Adam Smith, dress and furniture were not made of durable materials, clothes became outmoded within a year, and furniture within five or six years.¹⁰ Such awareness of fashion and built-in obsolescence, particularly associated with the middling and upper classes, ensured a continuing demand for new goods. As it will be seen, this had implications for the manufacture and sale of pianofortes and for the marketing techniques of music publishers.

Music and musical instruments were also an object of taste and fashion, and one of the commodities that counted as luxury goods. The expansion of the music market that took place in England in the last decades of the eighteenth century was not only grounded in the sale of instruments and the vast musical life, but also in the development of music publishing. In this context, arrangements played a role as part of the income of publishers and represented a way to transport symphonic and operatic music from public spaces to domestic spaces

⁹ Patrick O'Brien, 'The Political Economy of British Taxation, 1660–1815', *The Economic History Review*, 41/1 (1988), 13.

¹⁰ 'Dress and furniture are allowed by all the world to be entirely under the dominion of custom and fashion. The influence of those principles, however, is by no means confined to so narrow a sphere, but extends itself to whatever is in any respect the object of taste, to music, to poetry, to architecture. The modes of dress and furniture are continually changing, and that fashion appearing ridiculous to-day which was admired five years ago, we are experimentally convinced that it owed its vogue chiefly or entirely to custom and fashion. Clothes and furniture are not made of very durable materials. A well-fancied coat is done in a twelve-month, and cannot continue longer to propagate, as the fashion, that form according to which it was made. The modes of furniture change less rapidly than those of dress; because furniture is commonly more durable. In five or six years, however, it generally undergoes an entire revolution, and every man in his own time sees the fashion in this respect change many different ways'. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2006), 194. Also in Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain*, 36–37.

(as will be further explored in the following chapter).¹¹ In this chapter I will analyse the economic importance of keyboard arrangements in the context of the commercial world of late eighteenth-century London, which was a European cultural centre where music aroused huge enthusiasm among the public. Despite the limited evidence available on the economics of instrument manufacture and music publishing, I will explore these business practices and marketing strategies, and contextualise the prices of their products. More specifically, the chapter will consider the role played by arrangements in the catalogues of the publisher and instrument dealer Longman & Broderip, in relation to the ideas previously mentioned of increasing consumerism and built-in obsolescence. Given the questions posed by arrangements in relation to a growing sense of *Werktreue*, I will also explore the role played by arrangements in the context of the establishment of copyright by focusing on contemporary disputes in which arrangements took a central part (including the public dispute between C. F. Abel and J. Longman further explored in Chapter 5). Finally I will uncover some of the financial dealings between publishers and arrangers, as a means to assess the value of arrangements in the music trade, offering a material perspective that complements the aesthetic concerns analysed in Chapter 2.

3.1. Instruments: Prices, Manufacturers and Sales Techniques

As it has been argued, music played a part in the commercialization of leisure, and musical instruments were luxury objects that could be understood in Berg's terms. Richard Leppert suggests that square pianos served functions other than the musical, as sewing tables, tea tables or writing tables, responding to the middle class's need to balance distinction and frugality, or in other words, to conceive the

¹¹ Thomas Christensen, 'Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera', in Kate van Orden (ed.) *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York: Garland Press, 2000), 67–94.

piano as both a sign of leisure and a domestic tool.¹² Further interpretations of keyboards as luxury objects, aspects of its production and its links with the middle class are explored by Simon McVeigh with reference to Broadwood pianos, and will be discussed below.

Most important in the appraisal of music instruments as luxury objects is their price. Jenny Nex explores the prices of instruments as documented in legal records of the Old Bailey and London newspapers of the period. The price of instruments varied depending on the quality, manufacturer, and, according to Clementi, to whether the buyer was a 'professor': in much of Muzio Clementi's correspondence, there are clear references to selling instruments at a 'Professor's price', which seem to have entailed a discount for professional musicians.¹³ According to Nex's thesis, among the cheapest instruments were violins (15s. in 1754 and 8s. in 1772), cellos (£2 20s. in 1772), flutes (sold for £1 2s. by John Mason in 1760), and clarinets (sold for £2 2s. in 1798 by George Astor). More expensive instruments included double-manual harpsichords (a Weber for £36 8s. in 1775, and a Shudi for £16 16s. in 1780), barrel organs (£29-63 during the 1780s), and Cremona violins (£5 5s. in 1772, to £52 10s. in 1788).¹⁴ Nex asserts that instruments above £5 were mainly targeted at amateur musicians (i. e. keyboards, Cremonese violins and harps) and woodwind instruments at professional musicians.¹⁵ Although this analysis seems slightly simplistic (for sure some professionals may have had more expensive instruments) and it does not account for the 'professor's price', it seems likely that certain types of instruments were more prevalent among a particular type of musician; the variability of prices seems also to

¹² Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 156.

¹³ David Rowland, *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010), 53 and 107.

¹⁴ Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London', (PhD Thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2013), 105–6.

¹⁵ Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London', 104.

reflect aspects such as which instruments were imported or the vogues for certain manufacturers.

Major instrument makers in late eighteenth-century England included firms such as Broadwood (active from 1770), Kirkman (active from 1772), and Stodart (active from 1775), together with several foreign-born manufacturers such as Johannes Zumpe (active in London from 1760), Americus Backers (active 1763-1778), Johannes Pohlman (active 1767-1793), and Sébastien Erard (active in London from 1790). Instrument makers tended to diversify the products they offered and worked to develop new technologies to meet the needs and taste of the time. Thus, for example, instrument makers added keys to wind instruments and adapted the finger boards and bass boards of string instruments.¹⁶ Particularly significant in England in this period was the development of the pianoforte. Important technological and economic innovations in piano manufacture were led by Johannes Zumpe. Like several other instrument makers, Zumpe arrived in London from Saxony in 1760, most probably encouraged by the coronation of Queen Charlotte.¹⁷ Initially, Zumpe worked for the harpsichord maker Burkat Shudi until he established the first workshop in England devoted exclusively to pianos in 1761. Zumpe's square pianos were very compact (the length of the early examples was only 1250 mm),¹⁸ had a standardized design and were distinctive for featuring a dummy sharp joined to the key for GG (for GG#), 'and a compass of 58 notes, but with the correct number of hammers.'¹⁹ Although Zumpe's production and sales figures suggest a moderate output, Michael Cole asserts that his success 'far outstripped that of any previous pianoforte, becoming, almost instantaneously, the essential accessory for the polite drawing-room or music salon in both London and Paris.'²⁰

¹⁶ Ibid., 88. Michael Cole, 'Pianoforte. England and France to 1800', in *Grove Music Online*, available at <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 18 February 2017.

¹⁷ Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 46–48.

¹⁸ Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, 52.

¹⁹ Ibid., 55.

²⁰ Ibid., 52.

Zumpe's square pianos were important not only because of their novelty and small size, but also because of their modest price. The earliest models cost 16 guineas, which represented 'about one third of the cost of a good harpsichord.'²¹ Even in 1774, Burney's recommendations on purchasing a pianoforte addressed this difference in price:

Backers makes the best Piano Fortes, but they come to 60 or 70£, with 3 unisons—of the harpsichord size—put them out of the question, & I think Pohlman the best maker of the small sort, by far. Zumpe was the best, but he had given up the business—Pohlman then for 16 or 18 guineas makes charming little instruments, sweet and even in tone, and capable of great variety of piano & forte, between the two extremes of pianissimo and fort[issi]mo.²²

The quotation indicates the decline of Zumpe's business. Despite the brevity of his success, other instrument makers such as Pohlman profited from it by meeting the demand previously served by Zumpe.

Another relevant aspect in relation to instrument manufacture is the number of instruments produced. Arguably, the number of pianos manufactured was still limited. Michael Cole claims Zumpe manufactured 50 pianos a year, the same number as Adam Beyer.²³ In relation to Broadwood, Cyril Ehrlich claims that in the decade 1793-1803 '[Broadwood] made over one hundred grand pianos a year, in addition to some three hundred squares.'²⁴ Although the piano historian David Wainwright does not provide numbers of instruments made and sold, he points out that Broadwood's journal (a private

²¹ Ibid., 52–53.

²² Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, 21st January 1774. Quoted in Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, 91.

²³ Ibid., 66.

²⁴ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 18.

journal to record orders)²⁵ shows a clear increase in the number of transactions (including selling, hiring and tuning) across the 1770s and early 1780s. As Wainwright explains, ‘the number of transactions rose from around 700 a year throughout the 1770s to almost 900 in 1784; and the number of references to pianos rises from under 50 per annum for most of the 1770s to over 250 per annum in 1784.’²⁶ Scholars have interpreted these transactions in different ways. Cole argues that Broadwood did not manufacture any pianofortes until 1780, and that these transactions represent hires and tunings but not sales.²⁷ Furthermore, he claims Broadwood manufactured 20 to 24 harpsichords per annum (the prices varying from 70 guineas for double manual harpsichords to 35 or 44 guineas for single manual harpsichords depending on the specificities of the instrument). These figures indicate a growth in the sales of these instruments in the 1770s, in paralleling the increase in sales of square pianos.²⁸

Regardless of the exact number of pianos being produced, a wider point about their availability for the increasingly consumerist society can be made with more certainty. The population in England grew from 6.62 to 13.25 million between 1771 and 1831,²⁹ and the number of families of the elite and middling sort grew from over 138,000 in 1759 to almost 300,000 in 1803 (representing 7% to 10% of the population).³⁰ Thus, despite the disagreement about the interpretation of the entries in the Broadwood journals, even if all the

²⁵ Bodleian Library. MSS. Eng. misc. c. 529 (Barbara Broadwood account book with added information by her son); MSS. Eng. misc. b. 107 (sales 1771–1773 and later investments); MSS. Eng. misc. e. 663 John Broadwood journal 1771–1785.

²⁶ David Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment: A History* (London: Quiller Press, 1982), 60.

²⁷ Michael Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos* (Cheltenham: Tatchley Books, 2005), 25–30. Cole points out evidence of Broadwood acting as a hiring agent, hiring pianos by other manufacturers to his customers.

²⁸ Michael Cole, *Broadwood Square Pianos*, 18–20.

²⁹ Edward Anthony Wrigley, ‘British Population during the “long” Eighteenth Century: 1680–1840’, in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 64.

³⁰ Douglas Hay and Nicholas Rogers, *Eighteenth Century English Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). Quoted in David Hunter, ‘Music’, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 5 1695–1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 753.

recorded transactions were sales, Broadwood's output of 50 pianos a year would supply only a tiny proportion of the population.

Regarding the price of pianos and their possible purchasers, Simon McVeigh draws an interesting comparison between Broadwood and Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95), a potter who used new materials, techniques and marketing strategies, and sold quality products to a wide range of buyers, from aristocratic patrons to the affluent middle classes. As McVeigh points out, Wedgwood combined innovation and efficiency with energetic and focused marketing, maintaining the prestige of his products while widening the range of possible buyers.³¹ McVeigh claims Broadwood could be called the Wedgwood of the piano because he exploited technological advances 'while simultaneously improving production methods and marketing techniques.'³² Thus, in support of his claim, McVeigh highlights the increase in piano production (he calculates that Broadwood produced an average of 400 pianos a year between 1782 and 1802; his predecessor Burkart Shudi manufactured only an average of 19 a year) and the decrease in their prices.³³ Although these figures need to be revised in light of the uncertainty over the annual output of the Broadwood firm (see above), the low prices offered by Zumpe and Pohlman seem to highlight a more general change in the prices of square pianos, even if it was only temporary. However, Jenny Nex (relying on Cyril Ehrlich), argues that pianos 'could simply not be made at as low cost as pots' and 'were still therefore mostly for an elite market',³⁴ keeping still unanswered the question on who constituted the elite (explored in Chapter 1). Nex claims her argument is based on Cyril Ehrlich's assertion that that even in 1851, 'good pianos were still luxury goods, produced by craftsmen

³¹ Simon McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music', in Roberto Illiano and Luca Sala (eds.), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010), 6.

³² Simon McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music', 10.

³³ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁴ Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London', 35–6.

along traditional lines without machinery, and therefore expensive'.³⁵ Nevertheless, Ehrlich asserts elsewhere that in the late eighteenth century 'in Britain the piano usurped this function [of social emulation]; aspiration started lower in the social scale, and was therefore more widespread and more vulgar.'³⁶ Even if it is not possible to ascertain the widespread presence of the piano within different social strata, it is possible to ascertain an unprecedented demand for keyboard instruments in general, which would include the growth of harpsichord sales argued by Cole.

Crucially connected to instrument prices and sales were the marketing strategies used by instrument manufacturers and retailers. Despite the lack of extant company records, these strategies can be unveiled from other sources such as newspaper advertisements, trade cards, and catalogues (in cases where the firms also offered printed music). As Nex explains, instrument makers had a range of marketing strategies, some focusing on exclusivity and higher prices, whereas others focused on larger groups of consumers and lower prices.³⁷ In the case of Zumpe, there is no evidence that he advertised his instruments in his fourteen years in business. Cole argues that Zumpe became known by word-of-mouth because of the quality and low price of his instruments, and also because he included the address of his workshop in his instruments.³⁸ In addition, Cole points out the possibility that Zumpe engaged composers such as J. C. Bach in the promotion of his instruments, and sought the patronage of the Queen.³⁹ Despite these efforts, Zumpe neglected his business by leaving the country for long periods of time, preventing a steady success.

Apart from advertising and word-of-mouth, instrument manufacturers displayed their products in their warehouses and

³⁵ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano*, 9. Also quoted in Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London', 36.

³⁶ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano*, 17.

³⁷ Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London', 35.

³⁸ Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, 61.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

showrooms. As Nex highlights, these spaces ‘were used not only for direct contact with customers, but also as important locations for socialising and making musical contacts.’⁴⁰ Longman & Broderip (active from around 1767) were retailers and manufacturers in London, whose warehouses were meeting points for musicians. In addition, similarly to other manufacturers, they promoted sales by offering different ways to spread the cost of purchase. As they advertised in one of their catalogues, they offered instruments to be ‘lent out, conveyed and tuned, in Town and Country, on the shortest Notice; and if purchased, and Payment made within Eight Months, the Hire will be abated’.⁴¹ This hire-purchase method probably appealed to institutions such as theatres and societies with limited initial reserves of capital, and possibly also people who had less disposable income. As pointed out by Nex, according to Martha Novak Clinkscale, when Christian Clauss was focussed on piano building, the firm offered warranties on instruments lasting two years.⁴² Although such a warranty would be considered good even by modern standards, Nex believes the limited duration of these warranties ‘demonstrates the potentially fleeting nature of pianos as commodities at this time, not far different from the modern technologies of today’;⁴³ which exemplifies Adam Smith’s observation on the rapid obsolescence of dress and furniture. Assuming that the cost of a square piano was 16 guineas, and given that the usual cost of hiring was 10s. 6d. per month,⁴⁴ people would have paid for the price of the new instrument after less than three years, when the possible two-

⁴⁰ Jenny Nex, ‘The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London’, 102.

⁴¹ *Longman and Broderip manufacturers of musical instruments, and music-sellers [...]* (London: Longman & Broderip 1789). British Library shelfmark RB.23.b.2153. Other sellers such as Joseph Dale advertised similar hire purchase schemes within his music. See for example Franz Kotzwara, *Three Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin. Op. 38* (London: J. Dale, n.d. [1792]); British Library shelfmark g.161.e.(7.).

⁴² Jenny Nex refers to Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 67. However, Clinkscale does not seem to refer to the warranties Nex mentions.

⁴³ Jenny Nex, ‘The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London’, 37.

⁴⁴ David Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, 55.

year warranty may have expired.

Similarly, old instruments were exchanged for new ones at a low price at the instrument maker's or sold second-hand. As with hiring, this practice may have been intended to attract purchasers with lower incomes. However, as Nex highlights, second-hand sales did not always imply a lower price (for instance if the instruments were considered antiques or included new technologies added by the previous owner)⁴⁵ and prospective buyers 'would often prefer to purchase cheaper new goods rather than dated and unfashionable second-hand items.'⁴⁶

The practices in the manufacture and sales of keyboard instruments, and the technological innovations that were introduced, increased the range of instruments offered to potential purchasers. Square pianos made keyboard instruments available for less money, becoming a commodity subject to fashion and change. As Longman & Broderip advertised in *The Times* in 1788:

The proof of ENGLISH GENIUS is, in no instance evidenced more perceivably, than in the invention and improvement of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, which, within these few years, have become very considerable articles of export, whereas formerly, the *amateurs* imported from ITALY. But now LONDON has become as famous for every species of musical instruments, as CREMONA has been for exceeding in *violins*, and may boast of one manufactory which gives employment to several hundred workmen of different denominations [...]⁴⁷

⁴⁵ In 1783 'Mr. [William] Napier', purchased a second-hand square piano by Beyer from John Broadwood for 16 gn., the normal price for a new instrument. Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, 77.

⁴⁶ Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London', 94.

⁴⁷ *The Times*, 31st January 1788. Quoted in Jenny Nex, 'Longman & Broderip', in Michael Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 10.

Despite the difficulties in quantifying the numbers of pianos produced and their availability to a wider audience, the developments in instrument manufacture in late eighteenth-century London allowed for a rapidly growing market for published keyboard music (including arrangements), which developed simultaneously for the city's public and private entertainment.

3.2. London Music Publishers: Sales Catalogues, Retail Prices and Marketing Techniques

As already mentioned, some instrument manufacturers also diversified their commercial activities with initiatives in related businesses, such as music publishing. Similarly, some music publishing businesses increasingly encompassed other activities to improve the distribution of their products and achieve an international scope, and changing the financial parameters of their trade. Despite the importance of music publishing in this period, a study of it is limited by the nature of the surviving sources. Late eighteenth-century printed music rarely has an indication of its publication date, which makes it very difficult to quantify and compare the output of printed music. Printing techniques such as engraving made it possible to reprint music on demand; accordingly, publishers created vast plate libraries,⁴⁸ on which publication dates were not given. Although engraving allowed for small print runs of 20 to 50 copies, the plates would gradually degrade because of the pressure exercised in the printing process. Thus in the early eighteenth century the number of copies from one plate did not exceed 200 to 250,⁴⁹ although these numbers improved by the end of the century. Primary sources such as sales catalogues and advertisements of different kinds provide some evidence of the years of publication, the output of printed music, and sales techniques. As

⁴⁸ David Hunter, 'Music', 760.

⁴⁹ Anik Devriès-Lesure, 'Technological Aspects', in Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaft Verlag, 2005), 78.

argued by Yu Lee An, catalogues not only reveal the extent and types of music offered by a publisher but also contain information about the 'distribution networks (agencies in provincial towns and abroad), musical instruments manufactured or sold (if the publisher engaged in such activities), and other subsidiary services offered, such as engraving, printing, and retailing music on behalf of self-publishing composers.'⁵⁰

Catalogues are useful to identify trends and repertoires and they can provide some evidence of the relative output of published arrangements and their prices. According to An's classification, there are three different types of sales catalogues: pamphlet-type catalogues, stand-alone catalogues and catalogues within sheet music. Pamphlet-type catalogues were small octavo booklets of up to 16 pages, produced separately and probably distributed in the street or handed out to customers.⁵¹ Similar to these ones, stand-alone catalogues were printed separately, but were larger in format and could include up to 200 pages.⁵² These catalogues could be cumulative (including all music printed by the firm), or not cumulative (only including new music available in a particular year). Catalogues within sheet music were common probably because they were advertisements achieved at almost no cost, printed on pages that would otherwise be blank.

Longman & Broderip have been considered by some scholars as central to musical life in London from 1768 to 1798,⁵³ and are of particular interest because their activities encompassed keyboard manufacture and hence they may have had an interest in the sale of keyboard arrangements. This firm produced catalogues of all types. An lists nineteen surviving catalogues of this firm: seven pamphlet-type

⁵⁰ Yu Lee An, 'The Periodical Music Collections of John Bland and his successors', in Michael Kassler (ed.), *Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 196.

⁵¹ Yu Lee An, 'Music Publishing in London from 1780 to 1837 as reflected in Music Publishers' Catalogues of Music for Sale: A Bibliography and Commentary' (PhD Dissertation, University of Canterbury, 2008), 19.

⁵² According to Yu Lee An, stand-alone catalogues represented only about 10% of all catalogues. Yu Lee An, 'Music Publishing in London from 1780 to 1837', 11 and 17.

⁵³ Jenny Nex, 'Longman & Broderip', 10.

catalogues, nine catalogues within sheet music, and three stand alone catalogues (plus one which duplicates a pamphlet-type catalogue). In addition to these, there is an earlier catalogue not included in An's research as it was printed in 1769, shortly after the firm was founded (and was still known as J. Longman & Co.). As already mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, identifying arrangements from an eighteenth-century publisher's catalogue is not always easy. Some categories as presented in catalogues are clear in this respect, differentiating music for concerts (i.e. published in performing parts) from the rest. Among the remaining categories found in catalogues, there are, for example, 'Quintets and Quartets for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte', and 'Overtures for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte' (indicating in some cases 'without accompaniment'). Printed music and press advertisements sometimes place arrangements in categories that may seem unexpected. For example, Haydn's instrumental music arranged as vocal ballads (with added English poetry) can be found under the category of 'Songs and Canzonets' together with original songs by the same composer. Although such a grouping does not identify these pieces as arrangements, this grouping by genre makes sense from the perspective of the purchaser.

Moving away from Longman & Broderip, other examples of the categories containing arrangements can be found in press advertisement of various publishers. For example, a collection of sonatas adapted from vocal works by Dibdin 'worked into regular harpsichord lessons' was advertised in the *World*, on 28 March 1791. The advertisement claims the collection was targeted at scholars wishing to 'acquire a proper stile in the accompaniment of songs' by including a repertory that has 'received the stamp of universal approbation' but that 'by being annexed to words strongly characteristic and burlesque, are not probably entirely calculated to make a part of their studies'. Thus, also under the category of 'lessons' it is possible to find some arrangements, which in general tend not to acknowledge their arranged nature. Because arrangements often tend

to move a composition across generic boundaries, it can be a challenge identifying them in publishers' catalogues grouped by genre.

Mr. DIBDIN's MUSIC.
This day is published,
NUMBER 1. of

A COLLECTION of SONATAS, adapted
for the Harpsichord, or Piano Forte, with an accompaniment for either a violin or a flute, and worked into regular harpsichord lessons from the subject of the favorite songs in the Wags and Oddities, by Mr. DIBDIN.

Nothing can be more self-evident than the utility and advantage of this publication. It will furnish scholars with a variety of lessons taken from subjects which have received the stamp of universal approbation; it will give them an opportunity of playing airs which in themselves are admired by ladies, but which, by being annexed to words strongly characteristic and burlesque, are not probably entirely calculated to make a part of their studies: and it will accomplish a most essential part of musical instruction; for, by a study of these lessons, scholars will imperceptibly acquire a proper stile in the accompaniment of songs.

As these songs are continually heard in the Wags and Oddities—which entertainments are now performed alternately—the Oddities on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and the Wags on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays—it is unnecessary to say more than that each sonata, price 1s. 6d. contains three movements, and that one will be published on the 15th of every month throughout the year.

The three subjects in No. 1. are Bachelor's Hall, Poor Tom, and the Camp of Pleasure.

The three Subjects in No. II. will be Happy Jerry, The Virtue of Drunkenness, and the Greenwich Pensioner.

Mr. Dibdin respectfully announces, that as the copyright of several of his publications has legally reverted to him, he shall publish favourite airs from them as fast as possible. - The first collection, which is now preparing for publication, will be taken from an opera performed at Drury-Lane, called *The Blackmoor*:—The words by the Rev. Mr. Dudley.

The Constant Sailor, and twenty-four of the other Songs in the Wags, are This Day published.

Figure 3.1: *World*, 28th March 1791⁵⁴

Focusing on Longman & Broderip's catalogues, we can compare the prices charged for keyboard arrangements with the cost of ensemble parts for the same pieces. In addition, it is possible to see some correlation between prices and the amount of paper used. For example, the overture of Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes* (1762) is included in various catalogues of Longman & Broderip. In a 1769 catalogue of J. Longman & Co., the overture with all parts cost 2s. and the keyboard arrangement cost 6d., i.e. four times less. A surviving copy of the

⁵⁴ Charles Dibdin, *A Sonata, adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte, with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute [...] being No. 1 of a Collection to be publish'd [...] by Mr. Dibdin from the favorite Songs in his Wags & Oddities* (London: The Author, n.d. [1790?]). Each number cost 1s. 6d. RISM A/I D 2983; British Library shelfmark g.151.

ensemble version of the *Artaxerxes* listed in this catalogue suggests that the publication totalled 16 leaves of paper.⁵⁵ Although the keyboard version seems to be lost, it is possible to guess that it most probably was 4 leaves long. Earlier keyboard versions were also 4 leaves, including most importantly the one published by John Johnson,⁵⁶ whose widow sold the premises of her husband's firm to Longman & Broderip when they founded their business. The sale of the premises probably also included the plates for the keyboard arrangement of *Artaxerxes*. In that case, the keyboard arrangement cost 4 times less and it required 4 times less paper.

In a catalogue from 1781,⁵⁷ the arrangement of *Artaxerxes* is again listed as costing 6d., although in this case there is no proof that it was a keyboard score. However, Richter's *Third Set of Six Favourite Overtures in Eight Parts* cost 15s. and was 60 leaves long (4 leaves per shilling).⁵⁸ Consequently the price for each overture in this set of parts would be 2s. 6d., and therefore 6 pence more expensive than the single overture in parts found in J. Longman's 1769 catalogue. Surprisingly, a version for two harpsichords or pianofortes of Arne's overture published in January 1782 was sold at the same price, 2s. 6d., i. e., again 6d. more expensive than the orchestral version, despite having half the number of leaves (8 leaves).⁵⁹ There may be various reasons for this discrepancy: it may indicate that versions for 4 hands (or keyboards) were aimed at a smaller, more specialist market or it may indicate 6d. was a standard price for many single keyboard arrangements.

⁵⁵ Thomas Augustine Arne, *The Overture in Artaxerxes [...] with all its parts* (London: J. Longman & Co., n.d. [1770?]). RISM A/I A 1639; British Library shelfmark g.474.b.(26.). Distribution of the leaves: vl I (2), vl II (2), vla (2), b e vlc (2), fg I (2), ob I (2), ob. II (2), c I (1), c II (1).

⁵⁶ Thomas Augustine Arne, *The Overture, Songs & Duets in the Opera of Artaxerxes* (London: John Johnson, n.d. [1762?]). British Library shelfmark D.260.b.

⁵⁷ *Longman and Broderip, Music-sellers to the Royal Family at the King's Arms and Apollo [...]* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1781). British Library shelfmark Hirsch IV.1110.(1.)

⁵⁸ Franz Xaver Richter, *A Third Set of Six Favourite Overtures in Eight Parts For two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola, and a Figured Bass for the Harpsicord* (London: J. Johnston & Longman, Lukey & Broderip, n.d. [1775?]). British Library shelfmark g.474.a.(4.). Distribution of the leaves: vl I (13), vl II (11), vla (9), b (8) two bass parts, ob I (5), ob. II (6), c I (4), c II (4).

⁵⁹ Advertised on the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 31st January 1782.

Symphonies both arranged and in parts are predominant in Longman & Broderip's catalogue of 1788.⁶⁰ Each symphony in parts purchased separately cost between 4s. and 6s. but collections were offered at a better price, usually consisting of arrangements of three symphonies for 10s. 6d. (the price for each symphony would be 3s. 6d., offering a discount of between 12.5% and 41.6% on the price of individual publications). The cheaper relative price of collections as opposed to those published separately was similar for keyboard arrangements, although the number of leaves in the publication may have been lower. Collections of six overtures (the term 'overture' is used indistinctively with that of 'symphony') by Haydn were also offered for 10s. 6d., meaning that each overture would be 1s. 9d., offering again a discount of 41.6%. Single arrangements of Haydn overtures were sold for 2s. 6d. and 3s. each, a much higher price than the above-mentioned *Artaxerxes* arrangement even considering the difference in the amount of paper used. Another example is Symphony No. 74 arranged by John Marsh included in the catalogue, which cost 3s. and contained 10 leaves. The possible higher price may reflect the novelty of Haydn music, and the higher cultural capital that his music may have carried. Nevertheless, operatic overtures by Shield were proportionally more similar to the one of *Artaxerxes*, costing from 1s. to 1s. 6d. Even symphonic arrangements of other local composers were cheaper, such as a set of six overtures by Abel (Op. 1, explored below in relation to copyright) which cost 4s. (that is, 8d. for each overture). In addition, arrangements could be found in other categories such as 'Songs and Canzonetts', e. g. 'Haydn Two Collections of Ballads ea[ch] 7[s.] 6[d.]',⁶¹ which most probably are a collection of Haydn's Lieder (Hob. XXVIa 1–12) translated into English and a collection of vocal arrangements of Haydn's instrumental music with English poetry added (explored in Chapter 6). These collections have 13 leaves and 12 leaves

⁶⁰ *Begin. Longman and Broderip, manufacturers of musical instruments [...] (London: Longman and Broderip, 1788). British Library shelfmark DRT Digital Store 1609/5257.*

⁶¹ *Begin. Longman and Broderip, manufacturers of musical instruments [...], 7.*

each, indicating a rather expensive purchase. Similarly to Marsh's arrangement, the high price may be due to the novelty and prestige carried by Haydn's music (or the wealthy audiences that publishers were targeting).

These prices can be contextualized with reference to the annual incomes of London professionals. Thus, according to Robert C. Allen, in London in the 1770s and 1780s, a building craftsman would earn 40d. a day (i.e. just over 3s., increasing only by the late 1790s).⁶² According to Kirstin Olsen, other professionals such as an apothecary would earn £150–£300 per annum, a book seller £200–£600, a prominent doctor £12,000, and the clergy £50–£199.⁶³ In the same period, the price of a 4lb of bread would oscillate around 6d. (i.e. 15% of a craftsman's daily wage).⁶⁴ Hence buying the *Artaxerxes* overture would represent just a few hours of work for a craftsman. Buying a collection of ballads such as Haydn's,⁶⁵ would be more expensive: it would represent less than one day of an apothecary's work, but over two day's work for a craftsman. However, it is difficult to know how much of these incomes were disposable and could be used on luxuries such as sheet music and musical instruments. In relation to the purchase of pianos, Hunter points out that, 'Given an economic reality of little surplus income, no health or retirement insurance, and increasing cost of staples, purchase of a piano and continuing expenditures on lessons and music cannot have been priorities for the families that occupied the social space between rich and poor.'⁶⁶ Nevertheless, as explored in Chapter 1, purchasing habits may have played an important part in this context.

⁶² Robert C. Allen, *Consumer Price Indices, Nominal/Real Wages and Welfare Ratios of Building Craftsmen and Labourers, 1260–1913*. International Institute of Social History data files available at <<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/data.php>>, accessed 11 November 2015.

⁶³ Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18-Century Britain* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 140–145.

⁶⁴ Robert C. Allen, *Consumer Price Indices*, n. p.

⁶⁵ According to the British Library copy (shelfmark E.271.(5.)), Arnold's *Twelve English Ballads* arranged from Haydn instrumental music would also cost 7s. 6d. The ballads are further explored in Chapter 6 and in Appendix B.

⁶⁶ David Hunter, 'Music', 752.

Beyond their affordability, printed arrangements were central in the publisher's catalogues. As shown above, Longman & Broderip appear to have listed new arrangements in each of their catalogues, although the percentage of arrangements within their total publishing output is variable and difficult to assess. Similarly to ensemble music, the prices of keyboard arrangements varied depending on the amount of paper used, and whether they were sold as single arrangements or as collections. Thus, keyboard arrangements of operatic overtures typically cost from 6d. to 1s. 6d. Given the comparisons possible so far, it is difficult to assert if there is any particular relationship between the price of the ensemble version and the price of the arrangements, or if this was something publishers considered. Other possible factors that may have influenced the variability may have been the cost of honoraria to composers or arrangers that publishers had to pay. Also, as Jenny Nex suggests in relation to instruments,⁶⁷ another factor may relate to the audience at which the music was targeted, and the possibility of setting a price depending on how much these audiences were willing to pay. Thus, in the case of Haydn's ballads, publishers may have set a high price reflecting the prestige of the composer's instrumental music, and the interest in (or possible familiarity with) the English poetic texts.

3.3 Marketing Strategies: Serial Publication and Selection of Repertory in the Age of 'the Rage for Music'

Late eighteenth-century music publishers used a variety of marketing techniques to sell their wares. First and foremost, they offered a product that was attractive to purchasers. To achieve this goal, most publishers focused on the prestige associated with the music, that is, with the composer, or the venue or occasion in which the performance took place. After the music had been chosen publishers needed to promote lifestyles that encouraged frequent and conspicuous

⁶⁷ Jenny Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London', 104–108.

consumption. Both aspects were part of the publishing strategies used in relation to arrangements and will be explored in the following paragraphs.

Some of the strategies that encouraged consumption have already been discussed, such as the practice of offering sets of compositions for a cheaper price in comparison to the purchase of all those compositions singly. In opposition to this, another relevant marketing technique consisted of encouraging regular consumption of serial publications, instead of one-off spending on single volumes. Serial publication had been used by London music publishers since the 1700s, for instance with the *Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick* published by John Walsh in London between November 1702 and September 1711, offering songs from recent theatrical productions and concerts. A pioneer in the serial publication of instrumental music was Robert Bremner, who published the first periodical collection of overtures in eight parts in 1763.⁶⁸ Later on, John Bland's periodical published six periodical collections of diverse instrumental and vocal repertoires documented in nine extant catalogues: the collection of duets for two performers on one harpsichord (from c. 1782); *Le tout Ensemble* (from 1789); the collection of Italian songs; the collection of music for the harpsichord and pianoforte (including sonatas, lessons, overtures, divertimentos etc., from 1790); the collection of glees, catches and canons (from c. 1780); and the collection of divine music (from c. 1793).⁶⁹ Although the advertised periodicity was not always achieved, Bland managed a continuity of publication that may have improved sales, by requiring a steady flow of small payments instead of requiring

⁶⁸ David Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and The Periodical Overture', *Soundings*, 7 (1978), 64–65.

⁶⁹ *Bland's Collection of Periodical Duets for two performers on one harpsichord or pianoforte; Bland's Le tout Ensemble pour le Forte-Piano ou clavecin, avec Accompagnements; Bland's Collection of Sonatas, Lessons, Overtures, Capriccios, Divertimentos, &c. &c. for the harpsichord or piano forte, without accompaniments; Bland's Periodical Italian Song, Bland's Collection of the Ladies' Glees, Catches and Canons, Bland's Collection of Divine Music.* Yu Lee An, 'The Periodical Music Collections of John Bland and his successors', 197–198.

a large sum at once.⁷⁰ Furthermore, this concept of monthly instalments that may have induced costumers to purchase continuously, seems to be in consonance with Adam Smith’s notion of the continuous demand for goods that required continuous consumer spending highlighted in Chapter 1.

Regarding the content of Bland’s collections, most of them combined original music and arrangements. In the collections of keyboard music for four hands, ambiguously referred to as ‘periodical sonatas’, it is possible to find arrangements of opera overtures, such as that of Arne’s *Thomas and Sally*, or *Artaxerxes*; airs by [C.] Stamitz or [J. G.] Graeff; or Handel’s *Water Music*. The inclusion of incipits showed customers what they were getting and allowed them to recognize familiar tunes from over 50 years ago. In the collections of music for harpsichord or pianoforte, there are arrangements of overtures and symphonies by composers such as Haydn, Stamitz, Pleyel, Giordani, and Rosetti, and concertos by J. C. Bach.

The price of the items in the collections tended to be fixed. As pointed out by An, at least the last three of these collections stated that they contained 10 pages and cost 1s. 6d. per instalment (see Figure 3.2).

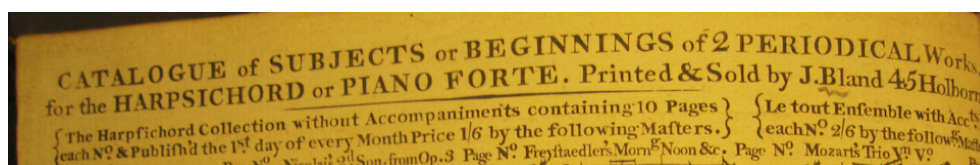


Figure 3.2: Upper part of Bland’s Subjects Catalogue published in 1792 within Joseph Haydn, *Three Grand Trios for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for a German Flute or Violin & Violoncello. Op. 34 or 59.* (British Library shelfmark g.445.i.(2.))

As An highlights, although preestablishing the number of pages ‘may seem extreme, it assured his customers of value for money’.⁷¹ Other collections such as *Le tout Ensemble*, which included Sonatas with accompaniment for the pianoforte, had also a fixed price of 2s. 6d. but the number of pages did not appear to be restricted. Instalments within

⁷⁰ Ibid., 203.

⁷¹ Ibid., 202.

a collection were paginated consecutively and were also sold bound together in one volume of about 12 instalments for 18s.

Other techniques used by publishers to increase their profit consisted of offering different ways to buy the same publication. For example, in his thematic catalogue of harpsichord music, Bland offered the possibility to purchase pieces with or without accompaniment, or to purchase only one of the items of an instalment.⁷² Similarly to the sale of musical instruments, publishers' techniques aimed at the widest possible audiences, offering new ways to purchase music. In addition, printed music was also offered by subscription and included in circulating libraries offered by publishers and music shops. These circulating libraries included a selection of printed music that could be borrowed for a fee. Subscriptions for circulating libraries were usually for a period of time from three or four months to a year. This was the case with Napier's circulating library which cost 1 guinea annually.⁷³ Longman and Broderip also started a circulating library, as indicated by an advertisement from 1782 in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*

At the same place is lately opened a MUSICAL CIRCULATING LIBRARY, on the most extensive plan; where subscribers may have the advantage of seeing every publication, ancient and modern, that England, France, Holland, and Germany, have produced, or may in [the] future.⁷⁴

Thus, according to newspaper advertisements, these libraries would include music of all genres and would include imported music.

⁷² The Catalogue includes some items marked. As it is explained in the catalogue: 'Those marked with 'x' may be had separately from the Nos. and those with '*' have Accompaniments which may be had as above. The very best works shall appear in those Numbers.' Catalogue published within Joseph Haydn, *Three Grand Trios for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for a German Flute or Violin & Violoncello. Op. 34 or 59* (London: J. Bland, 1792); British Library shelfmark g.455.i.(2.).

⁷³ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 10th March 1784.

⁷⁴ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 30th January 1782.

Although there appears to be no evidence of the music that was offered in Longman & Broderip's circulating library, they may have offered some of the music that they imported and reprinted from the Viennese publisher Artaria, for whom they acted as their agent in London. Other publishers with musical circulating libraries, such as J. Dale, Birchall and H. Andrews, W. Napier or S. Babb, advertised their new editions, as well as the possibility to obtain sheet music through a subscription to their libraries, in the press. Since there is no indication in these advertisements of any restrictions, probably all the available music from these publishers could be obtained via their lending libraries. Most probably, subscribers to the library then copied some of the music by hand, in order to expand their private music collections as mentioned in Chapter 4.

In addition to the above-mentioned catalogues, and similarly to advertisement of circulating libraries, publishers also advertised their recent publications in the press, where the greater length of advertisements allowed them to use various techniques to enhance the attractiveness of their wares.

NEW MUSIC, and INSTRUMENTS.
This day is published, price 10s. 6d.

SIX SONATAS, by Vanhall, adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte. Six celebrated Concertos, by Geminiani, as performed before their Majesties, by Mr. Cramer, adapted for the Harpsichord, Organ, or Piano Forte, Op. 2 and 3, price 7s. 6d. each. The Beauties of Haydn, Vol. 2, consisting of three Senatas for Harpsichord, &c. price 6s. Nina, or the Love Distracted Maid, a French Opera, translated, price 10s. 6s. Eleventh Set of Easy Lessons, by Ventoo, price 7s. 6d. Kaarmel's six Roturnos, for 2 Violins and Bass, Op. 19, price 10s. 6d. Six Duetts, for two ditto ditto, Op. 18, price 10s. 6d. The Birth-Day, or Arcadian Contest, for Voice and Harpsichord, by Carter, price 5s. Hobson's Choice, by Reeves, price 3s. 6d. Edwin and Emma, from Mallet, by Moulds, price 5s. The Soldier's Farewell, from Jerningham, by Billington, price 4s. The Lover's Garland, by Moulds, price 1s. 6d.

London: Printed for G. Goulding, Haydn's Head, No. 6, James-street, Covent-Garden; and Messrs. Bary and Co. No. 113, Bishopsgate-street; where may be had, The Royal Concert Piano Forte, by his Majesty's Letters Patent.

Figure 3.3: *World*, 13th March 1788.

Figure 3.3 shows the publication in 1788 of keyboard arrangements of Vanhal music (most probably adapted from his chamber music similar

to those of Boccherini published ca. 1783)⁷⁵ and Geminiani's concerti (most probably the concerti grossi op.2 or op.3 (1732)). The advertisement also highlights the importance of the context of the performance as a way to assign prestige to the arrangement. In this case, the performer, J. B. Cramer, is not the only relevant element, but also the status of the audience, namely their Majesties.

Another way in which publishers (and possibly arrangers) sought prestige and boost consumption was through the increasing number of arrangements of composers of the past, as part of the emergent vogue of 'ancient music' referred to in Chapter 1. As discussed in Chapter 2, publishers and composers sometimes focused their interest on the education of the audience's taste instead of focusing on the novelty of the piece. In this period, England was the first place where old musical works, the so-called 'ancient music', were revered by a section of the public and performed on a regular basis. Works by composers such as Henry Purcell, whose theatre music and songs were particularly suited for the burgeoning forms of public musical life developed in the eighteenth century,⁷⁶ were part of the repertory of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and the Concerts of Ancient Music, and also occasionally appeared in benefit concerts in venues such as Hanover Square.⁷⁷ As William Weber has argued, composers such as Purcell, Arcangelo Corelli and George Frideric Handel constituted by the 1780s a musical canon, shaped by social, political and religious factors such as the cultural preferences of High Church Tories.⁷⁸ In the context of performance, the music of these composers began to be viewed as antiquarian music and therefore subject to the

⁷⁵ Luigi Boccherini, *A Third Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte [...] compiled from the Quintettos, Quartettos, & Trios [...] and adapted by T. Billington*, arr. Thomas Billington (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d. [1783]); British Library Shelfmark g.398.d.

⁷⁶ Rebecca Herissone, 'Performance History and Reception', in Rebecca Herissone (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 308–311.

⁷⁷ Sandra Tuppen, 'Purcell in the 18th Century: Music for the "Quality, Gentry, and others"', *Early Music*, 43/2 (2015), 233–245.

⁷⁸ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

common practice of updating it to modern taste. Ancient music did not necessarily pander to current musical taste, particularly not if it was contrapuntally rigorous, but it was revered because of the cultural capital it carried. As such, as Weber argues, this new taste in ancient music mostly affected an aristocratic oligarchy and did not dominate musical taste.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, these early composers enjoyed certain popularity and were also subject to arrangement, shifting the position of the genre towards popularity (as shown in the diagram of Chapter 1 p. 56). In addition to the examples shown in Chapter 2, Purcell was arranged by Robert Pindar (even providing the only extant copy of one of his odes),⁸⁰ Handel was arranged for instance by John Marsh and Joseph Corfe⁸¹ and Corelli was arranged by Edward Miller.⁸²

Press advertisements exemplify the tendency to publish music of earlier composers. Handel's oratorios, Purcell stage works, or Corelli's Sonatas were advertised by publishers such as Longman & Broderip (see Figure 3.4).

⁷⁹ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 245.

⁸⁰ Rebecca Herissone, 'Robert Pindar, Thomas Busby, and the Mysterious Scoring of Henry Purcell's "Come ye Sons of Art"', in *Music & Letters*, 88/1 (2007), 1.

⁸¹ George Frideric Handel, *The Beauties of Handel, in two volumes, consisting of upwards of one hundred of his most favorite songs, duetts & trios, selected from the various works of this great master, arranged with a separate accompaniment for the piano forte[...]*, arr. Joseph Corfe (London: Preston, for the author, n.d. [1803-04]); RISM A/I H 1088, British Library Shelfmark R.M.7.e.21.

⁸² Arcangelo Corelli, *Six sonatas opera Imo adapted for the organ, six sonatas opera Ildo adapted for the piano forte or harpsichord by Edward Miller*, arr. Edward Miller (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d. [ca. 1780]). RISM A/I C 3864.

NEW MUSIC,		
Published and Sold by		
LONGMAN and BRODERIP,		
No. 26, Cheapside, and No. 13, Haymarket, London.		
	s.	d.
G LI SCHIAVI PER AMORE, 1st Act	10	6
Martini's 12 Italian Canzonets	7	6
Clementi's 3 Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Op. 21	7	6
Gaulus' Progressive Music for ditto, Op. 4	6	0
Lee's Progressive Lessons for ditto	6	0
Corelli's 12 Sonatas from Op. 1 and 2, adapted for the Harpsichord or Organ, by Doctor Miller	10	6
The Plough Boy, with Variations, for the Harpsichord	1	0
Galloping Dreary Dun, with ditto	0	6
Hark Echo, Sweet Echo	1	0
Madam I am come a-wooing	1	0
In Yarrow Vale by Yarrow Stream	1	0
I once had a Lover	1	0
My Mother says I'm now Sixteen	1	0
12 Country Dances, Book 21	1	6
Country Dances and Minuets for 1789, each	0	6
A Collection of Catches, Canons, Glee's, &c. Ancient and Modern, selected from the Works of the most eminent Composers, Vol. 1,	7	6
Calcott's Catches, Glee's, Canons, &c, Op. 4	12	0
It was a Winter's Evening, a favourite Cantata, composed by Mr. J. Clarke, Oxford	1	0
Sleep poor Babe, ill-fated Boy, a Glee for Four Voices, adapted to a favourite Air (by Mr. Pleyel) by J. Mazinghi	1	0
Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, by Joseph Haydn, Op. 56	3	0
Ditto, with an Accompaniment for the Violin, by Ignace Pleyel	2	0

Figure 3.4: *World*, 30th October 1788.

