Listening to the Domestic Music Machine

Keyboard Arrangement in the Nineteenth Century

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Abstract

Keyboard arrangement was central to both the performing and the listening habits of the nineteenth-century non-professional musician. Not only did it respond to the desperate need for a cheap technology of musical circulation, but its immense popularity helped create a commercial musical publishing industry of an unprecedented scale. This thesis reconstructs for the first time the many faces of the keyboard arrangement by analysing it simultaneously as a musical work, an economic commodity and the object of a number of critical discourses. As a musical work, arrangement is shown to be a collection of practices, rather than, and as has been previously assumed, a self-contained product. Walter Benjamin's theory of translation is combined with an analysis of the first extant keyboard arrangement in the Robertsbridge Codex of 1360 to construct a model which suggests that arrangements should be understood as resurrections of the material of their originals. The economic significance of keyboard arrangement is demonstrated through a computer-aided statistical analysis which shows that on average practices of arrangement appeared in 30 percent of the keyboard music published in German-speaking countries from 1829 to 1900. Significant attention is given to an attempt to reconstruct the critical discourses by which arrangements were assessed: in particular, musical dictionaries are used to produce a Begriffsgeschichte of several key terms relating to the production of arrangements. Finally, throughout the thesis, emphasis is placed on the extent to which the kinds of listening experience that arrangement engendered show similarities with those offered by popular musical styles of today, thereby opening up new avenues for research.

Zusammenfassung

Klavierbearbeitungen waren für die Aufführungs- sowie Hörgewohnheiten des nichtprofessionellen Musikers des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts entscheidend. Nicht nur deckten sie den dringenden Bedarf an einer kosteneffektiven musikalischen Verbreitungstechnologie sondern ihre immense Popularität verursachte eine mit großen Umfang kommerzielle musikalische Verlagsindustrie. Diese Dissertation stellt zum ersten Mal die viele Seiten des Klavierarrangements wieder her, indem es als musikalisches Schaffen, als Konsumware und als Objekt vieler kritischen Diskurse analysiert wird. Es wird gezeigt, dass Arrangement—als musikalisches Schaffen—eine Methodensammlung statt einer in sich geschlossenen Technik ist. Walter Benjamins Übersetzungstheorie wird mit einer Analyse der ersten, in dem Robertsbridge Codex aus 1360 sich befindenden, Klavierbearbeitung verbunden, um vorzuschlagen, dass Arrangements als eine Auferstehung ihrer Originale gesehen werden sollen. Die wirtschaftliche Wichtigkeit der Klavierbearbeitung wird durch einer vom Computer errechneten statistischen Analyse dargestellt, indem es gezeigt wird, dass Arrangementmethoden in 30 Prozent der in deutschsprachigen Ländern zwischen 1829 und 1900 publizierten Klaviermusik vorkommt. Die kritischen Diskurse mit denen den Wert eines Arrangements geschätzt wurde werden auch rekonstruiert: Musikalische Lexika werden benutzt, um eine Begriffsgeschichte mehrerer Schlüsselbegriffe zu schreiben. Letztlich werden die Ähnlichkeiten des Hörgewohnheiten der Hörer des neunzehnten und des einundzwanzigsten Jahrhunderts betont, damit neue Forschungsperspektiven eröffnet werden können.

Contents

Introduction

> There was little of the symphonic and chamber
> repertory which was not brought into our
> domestic life with the help of the large, oblong
> volumes, uniformly bound in green by the
> book-binder
>
> THEODOR ADORNO

"The pianoforte," wrote George Bernard Shaw in 1894, "is the most important of all musical instruments."[1] The claim is not remarkable; for the majority of that century, the piano had utterly dominated musical life. Masterpieces were composed on it; virtuosi—and the very notion of a virtuoso—were born out of it; courtships were conducted through it; family-life centred around it; social stati were marked by it. The piano stood in family parlours, bohemian salons and royal reception rooms across all of Europe. It was, and remains, one of the most potent icons for the emergence of modern Europe.[2]

Given the role which the piano played in nineteenth-century life, Shaw's claim about its importance is unsurprising. His justification for that claim, however, is anything but. Choosing not to focus on the piano's role in the development of great masterpieces, international careers, or society romances, he begins, instead, by posing a question about Shakespeare. "What is it," he asks, "that keeps Shakespeare alive among us?"

> Is it the stage, the great actors, the occasional revivals with new music and scenery, and agreeable mendacious accounts of the proceedings in the newspapers after the first night? Not a bit of it... I myself, born of profane stock, and with a quarter-century of play-going, juvenile and manly, behind me, have not seen as many as a full half of Shakespeare's plays acted; and if my impressions of his genius were based solely on these representations, I should be in darkness indeed.[3]

It is not thanks to the theatre that Shakespeare's reputation is assured. Sensationally staged, badly acted, cut to nonsense, not to mention expensive and inaccessible to those outside of the city—there are a plethora of reasons to explain why

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[1] [Shaw, 1894, 255]. The epigraph to this thesis is taken from Francis Bacon, Essay LVIII, 'Of Vicissitude of Things', in: Bacon [1909–1914]. The epigraph to this chapter is taken from [Adorno, 1982, 303]. The original reads "[d]a war wenig aus der symphonischen und kammermusikalischen Literatur, was nicht ins häusliche Leben eingezogen wäre mit Hilfe der großen, vom Buchbinder einheitlich grün gebundenen Bände im Querformat." All translations in this work are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

[2] The literature on the contribution of the piano to musical life and the development of class consciousness in the nineteenth century is voluminous: see, for instance, Loesser [1990]; Rowland [1998]; Parakilas [1999]; Todd [2004]; and Ellsworth and Wollenberg [2007].