These arrangements may also have been published for didactic purposes or may have fed on patriotic and political interest. As argued by Weber, in addition to the patriotic nostalgia, the interest in ancient music was partly also a reaction to the growth of a consumer society in eighteenth-century England. Proponents of ancient music critiqued commercialism and defined their preferred repertoires as a source of elevated taste and public virtue.⁸³ Despite the opposition to commercialisation, arrangements of ancient music may have served similar aims, and helped develop a sense of a musical canon across the eighteenth century. Thus, by arranging and updating so-called ancient repertoires, publishers made it suitable for the amateur market and enabled these purchasers to partake of the cultural capital associated with this emerging canon.

⁸³ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 243.

Thomas Busby (1754–1838), composer and writer, was a further figure who contributed to the emergence of the canon of ancient music. Published in the *New Musical Magazine* and attributed to Busby, the *Universal Dictionary of Music* (1783–1786) contains an extensive collection of music, including vocal-keyboard scores and favourite excerpts that were most probably compiled by Samuel Arnold. A couple of years later, Busby published collections ‘from the most distinguished masters’ such as *The Divine Harmonist* (1788),⁸⁴ including mainly keyboard vocal arrangements of music by Handel, Purcell, Pergolesi, Boyce, Blow, Battishill and Arne,⁸⁵ and in 1801 the *Monthly Musical Journal*. As stated in the advertisement of this journal,

This work will comprise, immediately after the Pieces appear on the Continent, all the superior, admired and new Compositions, Vocal and Instrumental, of the GREAT LIVING MASTERS of Italy, Germany, and France, with the occasional Original Contributions of some of the most eminent English composers. The whole will be adapted to the Voice, Piano-Forte, Harp, Violin, and other fashionable Instruments, and be printed in Folio in the most elegant style of modern music.⁸⁶

Thus, the collection consisted mainly of arrangements of music by foreign composers. Although the publication focused on new compositions, the advertisement also made reference to earlier composers to give prestige to the contemporary ones. Thus, the publication used the names of continental composers who became very popular in England, and claimed that the work ‘shall seek its chief materials from those countries which have given birth to a Handel, a

⁸⁴ Thomas Busby, *The Divine Harmonist or Sunday Associate, Containing Elegant Extracts, and Original Compositions, of Sacred Music. From the most distinguished Masters, Antient and Modern* (London: Printed for the Conductor, 1792). British Library shelfmark H.164.a.

⁸⁵ Sometimes including a figured bass. Thomas Busby, *The Divine Harmonist*.

⁸⁶ *The Monthly Review*, 33 (1801).

Stefanni [sic], a Pergolesi, a Corelli, a Geminiani, and a Gluck'.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the advertisement distinguished between the different types of audience the collection was targeted at. It claimed that 'Not only the convenience of domestic practitioners and private parties will be consulted, but that of the public and musical societies, both vocal and instrumental, will be equally attended to.' As argued by Nancy A. Mace in relation to the *New Musical Magazine*, these periodicals threatened to damage the sales of music sellers because they provided costumers with the most popular fragments of the most popular works for a fraction of the price of sheet music: each issue of the magazine cost 1s. 6d.⁸⁸ Much later, in 1825, Busby reproduced autograph scores (facsimiles) of composers such as Purcell and Tartini as well as Haydn and Pleyel, using Alois Senefelder's lithographic process.⁸⁹ Busby's career shows how interest in ancient music could intertwine with the use of serial publication to energise further the market for printed music.

This section has used arrangements as a starting point to discover previously unexplored information in musical sources, publishers' catalogues and press advertisements, thereby uncovering publishing practices, marketing strategies and the relative prices of arrangements in late eighteenth-century London. The catalogues and press advertisements discussed above show the diversity of publishing strategies, reflecting the energy and vitality of the London market for printed keyboard music. In general, it is possible to see the variability of the prices of printed music as reflecting factors such as the amount of paper used, as well as the vogue for certain genres (such as four-hand, or vocal keyboard arrangements). In addition, from the catalogues and music, it is possible to identify the use of arrangements in relation to the dissemination of certain repertoires: arrangements were not only

⁸⁷ Ibid., n. p.

⁸⁸ Nancy A. Mace, 'Litigate the Musical Magazine: The Definition of British Music Copyright in the 1780s', in Ezra Greenspan and Jonathan Rose (eds.), *Book History*, II (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 122.

⁸⁹ Clare Brown and Peter Holman, "Thomas Busby and his "Fac Similes of Celebrated Composers"", *Early Music Performer*, 12 (2003), 4.

used to help construct a taste for ancient music, but also to help introduce popular genres to scholars (such as the above-mentioned sonata collection by Dibdin, p. 126) and more prestigious repertoires to amateurs. In this context, it could be argued that the proliferation of arrangements allowed for the establishment of a more modern repertory of music by up-to-date composers such as Haydn, a repertory which was selected by the music publishers and which responded to current taste.⁹⁰ As vehicles for canonization and as valued commodities within the music trade, keyboard arrangements expose many important factors in late eighteenth-century English musical culture.

3.4. Copyright and the Legality of Arrangements

The vigorous nature of the London music trade, with many arrangements being made, raised questions about the financial and legal dealings of music publishers in relation to composers and arrangers. Precisely in the last decades of the eighteenth century the idea of originality as a 'central value in cultural production' became intertwined with the liberal discourse of property.⁹¹ The establishment of a Copyright Act in 1709–10 provided the right of authors or publishers to print a work for fourteen years after the publication date, with an additional extension of fourteen years if the author was still alive. The Copyright Act primarily responded to a petition of London booksellers and printers to secure the property of the books whose copy-texts they had bought.⁹² Thus, the Act was meant to protect publishers, not authors: it implied that authors received a sum for their manuscripts from the publishers, and publishers were the ones interested in prohibiting unauthorized versions to guard their investment. In other words, piracy mainly affected publishers since 'it

⁹⁰ William Weber, 'Canonicity and Collegiality: "Other" Composers 1790–1850', *Common Knowledge*, 14/1 (2008), 105–123.

⁹¹ Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 6.

⁹² Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright*, 42.

meant a loss of revenue for the bookseller, not the author.’⁹³ However, at this stage in the early eighteenth century, music was not covered by copyright legislation.

One of the aspects that explains this difference between the book trade and the music business is precisely the source of their revenues. Literary publishers profited mainly from the reprint of old works and were therefore interested in the development of a law that would protect their businesses against unauthorized publications that diminished their gains.⁹⁴ In contrast, copyright was not as relevant for music publishers, since they focused mainly on new music that was tied to performances, either as spin-offs from concerts and theatre productions or as publications intended for recreational music-making. However, by the last decades of the eighteenth century, the burgeoning population with leisure time and economic means to invest in music increased the demand for printed music and, with it, the rivalry between publishers. This rivalry is evident in the legal disputes between different publishers arising from unauthorized publication (i. e. printing a piece without the composer’s consent). By 1777, music was included in the Copyright Act, and recognition of the rights of composers and publishers started to consolidate in the following decades.

The immediate cause for this legislative change was the case of *Bach v Longman*, involving three legal actions for the unauthorized publication by Longman, Lukey and Co. of a sonata and three symphonies by J. C. Bach and a trio by C. F. Abel, which were protected by a royal privilege. After years of legal proceedings, it was determined in 1777 that music was also under the Statue of Anne because it was a form of writing.⁹⁵ Interestingly, the bills of this case mimicked that of the royal privilege and mentioned that his Majesty assigned

⁹³ Roland J. Rabin and Steven Zohn, ‘Arne, Handel, Walsh, and Music as Intellectual Property: Two Eighteenth-Century Lawsuits’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 120/1 (1995), 114.

⁹⁴ David Hunter, ‘Music Copyright in Britain to 1800’, *Music & Letters*, 67/3 (1986), 276.

⁹⁵ John Small, ‘The Development of Musical Copyright’, in Michael Kassler (ed.), *The*

the Sole printing and publishing the said Works for the Term of 14 years [...] by forbidding all his Subjects within his Kingdoms and Dominions to reprint, abridge, copy out in writing, for Sale or publish the same either in the like or any other size or manner whatsoever or to Import, Buy, Vend, utter or distribute any Copy or Copies[...]⁹⁶

Thus, even in legal documents abridgement was thought of as an infringement of this privilege. This aspect may have had implications for arrangements, which themselves might be abridged versions.

Prior to this date, other disputes between publishers reflected the need for copyright laws applicable to music, and some of them were triggered precisely by publications of arrangements. One such dispute was *Thorowgood v Bickerstaff* (1765), which started when Henry Thorowgood published unauthorized flute arrangements of Samuel Arnold's *The Maid of the Mill* presumably arranged by Isaac Johann Bickerstaff (the writer of the words of the same opera).⁹⁷ Another pertinent case was a 1769 dispute between James Longman and C. F. Abel regarding keyboard arrangements of Abel's overtures.⁹⁸ The dispute not only highlights the importance of arrangements in the period, but also the practices of publishers in regard to arrangements. After Longman published a keyboard arrangement of Abel's first set of overtures (Op. 1),⁹⁹ the composer announced on 10th August 1769 in an advertisement entitled 'Wrong Music':

Music Trade in Georgian England (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 329–370.

⁹⁶ Carl Friedrich Abel's first bill of complaint, 7th May 1773 (London, TNA: Public Record Office, C12/71/6). Transcribed by Ann van Allen-Russell (private communication, 24 August 2016). See also Ann van Allen-Russell, "'For Instruments Intended": The Second J. C. Bach Lawsuit', *Music & Letters*, 83/1 (2002), 3–29.

⁹⁷ John Small, 'The Development of Musical Copyright', 320–321.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 332.

⁹⁹ Carl Friedrich Abel, *Six favorite overtures. Adapted for the harpsichord or organ* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., n.d.) RISM A/I A 56.

WHEREAS J. Longman has lately published in my Name, my first Set of Overtures, set for the Harpsichord as he calls it: I not only declare my having no Hand in the Performance, but that the whole is quite false and improper for that Instrument. How far the Laws of the Land allow one Man to lessen the Reputation of another, by spoiling his Works shall soon be inquired into. In the mean time, to prevent the Success of so gross an Imposition on the indulgent Public, I have with Care adapted these Overtures for the Harpsichord myself. They are now in the Hands of the Engraver, and shall be ready within three Weeks at furthest.¹⁰⁰

There are two different aspects to Abel's complaint. On the one hand, Abel claimed Longman published a spurious arrangement under his name and threatened to take legal action. On the other hand, he complained about the arrangement itself not being idiomatic for the keyboard. Furthermore, according to Abel, the complaint is founded on the damage to the composer's reputation, and not on the economic damage (although the two could be linked, with the composer's good reputation for accurate music encouraging purchasers to buy his publications). He continues by announcing the prompt publication of his own arrangements of the same overtures.

A few days later, Longman responded by pointing out the reliability of his sources in an advertisement entitled 'Right Music'. As he details,

[...] the Public shall judge of the Falsity of this Accusation: These Overtures, as adapted for the Harpsichord, and published by me, are taken from a Set in Eight Parts, originally printed in Holland, and are so compiled, that

¹⁰⁰ *The Public Advertiser*, 10th August 1769. Also published in the *Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 10th August 1769, 1. John Small, 'The Development of Musical Copyright', 330.

they not only serve as Lessons for the Harpsichord, but are purposely contrived still to be played together with all the Parts; yet C. F. Abel, does no blush to say they are improper for the Instrument, and also that the whole is quite false; what Faults there are (Errors of the Press excepted) must be in his Copy originally printed in Holland, from which they are carefully done. He says he has adapted them himself, we shall see in what Manner he has, to render them more proper for that Instrument, without altering the original Composition.¹⁰¹

As pointed out by Longman, J. J. Hummel published Abel's symphonies (ambiguously described as overtures) in Amsterdam about ten years earlier, presumably with Abel's authorization. However, at least two English publishers (J. Johnson and R. Bremner) printed the overtures in eight parts in the same period. Thus, although Longman is right, the situation highlighted a loophole of copyright law, specifically the national boundaries of publishing and printing property rights.¹⁰² It was seen as acceptable to reprint music in a new geographical region (i.e. for Dutch publishers to reprint music from Italy or from London), and less acceptable to reprint within the same geographical area. The dispute may indicate why foreign composers may have been arranged more profusely in London than local ones.¹⁰³ A similar case in relation to Haydn's keyboard music was a litigation by Forster against Longman & Broderip started in 1784 due to pirate printing. Similarly to Abel's case, both Forster and Longman claimed their editions were legitimate because the music had previously only been published on the continent,

¹⁰¹ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, and *British Chronicle* for 1769, 18th–21st August 1769, 172. John Small, 'The Development of Musical Copyright', 331.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 332.

¹⁰³ Rudolf Rasch, 'Publishers and Publishers', in Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaft Verlag, 2005), 203–204.

highlighting the impossibility of demanding the exclusive rights over Haydn's music.¹⁰⁴

Abel's complaint highlights, in addition, his concern about being associated with an arrangement that did not reach his standards with regards to idiomatic nicety. Similarly to some of the German reviews analysed in Chapter 2, his complaint highlights the difficulties of the task of arranging and the concern of late eighteenth-century composers, arrangers and publishers in offering adaptations that were both idiomatic for the instrument and faithful to the composer's original.

On the 29th August 1769, Abel advertised again the above-mentioned text adding only the publication date of his arrangements and the statement: 'Mr. Longman calls these Overtures in his Advertisement Right Music. If he thinks them right, it is an evident Sign they are wrong.'¹⁰⁵ On the 8th September, after this rather personal response, Longman wrote another advertisement intended to clarify that his arrangements were as good as those of Abel. As he put it:

ABEL's Six Favourite Overtures, adapted for the harpsichord or organ calculated also to be played with the instrumental parts, price only 4s. printed on a fine super-royal. Whereas C. F. ABEL has advertised 'Wrong Music', published by me (meaning the above Overtures), giving, as his reason, that 'if I think them Right, it is an evident sign they are wrong!' A mode of reasoning unanswerable indeed, because unintelligible. I beg leave to inform the public, and Mr Abel, that they were adapted by an eminent ENGLISH MASTER, and have been greatly approved by persons, whose judgements are allowed to EQUAL those of Mr ABEL. Did I stand in need of any additional proof of their being adapted with property, I

¹⁰⁴ Nancy A. Mace, 'Haydn and the London Music Sellers: Forster V. Longman & Broderip', *Music and Letters*, 77/4, (1996), 527-541.

¹⁰⁵ *The St James's Chronicle*; or, *British Evening Post*, 29-31 August 1769, 2. Quoted in John Small, 'The Development of Musical Copyright', 331.

may mention the GREAT DEMAND for them, which is alone a convincing one, and sufficient to overturn the malicious insinuations of said Abel.¹⁰⁶

Thus, for Longman, popularity also testified to the quality of the arrangements, beyond the identity of the arranger, which he does not disclose. In the same advertisement, Longman reassured the potential purchaser that the arrangements were adapted from Abel's original compositions:

In my former advertisement, I asserted, they were properly adapted to the instrument; and that care had been taken, not only to preserve the original composition, as lessons, but so to adapt them, as to be able to play them with all the parts. If a liberty had been taken with the original composition, Abel might justly have complained; yet he accuses me of having published a wrong composition: though he cannot support his accusation, otherwise than by altering, essentially, the original, to adapt them merely as harpsichord lessons.¹⁰⁷

Due to the short responses by Abel it is difficult to glimpse the precise reason behind the composer's complaints. Most probably Abel was not so much concerned with the quality of the arrangement, but more directly with the unauthorized publication of music under his name.

Another way to shed light on the dispute is by comparing the extant musical sources. The British Library holds copies of Abel's set of six overtures: an arrangement of those overtures by Abel published by Bremner, and an anonymous arrangement published by Longman, Lukey and Co. The main aspect that may have triggered Abel's reaction is the title of Longman's edition: 'Six Favorite Overtures Adapted for the

¹⁰⁶ *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 8 September 1769, 3. Quoted in John Small, 'The Development of Musical Copyright', 332.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 332.

Harpsicord[sic] or Organ Composed by C. F. Abel'.¹⁰⁸ In the phrasing of this title the identity of the composer and the arranger is ambiguous, and the title could be interpreted as if Abel was the arranger. Reading through Longman's responses, he did not understand (or pretended not to understand) why Abel claimed it was not his music. By reading the title of Longman's publication, it seems possible that Abel was referring to the arrangement whilst Longman was referring to the work in a wider sense. In other words, Abel denied the authorship of the arrangements but Longman claimed he was thereby denying the authorship of the overtures. Certainly, arrangement titles in the period tend to emphasize the name of the author first, even when the arranger is not mentioned (along the lines of 'The celebrated overture by [...] adapted to the harpsichord or pianoforte' or '[Composer's] overture adapted for the harpsichord or pianoforte'). Thus, the dispute also highlights the difficulties of identifying authority in arrangements that is, in distinguishing and appraising the work of composers and arrangers. In relation to Abel's other concern, idiomatic nicety, the sources also provide evidence of the differences between versions, which are analysed in detail in Chapter 5 to show that Abel's version indeed shows greater concern for effective and idiomatic writing on the keyboard, and indeed sometimes changes the original composition.

Although the 1777 edict clarified that the Copyright Law encompassed musical publications, there were considerable difficulties in applying it in the ensuing decades, as exemplified by the case of Haydn's *The Creation*. The libretto of the oratorio (written by an unknown English author) was given to Haydn by Salomon, and it was published as a bilingual edition by Artaria translated to German (and retranslated into English) by Gottfried van Swieten. To Johann Peter

¹⁰⁸ Carl Friedrich Abel, *Six Favorite Overtures Adapted for the Harpsicord[sic] or Organ Composed by C. F. Abel* (London: Longman, Lukey and Co., n.d. [1769]) edition British Library shelfmark R.M.16.a.15.(5.). Carl Friedrich Abel, *Six Overtures Composed by C. F. Abel. Adapted for the Harpsichord. or Piano-Forte By the Author* (London: R. Bremner, n.d. [1769]). Abel's arrangements of his overtures is on British Library shelfmark R.M.17.e.9.(2.). The dates on the British Library indicate '[1770?]' and '[c. 1765]' respectively, but need to be revised in light of the dating of the dispute between Abel and Longman.

Salomon's displeasure, the oratorio was premiered in Vienna on the 29th April 1798, and he was unable to premiere it in London. Salomon received the authorized copies of the music on the 23rd March 1799 from Artaria (probably with some indications for its performance that Haydn sent to the other cities), but only one week after, on the 28th March, his rival John Ashley was able to premiere it in London at Covent Garden, from other copies sent from Vienna that probably arrived on the 22nd of March.¹⁰⁹ After this event and only one month after the publication of the full score of the oratorio in Vienna, Longman, Clementi & Co. announced in the press the purchase of the copyright for the vocal score and the prompt publication of the vocal score arranged by Clementi:

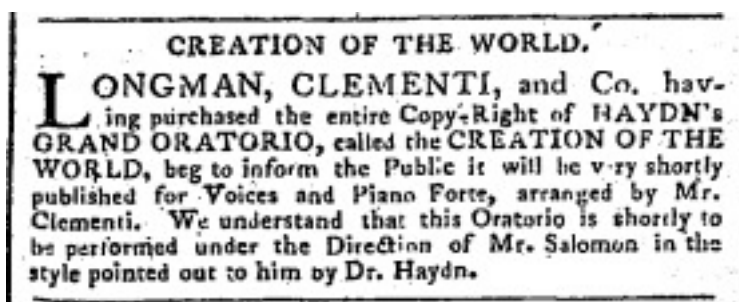


Figure 3.5: 27th March 1800 in *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*.

As the advertisement shows, the purchase of the 'entire Copy-Right' implicitly included the rights to arrange the piece as a vocal score. However, it is possible that the advertisement was mainly intended to highlight the authenticity of Salomon's performance and undermine that of Ashley. As analysed by David Rowland, the circumstances surrounding the copyright stated in the advertisement go far beyond the performance and into the contractual arrangements between Haydn and the publishers.¹¹⁰ Although there was a contract between him and

¹⁰⁹ A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn's The Creation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 74–77. Nicholas Temperley, 'New light on the libretto of *The Creation*', in Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (eds.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 191–193.

¹¹⁰ David Rowland, 'Haydn's Music and Clementi's Publishing Circle,' in Richard Chesser and David Wyn Jones (eds.), *The Land of Opportunity: Joseph Haydn in Britain* (London: The British Library, 2013), 98–105.

Hyde (associated with Longman and Clementi at the time) it did not apply to *The Creation*. Furthermore, despite the claim of exclusivity expressed in the advertisement, extant sources indicate that around the same time arrangements of the piece for string quartet were published by H. Wright,¹¹¹ as well as chorus arrangements by G. Walker,¹¹² and some excerpts published by Preston.¹¹³ Later editions of the arrangement were published by Longman or his partners.¹¹⁴ Thus, the advertisement perhaps served to announce the publication and also act as a precautionary measure to discourage piracy.

This section has shown how the status of arrangements in relation to the authorship posed legal and practical problems to publishers and composers, beyond the aesthetic and philosophical issues highlighted in Chapter 2. Thus, it has not only demonstrated the problematic status of arrangements within the music trade, but has also shown that the tension arising from the legal status of arrangements contributed to the debates and lawsuits that led to the establishment of a copyright law for music.

3.5. Publishers and Arrangers: the Financial Dealings

In addition to the legal issues highlighted in the previous section, it seems pertinent to focus on the relationship between arrangers and publishers. Given the limited sources regarding publishers and their

¹¹¹ For example RISM A/1 H 4169 Joseph Haydn, *Creation, an Oratorio arranged as Quartettos for two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello* (London: H. Wright, n.d. [ca. 1801]). British Library shelfmark g.455.w., the library catalogue indicates the date 1801 is based on the water mark. RISM A/1 H 4170 includes also a source with the same title but published by Preston.

¹¹² Joseph Haydn, *The heavens are telling: a grand chorus in the Creation Composed by Dr. Haydn. Arranged in a familiar style for the voice & pianoforte by G. Nezot, pupil of D. Steibelt*, arr. Gabriel Nezot, (London: G. Walker, n.d.); RISM A/I H 4063.

¹¹³ Joseph Haydn, *Die Schöpfung. (6). Selections: Mit Staunen sieht das Wunderwerk. The marv'lous work behold amaz'd; a favorite air in the oratorio of The creation* (London: Preston, n.d.); RISM A/I H 4663.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Haydn, *The Creation [...] compressed from the score by M. Clementi and adapted to an improved translation by S. Webbe, Jun.*, arr. Muzio Clementi (London: Clementi & Co., n.d.); RISM A/I H 4660. Joseph Haydn, *Twelve Pieces, From Haydn's Sacred Oratorio of The Creation, adapted for Voices and Piano Forte by Muzio Clementi*, arr. Muzio Clementi (London: Clementi & Co., n.d.); RISM A/I 4662.

accounts, it is difficult to know the financial and legal conditions involved in the publication of arrangements. As suggested by An, copy-texts of most items in English publishers' catalogues were purchased directly from composers 'as opportunities arose rather than being vigorously pursued'.¹¹⁵ Thus, apart from a few exceptions, composers approached publishers and not the other way around. As it will be shown, similar practices seem to have occurred between publishers and arrangers. Nevertheless, other practices may also have prevailed for the publication of collections, where the intention of publishers is sometimes more evident.

Surviving catalogues and printed arrangements show that the name of arrangers was not always included in printed music. Musicians named in such sources as arrangers include William Shield (1748–1829), Samuel Arnold (1740–1802), Thomas Haigh (1769–1808), Tomasso Giordani (1730–1806), Edward Miller (1735–1807), James Hook (1746–1827), Samuel Wesley (1766–1837), Thomas Billington (1754–1832), Thomas Carter (1735–1804), Joseph Mazzinghi (1765–1844), Stephen Storace (1762–1796), Joseph Corfe (1741–1820), Edward S. Biggs (–ca. 1820), and John Marsh (1752–1828). It is possible that publishers included the name of the arranger when the individual was well-known and carried prestige. For example, Samuel Arnold was harpsichordist and composer to Covent Garden and the Chapel Royal and later also conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music. Other figures were composers such as Stephen Storace, James Hook and Samuel Wesley, also a relevant performer of the period. In addition to the local composers, other arrangers were foreigners established in London musical life, such as the Corsican Joseph Mazzinghi, house composer of the King's Theatre (1786–9) and the Pantheon Opera House (1790–2), who profusely arranged for the keyboard over twenty ballets by composers such as J. B. D'Auberval and G. Onorati, and pasticcios of composers such as Paisiello and Monsigny. Furthermore, he arranged

¹¹⁵ Yu Lee An, 'Music Publishing in London from 1780 to 1837', 139.

over 50 overtures by composers such as Cherubini and Mozart.¹¹⁶ (Mazzinghi's views on arranging Handel's music are discussed in Chapter 2.)

In other cases publishers did not include the name of the arranger. The reasons for this exclusion may be manifold. Certainly, since arrangers were not systematically excluded, it seems not so much a matter of acknowledging the activity of arrangers. However, it is possible that the task of the arranger was in some cases understood as part of the making of the edition and not part of the musical identity of the arranged composition. For example, arrangements of Haydn symphonies tend to include the name of the arranger when published as single pieces, but not when published in instalments (explored further in Chapter 6). Thus, it is possible that publishers had an active role in the arrangement of pieces when they were part of collections or serial endeavours. To be sure, certain publishers may also have had an active role in arrangements, such as in the case of Clementi or E. S. Biggs. Although there is almost no information about E. S. Biggs, he published his own catalogue with the collaboration of Birchall, which mostly consisted of keyboard-vocal arrangements, keyboard arrangements of dances and harmonisations of songs.¹¹⁷ Other arrangers such as Clementi had a better-documented relationship with publishing. Arriving in London in the mid 1770s, he became not only a prominent keyboard player, conductor, composer and teacher, but was also a publisher, who bought the assets of Longman & Broderip and partnered with Longman after the firm's bankruptcy in 1798.¹¹⁸ Among the contributions to his publishing firm's catalogue, it is possible to find piano music (such as waltzes and sonatas), didactic works (most

¹¹⁶ Roger Fiske and Gabriella Dideriksen, 'Joseph Mazzinghi', in *Grove Music Online*, available at <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 3 December 2016.

¹¹⁷ His catalogue is entitled: 'A Catalogue/ of MUSIC, Arranged, Harmonized, or Composed by Mr. Biggs;/ the original copies of which are Printed and sold by Rt. Birchall/ at his Musical Circulating Library, No 133 New Bond Street,/ London.' The catalogue is found within E. S. Biggs, *Fatherless Fanny, a Favorite Ballad, by Mrs. Opie, Composed by Mr. Biggs*, (London: for the Author, n.d. [1801]). British Library shelfmark G.364.(9.).

¹¹⁸ David Rowland, 'Clementi's Music Business', in Michael Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 125–157.

importantly his Introduction to the *Art of Playing on the Piano Forte*), editions of Corelli's trio sonatas¹¹⁹ and his arrangements.¹²⁰ As Tyson lists, his arrangements would include his keyboard arrangements of Pleyel's string quartets, G. B. Viotti's violin duos and Mozart's overtures, as well as multiple Haydn symphonies (in some cases with accompaniments for flute, violin and violoncello).¹²¹ In addition, he produced vocal scores of Mozart operas and Haydn's *The Seasons* and *The Creation*, some of them published as arrangements for four hands.¹²² Some of these arrangements are mentioned in Clementi's entry in *A Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (1827), in which it is also detailed that Clementi's arrangements of Haydn were needed, given that the arrangements published by Salomon of the same symphonies were 'imperfectly done'.¹²³

Another aspect of the relationship between arrangers and publishers was financial. Regarding payments, the practices between publishers and arrangers were similar to those of composers. Publishers commissioned arrangers for a certain work, making a one-off payment to purchase the copy-text and the right to publish it.¹²⁴ Alternatively, publishers paid in kind with a batch of printed copies that the arranger could distribute among their friends or sell for his own profit. However, as Hunter highlights, composers who sold their own works 'often suffered the chagrin of seeing publishers grow rich'.¹²⁵ To be sure, as Hunter has argued elsewhere, some of the complaints of composers enact the trope of the neglected genius unfairly exploited by

¹¹⁹ Arcangelo Corelli, *A new edition of Corelli's Twelve Solos [...]* (London: Longman, Clementi & Co.). For more information on Clementi's interest in the dissemination of music of the early eighteenth century see David Rowland, 'Clementi as a Publisher', 166–167.

¹²⁰ David Rowland, 'Clementi as a Publisher', in Michael Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 165. At least some of Clementi's arrangements will be published in his forthcoming *Opera Omnia*.

¹²¹ Alan Tyson, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Muzio Clementi* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), 129–131.

¹²² Alan Tyson, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Muzio Clementi*, 129–131.

¹²³ John S. Sainsbury, *A dictionary of musicians, from the earliest ages of the present time* (London: Printed for Sainsbury and Co., 1827), 164.

¹²⁴ David Hunter, 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', 271.

¹²⁵ David Hunter, 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', 275.

mercenary publishers.¹²⁶ In his book *Professional Life* (1803) Dibdin gives some insights into his dealings with publishers. For instance, Dibdin claims he received £45 for the score of his afterpiece *The Padlock* (1768) while the publisher (most probably John Johnson) sold 10,000 copies of the vocal score over 30 years.¹²⁷ In response to these continued abuses of publishers, Dibdin established his own publishing business and thereby gained full economic benefit from the publication of his music. For example, his collection of sonatas from the *Wags and Oddities* (an entertainment Dibdin offered on a regular basis at the Lyceum in the Strand; see the advertisement of the collection in Figure 3.1) provided great benefits: Dibdin claimed he published 10,750 copies of the song the ‘Greenwich Pensioner’, making a profit of more than £400.¹²⁸ Although these numbers may be overestimated, the large print-runs are certainly noteworthy. Furthermore, these numbers may be compared to those of J. A. Hiller (a figure explored in Chapter 2), who allegedly achieved a print-run of 4,000 copies for the vocal-keyboard score of the singspiel *Die Jagd*, and another of 2,750 copies (within fifteen years and four editions) for that of *Lottchen am Hofe* and *Liebe auf dem Land* altogether.¹²⁹

Other composers such as Samuel Arnold appear to have been less fortunate in their businesses. According to Busby, Arnold had to make economic sacrifices to be able to have his music performed in public. Busby claimed:

Vauxhall Gardens were supplied by his pen, *gratis*, with songs, the beauties of which were equalled only by those in the vocal production of John Christian Bach; and he

¹²⁶ David Hunter, ‘George Frideric Handel as victim: Composer-Publisher Relations and the Discourse of Musicology’, *Encomium musicae: essays in honor of Robert J. Snow* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 663–693.

¹²⁷ Charles Dibdin, *Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin*, i. (London: Published by the Author, 1803), 71. Quoted in David Hunter, ‘Music Copyright in Britain to 1800’, 275.

¹²⁸ Charles Dibdin, *Professional Life*, 40. Quoted in David Hunter, ‘Music Copyright in Britain to 1800’, 276.

¹²⁹ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: a Social History*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 153–154. Unfortunately Loesser does not name the sources of this information.

engaged with the managers of the Covent Garden Theatre, to supply, compile, and arrange, the whole of the music for *The Maid of the Mill*, for the inconsiderable sum of twelve pounds.¹³⁰

Thus, Arnold supplied music for *The Maid of the Mill* (1765) to suit the performance at Covent Garden. Arrangements of songs from *The Maid of the Mill* by Arnold have survived,¹³¹ showing that such arrangements provided an opportunity for Arnold or some other arranger to profit from the success of the show. The amounts earned by Arnold and Dibdin will be compared to the earnings of other composers later in this section.

Another example of an arranger's dealings with publishers can be found in the extensive journal of John Marsh, where he described many aspects of his daily life. As a lawyer and then a gentleman of independent means, Marsh was not reliant on music for his income and may therefore not be representative of wider practices; nonetheless he published his compositions and arrangements, and his diary provides very valuable information. In his diaries, Marsh explains that he arranged pieces that he later offered to publishers, and also used publishers such as Longman for printing and distributing his compositions and arrangements. For example, in March 1793, while confined at home due to an injury, Marsh explained:

Thinking I sho'd now be confined within for some little time I on this day began writing out a fair copy of an Overture & 8 Sonatinas for the piano forte (mostly compiled & arranged from my other compositions) w'ch I had thoughts of publishing.¹³²

¹³⁰ Thomas Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians*, I (London: Clementi, 1825), 91.

¹³¹ Samuel Arnold, *The maid of the mill. A comick opera [...] for the voice, harpsichord or violin* (London: R. Bremner, n. d.) RISM A/I A 2286 (another edition is RISM ID no.: 806037227, number for RISM online).

¹³² John Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer*

In this quotation, it is clear that Marsh produced arrangements on his own initiative. Nevertheless, other quotations indicate he had a sense of which music was more likely to be published. In June 1804, Marsh claimed that after seeing quartet arrangements of Haydn's *The Creation* (most probably published by H. Wright and referred to on p. 149), he considered arranging Handel's *Messiah*:

Having when in London lately seen Haydn's *Creation* arrang'd as quartettos, it occur'd to me that the *Messiah* adapted in something of the same kind of manner might answer very well, & accordingly hinted to Mr Hyde of Cheapside my attempting something of the kind on my return home. On Monday the 14th therefore I began sketching out a score o the 1st act in which I arranged the recitatives & arias as trios, quartettos or quintettos & the choruses as sestettos for 2 vio's. a flute (or hautboy) tenor, violoncello & under bass, w'ch employed me all that & the follow'g week.¹³³

Although there is no evidence of any publication of this arrangement, Marsh claimed he sent the arrangement to Clementi. Marsh wrote:

Having finished the score of the 1st part of the *Messiah* [...] I on the 1st. of June sent it to Messrs Clementi & Co. for their inspection, of whom I asked, if they thought it wo'd answer to print it, 10 guineas for the score of the 1st act & writing out all the parts for the engraver—the same

(1752–1828), I (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1998), 535. The publication referred in the quotation is John Marsh's *An Overture and Eight Sonatinas for the piano-forte, with accompaniments for a violin and violoncello* (London: Longman & Broderip for the author, n.d.); RISM A/I M 742.

¹³³ John Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals*, II, 45.

for the 2d. act, & 5 gu's for the 3d. as being much shorter than either of the others.¹³⁴

This would suggest Marsh took the initiative and that although he was not commissioned by Clementi & Co., he would have been paid 25 guineas (£20 5s) for his work, which would include copying the parts for the engraver. However, there is no evidence that this arrangement was ever published.

A similar example can be found slightly later in 1812. In this case the arrangement was published and Marsh pointed out the amount paid by the publisher, here Thomas Preston (son of John Preston), for an arrangement of Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum*:

In the evening [of January 8] I had some music with Mr. Kuhlan master of the 7th. Dragoon band, who took the violoncello, the 2 Michells & my sons John & Henry, the latter of whom played the flute, when we tried over a proof copy of the *Dettingen Te Deum*, arranged by me as a sestetto for two violins, flute, tenor, violoncello & bass, which I this morning received from Mr. Preston who had agreed to give me 5. Gu's & a dozen copies for the copyright.¹³⁵

In this case, the arrangement is much shorter and consequently the amount paid is smaller, 5 guineas, plus twelve copies of the piece. This payment represents the above-mentioned practice of publishers to make a one-off payment to composers to acquire the copy and all rights to publish it. It is interesting to compare this amount with, for example, payments to Charles Dibdin in 1768, who received £45 for the afterpiece *The Padlock* and £15 for *Damon and Phillida*; Samuel Arnold in 1765, who received £12 to arrange *The Maid of the Hill*, or Thomas

¹³⁴ Ibid., 45.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 183.

Arne who received £20 from Walsh for his collections of eight or nine songs, and Handel who received £26 5s. also from Walsh for his operas, and 20 guineas for his oratorios.¹³⁶ To be sure, some of these differences are related to the chronological distance between compositions, and changes in the publication practices. Even allowing for inflation, Marsh was paid considerably less than the sums received by composers such as Dibdin, Arne or Handel, from publishers for their original works. The smaller sum therefore may suggest the lesser status of the arranger compared to the composer, as well as Marsh's reputation as a dilettante, probably indicating that the 'original' work carried a financial premium.

Particularly early in his life, Marsh himself paid for the printing and distribution of his own music, or was only paid in kind by publishers. For example, in February 1783 Bremner published Marsh's arrangements of Handel and two fugues for two performers¹³⁷ giving Marsh 25 copies of each piece in return.¹³⁸ A year later Marsh wrote that Bremner told him his name and dilettantism discouraged possible buyers.

Mr Lincoln the organ builder having heard my Double Orchestra Overture in Eb at the Concert at Canterbury, & telling me that he thought his relation, Preston music seller in the Strand London wo'd be glad to print it, I accordingly took it to Town & shew'd it to him who immediately agreed to give me 25 copies for the MS. which he immediately printed. As however Mr Bremner had told me that my name, as a mere amateur, had spoilt the sale of the Fugues for Two Performers which he had lately published of mine, I publish'd this Double

¹³⁶ David Hunter, 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', 276.

¹³⁷ George Frideric Handel, *Handel's Hallelujah in the Messiah, and grand coronation anthem; to which are prefix'd two new fugues; the whole adapted & composed for 2 performers on one organ or harpsichord by J. Marsh.*, arr. John Marsh (London: R. Bremner, n.d. [1783]); RISM A/I H 774.

¹³⁸ John Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals*, I, 277.

Orchestra piece in the German sounding name of Sharm,
as anagram of my name.¹³⁹

This section has shown some examples of the dealings between arrangers and publishers. Firstly, it has shown that similarly to composers, arrangers often took the initiative in offering their work to publishers. Nevertheless, arrangements published as part of collections may sometimes have been commissioned by publishers, in which case the name of the arranger seems to have been irregularly included in the edition. In this regard, the names of a few arrangers have been identified in English published arrangements, highlighting a wide variety of backgrounds, origins and degrees of musical prestige among arrangers, which in turn probably affected the financial aspects of the deals. Although some of this information may suggest possible relationships between publishers and arrangers, the limitations of the fragmentary surviving material (which is not necessarily representative) makes it difficult to generalize. Surviving sources relate to Dibdin and Clementi who were self-publishers, or to John Marsh, who had a different status as a gentleman rather than a professional composer. Furthermore, as with the case of instrument manufacturers, the practices of publishers may have been as varied and changeable as their products.

Conclusion

As a consequence of the economic expansion and changes in consumer behaviour discussed in Chapter 1, late eighteenth-century music production in England was oriented towards the public market. Musical instruments and music printing developed to incorporate new technologies and marketing strategies, whilst keeping manufacturing costs and retail prices low. Despite their short lives, firms such as

¹³⁹ John Marsh Journals, I, 309. February 1784. John Marsh, *A conversation sinfonie, for two orchestras, upon a new plan* (London: John Preston, 1784); RISM M 738.

Zumpe (and later Pohlman) offered square pianos for a third of the price of a good harpsichord or piano forte, making pianos available to a wider range of buyers than previously possible. In a similar way, printed arrangements allowed music that was originally performed in the opera house or concert hall for a selected wealthy audience to be offered at a reduced price to a wider audience. This chapter has explored the role played by late eighteenth-century arrangements in London's music trade, providing an insight into the ways they were marketed and their relative prices. Thus, this chapter has shown the place of arrangements within the catalogues of London's music publishers: they were scattered in different genres and forms and sold in a variety of ways. In some cases arrangements were connected with the identity of the original composition (particularly when the arranged nature of the piece was acknowledged) and sometimes they were presented as new pieces (particularly when the arranged nature of the piece was not acknowledged). Furthermore, published arrangements were subject to marketing strategies: on the one hand they were associated with prestige by relating them to certain composers (new or 'ancient' music) and/or certain venues or occasions; on the other hand they were sold in sets, serial publications, and as part of circulating libraries. Particularly when arrangements identified themselves with their original, they seem to be considered as part of the original work, contributing to contemporary debates on copyright. Nevertheless, similarly to original compositions, pieces tended to be published under the arranger's initiative and the task was paid for through a one-off payment, in kind or in copies. Despite the difficulties of tracing the dealings between publishers and composers or arrangers, the diaries of John Marsh have provided valuable evidence not systematically examined by previous scholars. Further research is necessary to study whether similar marketing strategies were used for the printed keyboard arrangements that circulated in German-speaking lands. Some relevant insights on the dealings between Haydn and his

publishers Artaria and Breitkopf und Härtel will be explored in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4 : **Keyboard Arrangements, the Private Sphere and the Female Accomplishments in Late Georgian England**

As argued in the previous chapters, the rise of arrangements in the late eighteenth century served several purposes beyond commercial profit. Performing arrangements of symphonic and operatic music offered the possibility of disseminating music easily and transporting it from the public sphere to the domestic space. In the period of the rise of the public sphere, a focus on the domestic space draws attention to the purchasers or 'readers' as active agents in the transformation and appropriation of music. A focus on purchasers, performers or listeners would also respond to Roger Chartier's idea that publishers and readers are active participants in the creation of the meanings of texts discussed in Chapter 1. In the previous chapters, it has been possible to see arrangements as a genre that balances seemingly conflicting elements, such as amateur and professional, practical and authoritative, copy and original, popularity and prestige, commercial and learned. Whilst Chapter 3 focussed specifically on the commercial function of arrangements and their role in publishing practices, this chapter will focus on audiences and purchasers. To some extent, if the previous chapter examined the supply side, that is the production of printed music and instruments, this chapter will provide a qualitative insight into the demand side, that is the uses of arrangements within the practices of domestic music-making. Jeanice Brooks argues that late eighteenth-century keyboard compositions intended for domestic performance 'foreground the moment in a way contrary to the increasingly powerful ideal of the transcendent musical work'.¹ In the

¹ Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments of the Country House', *Music & Letters*, 91/4 (2010), 523.

domestic context, arrangements seem to negotiate this ideal, drawing on both their ephemerality and their canonizing character.

Given the extensive surviving collections of domestic provenance and contemporary ego-documents such as journals and letters, and as a counterpoint to the last chapter on keyboard arrangements in the English music trade, this chapter focuses on late eighteenth-century England. The chapter will first explore the distinction between domestic and public spaces in late eighteenth-century England with reference to present-day theorists and cultural historians. Then it will turn to consider eighteenth-century letters and diaries that describe musical scenes, for example those by the Burney family, and will relate them to extant musical arrangements and their owners. Specifically it will consider collections such as the Austen family's music collection (currently held at Chawton House) and collections of female amateur musicians now held at English country houses such as that of Elizabeth Sykes (currently held in Tatton Park), and compare them to the music collection of Maria Halsted Poole, whose music books have not previously been studied. In this context, the chapter will show the role of taste and gender in shaping the domestic use of arrangements, and together with Chapter 3, it will provide a wider picture of the relationship between the music business and musical life in late eighteenth-century England.

4.1. Public and Private Spheres: the Market and the Household

As considered in Chapter 1 and 3, scholars have sought to understand changes in consumer behaviour to chart the late eighteenth-century's expanding market. Jan de Vries argues that consumer behaviour is a cultural phenomenon detached from economic constraints and that its study relies on cultural interpretations.² De Vries focuses on the 'household economy (usually a family, or with a family at its core) and

² Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5.

the terms of interaction between households and the market economy'³ to resolve the circular argument about whether a growth in demand or a growth in supply caused the economic growth previous to the Industrial Revolution (explored in Chapter 1). De Vries's arguments about the centrality of the household economy not only direct the scholarly focus onto consumption and decision-making within the household, but also to the development of a private sphere of affective relations arguably distinguishable from the public one. According to James van Horn Melton, in the early modern period the administrative and judicial functions of the household were absorbed by the state, whilst its productive function was absorbed by the market. Thus, the household became privatized and autonomous, and assumed functions as a sphere of affection and intimacy.⁴ Regarding late seventeenth-century England and eighteenth-century France, Roger Chartier concurs in considering the 'private' as a product of the modern state, and interprets the 'public' as growing out from the private, a 'consequence of what Jürgen Habermas calls the public use of reason by private people'.⁵ Nevertheless, as already mentioned in Chapter 1 with regard to Dena Goodman, the boundary between private and public space was ambiguous because the concepts were still in the process of being articulated.

The two above-mentioned aspects related to de Vries's arguments, namely decision-making within the household and the rise of the private sphere, appear to be subject to discourses of gender. Regarding the private sphere in France, Joan B. Landes claims that 'the bourgeois public is essentially, not just contingently, masculinist, and that this characteristic serves to determine both its self-representation and its subsequent "structural transformation"'.⁶ Thus, Landes argues

³ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, 10.

⁴ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6.

⁵ Roger Chartier, 'Introduction' in *A History of private life III: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1989), 17.

⁶ Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 7.

that private and public spheres are essentially gendered, and advocates for a reconstitution of the public sphere as a category that can shape modern feminism. Scholars in different fields, such as Cathy N. Davidson and Jessamyn Hatcher in the literary one,⁷ have problematized the binary of separate spheres in vogue in late twentieth-century studies and proposed new models to understand the public and private spheres independently from gender. Specifically regarding English culture in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, Amanda Vickery questions the reliability of didactic and complaint literature often used by historians as foundation of a framework of separate spheres.⁸ Similarly, Dena Goodman disagrees with Landes's assertion that the public sphere is mainly male and the private sphere mainly female. Departing from critical insights into scholarship, Goodman puts forward the convergence between the theory of the public sphere and the history of private life and argues that the opposition between the private and public spheres is false.⁹ Goodman suggests that scholars from different intellectual traditions have argued that the histories of both the public and private spheres have been constructed as a binary opposition, based on the changes in the forms of sociability. In other words, the new forms of sociability (clubs, societies, academies, etc.) became for Habermas the foundations of the bourgeois public sphere, and the 'new culture' of private life for Philippe Ariès. Thus, for Goodman, the understanding of the public sphere as gendered derives from a 'too-rigid understanding of the opposition between public and private spheres' that 'fails to account for the complexity of the Old Regime'.¹⁰ Instead of interpreting (as Landes did) the *salonnières* and women of the court as transgressions of the

⁷ Cathy N. Davidson and Jessamyn Hatcher, *No more separate Spheres! A next Wave American Studies Reader* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002). In the volume the contributors argue that the binary is simplistic. They advocate for feminist studies that consider of other factors that contribute to identity and literary creativity.