[3] [Shaw, 1894, 255].

attending a Shakespeare performance never ensures the experience of attending Shakespeare performed. Witness Shaw's first *Romeo and Juliet*, in which

> Romeo, instead of dying forthwith when he took the poison, was interrupted by Juliet, who sat up and made him carry her down to the footlights, where she complained of being very cold, and had to be warmed by a love scene, in the middle of which Romeo, who had forgotten all about the poison, was taken ill and died.[4]

Darkness, indeed.

Shaw believes that the best way to get to know Shakespeare is not through attending the theatre at all. Rather, he maintains, Shakespeare's works should be read. Only through personal imagination and private experience, in the comfort of one's own home, can one come to know the intricacies of Shakespeare's art. "The literature which the private student cannot buy or borrow to take home and puzzle out by himself may be regarded as, at best," Shaw concludes, "in a state of suspended animation."[5]

It is for precisely this reason that Shaw holds the piano, what he calls the "domestic music machine", in such high regard.[6] The piano, he contends, is the technology through which the home 'reading' of musical masterpieces is made possible. It was indeed only thanks to the piano that Shaw was able to gain "penetrating experiences of Victor Hugo and Schiller from Donizetti, Verdi and Beethoven; of the Bible from Handel; of Goethe from Schumann; of Beaumarchais and Molière from Mozart; and of Merimée from Bizet, besides finding in Berlioz an unconscious interpreter of Edgar Allan Poe."[7] Shaw refers here to at least eight operas, two oratorios, and a symphony—and not a single piece of piano music.[8] For Shaw, the piano "is the most important of all musical instruments" not because of any one of the roles mentioned above. It is vital because, as machine and tool, it enabled him to have new musical and literary experiences by sitting at home and "stumbling through pianoforte arrangements."[9]

This introduction summarises the seven contentions which form the foundation of this thesis. They are all concerned with the practice which Shaw believed made the piano the most important instrument of the nineteenth century. This is keyboard arrangement, the transformation of a normally large-scale work into a version for keyboard which could be performed in a domestic setting by one or several performers.

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[4][Shaw, 1894, 256].

[5][Shaw, 1894, 257].

[6][Shaw, 1894, 266].

[7][Shaw, 1894, 259].

[8]The list of works to which Shaw is apparently referring includes: Hugo-Donizetti, *Lucrezia Borgia*, 1833; Hugo-Verdi, *Rigoletto*, 1851 and *Ernani*, 1844; Schiller-Donizetti, *Maria Stuarda*, 1834; Schiller-Verdi, *Giovanna d'Arco*, 1845; Schiller-Beethoven, *Ode an die Freude*, 1824; Bible-Handel, several, but most notably *Messiah*, 1742; Goethe-Schumann, numerous songs, but most notably *Szenen aus Goethes Faust*, 1853; Beaumarchais-Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*, 1786; Molière-Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, 1787; Merimée-Bizet, *Carmen*, 1875.

[9][Shaw, 1894, 255, 259].

Absolutely central to an understanding of the historical importance of keyboard arrangement—and especially in the nineteenth century—is the fact that it **provided a means for musical works to circulate more freely and easily than in their original forms**. This position was frequently defended in contemporary literature. An anonymous reviewer in 1843, for example, evaluating arrangements of all kinds, writes that "of the use of such arrangements we are truly all in agreement: there is hardly a better way to bring every large composition into the hands of the people than this."[10] In his impassioned defence of (his own) arrangements of Handel's oratorios, another author not unreasonably posits that "[i]t is certain that without my arrangements of the above-named oratorios, none—other than *Messiah* and *Alexander's Feast*—would have been performed, at least here in Vienna."[11] With the advent of the mass-production of pianos and their concomitant reduction in cost, keyboard arrangement in particular became an especially effective way of transmitting music. Thus, an anonymous dictionary author writing in 1876 sees transmission *define* the role of keyboard arrangement, arguing that the practice consists of "all those arrangements of orchestral works for the piano for two or four hands, all those keyboard editions of operas with and without voice and text, in short, all those arrangements which carry music out of the concert hall and theatre and into the home."[12]

The ability of keyboard arrangement to spread music cheaply and efficiently was the reason that several authors saw it as more or less analogous to any of the means for reproducing visual images which also rapidly rose to prominence during the nineteenth century. As the anonymous author cited above continues,

> [j]ust as photographs or prints want to supply the public with the most faithful reproductions of architectural, sculptural or painted masterworks, so too does arrangement, which here serves the function of a surrogate, want nothing more than to attempt to work as a tool for the masses and to reproduce for them the impression of the artwork in its original form.[13]

The argument was also made during the twentieth century, with Theodor Adorno (among others) repeating it—though disagreeing with this author on the extent of the similarities between the two media—in 1933.[14]

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[10]"Über den Nutzen solcher Arrangements sind wohl alle einverstanden; es gibt kaum einen bessern Weg, jene großen Schöpfungen auch in die Massen des Volkes bringen zu lassen, als gerade dieser." [Anon., 1843, 32].