⁸ Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A review of the Categories and Chronology of English Woman History', *The Historical Journal*, 36/ 2 (1993), 386.

⁹ Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory*, 31/1 (1992), 9.

¹⁰ Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life', 14.

public sphere, Goodman understands these female roles as permitted in those sectors of Habermas's bourgeois public sphere which as yet were not fully public (that is salons), and which would be subsequently dissolved by men during the French Revolution.¹¹ Thus, it was only later that females were relegated to the domestic sphere and males to the political one. Furthermore, she explains:

While the private dimension of the absolutist public sphere made women associated with it vulnerable to condemnation as secretive intriguers, the situation of the literate public sphere within the private realm protected the salon that was an institution of this "public" sphere from the power of a monarchy that respected the patriarchal authority that was supposed to reign in the home.¹²

Similarly, from the perspective of music, Leslie Ritchie argues for a theorization more sophisticated than a binary divide between private and public. She argues that women's musical activity in eighteenth-century Britain 'was not confined in the domestic sphere, but stretched from the stage to the drawing room in a flexible continuum of various performance spaces and repertory, and a concomitant range of moral position-takings.'¹³ Furthermore, Ritchie highlights the problematic nature of the term 'private' in the context of eighteenth-century concerts, where the word did not necessarily indicate a small venue or amateur performances.

The other aspect of de Vries's arguments relevant here is the 'augmentation of the decision-making centrality of the wife' in eighteenth-century households, responding to 'a shift from relative self-

¹¹ Ibid., 16.

¹² Ibid., 18.

¹³ Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 20.

sufficiency toward market-oriented production.¹⁴ Thus, consumption and the household economy have also been discussed from the perspective of gender. In Thorstein Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption and his focus on emulation in consumer behaviour conduct (discussed in Chapter 1), he referred to women of the leisured class. He suggested the economic dependence and unemployed status of wives of this class were used by their husbands as objects of conspicuous consumption, that is, as a display of the husband's wealth. Furthermore, when discussing 'developed societies', and thus referring broadly to his time (the book was published in 1899), Veblen asserted that housewives will consume 'for him [the husband] in conspicuous leisure; thereby putting in evidence his ability to sustain a large pecuniary damage without impairing his superior opulence.'¹⁵ But, as pointed out by Margot Finn regarding the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, earlier moralists condemned not only women's purchasing habits and extensive expenditure, but also their tendency to incur debt.¹⁶ Charles Jenner (1736-1774), eighteenth-century writer and poet, expressed the contemporary concern about women and conspicuous consumption:

Time was, when tradesmen laid up what they gain'd
And frugally a family maintained.
When they took stirring housewives for their spouses,
To keep up prudent order in their house;
Who thought no scorn, at night to sit them down
And make their children's clothes and mend their own
Would Polly's coat to younger Bess transfer,
And make their caps without a milliner.
But now a shopping half the day they're gone,

¹⁴ Jan de Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, 54/2 (1994), 262.

¹⁵ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), 63.

¹⁶ Margot Finn, 'Women, Consumption and Coverture in England, c. 1760-1860', *The Historical Journal*, 39/3 (1996), 703-722.

To buy 500 things and pay for none.¹⁷

This perspective contrasts with those of nineteenth- and twentieth-century feminists, concerned about the common law practice of coverture which ‘subsumed a married woman’s legal and financial identity to that of his husband’.¹⁸ Although the early modern period witnessed a decline in woman’s property rights, not only wealthy women were able to contract strict equitable settlements, but at least 10% of non-elite married women were able to protect their property interests with informal prenuptial settlements.¹⁹ Furthermore, as argued by Finn, although women could not make economic contracts, they were empowered by the law of necessities to ‘make contracts on their own behalf for necessities, as agents of their husbands’.²⁰ As highlighted by Finn, these possibilities help to explain not only the literature condemning married women’s expenditure but more widely, English economic expansion in the era.

Such aspects of female purchasing habits resonate with those explored by Claire Walsh with regard to shopping. She argues that shopping was associated with women because they were responsible for the day-to-day shopping, but not because men were not active or proficient shoppers. Furthermore, Walsh highlights that the person to make decisions on purchases would be the one with more familiarity and experience in that particular field.²¹ Following a similar argument, Jeanice Brooks posits that whilst women were responsible for small everyday purchases, men would be responsible for larger expenses. Consequently, she asserts that women would tend to purchase sheet music, but they would need to rely on their husband or father to buy a

¹⁷ Charles Jenner, *Town Eclogues* (1772). Quoted in Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009), 107.

¹⁸ Margot Finn, ‘Women, Consumption and Coverture’, 704.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 706.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 706.

²¹ Claire Walsh, ‘Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making in Eighteenth-Century England’, in John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds.), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), 162–168.

musical instrument.²² Certainly, the association of music with the effeminate was reflected in a tendency to encourage women rather than men to engage with amateur music-making.²³ Although it seems difficult to generalize about who took the initiative in purchasing a musical instrument (particularly if men did not play the keyboard and had no expertise in the field), it seems plausible that women purchased the sheet music they were to play.

There is evidence of such female purchasing habits in Jane Austen's 1813 letter to her sister Cassandra describing a day of shopping in London with two of her brothers (note that the family group did not exclusively comprise women) and two nieces (the wealthiest members of the family). The family members went, among other places, to Wedgwood's to choose a dinner set and to Grafton House to buy clothes. (The purchase of a dinner set as a luxury yet mass-produced item recalls the comments in Chapter 3 on Wedgwood's manufacturing strategy, compared by Simon McVeigh to Broadwood's manufacture of keyboard instruments.) One of the stops appears to have been at Birchall's, music publishers, on New Bond Street:

Fanny desires me to tell Martha with her kind Love that Birchall assured her there was no 2d set of Hook's Lessons for Beginners – & that by my advice, she has therefore chosen her a set by another Composer. I thought she w^d either have something than not.—It costs six shillings.²⁴

²² Jeanice Brooks, 'Les collections féminines d'albums de partitions dans l'Angleterre au début du XIXe siècle,' in Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (eds.), *La la la Maistre Henri: Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 378.

²³ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 21–22.

²⁴ Jane Austen to Cassandra Austen, Thursday 16th September 1813. Deirdre Le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 233.

The fragment refers to Hook's *Guida di musica, being a complete book of instruction for the harpsichord or Pianoforte* which includes progressive lessons in various keys with fingerings. Although in this particular case the purchase is made (and the decision is taken) by a third person (termed 'proxy shopping', an extended practice in eighteenth century),²⁵ all the purchasers are female. Also, the letter documents the direct contact between female buyers and the publisher, in this case Robert Birchall. If sheet music, and particularly keyboard music, was used and purchased by women, this would also explain the strategy of publishing music under the title 'for the ladies', as discussed in the following section.

As shown, gender issues arise within many aspects of consumer behaviour and the private sphere in the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the relationship between gender and society is not simple: the private and public spheres were not decisively gendered, nor was consumption. In the context of a blurred boundary between the public and private spheres, keyboard arrangements seem to find a place as a meeting point or liminal space between domestic amateur music-making and public professional repertoires. Thus, arrangements appear to mediate between the private and public spheres and also between the connotations of different genders, questioning the stereotypes of the public sphere as masculine and the private sphere as feminine. Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 2, arrangements were a means of disseminating music and were therefore central in German-speaking lands to the development of 'public opinion' and criticism (which in its turn helped shape private behaviour such as buying habits), as shown by the discourse in music journals. Although there was less published musical criticism in England, arguably the same process can be observed here in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. By studying who purchased arrangements and how they were used, this

²⁵ Claire Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making in Eighteenth-Century England', 168–170.

chapter aims to uncover some of the roles that arrangements played in domestic and female life.

4.2. Music and the Female Accomplishments

Beyond considerations of the private and public spheres, the practice of music was linked to social status and with it, to female accomplishments. Both in England and in German-speaking lands, the goals of female education focused on the development of the skills of a housewife and mother because of women's limited opportunities outside the home.²⁶ Thus as Richard Leppert argues, unlike most males, most young females were trained in music, as well as in other arts. This is shown in John Bennett's *Letters to a Young Lady* (1789), which prescribes female behaviour and details the role of female musical practice. As he puts it:

Music, by which I mean playing on an instrument, or *occasionally* singing, is a very desirable acquisition in any woman, who has time and money enough to devote to the purpose, for it requires no inconsiderable portion of *both*. It will enable you to entertain your friends; to confer pleasure upon others, must increase your *own* happiness, and it will inspire tranquillity, and harmonize your mind and spirits, in many of those *ruffled* or *lonely* hours, which, in almost every situation, will be your lot.²⁷

Furthermore, the author continues by highlighting the superiority of sacred music, and particularly Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas*

²⁶ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image*, 51.

²⁷ John Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects Calculated to improve the Heart, to Form the Manners, and Enlighten the Understanding* (Dublin: Printed for J. Jones, 1789), I:136. Quoted in Matthew Head, "If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch": Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Journal of American Musicological Society*, 52/2 (1999), 203.

Maccabaeus. The quotation demonstrates the centrality of music for upper-class ladies as a pastime and as domestic entertainment, and reminds one of Veblen's assertions with regard to the expenditure by women of the leisured class. Hence the musical ability of women could be considered as cultural capital as well as social capital. Despite this centrality of music for women, there were many restrictions regarding the kind of music practice deemed suitable for females. Even Bennett seemed to consider that singing was suitable only occasionally (possibly indicating that women who sang often were too coarse or unrefined). For example, as asserted by Leppert, music masters were expected to 'adapt female character traits as defined by the culture'²⁸ hence reinforcing female behavioural characteristics through music and learning. These prejudices affected not only the instruments deemed suitable for women (mainly keyboards and plucked strings²⁹) and most probably the repertory, but also the need for them to display their skills in private.

Turning to German-speaking lands, the composer and critic Carl Ludwig Junker (1748-1797) offered a similar perspective, arguing that women were only suited to plucked string instruments such as the keyboard, the lute, the cittern (or zither) or the harp,³⁰ because of the unsuitability of other instruments to the female character. Junker argued that this unsuitability was caused by a 'feeling of impropriety'³¹ that is, 'the contradiction between the bodily gestures required in performance and the female costume, the contradiction between the sonority of the instrument and the female character, and finally the inappropriateness of particular postures', most probably in reference to the way certain instruments were held.³² Thus, he

²⁸ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image*, 59.

²⁹ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image*, 147. More details on the instruments suited to females in Germany can be found in Freia Hoffman, *Instrument und Körper* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1991).

³⁰ 'das Clavier, die Laute, die Zitter, die Harfe'. Quoted in Freia Hoffman, *Instrument und Körper*, 28.

³¹ In his words, 'Gefühl des Unschicklichen'. Freia Hoffman, *Instrument und Körper*, 28.

³² 'dem Widerspruch zwischen Spielbewegungen und Frauenkleidung, dem Widerspruch zwischen Instrumentalklang und weiblichem Geschlechtscharakter und

highlighted the suitability of sporty or less feminine outfits, exemplified by the so called *Amazonenhabit* (a long dress used by noble ladies to ride horses), for female performers to make their appearance less conspicuous and more suited for physical exercise.³³ Interestingly, this same *Amazonenhabit* was referred to by the soprano Gertrud Elizabeth Mara (1749-1833) who explained she wore such a dress when she was young because it was believed to fit violin performance. (Whilst in London in 1759, Mara performed for the Queen and was recommended to sing instead of playing the violin).³⁴

Despite these social restrictions imposed on female music-making, scholars such as Mollie Sandock suggest that the performance of songs freed females from certain social and cultural constraints. Regarding the Austen family's music collection Sandock argues that through songs expressively written for the female voice in the treble clef, women were able to express 'all kinds of emotions that were otherwise forbidden: lust, sexual longing, rage, impatience with "imprisonment" and restraint, enthusiasm for drinking, etc'.³⁵ Furthermore, she argues that the performance of songs offered women the possibility to cross gender boundaries by temporarily taking on male roles such as 'soldiers and sailors departing from battle, shepherds desiring shepherdesses, gentlemen desiring gentlewomen, Cockney laborers making off-color jokes, and all kinds of unladylike personae'.³⁶ Nevertheless, these freedoms were temporary and were confined to the realm of song, and through their fleeting nature were safely contained within the overall male patriarchy. Furthermore, Leena Rana argues that other songs performed by wives and daughters of the landed gentry (such as Elizabeth Sykes, to be introduced below) were aimed at the cultivation of moral values of females of this particular

der Ungehörigkeit bestimmter Spielhaltungen'. Freia Hoffman, *Instrument und Körper*, 29.

³³ Freia Hoffman, *Instrument und Körper*, 32.

³⁴ 'Ich wurde in einen Amazonen-Habit gekleidet, weil man fand, dass dieser Anzug am besten zur Violine passe', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 10 (1875), 500.

³⁵ Mollie Sandock, "'I Burn with Contempt for my Foes": Jane Austen's Music Collections and Women's Lives in Regency England', *Persuasions* (2001), 23.

³⁶ Mollie Sandock, "'I Burn with Contempt for my Foes"', 106.

class, in line with the ideologies highlighted in conduct and educational literature of the time.³⁷

The participation of females in domestic music-making is also documented by printed editions of music. Whilst ensemble music may have been intended for musical societies, many publications of keyboard music and arrangements was possibly oriented towards female amateur performers. Nevertheless, other practices may have been also current, such as the use of arrangements as short scores from which to reorchestrate and generate performing parts.³⁸ Matthew Head points out that from the mid eighteenth century onwards, much music was published throughout Europe ‘variously dedicated to “ladies”, “the fair sex”, “le beau sexe,” “all’uso delle Dame,” or “für das schöne Geschlecht.”’³⁹ For example, in London, various vocal works by Thomas Billington were published ‘peculiarly adapted for Ladies, with an accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp’, and in Stuttgart some keyboard arrangements and vocal scores were published with reference to female amateurs as *Musikalisch Potpourri, für Liebhaberinnen und Freunde des Gesangs und Claviers*⁴⁰ (a publication in five volumes also mentioned in Chapter 6). Although not intrinsically related to arrangements, these publications aimed at female purchasers reflected the increasing specialization of publishing, similarly to the publications targeted at amateur audiences. Nevertheless, the concept does not seem to have been very nuanced. With regard to Johann Friedrich Wenkel’s *Clavierstücke für Frauenzimmer*, an anonymous commentator explained in 1768:

A trick that is difficult for us to grasp is that of different authors who add to the title of their little works, that they

³⁷ Leena Rana, ‘Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790–1840’, (PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2012).

³⁸ According to his diary, John Marsh reorchestrated keyboard arrangements and produced instrumental parts; see John Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)*, I, (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1998), 585, 660 and 682.

³⁹ Matthew Head, “If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch”, 206.

⁴⁰ *Musikalische Potpourri, für Liebhaberinnen und Freunde des Gesangs und Claviers* (Stuttgart: Gebrüder Mantler, 1790–1).

are written for the ladies. It is very bad to be sold under this title, and the ladies will not want to grant these composers that what they have composed for them should only be bad.⁴¹

Thus, the commentator assessed the titles written 'for the ladies' as a trick that was not used appropriately and did not imply female approbation of the music. He clarified his opinion in the following sentences:

Why did Mr Wenkel compose his keyboard pieces for the ladies? Maybe because he found them simple; maybe because they are small things such as Minuets, Polonaises, Songs, etc. Alas, there are enough men that find their taste in nothing but those trifles. But how is their simplicity made apparent? Ladies that can play in B flat minor and E flat minor can surely play more than Minuets and Polonaises. If the composer did not want to fail in his intention, he could have omitted those keys.⁴²

⁴¹ 'Es ist ein Kunstgriff, den wir noch nicht recht haben einsehen können, wenn verschiedene Verfasser von ihren Werkchen auf dem Titel sagten, sie wären für Frauenzimmer geschrieben. Es ist viel Schlechtes unter diesem Titel verkauft worden, und die Frauenzimmer werden diesen Herrn Verfasseten doch nicht einräumen wollen, daß das, was für sie geschrieben wird, nur schlecht seyn dürfte', 'Leipzig. Clavierstücke für Frauenzimmer, von Johann Friedrich Wenkel', *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik Betreffend*, 2 (13th June 1768), 390. Quoted in German in a footnote by Matthew Head, who attributes the review to Johann Adam Hiller. Matthew Head, "If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch", 216. Gudula Schütz lists the review as part of the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 12/2 (1770), 296–297; and suggests Christian Gottfried Krause as the possible author. Gudula Schütz, *Vor dem Richterstuhl der Kritik: Die Musik in Friedrich Nicolais Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek 1765–1806* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007), 297.

⁴² 'Warum hat nun Herr Wenkel seine Clavierstücke für Frauenzimmer componirt? Vielleicht weil er sie leicht fand; weil sie aus Kleinigkeiten, als Menuetten, Polonaisen, Liedern u. d. g. bestanden; Ach, es giebt Mannspersonen genug, die an weiter nichts als solchen Tändeleyn Geschmack finden. Aber wie siehet es um die Leichtigkeit aus? Frauenzimmer die aus b und es moll spielen, werden gewieß auch mehr vertragen können als Menuetten und Polonaisen: wollte der Componist seine Absicht nicht verfehlen, so konnte er diese Tonarten weglassen', 'Clavierstücke für Frauenzimmer, von Johann Friedrich Wenkel', 390.

Thus, the author interestingly suggested two reasons why the music may have been related to female audiences: its simplicity and its genres (such as dances and songs). The reviewer claimed the music was not simple, and therefore the ladies that could play these pieces must be able to play other (implying better) music. This review resonated with another review of C. P. E. Bach's *Six sonates pour le clavecin à l'usage des dames* (Wq. 54), in which the reviewer argued:

For ladies? That's what the title says. I believe, however, that even men would bring honor upon themselves with them. If these sonatas are meant for the fair sex. That's splendid. But if I should ever see it tried; if Emanuel Bach's new sonatas really appeared on the music rack; if a daughter of Diderot actually succeeded in playing them, then I would steal away. – With my poetic heart – I would melt like wax – transported by the divine power of the *Harmonie*, by the power of these tones, which penetrate to the very core of the heart – performed by a Psyche at the clavichord – I would stand there, tears flowing and listen.⁴³

The quotation implies that music targeted for women generally had less value than that for a wider public, whilst highlighting the value and beauty of C. P. E. Bach's sonatas. Thus, beyond the association of certain music with women, the quotation intertwines this discourse to the emotional intensity valued by the *Sturm und Drang* movement.

⁴³ 'Für Damen? – So stehts auf dem Titel. Ich glaube aber daß auch Mannpersonen Ehre damit einlegen können. Wenn diese Sonaten aber doch für den schönen Theil der Schöpfung bestimmt seyn sollen; so laß ich mirs gefallen. Aber wenn ich einmal in die Versuchung kommen sollte; wenn Emanuel Bachens neue Sonaten auf den Pult gelegt werden; wenn sich eine Tochter Diderots fertig macht sie zu spielen; dann stehl ich mich weg. – Mit einem poetischen Herzen – würd' ich wie Wachs zerschmelzen – Hingerissen von der göttlichen Macht der Harmonie, von der Markdurchdringenden Kraft dieser Töne – von einer Psyche an dem Klavier ausgeübt – horcht' ich – und stünd schnell thränend.' *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, III/61 (2nd August 1774). Quoted in Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 27.

The keyboard repertory of songs and dances was frequently the object of copying and collection, and was hence used as social capital by amateur musicians in the late eighteenth century. Brooks describes a practice in which young ladies (and men) used manuscript music books to collect pieces from friends and relatives and that 'it was used in such an intensely social fashion to facilitate musical exchange, as well as serving educational purposes.'⁴⁴ All these elements highlight the complexities in women's uses of music, which was not only a desirable accomplishment (when used with restraint), but also an element of consumer culture. As it has been shown, if certain assumptions were made in relation to women's large expenditures, they were also made in relation to women's musical abilities and taste. Thus, more importantly, these elements also show the need to be cautious about established discourses of the alleged female private sphere, as well as about the claims of the temporary freedom exerted in women's performance of songs.

4.3. Arrangements in the Home

Tracing the ownership of music that was performed in private houses is a challenging task. As Brooks highlights in relation to female purchasers, there are various problems that prevent us from knowing how purchasers chose from the available music, or how this choice or use of music reflected their attitudes, taste and performing practices.⁴⁵ Some problems are related to the scholarly focus on 'great composers' and 'great works' that led musicologists in past decades to overlook domestic music and particularly that of amateurs. Other problems are practical ones: on the one hand, the large amount of extant editions (particularly from 1800 onwards), and on the other hand, the lack of

⁴⁴ Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments of the Country House', 519–520.

⁴⁵ 'nous ne savons pas grand-chose de ce que les femmes choisissaient dans la musique qui était disponible, ni quelle résonance avaient leur choix et leur utilisation des impression musicales par rapport aux attitudes, aux goûts, aux pratiques d'exécution dans leur contexte social'. Jeanice Brooks, 'Les collections féminines', 372.

provenance information in the catalogues of libraries and archives,⁴⁶ and the lack of signs of ownership on the surviving copies themselves. Other difficulties relate to the uses of this sheet music, often involving uncertainties about the contexts in which music was read and performed.

In addition to musical sources, surviving personal diaries and letters help provide a wider picture of keyboard arrangements and their use in the context of domestic music-making. Despite the limitations of this type of evidence (which rarely identifies compositions and almost exclusively documents a learned elite) some information can be found in relation to arrangements. In this context, the journal and letters of Susan Burney (1755-1800) offer a valuable insight into daily music activities in a highly educated family in late eighteenth-century England. Daughter of the renowned musician and music historian Charles Burney (1726-1814), Susan Burney possessed extensive musical knowledge and skill. Although her sister Hetty appeared to be the most skilled, Susan was able to accompany professional musicians at the keyboard and 'could be called upon to play a bass line on the piano in the absence of a cello'⁴⁷ despite her own insecurities whenever she had to accompany the Swiss violinist and family friend Mr Scheener.⁴⁸ Her journal and letters include descriptions of the music played during the visits of other musicians and acquaintances, particularly frequent during her stays in London.

For example in 1779, Susan described the performance of operatic arias by Gabriel Piozzi, an Italian harpsichordist and composer who married Hester Thrale:

Soon after him [Mr Kirwan]⁴⁹ my father came home, & in
a few Minutes Piozzi – in high good humor. – After talking

⁴⁶ Ibid., 372.

⁴⁷ Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 32.

⁴⁸ For example, see Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 210.

⁴⁹ Richard Kirwan was a chemist and amateur musician, neighbour of the Burneys. Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 86.

awhile of the Opera, & cutting up Mr Tessier very notably, we had Music – *that is*, Piozzi sung several songs, serious & comic like an Angel – I have not heard him to so much advantage this long time – He sung all my favorites – *Infelici Dircea* of Mislewecek – *Non saro mai piu geloso*, & *Fortuna Maledetta* of Anfossi – *Recagli quell Acciario*, a charming song, full of dignity and feeling, composed by Bertoni for Guadagni, &c &c.⁵⁰

In this particular instance, operatic arias reduced for voice and keyboard were performed in a context of discussion and criticism of musical matters. Interestingly, the first piece mentioned, ‘*Infelici Dircea*’, refers to a pasticcio *Demofonte* (performed in the 1778-1779 season)⁵¹ and shows the prevalent approbation of this genre, which (similarly to the arrangement) destabilized the work concept.

A different kind of musical evening seems to have taken place on Friday 28th April 1780 in an acquaintance’s home in London. In a rather long journal letter, Susan Burney describes what she calls as a ‘confined’ sort of concert because some of the guests did not attend, making Susan remark that there was only one male performer, Mr Moulineux, who ‘plays the fiddle extremely well for a Gentleman’. On such an occasion Susan Burney self-accompanied her singing at the keyboard, preferring vocal to instrumental music. As she explains:

[Mr Moulineux] accomp^d Miss Wallens exceeding well in two of Bocherini’s Lessons, & in a Lesson w^{ch} Jane played, very well indeed, by Eidelmann – I was worried into performing my part, [...] I prefer’d the *Vocal* to the *Instrumental*, as Miss Wallens don’t sing at all, but play a thousand times better than I do in almost every respect –

⁵⁰ 16th November 1779. Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 85.

⁵¹ Another reference to a performance of a pasticcio in this context can be found with regard to *Olimpiade* arranged by Bertoni (the Burney’s went to see a rehearsal of this pasticcio in 1780). See Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 66.

I began wth *Ti seguuro fedele* from the Olimpiade, in w^{ch} Mr Molineux w^d accompany me by heart [at the violin][...].

The quotation shows Susan's preference for vocal music, particularly when more skilled performers were present. Although this highlights her lack of confidence about her instrumental performance, it may also indicate that despite her extensive skills they were surpassed by other amateur performers. The lessons of Boccherini could have been his Sonatas Op. 5 for keyboard and violin (published by Longman, Lukey and Co.), but they also could have been one of the multiple editions of so-called sonatas that were in fact arrangements of Boccherini's chamber music, such as the quintets Op. 10 and trios Op. 1, 3, 4, and 6 published by Longman & Broderip (some arranged by Thomas Billington) or William Foster's publication of arrangements of Boccherini trios Op. 1 and 4 entitled *Three favourite sonatas [...] adapted for the harpsichord or piano forte, with an accompaniment of the violin by Mr. Robinson*.⁵²

More specific examples of the performance of arrangements in the Burney family were those of overtures adapted for the keyboard. During a visit of their cousins Edward and Charles Rousseau (also brother-in-law), and the family friend Mr Scheener to Mickleham (where Susan lived from 1785 to 1795), the Burneys played music many times, and particularly during a visit of the whole group to William and Frederica Locke at Norbury Park. These musical evenings were more exceptional than the regular music evenings in London. In this event, Charles Rousseau Burney started the concert with a piece of instrumental music.

After tea, & a little tuning by Mr Burney, he began <our> concert by a spirited overture on the piano forte – this over – Scheener waked to rapture all trembling strings –

⁵² Yves Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 44–55.

We had the delicious quartettos, in w[hi]ch I
accompan[ie]d w[i]th much panic [...]⁵³

The fact that Charles Rousseau Burney was the one performing the overture suggests the possibility of a gendered choice of repertory, where men played the more technically demanding overtures and women preferred the arguably more affecting and more emotive genres such as vocal music. Interestingly, Susan Burney noted she was accompanying a quartet, which may indicate that either she performed a notated keyboard accompaniment or she may have improvised it.

During the following years, since Susan's children were older she often visited London. In one of her visits there is another apparent reference to keyboard arrangements. On 30th April 1789, Susan Burney explained:

I was chosen *Maestro*, & gave my orders – in consequence of which after a Quartetto Esther played a New & exquisite Sonata of Haydn's, in w^{ch} she was most admirably accompanied by Mr Scheener – and after another Quartetto, Mr B. was accompanied by him in a brilliant and delightful lesson of Pleyell's[sic] – Then a Trio of Viotti's – Then a new Harpsichord Duet – & after some persuasion Mrs Lock, unaccompanied, sung two Airs, and our concert concluded by a 3rd delicious Quartetto.⁵⁴

According to her account, she herself chose the pieces to be performed, showing female agency in the selection of repertory (which would relate to Brooks's above-mentioned argument about women choosing sheet music to buy). Her selection included a sonata with violin accompaniment by Haydn, and a lesson by Pleyel. As pointed out by

⁵³ 23–26th August 1788, Mickleham (Berg). Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 208.

⁵⁴ Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 224.

Philip Olleson, there are no original sonatas by Haydn with violin accompaniment,⁵⁵ which makes it most probable that the piece was a chamber arrangement of keyboard or string quartet works such as in *Six sonatas for the forte piano or harpsichord, with an accompaniment of the violin, op. 14*, published by Longman & Broderip (included in the publisher's 1781 catalogue)⁵⁶ or *The Beauties of Haydn, consisting of six sonatas for the piano forte or harpsichord with an accompaniment for the violin* published by John Welcker.⁵⁷ In addition, as Pleyel did not compose lessons as such, these pieces were probably arrangements of string quartets such as Preston's *Six grand lessons for the harpsichord or pianoforte with an accompaniment for a violin*.⁵⁸

These examples show the role played by arrangements in a well-connected musical London household such as the Burneys. However, it is remarkable that Susan Burney made no mention of performing learned repertoires such as Corelli or Handel. In her descriptions, domestic music-making often combined professional and amateur musicians who were sometimes associated with the separate spheres of public and private respectively. Nevertheless, figures such as Scheener would cross this boundary by spending his musical career performing in private houses; he does not appear in contemporaneous accounts of public music-making.⁵⁹ Although the centrality of music in the Burney household may be exceptional, it is revealing that musically knowledgeable people such as Susan, who might be honest about their practical shortcomings as musicians, would include arrangements in their repertory.

A different perspective may be gathered from the musical life of Jane Austen, who belonged to the pseudo-gentry (non-landed rural elite consisting of Anglican clergy, other professions such as lawyers and

⁵⁵ In addition to suggesting they played an arrangement, Olleson also suggests Sheener may have improvised his part. *Ibid.*, 224.

⁵⁶ Most probably RISM A/1 H 3872. The sonatas are Hob. XVI:27–32

⁵⁷ These are arrangements of string quartets (mainly of op. 33) and a keyboard sonata Hob. XVI:15. RISM A/1 H 4589.

⁵⁸ RISM A/I P 4577 and P 4575.

⁵⁹ Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 31

military captains, and retired rentiers).⁶⁰ Although there are few references to music in her letters, Jane Austen took pianoforte lessons and played the keyboard throughout her life.⁶¹ Furthermore, music appears to be considerably important in her novels.⁶² As historical evidence, her novels depict realistic but mildly satirical scenes that are unlikely to be an exact reflection of reality, but may refract many of the prevalent ideologies about music in her time. In *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), Mary Bennett, the main character's sister, plays the harpsichord at a neighbour's party:

Mary had neither genius nor taste; and though vanity had given her application, it had given her likewise a pedantic air and conceited manner, which would have injured a higher degree of excellence than she had reached. Elizabeth, easy and unaffected, had been listened to with much more pleasure, though not playing half so well; and Mary, at the end of a long concerto, was glad to purchase praise and gratitude by Scotch and Irish airs, at the request of her younger sisters, who, with some of the Lucases, and two or three officers, joined eagerly in dancing at one end of the room.⁶³

Previous scholars understood the reference to a 'concerto' as indicating an arrangement of a keyboard concerto,⁶⁴ although it is possible that the term was used by Austen as a generic descriptor of solo instrumental music. As argued by Patrick Piggott, Mary's performance

⁶⁰ David Springs, 'Interpreters of Jane Austen's Social World: Literary Critics and Historians' in Jane Todd (ed.) *Jane Austen: New Perspectives* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1983), 53–72.

⁶¹ Her nephew James Edward remembered that she practised the piano daily for several hours before breakfast, and she sometimes sang in the evenings. James Edward Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen* (London: Richard Bentley, 1871), 88.

⁶² See Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: A study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen* (London: Douglas Cleverdon, 1979).

⁶³ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: H. G. Clarke and Co., 1844), 31

⁶⁴ Elisabeth M. Lockwood, 'Jane Austen and Some Drawing-Room Music of Her Time', *Music and Letters*, 15/2 (1934), 112–119.

of the concerto was unsuccessful, not because of her lack of proficiency in playing the instrument but because of the 'unsuitability of the music she played'⁶⁵ indicating her lack of taste. In the context of a party, the audience would prefer airs that they could dance to, instead of a long concerto. In *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), Marianne Dashwood also played a concerto, the word again apparently referring again to solo instrumental music. In this case, the music was played whilst Lucy and Elinor conversed, at some point 'giving them the powerful protection of a very magnificent concerto' that covered the silences.⁶⁶ In both cases, the keyboard concerto is performed by characters who have particular interest and skill in playing the keyboard, and in both cases seems to denote a certain learned and sophisticated ambience (possibly associated with instrumental music).

These examples highlight the presence and use of arrangements, and arrangements of instrumental music in particular, in domestic musical life. As shown in previous chapters, arrangements were not necessarily associated with the original. In the domestic sphere, it seems that performers and purchasers of eighteenth-century audiences did not necessarily relate arrangements to the originals. Thus, arrangements gained their own existence as independent compositions, and the writers of diaries and letters did not identify their arranged character, as the interest was mainly in the performance and the social event, particularly in amateur contexts. The presence and transformation of foreign music as lessons or as keyboard pieces also highlights the ways in which this music was appropriated for English uses and domestic practices. Given the small amount of primary sources, which provide only patchy evidence in the case of journals and letters, or may have a satirical purpose, it seems pertinent to turn to private music collections to provide a wider picture of the dissemination of arrangements in the context of domestic music-making in late eighteenth-century England.

⁶⁵ Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion*, 52–53.

⁶⁶ Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833), 126.

4.4. Arrangements as represented in Private Music Collections

Despite the above-mentioned difficulties in the study of the ownership of music and the domestic music practices, it has been possible to trace the ownership of some of the arrangements discussed in this thesis. The following section considers private family collections containing arrangements that have already attracted some scholarly attention, such as those of the Austens, the Sykes, and the Aclands. Although identifying specific owners is more difficult, certain arrangements can be identified as having been owned by Elizabeth Sykes Egerton (1777-1853), and Jane Austen (1775-1817). In addition, my own research has identified keyboard arrangements donated in 2005 to the National Trust property of Saltram House (Plymouth) as originally belonging to Maria Halsted Poole (d.1839).

The donation to Saltram House included four volumes owned by at least two members of the Halsted Poole family: Maria Halsted Poole (d.1839) and her niece Sarah Halsted Sandford (1831-1916) née Poole. Maria Halsted Poole was a spinster, daughter of Sarah Massey and Domville Halsted, an esquire who inherited the surname Poole from a distant relative Rev. Cudworth Poole as well as his estate, Marbury Hall, Cheshire⁶⁷ (inherited in turn by Maria H. Poole's brother Domville Halsted Cudworth Poole (1787-1867) and valued 'under £30,000' on his death in 1867).⁶⁸ Maria's will indicates she left substantial amounts to individuals such as the Delves Broughton baronets and also £500 for the construction of a school for the poor.⁶⁹ Two of the bound volumes donated to the National Trust include copies of printed music from around 1790s and 1800s, signed with Maria Halsted Poole's name.⁷⁰ In Table 4.1 the asterisk (*) indicates the pieces with her name in them; some of these include also a date, most probably referring to the

⁶⁷ *London Gazette*, 10th July 1782.

⁶⁸ National Probate Indexes, 1858 to date, compiled by Principal Probate Registry

⁶⁹ National Probate Calendar, Wills 1867, 219-220.

⁷⁰ Saltram House (NT), shelfmark GG.2.11 and GG.2.10.

purchase date (see Table 4.1 and 4.2). For the rest of the pieces, there is the date of the Stationers' Hall entry or the date indicated by the catalogue. The two other volumes of the donation (GG.2.8 and GG.2.9) include musical editions from the mid 19th century that were owned by her niece Sarah.

Although GG.2.11 lacks the boards of the original binding, volume GG.2.10 has a quarter leather binding with paper over the boards (see Figure 4.1). Maria's volumes include vocal music such as airs by Paisiello and songs by Hook in piano-vocal scores, and keyboard sonatas by Dussek, Kozeluch, and Pleyel. In addition to several arrangements that will be detailed below, the collection includes pieces composed for particular historical events, such as the victory of Lord Horatio Nelson in the Battle of the Nile (August 1798) or the Treaty of Amiens (1801), and pieces with reference to London concerts and opera, such as Drury Lane Theatre, the King's Theatre, the Covent Garden, Hanover Square Concerts or Vauxhall Gardens. Thus, the collection is strongly tied to the ephemerality of current events and musical taste. Interestingly, the first volume includes Clementi's *Introduction to the art of playing the pianoforte*, something that has been considered rare in these kinds of collections as it is not present in libraries such as those of Elizabeth Sykes Egerton (or Lydia Hoare)⁷¹ and may indicate that Maria was a beginner pianist.

Table 4.1: Inventory of Maria Halsted Poole's Music, Saltram House, Devon, Volume GG.2.10. Asterisk (*) indicates signature of Maria Halsted Poole.

Content GG.2.10	Publisher	RISM	Year ⁷²
		A/I	
A New Edition of Twelve Solos, for the Violin & Violoncello with a Thorough Bass, for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, Composed by Arcangelo Corelli. Op. 5.*	Birchall	C 3839	(ca.1800)
La Colombe Retrouvéé An Air For the Piano Forte with or without Additional Keys,	Broderip &	E 813	Maria H.

⁷¹ Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English country house (1785–1845)' (PhD thesis: Southampton University, 2013), 119–122.

⁷² Approximate year according to the Stationers' Hall entry (=SHE)

Composed and Dedicated to Miss C. H. By Louis von Esch. ^{73*}	Wilkinson		Poole 06/07/1805
A favorite Rondo for the Piano Forte, Composed by C. R. Burney.	Lavenu & Mitchell	?	(ca.1803)
Crazy Jane A Grand Ballet as Performed at the Kings Theatre Composed by Mr. I. D'Egville, for Mon. & Mad. Laberiés Benefit. The Music Composed & arranged for the Piano Forte with an accompaniment for the Harp, ad libitum, and Dedicated to Mad. C. Laberie.	Lavenu & Mitchell	?	?
Sonata for the Grand & Small Piano Forte With additional Keys, Composed & Dedicated to Mrs. Chinnery By J. L. Dussek. Op. 24 ⁷⁴	Muzio Clementi & Co.	?	SHE 1793
Three Sonatas, for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord With Accompaniments for the Violin and Violoncello Composed by Mr. Leopold Koželuch Op. 23	Muzio Clementi & Cy	?	(ca.1806)
Clementi's Introduction to the art of playing the piano forte: containing elements of music; preliminary notions on fingering with examples [...]	Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis	C 3080	SHE 1801

Table 4.2: Inventory of Maria Halsted Poole's Music, Saltram House, Devon, Volume GG.2.11. Asterisk (*) indicates signature of Maria Halsted Poole.

Content of GG.2.11	Publisher	RISM A/I	Year
The Beauties of Pleyel. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte, Comprest from Pleyel's Grand Sonatas, Dedicated to the Queen of Great Britain, with an Accompaniment for Additional Keys the Flute or Violin, Arranged by G. F. Chambrey	For Mr. Chambrey by Clementi & Comp ^y	?	WM 1802
Pleyel's Celebrated Concertante as Performed with universal Applause at the Hanover Square Concerts adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*	G. Goulding	?	Miss Poole 25/02/1 80[3]
Three Sonatas for the Harp, or Piano Forte, and an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin, And Two French Horns, Ad Libitum. (In which are Introduced favorite Airs) Composed & Inscribed to the Miss Riggés, by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 30	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	M 1642	?

⁷³ This piece is also held at Tatton Park (NT), MR 2-5. (16), and at Killerton House (NT), Shelf no. C2.10.A. Furthermore, it is discussed in Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English country house (1785-1845)', 193.

⁷⁴ Also hold at the British Library, shelfmark g.146.(3.).

Peace a Grand Characteristic Sonata, for the Piano Forte, Composed on the glorious event, by M[atthew]. P[eter]. King Op. 14 1801	Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis	?	?
Overture to the Cabinet, as performed at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden Composed by W Reeve. ^{75*}	J. Dale	R 531	Maria H. Poole 06/12/1802
Admiral Lord Nelsons Victory A Sonata for the Piano Forte Composed by I. Mazzinghi: In Commemoration of the Glorious 1 st of August 1798*	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	M 1658	Miss Poole 26/05/1800
Overture Anthem XII Arranged by Mazzinghi. ^{76*}	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	?	Miss Poole 25/11/1802
Handel's Celebrated Messiah Abridged and Adapted for the Piano Forte. with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin, By J. Mazzinghi.*	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co.	?	Miss Poole 16/02/1803
The Wife's Farewell or No My Love No, The Favorite Ballad as Sung by Miss De Camp In the much admired Farce of Age to-Morrow Written by M. G Lewis Esqr. Composed by Michael Kelly	Printed for M. Kelly	K 399	SHE 1803
The Beggar Girl A Favorite Ballad for the Piano Forte or Harp also as a Duett, Composed by Mr. Piercy	Printed for and sold by the author	P 2333	SHE 1802
Oh had I Jubal's Lyre, as Sung by Miss Poole, in Joshua.	Goulding & Co.	?	?
Hymn for the Emperor Translated by Dr. Burney Composed by Doctor Haydn	Broderip & Wilkinson	?	(ca.1800)
Listen to the Voice of Love A Favorite New Song Sung with the Greatest Applause by Master Welsh at Vauxhall Gardens Composed by Mr Hook	A. Bland & Weller	H 6973	SHE 1795
A Favorite Song in the New Comedy of the Heiress as performed with universal Applause at Drury Lane Theatre Adapted to an Air of Sigr. Paesiello by Mr Linley. Sung By Mrs. Crouch	Broderip & Wilkinson	?	Maria H. Poole 30/11/1801

There are many relevant aspects to consider regarding the context and the repertory of the volumes. As shown, the owner provided some dates

⁷⁵ British Library shelfmark g.137.(1.)

⁷⁶ Georg Friedrich Handel's overture to *Il Pastor fido*. This arrangement was part of a larger publication issued in parts.

next to her name, probably indicating the dates of acquisition. These dates are relatively close to the date recorded at Stationers' Hall where known. For example, the *Overture to the Cabinet* was registered at Stationers' Hall only a few months before it was purchased by Maria, whilst *La Colombe Retrouvée* was registered at Stationers' Hall four years before Maria purchased her copy. Given that only two bound volumes survive (and the music within has dates of acquisition clustered between 1800 and 1805), it is possible that these two volumes represent only a part of Maria H. Poole's music collection. However, the contents also seem to show no specific classification (that is, volumes exclusively of vocal or keyboard music), and furthermore include a pedagogical publication by Clementi. In my initial study of the sources, the similarity of the bindings might suggest that Maria's niece Sara Halsted Poole (later Sandford) may have inherited the volumes (and possibly bound them) although detailed study remains to be undertaken.⁷⁷

Regarding the repertory, the songs include old favourites and also extracts from contemporary productions. For example, the comedy of *The Heiress*, from which Maria H. Poole had the air 'For tenderness form'd', was produced for Drury Lane in 1786 fifteen years before she bought the music. Nevertheless, this particular edition was published in 1798 at the earliest, highlighting the continued popularity of the music. The original performance and its success is celebrated in the subtitle of the printed edition. The air itself is Paisiello's 'Saper Bramate' of *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (1782) with a new English text by [Thomas] Linley referred in the title. The music underwent some changes to fit to the new text, as the original had no anacrusis, whereas in Linley's version the phrases start on upbeats. Thus, an operatic favourite was appropriated by Linley for an English audience; it then circulated in keyboard arrangements and was purchased by individuals such as Poole.

⁷⁷ The collection has become unavailable (being transferred to a new location) during the course of research on this thesis.

Maria H. Gould
Nov 30th 1841

A Favorite Song 1
in the New COMEDY of the HEIRESS
as performed with universal Applause at Drury Lane Theatre
Adapted to an AIR of SIG^{RE} PAESIELLO by M^R LINLEY.
SUNG BY M^{RS} CROUCH.

Price 1s.
LONDON. Printed by BRODERIP and WILKINSON N^O 13 HAYMARKET.

Vocce

Cembalo

For tenderness form'd in
Life's early day, A Parent's soft forrows to mine led the way; A Parent's soft
forrows to mine led the way:

Figure 4.1: First page of an arrangement of 'For tenderness form'd', an air in *The Heiress*, adapted from Giovanni Paisiello 'Saper Bramate'. Saltram House (National Trust) shelfmark GG.2.11

Another example of music owned by Poole that was being performed in London in 1800s was William Reeve's comic opera *The Cabinet*. The opera was produced in February 1802 which shows the taste also for contemporary opera (a sonata arranged from an aria of this opera is also held at Tatton Park, discussed below). A similar example is the song 'The Wife's Farewell or No My Love No', from the farce *Of Age To-morrow* produced in Drury Lane in 1800, which was also owned and performed by Jane Austen.⁷⁸ Maria Halsted Poole appears to have purchased the score in November 1801, which gives evidence of the long-standing popularity of the aria,⁷⁹ as well as that of adding English text to foreign music. In addition, earlier repertory is also prominent in Poole's collection. As mentioned, within the two volumes, there are Corelli's violin solos with a thorough bass, and also an arrangement of Handel's overture to *Il Pastor fido*, part of a larger publication issued in parts, Mazzinghi's arrangement of *Messiah*, and an aria of *Joshua* (Oh! Had I Jubal's Lyre). Although primarily active in the operatic life of London from the 1780s to 1800s, Joseph Mazzinghi (1765-1844) played a significant role in the adaptation and dissemination of Handel's music and, as shown in Chapter 2, his arrangements included prefaces that help us understand late eighteenth-century perspectives on ancient music and the discourse around arrangements. Mazzinghi's arrangement of *Messiah* excludes the recitatives and some airs, but includes keyboard arrangements of all the choruses. Probably because of the length of the publication (originally including 79 pages of music), it was most probably sold in instalments: there are indications in each sheet of 'Messiah No. 1' up to 'Messiah No. 6'. Maria H. Poole signed the first page of each instalment with the date Febr. 16th 1803 for the first, March 26th 1803 for the third and fourth, and those of the fifth and sixth on March 19th 1803 and 23th April 1803

⁷⁸ Jeanice Brooks, 'In Search of Austen's "Missing Songs"', *The Review of English Studies*, 67/282 (2016), 914-945.

⁷⁹ Other arias of *The Heiress* were part of catalogues such as John Dale (DJ2b), Yu Lee An, 'Music Publishing in London 1780 to 1837', 514.

respectively. Although a seventh and last instalment was published,⁸⁰ it is missing from this volume. Furthermore, each instalment is signed in ink with the initials 'J. M.', most probably by the arranger. Thus, Maria Halsted Poole consumed also music that made the canon accessible to the amateurs.

Poole's collection includes other significant publications such as Haydn's Hymn of the Emperor, originally composed for the birthday of the Emperor Francis II and later serving as an Austrian national anthem. The hymn was distributed as a keyboard score to all Austrian theatres where it was orchestrated for the performance on the birthday (12th February 1798). The same music was later used by Haydn as the theme for the second movement of the string quartet Op. 76 No. 3. The edition owned by Poole included an English translation of the text by Charles Burney, again showing the adaptation of foreign items for an English amateur market. Other interesting arrangements are those of Pleyel's keyboard Trios B. 431-433 arranged by G. F. Chambrey as keyboard sonatas 'Comprest from Pleyel's Grand Sonatas', and with additional accompaniment for the flute or violin. The term 'compressed' included in the title refers not only to the instrumentation and the number of movements, but also to the music, in which passages are shortened, particularly the ones that are more demanding. Thus, among the major changes, Sonata I and II (B. 431-432) exclude the second movement, and Sonata III (B. 433) excludes variations II and VI of the Andante. Other smaller changes consist in shortening or eliminating passages (even long passages of over 20 bars) and adding small alterations to link the remaining music, or to simplify difficult or long passages. The following figure show the beginning of the first movement of B. 431, indicating with squares the eliminated passages and (with dotted line square) passages that have been changed to simplify its performance.

⁸⁰ The British Library holds a complete copy, shelfmark H.229.n.

2/81

SONATA I.

Figure 4.2: Keyboard part of the first movement of Pleyel's Trio B. 431. Passages that are eliminated in the arrangement are indicated with a red line and changes are indicated with a dotted line. Ignace Pleyel, *Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin & Violoncello [...]* by Ignace Pleyel, (Paris: Bonjour, n.d.).

The changes or simplifications (dotted line) often consist in slowing the rhythm. For example, in the fifth and sixth systems repeated descending semiquaver arpeggios are replaced by one descending quaver arpeggio, followed by a quaver motive that imitates the violin part.

The music in Poole's collection reflected the publishing strategies discussed in the previous chapter. On the one hand, she owned arrangements of ancient music and on the other hand, she possessed excerpts of popular contemporary opera and compositions that commemorated particular musical and historical events.

Furthermore, she purchased Mazzinghi's arrangements of the *Messiah* published in instalments, and foreign items adapted to English amateur taste (such as Haydn's Hymn of the Emperor and Pleyel's compressed sonatas). Finally, a wider aspect of consumer behaviour can be appreciated thanks to the dates of acquisition: Poole purchased music on a regular basis. This highlights not only how female amateur musicians had access to the music trade, but also how publishers' marketing strategies effectively reached even those women living in the provinces.

The other three owners of music to be discussed here have been the object of previous study, and therefore more information is available. As shown in the previous section, Jane Austen's novels and letters offer some insights into the practice of domestic music-making in her family. In addition to these records, a collection of music of the Austen family consisting of 18 bound volumes with almost 600 pieces has survived (some volumes held at Chawton House, and some privately owned), and has been recently digitized.⁸¹ These albums contain printed or manuscript music or a mix of both. Although some bound volumes appear to have been compiled in the 1750s, most of the collection was compiled during Jane Austen's lifetime (1775-1817). According to Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch, evidence such as the duplicate copies of certain items⁸² suggests that in addition to the Austen family, the books were also used by the Knight and Bridges families. (The Knights were childless relatives of Jane Austen's father. They took interest in Jane's brother Edward and they not only funded his Grand Tour but also made him their legal heir. The Bridges were the family of Edward's wife Elizabeth.) More specifically, as Samantha Carrasco details in her thesis, there are four volumes of printed music with Jane Austen's signature (one of them possibly started by her

⁸¹ Available at <<https://archive.org/details/austenfamilymusicbooks>>, accessed 13 March 2017.

⁸² Gammie and McCulloch argue that the double sets of pieces by Schobert, Kotzwara and others points out the use of the books by the Knight and Bridges families. Ian Gammie & Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music* (St Albans: Corda Music Publications, 1996), 3.

mother) and two manuscript volumes with her handwriting.⁸³ Other items in the collection dating from the same period are two volumes owned by Elizabeth Bridges (1773-1808), wife of Jane's brother Edward, with her daughter's name.⁸⁴

The music owned by Jane Austen consisted mainly of songs by composers such as Dibdin, Shield, Storace and Hook, the latter being highly represented in the overall Austen collection. In addition, the collection includes John Marsh's arrangement for four hands of Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus* (mentioned in Chapter 3). Although this is the only music by Handel owned by Jane Austen, she may have used other volumes in the collection, such as CHWJA 19/1 (possibly belonging to her mother) which included seven pieces by Handel (two arias of *Susanna*, the March in *Judas Maccabeus*, Minuet in *Ariadne*, *Water Music*, a part of the overture to *Samson* and an arrangement of the organ concerto Op. 4 No. 2) and three pieces by Boyce (two songs and an arrangement of the Vivace of the symphony to *The Chaplet*).

The collection includes a specific volume devoted to keyboard music associated with Jane Austen, which includes two original compositions: *The Battle of Prague* by František Koczwara and a Concerto with accompaniment of violins, viola and violoncello by William Evance (including the tutti and solos in the keyboard part), and two arrangements: *Fourteen Favorite Sonatinas* by Pleyel, which are mostly arrangements of his string quartets and also some string quintets, symphonies and duos; and *Pleyel's Celebrated Overture performed [...] at the Hanover Square Concerts, adapted to the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by T. Haigh*, an arrangement of symphony B. 136.⁸⁵ Both original pieces and the arrangements require a relatively accomplished technique (such as some long trills, fast passages of semiquavers or passages with melodic prominence of the left hand).

⁸³ Samantha Carrasco, 'The Austen Family Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770–1820', (PhD Thesis: University of Southampton, 2013), 39.

⁸⁴ Jeanice Brooks, 'Collections Feminines', 375. This might need to be revised in light of the recent digitisations.

⁸⁵ The Austen Family Music Books CHWJA 19/4.

Apart from this volume, other volumes include exclusively songs (some of them French), including *The Duke of Yorks new March perform'd by the Coldstream Regt.*, an arrangement of 'Non più andrai' from Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*.⁸⁶ More extensive serial publications of arrangements of operatic overtures owned by Jane Austen include Bremner's *Opera Overtures adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an accompaniment for a violin*, including overtures by Ferdinando Bertoni, Pasquale Anfossi, and Antonio Sacchini.⁸⁷ These arrangements have different degrees of difficulty, in which the first movements usually have harmonic textures that may be more technically demanding with stretches for the hands and on occasions more autonomy in the left hand. Similarly to Poole, Austen's music also includes operatic excerpts and songs, in addition to instrumental music adapted for the keyboard, some of which were also foreign items adapted to the English amateur market such as arrangements of Pleyel's music. Thus, given the variety of music genres and the difficulty of some of this music, it is clear that contemporary assumptions about the taste and abilities of women explained at the beginning of the chapter were not entirely founded.

Another large collection of music is that held at Tatton Park (Cheshire), related to the Egerton family. The collection holds music owned by Elizabeth Sykes (1777-1853), but it was also used by her daughters and the wife of his son William, Lady Charlotte Loftus (1811-1878), and younger relatives.⁸⁸ The collection includes three volumes of manuscript music dated 1790 (originally belonging to her elder sister Beatrix), 1799 and 1801, and a large amount of printed music.⁸⁹ Both the manuscripts and printed editions highlight Elizabeth Sykes's interest in ancient music, given the inclusion of Purcell catches and glees and extracts from Handel and Purcell operas and oratorios (including for example 'If guiltless blood be your intent' from Handel's *Susanna*, and 'Come if you dare' from Purcell's *King Arthur*). In addition,

⁸⁶ The Austen Family Music Books CHWJA 19/2/18.

⁸⁷ The Austen Family Music Books CHWJA 19/5/5-9 (XCVIII-CXXXIX)

⁸⁸ Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English country house (1785-1845)', 14.

⁸⁹ Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments of the Country House', 516.

Sykes owned keyboard music (sometimes with a separate violin part)⁹⁰ and various arrangements of symphonies, concerti, opera overtures and oratorio sections. For example, there are arrangements of Haydn symphonies No. 94⁹¹ and No. 97,⁹² of Shield's overture to *The poor soldier*,⁹³ and Dussek's⁹⁴ and Ivan Mane Jarnović's (1747-1804) concertos.⁹⁵ Other arrangements of concerto movements and arias were arranged as rondos, such as of the polacca of Giovanni Battista Viotti's (1755-1824) violin concerto No. 13 (of which multiple editions survive) or a song from Dibdin's *The waterman*, also arranged as a rondo.⁹⁶ Tatton Park also holds vocal scores of operatic arias such as those by M. C. Mortellari of Peter von Winter's operas. Both this collection and that of the Austens include manuscript music usually copied from printed editions borrowed from friends or possibly copied from circulating libraries. Carrasco claims the copies were made for pleasure or study rather than for financial motives,⁹⁷ although other reasons may also have played a role, such as a decision-making process

⁹⁰ According to Jeanice Brooks the violin part may have been played by her cousin Wilbraham Egerton or her father. Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments of the Country House', 521.

⁹¹ Joseph Haydn, *The Surprize a duet for the piano forte, composed by Joseph Haydn* (London: Broderip & Wilkinson, n. d.); Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2-5.

⁹² Joseph Haydn, *Haydn celebrated symphonies composed for and performed at Mr. Salomon's and the Opera concerts adapted for the piano-forte with an accompaniment for a violin & violoncello ad libitum*, (London: R. Birchall, n.d.); Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2-5.

⁹³ William Shield, *Overture to The poor soldier for the harpsichord or pianoforte* (no indication of the publisher or year); Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2-4.

⁹⁴ Jan Ladislav Dussek, *Dussek's Grand concerto for the pedal harp or piano forte, with or without additional keys, with accompaniments for violins &c; as performed at Mr Salomon's concerts, Hanover Square* (London & Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co, n.d.). Tatton Park MR 2-5. Also *Dussek's 2d Gran Concerto in F for the Piano Forte With Additional Keys, Arranged Likewise for these without as Performed at The Professional, Salomon's Concerts at the Oratorios Theatre Royal Covent Garden And the Kings Theatre Haymarket Dedicated to Mrs. Hyde By the Author*, (London & Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co., n.d. [ca. 1795]); Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 3-8. The British Library copy of this concert arrangement has a manuscript cadence, shelfmark g.452.(9.).

⁹⁵ Ivan Mane Jarnović's, *Giornovich's two favorite concertos arranged as sonatas for the piano forte*, (London & Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co.); Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2-5. Also Ivan Mane Jarnović's, *Two violin concertos composed & arranged by particular desire for the piano forte or harpsichord, with a violin accompaniment by Mr. Giornovich*, (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d.). Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2-5.

⁹⁶ Giovanni Battista Viotti, *Viotti's favorite pollaca sung by Sigra Banti, at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, arranged as a rondo for the piano-forte, by J. L. Dussek, arr. Jan Ladislav Dussek* (London & Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co, n.d.); Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2-5.

⁹⁷ Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English country house (1785-1845)', 25.

that put a low priority on the acquisition of scores, or practical difficulties in finding and acquiring new music.

Although a quantitative analysis of both the Tatton Park and Austen collections is still difficult given the unavailability of the catalogue data, it is possible to trace general differences and similarities among these collections. Most evidently the collections are eclectic, not only because each was added to by various owners, but also because the collections of an individual might cater to diverse tastes. Thus, the collections tend to include English songs sung at the pleasure gardens or the theatre, as well as arrangements of instrumental music of foreign composers appropriated to the English taste. Particularly the instrumental arrangements might have some complexity and require a certain degree of skill on the keyboard. This observation has also been suggested specifically with regard to the expertise required to sing the vocal parts in some of Elizabeth Sykes's vocal scores.⁹⁸ Through these arrangements, music from London's pleasure gardens was brought to such diverse locations as the Austen family home (the rectory at Steventon, Hampshire) or country houses such as Tatton Park in Cheshire.

Another relevant aspect of these personal collections is the presence of English as well as foreign composers. Within English repertoires, Hook and Dibdin appear to be in a prominent position, with composers such as Handel being equally or even more represented in some collections. Regarding foreign composers, usually Pleyel and Haydn, but also Kozeluch, Mozart, and Hasse (or even Simon Mayr and Nicolas Dalayrac) appear in the collections in different amounts. It has been argued that Italian music in particular was prevalent among ladies with more education, in particular Elizabeth Sykes and Elizabeth Bridges.⁹⁹ With regard to arrangements, there appears to be a significant presence of vocal arrangements by Handel (and in a lesser degree, instrumental arrangements of Corelli). The presence of these

⁹⁸ Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the country house', 521.

⁹⁹ Penelope Cave 'Piano Lessons in the English country house (1785-1845)', 43.

arrangements highlights the contemporary interest in and taste for ancient music mentioned in Chapter 3, and more specifically, the interest shown by female performers in the context of domestic music-making for this particular repertory. This is particularly noteworthy given the association of this repertory with ancient music clubs such as the Academy of Ancient Music or the Madrigal Society whose membership was largely male, although recent research points out the presence of female listeners in other ancient music clubs.¹⁰⁰ Although arrangements of instrumental music appear less frequently, they are consistently present in all collections.

Although, as already mentioned, the two volumes belonging to Maria Halsted Poole may possibly represent a small part of the music that she may have owned or performed, the contents have similarities with larger music collections. Thus, it seems pertinent to briefly consider some specific arrangements that appear in several of these private collections and some that are particularly relevant for showing links to other aspects of the present thesis. In addition to the popular songs such as those by Hook, Halsted Poole's volumes include operatic extracts such as the above-mentioned air 'For tenderness form'd' which was sung in the comedy *The Heiress*, owned also by Jane Austen (but published by S. A. & P. Thompson) and making few technical demands on both the keyboardist and the singer.

In addition to vocal music, opera overtures are widely represented in private collections. Both the Austen and the Tatton Park collections have copies of different published arrangements of the overture of Arne's *Artaxerxes* (very common in the publisher's catalogues, as shown in Chapter 3). In this case, Jane Austen had a manuscript copy of the overture (similar to RISM A/I A 1646) whilst Tatton Park has a printed copy published by John Johnson (RISM A/I A 1623), which includes songs and duets as well as the overture.¹⁰¹ This

¹⁰⁰ Roya Stuart-Rees, "Ancient Music" and the Rise of the Amateur Connoisseur in the Long Eighteenth Century', PhD thesis in progress, Royal Holloway, University of London.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Arne, *Overture to Artaxerxes*, manuscript in The Austen Family Music

overture is also present in the collection at Saltram House, although not in relation to the Halsted Poole's (the provenance of this volume remains to be examined in detail). The above-mentioned William Reeve's comic opera *The Cabinet* shows the range of possible arrangements: whilst Maria H. Poole owned the arrangement of the overture, Tatton Park holds a sonata arranged from an aria.¹⁰²

Beyond opera, another example of instrumental music arranged for the keyboard is that of Pleyel, hugely popular in the period.¹⁰³ Both Maria H. Poole and Elizabeth Bridges (within the Austen collection) had keyboard arrangements of Pleyel's *Symphonie Concertante* B.111,¹⁰⁴ and Jane Austen owned the above-mentioned arrangement of Pleyel's symphony B.134 arranged by Thomas Haigh.¹⁰⁵ All these arrangements were published under the title 'as performed' at Hanover Square and/or the Pantheon concerts (similar to the Haydn arrangements discussed in Chapter 6), highlighting the method whereby fashionable London repertoires were disseminated to the provinces. Other arrangements of Pleyel are found in sets of duets for two performers, such as *Two duets, for two performers, on one piano forte one composed by Pleyel; the other, the favorite chorus of Venus laughing composed by G. F. Handel*, arranged by Thomas Haigh, published by L. Lavenu, and currently held at Tatton Park. This particular so-called duet of Pleyel

Books CHWJA 19/2/37. Thomas Arne, *The overture, songs and duetts in the opera of Artaxerxes as set to music by Dr Arne; properly dispos'd for the voice and harpsichord* (London: J. Johnson, n. d.). Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2–6. Unfortunately the piece is not included in Penelope Cave's list provided in her thesis, and thus there is no reference to ownership.

¹⁰² [William Reeve], *The Beautiful maid and Never think of meeting sorrow; two favorite airs from the opera of the Cabinet, arranged as a sonata for the piano forte by D. Steibelt*, arr Daniel Steibelt (London: J. Dale, n.d.). Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2–5.

¹⁰³ Sandra Tuppen, Stephen Rose and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Library Catalogue Records as a Research Resource: Introducing "A Big Data History of Music"', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 63/2 (2016), 649–660.

¹⁰⁴ They are different arrangements. M. H. Poole's is published by G. Goulding (See Table 4.2) and E. Bridges owned Ignace Pleyel, *Pleyel's celebrated Concertante as performed [...] at the Pantheon and Hanover Square Concerts adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte*, (London: Preston & Son, n.d.); The Austen Family Music Books CHWJA 19/6/ – CXCIV.

¹⁰⁵ Ignace Pleyel, *Pleyel's celebrated Overture performed [...] at the Hanover Square Concerts, arr. Thomas Haigh*, (London: Preston & Son, n.d.). The volume in which the arrangement is included has the name of Jane Austen, The Austen Family Music Books CHWJA 19/4 XXXVI.

has two movements: the first is from the second movement of the string quartet B. 332, and the second is from the last movement of Pleyel's symphony B. 137. Thus, in this publication there is a combination of arrangements of instrumental music and vocal music, in addition to the combination of a contemporary composer and an 'ancient' one, possibly trying to attract the widest possible audience. The Pleyel arrangements are much altered, containing just over 50 bars each (fitting on a single sheet of music), which in the second arrangement represents about one fourth of the whole movement.

Other arrangements are chamber versions (usually for keyboard plus melody instrument) of string quartets. For example, Tatton Park holds *A Favorite Quartetto from I. Pleyel Op. 1 Adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte With a Violin Accompaniment*.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Jane Austen owned *Six favorite Quartettos by R. Davaux adapted for the harpsichord with an Accompaniment for Violin and Tenor* published by Napier,¹⁰⁷ in which the keyboard reduces the violoncello and first violin parts, and the second violin and viola remain unaltered.¹⁰⁸ The presence of music for string instruments imply a reasonable level of musical literacy in many households and suggests that the Burney family was not as exceptional as they may initially appear. In the Austen family, other family members or family friends may have been able to perform the string parts. In the case of the Sykes household, we know that Elizabeth's father played the violin, as the collection includes music specifically for this instrument.¹⁰⁹

The popularity of Haydn's music (to be discussed in Chapter 6), and its diffusion to the provinces, is suggested by various items. Thus, in addition to the aforementioned arrangements of Haydn's symphonies Nos. 94 and 97, Tatton Park (although without ownership indications) holds Bland's collection *Lessons, Divertimentos, Sonatas*,

¹⁰⁶ Ignace Pleyel, *A Favorite Quartetto from I. Pleyel Op. 1 [...]*, arr. Natale Corri (Edinburgh: Corri & Co, n.d.), RISM A/I P 4551, Tatton Park (NT), shelfmark MR 2-5.9

¹⁰⁷ [Jean-Marie Davaux], *Six favorite Quartettos by R. Davaux* (London: Napier, n.d.), RISM A/1 D 1133. The Austen Family Music Books CHWJA 19/5/02 or XXXVI.

¹⁰⁸ Ian Gammie & Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music*, 21.

¹⁰⁹ Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English country house (1785-1845)', 25-27.

Overtures, Concertos, Duets, &c. &c. for the harpsichord or Piano-Forte[...] which include arrangements of three Haydn symphonies: Tindal's arrangement symphony No. 47, Samuel Webbe's (Jr) arrangement of symphony No. 71, and John Percy's arrangement of No. 73. In addition, the Haydn Ballads as published by Shield are held at Saltram House (not among the books owned by Maria H. Poole) and a manuscript copy of the ballad *William*, arranged from the Haydn piano sonata Hob. XVI:35, was owned by Jane Austen.¹¹⁰ Thus private collections such as those of Jane Austen or Maria Halstead Poole show a wide variety of arrangements, yet also contain some common items that point to the spread of musical taste (despite the possible differences in status and musical abilities of the owners). The collections not only show the prevalence of arrangements in domestic music-making, but also the value of a detailed analysis (quantitative and qualitative) of these sources.

Conclusion

Thomas Christensen's study of arrangements introduced in Chapter 1, focuses on the nineteenth century as the period when the 'dislocation of musical genre from performing geography' started.¹¹¹ In other words, the nineteenth century witnessed the destabilization of the correspondence between musical genres and their performance venues that had been established (in Christensen's opinion) in the decades around 1700. In the nineteenth century, chamber music became part of public concerts in the same way that symphonies became part of the private music-making. This chapter helps our understanding of the process described by Christensen, in showing how arrangements

¹¹⁰ Joseph Haydn, *William*, manuscript in The Austen Family Music Books CHWJA 19/3/02 (page 4). More information on this particular can be found in Frank Dawes, 'William: or the adventures of a sonata', *The Musical Times*, 106/1472 (1965), 761–764.

¹¹¹ Thomas Christensen, 'Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52/2 (1999), 288–290.

contributed to the dissolution of the boundaries between public and private spheres. Although generally arrangements seem not to have been used in public performances, they permitted symphonic and operatic music to enter the private sphere, thus contributing to the destabilization of performative contexts and their associations with musical style. In my study of the purchasers and owners of keyboard arrangements, private collections such as that of Maria Halsted Poole show the central role of women in this destabilization of boundaries between private and public with regard to music. Furthermore, this chapter has shown how musical skill gave cultural and social capital to English families, and that female amateur performance could encompass a diversity of genres and music of considerable technical difficulty. Although evidence of the performance of arrangements in domestic settings is difficult to trace, possible references to arrangements can be found in personal diaries, letters and fiction in which the social event appears to be more central than the 'authenticity' of the performance. In this context, the versatility of arrangements in terms of instrumentation (as shown in the previous chapter, many arrangements indicated their suitability for different keyboard instruments and various *ad libitum* accompaniments) accommodated the practice of appropriating music for the available instruments and occasions.



Figure 4.3: Binding on GG.2.10

Chapter 5 : **The craft of arrangement: keyboard idiom versus textual fidelity**

[Arranging] however requires no small degree of musical ability and judgment, to concenter[sic] the melody and harmony contained in an extended composition within the powers and expression of a Harpsichord and Violin accompaniment; and also to dispose the whole so as to seem originally intended for those instruments.¹

As shown in Chapter 2, the prefaces to published arrangements prefaces tend to highlight the importance of arranging in diverse ways. In this quotation from the preface of the collection *Select Concert Pieces* published approximately in 1785-1787 (according to the British Library catalogue), Robert Bremner showed his awareness of the difficulty of the task of arranging. A similar view was stated by Heinrich Christoph Koch in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802), where he highlighted the abilities required to select the melodies and harmonies and make them effective as well as idiomatic for the new instrument to which the music is arranged (as explored in Chapter 2).

The task of arranging was sometimes considered as posing dilemmas. For instance in the preface of the *Musikalisches Magazin*, published by Breitkopf in 1765 (explored in Chapter 2), the publisher explained the task of the arranger in the following way:

But what a dubious work for those who arrange (*nacharbeiten*), who have to reduce what has been written for five or more instruments to one [instrument].

¹ *Select Concert Pieces, fitted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for the violin*, arr. Robert Bremner (London: R. Bremner, n.d. [1785-1787]); RISM A/I B 4329, British Library shelfmark h.64.(2.).

He must make melodic changes for the comfort of the keyboard, and yet not disfigure anything; here and there he must omit the harmony and yet the phrase cannot become empty.²

Thus, the publisher understood the task of the arranger was delicate, requiring the original to be changed without disfiguring the result. In a slightly different tone, Friedrich Gottlieb Nikolaus Müller's review of an arrangement of a Haydn symphony (published in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*) assessed the arrangement as successful and claimed that arranging was a task for mediocre composers. As Müller puts it:

Mediocre composers deserve more gratitude for such a reworking than for publishing their own work. The present arrangement (*Veränderung*) of a beautiful symphony in a quartet is successful; although the keyboard part is a bit awkward, it is yet quite adjusted to the nature of that instrument.³

For publishers, arrangements were a way to make profit from popular pieces, and for composers, arrangements were a way to achieve recognition (*Bekanntmachung*) for their works. In this process, not only audiences were differentiated, but also the music professionals became specialized. As Lydia Goehr points out, before the late eighteenth

² 'Aber welche bedenkliche Arbeit für den, der andern Meistern nacharbeiten, der das, was sie vor vier und mehr Instrumente schrieben, auf eins zusammen ziehen soll. Er muß nach der Bequemlichkeit des Claviers melodische Veränderungen vornehmen, und doch nichts verunstalten; er muß hier und da, in der Harmonie auslassen, und doch soll der Satz nicht leer werden', in *Musikalisches Magazin in Sonaten, Sinfonien, Trios und andere Stücken für das Clavier* (Breitkopf: Leipzig, 1765).

³ 'Mittelmäßige Tonkünstler verdienen für dergleichen Umschmelzung mehr Dank, als wenn sie ihre eigene Arbeit drucken lassen. Gegenwärtige Veränderung einer schönen Sinfonie von Haydn in ein Quadro ist gut gerathen; die Klavierstimme, ob sie gleich etwas schwerfällig geworden, ist doch dem Wesen dieses Instruments noch so ziemlich angepaßt'. Friedrich Gottlieb Nikolaus Müller, 'Sinfonia da Giuseppe Haydn aggiustata pel Cembalo con Flauto, Violino, et violoncello', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 91/1 (1790), 447.

century, musical compositions were the product of a craftsmanlike activity that fused creativity and skill.⁴ The new aesthetic that emerged distinguished the products of art from the products of craft, with a strong aesthetic preference for the so-called 'artwork'. In this regard, the shift in aesthetic thinking led to critics making a clear distinction between the composition of new works (a product of art), and the making of arrangements (a product of craft).

In the present thesis, many aspects of arrangements have been considered. Chapter 3 probed the publication of arrangements and examined evidence of the relation between arrangers and publishers, and Chapter 4 sampled evidence of their purchase and ownership. Still to be considered are the techniques involved in the making of arrangements. To be sure, the making of arrangements could serve different purposes. As shown in Chapter 2, some contemporary commentators highlighted the making of arrangements as pedagogical tools that is, as an exercise not only to gain familiarity with various composers' music, but also as a way of studying compositional techniques such as orchestration. For example, John Marsh's journals describe the practice of arranging orchestral music by Handel for the keyboard, but also describe the practice of orchestrating from a keyboard part (both for domestic use and to perform at private concerts).⁵

This chapter will provide a further insight into the ways in which music was arranged by considering three examples from the late eighteenth century where the technical aspects of an arrangement were critiqued, either by the composer of the original or by a music critic. The chapter first considers Johann Nicolaus Forkel's 1779 comments and suggestions on an anonymous keyboard arrangement of Georg Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*, and at the same time, Benda's own

⁴ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 149–150, 170 and 220.

⁵ John Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)*, vol. I (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1998), 538 (domestic use), 585, 660 (for a private concert), 682.

arrangement of the same work. Then, it will turn to consider Haydn's corrections of August Eberhard Müller's vocal score of *Die Jahreszeiten* (1801). Finally, it will consider the differences between Carl Friedrich Abel's own arrangement of his first set of overtures and the anonymous arrangement published by Longman in 1769 (as mentioned in Chapter 3). These three examples will show some of the different techniques that were used by arrangers, and their relationship to other concerns such as publishers' strategies or composers' aesthetic values. Thus, the chapter will show the way in which arrangements negotiate the balance between idiomatic writing and *Werktreue*, an ideal that 'emerged to capture the new relation between work and performance as well as between performer and composer'⁶ and that can be variously defined as fidelity to the imagined ideal of a musical work or textual fidelity to the original score. Although the word *Werktreue* was not directly used in the original debates, the notion seems to be present in some of the sources discussed here.

5.1. Reviewing G. Benda's *Ariadne*: Forkel and the Schwickert Editions

In 1779, the music historian and theorist from Göttingen, Johann Nicolaus Forkel (1749–1818), reviewed an anonymous keyboard arrangement of a melodrama by Georg Benda, the then *Kapellmeister* of Duke Friedrich III of Saxe-Gotha. The review, published in the *Musikalische Kritische Bibliothek*, concerned two of Benda's earliest melodramas, *Ariadne auf Naxos* and *Medea*.⁷

Forkel's decision to review the keyboard arrangement of *Ariadne auf Naxos* seemed to respond to an interest in the dramatic genre more than the arrangement itself. The melodrama (also described as a mono-

⁶ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, 231.

⁷ Johann Nicolaus Forkel, 'Ariadne auf Naxos. Ein Duodrama. In Musik gesetzt von Georg Benda. Clavierauszug. Leipzig, im Schwickertschen Verlage. 1778. Und Medea. Ebenfalls ein Duodrama, in eben dem Verlage, und auch im Clavierauszuge', *Musikalische Kritische Bibliothek*, 3 (1779), 250–285.

or duodrama depending on the number of actors involved in the plot), became particularly popular thanks to Benda's composition of *Ariadne* to a text by Johann Christian Brandes. Similarly to the *Singspiel*, the melodrama had a spoken German text and as Johann Friedrich Reichardt describes it, in the melodrama 'speech and music are merged here: the actor recites his part, which consists solely of monologues, with no obbligato music.'⁸

The keyboard arrangement reviewed by Forkel was published in Leipzig in 1778, three years after the premiere of *Ariadne* (originally for strings and winds), by Engelhard Benjamin Schwickert.⁹ Although the commercial success of this arrangement seems difficult to assess, the popularity of the piece is indicated by the fact that other editions of the complete score and keyboard arrangements were published in the subsequent years. Most interestingly, only a few years after the first Schwickert publication in full score (ca. 1782), a new revised edition of the full score was published (1785 at the latest). Together with this, Benda himself published the corresponding new keyboard arrangement (for which a partly autograph version survives),¹⁰ which was in its turn reviewed in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* possibly by D. G. Türk.¹¹

Interestingly, Forkel's review focuses on two different aspects: on the one hand, the melodrama as a genre, and on his detailed critique of the keyboard arrangement of *Ariadne auf Naxos* on the other. At the beginning of the text he clarifies that the purpose of the review is not to advertise but rather to explain the differences and advantages that the

⁸ 'Rede und Musik sind hier vereinigt: der Schauspieler deklamiert seine Rolle –die aus lauter Monologuen besteht– ohne musikalische Vortschrift.' Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 'Ariadne auf Naxos, ein Duodrama, von Georg Benda in Partitur. Leipzig bey Schwickert', *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, 1/2 (1782), 86–87.

⁹ Georg Benda, *Klavierauszug von Ariadne auf Naxos einem Duodrama* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1778); RISM A/I B 1865.

¹⁰ *Klavierauszug zum Duodrama: Ariadne auf Naxos von Georg Benda Personen: Ariadne Theseus Eine Oreade Einige Griechen Die mit Rothstein bezeichneten Stellen sind von Bendas eigener Handschrift Franck*. There is no RISM A/I number, only a RISM ID no.: 455002123 on RISM's online catalogue (www.rism.info).

¹¹ [Daniel Gottlob Türk?], 'Ariadne auf Naxos, ein Duodrama von Hr. Brandes, in Musik gesetzt und nach der neuesten verbesserten Partitur für das Clavier eingerichtet von Georg Benda. Leipzig, im Schwickertschen Verlage. (Mit einer beygefügtten französischen Uebersetzung.)', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, Anhang Bd. 37–52/3 (1785), 1518–1520.

melodrama offers in comparison to the *Singspiel*.¹² The anonymous keyboard arrangement reviewed by Forkel consists of an oblong folio print that includes the text as short sentences interspersed between the staves.

Regarding the keyboard arrangement, Forkel explained that to maintain the expression, the arrangement must be idiomatic for the intended instrument. He stated that,

If you want to bring together music that was set for an entire orchestra, in order to use it in one single instrument with no considerable loss, that is, without losing anything essential of its expression; it is necessary that such an arrangement suits precisely the character of the instrument for which it is meant. This is not always observed here, particularly in the arrangement of *Ariadne*.¹³

In the review, Forkel argued that Benda had no time to arrange the pieces himself, and therefore he let someone else arrange them for him. As Forkel put it: 'For the time being it should be reminded, that Mr. Benda did not procure the arrangement himself, but had to leave it to someone else due to lack of time.'¹⁴ This argument may be understood as responding to the belief that arranging was not a worthy task for a composer. However, it is difficult to elucidate if that was Forkel's

¹² 'wir wollen uns bemühen, unsern Lesern zu sagen, worinn diese neue Musikgattung von gewöhnliche theatralische Singstücken unterschieden ist, -was sie für Vorzüge hat,- und wodurch denn eigentlich die erstaunlichen Wirkungen hervorgebracht werden, welche man so sehr gefühlt und bewundert hat.' Johann Nicolaus Forkel, 'Ariadne auf Naxos', *Musikalische Kritische Bibliothek*, 3 (1779), 251.

¹³ 'Wenn man eine Musik, die für ein ganzes Orchester bestimmt war, so zusammen ziehen will, daß sie ohne wesentliche Nachteile auf einem einzigen Instrumente brauchbar werden soll,- daß nichts wesentliches von ihrem Ausdrucke verloren gehen soll; so ist durchaus nothwendig, daß ein solcher Auszug dem Charakter des Instrumentes, für welches er bestimmt ist, aufs genaueste angepaßt werde. Dieß finden wir hier, besonders im Auszuge der Ariadne nicht immer beobachtet.' Johann Nicolaus Forkel, 'Ariadne auf Naxos', *Musikalische Kritische Bibliothek*, 3 (1779), 260.

¹⁴ 'Vorläufig muß aber noch erinnert werden, daß Hr. Benda den Auszug nicht selbst besorgt, sondern die Besorgung desselben aus Zeitmangel einem andern hat überlassen müssen' *Ibid.*, 260-261.

opinion or Benda's. In any case, Schwickert's edition of the arrangement provides no information about who made the arrangement. This edition has a preface signed by Benda, but written in the third person, that states the following:

The signatory [Georg Benda] found out not without displeasure, that not only keyboard arrangements of both duodramas Ariadne and Medea are circulating but even full scores are being sold in some places. Both [the circulation and selling] are occurring without his prior knowledge (let alone acceptance or approval), and which implies with certainty that the scores are hastily and incorrectly written. The keyboard score may even be more incompetently achieved, as more experience is required for [the task of] adequately fitting the nature of those instruments to this genre (which considerably differs from other music works). As a result, he sees himself forced to give a friendly warning to the public of such false and unauthorized wares, and at the same time to make known that his own keyboard arrangements of both pieces will appear in print at the earliest opportunity. These scores, however, will be available unaltered and at a low price, uniquely and exclusively from him.¹⁵

¹⁵ 'Endesunterzeichneter hat nicht ohne gerechtes Mißvergnügen in Erfahrung gebracht, daß von den beyden Duodramen Ariadne und Medea nicht nur Klavierauszüge im Publikum herumlaufen, sondern sogar die Partituren an einigen Orten zum Verkauf angeboten werden. Da nun das eine wie das andere ohne sein Vorwissen (geschweige Beywürfung oder Genehmigung) geschieht, und sich hieraus mit Gewißheit abnehmen läßt, daß die Partituren flüchtig und inkorrekt zusammengeschrieben, die Klavierauszüge aber um so stümperhafter gerathen seyn mögen, jemehr Erfahrung dazu gehört, eine solche Arbeit, bey dieser von andern musikalische Werken beträchtlich abweichenden Gattung, der Natur jenes Instruments gemäß einzurichten; so sieht er sich genöthigt, das Publikum vor dergleichen unächter und unbefugt vertrieben werdender Waare freundschaftlich zu warnen und zugleich bekannt zu machen, daß ehestens von ihm selbst veranstaltete Klavierauszüge beyder Stücke im Druck erscheinen werden, die Partituren aber einzig und allein bey ihm unverfälscht und um billigen Preis zu haben sind. Gotha, im

More enlightening is the preface of another arrangement of *Ariadne* also signed by Benda, in this case for string quartet and published by 1780.¹⁶ This preface is written in the first person, and claims that Schwickert is the composer's publisher and highlights the profusion of arrangements of *Ariadne*.¹⁷ Thus, it is probable that Schwickert commissioned an anonymous arranger, most probably with Benda's approval. This seems to have been the opinion of the reviewer of Benda's own keyboard arrangement (as mentioned above, reviewed in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*). After some general comments on Forkel's review, the reviewer highlights that

In the current second edition, [...] we find only few of the contested passages amended, yet we have noticed many other changes, among which there are even additions and cuts.¹⁸

The reviewer continues making reference to Forkel's assertion that Benda had no time to arrange his *Ariadne*:

Oktober 1777. Georg Benda', Georg Benda, *Klavierauszug von Ariadne auf Naxos einem Duodrama* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1778); RISM A/I B 1865.

¹⁶ Georg Benda, *Ariadne auf Naxos, zum Gebrauche gesellschaftlicher Theater auf Zwey violinen, Eine Bratsche und Ein Violoncell eingerichtet und Ihre Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht der Frau Erbprinzessin zu Hessen-Darmstad unterthänigst zugeeignet von Georg Benda[...]* (Leipzig: Schwickert Verlag, [1780?]). RISM does not include this edition. The year is suggested in the British Library catalogue; shelfmark F.98.b.

¹⁷ 'Ariadne ist seit einigen Jahren unter mehr als einer Auflage im Clavierauszuge und in vollständiger Partitur, bey Herrn Schwickert, als meinem Verleger, herausgekommen. Da aber das erste bloß für den Clavier-spieler ist, und von der, andern nur da, wo ein zahlreiches Orchester unterhalten wird, Gebrauch gemacht werden kann; so habe ich mich entschlossen, um die Aufführung von vier Instrumenten, wie der Titel anzeigt, zu liefern. Hiervon darf keine Stimme stärker als einfach besetzt werden. Georg Benda.' Georg Benda, *Ariadne auf Naxos, zum Gebrauche gesellschaftlicher Theater auf Zwey violinen, Eine Bratsche und Ein Violoncell eingerichtet*, n.p.

¹⁸ 'Bey der gegenwärtigen zweyten Auflage, [...], finden wir nur wenige von den angefochtenen Stellen abgeändert, da wir doch viele andere Veränderungen, worunter sogar Zusätze und Abkürzungen sind, bemerkt haben -'. [Daniel Gottlob Türk?], 'Ariadne auf Naxos, ein Duodrama von Hrn. Brandes', 1519.

The reviewer is not omniscient and thus cannot choose anything, but he almost thinks that Mr Forkel's affirmation is not quite authentic because it is hardly thinkable that Mr Benda would leave the production of the arrangement to an incompetent without checking the manuscript before printing.¹⁹

Regardless of Benda's reasons for arranging or not his work, it is probable that he knew or even revised the first anonymous arrangement and may have been aware of Forkel's criticism.

In contrast to Koch in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* (mentioned above and explored in Chapter 2), Forkel does not discuss the value of arrangements. Like Hiller in the introduction to his arrangement of Handel's *Te Deum*, in which he suggests and explains the reasons for arranging the piece in a certain way, Forkel discusses the aspects that contribute to a good arrangement. He points out the flaws of the arrangement under review and suggests some changes. As he puts it,

We want therefore to quote some passages where it seemed to us the true expression was most of all lost, and at the same time give to the reader the changes that in our opinion, not only are more suited to the instrument but also represent indeed more truly and correctly the thoughts of the composer.²⁰

This quotation reveals that Forkel considers that the arrangement should preserve the 'true expression', which stems from an emergent

¹⁹ 'Recensent ist nicht allwissend, und kann daher nichts entscheiden: aber er glaubt beynahe, daß des Hrn. Forkels Versicherung so ganz authentisch nicht sey, weil sichs kaum denken läßt, daß Herr Benda die Verfertigung des Auszugs einem Stümper überlassen haben sollte, ohne das Manuscript vor dem Drucke selbst durchzusehen.' Ibid., 1519.

²⁰ 'Wir wollen daher einige Stellen anführen, wo uns der wahre Ausdruck am meisten verloren zu haben scheint, und zugleich dem Leser die Veränderungen angeben, die unsere Meynung nach dem Instrumente nicht nur angemessen sind, sondern auch in der That die Gedanken des Componisten richtiger und wahrer darstellen.' Johann Nicolaus Forkel, 'Ariadne auf Naxos', 260.

concept of the musical work and authorial intention. For him, a good arrangement expresses the ideas of the composer and suits the characteristics of the new instrument to which it is adapted. To discern the composer's ideas, Forkel uses the original orchestral version and the text of the melodrama as a starting point. In his review, Forkel points out various passages that do not respond to his expectations. The *Ariadne* arrangements we will refer to, as well as Forkel's suggestions, were originally written on two staves (C clef for the right hand and F clef for the left) and included the text that narrated the plot.

In the Allegro, Forkel criticizes the decision of the anonymous arranger to simplify the bass line. Instead of replacing the last eight semiquavers with a crochet and crotchet rest in the left hand, he suggests maintaining the parallel octaves between the hands:

Figure 5.1: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement (p. 13), Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement (p. 12) of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*.

In this particular moment, Ariadne has woken up of her dream and describes Naxos: 'Everything here is wild, dreadful.'²¹ Forkel argues that by avoiding the parallel octaves, the passage loses its expression. He ignores, though, the dynamic marking 'p' that makes the original suggestion very plausible and idiomatic to the keyboard, and does not

²¹ 'Alles ist hier wild, fürchterlich!'

consider that the arranger has ‘composed’ within the texture the reduced dynamic. As he put it

Here the bass for the left hand was probably found to be too difficult, and [the arranger] wanted to make it easier through the rest. However, if the avoidance of a difficulty is and can be disadvantageous for the strong expression of a passage, it must be prevented.²²

Interestingly, this is the only instance in which Forkel’s suggestion appears to be followed by Benda in his edition.

Forkel explains that the same objection can be made regarding the very next passage. Similarly to the previous passage, Forkel suggests adding the syncopated rhythm played by the first and second violins in the complete score. By contrast, Benda’s arrangement differs from Forkel’s suggestion and opts for the rhythm of the anonymous arrangement.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for piano, comparing different arrangements of a passage from Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The first system, labeled 'Anonymous Arranger (1778)', shows a right hand with block chords and a left hand with a complex, syncopated eighth-note pattern. The second system, 'Forkel's suggestion', shows the right hand with a more active melodic line and the left hand with a simpler, more regular eighth-note accompaniment. The third system, 'G. Benda's Arrangement', shows the right hand with block chords and a left hand with a syncopated eighth-note pattern, identical to the anonymous arrangement. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is common time (C).

Figure 5.2: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel’s suggested improvement, and Benda’s arrangement of Benda’s *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 261 in Benda’s arrangement.

²² ‘Hier ist wahrscheinlich der Baß für die linke Hand zu schwer gefunden worden, und man hat ihn durch die Pause erleichtern wollen. Wenn aber die Vermeidung eine Schwierigkeit dem kräftigen Ausdruck einer Stelle nachtheilig ist und werden kann, so ist es, deucht uns, nicht die rechte Stelle, wo sie eigentlich vermeiden werden muß.’ Johann Nicolaus Forkel, ‘Ariadne auf Naxos’, 261–262.

Taking the text of the melodrama as a starting point ('Das Meer lob gegen diesen Felsen, will ihn verdrängen!'), Forkel argues that this change is necessary 'when one should want the praise of the sea and the smashing of itself against the rocks to be correctly expressed'.²³ Thus, he considers the syncopation as the element that expresses the meaning of the text.

Another example regarding the expression of the meaning of the text may be found regarding Ariadne's heartbeat ('Wie schlägt mein Herz!') when she starts to be anxious about her beloved.²⁴ Compared to the examples discussed above, in this passage the differences between the arrangements are greater. Immediately after 'Wie schlägt mein Herz!', Forkel argues that the arrangement unsuccessfully expresses the heartbeat of Ariadne, which, according to him, is indicated in the orchestral original and represents the composer's intentions.²⁵ To express the heartbeat, Forkel suggests a more rhythmical and harmonic texture by including repeated chords in semiquavers. Nevertheless, this change not only does not refer to the orchestral score, but also seems hard to play on a keyboard (particularly if the key action is sluggish). Both the anonymous arrangement and Benda's one include the first violin and viola parts (see first three bars of Figure 5.3).

²³ '[...] wenn man will, daß das Loben des Meers, und das Drängen desselben gegen den Felsen gehörig ausgedrückt werden soll.' Ibid., 263.

²⁴ In the anonymous arrangement (p. 16). Forkel suggests a similar change in the Adagio of p. 18.

²⁵ 'ist es auffallend, daß die Musik dem Originale gemäß auf folgende Art hätte gehen müssen, wenn das Herzklopfen ausgedrückt werden sollte, welches doch der Componist wollte'. Johann Nicolaus Forkel, 'Ariadne auf Naxos', 264.

The figure displays three musical arrangements of a passage from Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. The top system shows the beginning of the passage, with dynamics ranging from *pp* to *f*. The bottom system shows a cadential passage, with dynamics ranging from *p* to *ff*. The three arrangements are: Anonymous Arranger (1778), Forkel's suggestion, and G. Benda's Arrangements.

Figure 5.3: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 308 in Benda's arrangement.