[11]"Es ist Gewiß, daß ohne meine Bearbeitung der oben genannten Oratorien, außer dem "Messias" und dem "Alexanderfeste", wenigstens hier in Wien, kein anderes zu Gehör gekommen seyn würde…" [von Mosel, 1843, 578].

[12]"[A]lle Arrangements von Orchesterwerken für das Pianoforte zu zwei oder vier Händen, alle Clavierauszüge von Opern mit und ohne Gesang und Text, kurz alle Bearbeitungen, die die Musik der Concertsäle und der Theater in das Haus tragen sollen." [Anon., 1876b, 33–34].

[13]"Wie die Photographie oder der Stich die Meisterwerke der Architektur, Plastik und Malerei der Masse des Publikums in möglichst treuer Wiedergabe des Originals zuführen will, so soll auch das Arrangement nichts weiter wollen, als nach dem Maass [*sic*.] seiner Mittel, die hier immer den Charakter des Surrogats tragen werden, versuchen, den Eindruck des Kunstwerks in seiner ursprünglichen Erscheinungsform zu reproducieren." [Anon., 1876b, 34].

[14]See Adorno [1982]. This is discussed further in chapter one, and by Thomas Christensen in Christensen [1999].

In fact, visual art serves not only as an important analogous case here, but also as an illustrative one. It is well-known that the music of Richard Wagner had a substantial influence on Parisian avant-garde society of the 1860s in general, and Paul Cézanne in particular.[15] Along with Emilie Zola, Cézanne proudly joined the Marseilles Wagner society, and in a letter of 1865 he praised "the noble tones of Wagner's music."[16] However, Wagner found it very hard to secure performances of his operas in conservative Paris; most famously, his *Tannhäuser* was withdrawn from the Paris Opéra in 1861 after only three performances following planned and sustained audience protests. How, then, had Cézanne been able to hear the music which had had such an influence on him? His 1869 painting *Girl at the Piano* makes this clear (see figure 0.1). In what for its audience must have been a familiar domestic scene, the artist's sister performs the Overture to *Tannhäuser* at the piano, while his mother busies herself sewing. Cézanne's knowledge of Wagner's music came in part from hearing it played on the domestic piano.

In its ability to make music cheaply reproducible and transportable, **keyboard arrangement in the nineteenth century has a function analogous to that of the modern recording**. Works featuring keyboard arrangement play the part of mobile media to the keyboard's home stereo system; larger works are recorded (arranged) into smaller forms of transportable musical media (the CD, the arrangement) for playing (performance) in the home. This analogy captures countless facets of both recording and arrangement technologies: it points to the domesticity of the forms of musical experience offered by both; it underlines the fact that music is somehow commodified by both; it emphasises that both were engaged in contentious transformations of music for the purpose of circulation;[17] and so on.

Several authors have already made the same point. Discussing the role that arrangement has played in compositional practice during the twentieth century, composer Luciano Berio reminds us not to "forget that for centuries the practices of transcription had a function analogous to that of records."[18] Speaking of the close relationship between keyboard arrangement and nineteenth-century domestic musical life, Kurt Blaukopf argues that "*Hausmusik*, chamber music in the original sense of the word, had to fulfil all requirements which are today served by the radio, the television and records."[19] There is even ample historical evidence to suggest that the relationship between keyboard arrangement and recording is more than analogous. The advent of recording technologies in the 1880s and 1890s, for example, led directly to the end of the domination of domestic musical life by keyboard arrangement. As recorded sounds and their associated technologies became cheaper and more available, there was simply no need

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[15]See [Lewis, 1989, 186–191], and Turner [1998].

[16]Quoted in [Lewis, 1989, 187].

[17]Transformation of the original is unavoidable where arrangement is concerned. The transformation of the sounding musical 'object' in its passage onto the record worried at least Adorno. See Adorno [1984c]; Adorno [1984a]; and Adorno [1984b].

[18][Berio, 1985, 112–3].

[19]"Die Hausmusik, die Kammermusik im ursprünglichen Sinn des Wortes, mußte jenen Bedarf decken, dem heutzutage Rundfunk, Fernsehen und Schallplatte dienen." [Blaukopf, 1968, 13–14].