The rest of the passage in this figure is different in all versions, even in its length. In this case, Forkel's suggestion respects the length and the dotted rhythms of the original. The other two arrangements opt for a shorter cadential passage. Both the anonymous arranger and Benda cut the six bars of repeated semiquavers present in the string parts, but add the following short demisemiquaver cadence, precisely the opposite of Forkel's suggestion, in which the semiquaver bars are included but there is no mention of the cadence. According to Forkel,

In this way, not only the right effect would be kept, but also the great richness of the harmony and modulation would not be lost. Particularly the change and repetition of the last two bars in this spot was so badly made that all the energy and beauty of the movement is taken away.²⁶

In addition to insisting that an arrangement should express the meaning of the text, Forkel also valued idiomatic keyboard writing for its own sake. On page 14, when Ariadne is calling for her beloved, 'komm! Sie ist erwacht; „kommt in meine Arme!', Forkel argued that the melody of the arrangement 'is inclined to use too many jumps'.²⁷

Figure 5.4: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 273 in Benda's arrangement.

Although he did not provide an explanatory argument, Forkel claimed that his suggested version suited better the expression of the words, the original score and the instrument.²⁸ Nevertheless, a more disjunct and

²⁶ 'Auf diese Art wäre nicht nur der richtigere Ausdruck beybehalten worden, sondern auch der größere Reichthum der Harmonie und Modulation wäre nicht verloren gegangen. Besonders aber ist die Veränderung und Wiederholung der beyden letzten Takte dieser Stelle so übel angebracht, daß dadurch dem Satze eine ganze Kraft und Schönheit genommen werden ist.' Ibid., 266.

²⁷ 'ist allzu springen gerathen', Ibid., 263

²⁸ 'S.14 bey den worten: "komm! Sie ist erwach; kommt in meine Arme!" ist im Auszuge die Melodie allzu springen gerathen, da sie doch auf folgende Art nicht nur

jumping line would arguably suggest the state of being awake (as the text indicates). As the basis for his suggestion he follows the melody of the first violin and the rhythmic texture. Thus, the descending dotted semiquaver rhythms were originally present in the first violin part and the accompanying semiquavers of the left hand were present in the viola part. Nevertheless, Forkel's right hand still has large leaps of a 10th that are 'jumpy', and the repeated semiquaver chords in the left hand might be hard to play. By contrast, Benda prioritized the dialogue between the first and second violin that made the result too 'jumpy' for Forkel's taste.

Another interesting suggestion by Forkel with regard to idiomatic writing relates to the fragment 'Gerechte Götter! Er', after Ariadne knows her beloved has abandoned her.²⁹ He suggested adding repeated quavers in the left hand replacing the successive ascending semiquavers of the last beat of the first two bars. In this case he argued that it is simpler for the keyboard. In addition the regular quaver pulse is maintained, which might be helpful for players with bad timekeeping.

Figure 5.5: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested

dem Ausdruck der Worte, sondern auch dem Originale angemessener ist. Auf dieser Art kann diese Melodie auf dem Claviere ganz bequem vorgetragen werden; auf die andere Art aber gewiß nicht.' Ibid., 263.

²⁹ Anonymous arrangement p. 18

improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 380 in Benda's arrangement.

Interestingly, Forkel did only suggest this change when it is in c minor but not when it is repeated in f minor, because, as he put it, 'It expresses the fears of Ariadne when she gets sight of a ship on the high seas, incomparably better than it does in its arrangement.'³⁰

For Forkel, the most important loss in the adaptation to the keyboard is to be found in the Adagio of page 23, a highly emotional passage where Ariadne cries out 'Halt! halt ein! Ach, ich lieb ihn noch!' ('Stop! Stop! Ah, I still love him!'). Forkel argued:

It should indeed be hardly thought that such a small and apparently insignificant change in the appearance, could produce such a big difference in the effect and the expression. But it is so, and it can serve as proof, that it is not as easy as it is generally thought, to make a good arrangement of a decent piece.³¹

His suggestion is the following:

³⁰ Sie drückt den Schrecken der Ariadne, bey Erblickung eines Schiffs auf der hohen See, ungleich besser aus, als sie es in ihrer Veränderung thut.' Johann Nicolaus Forkel, 'Ariadne auf Naxos', 270.

³¹ 'Man sollte in der That kaum denken, daß eine so kleine und dem Anscheine nach unbedeutende Veränderung im Absicht auf Wirkung und Ausdruck eine so große Verschiedenheit hervorbringen könnte. Aber es ist so, und kann zum Beweise dienen, daß es nicht so leicht ist, als man wohl gemeiniglich denkt, aus einem Charaktervollen Stücke einen guten Auszug zu machen.' Ibid., 274.

Figure 5.6: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement, Forkel's suggested improvement, and Benda's arrangement of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Bar 471 in Benda's arrangement.

Forkel retains the melody of the first violin as the top melody of the right hand. He leaves the semiquavers of the second violins for the lower voice of the same hand, and keeps the bass for the left hand. Benda and the anonymous arrangement prefer to omit the bass and include the viola semiquavers for the left hand. For Forkel, the change is justified by expressive logic. He even quoted a fragment of the anonymous arrangement and invited the reader to compare and 'observe whether the drumming of the semiquavers, heard against each other in the inner part and the bass, strengthens or hinders the effect'.³²

Concerns about idiomatic writing are also central to other instances where Forkel suggested changing the rhythm of the accompaniment. For example in page 24, Forkel changed repeated quaver chords for semiquaver chords, in page 25 (3rd system) changing quavers for crotchets and semiquavers for quavers, or in page 27 (4th system) changing repeated crotchets for repeated quavers. In addition, with regard to the violin solo of page 24 Forkel also considered the range of the keyboards (according to him up to g''') to transpose the

³² 'sehe zu, ob das Brummen der decimen, welches der Mittelstimme und der Baß gegeneinander machen, die Wirkung verstärkt oder verwindert.' *Ibid.*, 275.

violin passage an octave higher (three bars starting from p. 24 from the fourth bar of the third system).

Another relevant section for Forkel is an expressive passage by the end of the melodrama, ‘where, in the theatre, the thunder would sound and the stormy wind would roar’,³³ indicating the use of stage effects even in the published arrangement. Despite the importance of the passage for Forkel, the fragment is cut in Benda’s arrangement but also in the second edition of the orchestral score (p.24).

Figure 5.7: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement (p. 27) and Forkel’s improvement suggestion of Benda’s *Ariadne auf Naxos*.

Certainly, Forkel’s arrangement seems to be closer to the orchestral score, following the bass and viola parts for the left hand, and slowing down the violins’ repeated semiquavers to repeated quavers. Forkel argued that the original version was easier to play and more suitable to the keyboard.³⁴ Unlike the rest of the examples, Forkel’s suggestion is based on the first edition of the orchestral score, since the fragment was deleted in the second edition. Thus, in this case, the omission of the passage in Benda’s arrangement seems to reflect his changing conception of the piece, rather than questions about the suitability of the music to the new instrument or the performer’s abilities.

Although Forkel does not pretend to assess the value of the piece, he clearly admires Benda’s melodrama. In the same way,

³³ ‘wo man auf dem Theater den Donner rollen, und den Sturmwind brausen hört’, Ibid., 280.

³⁴ ‘[...] diese Stellen in ihrer Veränderten Gestalt weit besser auf Clavierinstrumente vortragen lassen, als in ihrer veränderten, und noch überdem dem Charakter und der Natur der Clavierinstrumente weit angemessener sind’. Ibid., 283.

although he does not intend to assess the value of arrangements, many of his recommendations provide an insight into his opinion. Forkel takes time to discuss various passages, explaining their flaws and suggesting new possibilities that in general terms do not represent substantial changes. Thus, he believes that a good arrangement has to have various characteristics. On the one hand, he highlights the importance of the composer's intentions. Taking this review as a starting point, for Forkel this mainly consists in maintaining the expression that the music carries in relation with the text, and avoiding unnecessary changes to the original. On the other hand, he highlights the importance of idiomatic writing for the keyboard as well as avoiding unnecessary difficulties. Thus, he is in favour of simple writing as long as, to his understanding, it does not compromise the composer's idea. In other words, he looks for a balance that allows playing comfortably without affecting what he considers remarkable or essential to the work.

Forkel, similarly to Koch, considered the task of arranging to be challenging, as shown in the above mentioned quotation on arranging (p. 213 in this chapter, and in p. 17 of Chapter 2). Along with his comments on the suitability of certain passages to the 'nature' of the keyboard, he sought to strike the difficult balance between fidelity and idiomatic writing. Nevertheless, as already quoted, he gave preference to the expression even if this increased the technical difficulty.

As shown, many passages of Benda's arrangement are identical to the anonymous arrangement, including in most cases passages that Forkel considered to be unsuitable; only one of Forkel's suggestions is incorporated. Forkel's suggestions are usually motivated by concerns for fidelity to the orchestral parts and the meaning of the text and for recreating the effect of a theatrical performance in the home or wherever the arrangement is performed that is, maintaining the original dramatic function in this new version. For Forkel, these aspects are intrinsically related to the composer's intentions, which he uses as justification for his suggestions. It is therefore interesting that Benda

himself arranges several passages similarly to the anonymous arranger, highlighting the problems involved when Forkel makes assumptions about representing the composer's intentions. (Writing in the late eighteenth century, Forkel was unaware of the debates in literary criticism surrounding the intentional fallacy.)³⁵ Most probably, some of the major changes (such as that of Figure 5.7) respond to Benda's dissatisfaction with the music and were reflected in the change of the orchestral score. Thus, the publication of Benda's own arrangement of *Ariadne auf Naxos* may indicate the success of the first arrangement, but also the importance for the author of providing a revised version in all formats. Forkel's suggestions give a sense of an emerging idea of *Werktreue* in that he requires the arrangement to be true to the original expression of the orchestral score. Yet these ideas are particularly problematic with regard to a genre such as the melodrama, which is associated with fluid theatricality rather than a fixed musical text. Forkel's suggestions resonate with the ideas of 'inner' beauty that the listener needs to perceive in order to enjoy the beauties of true art. Forkel claimed that music is like rhetoric, and if this rhetoric is to be used and enjoyed, the listener must learn the meaning of the words and know the combination of words that form thoughts, then periods and then paragraphs. He continued referring to the listener and suggested:

He holds the tones, the expressions, and outward gestures of the speaker to be the essential features, and loses all those higher and worthy inner beauties according to which the true worth of a speech is properly to be determined. Just as the knowledge-free *Liebhaber* of painting remains on the level of colours rather than the *coloured things*, so this person remains on the level of

³⁵ William K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *Sewanee Review*, 54 (1946), 468-488.

tones, expressions, and gestures, and judges the content from this.³⁶

Thus, Forkel's insistence with maintaining the expression may refer to this notion of inner beauty. Although his concerns are seemingly grounded on Johann Georg Sulzer's theory of listening practices (as discussed in Chapter 1), Forkel shows less sympathy to the stereotype of the *Liebhaber* as untrained.³⁷

5.2. Haydn's Corrections on A. E. Müller's *Die Jahreszeiten*

As it will be discussed in Chapter 6, Haydn's music was profusely arranged throughout Europe as part of its extensive dissemination. However, he was also active himself as an arranger. For instance, during his years at Esterházy, Haydn's duties included the arrangement of operatic music of contemporary composers such as Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Pasquali Anfossi, Nicolò Piccini or Antonio Salieri.³⁸ Nevertheless, his only known arrangement of his own music seem to be limited to his keyboard arrangement of the finale of the quartet Op. 33 No. 2 (Hob. III:41).³⁹ It is possible to gain some insight into Haydn's own perspective on arrangements from his corrections of the keyboard part in a vocal score of his *Die Jahreszeiten*, published in December 1801 by Breitkopf und Härtel.⁴⁰ By July of that year, the publishers had already

³⁶ 'Hat er sich dieser Kenntniße noch nicht erworben, so kann er weder genießen, noch urtheilen; er hält die Töne, die Mienen, und äussern Gewerben des Redners für das Wesentliche, und verliert der wahre Werthe einer Rede zu bestimmen ist. So wie der Kentnißloser Liebhaber der der Malery sich an Farben, und nicht gefärbte Sachen hält, so häle sich dieser an Töne, die Mienen und äussern Geberden und urtheilt hieraus auf dem Inhalt.' Johann Nicolaus Forkel, *Ueber die Theorie der Musik, Insofern als der Liebhabern und Kennern nothwendig und nützlich ist* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1777), 9. Translation from Matthew Riley, 'Johann Nicolaus Forkel on the Listening Practices of "Kenner" and "Liebhaber"', *Music & Letters*, 84/3 (2003), 420.

³⁷ Matthew Riley, 'Johann Nicolaus Forkel on the Listening Practices of "Kenner" and "Liebhaber"', 417–421.

³⁸ Christine Siegert (ed.), *Joseph Haydn Werke: Bearbeitungen von Arien und Szenen anderer Komponisten* (Munich: Henle Verlag, 2014).

³⁹ Published by Artaria as *Différentes petites Pièces*. RISM A/I H 4300.

⁴⁰ Joseph Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten [...] Klavierauszug*, arr. [August Eberhard Müller] (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. [1802]); RISM A/1 H 4691.

secured the rights to purchase the orchestral score and keyboard arrangement⁴¹ and in October, they asked for subscribers in an advertisement in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (offering an edition with the text in German and English or in German and French). The advertisement explained that given the unprecedented success of *Die Schöpfung*, it was of general interest to publish Haydn's new work *Die Jahreszeiten*:

We have undertaken the publication of this work on the trust that the public will obtain from [it] an enjoyment, unique in its kind, and will support our certainly not insignificant undertaking. The print of the orchestral and the keyboard score is already in production and we will certainly deliver both to the amateurs before the end of this year.⁴²

The identity of Breitkopf's arranger was not stated in the advertisement or the edition, and it was not initially known to Haydn.⁴³ In addition, the advertisement indicated the price of the full score as 8 Thaler and the arrangement as 3 Thaler. Although the price of this arrangement is proportionally higher than the English arrangements of Haydn mentioned in chapter 3 (in which the arrangement was almost 4 times cheaper than the orchestral score), the difference in cost is still substantial.

⁴¹ Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 370.

⁴² 'In dem Vertrauen, dass das Publikum sich den in seiner Art durchaus einzigen Genuss an diesem Werke verschaffen und unsre, gewiss nicht unbedeutende Unternehmung unterstützen werde, haben wir die Herausgabe desselben übernommen; der Druck der Partitur und des Klavierauszugs ist bereits fortgedruckt, und wir werden beydes noch vor Ablauf dieses Jahrs den Liebhabern gewiss liefern', *Intelligenz Blatt zur Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung*, 1 (October 1801).

⁴³ In addition to the printed edition, there is a letter from Griesinger to Breitkopf und Härtel saying 'Still in good time I have received the following letter from Haydn to Müller, whom we presume was responsible for the piano score, together with a page of music containing improvements[...]', in Howard C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works: The Later Years 1801–1809* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 89.

Further information about the dealings in the publication of this vocal score can be found in the correspondence of Georg August Griesinger, tutor to the Saxon Ambassador son in Vienna and intermediary between Haydn and Breitkopf und Härtel. From this evidence it is possible to see that Breitkopf und Härtel were thinking of Adalbert Gyrowetz and Anton Wranitzky as possible candidates to arrange the vocal score.⁴⁴ However, Gyrowetz refused the job claiming lack of time.⁴⁵ Although we have no evidence that Haydn's pupil Wranitzky refused the offer, the task was finally assigned to August Eberhard Müller (1767–1817), a composer, conductor, flautist and organist who studied with J. C. Bach and was at the time assistant at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig to J. A. Hiller (whom he succeeded as cantor in 1804).⁴⁶ Among other music published by Breitkopf und Härtel, he arranged several operas by Mozart, as well as Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* for keyboard and *Die Jahreszeiten* for string quintet (2 vl, 2 vla, vlc).⁴⁷ In a letter to Breitkopf und Härtel, Griesinger comments on Haydn's first impression of the arrangement. As Griesinger puts it, Haydn

was very happy with the print and promised to give me his judgement on the work. He added also, that he saw from a brief examination that Mr. Müller's arrangement was easy to play, which is an important point for a work for the great audience(s); his student [Neukomm], who

⁴⁴ In a letter from Griesinger to Breitkopf und Härtel, Griesinger explains 'Yesterday his housekeeper assured me that he [Haydn] will certainly be here in a few days; then I will ask him about having Gyrowetz or Wranitz[ky] [do the arrangement of *The seasons*]. Howard C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works: The Later Years 1801–1809*, 79.

⁴⁵ In the letter, Adalbert Gyrowetz apologizes to Breitkopf und Härtel for not being able to arrange *Die Jahreszeiten* 'I am very sorry indeed that this time, too, I cannot fulfil your requests about reducing [for the piano] the various operatic pieces. My own compositions require so much time that I cannot take on the reduction of other masterpieces.[...]' According to Landon this is part of an unpublished letter sent in August 1801. Howard C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works: The Later Years 1801–1809*, 75.

⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Müller's authorship is not included in RISM or Hoboken's Catalogue.

⁴⁷ Joseph Haydn, *Les saisons [...] arrangé en quintetti pour 2 violons, 2 altos, et violoncelle*, arr. August Eberhard Müller (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d.); RISM A/I H 4138.

arranged *Die Schöpfung*, missed this [point] because he included many difficult passages.⁴⁸

From Griesinger's comment it is possible to grasp Haydn's most valued aspect in arrangements targeted to a large audience: that they were easy to play. In his book *Joseph Haydn und Breitkopf & Härtel* (1909), Hermann von Hase asserts the print run for the arrangement was 5000 copies,⁴⁹ with 136 subscribers who ordered 483 altogether,⁵⁰ which certainly points out to a wide dissemination. (Hase does not provide further evidence for this intriguing piece of data).

Although Haydn was familiar with Müller's arrangements (he previously arranged *Die Schöpfung* for Breitkopf und Härtel), a few days after receiving the arrangement of *Die Jahreszeiten*, Griesinger reported again to Breitkopf und Härtel saying 'Haydn just sent to tell me that he found many mistakes in the piano score[...].'⁵¹ In Haydn's letter to Müller, he praised his arrangement but also included a list of corrections which will be analysed in the following paragraphs. As Haydn puts it,

Again I admire your talent and the enormous energy which you have hitherto expended on such a difficult task. The arrangement is easy, and readily comprehensible throughout, especially the final fugue.

⁴⁸ 'war mit dem Druck sehr zufrieden, versprach, mir in einigen Tagen sein Urtheil über die Arbeit zu sagen, so viel setze er hinzu, sehe er schon aus der flüchtigen Durchsicht dass Herr Müllers Auszug sich leichter spielen lasse, welches bey einer Arbeit für das grosse Publicum ein sehr wesentlicher Punkt sey; sein Schuler, der den Klavierauszug der Schöpfung bearbeitete, habe darin sehr gefehlt, dass er viele schwere Passagen eingemischt habe.' Letter from Griesinger to Breitkopf und Härtel, 9th December 1801. Otto Biba (ed.), *Eben komme ich von Haydn': Geor August Griesingers Korrespondenz mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf und Härtel 1799–1819* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1987), 113.

⁴⁹ Hermann von Hase, *Joseph Haydn und Breitkopf & Härtel; ein Rückblick bei der Veranstaltung der ersten vollständigen Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1909), 32.

⁵⁰ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, II* (Mainz: Schott, 1971), 60.

⁵¹ 'Haydn laße mir eben sagen, daß er in dem Clav. Auszuge viele unrichtigkeiten finde[...].' Howard C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works: The Later Years 1801–1809*, 89. The German-French edition is RISM A/1 H 4691.

But I must ask you to include the changes I have sent you,
if at all possible.⁵²

Thus, Haydn acknowledges the difficulty of the task (the arrangement is over 250 pages long), and again praises its simplicity. As argued by Thormählen, this reduction suggests that Haydn 'treated his arrangement as a valid instantiation of the work alongside many others that differed considerably from each other'.⁵³ However, Haydn's wishes were not fulfilled and the corrections were not included in the publication itself, most probably because the majority of pages for the edition had been printed at that stage and, given Breitkopf und Härtel used movable type, it would not have been possible to reprint them without resetting an entire page. Only a few of the corrections (up to page 131 of the arrangement) were included in an erratum note entitled 'Verbesserungen' added only in the German-French edition.⁵⁴

In addition to this arrangement, many other keyboard arrangements of *Die Jahreszeiten* were published by publishers such as André;⁵⁵ Artaria (by Sigismund Neukomm, also published by Mollo);⁵⁶ Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis and Collard (by Clementi);⁵⁷ Falkner;

⁵² 11th December 1802. 'Ich bewundere abermahl Ihr Talent und den großen fleiß, welchen Sie sich bishero über ein so schweres werck zu unternehmen gegeben haben: es ist alles leicht und fasslich übersetz, besonders die letzte fuge! Nur bitte ich, wenn es anderst möglich, meine eingesandte Abänderungen beyzubehalten', Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 388. Translation from Howard C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1959), 196.

⁵³ Wiebke Thormählen, 'Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna', *The Journal of Musicology*, 27/3 (2010), 349.

⁵⁴ Georg Feder, 'Haydns Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der "Jahreszeiten"', in Thomas Kohlhasse and Volker Scherliess (eds.), *Festschrift Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänslers Verlag, 1978), 103.

⁵⁵ Joseph Haydn, *Haydn's Jahreszeiten. Klavier-Auszug von Anton André. Deutscher Text.*, arr. Johann Anton André (Offenbach: Johann André, n.d.); RISM A/1 H 4693. Also Joseph Haydn, *Liebings-Gesänge aus Haydn's Jahreszeiten. No (3)* (Offenbach: Johann André, n.d.); RISM A/I H 4702.

⁵⁶ Joseph Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten nach Thomson, für das Klavier, übersetzt von Sigmund Neukomm*, arr. Sigismund Neukomm (Vienna: Artaria & Co., n.d.); RISM A/1 H 4695 and Joseph Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten nach Thomson [...] für das Klavier übersetzt von Sigmund Neukomm*, arr. Sigismund Neukomm (Vienna: T. Mollo & Co., n.d.); RISM A/I H 4694.

⁵⁷ Joseph Haydn, *The seasons [...] adapted for voices & piano forte*, arr. Muzio Clementi (London: Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis & Collard); RISM A/1 H 4699.

Holle; Hummel; the *Musikalisches Magazin* (by J. A. Hiller)⁵⁸ and Simrock (by Ferdinand Ries);⁵⁹ as well as separate arias published by Johann Traeg.⁶⁰ Precisely the interest shown by publishers may have triggered the prompt publication of Breitkopf und Härtel's vocal score, and possibly the exclusion of Haydn's corrections from it. Significantly, the *Musikalisches Magazin* (Braunschweig) announced to Hoffmeister in Leipzig the publication of their own arrangement, shortly after Breitkopf und Härtel advertised theirs. According to surviving copies, this may have been Hiller's arrangement (according to the title of a surviving edition),⁶¹ and raises the question as to why would not Breitkopf und Härtel commission him for the arrangement. Beyond Hiller's involvement in the *Musikalisches Magazin*, by November 1801, Breitkopf und Härtel published a response entitled 'Schlechte Spekulation' in which they accuse the firm of surreptitiously obtaining excerpts of the music and entice subscribers with promises to provide the entirety of the work.

Nonetheless Mr Spehr (also known under the firm *Musikalisches Magazin*) has advertised the keyboard score of various pieces of the Seasons. Here only two cases are possible: Mr Spehr has obtained individual excerpts of the Seasons by crooked means, and wants not to reprint but 'preprint' whatever he has; or he wants to attract the temporarily ill-informed with his advertisement, as if they were getting a quintessence or a

⁵⁸ Joseph Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten [sic] [...] im Clavierauszuge, mit Weglassung der Chöre, vom Musik-Director Hiller in Altona*, arr. Johann Adam Hiller (Braunschweig: Musikalisches Magazin, n.d.); RISM A/1 H 4689.

⁵⁹ Joseph Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten [...] Clavierauszug von Ferd. Ries*, arr. Ferdinand Ries (Bonn: N. Simrock, n.d.); RISM A/1 H 4696. Also a French version: Joseph Haydn, *Les saisons [...] arrangés pour le pianoforté par Ferd. Ries*, arr. Ferdinand Ries (Bonn: N. Simrock, n.d.); RISM A/1 H 4697.

⁶⁰ Joseph Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten ... für Gesang und Klavier* (Vienna: Johann Traeg, n.d.); RISM A/1 H 4707.

⁶¹ Joseph Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten von Joseph Haydn: Im Clavierauszuge, mit Weglassung der Chöre, vom Musik-Director Hiller in Altona*, arr. Johann Adam Hiller (Braunschweig: Musikalisches Magazin, n.d.).

domestic supply of Haydn's works, and they could simply forebear the whole with this mutilation.⁶²

The comment about 'mutilation' shows that Breitkopf und Härtel seem to use *Werktreue* as a marketing device to ensure customers would not purchase any edition but theirs. It also seems significant that the advertisement criticizes the pretensions of the spurious edition for offering the quintessence of Haydn's work or the essentials of Haydn for the home (referring back to an amateur domestic audience discussed in Chapter 4).

Certainly, the contract between Haydn and Breitkopf und Härtel considered that the manuscript should not be shared with third parties, implying that only the composer and the publisher, in addition to the librettist van Swieten, would have a manuscript of the music.⁶³ According to Hase, in light of this contract precautions were taken to avoid the music being leaked to other publishers, even considering excuses not to give the manuscript to the Empress (Maria Theresa of Naples and Sicily) or, if Haydn was asked directly, to argue that he had to ask for the consent of the 'Musikalischen Gesellschaft'.⁶⁴ According to Hase, Haydn suspected Hoffmeister was behind the arrangement by the *Musikalisches Magazin* for he also bid for the rights of publication of *Die Jahreszeiten*. Furthermore, Hase states that 'the corrections for Haydn', surely a reference to Breitkopf und Härtel's proofs of the vocal score and the full score, 'went to Dresden through a secretary in the Privy Council (*Geheimen Konzilium*) where the agents of the ambassador of

⁶² 'Gleichwohl hat Herr Spehr (auch bekannt unter der Firma: Musikalisches Magazin in Braunschweig auf der Höhe) einen Klavierauszug verschiedener Stücke aus den Jahreszeiten[sic] angekündigt. Hierbey sind nur zwei Fälle möglich: Hr Spehr hat sich auf krummen Wegen einzelne Bruchstücke aus den Jahreszeiten zu verschaffen gewusst, und will nicht bloß nach-, sondern wo möglich vorstechen; oder will er mit seiner Anzeige nur vorläufig Unkundige anlocken, als ob sie eine Quintessenz, oder doch ein Hausbedarf aus Haydn Werk bekämen, und über dieser Verstümmelung das Ganze leicht entbehren könnten', *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung*, November 1801. Quoted in Hermann von Hase, *Joseph Haydn und Breitkopf & Härtel*, 31.

⁶³ Images of the contract are available online <www.kotte-autographs.com/en/autograph/haydn-joseph/>, accessed 28 November, 2016.

⁶⁴ Hermann von Hase, *Joseph Haydn und Breitkopf & Härtel*, 30.

the Elector of Saxony sent the court post (which was not subject to censorship) to Vienna.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, if Spehr's arrangement was made by J. A. Hiller, which seems to be suggested by the surviving printed music, it may have been his assistant Müller who accidentally or not may have shared the music with him. Furthermore, it is interesting that Breitkopf und Härtel would regard excerpts (possibly the ones published by Hiller later on) as a 'Verstümmelung' but not Müller's arrangement.

Sigismund Neukomm's arrangement is particularly interesting for being published in Vienna shortly after Müller's arrangement⁶⁶ and for, according to Neukomm, having Haydn's consent.⁶⁷ After studying with Haydn's brother Michael, Neukomm moved to Vienna to become Haydn's pupil, receiving lessons sporadically from 1797 to 1804. Like other Haydn pupils, such as the above-mentioned Anton Wranitzky, Neukomm arranged some of his teacher's music. Neukomm himself highlights his task as arranger in his *Biographische Skizze von Sigismund Neukomm von ihm selbst geschrieben* (1859). Before listing some of his arrangements Neukomm says:

For the harmonium I also have collected all parts of the accompaniment of our classical treasures. The organ and piano give a satisfying idea of this. My friends thank me for giving them in this way the means to get to know the works of our best composers. To this collection belong several symphonies of Haydn and Mozart that are rarely performed in our time[...].⁶⁸

⁶⁵ 'Die Korrekturen für Haydn gingen durch einen Sekretär im Geheimen Konzilium zu Dresden, dem Agenten kursächsischen Gesandtschaft, der die Hofpaket, das der Zensur nicht unterlag, nach Wien sandte.' Hermann von Hase, *Joseph Haydn und Breitkopf & Härtel*, 31.

⁶⁶ August Eberhard Müller's arrangement was published in December 1801 and Neukomm's arrangement was published in 1802. Rudolph Angermüller, *Sigismund Neukomm: Verzeichnis, Autobiographie, Beziehung zu seinen Zeitgenossen* (München: Musik Verlag Emil Katzwichler, 1977), 27.

⁶⁷ Rudolph Angermüller, *Sigismund Neukomm*, 27.

⁶⁸ 'Für Orgue expressif habe ich auch alle Teile der Begleitung unserer klassischen Schätze gesammelt. Orgel und Klavier geben davon eine sehr zufriedenstellende

Although written in the mid nineteenth century, the quotation highlights Neukomm's consideration of the usefulness of arrangements for disseminating the musical canon and making it accessible to those who could not attend performances of such works. In addition, Neukomm's catalogue includes a note (written between works composed in the 1840s) in which the composer adds more information on his arrangements:

For 9 years, I have arranged for the harmonium and pianoforte several works that people cannot listen to, usually for the trouble experienced to bring together the players [needed] to perform the accompaniment. I have made no change in the piano part of those works in which that part already existed and I limited myself to adapt the accompaniment as faithfully as enabled by the nature of the effects of the organ; but in the large symphonies, it has also been necessary to do all the pianoforte part. Up until today I have neglected to note in this catalogue these works (*travaux*), which I consider as a pastime of no importance. Nevertheless, after the comments of many of my friends, I have to justify my use of time to explain the gaps that appear in my catalogue.⁶⁹

Vorstellung. Meine Freunde danken es mir, daß ich ihnen auf diese Weise das Mittel verschafft habe, die Werke unserer besten Komponisten kennenzulernen. Zu dieser Sammlung gehören mehrere Symphonien von Haydn und Mozart, die in unseren Tagen selten aufgeführt werden, [...]' in Rudolph Angermüller, *Sigismund Neukomm*, 50.

⁶⁹ 'Depuis 9 ans, j'ai arrangée pour Orgue expressif et/ Pianoforte plusieurs ouvrages que l'on ne peut pas/ entendre, souvent par l'embarras que l'on éprouve à/ réunir les artistes pour l'exécution de l'accompagnement./ Je n'ai rien changé à la partie de Piano aux ouvrages/ auxquels cette partie existaient déjà, et je me suis borné/ à y adapter l'accompagnement aussi fidèlement que la/ nature des effets de l'orgue le permettait; mais aux/ grandes Symphonies il a fallu faire également toute/ la partie de Piano-forte. J'avois[sic] négligé jusqu'à/ ce jour d'inscrire sur ce catalogue ces travaux, que je/ ne regarde que comme un passetems[sic] d'aucune/ importance. Cependant d'après les observations de/ plusieurs de mes amis, je dois justifier de l'emploi/ du temps pour expliquer les lacunes qui se trouvent/ dans mon catalogue.' Sigmund Neukomm, *Verzeichnis meine Arbeiten in chronologischer Ordnung, angefangen im*

Neukomm's perspective may be similar to that of some reviewers discussed in Chapter 2. First, he considers arrangements as a practical means to hear or perform large works. Secondly, he specifies that the keyboard parts are not altered for those works which included that instrument (be it for a practical reason or for a sense of *Werktreue*). Thirdly, Neukomm also highlights the importance of writing a keyboard part that was idiomatic to the instrument. Finally, in addition to arranging as a means to disseminate music, he also acknowledges that making arrangements can also be a pastime. Given the circumstances surrounding Neukomm, and his proximity to Haydn's environment, a comparison between his arrangement of *Die Jahreszeiten* and Müller's arrangement with the corresponding Haydn corrections is helpful to analyse the differences in arranging techniques and the resulting arrangements.

Haydn's corrections to *Die Jahreszeiten* have been overlooked by some Haydn scholars such as Robbins Landon, who considered them lost or fragmentary. Nevertheless, as shown by Georg Feder, these corrections have survived thanks to two different sources: the enclosed manuscript note included in Haydn's letter to Müller, in Haydn's own hand with annotations in another hand (probably Griesinger's),⁷⁰ and the printed note included in the final German-French edition.⁷¹ The corrections rectify misprints and make small changes to ensure the

Monat Jäner 1804 im 26ten Jahr meines Alters. Von einem früheren Verzeichnis abgeschrieben. London am 1ten Jänner 1832, 194; Facsimile in Rudolph Angermüller, Sigismund Neukomm, 161.

⁷⁰ As Feder suggests, Haydn may have started to correct the arrangement in the printed copy instead of enclosed manuscript note. These corrections were possibly added by Griesinger to send the corrections in a easier way, that is, a smaller parcel. Griesinger himself may also be the one to clarify in the manuscript note: 'Die einzelnen Errata die Haydn in den ersten eilf[sic] Bogen gefunden hat, zeichne ich auf dem letzten Blätte von Van Swietens Texte aus.' Georg Feder, 'Haydns Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der "Jahreszeiten"', 102.

⁷¹ In Haydn's enclosed note, there are corrections in Haydn's hand are from 'Sommer' (from p. 145) and 'Winter' and from another hand of 'Herbst' and a few of 'Winter' (the manuscript is held at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin). Other corrections that complete those were published in a printed note at the beginning of the edition (not in the arrangement itself) and were those of 'Sommer', 'Frühling' and 'Herbst' (up to page 131). Georg Feder, 'Haydns Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der "Jahreszeiten"', 103

instrumental accompaniment is properly ‘translated’ to the keyboard idiom. One fragment of Haydn’s corrections enclosed with the letter to Müller that has been extensively quoted by scholars is a passage that was transmitted to the press and interpreted as a criticism of the lyrics written by Gottfried van Swieten. H. C. Robbins Landon, following C. F. Pohl, argued that Müller gave the fragment to J. G. K. Spazier, editor of the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*.⁷²

NB! This whole passage, with its imitation of the frogs, was not my idea: I was forced to write this Frenchified trash. This wretched idea disappears rather soon when the whole orchestra is playing, but it simply cannot be included in the pianoforte reduction.⁷³

Beyond any interpretation of this letter as a criticism of *Die Jahreszeiten*’s text, the quotation shows Haydn’s concern with the effect of certain passages and voices, and highlights the possibilities of arrangements to help us understand compositional choices. They are not only interesting with regard to performance (and the passages that should be highlighted in performance) but also make evident the difficulties in discerning the composer’s intention as opposed to the requests of commissioners. The passage in question is the following:

⁷² Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1878), 364.

⁷³ ‘NB! Diese ganze stelle al seine Imitazion eines frosches ist nicht aus meiner feder geflossen; es wurde mir aufgedrungen diese französischen Quark niederzuschreiben; mit dem ganzen Orchester verschwindet dieser elende gedanke gar bald, aber als Clavierauszug kann derselbe nicht bestehen.’ Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 389. Translation in Howard C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 197.

Figure 5.8: ‘Die dürsten Wolken’, bars 46–48 in A. E. Müller’s keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as ‘No. 76’); as arranged by Neukomm.

Thus, as Figure 5.8 shows, Haydn’s correction maintains the chromatic semiquavers in the inner part (originally performed by the bassoon), but he simplifies the top voice-part, and thereby gives more attention to this $c'-d\ b'$ oscillation and completely removes the $ab-f-g-g$ semiquavers; his revisions to the bass line also change the harmony, with less focus on the C pedal, instead offering varied harmonisations of the $b\ b'$ and c' in the right hand. Although with a denser texture, Neukomm’s arrangement also arguably makes the chromatic motif (which may symbolise the ‘frogs’) less audible. Nevertheless, he also relinquishes the simplicity and makes the passage more difficult through semiquaver chords in the right hand; and five- or six-part textures.

As already mentioned, most previous scholars on Haydn overlooked the composer’s remaining corrections, considering them to be lost or fragmentary.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, these corrections help us understand Haydn’s perspective on arrangements, as well as to map

⁷⁴ For example in Howard C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *Haydn Correspondence*, 389.

different techniques of arrangement. For instance, the first correction on the manuscript is in ‘Der muntre Hirt’ within ‘Sommer’ (indicated as No. 45 in reference to the page number in the arrangement), Haydn changed a *c*’ for a *b*’, despite being the former in the orchestral score. As Feder explains, “*b*” sounds weaker in the keyboard and fits the voice part, which in this beat sings a “*b*”.⁷⁵

Another small correction made by Haydn is in ‘Sie steigt herauf’, also within ‘Sommer’. In this case, Haydn opted to add a quaver *a*, present in the full score in the alto and second violin (last quaver of the first bar), also adorning in this way the contrapuntal motion in the outer voices (which resolve an octave to a fifth).

The image displays three staves of musical notation for the piece 'Sie steigt herauf'. The top staff is labeled 'A. E. Müller', the middle 'J. Haydn', and the bottom 'S. Neukomm'. Each staff shows two systems of music, with the first system containing two measures and the second system containing two measures. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The Müller version shows a specific melodic line in the right hand. The Haydn version shows a correction in the bass line, adding a quaver note. The Neukomm version shows a different arrangement with expanded harmonies and a higher pitch range in the right hand.

Figure 5.9: Sie steigt herauf, bar 90–91 in A. E. Müller’s keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as ‘No. 52’); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 108).

In this case, Neukomm chose to expand the pitch range and harmonies. The aforementioned A is included in the right hand, two octaves higher and as a crotchet.

One of Haydn’s corrections was particularly significant, and so was the letter itself (in addition to the enclosed note). As Haydn put it:

⁷⁵ ‘*b* klingt auf dem Klavier weicher und paßt sich der Singstimme an, der auf diesem Takteil ebenfalls *b* intoniert’, Georg Feder, ‘Haydns Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der “Jahreszeiten”’, 106.

P.S: everything is very well translated, I only find das ungewitter ['Ach! Das Ungewitter naht'], particularly from bar 22 to 31 so hard that at such a fast tempo almost nobody will be able to play it.⁷⁶

Similar to Haydn's other corrections that highlight his desire for idiomatic keyboard writing, this particular emendation shows Haydn's concern about the difficulty of the passage. In this instance, Haydn suggested simplifying the arrangement by removing the rhythmic difficulties (quaver triplets against semiquavers, originally played by the first and second violin and viola), but without providing a suggestion. It is remarkable that Neukomm also avoided this difficult rhythm by basing his arrangement on the bass part and the voices for this passage.

Describing another passage in the same chorus, Haydn also added, that

I wish also that in the following fugue, put crotchets instead of two quavers such as in the 7th and 8th

This comment is followed by a clarification that appears to be written in third person and may have been written by Griesinger, who as mentioned above is likely to have annotated Haydn's list of corrections.

Hayde[n] asks therefore to avoid all difficulties and make use preferably the voice instead of the difficult accompaniment.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ 'P.S: alles ist sehr gut übersetzt, nur finde ich das ungewitter besonders von den 22ten Tact bis 31ten so schwer, daß es beynahe niemand bey einem so geschwinden Tempo wird spielen können.' Ibid., 107.

⁷⁷ 'ich wünsche auch, daß in der darauffolgenden Fuge stat deren zwey achtl Noten durchaus Viertel Noten könnten gesetzt werden als im 7ten 8ten et: Hayde bittet demnach allen Schwürigkeiten auszuweichen, und lieber vom Gesang als dem

In this case, Haydn suggests avoiding repeated quaver triplets (originally in the second violin) which may sound more effective on string instruments, but may be hard to perform by an amateur keyboardist on an instrument with a slow action. Thus, Haydn expressed his concern about the technical difficulties of the piece created when the keyboard takes a passage originally written for another instrument.

Another correction can be spotted in ‘Hier steht der Wandrer nun’ within ‘Winter’. In this case Haydn opted for simplifying the melody, replacing the melody of quavers (played by the second violin in the orchestral score) with crotchets (rhythm played by the viola) which provide a link to the *b*” (played by the first violin in the orchestral score):

Figure 5.10: ‘No. 144’: ‘Hier steht der Wandrer nun’, bar 99 in A. E. Müller’s keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as ‘No. 144’); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 200).

schweren Accompagn. Gebrauch zu machen.’ The second part of this comment may have been written by a third person, possibly Griesinger, as a clarification. *Ibid.*, 107.

This correction was motivated by minimising the hand-jumps for the keyboardist, but also by the need to preserve the continuity of the melody. Neukomm’s arrangement includes, in addition to the melody of the second violin, that of the first violin, creating a denser texture that is more difficult to play, although it avoids the jump to the *b*”.

Another correction can be found in ‘Knurre, schnurre’ within ‘Winter’. In this case Müller followed again the melody of the second violin, but Haydn filled the harmony a little by adding a *c* #’ and *e*’ to the last quaver of the first bar and *d*’ and *f*’ in the second. Neukomm chose an even fuller harmony (adding a *c* #’’), but containing the pitch range to two octaves by transposing the bass an octave higher.

Figure 5.11: ‘Knurre, schnurre’, bar 24 in A. E. Müller’s keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as ‘No. 148’); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 206).

Nevertheless, Haydn’s preference seems to be to avoid too many chords and difficult passages. In the same movement (indicated in the correction as ‘No. 149’) in bar 40, Haydn recommended deleting the third in a chord, as Feder suggests, to make it easier and possibly to avoid resolving a two voice passage into three.⁷⁸ Neukomm not only

⁷⁸ Georg Feder, ‘Haydns Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der “Jahreszeiten”’, 109.

included this particular note, but also made the passage generally more difficult.

A similar case is to be found in 'Dann bricht der große morgen an' when, despite the full orchestration of the orchestral score, Haydn suggested a lighter accompaniment for the left hand:

The image displays three musical staves for the piece 'Dann bricht der große Morgen an'. Each staff consists of a treble clef and a bass clef. The top staff is labeled 'A. E. Müller' and shows a right hand with a complex, rapid sixteenth-note passage and a left hand with a simple, steady accompaniment of chords. The middle staff is labeled 'J. Haydn' and shows a right hand with a simpler, more melodic line and a left hand with a more active accompaniment, including some sixteenth-note patterns. The bottom staff is labeled 'S. Neukomm' and shows a right hand with a complex, rapid sixteenth-note passage and a left hand with a simple, steady accompaniment of chords, similar to Müller's version but with a different harmonic texture.

Figure 5.12: 'Dann bricht der große Morgen an', bar 54 in A. E. Müller's keyboard arrangement; as corrected by Haydn (indicated as 'No. 166'); as arranged by Neukomm (p. 231).

Similarly to the other examples, Neukomm opted for a fuller harmony, and added semiquavers to the left hand chords as well as an octave to the right hand quavers.

From these examples it is possible to draw some conclusions. Haydn's corrections highlight his concern that the keyboard arrangement should be easy to play; he rejected arrangements with too many notes, despite Müller's version having fewer notes than other contemporary arrangements.⁷⁹ In addition, as Feder points out, unless for particular aesthetic reasons, Haydn tended to refer to the orchestral score when dissatisfied with the voice leading, harmony or implied

⁷⁹ Ibid., 112.

timbre of Müller's arrangement.⁸⁰ Thus, as Feder puts it, for Haydn 'the sounding laws of the keyboard as a medium and its function as accompanying instrument had priority over fidelity to the score (*Partiturtreue*).'⁸¹ Although Haydn sometimes added extra notes to fill the harmonies, his changes preserve the simplicity of the arrangement and never include more than two notes at a time for either hand.

With regard to Neukomm's arrangement, its differences seem to be in opposition to Haydn's corrections of Müller's arrangements. The reasons for this discrepancies may be manifold, such as Neukomm targeting his arrangement at a more professional audience or use. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that an arrangement published in Vienna by a student of Haydn would be so different from what appears to be Haydn's ideal. The comparison between these different arrangements of *Die Jahreszeiten* shows that notions of *Werktreue* were arguably less important than questions of playability and commercial viability in the judgement of keyboard arrangements.

5.3. Arranging C. F. Abel's Symphonies Op. 1

As explained in Chapter 3, in 1769 there was a dispute between J. Longman and C. F. Abel involving the keyboard arrangement of Abel's symphonies Op. 1. (The pieces are described in the published arrangements as overtures.) These symphonies were brought by Abel to London when he first arrived ten years earlier in 1759. According to Franklin B. Zimmerman, Thompson & Son and John Johnson were the first to publish the symphonies within the first year of Abel's arrival.⁸² In the following years other British publishers such as R. Bremner, and John Johnson published their editions, in addition to J. J. Hummel in

⁸⁰ Ibid., 112.

⁸¹ 'Die klanglichen Gesetze des Medium Klavier und dessen Funktion als Begleitinstrument für die Singstimme hatten für Haydn Vorrang gegenüber den notenmäßigen Partiturtreue.' Ibid., 112.

⁸² Franklin B. Zimmerman (ed.), *Carl Friedrich Abel Six Symphonies, opus 1*, in Barry S. Brook (ed.), *The Symphony 1720–1840: A comprehensive collection of full scores in sixty volumes* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1983), xv.

Amsterdam.⁸³ Among the first publications, Thompson's published the overtures in eight parts and J. J. Hummel published them in four parts (with oboes and horns ad libitum). As already pointed out in Chapter 3, Abel accused Longman of lessening his reputation by spoiling his music with a 'false' arrangement 'improper' for the harpsichord. Consequently he published his own arrangements, describing them as done 'with care', to prevent the success of that of Longman. Abel's statement highlights the significance of a comparison of the two arrangements: in some way Abel was modifying that what he considered wrong, similar to Haydn in the previous section. In response to Abel's complaint, Longman highlighted the difficulties of balancing fidelity and idiomatic writing answering: '[...] we shall see in what Manner he has [adapted them], to render them more proper for that Instrument, without altering the original Composition.'⁸⁴ Hence a comparison of the two arrangements can clarify notions of keyboard idiom and textual fidelity in the making of arrangements.

A comparison of the two arrangements of the first movement of Symphony No. 1 already shows some significant changes. In the first bars, whilst Longman's edition includes only the notes from the violin parts, Abel replaces the *d''* and *c''* from violin 2 with the *g'* and *a'* from the viola part, maintaining in this way the counterpoint. Thus, in this example it is possible to see which voice-parts Abel considered as best representing the musical argument and preserving a sense of musical motion driven forward by dissonance and its resolution.

⁸³ Walter Knappe, *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787)* (Cuxhaven: Walter Knappe, 1971), 2.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Chapter 3, p. 243.

The image displays two musical staves for comparison. The top staff, labeled 'Anonymous (J. Longman)', shows a piano arrangement with dynamics *p*, *f*, and *p*. The bottom staff, labeled 'C. F. Abel', shows a more pianistic arrangement with dynamics *p*, *f*, and *p*, featuring an Alberti bass in the left hand. Both are marked 'Allegro di Molto'.

Figure 5.13: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 1–4.

In addition, whilst the anonymous arranger follows the bass as it is in the orchestral parts, Abel opts to change the octave of the first $B \flat$ of bars 2 and 4, to emphasise the first beat of the bar effectively.

Another example can be found a few bars later, when Abel simplifies the chords of the right hand, and adds harmony in the left hand through an Alberti bass. In this way, Abel provides a more pianistic writing than the repeated notes of Longman's edition (which are derived from the orchestral bass part). The same difference between the arrangements can be observed where the theme is repeated, such as in the second part of the exposition in G (bars 45–48) and in the recapitulation (bars 74–77), as well as in other pieces of the same opus, such as Symphony No. 6 (bars 15–19, 29–31, 54–58 and 69–71).

Figure 5.14: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel’s arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 11–14.

Interestingly, the articulation marks provided by Longman’s edition are present in Hummel’s version but mostly omitted in Abel’s arrangement, something that happens in many instances of the arrangement and may also reflect publishers’ preferences.

The importance that Abel gave to stylish and idiomatic gestures on the keyboard is shown in the first bars of the second movement, where there is a significant difference between the two arrangements. Whilst both editions use the bass part in the left hand, Longman’s edition includes the violins and viola minims in the right hand but Abel surprisingly ornaments the right hand anew, omitting the minims of the original orchestral parts and instead inserting a distinctive rhythmic motif:

Figure 5.15: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel’s arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 1–2.

The rhythm indicated by Abel does not seem to appear in other editions either.⁸⁵ Given that the overture was arranged for the harpsichord, Abel evidently wanted to avoid long notes that the instrument could not sustain, particularly at the beginning of a slow movement. Instead he gave the movement a new character in the keyboard version.

Abel's concern for cantabile melodies on the keyboard is shown later in the same movement, where he chose a simpler melody, avoiding chords in the right hand. This change may respond to a desire to avoid complexity for the performer and not to obscure the melody, which also would explain why Abel opts for the simpler rhythm of the second violin whilst Longman's edition includes the semiquaver appoggiatura (last beat of bar 46 and 47) from the first violin part. Another evident difference in this passage is the systematic small displacement of the expression marks. Although this may have been the printer's preference, the displacement is also present in Thompson's edition of orchestral parts (published in London); from this concordance may have arisen Abel's suspicion that Longman used Thompson's edition instead of Hummel's.

Figure 5.16: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 1, bars 45–47.

Abel's concern for effective counterpoint on keyboard can be seen in the first bars of Figure 5.17, which exposes further differences

⁸⁵ Franklin B. Zimmerman (ed.), *Carl Friedrich Abel Six Symphonies, opus 1*.

between Abel's arrangement and that by the anonymous arranger. In this passage of Abel's arrangement the contrapuntal dialogue in the right hand gives intricacy and the octave doubling of the left hand crotchets clarifies the beat. Although the anonymous arranger also uses the bass part for the left hand, he followed the first and second violin parts for the right hand. Thus, whilst Longman's edition sticks to the original orchestral score, Abel opts for a more creative solution beyond the orchestral parts.

Figure 5.17: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 2, bars 19–22.

Abel's awareness of keyboard idiom is particularly evident in his tendency to modify repeated notes in the bass line into oscillating octave figures. Such a figure fits perfectly under the hand and avoids the difficulty of sounding a repeated note with a potentially sluggish keyboard action. This changes are particularly present in the first movements of Symphony No. 3 in D Major and Symphony No. 6 in G Major. For example, at the beginning of the first movement of No. 3.

Figure 5.18: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 3, bars 1–2.

Similar changes include Abel's addition of fifths and thirds, for instance in the same movement (bars 13–16, 19–20 or 42–47), or in the first movement of Symphony No. 6 (bars 1–6, 40–44).

Similarly to Figure 5.18, Abel also changes the accompaniment in the arrangement of Symphony No. 4 to make it more idiomatic to the harpsichord. For instance, Abel changes the repeated crotchets into repeated quavers at a third during the first 11 bars of the symphony (see Figure 5.19) and in the following statements of the theme (42–53). Furthermore, instead of sticking to the original orchestral parts, Abel adds triadic chords in the right hand.

The image shows two musical staves for comparison. The top staff is for an anonymous arrangement by J. Longman, marked 'Allegro Assai'. It features a treble clef with sustained chords and a bass clef with repeated eighth notes. The bottom staff is for C. F. Abel's arrangement, marked 'Allegro'. It features a treble clef with chords and a bass clef with broken chords (eighth notes).

Figure 5.19: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 4, bars 1-4.

The bars following the ones in Figure 5.19 maintain the left-hand quavers and free the right hand of chords that are present in the anonymous arrangement published by Longman. Similar changes in the accompaniment can be found in the broken chords of the bass (bars 23-34 and 66-81), replacing the repeated crotchets of both the original orchestral score and Longman's edition.

As already shown, Abel tends to avoid repeated notes in his arrangement, and offers other possibilities for the accompaniment. Other systematic changes can also be seen with long notes. From Symphony No. 5 it is possible to see Abel systematically avoiding long sustained notes (for instance semibreves), and substitute them for octaves (for instance with crotchets).

Figure 5.20: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 5, bars 45–48.

Although some of the differences consist of simplifying the harmony, there are many instances in which Abel adds notes to create denser textures, particularly in first movements, and also in movement endings (such as all movements of Symphony No.3). Such a case is also present in Symphony No. 3, before the first repeat sign (see Figure 5.21):

Figure 5.21: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the first movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 3, bars 24–26 (and repeated in 79–81 in D).

As shown in Fig 5.21, Abel includes fuller harmonies and disregards the suspension of *a'* (bar 25) that follow the second violin and oboe part, constituted as a second voice in the right hand present in Longman's

edition. In addition, Longman's edition omits the trill (originally included in both the first and second violin parts) and changes the octave in the left hand (not present in the original orchestral score or in Abel's arrangement).

In the second movement of Symphony No. 5 there are also changes in the selection of the voices included in the arrangement. In the passage shown in Figure 5.22, Abel includes the first violin part in the right hand, and leaves the parts of the second violin and viola to intermingle in a second voice played by the left hand. Although both editions include the bass part in the left hand (with only a small change in Abel's arrangement, bars 7-8), J. Longman's edition adds the melody of the second violin in the right hand, and often an octave higher (bars 2-3 and 6-7), above the first violin's melody. This difference changes slightly the effect of dialogue between the voices: Abel's version has more sense of musical contrast, highlighting the melody of the first violin.

The image displays a side-by-side comparison of two musical arrangements for the first eight bars of the second movement of Symphony Op. 1, No. 5. The top system, labeled 'Anonym (J. Longman)', shows a piano (*p*) arrangement with a treble clef staff containing two voices (first and second violin parts) and a bass clef staff for the bass. The bottom system, labeled 'C. F. Abel', shows an arrangement with a treble clef staff containing one voice (first violin part) and a bass clef staff for the bass. The notation in both systems is in 3/8 time and features a key signature of one flat. The Longman version has a more complex texture in the right hand, while the Abel version has a simpler texture with a clear melodic line in the right hand.

Figure 5.22: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 5, bars 1-8.

One of the most remarkable changes is in Abel's arrangement of the second movement of Symphony No. 4, where a violin or flute is added to the keyboard. In this way, Abel is able to include a richer texture without making the already demanding keyboard part more difficult, and he extends the commercial appeal of the arrangement to

the buyers and performers of accompanied sonatas. The added violin or flute part follows the oboe and first violin parts with very few changes. Even with this addition, this movement is challenging for the keyboardist, mainly because it includes the second violin's and viola's semiquavers in the right hand. By contrast Longman's arranger uses the first violin and oboe melody for the right hand and mainly the second violin for the left hand (two octaves lower), to create a texture suitable for amateur players.

The image displays a musical score for comparison. It is titled 'Anonymous (J. Longman)' and 'Andantino'. The score is for 'Cembalo' and 'Violino o Flauto'. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The score consists of three measures. The Cembalo part has a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The Violino o Flauto part has a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, with a dynamic marking of *mf*.

Figure 5.23: Comparison between the anonymous arrangement published by J. Longman and Abel's arrangement of the second movement of his Symphony Op. 1, No. 4, bars 1-3.

This study of Abel's and Longman's arrangements shows differences consistently introduced by Abel in his arrangement of Opus 1. Regarding the bass and accompaniment Abel avoided repeated notes as well as long sustained notes that are systematically replaced by repeated octaves, fifths, thirds or broken chords. Furthermore he adds or avoids fuller harmonies depending on his own criteria (perhaps with consideration to the practicability or effect on the keyboard and not necessarily following the orchestral parts). Regarding the melody, Abel used his creativity to 'translate' contrapuntal passages into a version

that is more effective on the keyboard and even adds new instruments when the texture is too complex to reduce to the keyboard. In general terms, some of Abel's main changes to Longman's edition were made to suit the harpsichord idiom and effect without referring to the orchestral score; he may have also used them as a way to represent his own authority over the music (and his ability to change the original to better suit his intentions).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored three different examples that help map some of the technical aspects of an arranger's craft that were considered important to make a 'good arrangement'. The relevance of the examples lies in the dialogue they establish between composers and arrangers. Forkel, Haydn and Abel all approach keyboard arrangements with different perspectives on the priority of the composer's wishes (if these can be detected). Although Forkel was not the composer of the reviewed melodrama (or perhaps for that same reason), he focused on the 'composer's intentions' with regard to the fidelity of the arrangement to the orchestral parts and the meaning of the text. Haydn, in turn, was concerned about the idiomatic writing and the playability of the keyboard accompaniment of the vocal score of *Die Jahreszeiten*, in order to achieve the widest possible audience. Finally, Abel was concerned about idiomatic writing, aiming for an arrangement of his symphonies that was intelligible as a harpsichord piece in its own right. These examples show that the disputes surrounding each of the three arrangements (respectively, aesthetic, commercial and legal disputes) may have determined the suggested revisions of the original arrangement. Nevertheless, some of the suggestions (such as the changes in the accompaniment and the avoidance of repeated notes) are common to all the examples and reflect the norms of the late eighteenth-century keyboard idiom. Furthermore, the fact that composers and critics would take the time to show a better way to

produce an arrangement shows the relevance of these pieces and of the meanings created beyond the composer's pen. These examples show how arrangers had to appropriate aspects of the original in order to make an effective arrangement, sometimes creating a piece with its own separate identity. Thus, if *Werktreue* seeks to fix the meaning of a text, the process of appropriation creates new ones beyond the meanings originally envisaged by the composer.

Chapter 6 : **Appropriating Haydn: English and German Arrangements of Haydn's Music, 1780-1810.**

According to Thomas Tolley, Haydn was the first cultural figure to gain a global reputation during his lifetime. Although other historical figures became recognized throughout Europe (and beyond), it was not until the late eighteenth century that a contemporary figure achieved international recognition beyond music.¹ As Tolley argues, there is evidence of Haydn's widespread popularity in territories as distant as Mexico (mentioned in the *Diario de México* in 1810), Venezuela (General Francisco de Miranda visited Haydn in Esterháza), North America (particularly the Moravian communities of Pennsylvania and North Carolina where arrangements of his music were imported), and India (where Haydn's music was performed in subscription concert series).²

Haydn's widespread popularity was associated with the universality of his music and its ability to cross cultural boundaries. According to Tolley, Haydn himself seems to have comprehended the importance of pleasing the widest possible audience.³ This importance of pleasing the audience has been a focus of disagreement among scholars not only with regard to Haydn but also more generally for composers of the late eighteenth century. Until the 1980s musicological research on the second half of the eighteenth century was shaped by modernist notions of the autonomy of art, disregarding the influence of the audience. Subsequent scholars such as Mary Hunter, James Webster or Melanie Lowe have focused on an aesthetic of entertainment and

¹ Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c. 1750 to c. 1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 20.

² *Ibid.*, 21-22.

³ *Ibid.*, 23.

pleasure in a positive light.⁴ Relying on Hunter's theoretical framework, James Webster criticized the focus of earlier scholars (such as H. C. Robbins Landon and Jens Peter Larsen) on an understanding of Haydn's music as autonomous, downplaying his interest in an intentionally popular and less learned style. This focus led scholars such as Landon to overlook some of Haydn's music (particularly the music of the later 1770s) that has been considered as responding to a desire to entertain that is, to please audiences. According to Webster, Haydn's symphonies composed from the mid 1770s to the early 1780s (that is, Nos. 53, 61–3, 66–71, 73–5) have been considered an embarrassment for Haydn scholarship more for ideological reasons relating to an alleged lack of an 'authentic' Haydn style, than for any characteristics of the music. As Webster explains, these symphonies 'exhibit a mixture of styles: light, indeed "popular" themes are as prominent as earnest ones, regular phrasing is as important as vast expansions'⁵. Most importantly, these symphonies achieved the early international dissemination that fostered Haydn's success, in great part in the form of arrangements which will be further discussed below (particularly arrangements of symphony No. 53).

As James Garrett explains, the fact that even before Haydn's death, terms associated with figures of the past (such as 'old master' or 'forefather') were applied to Haydn 'played a key role in the construction of the canon of modern instrumental music, and in establishing the view that the rise of the symphony was a uniquely German achievement.'⁶ Nevertheless, beyond the intricacies of Haydn reception in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the understanding of Haydn as an instrumental composer developed between 1790 and

⁴ Mary Hunter, *The Culture of opera buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). Melanie Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007).

⁵ James Webster, 'Between *Sturm und Drang* and "Classical Style"', in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.) *Haydn studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 221.

⁶ James Garrett, 'Haydn and the posterity: the long nineteenth century', in Caryl Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 228.

1812, as shown in the press,⁷ and also in his status as a ‘great’ as well as fashionable composer. The latter view is expressed in the 1793 article ‘Über die Mode in der Musik’ included in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (1786–1827), a monthly journal devoted to fashion. The article has recently been attributed to Eleonore Thon (1752–1807),⁸ a German novelist, who seems to have contributed at least five more articles in the journal, from short stories to articles on fashion and household economy. The article ‘Über die Mode in der Musik’, consists of four letters (on the use of wind instruments; on vocal and instrumental music; on Haydn, Mozart and Pleyel; and on the change in taste) in which the writer shows extensive musical knowledge, particularly of operatic and string repertoires. Her knowledge is also evident from the fact that she names twice the relatively esoteric figure of J. S. Bach, describing him in the first letter as a keyboard virtuoso⁹ and in the fourth letter as a composer whose expertise is too narrow to be a ‘great composer’.¹⁰ In the third letter, Thon puts Haydn in the category of

⁷ Rainer J. Schwob, ‘Die Haydn-Rezeption in Deutschland und Österreich um 1800’, in Joachim Brüggge and Ulrich Leisinger (eds.), *Aspekte der Haydn-Rexemption: Beiträge der gleichnamigen Tagung vom 20. Bis 22. November 2009 im Salzburg* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2011), 41.

⁸ The only literature on the *Briefe*, apart from a mention in Rainer J. Schwob’s article, is Ulrich Konrad, ‘Vier Briefe über die Mode in der Musik: Eine wenig beachtete Quelle zur Einschätzung zeitgenössischer Musik im letzten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts’, *Acta Mozartiana*, 44, (1997). This article focuses mainly on the transcription of the sources and speculation as to the identity of the possible author. Recent digitisation projects have attributed the signature ‘A.-Z.’ to Eleonore Thon. ‘Ueber die Mode in der Musik’, *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, 8, <http://zs.thulb.uni-jena.de/receive/jportal_jparticle_00092894?hl=ueber%20die%20mode%20in%20der%20musik>, accessed 2 July 2016. Although the evidence for the attribution is unclear, it is probably related to the study of the correspondence of the journal’s editor Justin Bertuch, which includes over 22,000 letters).

⁹ ‘Einzelne große Virtuosen, als Corelli, Tartini, Franciscello, sind kein Einwurf gegen obige Anekdote, wenn auch selbst ihre brillante Periode noch 20 Jahr vor jener Anzeige zu stehen kommt. Von diesen und ähnlichen Virtuosen (und für die Clavierspieler von J. S. Bach an gerechnet) kann man wohl den Standpunkt annehmen, von welchem die größere Umfassungskraft der Ausführung ausläuft, und was gilt die Wette, obengenannte Virtuosen goltten bey den Herrn Strich auf Strich ab, ihren Zeitgenossen, vielleicht auch für Seiltänzer und Luftspringer.’ [Eleonor Thon], ‘Ueber die Mode in der Musik’, *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, 8 (June 1793), 339.

¹⁰ ‘In wie vielen Theilen und Arten Musik konnte man nicht C. H. Graun, Haße, C. P. E. Bach, Händel, groß nennen? In eizelnen Theilen, J. G. Graun, Franz Benda, Quanz, Telemann, Mattheson, Geminiani, Nichelmann, Janitsch, J. S. Bach, W. F. Bach, Kirnberger. Diese kann man zu ersten vieren wohl nicht rechnen, weil ihre Größe sich nur auf ein Fach einschränkte.’ [Eleonor Thon], ‘Ueber die Mode in der Musik’, *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, 8 (December 1793), 649.

‘fashionable composers’ with Pleyel and Mozart, but also describes him as one of the ‘great composers’.

Now [let’s turn] to fashionable instrumental composers. Under these, I count Haydn, Mozart and Pleyel. It is rare that a fashionable composer is a great composer, although a great composer can follow fashion; and these both is the case in Haydn.¹¹

The term ‘great composer’ indicates that a canon of music by up-to-date composers such as Haydn was becoming established. This canon may have not only reflected current taste but may have been promoted by the selection of repertory made by music publishers. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this canon was grounded on a critical consensus that attributed value to particular composers based on aesthetic or nationalistic criteria.

The appreciation of Haydn as fashionable is also present in an article by Johann Friedrich Triest published in 1801. In the article, Triest acknowledges Haydn’s success abroad and claims his music to be suited for both amateurs and professionals. Furthermore, after comparing Haydn’s figure to that of Jean Paul and Sterne, he declares:

If...one wanted to describe the character of Haydn’s compositions in just two words, they would be, it seems to me –artful popularity [kunstvolle Popularität] or popular artfulness [populäre Kunstfülle].¹²

¹¹ ‘Jezt zu den Instrumental-Componisten nach der Mode. Unter diese rechne ich Haydn, Mozart, und Pleyel. Es ist selten, daß ein Mode- Componist ein großer Componist ist, ob wohl ein großer Componist sich auch nach der Mode richten kann, und dies beydes ist bey Haydn unstreitig der Fall’. [Eleonor Thon], ‘Ueber dir Mode in der Musik’, Dritter Brief, *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, 8 (September 1793), 479.

¹² ‘Wollte man ferner den Charakter der Haydn’schen Compositionen mit zwey Wortenangeben, so wäre er – wie mich dünkt – kunstvolle Popularität, oder populäre (fassliche, eindringende) Kunstfülle.’ Johann Karl Friedrich Triest, ‘Bemerkung über die Ausbildung der Tonkunst in Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert’, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 24 (March 1801), 407.

This quotation highlights precisely the duality of Haydn's music and makes it pertinent to return to the relationship between popularity and prestige as explained in Chapter 1 in relation to Bourdieu. Although it is not possible to quantify the exact print-runs in which arrangements circulated, the numerous published arrangements and references in primary sources throughout Europe would locate Haydn's music at the upper part of the diagram (Figure 6.1). Thus, Haydn's music would imply prestige and canonization, whilst meeting the demands of the market, in other words, it would suit both intellectual and popular audiences).¹³ Nevertheless, this balance would slightly change depending on the particular genres and pieces, and over the course of time. In similar terms, for example, Schroeder argues that Haydn's English symphonies appear to shift the balance in successive seasons from popularity to intellectual challenge.¹⁴ Basing his account on an analysis of the music, Schroeder claims that Haydn's strategy was to ensure his popularity in the initial symphonies for London, and continue with 'works which provide a greater challenge to the listener and address issues such as morality'.¹⁵ To be sure, arrangements would generally tend to push any genre to a more commercial market and a popular audience. Similarly, whilst arrangements would tend to be more oriented towards popularity, there would also be nuances depending on the type of arrangement, not only with regard to the instrumentation of the original music but also of the arrangement itself (see Figure 6.1).

¹³ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), 321–330.

¹⁴ David P. Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 158.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

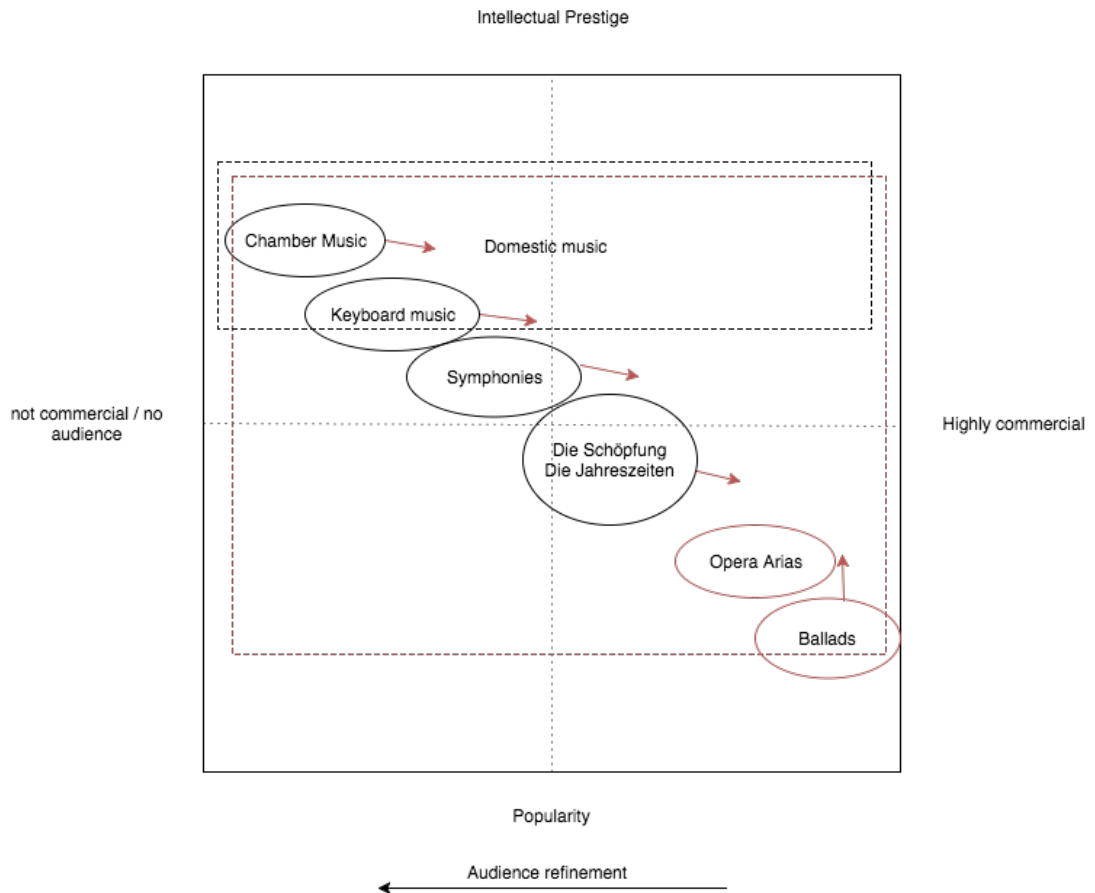


Figure 6.1: In red, the changes that arrangements may have occasioned in the popularity/prestige balance of Haydn's music in England.

Thus, Haydn is a unique figure on whom to focus for the purposes of this dissertation. The arrangements of his music are particularly relevant not only in terms of their combination of popularity and prestige, but also as contributors to the rising sense of a musical canon. Furthermore, arrangements of Haydn's music provide insights into relevant aspects of the music business (examined in Chapter 3), and the performing contexts, from domestic music-making (examined in Chapter 4) to the pleasure garden concerts. In this chapter I will begin by offering quantitative and qualitative perspectives on Haydn's popularity. To that end, I will explore the reception of Haydn in England and Germany and provide a quantitative analysis of his arrangements as recorded in RISM. Then, I will turn to consider Haydn's own perspective on arrangements. Finally, I will analyse in

detail keyboard arrangements of Symphony No. 53 published in London and Leipzig in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

6.1. Haydn's Popularity: Qualitative and Quantitative Perspectives

Although Haydn was based in Austrian lands for almost all of his life, his music circulated throughout Europe via the developed mechanisms of music printing and the music trade. Arrangements (of which almost 800 are documented in RISM) played a crucial role in this dissemination, allowing his music to be adapted for different audiences. Interestingly, Haydn composed for the audiences at the Esterházy court and his symphonies were not intended for direct publication and sale until the mid 1770s; it was only from 1779 that Haydn started to deal with Artaria. Nevertheless, unauthorized dissemination began well before those dates, starting in France (with publishers such as Chevadière, Venier and Huberty) in the mid 1760s with the first quartets, symphonies and chamber music, and increasing in later years with publications by Hummel, Bremner, Longman & Broderip and Forster.¹⁶ Until the 1790s, Artaria was Haydn's main publisher, printing over 300 works over Haydn's lifetime. Nevertheless, on the one hand Haydn himself maintained business relations with foreign publishers such as Forster in London, and on the other hand Artaria distributed Haydn's music to other European publishers such as Leduc (Paris), Simrock (Bonn) and Longman & Broderip.¹⁷ Through these foreign contacts, Haydn intended to publish his works (particularly the later ones) simultaneously in different countries.

This wide dissemination of Haydn's music reveals different trends in reception according to the tastes of different geographical

¹⁶ H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition & Rockliff, 1955), 50. Neal Zaslaw 'Haydn orchestras and his orchestration to 1779, with an excursus on the Times-of-Day symphonies' in Mary Hunter and Richard Will (eds.), *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012), 306.

¹⁷ The fact that Haydn and Artaria managed to send music to two different publishers in London could cause problems (for example in 1786).

areas, as can be partially shown in the types and volume of published arrangements. The following paragraphs provide an overview of some trends in the early reception of Haydn's music in England and the German-speaking lands to provide insights into the context surrounding the publication of the arrangements that constitute the central focus of this chapter. In England, the popularity of Haydn started many years before John Peter Salomon finally brought the composer to London in 1791. One of the main sources of evidence for the reception of Haydn's music is to be found in the press. During the 1770s, the newspapers started to announce attempts to engage Haydn for a series of London concerts.¹⁸ Many press advertisements referred to him as the 'Shakespeare of music',¹⁹ which seems particularly striking given his Austrian origins. Earlier in the eighteenth century it was Henry Purcell who was considered the 'Shakespeare of music';²⁰ thus, the transfer of this epithet to Haydn marked a significant change in taste. Schroeder suggests that the epithet represented not only the enthusiasm for Haydn but also the contemporary view of Shakespeare, which debated the importance of an explicit or implicit moral component in his works. Following Schroeder, the comparison between Haydn and Shakespeare transferred the moral function to music.²¹ In other words, the epithet implied that Haydn's works were not mere entertainment but achieved moral instruction. This is particularly relevant in relation to the view of Haydn as a 'great composer' highlighted in the previous section.

In the 1780s, the English reception of Haydn underwent a step-change, with strong commercial rivalry between publishers and a proliferation of printed editions and performances of his works. During

¹⁸ Christopher Roscoe, 'Haydn and London in the 1780's', *Music and Letters*, 49/3 (1968), 203–212. Also A. Peter Brown, 'The Earliest English Biography of Haydn', *The Musical Quarterly*, LIX/3 (1973), 339.

¹⁹ *The Morning Herald* and the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* refer to him with this name.

²⁰ Richard Lockett, "'Or rather our musical Shakespeare": Charles Burney's Purcell' in Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (eds.), *Music in 18th-Century England: Essays in Honour of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 59–78.

²¹ David P. Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 110.

this period, according to McVeigh, Haydn was acclaimed in England 'with an enthusiasm unmatched even in Germany and Austria'.²² The first evidence of Haydn's popularity is provided by the London publications of printed music, copied from editions by Johann Julius Hummel in Amsterdam. Although the first publications consisted mainly of six string quartets (Hob. II:6; III:6, 1–4)²³ published by Robert Bremner in 1765, they were closely followed in 1767 by arrangements of minuets ²⁴ published by John Johnson. The 1770s London publications of Haydn's music were again mainly focused on chamber music²⁵ but at least thirty-one of his symphonies were also published during that decade, contrasting with only two symphonies issued before then.²⁶ Simon McVeigh asserts that Haydn became a canonized figure in the period to such an extent that local composers either no longer cultivated the symphonic genre or copied his pastoral style until it became a cliché.²⁷ Furthermore, he asserts that 'the enthusiasm for Haydn's symphonies spread to English concerts'.²⁸ The establishment of London concert series and the fervour for musical entertainment fostered the development of symphonic music and, in particular, the vogue of Haydn's orchestral works.

The study of the reception of Haydn in German-speaking lands has been limited, particularly for the period before 1800, and has mainly been based on the criticism published in the press. On the basis of such press reviews, Mary Sue Morrow points out that in the 1790s Haydn was considered, similarly to C. P. E. Bach, to be a 'genius' or 'inexhaustible genius', in reference to his 'seemingly endless stream of

²² Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 229.

²³ The advertisement was published in the *St James Chronicle* on 25–27 June 1765.

²⁴ '...twelve Minuets composed on purpose for Balls by Sig. Haydn, adapted for the Harpsichord or two violins or German Flutes, and a Bass, and Horn Parts, Price Two Shillings'. The evidence of this print is an advertisement published in the *Public Advertiser*, 19 August 1767. David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn's music in London in the period 1760–1790, part one', in H. C. Robbins Landon, I. M. Bruce and David W. Jones (eds.), *Haydn Yearbook*, XIV (Bristol: University College Cardiff Press, 1983), 154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 156–161.

²⁶ H. C. Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn*, 607–777.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 136.

²⁸ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 126.

novel ideas'.²⁹ A similar perspective is found in a review published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (published in Leipzig by Breitkopf und Härtel) in 1802 regarding the *Heiligmesse* (Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida, Hob. XXII:10). The author of the review, Carl Friedrich Zelter, claimed the work should be part of the canon:

Up to this point the mass is really good and [one] of a talented artist, and also worthy of a Haydn; but now with the Credo, the spirit and interest rises still further, and the work secures a place in the selection of a music library of all times.³⁰

In 1800, even in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* Haydn was referred to as the Shakespeare [sic] of music,³¹ as he had been regarded in England earlier on. This highlights not only the importance of the composer but also the influence of Haydn's English popularity on the continent.

Other press articles document performances of Haydn music, such as a fragment of a letter published in the *Magazin der Musik*. The letter referred to a performance in Bamberg in 1786:

The end consisted of a symphony of our Father Haydn; if I had not known that beforehand I would not have liked it. Mr Concertmaster Schmitt took all tempos so sleepily as if he wanted to show a Miserere; probably he did it in order to be able to listen to everything.³²

²⁹ Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 111.

³⁰ 'Bis hierher ist diese Messe recht gut und eines talentvollen Künstlers, ja auch eines Haydn würdig; jetzt aber, mit dem Credo, hebt sich der Geist und das Interesse noch um vieles, und sichert dem Werke seinen Platz unter dem Ausgewählten einer für alle Zeiten gesammelten musikalischen Bibliothek.' Messe à 4 voix avec accompagnement [...], *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 4/44 (28th July 1802). Quoted in: Rainer J. Schwob, 'Die Haydn-Rezeption in Deutschland und Österreich um 1800', 37.

³¹ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 2/41 (9th July 1800), 712.

³² Den Schluß machte eine Synfonie von unserm Vater Haydn; wenn sie aber nicht vorher gekannt hätte, so würde sie mir hier nicht gefallen haben. Herr Concertmeister

The quotation not only shows the use of the patriarchal metaphor 'Vater Haydn' already in 1786, but also gives evidence of the familiarity of the symphony in Bamberg (although the exact symphony is not known). In the 1780s and 1790s, in a range of cities from Berlin and Breslau to Kassel and Bamberg, there were established 'Konzerte' and 'Akademien' where Haydn's symphonies were regularly performed.³³ It is noticeable that in Leipzig, a city with an unprecedented amount of publishing houses, the Gewandhaus performed Haydn symphonies continuously in each and every season from its foundation in 1781 to the 1820s, with weekly performances for the first two decades. Other Haydn works performed at the Gewandhaus in the period were mainly operatic excerpts such as those of *Armida*.³⁴

Turning now to arrangements, from the bibliographical records collected by RISM,³⁵ it can be estimated that almost 800 arrangements of Haydn's works published before 1800 have been catalogued. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the dates of most of these publications are conjectural because most of printed music of this period is undated. Furthermore, they represent only a fragment of what may have been published (particularly as library holdings in countries such as Spain, Italy and former Eastern Bloc countries are underrepresented in RISM). Of these arrangements, around 58% are for the keyboard (with or without accompaniment) and another 22% are vocal scores. Of the overall total of all kinds of arrangements of Haydn's music, 21.5% were published in London, 18.9% in Paris, 15.4% in Vienna and 35.9% were published in German cities, mainly in Bonn (14.2%), Offenbach (7.8%) and Leipzig (5.0%). (see Figure 6.2)

Schmitt nahm alle Tempos so schläfrig, als wollte er ein Miserere zeigen, vermuthlich that ers, um alles recht überhören zu können. Included in Rainer J. Schwob, 'Die Haydn-Rezeption in Deutschland und Österreich um 1800', 38.

³³ Rainer J. Schwob, 'Die Haydn-Rezeption in Deutschland und Österreich um 1800', 38.

³⁴ Alfred Dörffel, *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis. 25 November 1881*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1884), within the appendix *Statistik der Concerte im Saale des Gewandhauses zu Leipzig*, 26.

³⁵ Series A/I.

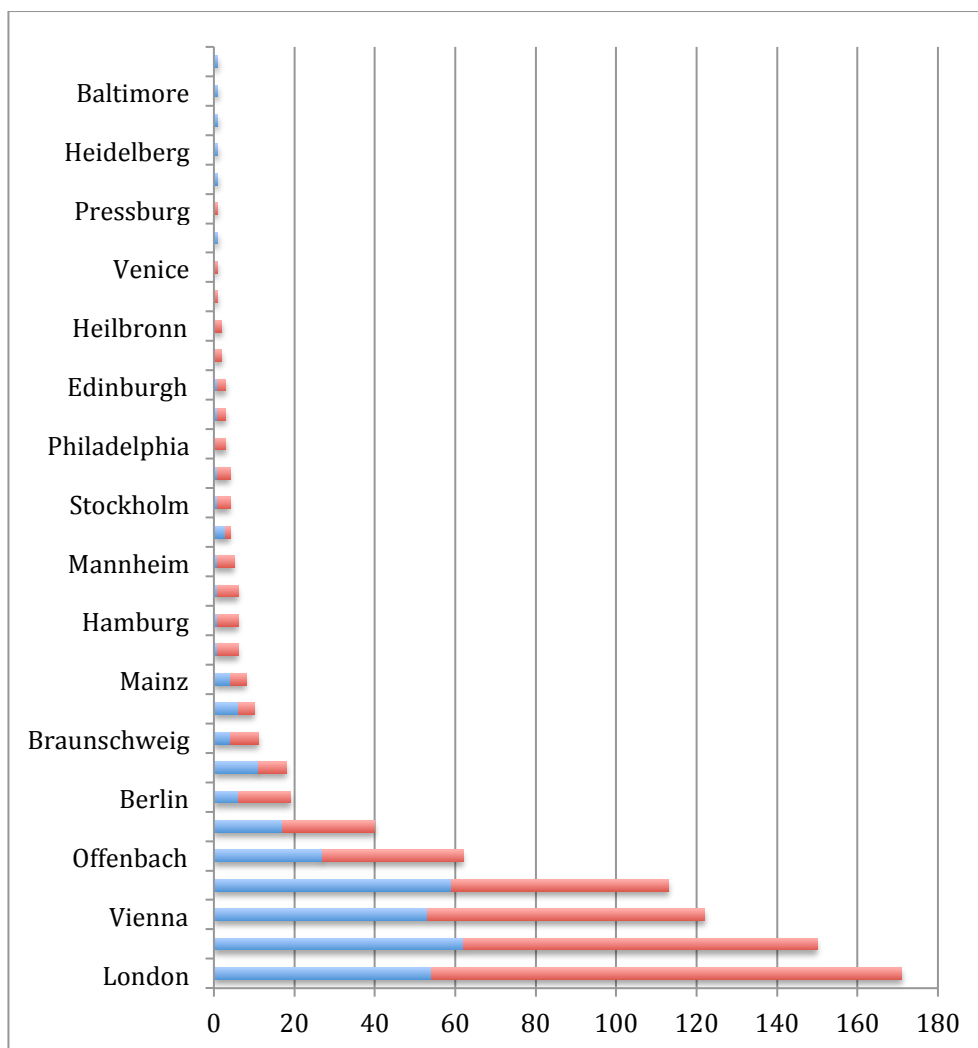


Figure 6.2: Total of published arrangements of Haydn's music up to c.1800 by city as recorded in RISM A/I. Red = keyboard arrangements; blue = non-keyboard arrangements.

From the above-mentioned 21.5% of arrangements published in London, 68.4% are keyboard arrangements (with or without accompaniment), thus representing 25.3% of all arrangements for the keyboard. With these numbers, London represents the city that published the largest amount of keyboard arrangements of Haydn's music.

Different publishing centres favoured different types of arrangements of Haydn's music. As observed by Wiebke Thormählen, although arrangements were consumed throughout Europe, 'the routine production of large-scale vocal works for string quartet and

string quintet was a practice peculiar to Austrian publishers'.³⁶ This tendency can also be seen in arrangements of Haydn's works, although the small sample may undermine the significance of the numbers. Whilst about 60% of the total number of Haydn arrangements for strings (duets to sextets) were published in Germany and Austria, only about 7% of the total were published in England. A similar preference for chamber arrangements in German and Austrian lands can be observed when analysing the place of publication for all chamber arrangements (including those that combine string and woodwind instruments). These differences in the publication of chamber arrangements may reflect the emphasis on keyboard manufacture and use in London, as shown in Chapter 3.

In German-speaking lands and particularly for the firm of Breitkopf in Leipzig, arrangements of Haydn's music were focused on his vocal works, mostly operatic music and particularly *Singspiele*. These arrangements served as vocal scores, making this German-texted music accessible to a wider burgher audience. Arrangements of instrumental music, however, were not unprecedented in Breitkopf's output. At least for Haydn, arrangements of instrumental music were usually presented as original keyboard pieces that is, without acknowledging the adaptation and were mostly made from string quartets. As early as 1761 and 1762, Breitkopf published four volumes of symphonic arrangements by composers such as Hasse, Kirnberger, G. F. Müller, Wagenseil, among others. Although both quantitative and qualitative approaches have limitations (in particular, for relying on available data that may not be representative) the combination of both offers unique insights that give an idea of the reach of arrangements of Haydn's music in the late eighteenth century.

³⁶ Wiebke Thormählen, 'Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna', *The Journal of Musicology*, 27/3 (2010), 343.

6.2. Haydn: his Arrangements and his Arrangers

Haydn was interested in the technique of arrangement as shown by his own arrangements of 429 songs from the British Isles made from the early 1790s to 1804. Possibly for that same reason, he was not merely a passive onlooker as his music was arranged.³⁷ It is possible to find some evidence of his perspectives on arrangements in his correspondence. In a letter to Artaria dated the 8th of April 1783, Haydn criticized an arrangement of his Symphony No. 69 in C major.³⁸ The arrangement was named 'Laudon' when it was published as a keyboard arrangement, after the Austrian field marshal Ernst Gideon von Laudon (probably for his success in the Seven Years War), showing Artaria's desire to capitalise on current events. Presumably the arrangement was sent to Haydn by the publisher for his approval. In the letter, Haydn showed concern about the suitability of the music to the keyboard idiom and suggested removing the fourth movement altogether. As he put it:

I send you herewith the Symphony, Sir, which was so full of mistakes that the fellow who wrote it ought to have his paw [Bratze] chopped off. The last or 4th movement is not practicable for the pianoforte, and I don't think it necessary to include in print: the word 'Laudon' will contribute more to the sale than any ten finales.³⁹

³⁷ Damien Sagrillo, 'Joseph Haydns Volksliedbearbeitungen. Stilistische Beobachtungen. Bedeutung für sein Gesamtwerk', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 40/1 (2009), 31–62.

³⁸ Most probably RISM A/1 H 4281.

³⁹ 'Übersende unterdessen Euer Wohl Edlen die Sinfonie, welcher so voller fehler ware, daß man den kerl so es geschrieben die Bratze abhauen solle: das letzte oder 4te Stück dieser Sinfonie ist für das Clavier nicht practicabl, ich finde es auch nicht für Nöthig dasselbe beyzudrucken: das Wort: das Wort Laudon wird zu Beförderung des Verkaufes mehr als zehen Finale beytragen'. Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 127. H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1959), 41. Quoted in Christopher Hogwood, 'In praise of arrangements: the "Symphony Quintetto"', in Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (eds.), *Studies in Music History: Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon On His Seventieth Birthday* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 83–84.

The letter reveals Haydn's values: he was concerned with accuracy in terms of avoiding misprints but not in the sense of preserving the whole 'unmutilated' work. Furthermore, he showed a concern for idiomatic writing and an awareness of the market and the saleability of his music, which he apparently valued more highly than any notion of *Werktreue* (in other words, arguably preferring popularity to prestige).

Other interesting insights into Haydn's perspectives on arrangements can be found in relation to his orchestral work, the *Seven Last Words*. By 1787 Haydn had revised two arrangements of the *Seven Last Words*, one for string quartet and one for the keyboard published by Artaria.⁴⁰ He tended to compliment those arrangements, for example he wrote to Artaria explaining 'I send you the proofs of the Seven Words in all 3 forms. *Inter alia* I compliment you on the piano score, which is very good and has been prepared with the greatest care.'⁴¹ According to Carl Ferdinand Pohl, seven years later in 1794 he listened to a performance of a choral arrangement (with German lyrics) made by Joseph Friebert (1724–1799), then Kapellmeister in Passau. Two years later Haydn premiered a revised version of Friebert's choral arrangement, with the German lyrics revised by Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803).⁴² Four years later in 1800, he was still offering this arrangement of the same work to Breitkopf und Härtel, as shown in the surviving fragments of a letter dated 1st July 1800 to Gottfried Christoph Härtel, in which Haydn asserts:

[...] to show my gratitude, at least in some measure, I will,
if it is agreeable to you, send you the full score of the

⁴⁰ 'Ich habe die 7 Wort sowohl im ganzen, als auch im quartet und den Clavier Auszug selbst übersehen, corgirt, da ich solches wegen der Grösse des Paquets mit den heutigen Husarn nicht abschicken konte, so werden Sie alles zusam [...] längstens bis Sonntag [...] enthalten.' 21 June 1787, Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 169. H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, 64–65.

⁴¹ 'Übersende die Correctur der 7 worth in allen 3 gattungen. unter anderen belobe ich den Clavierauszug, welcher sehr gut und mit besonderem Fleiß abgefaßt ist.' To Artaria, 23rd June 1787. *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 171. H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, 65.

⁴² Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, II (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1882), 217.

Seven Words in the vocal version as soon as possible. You could then publish the work with the vocal parts by Michaelmas, either in piano score, which is already printed without the vocal parts, or in full score, as you see fit. I do not doubt that it will have a good sale, for it is undoubtedly one of my best works, and is not difficult to perform.⁴³

In this case, Haydn offered Härtel the oratorio version (vocal version) either to be published in vocal score or full score. A few days later, Härtel agreed to the latter version and offered Haydn 50 ducats for the piece.⁴⁴ Because of the special circumstances surrounding this arrangement, the price may not be representative. Nevertheless, the quotation shows how making arrangements for different forces allowed composers to sell their works to different markets, via different publishers.

As shown, Haydn's correspondence not only provides his perspective on arrangements but also highlights his dealings with publishers with regard to these adaptations of his works. Another example can be found in 1799 when he wrote a letter to Härtel with regard to *Die Schöpfung*. Haydn asserted that he had to use Artaria to print the full score or parts, but that anyone could arrange it as a keyboard-vocal score. As he put it:

Since the Creation will be engraved and printed here in Vienna, I was obliged to give Herr Artaria the principal

⁴³ [...] um Ihnen aber eine kleine Dankbarkeit zu zeigen, so werde ich, wenn es Ihnen anders angenehm seyn sollte, die Sieben Worte mit Singstimmen in ganzer Partitur sobald möglich übermachen. Sie könnten demnach dieselbe mit Vokalstimmen entweder in Clavierauszug, welcher ohnehin schon ohne die Singstimmen gestochen ist, oder ganz in Partitur nach Ihrem Gutachten bis Michaeli Mess herausgeben, ich zweifle keineswegs an einem guten Abgang, weil es unstreitig eines meiner besten Werke ist und ohne viel Breschwerden kann producirt werden! Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 346.