Figure 0.1: Paul Cézanne, *Girl at the Piano* (*The Overture to Tannhäuser*). Oil on canvas. 57.8x92.5 cm. Circa 1868. Inv. no GE-9166. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.

for the individual him- or herself to perform the music that he or she wanted to hear. Malcolm Boyd makes this point when he explains that "[r]adio and the gramophone have largely replaced the piano transcription as a disseminator of the chamber, orchestral and operatic repertory."[20] In an article which sees him uncharacteristically defend the musical dilettante, Adorno agrees, mourning that

> as a result of the gramophone and the car radio, the four-handed carriage of the keyboard will no longer trot or gallop with the rhythmic nodding heads of the honest horses, who, vulnerably but proudly, carried their noble Mozart and worthy Brahms to their destination.[21]

Adorno believes that arrangement's function in the nineteenth century was so similar to that of the record that the advent of the latter literally rendered the former obsolete.

The historical relationship between keyboard arrangement and recording also indicates another factor for which recording—and, by extension, keyboard arrangement—is celebrated. In the same way that Shaw believes that if his impressions of Shakespeare were not based on reading him at home he would be "in darkness indeed", there is some indication that without keyboard arrangement, individuals would not necessarily have been able to hear any version of the original works on which they were based at all. **Keyboard arrangement spread music to people who might otherwise not have been able to hear it**. In one sense, this is extremely obvious: keyboard arrangement—and sound recording—exist because live music cannot travel. Other senses, however, are more subtle. The first was numerical. As Blaukopf reminds us,

> [o]ne forgets all too easily that in the nineteenth century even a musical city like Vienna possessed no stable orchestra, beyond the Philharmonic—which only performed in the mornings and even then relatively rarely, because it was on duty in the court opera house in the evenings—although the demand for performed music was in no way slight.[22]

Even if one lived in one of the main metropolitan areas, a lack of orchestras and performing venues meant that finding seats at a concert was a challenge. Second, and as Thomas Christensen (drawing on the work of William Weber) observes, attending concerts in the nineteenth century was an expensive pastime; few members of the middle classes, for instance, could afford to go with any de-

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[20] Malcolm Boyd. "Arrangement." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01332` (accessed March 16, 2009).

[21] "...so wenig werden angesichts der Grammophon- und Radioautos mehr die vierhändigen Klavier-Equipagen traben oder galoppieren, mit den rhythmisch nickenden Köpfen der braven Pferde, die ihren erlauchten Mozart und ihren würdigen Brahms gefährdet zwar, doch stolz zum Ziel bringen." [Adorno, 1982, 305].

[22] "Man vergißt allzu leicht, daß etwa eine Musikstadt wie Wien im neunzehnten Jahrhundert neben den Philharmonikern—die nur vormittags und relativ selten konzertierten, weil sie den Abenddienst in der Hofoper zu versehen hatten—kein stabiles Konzertorchester besaß, obgleich die Nachfrage nach konzertanter Musik keineswegs gering war..." [Blaukopf, 1968, 13].

gree of regularity.[23] Finally, live performance, whether at a concert or not, was literally the only means by which a nineteenth-century listener could hear any music at all, not just modern orchestral or operatic performance. Even with the numerous amateur musical societies which dominated the musical landscape, the circulation of music was bound to be limited when it required a performer, a score and an audience to do so. There was clearly a need for some easy way to transport and transmit the music which nineteenth-century audiences were so keen to experience. This need was filled by arrangement.

Given that arrangement was one of the main means by which music was circulated at the time, and circulated often to those individuals who otherwise might never have been able to hear it, **keyboard arrangement ranks as one of the most important socio-musical phenomena of the nineteenth century**. What little work has been done on keyboard arrangement up to now has gone some way to demonstrating this. It has already been shown that Berio, for instance, refers to it as solving the problem of how to circulate music in an era without recording technology.[24] Adorno contends that in the early recording era arrangement kept alive the listener's critical ability in the face of the violent anaesthesia administered by the fetishised and unblemished concert recording.[25] Leon Botstein has argued that it was fundamental in bringing about a shift in listening practices which led to the development of the contemporary concert attitude.[26]

It is, however, the work of Christensen which presents this position most persuasively. In his two articles on keyboard arrangement—one dealing with four-handed piano music, the other with the domestic performance of operatic works—Christensen develops the thematic foundations (and much more beyond) upon which this thesis builds.[27] He demonstrates, for instance, that keyboard works which feature arrangement were published in staggering quantities; he shows that they were the subjects of intense and subtle critical discussion; he explores their relationship to other forms of mass cultural production in the nineteenth century; he discusses their relevance to composers and performers; and he theorises their impact on musical experience by arguing that the domestic listening attitude which they helped inculcate was the one which was eventually to find its way into the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century concert hall. As articles, Christensen's pieces cannot approach the breadth or depth of treatment which a thesis-length project allows. They are absolutely invaluable, however, for having provided the profoundly secure base above which this thesis can move.

Even with Christensen's articles in mind, keyboard arrangement has not received the historical attention which its penetration of the socio-cultural musical world of the nineteenth century would suggest that it deserves. Put more strongly: **the practice of keyboard arrangement has barely been investigated by historical musicology**. There is no mention of it at all, for example, in Charles Rosen's 1995 *The Romantic Generation*, David Witten's 1996 *Nineteenth-Century Pi-*

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[23]See [Christensen, 1999, 259]. The financial advantages of keyboard arrangement are discussed further in this thesis at page 134.

[24][Berio, 1985, 112–3].

[25]Adorno [1982].

[26]Botstein [1992].

[27]See Christensen [1999] and Christensen [2000].

ano Music or Larry Todd's 2004 *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*.[28] This latter example is particularly surprising, for in the introduction to the book, Todd justifies the need for another text on the topic by quoting Shaw's conviction, given at the start of this thesis, that the piano was vital to nineteenth-century musical life.[29] He somewhat wilfully ignores the fact, however, that Shaw only awards such importance to the piano because it enabled him to perform music which was *not* written for it in the first place. This is a selective misreading which is reflected by the total absence of any mention of keyboard arrangement from the rest of the book.

The texts in which keyboard arrangement makes a brief and merely *pro forma* appearance are arguably even more pernicious to modern understandings of it than those in which it is not mentioned at all. In *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, for example, arrangement is mentioned only in its guise as one of Liszt's favoured compositional practices, the implication being not only that he was the only individual to make serious use of it but that he is the only individual whose use of it is worth remembering today.[30] The 'discussion' of arrangement in the *Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* is equally short and similarly one-sided, the practice's importance being argued to lie solely in its function as evidence for (serious) nineteenth-century composers' increased interest in music of the past.[31] Cyril Ehrlich's *The Piano: A History* features an extraordinary—but still brief—excoriation of arrangements, describing them as "a special product, heir to the emasculated classics..., mass produced for the ungifted and semi-trained to perform to the unmusical and half-listening." "[N]on-composers," he concludes, "emerged to construct this non-music."[32] In James Parakilas' 1999 *Piano Roles*, the "relentlessly systematic" transcription industry is dismissed (in two short paragraphs) as unworthy of serious consideration because the production of them was driven by "an undiscriminating market impulse" (an endorsement of the supposed incompatibility of art and the products of systems of mass production which will be discussed further in chapter one).[33] Finally, in the 1998 *Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, discussion of arrangement is limited to one sentence in one essay, and five in another. Analysing nineteenth-century catalogues of published music, Dorothy de Val and Ehrlich comment only that "[s]eparate sections offered popular dance music and operatic overtures arranged for piano", neglecting to go into any more detail about works which Parakilas—who also refuses to be particularly distracted by them—argues "are so dominant that it can be hard to spot the listings of original piano music."[34] J. Barrie Jones, later in the book, writes simply that "arrangements were good, bad and indifferent", reducing to meaninglessness what will be shown in chapter two to be a vibrant critical discourse.[35] What is especially extraordinary about all of these treatments is that

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[28]See Rosen [1995]; Witten [1996]; and Todd [2004].
[29]See [Todd, 2004, iix–ix].
[30][Ellsworth and Wollenberg, 2007, 203–205].
[31][Samson, 2001, 268–270].
[32][Ehrlich, 1976, 93–94].
[33][Parakilas, 1999, 195–196].
[34][de Val and Ehrlich, 1998, 22] and [Parakilas, 1999, 196].
[35][Jones, 1998, 174].

although arrangement is mentioned purely so that it can be dismissed and thus 'justifiably' ignored, it is universally acknowledged that the practice was of profound importance to nineteenth-century musical culture.

All of the critical professions of disinterest in arrangement here are merely ways of repeating the received wisdom concerning the practice, the terms of which have remained unchanged now for well over a century. Indeed, many of these dismissals work in the same way: arrangements, it is admitted, were made; those by famous composers of the works of famous composers can be interesting; but the majority of those made by forgotten arrangers for mass consumption are not. These are precisely the points made by all the editions of *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, for example. In the first issue of the encyclopædia from 1879, Charles Hubert Parry argues that

> [m]usic has had the advantage of not only having arrangements by the greatest masters, but arrangements by them of their own works. Such cases ought to be the highest order of their kind, and if there are any things worth nothing in the comparison between arrangements and originals, they ought to be found there.[36]

Parry believes that the only arrangements worth analysing are those which are made by great composers of their own works. The 1927 edition of the *Grove* seems more sensitive to all kinds of arrangement when it argues that the practice "enables us to study at close hand various types of composition that in their original form would be beyond the comprehension of all save trained experts." Ultimately, however, it reveals that it too is not interested in the more ephemeral forms of the practice by only giving examples of arrangements made by composers like Liszt and Bülow.[37] Finally, the 2001 *New Grove* makes the same point when it argues that

> [i]t is, however, possible to distinguish between the purely practical arrangement, in which there is little or no artistic involvement on the arranger's part, and the more creative arrangement, in which the composition is, as it were, filtered through the musical imagination of the arranger. Arrangements by creative musicians are clearly the more important kind... it is therefore to towards this second type of arrangement that attention will mainly be directed.[38]

Arrangement, argues the *Grove* throughout its one hundred and thirty year history, is only interesting when it involves those adaptations made by great composers of (preferably) their own works. All other kinds—regardless of their historical, economic, social or musical significance—can, nay *should*, be ignored.

On the rare occasions that they do occur, historical analyses of arrangement have preferred to focus on some kinds of arrangement and dismiss others. An important point implicit in this claim is that the practice of making arrangements

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[36]C Hubert H Parry Esq., in Grove [1879].