⁴⁴ Most probably Joseph Haydn, *J. Haydn's Oratorium: Die Worte des Erlösers am Kreuze. Partitur. Le sette ultime parole del Redentore al croce. Oratorio [...] in partitura* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.); RISM A/I H 2519.

commission. But as far the pianoforte arrangement is concerned, lack of time prevents me from doing this myself. Anyone is free to do it.⁴⁵

The quotation shows that arrangements were considered to be independent of the original score: they were commissioned separately and were different publishing entities. Shortly afterwards, Georg August Griesinger, who negotiated on behalf of Breitkopf und Härtel, explained to the publishers that Haydn had some doubts and was reluctant because he thought the music would lose too much, the task was too difficult and it would be better if 'the ladies' (evidently a principal market for such arrangements as explored in Chapter 4) would learn to read from the full score.⁴⁶ A few months later in another letter to Härtel, Haydn revealed some of his financial dealings with regard to the publishing of the same arrangement of *Die Schöpfung*:

Between ourselves, I am really to be pitied that I entrusted my costly Creation to the sleepy Herr Artaria, the more so since I let them have the piano score, and some other small things, at no cost.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ 'Da die Schöpfung hier in wien gestochen und abgedruckt wird, so war ich gezwungen die Haupt Comission denen H^{rn} Artaria zu übergeben. Was aber den Clavier auszug betrifft, so kan ich denselben wegen zu vielen zeit verlust nicht selbst über mich nehmen. dieser steht jedwed[em] frey'. 1st November 1799. Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* 341. Translated in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 168.

⁴⁶ 'Doch sprich Haydn davon noch immer mit einiger Bedenklichkeit und Widerwillen. Er glaubt, es gehe zu viel dabey verloren, das Unternehmen sey zu schwer, und es ware weit besser, wenn die Weiber sich gewöhnen wollten nach der Partitur zu spielen.' 5 February 1800. Otto Biba (ed.), *"Eben komme ich von Haydn...": Georg August Griesingers Korrespondenz mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf & Härtel 1799–1819* (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1987), 40. Haydn consideration of the need to read from the full score coincides with that of J. A. Hiller expressed in the preface of *Meisterstücke des Italianischen Gesanges* (see Chapter 2).

⁴⁷ 'Ich bin (unter uns) in der That zu bedauern, daß ich mich mit meiner kostspieligen Schöpfung dem schläfrigen H. Artaria anvertraut habe, um so mehr, da ich denenselben nebst verschiedenen andern Kleinigkeiten den Clavierauszug ohnentgeldlich überlassen habe.' 1st July 1800. Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 346. Translated in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 171.

Thus, in the end Artaria secured the piano score (which was arranged by Sigmund Neukomm), without Haydn being paid. Furthermore, by November 1800, Griesinger reported to Breitkopf & Härtel that Haydn assured to him Müller's keyboard arrangement of *Die Schöpfung* (published by Breitkopf & Härtel) was the best, most comprehensible and simplest amongst all arrangements of that work.⁴⁸ This comment would not only explain why Breitkopf und Härtel chose Müller for the arrangement of *Die Jahreszeiten* but also confirms later criticisms of Neukomm's arrangement of *Die Schöpfung* (both aspects explored in Chapter 5). Although in this case the composer did not make money from the piano version, it does seem he usually did. Even if the 50 ducats paid for the choral version of the *Seven Last Words* may not be representative, another example can be found in a receipt to Artaria from 1792. According to the receipt, Artaria paid 24 Ducats to Haydn for the keyboard arrangements of Haydn's *12 Menuette und 12 Deutsche Tänze*⁴⁹ (Hob. IX:11 and 12).⁵⁰ Although Haydn and his music may have commanded higher fees than usually paid by publishers, these practices suggest other possibilities in addition to those explained in Chapters 3 and 5. Breitkopf und Härtel appear to have commissioned particular arrangers, instead of relying on unsolicited submissions from arrangers.

The only mention in Haydn's correspondence of an arrangement of a symphony, apart from the above-mentioned 'Laudon' arrangement, is made in letters between Haydn and Marianne von Genzinger from Eszterháza. In the first letter she wrote to Haydn (10th June 1789), she sent him her own arrangement of a symphony yet to be identified:

⁴⁸ '[Haydn] versicherte mich, daß der Müllersche Clavierauszug aus der Schöpfung der beste, verständlichste un leichteste unter seinen Brüdern sey.' 15th November 1800. Otto Biba (ed.), *"Eben komme ich von Haydn..."*, 47–48. They are referring to Müller's keyboard arrangement, Joseph Haydn, *Joseph Haydn's Oratorium: Die Schöpfung. Im Klavierauszug von August Eberhard Müller* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.); RISM A/1 H 4646. This preference for Müller may explain why Breitkopf und Härtel chose him to arrange *Die Jahreszeiten* (as explored in Chapter 5).

⁴⁹ Most probably RISM A/1 H 4374 and H 4376.

⁵⁰ Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 293–294. It is still to be studied whether these arrangements are related to the ones advertised in the press as published by John Johnson in 1767. See David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn's Music in London in the Period 1760–1790', 154.

With your kind permission, I take the liberty of sending you a pianoforte arrangement of the beautiful Andante from your so admirable composition. I made this arrangement from the score quite by myself, without the least help from my teacher; please be good enough to correct any mistakes you may find in it.⁵¹

Interestingly, Haydn responded that the arrangement was worthy of being printed. He also wondered whether she arranged from the parts, or if she had to prepare the full score first and then arrange it, in which case he is flattered by the effort she took.⁵² Two years later, Haydn sent her from London an arrangement of the Andante of the recently composed Symphony No. 95⁵³ and also new symphonies for her to arrange.⁵⁴ Similarly to the reviews analysed in Chapter 2, this correspondence with Marianne von Genzinger enhances our understanding of techniques of arrangement and their pedagogical possibilities.

In addition to information about Haydn and his publishers, other insights can be found from his correspondence with the arrangers of his work. Although Haydn's correspondence does not refer to any of J. A. Hiller's arrangements (such as the vocal score of *Die Jahreszeiten* or *Stabat Mater* mentioned in Chapter 2), it does mention the arrangement of *Die Jahreszeiten* for string quartet by Anton Wranitzky (1761–1820), who was a violinist and teacher at the service of the Prince J. F. Maximilian Lobkowitz from 1790. In a letter to G. A. Griesinger, Haydn

⁵¹ 'Mit dero gütigen Erlaubnüs nehme ich mir dir freyheit, Ihnen einen Clavier außzug des schönen Andante Ihrer mir so schätzbaren Composition zu übermachen. Solchen auszug habe ich ganz allein aus der Spart ohne Mindesten beyhilf meines Meister gemacht, bitte die güte zu haben wen sie etwas daran auszustellen finden, solches zu Corigiren.' Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 207. Translated in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 85–86.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 208. Translated in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 86.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 260. Translated in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 117–118.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 267. Translated in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 122.

praised Wranitzky's arrangement of *Die Schöpfung* for string quintet⁵⁵ and suggested him as the arranger of *Die Jahreszeiten* (for string quartet or quintet).⁵⁶ However, there is no evidence that Wranitzky finally arranged *Die Jahreszeiten*, but rather another known arranger of Haydn (and also of Mozart), August Eberhard Müller (author of Haydn's arrangement of *Die Jahreszeiten* analysed in Chapter 5).

Another relevant arranger of Haydn's works was Sigmund Neukomm, also mentioned in Chapter 5. With Haydn's approval, according to Neukomm's catalogue,⁵⁷ he published vocal scores of the oratorio *Il ritorno di Tobia*,⁵⁸ *Die Schöpfung*,⁵⁹ *Stabat Mater* and keyboard and string quartet arrangements of *Die Jahreszeiten*.⁶⁰ Other arrangements by Neukomm, presumably without Haydn's authorization, included those of the *Scotch Airs* and keyboard arrangements of symphonies Nos. 99, 103 and 104, the *Sieben Letzte Worte*, *Die Schöpfung* and *Die Jahreszeiten*.⁶¹ Interestingly, Neukomm received 25 ducats from Artaria for the vocal score of *Die Schöpfung*.⁶² Thus, the fee was similar to that paid by Artaria for the arrangement of *12 Menuette und 12 Deutsche Tänze* as mentioned above.

⁵⁵ Joseph Haydn, *Die Schöpfung. Ein musikalisches Oratorium von [...] Joseph Haydn übersezt in Quintetten für 2 Violinen, 2 Violon, und Violoncello*, arr. Anton Wranitzky (Vienna: Artaria, n.d. [1801]); RISM A/I W 2000. For more details on the of A. Wranitzky arrangement of *The Creation* for string quintet see Wiebke Thormählen, 'Playing with Art', 349–360.

⁵⁶ 'was aber die übersetzung deren Jahreszeiten in queart- oder quintetten betrifft, so gedencke ich dem H. Waniczky von fürst Lobkowitz den vorzug zu geben, da ich nicht allein mit seiner guten übersetzung von der Schöpfung, sondern auch der sicherheit wegen eines eigennützig weitem gebrauches ganz zufrieden bin.' Dénes Bartha (ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 380.

⁵⁷ Rudolph Angermüller, *Sigismund Neukomm: Verzeichnis, Autobiographie, Beziehung zu seinen Zeitgenossen* (München: Musik Verlag Emil Katzbichler, 1977).

⁵⁸ Ibid. According to the catalogue composed by 1808. Rudolph Angermüller, *Sigismund Neukomm: Verzeichnis, Autobiographie, Beziehung zu seinen Zeitgenossen* (München: Musik Verlag Emil Katzbichler, 1977).

⁵⁹ According to the catalogue it was published by Artaria in 1800. Most probably RISM A/I H 4639.

⁶⁰ According to the catalogue they were published in Vienna in 1802. Most probably RISM A/I H 4171 for string quartet published in Vienna by T. Mollo. RISM A/I lists three keyboard arrangements by Neukomm: H 4694 published by Artaria and H 4695 published by T. Mollo and H 4174 published by Simrock in Bonn.

⁶¹ It is possible that some of the arrangements listed in RISM (see previous footnote) were not authorized by Haydn.

⁶² Rudolph Angermüller, *Sigismund Neukomm*, 27.

Haydn seems to have been unaware of arrangements of his music published outside Vienna. Haydn's extant correspondence makes no mention of the arrangements that were published in England. Nevertheless, arrangers of his music in England were numerous and some of their names tend to be included in the publications (particularly when the arrangements do not derive from a concert series, as will be explained in the following section). Among arrangers of Haydn's music in England it is possible to find important figures in the London music scene, relevant pedagogical figures and famous foreigners, such as Muzio Clementi, Stephen Storace, Thomas Haigh, Stephen F. Rimbault, Tomasso Giordani, Ludwig Wenzel Lachnitt, Carl Friedrich Baumgarten and Thomas Carter. The reason why publishers included the arrangers' names on editions may reflect the prestige of these figures but may also reflect the possibility that music was arranged on the arranger's own initiative, instead of for the publisher's commission.

As shown, arrangements of Haydn's music by a diverse range of arrangers proliferated in Vienna, as much as in other regions. Haydn himself was aware of the importance of arrangements: he used them as a source of revenue and showed concern for the sounding effect of the arrangements on the audience. With or without his awareness, his music was appropriated to different ends (such as pedagogical or commercial) and in the process it gained new meanings.

6.3. Symphonies for the Keyboard and String Quartets for the Voice

As seen in the quantitative analysis of RISM data (Figure 6.2), Haydn's music was profusely arranged throughout Europe. The extant musical sources and the press notices show that the choice of music that was arranged and the way it was marketed depended on the economic and social conditions of a specific territory. Elements such as the name of the arranger, the reference to the original composer or the

instrumentation and genre vary widely among the printed publications. For example, in keyboard arrangements as printed in German cities, the acknowledgement of the arranged nature of the music (and with it, the identity of the arranger) seems to vary depending on the original piece from which they were arranged. As also seen in the reviews discussed in Chapter 2, vocal arrangements and short scores of large-scale works generally acknowledged the arranged nature of the music and usually included the name of the arranger. However, arrangements of instrumental music tended not to acknowledge their arranged nature, nor the name of the arranger. These arrangements tend to be published as keyboard pieces or sonatas. In contrast, arrangements of Haydn's music as published in London mostly acknowledge their arranged nature. Regarding the identity of the arranger, it depended on the way in which the arrangement was published: arrangements published in relation to a concert series usually did not include the names of the arranger, but single arrangements usually did. Nevertheless, other less frequent arrangements of Haydn's instrumental music such as keyboard lessons, ballads or songs kept the identity of the original author (that is, Haydn) indicating the power of his name to sell copies, but they only rarely mentioned the arranged nature of the music or the identity of the arranger (see Appendix A). This section will provide an insight into the way in which Haydn's music was adapted for the consumer society of London, using as a starting-point the publishing practices and their relationship to the London concert series and the pleasure gardens. Furthermore, it will explore arrangements of Symphony No. 53 to show the extent and variety of ways this piece was appropriated.

The proliferation of Haydn arrangements in England may have been caused by the national boundaries of publishing and printing property rights. Publishing conventions allowed for music from a different territory to be reprinted without disadvantaging the original publisher. Thus, arranging and publishing music of foreign composers may have raised fewer potential legal issues for publishers in London.

Nevertheless, conflicts between English publishers and Haydn occurred. In 1788, for instance, the press included a vivid discussion in relation to Haydn's contract with the conductors of the Professional Concert to compose new music for them. The conflict arose when instead of the agreed new music, the composer sent three symphonies that had already been published in England (most probably without the author's knowledge) by Longman & Broderip.⁶³

The establishment of concert series in London fostered the development of symphonic music and, in particular, the vogue of Haydn's orchestral works. Although weekly concert series were present in London from the late seventeenth-century onwards, they constituted a central element in the development of musical activity in the late eighteenth century. The collapse of the Italian Opera and the arrival of Felice Giardini in the early 1750s fostered the promotion of London concert life⁶⁴ that was later continued by Bach and Abel's concert series in the 1770s, and followed by other series such as the Pantheon, the Professional Concert, and Salomon's concerts, providing entertainment to high society and representing the prosperity of London's musical life. These series were not only the centre of musical life but also a showcase for knowledge and taste. As stated in the *Morning Chronicle*:

There are no fewer than sixteen public Subscription Concerts at this moment going forward in the metropolis, besides the various select parties with which it abounds. Each of those has a distinguished leader and performers of great eminence. This at least will prove to the world our musical rage, we wish it could also show our musical knowledge and taste.⁶⁵

⁶³ Christopher Roscoe, 'Haydn and London in the 1780's', 209. Roscoe suggests the three symphonies are No. 82, 83 and 84.

H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works. Haydn at Eszterháza 1766–1790* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 601.

⁶⁴ Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, xiv, 4. David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn's music in London in the Period 1760–1790', 148.

⁶⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 7th February 1792. Quoted in Thomas B. Milligan, *The Concerto*

Precisely this vogue for concerts was exploited by publishers. In addition to almost 30 publications of symphonies in full scores, over 30 different arrangements of symphonies (not only for the keyboard alone and for four hands, but also for string quartet) were published in London between 1783 and 1810, entitled 'as performed at' Bach and Abel's, the Nobility's Concerts, or Salomon's Concerts. The symphonies arranged with these references to concert series vary: under Bach and Abel's Concerts, there are arrangements of the symphonies Nos. 53, 66, 67, 68, Overture Hob. Ia:7,⁶⁶ and the spurious Hob. i/59; under the Nobility's concerts, symphonies nos. 47, 53, 69, 71 and 73; and under Salomon's concerts symphonies nos. 53, 86, 90, 92–104. These arrangements tended not to be marketed as authorised by the composer and, with the exception of the Nobility's concerts that were published entirely by J. Bland, the others were published by different publishers and in different versions.

Similarly to the serial collections of sheet music studied in Chapter 3, the vogue for concert series also exemplifies Adam Smith's ideas of obsolescence and fashion. Concert series are, by their nature, ephemeral events. Thus, linking published keyboard arrangements to a concert series gave the publisher a constant supply of new music to be arranged, and offered the possibility to give permanence and objectivity to an otherwise ephemeral repertory. Furthermore, these arrangements disseminated the music of the concert series beyond their immediate audiences, bringing the repertory to a wider, non-London (and perhaps non-elite) audience that is, to those who could not afford to attend, or who were prevented from attending because of their gender or social status. Bach and Abel's series cost about five guineas for the Gentlemen and three guineas for the Ladies⁶⁷ during

and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century (Epping: Bowker Publishing Company, 1983), 17.

⁶⁶ Used as the Finale of Symphony No. 53.

⁶⁷ *Public Advertiser*, 10 December 1767.

almost the whole period and included from six to fifteen concerts.⁶⁸ Thus, assuming there were ten concerts per series, and the average cost of 4 guineas, each concert would cost 8s 4d (about the same price of a turkey⁶⁹ or over 64lb of bread⁷⁰). If arrangements published with the subtitle 'as performed at Bach and Abel's concerts' cost two shillings each,⁷¹ they were more than four times cheaper than the subscription price for one of Bach and Abel concerts. Furthermore, orchestral versions entitled 'as performed at Bach and Abel's concerts' were offered by J. Preston and S. Babb in 8 ensemble parts and sold at 4s. For example, the full score of Symphony No. 53, as performed at Bach and Abel's series, cost 4s. and had 25 pages,⁷² while the arrangement of the same piece cost 2s. and had 13 pages.⁷³ Although the orchestral version would still offer a competitive price in relation to attendance to the concert, the keyboard arrangement was more affordable for a wider circle of potential buyers. To be sure, publishers were most interested in establishing a relationship with concerts to accumulate more social prestige for their arrangements (and perhaps partake of the increasing prestige derived from a sense of musical canon), and more broadly for all their publications. Nevertheless, concert going, the full score, and a keyboard arrangement were all generally aimed at different sectors of the market, being targeted respectively at the aristocratic elite, professional musicians, and amateur musicians.

Further evidence of the adaptation of Haydn's music to English conditions can be found in the references to the organ as a possible

⁶⁸ David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn's music in London in the Period 1760–1790', 148.

⁶⁹ According to Haydn, a turkey cost 9s. in 1792. H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Collected Correspondence*, 259.

⁷⁰ As analysed in Chapter 3, the price of 4lb of bread would oscillate around 6d.

⁷¹ The price of the arrangements is indicated in the title-page of the musical sources. 2s. is the price for all arrangements published 'as performed at' Bach and Abel's concerts and also the Nobilities concerts. Salomon's concerts seem to have been 4s., but also included an ad libitum accompaniment for the violin and violoncello. See Appendix A.

⁷² Joseph Haydn, *The Favorite Overture in all the Parts as performed [...] at Messrs. Bach and Abel's Concerts* (London: J. Preston, n.d.); British Library shelfmark Hirsch IV.1619.

⁷³ Joseph Haydn, *The celebrated overture, composed by Sigr. Haydn, and performed at Messrs Bach & Abel's concerts; adapted for the piano forte or harpsichord* (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d.); British Library shelfmark g.980.q.

instrument for the performance of these arrangements.⁷⁴ Arrangements published by Bland of repertory from the Nobility's concerts specify the organ, an instrument highly embedded in the English music tradition, in addition to the pianoforte and harpsichord as possible instruments. As stated by Barry Cooper, a tradition of publishing concerti specifically for the organ, or for the organ or harpsichord, lasted in England from Handel's time until the early nineteenth century.⁷⁵ Large numbers of small organs were manufactured for domestic use and according to Stephen Bicknell, they offered advantages, such as the stability of tuning (in comparison to the harpsichord or pianoforte), and also for being 'a good vehicle not just for keyboard music, but also for transcriptions of instrumental works'.⁷⁶ Chamber organs were also used in taverns, pleasure gardens and other public venues for music. Nevertheless, it is likely that arrangements were intended not just for one type of keyboard instrument, and instead the mention of organs on the title-page indicates a marketing strategy as an intent to attract the widest possible audience. Other aspects appear to pursue this goal as well, such as *ad libitum* accompaniments for the violin and violoncello of the arrangements 'as performed at Salomon Concerts',⁷⁷ or reference on full scores regarding the possibility of performing the music as a string quartet.⁷⁸ Even with regard to keyboard arrangements designated for the harpsichord or pianoforte, the arrangements of symphonies such as those of Haydn fit within the register of the square piano (G' to f'' or

⁷⁴ For example, the Sykes' and Acland's mentioned in Chapter 4 had a chamber organ. There is evidence the Sykes' had an organ in the music room at Sledmere by 1784 and the Acland's built one in 1808. Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments of the Country House', *Music & Letters*, 91/4 (2010), 516. Also in Jeanice Brooks, 'Les collections féminines d'albums de partitions dans l'Angleterre au début du XIXe siècle,' in Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (eds.), *La la la Maître Henri: Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 378.

⁷⁵ Barry Cooper, 'Keyboard concertos galore', *Early Music*, 44 (2016), 161–164.

⁷⁶ Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), 207.

⁷⁷ For example Symphony No. 97, Joseph Haydn, *Haydn's Celebrated Overture Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomon's Concert Hanover Square Adapted for the Piano-Forte, with an Accompaniment for a Violin & Violoncello (ad libitum)* (London and Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co., n.d. [1796]); British Library shelfmark, g.134.(1.).

⁷⁸ For example Symphony No. 63. Joseph Haydn, *The favorite Sinfonie as performed at the Nobility's Concert. For a grand orchestra [...] This sinfonie may be played as a quartet* (London: John Bland, n.d. [1790?]); British Library shelfmark g.474.b.(4.).

g’”), making it more plausible that these pieces were targeted at the expanding market of domestic music-making.

Arrangements of Haydn’s music published in London (see Appendix A) show several of the marketing strategies developed there, as introduced in Chapter 3. For example, keyboard arrangements of Haydn’s symphonies as printed by Longman & Broderip and published ‘as performed at Bach and Abel’s concerts’ show a consecutive pagination (see Appendix A). This, together with the uniform price of 2s. for each arrangement, most probably indicates the intention of publishing them as serial works sold in instalments (which also helps identifying their order of publication and defining a chronology). Other sales techniques used in Haydn arrangements appealed to a possible concern among purchasers for textual fidelity. In some of John Bland’s publications of Haydn symphonies arranged for keyboard, the title indicates ‘not a mutilated copy but the Intire Sinfonie’.⁷⁹ This rubric is to be found in Bland’s symphonies ‘as performed at the Nobility’s concerts’, that is, Nos. 47, 53, 69, 71 and 73. This rubric may have been a commercial tool to entice possible customers, but it also may indicate a possible discontent with the common practice of publishing arrangements that consisted of only a portion of the symphony (usually only three movements). This last possibility would mean that Bland would have realized there were missing movements and had to obtain new copy-texts for his publications.

Although the first of Bland’s arrangements seems to have been that of symphony No. 47 (not only because it was composed earlier by Haydn, but also because it has ‘No. 1’ inscribed on the title-page), this does not appear to have survived in any other arranged version that could have been ‘mutilated’. Nevertheless, the arrangements of symphonies No. 53 and 67 provide possible explanations. Hoboken’s catalogue explains that symphony No. 53 arrived to England without the first movement (Largo Maestoso), and sets of orchestral parts and

⁷⁹ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, I (Mainz: B. Schott Schöne, 1957), 58 and 150. Also in Band III, 78.

keyboard arrangements alike were published without it.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Bland's arrangement of this symphony (probably published in the mid 1780s) was published with the Largo Maestoso. Similarly, the first London publications of symphony No. 67 (which were sets of orchestral parts published by Bland himself and by Forster) lacked the third movement, possibly because they were copied from Hummel.⁸¹ Again, Bland published the arrangement including the third movement. To be sure, Bland was able to provide new 'unmutilated' arrangements because he had access to more 'complete' sources possibly copied from Sieber or Simrock. This is thus the opposite to what Haydn prioritized in the arrangement of symphony No. 69 'Laudon', published in Vienna without the Finale. Beyond any dissatisfaction with commercial strategies of publishers, Bland's rubric indicates also an interest in the original symphony in its full form and not as a mere material object. In this regard and relating to the notion of a cultural field, Bland seems to give more cultural capital to his arrangements by aligning them more in the direction of a prestige issuing from an emergent sense of *Werktreue*. This might also be supported by the fact that three of the five arrangements published by Bland include the name of the arranger (respectively Samuel Webbe Jr., [John] Percy and [?] Tindal), showing a concern for authorship and attribution (which is often linked with the work concept).

In the 1790s various publishers published keyboard arrangements of Haydn's symphonies that were performed at Salomon's concerts in connection to Haydn's visits to London. In this case, Salomon paid £300 to commission six symphonies and £200 for their publication. Nevertheless, during Haydn's first visit in 1791, the only keyboard arrangements that were published were those of symphonies Nos. 90 to 92 by Longman & Broderip, which were performed at the concerts but not composed specifically for them. According to press advertisements, the 'London' symphonies (nos. 93

⁸⁰ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis I*, 72-73.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

onwards) were not published until 1796, when Haydn returned from his last visit to London and sent the pertinent contract.⁸² Furthermore, the symphonies were published in consecutive issues exclusively as keyboard arrangements (with violin and violoncello *ad libitum*) and were sold at Salomon's concert series, as indicated in press advertisements such as the following:



Figure 6.3: The Oracle Public Advertiser, 17th April 1796.⁸³

Thus, Salomon used arrangements for the dissemination of his commissions. However, according to Hoboken, Salomon sold the publishing rights of the twelve symphonies in performing parts to

⁸² Christopher Hogwood, 'Haydn's London symphonies in J. P. Salomon's chamber arrangements', available at <http://www.hogwood.org/archive/composers/haydn/haydns-london-symphonies-in-j-p-salomons-chamber-arrangements.html>, accessed 3 March 2017.

⁸³ It is noticeable that the arrangements are referred to as 'Overture' whilst the performance was a 'Grand symphony'. Although the terms 'symphony' and 'overture' were interchangeable in the period, the reference to 'Overture' in the arrangement may indicate the term more usually used to market arrangements (as shown in publishers' catalogues, see Chapter 3). Other reasons for the different wording may respond to the intention to highlight the importance of the second half of the concert. According to Albert Christoph Dies, Haydn's contract with Salomon specified that his symphonies would be performed in the second half because that position demanded it 'had to surpass in beauty the pieces presented in the first half'. Quoted in David P. Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 107.

André in Offenbach at the same time of the publication of arrangements, that is, by 1796.⁸⁴ McVeigh suggests Salomon delayed the publication of the symphonies in all parts to heighten the demand for arrangements, satisfying the need for novelty without revealing the full version and preventing in this way unauthorized publications and performances.⁸⁵

Other arrangements of Haydn symphonies were for voice and keyboard, and offer another perspective on arrangements and audiences. During the 1780s and 1790s many extracts from symphonies, in addition to passages from string quartets and keyboard sonatas, were arranged and published in London in the form of ballads and canzonettas.⁸⁶ These ballads were published as single songs but also in sets (whose prices were discussed in Chapter 3). Regarding the latter, six collections of ballads were published, two of them offering translations and setting new words to Haydn original Lieder,⁸⁷ and the other four offering selections of Haydn instrumental music with added English poetry (see Table 6.1). Collections of ballads and glees of various composers do also include Haydn vocal music with English text and with added voices.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 175–180.

⁸⁵ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 96.

⁸⁶ According to Katalin Komlós the different nomenclature does not necessarily indicate different subgenres. Katalin Komlós, 'Haydn's English canzonettas in their local context', in Mary Hunter (ed.), *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context, and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 75.

⁸⁷ Joseph Haydn, *Twelve Ballads, composed by the celebrated Haydn [...] adapted to English Words with an Accompaniment for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by W. Shield* (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d. [1786]), RISM A/I H 2629 and British Library shelfmark E.271.(4); and *XII Original English Canzonetts with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp* (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d. [1789]), RISM A/I H 2631 and British Library shelfmark D.392.(6.).

⁸⁸ *Twelve Ballads the Music by the following eminent authors Sarti, Anfossi, Kozeluch, Haydn, Sterkel, Pleyel, Sacchini, Davaux & Paesiello adapted to English words with and accompaniment for a Piano Forte or Harpsichord* (London: Preston, n.d. [1789]); British Library shelfmark E.600.s.(13.)

Table 6.1: Collections of Ballads adapted from Haydn instrumental music with added English poetry published in London. The year of publication is that of the British Library catalogue except the ones in brackets, which are those provided by Gretchen A. Wheelock.

Title	Year	Publisher
Twelve English Ballads, the Music the undoubted Composition of Haydn, the Words selected and adapted to his Works by Dr. Arnold. ⁸⁹	1787	Longman & Broderip
A Second Sett of Twelve Ballads, the Music by Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn, of Vienna, Adapted to English Words with an Accompaniment for the Harpsichord, or Piano Forte. ⁹⁰	1788 (1786)	Preston
A Third Set of Twelve Ballads, the Music by Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn, of Vienna, Adapted to English Words, with an Accompaniment for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte. ⁹¹	1789 (1786/7)	Preston
Twelve Elegant and Familiar Canzonetts Composed by Sigr. Giu: Haydn of Vienna, accommodated to English Words (chiefly written on purpose) and adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments ad Libitum. ⁹²	(1788)	Thompson

Further vocal arrangements of instrumental music appeared in the following years, suggesting the success of the *Ballads*: movements from the London symphonies of Haydn (specifically movements from symphonies Nos. 93, 94, 96, 97 and 98) were also appropriated in new ballad arrangements by Domenico Corri, first published in 1797 and reissued in 1802.⁹³ These ballads appropriated symphonic material for the style and performance context of folk-like songs, and enabled a genre addressed to knowledgeable audiences, such as symphonic

⁸⁹ RISM A/I H 4061; British Library shelfmark E.271.(5.)

⁹⁰ RISM A/I H 4053; British Library shelfmark D.392.(6.)

⁹¹ RISM A/I H 4053b; British Library shelfmark C.738.y.(4.)

⁹² RISM A/I H 4050. There are no copies of this item in the UK, and therefore, the information on this collection is based only on Gretchen A. Wheelock, 'Marriage à la Mode: Haydn's Instrumental Works "Englished" for Voice and Piano', *The Journal of Musicology*, 8/3 (1990), 357–397.

⁹³ Joseph Haydn, *Dr Haydn's, six Italian & English canzonettas, selected from his grand overtures [...] with accompaniments for piano forte or harp* (London & Edinburgh: Messrs. Corri, Dusack & Co., n.d. [wm 1797]), British Library shelfmark H.2120.u.(2.) and Joseph Haydn, *Dr Haydn's, six Italian & English Canzonettas, selected from his grand Overtures [...] with accompaniments for Piano Forte or Harp* (London & Edinburgh: Messrs. Corri, Dusack & Co., n.d. [wm 1797]), British Library shelfmark G.339.d.

music, to reach less exclusive audiences such as those of the pleasure gardens, miscellaneous entertainments or domestic gatherings.⁹⁴ Such entertainments consisted for example of literary readings that, like the garden concerts, attracted less defined social groups. Other entertainments of this type included events that mixed music with satire (Christopher Smart's 'Old Woman's Oratory') or with oratory (Thomas Sheridan's 'Attic Evening's Entertainment') or presented one-man shows such as Charles Dibdin's songs at the piano (*Wags and Oddities* as explored in Chapter 3). Frank Dawes points out that the ballad 'William' (arranged from the first movement of Haydn keyboard sonata Hob. XVI:35) was performed in Mr. Lacy's literary readings. In other words, these ballads may have addressed a much larger and varied audience by reaching the spaces where the folk-tune vogue prevailed. In addition, the ballads used poems of the period (such as 'Werther's Sonnet' by Charlotte Smith or 'An Evening Ode' by Samuel Johnson), appropriating Haydn's music to a completely new format that created new sets of meanings.

Ballads and canzonettas catered for the expanding 'folk' and national styles, explicitly imitated by many composers from Thomas Arne (1710–1778) and William Boyce (1711–1779) onwards.⁹⁵ Following an aesthetic tradition of melodic simplicity that favoured the so-called primitive music of national peoples, a sense of communal property assigned cultural capital to tunes that originated in a particular place.⁹⁶ Whereas in earlier decades conceptions of genre and style 'were primarily concerned with how [music material] was used', Gelbart argues that nationalism was the catalyst that shifted the concern to the question of the origins of the material.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the ballads may also have played a role in domestic music-making similar to the one Katalin Komlós associates with Haydn's English

⁹⁴ Frank Dawes, 'William: or the adventures of a sonata', *The Musical Times*, 106/1472 (1965), 762. Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 38.

⁹⁵ Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 134.

⁹⁶ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 24.

⁹⁷ Matthew Gelbart, *The invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music"*, 17.

canzonettas.⁹⁸ Irrespective of the exact reasons for their creation, Haydn's ballads offered an extreme case of appropriation of Haydn's music, taking advantage of the 'folk' melodies that were increasingly present in art music. These folk melodies were central to the development of Haydn's 'popular style' in his symphonies, in which he exploited and included dance-like melodies and 'a jaunty kind of regular secondary theme, marked by tonic and dominant harmonies, broken-chord accompaniments and pizzicato bass'.⁹⁹ In other words, his symphonic style incorporated folk elements that were well established in late eighteenth-century England. In addition, the interrelation between vocal and instrumental styles was epitomised by the published vocal arrangements of Haydn's quartet and symphonic movements. All these examples shed new light on the relationship between vocal and instrumental music in late eighteenth-century musical life.

The repertory arranged in the three anthologies of *Ballads* include a wide variety of arrangements, predominantly based on Haydn's string quartets and symphonies. Specifically, as Wheelock shows, the anthologies include forty-eight ballads, forty-four of which are arrangements of different movements of Haydn music: seventeen arrangements of string quartets, twelve of symphonies, six of overtures, four of keyboard sonatas, two of string trios, one of a keyboard trio, one of a string duo and one of a wind divertimento (see Appendix B). The other four arrangements are in fact two arrangements of the same movement of a string quartet by Romanus Hofstetter (1742–1815), a movement of a symphony by Michael Haydn and one arrangement of a keyboard trio by Pleyel.¹⁰⁰ It is worth noting that the Hofstetter string quartet was published by Robert Wornum (1745–1815) under Joseph Haydn's name in 1774 and reissued after 1777.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, many of the pieces arranged for these anthologies, were already available in

⁹⁸ Katalin Komlós, 'Haydn's English canzonettas in their local context', 75–99.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁰⁰ Gretchen A. Wheelock, 'Marriage à la Mode', 365. The sources of the arrangements are included in Appendix A.

¹⁰¹ David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn's music in London in the Period 1760–1790', 160.

other arrangements in England by the late 1780s. This highlights the importance of arrangements in the dissemination of music and makes evident that the selection of the pieces depended on the available prints. Some of the pieces are arranged twice and in a different manner. As shown in the tables on Appendix B, apart from the above-mentioned string quartet of Hofstetter, the fourth movement of the string quartet Hob. III:41 and the third movement of the keyboard sonata XVI:37 are arranged twice as ballads. These pieces in their original scoring were printed in London in previous years as well. The keyboard sonata was one of the earlier prints of Haydn's music issued in London, being published by Bremner in 1772,¹⁰² and William Forster published the string quartet around 1785.¹⁰³ The proliferation of arrangements of these pieces and the short timespan between the arrangements and the originals indicate their great popularity.

As shown, in the 1780s and 1790s Haydn's music was regularly adapted in England as keyboard arrangements, with particular emphasis on his symphonies and string quartets. Most of these arrangements seem to have been made from sets of ensemble parts already available in print. Typically the music was arranged as pieces and lessons for the keyboard, as well as ballads with English poetic texts. Such appropriations for the keyboard and/or the voice responded to the preferences of English audiences, particularly as shaped by the technical development of the pianoforte as explored in Chapter 3. As already mentioned, a significant number of English arrangements were marketed in relation to the concert series, highlighting the relevance of concert life. To exemplify these characteristics, the following section will explore arrangements of Haydn's Symphony No. 53 (1778/9) offering an example of the many ways in which a symphony could be

¹⁰² Joseph Haydn, *Six sonates pour le clavecin, avec l'accompagnement d'un violon, et violoncelle* (London: Robert Bremner, [1772]); British Library shelfmark g.161.l.(4.).

¹⁰³ Joseph Haydn, *Three quartettos: for two violins, viola, & violoncello, with a thorough bass: op. XXXIII* (London: William Foster, n.d. [1799?]); British Library, shelfmark Hirsch III.284.

appropriated, ranging from arrangements for solo keyboard to sung adaptations for solo voice and keyboard.

6.3.1. The Case of Symphony No. 53

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, according to Webster, most of Haydn's symphonies composed between his *Sturm und Drang* period (ca. 1770) and the so-called 'Classical style' symphonies (works of the 1780s) served an aesthetic of entertainment. Nevertheless, Webster also highlights that in these symphonies Haydn uses art to conceal art, that is, the 'apparent unpretentiousness is rather "selfconsciously unlearned"'.¹⁰⁴ As he points out, these changes of style may be inspired by Haydn's contemporary compositions for the stage and are exemplified by the fact that some of these symphonies include "recycled" overtures and other stage music'.¹⁰⁵ Precisely these symphonies were the ones that were profusely arranged, generating an outburst of publishing of arrangements. Thus, the accessible and popular style, which was criticized by musicologists in the 1960s such as Larsen and Robbins Landon, may have been precisely one of the elements that stimulated the dissemination of Haydn's music in England, encouraging the subsequent visits of the composer in the early 1790s.

Webster exemplifies his point with the Andante of Symphony No. 53. As he points out, although the theme is a clear 8+8 double period, divided into 4+4 by the imperfect cadences (see Figure 6.4), the eight phrases are all different. The first period is homophonic, diatonic and staccato, in contrast to the second period which introduces syncopation, chromaticism and legato in the lower parts. Furthermore, the climax in bars 13–14 transforms the crochet-quaver motif of the subphrase ending 'into an augmentation of the dotted upbeat motif and

¹⁰⁴ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Wiking, 1971), 162–3. Quoted in James Webster, 'Between *Sturm und Drang* and "Classical Style"', 233.

¹⁰⁵ James Webster, 'Between *Sturm und Drang* and "Classical Style"', 221

risers by skip all the way to c \sharp^3 , the highest note of the theme'.¹⁰⁶ Although the Andante's simplicity is expressive and delicate, the search for hidden complexities seems to justify the value of the music and therefore may contradict Webster's starting point of an aesthetic of entertainment.



Figure 6.4: Haydn Symphony No. 53, Andante (bars 1–16).¹⁰⁷

Symphony No. 53 is particularly interesting because it was the first of Haydn's symphonies to be internationally disseminated.¹⁰⁸ This is shown by the vast amount of instrumental and vocal arrangements published on the continent (such as quintets with flute,¹⁰⁹ flute duets,¹¹⁰ violin duets¹¹¹ and string quartets)¹¹² and in London (such as keyboard and vocal arrangements).¹¹³ Regarding only the second movement,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 234–5.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph Haydn, *Sinfonia No. 53 "L'Impériale"*, ed. Helmut Schultz (Boston: Haydn Society, 1951).

¹⁰⁸ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 72.

¹⁰⁹ RISM A/1 H 4080 and H 4084.

¹¹⁰ RISM A/1 H 4113.

¹¹¹ RISM A/1 H 4191.

¹¹² RISM A/1 H 4141.

¹¹³ The British library holds keyboard arrangements: g.271.a.(15.), g.455.i.(4.), h.656.hh.(10.), h.656.hh.(4.), h.656.hh.(5.), h.655.x.(1.), h.726.p.(9.), H.2815.(1.), g.443.b.(15.), g.75.t.(9.), g.455.q.(2.), g.75.mm.(2.), h.656.rr.(1.) as well as vocal arrangements: Mad. Soc.21.(96.), G.296.(8.), G.807.b.(31.).

Wheelock lists four instrumental arrangements and thirteen vocal arrangements.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, there is also a vocal arrangement of the third movement, called 'Yorick's Fille de Chambre'¹¹⁵ (advertised in the London press in 1784).

In terms of keyboard arrangements of Symphony No. 53, the British Library holds six printed arrangements of the piece 'as performed' at different concert series in London (see Table 2).

Table 6.2: Arrangements of symphony No. 53 published 'as performed' at the concert series

Title	Year	Publisher	Price	Arranger
The/ Much Admired/ Overture/ Composed by/ Guiesippi[sic] Haydn/ and Perform'd at the Principal Concerts in London with great applause/ Adapted to the/ Harpsichord or Piano Forte/ By Sigr. Giordani ¹¹⁶	[ca. 1780]	J. Blundell	3s.	T. Giordani
The celebrated/ Overture, composed by/ Sigr Haydn,/ and performed at/ Mess. Bach and Abel's concerts,/ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte or Harpsichord ¹¹⁷	[1782]	Longman & Broderip	2s.	?
Not a mutilated copy but the Intire Sinfonie./ To be continued/ Sigr. Haydns/ Grand Orchestre/ Sinfonie/ as Performed at the Nobility's Concerts,/ Adapted for the/ Organ, Harpsichord, or/ Piano Forte/ Strains that might create a Soul./ Under the ribs of Death/ Milton/ London	[1784– 1786]	J. Bland	2s.	?
The/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Performed at Mess. Bach & Abel's Concerts/ Composed by/ Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn./ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte;/ or/ Harpsichord./ London ¹¹⁸	[ca. 1785]	S. Babb	2s.	?
The Celebrated/ Overture, composed by/ Sigr Haydn,/ and Performed at/ Messrs Bach & Abel's concerts,/ adapted for the/ Piano Forte or Harpsichord.	[ca. 1790]	Longman & Broderip	2s.	?

¹¹⁴ Gretchen A. Wheelock, 'Marriage à la Mode', 392.

¹¹⁵ British Library shelfmark G.383.h.(49.)

¹¹⁶ British Library shelfmark h.656.hh.(10.)

¹¹⁷ British Library shelfmark Tyson P.M.17.(1.) and g.980.q. h.726.m.(6.)

¹¹⁸ British Library shelfmark Tyson P.M.17.(3.) and h.656.hh.(4.)

The/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Performed at Mess. Bach & Abel's Concerts/ Composed by/ Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn./ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte;/ or/ Harpsichord./ London ¹¹⁹	[ca. 1800]	J. Dale	2s.	?
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ In D/ Performed at the Hanover Square/ Concerts/ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte. ¹²⁰	[1802?]	J. Longman & Co	2s.	?
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture in D/ as perform'd at the Principal/ Concerts in London/ with great applause. Adapted for the/ piano forte,/ by Sigr Giordani.	1808 [WM]	Button and Whitaker	2s.	T. Giordani

Although some of the copies have small variations, such as the distribution of bars per system, there are three distinct versions: (1) an arrangement by Thomaso Giordani published by James Blundell (referred to 'as performed in the Principal Concerts'¹²¹ and reprinted around 1808 by Button and Whitaker), (2) an anonymous arrangement published by Samuel Babb, Joseph Dale and George Walker (in each case described 'as performed at Messrs Bach and Abel's concerts') and J. Longman & Co (referred to as 'performed at the Hanover Square concerts'), (3) an anonymous arrangement published by Longman & Broderip (in 1782 and 1790, referred to 'as performed at Bach and Abel's concerts'), and by Bland (referred 'as performed at the Nobility's concert'). This edition by Bland is the only one that includes the *Largo Maestoso*. Since this movement was also missing in orchestral versions, its absence reflects the way in which the symphony arrived to England mentioned in the previous section. Other changes in the movements occur in the two Longman & Broderip editions, in which the order of the movements differs. Together with the rest of the arrangements, the 1782 Longman & Broderip version corresponds with Hob. I:53B''

¹¹⁹ British Library shelfmark h.656.hh.(5.)

¹²⁰ Blundell's British Library shelfmark g.455.q.(2.), Button and Whitaker's g.75.mm.(2.).

¹²¹ 'Principal concerts' probably refers generally to concert series instead of a specific series.

featuring the same number of bars as the corresponding orchestral version,¹²² whilst the 1790 Longman & Broderip version corresponds with Hob. I:53E", thus including the Finale 'B' as the first movement instead of the third. These changes in the location of the Finale B are to be understood in the context of its genesis: it appeared originally as an overture and it was by 1780 at the latest used as the first movement of Symphony No. 62.¹²³

In general terms, all arrangements tend to reduce the string parts, allocating the violin parts to the right hand and the viola and violoncello parts to the left hand (see Figure 6.5). To reduce these parts, the left hand tends to use tremolos or broken chords (see Figure 6.6). All these techniques exemplify the way in which the texture is appropriated to the pianistic idiom (in some cases more successfully than in others).

¹²² Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis I*, 67. Versions: 'A: I, II, III, IVa, B': I, II, III, Ouv. Ia7, B'': I ohne Einleitung, II, III, Ouv. Ia7, C': I, II, fehlt, IVb, C'': I, II, III, IVb, D': I, II, III, Ouv. Ia4, E': Ia7, I:62^{II}, I:53^{III}, I:62^{IV}, E'': Ia:7^{bis}, I:53^{II}, I:53^{III}, fehlt.'

¹²³ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis I*, 283.

The image shows the first bars of the Vivace movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 53. The tempo is marked 'Vivace' and the starting measure is numbered '17'. The score is written for piano and violin. The piano part begins with a *p* (piano) dynamic and features a melodic line with slurs. The violin part (labeled 'Viol.') provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes.

This figure presents three different piano arrangements of the first bars of the Vivace movement. Each arrangement is shown in two staves (treble and bass clef) with a *p* dynamic marking.

- 1. T. Giordani Blundell:** Marked 'Allegro', this version features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the bass line and a melodic line in the treble.
- 2. Anonymous (S. Babb, J. Dale, G. Walker, J. Longman and Co.):** Marked 'Vivace', this version uses unison octaves in the bass line at the start of each bar to strengthen the theme.
- 3. Anonymous (L. & B. 1782 and 1790):** Marked 'Vivace', this version uses a drone in the bass line (bars 5-7) that is repeated at the start of every bar to compensate for sound decay.

Figure 6.5: Comparison between the orchestral version and the three arranged versions of the first bars of the Vivace of Haydn's Symphony No. 53.

In Figure 6.5 note how the Longman & Broderip editions use a drone in bars 5 to 7 that is repeated at the start of every bar, compensating for the decay of sound on the square piano, and how the Babb edition uses unison octaves at the start to strengthen the theme (and perhaps overcome any unsteadiness in either one of the pianist's hands).