[37]Leonard Borwick, Esq., in Colles [1927].

[38]Malcom Boyd. 'Arrangement'. In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/01332` (accessed May 1, 2010).

for keyboard gives rise to several different kinds of result. At the most basic level, a distinction can be drawn between the kinds of arrangement made by great composers, normally of the works of other great composers—Liszt's keyboard arrangements of Beethoven, for example, or Busoni's of Bach—and those which are made by professional and sometimes-forgotten arrangers, often of original works whose fame and popularity were as fleeting as that of the arrangement itself—Haslinger's 1840 keyboard edition of Peter Josef von Lindpaintner's opera *Die Genueserin* is just one example among thousands.[39] This distinction might be summarised more succinctly as the one which exists between 'canonic' and 'non-canonic' arrangements, respectively. The former are arrangements made by composers who are today considered canonic, and are almost always based on canonic works by other canonic composers. The latter are made by non-canonic composers, and are frequently, though far from always, of non-canonic original works. This nomenclature avoids some of the problems which arise when using the more typical terms 'high' and 'popular', and is appropriate because it is not always the case that, for example, non-canonic arrangements were popular, and so on. (Consequently, if and when the term 'popular' is used later in this thesis, it is as an adjective to describe the fact that certain arrangements were well-received by large audiences, not that they were necessarily written by a non-canonic composer.)

There are a number of reasons to suspect that the binary distinction between the 'canonic' and 'non-canonic' is not helpful in making clear the differences between various kinds of arrangement practice. Are they really, for example, direct opposites? Does it make sense to ask of a composer whether they are canonic or non-canonic when even someone as firmly canonised as Beethoven composed a number of works which are clearly not canonic? Surely composers like Czerny, who sometimes appear canonic and sometimes do not, confuse the difference? Was Weber, an apparently canonic composer, really doing anything different from, say, Haslinger (a non-canonic composer), when he made arrangements of his own works? Finally, the division suggested here between canonic and non-canonic ignores the fact that the process of becoming canonised is historical, as is the growth of the very idea of a canon.[40] Indeed, some of the composers classed by this distinction as 'canonical' presumably only became as such thanks to the fact that their works originally circulated in the form of 'non-canonical' arrangements.

When understood as extremes on a binary scale, the distinction between canonic and non-canonic does not seem to be a promising way to explore the different kinds of arrangement made in the nineteenth century. However, doing away with the notion altogether would mean that it would no longer be possible to capture the sense that there is something quite different going on when, for example, Liszt arranges Beethoven as opposed to when Bock arranges Auber. This is because the terms do underline the fact that there existed a veritable industry of arrangement in the nineteenth century, powered by the labour of arrangers and composers who now largely lie on the periphery of musical history. With

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[39]Lindpaintner [1840].
[40]On canons and canon formation, see Goehr [1992].

that idea in mind, the terms 'canonic' and 'non-canonic' should be understood not as lying at opposite ends of a binary scale, but as referring to collections of works grouped in concentric circles at varying distances from a conceptual musical centre. The precise location of this centre changes according to the date and the place under discussion. Thus, while the 'canonic' arrangements discussed here lie firmly at the centre of the model, the 'non-canonic' lie further out towards the periphery: they differ from each only in degree of centrality, not type. Further, the inherent fluidity of this circular model is much more sympathetic to the changing historical fate of musical works and their relationship to the canon. This, then, is the sense in which the two terms will be used in this thesis.

This study will focus almost exclusively on non-canonic arrangements. This is for three reasons. First, canonic arrangements have occasionally already been discussed by certain musicological histories as a part of a canonic composer's output and are thus less desperately in need of historical investigation. Jonathan Kregor's work on Liszt's transcriptions, for example, is an important step in taking seriously the significance of the practice to that composer.[41] Canonic arrangements also tend to manifest themselves more readily (and as a function of their canonicity) as a group of arrangements by a particular *composer*, rather than as a group of *arrangements* by a particular composer. More significantly, and simultaneously second and third, non-canonic arrangements need to be studied because they were a vital part of everyday nineteenth-century musical experience, but a part which has so far hardly been historically examined. A body of music which accounts for so much of the musical experience of the nineteenth-century listener cannot simply continue to languish unexplored if musicologists want to be able to claim that their understanding of nineteenth-century musical life accurately represents it. If the non-canonic keyboard arrangement was significant to the nineteenth-century musician or listener, then, and as will be discussed in chapter one, historical musicology is required to analyse it.

Finally, if the practice of arrangement generated canonic and non-canonic genera, specific individual species of keyboard arrangement can be identified within the non-canonic genus. This differentiation stems from the fact that the nineteenth-century understanding of what constituted arrangement was broad. A narrow understanding which views 'keyboard arrangement' as a self-contained genre would argue that a work is only a keyboard arrangement if it is a complete keyboard version of a whole composition not originally scored for that instrument. While this is the sense captured by the German term *Klavierauszug*—the keyboard edition—it is also to read 'arrangement' as a rule-defined status which a work either achieves or does not. In fact, and as countless pieces of evidence in what follows will show, the term 'arrangement' in the nineteenth century was used as a multi-purpose descriptor for a number of intertextual musical *practices*, practices which could even be used alongside other non-intertextual compositional techniques in the same work. Throughout this thesis, then, 'arrangement' will be understood as describing, and the term used to refer to, **works which feature either completely, or only in part, keyboard versions of earlier pieces of music**.

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[41]See Kregor [2010]. Studies of Mahler's Weber arrangements, to take only one other example among many, might also be cited. See Partsch [1989].

These are the seven observations which this thesis will defend and on which it will build and expand. Keyboard arrangement provided a means for musical works to circulate more freely and easily than in their original forms; in this sense, its function is analogous to that of contemporary recording technology. Because of this role—think, for example, of the way in which recording transformed twentieth-century musical culture—keyboard arrangement was one of the most important socio-musical phenomena of the nineteenth century. Despite this importance, keyboard arrangement has barely been discussed by historical musicology; where it has been investigated, discussion of it normally focuses on canonic arrangements—those made by master composers of masterworks—and not on their non-canonic and vastly more popular sister works. There are, finally, several different forms and kinds of arrangement, reflective of the fact that is not a self-contained genre, but rather, a practice of musical production.

A brief outline of the shape of this thesis concludes this introduction. **Chapter one** is an exploration of the theoretical—as opposed to the historical—grounds on which a study of keyboard arrangement in the nineteenth century can be justified. It begins by analysing the first extant keyboard arrangements—from the Robertsbridge Codex of around 1360—to show that keyboard arrangements can function as sources of evidence for the broader social and cultural context in which they were made. It is argued that arrangements are interesting not merely when they are innovative, but also, and as with so many of the non-canonic nineteenth-century arrangements discussed here, flatly derivative. The reasons that derivative works have largely been dismissed by western aesthetic theory are explored and rejected. Drawing on the work of postmodern theoreticians like Umberto Eco and contemporary visual artists like Sherri Levine, a theoretical model for the study of derivative and repetitive objects is presented. Finally, another theoretical model, specifically suited to the analysis of keyboard arrangement, is developed: Walter Benjamin's work on the theory of translation is adapted to show that the arrangement is a resurrection of its original.

Chapter two builds upon the theoretical ground developed in chapter one by beginning to consider historical justifications for the study of keyboard arrangement. It argues that arrangements in the nineteenth century were not simply viewed as basic imitations of better originals, but were subjects of subtle and elegant critical discussions which held them to have varying degrees of value in nineteenth-century musical culture. Nineteenth-century German-language musical dictionary definitions are used to show three things: first, that arrangement constituted a series of practices, all of which were subtly different from one another, and all of which elicited differing critical responses; second, that the kind of critical reactions which arrangements prompted changed substantially according to the opinions of the individual author and the date on which they were made; and third, that lexicographical opinions of the practices associated with arrangement remained relatively positive through most of the nineteenth century, but quite quickly became negative in the later part of that century and the early part of the next. Journalistic responses to keyboard arrangement are then considered, and it is shown that where dictionary authors had given a number of different reasons for criticising arrangement, the musical press was concerned

almost exclusively with the effects of rampant repetition on musical life. This provides the opportunity to reflect more broadly on the keyboard arrangement as a mass-produced cultural good, and to trace the twentieth-century dismissal of arrangement, this time to the questioning of the consequences of mass production by authors such as Adorno and Jean Baudrillard.

Chapter three turns to a consideration of the keyboard arrangement as material product. It begins by presenting a statistical analysis of the contents of Friedrich Hofmeister's *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht neuer Musikalien* in an attempt to demonstrate quite concretely the economic significance of keyboard arrangement to nineteenth-century musical culture. It concludes that approximately 30% of the unaccompanied piano music published between 1829 and 1900 made some use of techniques of arrangement. The second part of the chapter moves in two waves; they are both concerned with attempting to tease out from the term 'arrangement' a more subtle understanding of the various forms in which nineteenth-century audiences recognised the practice. The first wave considers the musical constitution of three genres of keyboard music which make use of practices of arrangement—the *Klavierauszug*, the potpourri, and the variation on a theme—and explains, for example, how arrangers and composers attempted to solve the problems which the piecemeal nature of the potpourri and the additive nature of the variation set presented them. In the second wave of analysis, the more exclusively commercial aspects of works making use of practices of arrangement are considered. A host of factors are explored, including the kinds of sources which arrangers tended to use, the dates of publication of source material, the composers they preferred, and so on. Lists of all of the works from these three genres which were recorded by Hofmeister's catalogue as being published in 1840 are also examined. It is shown that even down to questions of price and the publication dates of source material, consumers could expect a number of different things from 'arrangement'.