192

1. T. Giordani
Blundell

2. Anonymous
S. Babb/ J. Dale/
G. Walker/
J. Longman and Co.

3. Anonymous
L & B
1782 and 1790

The image displays three piano arrangements of bar 192, each on a separate system. Each system has a treble clef staff for the right hand and a bass clef staff for the left hand. The right-hand part is identical in all three, consisting of a simple melody. The left-hand parts differ significantly: the first (Blundell) uses a steady eighth-note accompaniment; the second (Longman and Co.) uses a more complex pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes; the third (L & B) uses a very dense pattern of sixteenth-note chords.

Figure 6.6: Comparison between the orchestral version and the three arranged versions of bar 192 within the recapitulation of the Vivace of symphony No. 53.

Figure 6.6 also shows how Longman & Broderip opted for a more difficult passage of semiquaver chords in the left hand, whilst the right hand remains the same for the three arrangements. By contrast S. Babb (and the other publishers) chose to maintain quaver rhythms in the left hand. Similar differences among arrangements, including the slower rhythms and the addition or removal of thirds, also have been observed in the arrangements compared in Chapter 5.

Certainly, the similarities between the arrangements reflect the limited possibilities of the keyboard for rendering the orchestral parts. Movements and passages with a denser and fuller textures offer more variability in the way they were arranged whilst more lyrical passages or movements such as accompanied melody restricted the arranger's options to more straightforward renditions. This is the case in the Andante and even the Minuet where the differences are limited to the articulation and ornamentation. One of the only instances in which there is a clear sense of appropriation is in bar 81, where Giordani opts for virtuosity with filigree figurations of demisemiquavers, diverging from the original and also from the other arrangements (see Figure 6.7).



Figure 6.7: Comparison between the orchestral version and the three arranged versions of the bars 81–83 of the Andante of symphony No. 53.

Passages with dense harmonies, changes of texture, or particularly idiomatic writing for the strings represented a challenge for arrangers, who responded by making drastic appropriations. For example, in Figure 6.8 there are some differences in the arrangements' choice of texture and expression (from bar 30 in Figure 6.8). The Babb edition follows the original more closely, keeping the bass part in the

left hand and reducing the two violin parts in the right hand using chords. Although such a texture reduces the clarity and independence of the melody, the change in the left hand from broken chords to repeated quavers highlights the change in texture. In the Longman & Broderip editions, the left hand does not follow the bass line so faithfully, including broken chords with the first note of the bass line and the a' of the second violin as a pedal, thus maintaining idiomatic writing for the keyboard. Thus, the melody in the right hand is freed from chords in the last two bars and consequently more able to accentuate the legato that in this case is indicated also by a slur (although that slur is included in the 'original', it seems to include the four notes of each bar). Giordani's arrangement offers a slightly freer adaptation. The altered texture is produced through a change in the right hand from more rhythmic chords to a melody with a quaver figuration incorporating a compound melody that includes a pedal on a. The left hand follows the bass line of the orchestral version (with the exception of the first e') with crotchets. Although Giordani's version arguably achieves a greater change in the texture, it is noticeable that the higher note of the melody b'' is changed for a g#''.

25 *Vivace*

1. T. Giordani
Blundell

2. Anonymous
S. Babb/ J. Dale/
G. Walker/
J. Longman and Co.

3. Anonymous
L & B
1782 and 1790

Figure 6.8: Comparison between the three arranged versions of bars 25–32 of the Vivace of symphony No. 53.

In this passage it is also noticeable that the melody in the right hand does not include ornamentation. Babb only adds a *grupetto* or turn, and Giordani includes three *appoggiaturas* but not as indicated in the full score, that is, the fourth beat on bars 25, 27 and 29.¹²⁴


Another example of challenging passages are string tremolos in which the difficulty and effect on the keyboard seem to demand more creative solutions from arrangers (see Figure 6.9). In the first movement, from bar 125 all arrangers changed the sextuplets of repeated notes in the violins to triplets in the right hand, either with arpeggios or stepwise movement. It is noticeable that only Babb's edition opts for ascending arpeggios, an arguably less practicable option.

1. T. Giordani
Blundell

2. Anonymous
S. Babb/ J. Dale/
G. Walker/
J. Longman and Co.

3. Anonymous
L & B
1782 and 1790

Figure 6.9: Comparison between the three arranged versions of bars 121–26 of the Vivace of symphony No. 53.

Similar examples can be found in the last movement of the symphony, where the accompaniment of tremolos and groups of semiquavers  of the viola and violoncello is replaced by arpeggios and broken chords (see Figure 6.10 bars 24–26). In bar 27, Giordani

¹²⁴ The comparison has been made with Blundell's and Preston's editions also sold 'as performed at Bach and Abel's Concerts'. British Library shelfmark Hirsch IV. 1619 and R.M.17.b.1.(8) (both seem to be printed from the same plates).

showed more fidelity to the full score, keeping the bass to the left hand and the violins to the right hand with chords. Both anonymous arrangers accentuated the quaver rhythm of the bass by imitating it with the right hand. This is even more clear in the following bar in both arrangements, in which the right hand plays semiquavers imitating the rhythm of the viola part of the original, which has a tremolo on a'. This change may be intended to imitate the rhythmic acceleration of the theme (bars 6–10) and helps to increase the tension and also the technical difficulty (particularly given the tempo of the movement). It is also surprising that both arrangements coincide at this point, suggesting that one of the arrangements may have been based on the other.

Figure 6.10: Comparison between the three arranged versions of bars 24–28 of the Presto of symphony No. 53.

All these examples show general differences between the three arrangements. Giordani's arrangement seem to differ slightly from the other two, tending to a less rhythmical (harmonically lighter) but more consistently ornamented arrangement. Both Giordani's and Longman & Broderip's arrangements appropriate the symphony to the pianistic idiom, even providing virtuosic passages. In comparison to Babb's arrangement, these versions may not reproduce so faithfully the original. However, although the Babb edition tends to incorporate more

lines from the orchestral score, making the texture denser, both Babb's and Longman & Broderip's arrangements are more technically demanding and arguably less practicable. Thus, the arrangements show different ways to appropriate the symphony, possibly depending on the abilities of the targeted audiences or on aesthetic stances regarding fidelity or expression.

In contrast to the keyboard arrangements of the entire symphony, there are many extant vocal arrangements of the symphony using selected themes from the Andante. The so-called 'Prelude to Auld Robin Gray' (probably published ca. 1790)¹²⁵ advertises that the so-called 'Overture' was used at Bach and Abel's concerts, as indicated in the title-page (see Figure 6.11). The song has two parts, a prelude and a duet, that relate to 'Auld Robin Gray', a ballad written by the Scottish poet Lady Ann Lindsay (1772) with a tune by William Leeves that was arranged by Haydn as ballad XXXIa:168 commissioned by George Thomson, and finally, by 1794, used in a pasticcio opera by Samuel Arnold with the same title.¹²⁶ The 'Prelude to Auld Robin Gray' appropriated the Andante of Symphony No. 53, exploiting not only the popularity of Haydn and of the concert series, but also the status of Lindsay/Leeve's ballad as a Scots song. The prelude presents the two double periods with a short keyboard introduction and an even shorter postlude. In this version, the melody of the voice is dotted whilst the accompaniment remains with quavers (also renouncing in some instances the dotted anacrusis). The $\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ motion of the initial phrase is a closing figure that reinforces the word 'Farewell' (pre-figuring this motif of farewell in Beethoven's *Les Adieux* sonata, although no clear associations with the topic have been found).

¹²⁵ Joseph Haydn, *A prelude to Auld Robin Gray. Jemmy and Jenny's Farewell. A new dialogue*; (London: sold for the proprietor, n.d.); RISM A/I H 4034.

¹²⁶ On RISM A/I AA 2203a (another edition of Haydn's 'Prelude' published by Bland) Arnold is identified as the author.

A Prelude to
AULD ROBIN GRAY,
Jemmy and Jenny's Farewell!

A new Dialogue and Duett

Adapted to the principal Movement in Haydn's favorite Overture
Performed at Mess^{rs} Bach and Abel's Concerts.

Price 1^s

Sold for the Proprietor and to be had all the Music Shops in London

Slow

JEMMY
Farewell! Farewell! that Sigh for-

...with me to do - part. To
To
Hearts. Thy Love my heart fill
Pilot widely steers, yet

de to
IN GREAT
my's Farewell

and Duett
in Haydn's favorite
d Abel's Concerts.

d all the Music Shop

MY
well! Farewell! the Sp

- bids me to de- part. To fickle Tempests fly, but leave with thee my

heart. Thy Love my heart still cheers, the Magnet's not more true: the

Pilot widely steers, yet my heart points to you.

JENNY
Adieu! but not for Aye;
When present Pleasure grew,
With Jemmy all was gay,
With Jemmy gayness flew:
Ah! when will James return
To gladden Jenny's heart?
With woe till then I burn:
What Sadness 'tis to part!

4 Duett

Jenny
And must we part! farewell! No kind embraces bear? My anguish cease to

Jenny
And must we part! farewell! No kind embraces bear? My anguish cease to

Cembalo

tell! Ah! cease whilst Jemmy's here. The fleeting hours soon past, Whilst Jenny staid with

tell! Ah! cease whilst Jemmy's here. The fleeting hours soon past, Whilst Jenny staid with

me. The moments fly too fast, Now Jemmy's forc'd to Sea.

me. The moments fly too fast, Now I am forc'd to Sea.

14 MR 63

Figure 6.11: A prelude and duet to *Auld Robin Gray*. British Library shelfmark G.296.(8.)

Other vocal arrangements of Symphony No. 53 were published in one of the above-mentioned collections of ballads, namely *Twelve English Ballads* edited by Samuel Arnold and published by Longman &

Broderip.¹²⁷ Like contemporary strophic Lieder, and unlike the 'Prelude to Robin Gray', these ballads were published in a two-staff format, the right hand written in the treble clef and doubling the voice. As far as the format is concerned, each song fitted on one or two oblong pages. It was most probably Arnold himself who, at the end of the title-page, claimed that

The beautiful simplicity of the following melodies are so truly vocal, that the Editor could not resist the impulse of adapting them to English Words, trusting, as they have been universally admired in the Authors Sonatas etc, they would not be less acceptable, when joined to elegant Poetry.

These sentences serve as a justification of the commercial motivation behind the arrangements. Arnold characterized the ballads as simple and suited for singing. Arnold also assigned to the arrangements the value of Haydn's works, reminding us of the rhetoric of prefaces analysed in Chapter 2.¹²⁸ In addition, the claim exemplifies the element that made Haydn's music successful in London, namely the melodic simplicity. By arranging Haydn's instrumental melodies for the voice, extracts from his sonatas, quartets and symphonies were annexed in the genre that would soon flaunt the highest aesthetic values, contributing to the aesthetic shift towards instrumental music. As stated in the text included on the title-page of Arnold's ballads, the pieces may have been chosen for the simplicity of their melodies. In addition, they suited the standard design for ballads imposed by William Hook, consisting of 'a galant style framework based on regular phrases, simple tonal harmony and minuet clichés'.¹²⁹ The ballads are in

¹²⁷ Joseph Haydn, *Twelve English Ballads, the Music the undoubted Composition of Haydn, the Words selected and adapted to his Works by Dr. Arnold*, arr. Samuel Arnold (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d. [1787]); RISM A/I H 4061, British Library shelfmark E.271.(5.).

¹²⁸ Particularly the preface of *Musikalisches Magazin* explored in Chapter 2 (see p. 95).

¹²⁹ Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 134.

major keys and in ternary form suiting the need to be strongly melodic, adaptable to the vocal genre and the ballad form. Since the ballads were mainly targeted to amateurs, the accompaniment should be fairly simple. In Arnold's anthology the pieces that suit these criteria are the variation movements. As Wheelock points out, this type of compositions offer 'simple, diatonic, homophonic, and regular phrasing' that makes easier the task of the arranger.¹³⁰

68

16

N^o X *Morning a Pastoral* The Words by M^r. Cunningham

Con Affetto

In the Barn, the tenant Cocks, Close to Pasture, perch'd on high, Briskly crows (the Shepherd's Clook) Jocond that the morning's night; Swift-ly from the Mountain's brow, Shadows, nuss'd by Night, re- -live, And the peeping Sunbeam now, Paints with gold the Village Spire.

¹³⁰ Gretchen A. Wheelock, 'Marriage à la Mode', 378.

Phi-lo-mel forfakes the Thorn, Plaintive,
 where the cranes at night; And the Lark, to meet the morn, Soars be-yond the shepherd's
 light. Now the Pine Trees waving tops, Gently greets the morning gale; Kidlings
 now be-gin to crop, Daffies on the dew-y Dale. *Volti Subito*

11

From the low roof'd Cottage ridge, See the chattering Swallow spring, Darting through the one arch'd
 Bridge, Quick she dips her dappled wing; Sweet, O sweet the warbling throng, On the
 white emblossom'd Spray! Nature's u-ni-ver-sal Song Echoes to the ri-ving
 Day.

Figure 6.12: Ballad 'Morning' in *Twelve English Ballads* edited by Samuel Arnold and published by Longman & Broderip.

The poetry added to the ballad is by John Cunningham (1729–1773) and has also a folk-like style and a pastoral topic. Similarly to

other ballads of the collection, Arnold constructed his introductions from four bars of the beginning and four of the end of the first theme of the original, so that the cadence is in the tonic. Then, the voice repeats the first four bars and continues as in the original for the whole theme (until bar 16), repeating the cadence in the tonic at the end of the introduction. Following Haydn's original, the song modulates to A minor for 16 bars and returns to the first theme, which then ends with a small coda. In comparison to the 'Prelude and duet on Auld Robin Gray', this ballad follows the original music more consistently (with regard to the rhythm) but develops the structure of the song further, including the modulation to A minor.

This section has shown some trends in the way Haydn's music was arranged in England. Probably due to the extensive performance of his music in London's concert life, many arrangements were published making direct reference to these concerts. Although many publishers used these links as a way to market Haydn arrangements, this section has shown the differences between editions not only with regard to accompanying instruments and the movements that are included, but also in the arrangements themselves. Furthermore, the variety in the arrangements of this particular symphony has shown the different degrees of appropriation that individual arrangements presented. Although some of these features may be difficult to extrapolate to other cases, the case-studies of this chapter provide a wider understanding of the ways in which Haydn's music was used and received in England from the 1780s to the 1800s. Studies of the reception of Haydn's music hence need to examine these appropriations of his instrumental works for keyboard and/or voice, and thereby move beyond a focus on his visits in the 1790s and his reception later in the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided insights into different aspects of arrangements of Haydn's music, exemplifying not only the central

arguments of this thesis but also shedding light on previously unexplored aspects of Haydn's relationship with arrangements and the reception of Haydn's music in England. Given the extensive quantity of arrangements of Haydn's music recorded by RISM, it is possible to assert that these arrangements played a role in the development of the composer's special status as a popular and canonical figure, and contributed to the international dissemination of his music. In this context, it has been possible to apprehend the relevance of arrangements of Haydn's music as published in London, and the possible differences with other cities: although keyboard arrangements appear to be a very popular form of arrangement, most prominently in London, arrangements for string instruments had some prevalence in German-speaking countries. Although Haydn rarely arranged his music himself, he sometimes appointed particular composers for this task or corrected the resulting arrangements. In contrast to some previously explored examples in England (such as that of Abel explored in Chapters 3 and 5), Haydn's correspondence suggests that he sold the rights of the arrangements independently from the orchestral scores. Nevertheless, most of the arrangements of Haydn's music produced and sold beyond Vienna seem to have been published without his knowledge. In particular, there is no evidence he was aware of the profusion of arrangements published in England. These English arrangements exploited the particularities of the English market. On the one hand, arrangements were mostly made for the keyboard (variously reflecting the English organ tradition and the contemporary technical developments of the pianoforte) or as vocal scores suited for the growing practices of domestic music. On the other hand, these arrangements were often related to public musical life, including the concert series and the performances at the pleasure gardens. Some of these arrangements highlight the differences in the concerns of composers and publishers: whilst Haydn seems to have given more importance to musical errors and overall effect on the keyboard, publishers such as Bland seem to have valued the integrity of the work.

A similar idea is also present in the different arrangements of symphony No. 53, as analysed in this chapter. Whilst some publishers valued the fidelity to the original music, others seem to highlight the importance of idiomatic (even virtuosic) writing. Nevertheless, the more radical appropriation shown by the ballads arranged from Haydn's instrumental music demonstrate the ambiguous status of the musical work in this period. These ballads exemplify the possibilities that arrangements provide to draw a varied picture of contrasting aspects of late eighteenth-century musical life: the role of the market versus the ideals of aesthetic thinking, the conflicting demands of popularity versus prestige.

Conclusions

This thesis has aimed to study the various discourses and practices concerning keyboard arrangements in the period 1770 to 1810 in England and some German-speaking territories. Although some aspects of late eighteenth-century arrangements were identified in previous scholarship, this thesis has been able to uncover new sources that document this practice in the period under study, without relying on mid and late nineteenth-century sources (as often happens, for instance, in Thomas Christensen's pivotal study).¹ The study of the production and dissemination of arrangements helps provide a better understanding of the role played by arrangements in aesthetic discourse, publishing practices and domestic music-making. Since the thesis has mainly focused on printed music, with few exceptions, it does not account for the wealth of manuscript arrangements that may have been significant in the dissemination of some repertoires, particularly in some German-speaking territories and in other European areas such as the Iberian peninsula where print was not prominent.

As highlighted in the first chapter of the present thesis, the study of arrangements and in particular this one, can have some limitations. On the one hand, the quantity of arrangements is very extensive and varied. Even restricting the focus of interest to keyboard arrangements, the volume of material is still very large. Furthermore, disregarding arrangements for other scorings may lead one to overlook elements that may be part of the same or similar practices. Despite (or because of) the amount and variety of arrangements, and because of the difficulties in attributing dates of publication in this period, a quantitative approach to bibliographical data is difficult, thus

¹ Thomas Christensen, 'Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera', in Kate van Orden (ed.) *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York: Garland Press, 2000), 67-94.

precluding a large-scale bibliographical analysis of the dissemination of arrangements. On the other hand, the lack of archival material documenting the dealings of publishers (such as Breitkopf und Härtel in the decades around 1800) or the domestic use of arrangements has limited my ability to investigate aspects of the market for and the use of arrangements in German-speaking lands.

The scope of this thesis has also left many aspects unstudied. I have chosen to focus on England and the German-speaking lands, whereas a broader geographical scope would have provided a wider understanding of the ways in which music was disseminated throughout Europe. Furthermore, the study of arrangements in other areas would help identify the ways in which music was appropriated for local practices and taste. Beyond the potential interest of the phenomenon of arrangements in France,² recent findings highlight new ways in which arrangements in late eighteenth-century Europe can be studied. For example, interesting sources have been found in Poland in relation to the use of manuscript arrangements used in the liturgy of a convent in Sandomierz,³ and also in Italy, the Fondo Borbone collection in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, has uncovered manuscript arrangements used in the Spanish court.⁴

By examining arrangements and their contexts, this thesis shows the possibilities of the study of arrangements, challenging past assumptions of their irrelevance to the study of the meaning of music and the outputs of composers. This study has shown the centrality of arrangements in the production and reception of music in the late eighteenth century. Furthermore, as explored in Chapter 2 in relation to reviews of arrangements, it has uncovered previously unexplored

² Hervé Audéon, 'Des arrangements purement instrumentaux des opéras de Grétry à la fin du XVIII^e siècle', in Jean Duron (ed.), *Grétry en société* (Wavre: Margada, 2009), 123-163..

³ Sonia Wronkowska, 'Keyboard arrangements in "The Music Book of Jadwiga Dygulska"', presented at 'Arrangements, Performance and the Work Concept, 1700-1900', London, 15 June 2015. (Unpublished conference paper).

⁴ Lluís Bertran, Ana Lombardía, Judith Ortega, 'La colección de manuscritos musicales españoles de los Reyes de Etruria en la Biblioteca Palatina de Parma (1794-1824): un estudio de fuentes', *Revista de Musicología*, 38/1 (2015), 107-190.

conflicting views that contributed to the definition of a musical canon and a sense of *Werktreue*. Whilst some commentators praised arrangements as a tool to disseminate music, improve music skills and educate the taste of audiences, other commentators considered arrangements a corruption of the musical text that could not achieve the effects of the original. Thus, arrangements show the contradictory aspects in the transition from Enlightened to Romantic ideals that led to new ways of understanding and experiencing music. If previous scholarship on eighteenth-century German music criticism has tended to focus on the nationalistic element (as in Mary Sue Morrow's monograph),⁵ the present thesis has shown the importance of ideas of fidelity to the 'work' or composer.

As shown in Chapter 3, the commercial aspects of arrangements that were criticised by the reviewers analysed in Chapter 2, proved to be central to the English music trade. In this case too, the scope of the thesis has been limited by the vast amount of published arrangements, the difficulties in discovering arrangements when their nature is not acknowledged in their title, and the sparse evidence to document the publishers' businesses and their dealings with composers. Nevertheless, catalogues of Longman & Broderip have shown the proliferation of arrangements and have offered the possibility to compare their prices not only to full scores, but also to concert tickets and to the disposable income of late eighteenth-century professionals, allowing speculation about the availability of music to different classes of purchasers. Beyond its study of catalogues and retail prices, the chapter has used John Marsh's diary to document the little-known relationships between arrangers and publishers. Furthermore, it has shown the role of arrangement in the developing legal disputes about copyright in music and the role of arrangements in the dissemination and canonisation of so-called 'ancient' composers such as Corelli and Handel.

⁵ Mary Sue Morrow, *German music criticism in the late eighteenth century: Aesthetic issues in instrumental music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Complementing Chapter 3, Chapter 4 provides an insight into the purchasers and owners of arrangements, showing the strong association between keyboard arrangements and female domestic music-making. The chapter uncovers a previously unknown collection of keyboard music belonging to Maria Halsted Poole. These volumes not only serve to exemplify purchasing patterns (thanks to the acquisition dates noted on the sheet music) but also allow for a comparison of this repertory with that of previously studied private music collections such as the Austens or the Sykes. Despite the concerns about textual fidelity shown by the critics studied in Chapter 2, journal letters and fiction show that for purchasers and owners, the identity of the original composition and author of the music was not considered as relevant as the social event in which it was performed. For future researchers, a greater availability of inventories of these private collections would enable a quantitative analysis of the sources, offering wider perspectives on the prevalence of arrangements in domestic music making.

Complementing the insights into the ways in which the discourse around arrangements developed (explored in Chapter 2), Chapter 5 details aspects of the technique of arranging, by comparing different arrangements of the same composition in cases where an arrangement provoked criticism and the need to rewrite it. Arrangements offered a dilemma to composers as they sought to achieve a compromise between idiomatic writing and truthfulness to the original music. Although my comparative analyses show many similarities between arrangements of the same work, the decisions of composers and arrangers could also bring new meanings to that work. Whilst Forkel believed that an arrangement should respect the rhetoric and expressive meanings placed in a work by the composer, the cases of Abel and Haydn show how their compositional authority allowed them to adapt heavily the original score and prioritize idiomatic writing for the keyboard. Further analysis of arrangements of the same composition (for example Salomon's and Clementi's arrangements of

Haydn symphonies mentioned in Chapter 3, see p. 152) might identify different trends, practices or chronologies that would help understand the ways in which techniques of arrangement changed across the period and across different regions.

Rather than challenging recent studies on arrangements, the present thesis has provided an insight into different aspects of arrangements previously unexplored, or expanded arguments outlined in small studies such as those of Christensen, Gretchen Wheelock or Wiebke Thormählen. Arrangements of Haydn's music have been considered in many chapters of the present thesis and are central to Chapter 6, which combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative analysis of surviving arrangements demonstrates the wide dissemination of Haydn's music throughout Europe. This particular approach has been possible thanks to the way in which publications of Haydn have been catalogued on RISM, and the availability of RISM's catalogue records as open data. Similar approaches to other composers such as Pleyel may show whether the trends observed in arrangements of Haydn hold for a composer more closely associated with Paris. Further analysis of the arrangements of Haydn's music as published in England make it possible to identify certain trends with regard to the marketing strategies such as serial publication and the prestige associated with the concert series (analysed in Chapter 3). These aspects contribute to the study both of publishing practices and Haydn's reception in England. The qualitative approach includes evidence of Haydn's perspective on the task of arranging and has uncovered his dealings with publishers with regard to arrangements of his music.

This thesis has shown various aspects of the production and reception of keyboard arrangements, elucidating the contrast between apparent opposites that proved significant to the development of the musical practices and the musical thinking of the late eighteenth century. These opposites include the *Kenner* and the *Liebhaber*; commercial success versus artistic success; the full score versus the

reduction; all these binaries indicate the wider relationship between popularity and prestige, and the way in which canons were created in an age of increasing commercialism. The study of keyboard arrangements exposes the blurred boundary between the public and private, showing how these arrangements provided a meeting point between domestic amateur and public professional repertoires. At the same time they were used as a tool to develop musical discrimination and to popularize genres that were possibly not available to the wider public. In parallel with changes in reading practices and the wider availability of cheaper keyboards, arrangements offered an inexpensive and often technically undemanding way to obtain a wide range of local and international music, contributing to the rise of music consumption and thereby to the 'rage for music' in late eighteenth-century Europe.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Haydn symphonic arrangements in London

The celebrated overture composed by Sigr Haydn, and performed at Mess. Bach and Abel concerts Adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord

Work	Year	Publisher	Price	Shelfmark	Arranger	Original printed pagination
Overture Hob.Ia, no.7	[ca. 1790]	L & B	2s.	h.655.vv.(1.)	?	2-8
H. I:68	[ca. 1785]	L & B	2s.	h.655.x.(5.)	?	10-16
H. I:66	[1782?]	L & B	2s.	h.726.y.(1.)	?	18-24
Spurious symphony ¹	[c. 1785]	L & B	2s.	h.656.f.(5.)	?	25-30
H. I:67	[1782]	L & B	2s.	g.75.ll.(9.)	?	32-39
H. I:53	[1782]	L & B	2s.	Tyson P.M.17.(1.), g.980.q	?	2-13
H. I:68	[1782]	L & B	2s.	g.75.ll.(10.)	?	14-24
H. I:53	[ca. 1785]	S. Babb	2s.	Tyson P.M.17.(3.), h.656.hh.(4.)	?	1-10
H. I:53	[ca. 1800]	I. Dale	2s.	h.656.hh.(5.)	?	1-10
Spurious symphony	[c. 1790]	A. Bland	2s.	g.75.ll.(8.)	?	1-6

¹ The first movement of J. M. Haydn's Symphony, Perger 9, followed by an unidentified minuet and trio and a version of the finale of F. J. Haydn's Symphony, Hob.i/59

Not a mutilated copy but the Intire Sinfonie. To be continued Sigr. Haydns Grand Orchestre Sinfonie as Performed at the Nobility's Concerts, Adapted for the Organ, Harpsichord, or Piano Forte Strains that might create a Soul. Under the ribs of Death Milton London

Work	Year	Publisher	Price	Shelfmark	Arranger	Original printed pagination
H. I:47	1790	J. Bland	2s.	Hirsch M.1472.(2.)	[?] Tindal	1-9
H. I:71	[ca. 1795]	J. Bland	2s.	H.3691.h.(10.)	S. Webbe Junr	10-18 ²
H. I:73	[ca. 1790]	J. Bland	2s.	g.75.l.(8.)	[John] Percy	20-29
H. I:69	[1784]	J. Bland	2s.	h.655.k.(7.), Tyson P.M.17.(2.)	?	31-39
H. I, 53	[c.1790]	J. Bland	2s.	Bristol University Library (Special Collections)	?	2-5

² There is a second pagination indicating 102 to 110 probably indicating a later pagination.

Keyboard arrangements of Haydn symphonies 'as performed at Mr Salomon's concerts'

Title	Year	Work	Publisher	Price	Shelfmark	Arr.	Orig. print. pag.
A grand overture,/ as performed/ at Mr. Salomons, Concert,/ Hanover Square,/ arranged for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord/ with an Accompaniment/ For a Violin/ Composed by/ Joseph Haydn./ London	[1791]	H. I:90	L & B	3s.	h.655.k.(2.)	?	2-25
A Grand overture,/ as performed/ at Mr. Salomons, Concert,/ Hanover Square,/ arranged for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord/ with an Accompaniment/ For a Violin/ Composed by/ Joseph Haydn.	[1791]	H. I:92	L & B	3s.	g.161.e.(5.)	?	2-11
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomons Concert/ Hanover Square/ Adapted for the/ Piano-Forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a/ Violin & Violoncello/ (ad libitum)/ No. [1]	[1796]	H. I:97	Corri, Dussek & Co,	4s.	g.134.(1.)	?	2-18
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomons Concert/ Hanover Square/ Adapted for the/ Piano-Forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a/ Violin & Violoncello/ (ad libitum)/ No.[2]	[1796]	H. I:93	Corri, Dussek & Co,	4s.	g.134.(2.)	?	2-13
Haydn's/ celebrated/ Symphonies/ composed for andperformed at/ Mr. Salomon's/ and/ The Opera Concerts/ adapted for the/ Piano-forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a Violin & Violoncello ad libitum/ Nos./ 3	[ca. 1795]	H. I:94	Mr Salomon the proprietor	4[s.]	Tyson P.M.18.(4.)	?	1-16
[Haydn's/ celebrated/ Symphonie?s/ composed for andperformed at/ Mr. Salomon's/ and/ The Opera Concerts/ adapted for the/ Piano-forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a Violin & Violoncello ad libitum/ Nos./ 3]	[1796.]	H. I:94	[Corri, Dussek & Co,]	?	g.134.(3.)	?	1-16

Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomons Concert/ Hanover Square/ Adapted for the/ Piano-Forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a/ Violin & Violoncello/ (ad libitum)/ No. [4]	[1796]	H. I:98	Corri, Dussek & Co,	4s.	g.134.(4.)	?	2-18
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomons Concert/ Hanover Square/ Adapted for the/ Piano-Forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a/ Violin & Violoncello/ (ad libitum)/ No. [5]	[1796]	H. I:95	Corri, Dussek & Co,	4s.	g.134.(5.)	?	2-13
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomons Concert/ Hanover Square/ Adapted for the/ Piano-Forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a/ Violin & Violoncello/ (ad libitum)/ No. [6]	[1796]	H. I:96	Corri, Dussek & Co,	4s.	g.134.(6.)	?	2-15
Haydn's/ celebrated/ Symphonies/ composed for and performed at/ Mr. Salomon's/ and/ The Opera Concerts/ adapted for the/ Piano-forte,/ with an Accompaniment/ for a Violin & Violoncello ad libitum/ Nos./ 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12	[1797]	H. I:99-104	Mr Salomon the proprietor	Subscribers £1.1[s].0[d.] Non Subscribers £1.11[s].6[d.]	g.134.(7.)	?	1-115

Other keyboard arrangements of Haydn symphonies

Title	Year	Work	Publisher	Price	Shelfmark	Arranger	Orig. print. pag.
Haydns/ favorite/ Overture,/ as performed at the/ Principal Concerts/ adapted for the/ Piano Forte or Harpsichord/ By/ T. Haigh./ London	[ca. 1795]	H. I:86	Preston & Son	2s. 6[d.]	h.655.k.(6.)	?	2-11
The/ Much Admired/ Overture/ Composed by/ Guiesippi[sic] Haydn/ and Perform'd at the Principal Concerts in London with great applause/ Adapted to the/ Harpsichord or Piano Forte/ By Sigr. Giordani	[ca. 1780]	H. I:53	J. Blundell	3s.	h.656.hh.(10.)	?	2-16
A grand symphonia/ of/ Dr. Haydn's/ Arranged for the/ Piano Forte/ By/ T. Haigh	[1796]	Hob.i/G3	Culliford, Rolfe and Barrow	3s.	g.137.(15.)	T. Haigh	1-12
A Celebrated Overture/ Composed by/ Joseph Haydn/ Adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte/ by/ Sigr. Corri.	[ca. 1785]	H. I:74	Corri & Sutherland?	2s.	h.3865.y.(3.)	D. Corri	19-28
Haydns/ Celebrated Overture/ on 'H'/ Adapted for the/ Harpsichord or Piano Forte/ By Domenico Corri.	[ca. 1785]	H. I:67	Corri & Sutherland	2s.	h.3865.y.(4.)	D. Corri	94-101
Two/ Favorite/ Overtures/ Composed by/ Dr. Haydn/ adapted for the/ Piano-Forte/ By/ T. Haigh/ London			Preston & Son	3s.	H.3691.h.(3.)	T. Haigh	1-10
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture,/ adapted/ for the/ harpsichord/ or/ Piano Forte;/ in an easy style by/ Thos. Carter./ London	[1785?]	H. I:53	J. Preston	2s.	h.726.p.(9.)	T. Carter	2-11

Three/ Favorite/ Overtures/ Composed by the Celebrated/ Giuseppe Haydn,/ of/ Vienna,/ adapted for the/ Harpsichord or Piano Forte,/ By/ Sigr. Giordani./ London	[1786?]	H. I:63 ; H. I:75; H. I:69.	J. Preston	6s.	h.656.f.(1.)	T. Giordani	2-31
A favorite/ Overture/ Composed by/ Giuseppe Hayden/ of Vienna/ adapted for the/ Harpsichord/ by/ G. F. Baumgarten,/ London	[1783?]	H. I:74	W. Forster	2s.	g.455.pp.(3.)	G. F. Baumgarten	2-11
A favorite/ Overture/ Composed by/ Giuseppe Hayden/ of Vienna/ adapted for the/ Harpsichord/ by/ G. F. Baumgarten,/ London	[ca. 1785]	H. I:77	W. Forster	2s.	g.75.l.(6.)	G. F. Baumgarten	2-13
La Reine de France/ Overture/ Composed by/ Joseph Haydn,/ arranged for the/ Piano-Forte or Harpsichord,/ with Accompaniments/ for a/ Violin, Flute & Violoncello/ ad Libitum./ By/ Mr. Lachnitt./ Entered at Stationers Hall./ London	[ca. 1795]	H. I:85	L & B	3s.	H.3691.h.(1.)	Lachnitt	2-13 i 2-4
Overture/ Composed by/ I. Haydn,/ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte/ or/ Harpsichord/ with an Accompaniment for/ Violin,/ By/ Muzio Clementi/ From Op. 51[9 in ink]	[ca. 1790]	H. I:88	L & B	3s.	H.3691.h.(2.)	M. Clementi	1-15
Overture/ Composed by/ I. Haydn,/ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte/ or/ Harpsichord/ with an Accompaniment for/ Violin,/ By/ Muzio Clementi/ From Op. 51	[1788]	H. I:82	L & B	3s.	h.61.(13.)	M. Clementi	2-17

A favorite/ Symphony/ Composed by/ Sigr. Haydn/ Adapted for the/ Harpsichord/ or/ Piano-Forte/ with an Accompaniment for a/ Violin/ By/ J:March Esqr	[1788]	H. I:74	L & B	3s.	h.61.(14.)	J. Marsch Esqr	2-17
The favorite/ Overture/ of Sig. Haydn/ from Op.39/ adapted for the/ Harpsichord/ with an Accompaniment for a/ Violin & Violoncello ad libitum/ Ny/ S. Storace	[1786]	H. I:79	L & B	3s. 6d.	g.75.z.(2.)	S. Storace	2-13
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ In D/ Performed at the Hanover Square/ Concerts/ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte.	[1802?]	H. I:53	J. Longman & Co	2s.	g.455.q.(2.)	?	1-10
A Grand Sinfonia,/ Composed by/ Dr. Haydn,/ and Arranged as a Sonata,/ for the/ Piano Forte,/ by T. Haigh	[WM 1811]	H. I:92	Lavenu & Mitchell	2s. 6[d.]	g.75.ll.(3.)	T. Haigh	2-9
The celebrated/ Overture,/ composed by/ Sigr Giuseppe Haydn,/ adapted for the/ Piano Forte/ or/ Harpsichord/ by/ S. F. Rimbault	[1789?]	H. I:44	R. Bremner	2s.	g.75.ll.(5.)	S. F. Rimbault	1-9
Haydn's/ Celebrated/ Overture/ Adapted/ for the/ Harpsichord/ or/ Piano Forte	[1792?]	H. I:55	R. Wornum	?	h.655.ss.(1.)	S. F. Rimbault	2-11
A/ Favorite Overture,/ Composed by/ Sigr. Haydn,/ Adapted for the/ Piano Forte,/ or/ Harpsichord:/ with an Acoompaniment for a/ Violin and Violoncello/ Ad libitum/ by S. F. Rimbault,/ AB/ This is the Intire Sinfonia, & never before Adapted.	[ca. 1800]	H. I:77	H. Wright	3s.	h.656.ff.(5.)	S. F. Rimbault	2-13 and 2-5

Appendix B: Haydn Ballads

Joseph Haydn, *Twelve English Ballads, the Music the undoubted Composition of Haydn, the Words selected and adapted to his Works by Dr. Arnold*, arr. Samuel Arnold (London: Longman & Broderip, n.d [1787]).

Title	Author	Original Work	Key and Tempo	
			Original	Arrangement
1. Life an Ode 'Life! The dear, precarious'	Dr [John] Hawkesworth	Keyboard Sonata Hob. XVI:39/1	Allegro con brio G Major	Moderato G Major
2. Elegy 'Ah what avails'	Mr [James] Hammond	String Quartet Hob. III:38/3	Largo Sostenuto B \flat Major	Con affetto E \flat Major
3. To Solitude 'Now genial Spring'	Miss [Mary]Whately	String Quartet Hob. III:42/4 (Finale)	Allegretto D Major	Slow D Major
4. Colin and Lucy 'Of Leinster, fam'd'	Thomas Tickell	String Duett Hob. VI:3/1	Andante B \flat Major	Andante B \flat Major
5. Elegy 'Thousands would seek'	Mr [James] Hammond	Wind Divertimento Hob. II:11/4	Moderato C Major	Moderato B \flat Major
6. Prayer for Indifference 'Oft I've empy'd'	Mr [Frances] Greville	String Quartet Hob. III:41/4 (Finale)	Allegretto G Major	Allegretto G Major
7. Sappho 'When Sappho tun'd'	Dr [Thomas] Smollet	Hob III: B \flat 1/4 R. Hofstetter	Scherzando F Major	March alla Militare G Major
8. The Winter's Walk 'Behold, my fair'	Dr Sam[ue]l Johnson	Keyboard Sonata Hob. XVI:24/4 (Finale)	Presto D Major	Tempo di Minuetto C Major
9. Invitation to the feathered Race 'Again the balmy Zephyr'	Revd Mr [Richard] Graves	Keyboard Sonata Hob. XVI:35/1	Allegro con brio C Major	Un poco Vivace e Staccatto A Major
10. Morning, <i>a Pastoral</i> 'In the Barn'	Mr [John] Cunningham	Symphony Hob. I:53/2	Andante A Major	Con affetto A Major
11. Absence, <i>a Pastoral</i> 'How sweet to recal'	Revd Mr [Philip] Parsons	Keyboard Sonata Hob. XVI:37/3 Finale	Presto D Major	Innocentemente G Major
12. Palemon 'As late to shun'	Mr [Frances] Brooke	Keyboard Trio Hob. XV:6/3	Tempo di menuetto F Major	Tendrement G Major

Joseph Haydn, *A Second Sett of Twelve Ballads, the Music by Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn, of Vienna, Adapted to English Words with an Accompaniment for the Harpsichord, or Piano Forte* (London: Preston, n.d. [1788]).

Title	Author	Original Work	Key and Tempo	
			Original	Arrangement
Ballad I 'I told my soft'	[John] Cunningham	String Quartet Hob. III:41/4	Allegretto G Major	Moderato G Major
Ballad II 'No time no change'	[William] Prior	String Quartet Hob. III:7/2	Menuetto A Major	Poco Adagio E♭ Major
Ballad III 'Again the balmy Zephyr'	Richard Graves (attrib. Shenstone)	Symphony Hob. I:76/4	Allegro ma non troppo E♭ Major	Allegretto C Major
Ballad IV Werter's Sonet 'Make there my Tomb'	Charlotte Smith	String Quartet Hob. III:23/1	Poco Adagio B♭ Major	Poco Adagio B♭ Major
Ballad V 'Come gentle Eve thou'	Samuel Johnson (attrib. Petrarch)	String Quartet Hob. III:40/4	Presto B♭ Major	Allegretto B♭ Major
Ballad VI 'Go drooping flow'r by heat'	?	Symphony Hob. I:77/2	Affettuoso F Major	Andante sostenuto F Major
Ballad VII 'Ev'ning now with purple wings'	[Samuel] Johnson	Lied Hob. XXVIa:16	Allegretto G Major	Adagio G Major
Ballad VIII 'I fit by the mossy Fount'	Ossian	Symphony Hob I:76/2	Cantabile B♭ Major	Adagio B♭ Major
Ballad IX The celebrated La chasse 'The sweet rosy morning peeps'	?	Symphony Hob I:73/4	Presto D Major	Allegro E♭ Major
Ballad X 'The sweet rosy morning peeps'	Metastasio	Hob III: B b1/4 R. Hofstetter	Poco Andante F Major	Poco Andante F Major
Ballad XI 'O ye in youth and beauty's pride'	[James Barclay] Gray	Symphony Hob. 1:77/4 Finale	Allegro ma non troppo B♭ Major	Moderato G Major
Ballad XII 'Together let's stray thro the Grove	[William] Shenstone	Symphony Hob I:74/4 Finale	Allegro assai E♭ Major	Andante Affettuoso E♭ Major

Joseph Haydn, *A Third Set of Twelve Ballads, the Music by Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn, of Vienna, Adapted to English Words, with an Accompaniment for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte* (London: Preston, n.d. [1789])

Title	Author	Original Work	Key and Tempo	
			Original	Arrangement
Ballad I 'By the side of a stream'	Ovid	String Quartet Hob. III:38/4	Presto	Allegretto C Major
Ballad II 'Teach me Chloe how'	[William] Prior	Keyboard Sonata Hob. XVI:36/2	Scherzando, Allegro con brio	Andante Grazioso A Major
Ballad III 'Sweet airy warbler who'	Petrarca	Symphony Hob. I:63/3 (Trio of the second version)	Trio C Major	Allegro C Major
Ballad IV 'Fair morn appears soft zephyrs'	[David] Mallett	Symphony Hob. I:B2/1 (M. Haydn)	Allegro Assai B \flat Major	Moderato B \flat Major
Ballad V 'May, with thee I mean'	Mary Whateley (attrib. Shenstone)	String Quartet Hob. III:42/1	Pastorale G Major	Vivace Assai D Major
Ballad VI: Sonnet to hope 'Oh! Hope, Oh! Hope'	Charlotte Smith	String Trio Hob. V:4/2	Poco adagio A \flat Major	Adagio A \flat Major
Ballad VII 'Come Stella to this grove'	Ovid	Symphony Hob. I:75/4 Finale	Vivace D Major	Allegro D Major
Ballad VIII 'Enjoy my love the balmy sleep'	[William] Hayley	String Trio Hob. V:17/3	Presto E \flat Major	Allegretto E \flat Major
Ballad IX 'While she sleeps with pleasing themes'	Metastasio	Piano Trio Hob. XV:3 Rondo	Andante C Major	Andante Affettuoso B \flat Major
Ballad X 'While from my looks'	[William] Prior	Keyboard Sonata Hob. XVI:37 Finale	Presto ma non troppo D Major	Allegretto D Major
Ballad XI: From the Sorrows of Werter 'Tis she I adore'	?	Symphony Hob. I:69/4 Finale	Presto C Major	Allegretto E \flat Major
Ballad XII: The Chace 'Rouz'd early by the cheerful Horn'	[William] Shenstone	String Quartet Hob. III:1/1	Presto B \flat Major	Allegro B \flat Major

Joseph Haydn, *Twelve Elegant and Familiar Canzonetts Composed by Sigr. Giu: Haydn of Vienna, accommodated to English Words (chiefly written on purpose) and adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments ad Libitum* (London: Thompson, n.d. [1788]).³

Title	Author	Original Work	Key and Tempo	
			Original	Arrangement
Invocation to Clio	?	String Quartet Op. 9/2/ii	Tempo di Min ^o E \flat Major	Tempo di Min ^o E \flat Major
The Crystal Tear	?	String Quartet Op. 17/3/i	Andante Gratoso B \flat Major	Andante Gratoso E \flat Major
The Garland	William Prior	String Quartet Op. 2/2/i	Allegretto A Major	Allegro E Major
The Midnight Moon	Mary Carter	String Quartet Op. 2/2/iv	Tempo di Min ^o E Major	Tempo di Min ^o E Major
The Chace	?	String Quartet Op. 1/1/i	Vivace D Major	Presto B \flat Major
The Peach	?	Overture Ia/15/ii	Allegretto E \flat Major	Allegretto E \flat Major
The Nightingale	?	Symphony No. 47/ii	Andante F Major	Un poco Adagio, cantabile D Major
Pity. To a Robin Red-breast	?	Overture Ia/1/ii	Affettuoso F Major	Poco Adagio D Major
The Sylvan Cot	?	String Quartet Op. 9/3/iv	Allegretto G Major	Presto G Major
Transient Charms (imitated from Theocritus)	James Harvey	Overture Ia/1/iii	Allegretto B \flat Major	Presto C Major
The Winter of Lfe	John Cunningham	String Quartet Op. 9/5/i	Andante G Major	Poco Adagio B \flat Major
To Sleep	?	Overture Ia/13/ii	Allegretto gra ^o G Major	Allegretto G Major

³ There are no copies of this item in the UK, and therefore, the information on this collection is based only on Gretchen A. Wheelock, 'Marriage à la Mode: Haydn's Instrumental Works "Englished" for Voice and Piano', *The Journal of Musicology*, 8/3 (1990), 357–397.