Finally, **chapter four** analyses the complex relationship between keyboard arrangement and musical experience. It begins by examining three legal cases from British courtrooms in which the legality of the production of keyboard arrangements was put on trial. In general, the question which all of these cases attempt to answer is the extent to which the production of a keyboard arrangement can be understood to be sufficient exercise of the arranger's mental and creative faculties such that the result is eligible for copyright protection. Each case also deals with more specific questions, however: the protection of multiple-author works, the legal status of the arranger of a complete keyboard edition, and the legality of extracting music from source works for the production of dance music. At the very least, this section functions as a history of keyboard arrangement's claim to copyright. It also does something more, however, extrapolating from the decisions and justifications of the legal actors involved descriptions of the kind of musical experience which arrangements offered listeners. It is concluded that they were modern kinds of experience, ones closely related to those familiar from contemporary genres of popular music. With this in mind, in the final section of the chapter, two ways in which arrangement can be understood to be related to musical experience in the form of listening are considered. According to the first, canonic arrangements are records of the way that great composers have heard

the works of their predecessors. According to the second, the changing fate and nature of arrangement reveals changes in patterns of popular musical taste. The latter position is used to argue that the three genres which are investigated in chapter three speak of listening habits which resonate extremely readily with contemporary practices of popular musical listening.

It is this final point which is vital. In chapters one to three of this work, the idea of arrangement as a simple mimicking of an original work for the sake of commercial gain in the face of an absence of recording technology is undermined. It is replaced with the view that arrangement was a series of techniques which touched several genres of nineteenth-century keyboard music in numerous ways, and which had a contested but commercially significant presence in nineteenth-century musical culture. This prepares the ground for something even more significant in chapter four. If arrangement was a vital socio-musical phenomenon in the nineteenth century, then vital too was the musical experience which it offered. If this experience was important, then room has to be made for it in the history of nineteenth-century listening practices. And if this experience happens to share a great deal with twenty-first-century listening styles, there is evidence enough to suggest that a rethinking of the relationship between nineteenth- and twenty-first-century listening habits is necessary.

1 The (Re)Birth of Keyboard Arrangement: When it Was Born, Why it Died, and How it Should Come Back to Life

> A piano reduction comes into being, not like a
> work of art—from unknown causes, but like a
> useful object—for known reasons, for a
> particular purpose
>
> ARNOLD SCHOENBERG

In 2001, artist Michael Mandiberg uploaded to his website a series of twenty-two black and white photographs.[1] They capture scenes from the lives of the Burroughs, a family of sharecroppers from depression-era Alabama: their local Church and its organ, for example; the family on the porch; a labourer at rest (see figure 1.1). The images are as evocative as they are simple, and they might quite rightly be seen as superior examples of both the art of photographic documentation and the art of photography as a whole. Evidently also aware of their quality, Mandiberg seeks to make them widely available by allowing them to be freely downloaded. The only stipulation which he makes regarding this offer is that alongside the images, the viewer must also obtain a document (see figure 1.2). It is a certificate. In it, Mandiberg verifies that the image which has been downloaded, printed and framed according to his instructions is an authentic piece by the artist Michael Mandiberg: it is a certificate of authenticity for a freely available work.

Certificates of authenticity, of course, are not uncommon in the visual arts. Normally they certify that the work they accompany is a unique and authentic product of the author's own hand. Mandiberg's certificate does just the opposite, however, for the artwork whose authenticity it is guaranteeing is actually freely downloadable and infinitely replicable. Why does Mandiberg devalue his art by letting anybody with access to the internet download their own copy? Why would he agree to the free reproduction of his work to as many people as will download an image and fill out a certificate?

There are two answers to these questions. The first is that Mandiberg is attempting to explore, as he puts it, "how we come to know information in this burgeoning digital age." He wants to create, in response to the saturation of

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[1] Michael Mandiberg, 'AfterWalkerEvans.com', http://www.afterwalkerevans.com/ (accessed 15 September, 2009). The epigraph to this chapter is taken from 'The Modern Piano Reduction', 1923, in: [Schoenberg, 1984, 348–350].
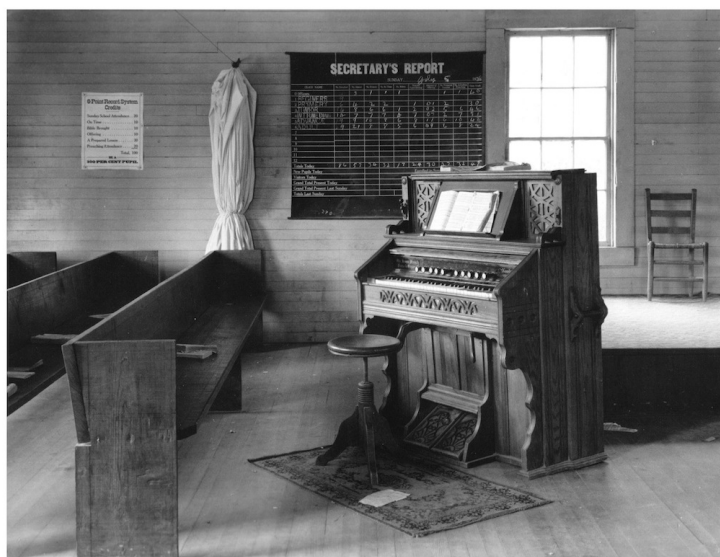
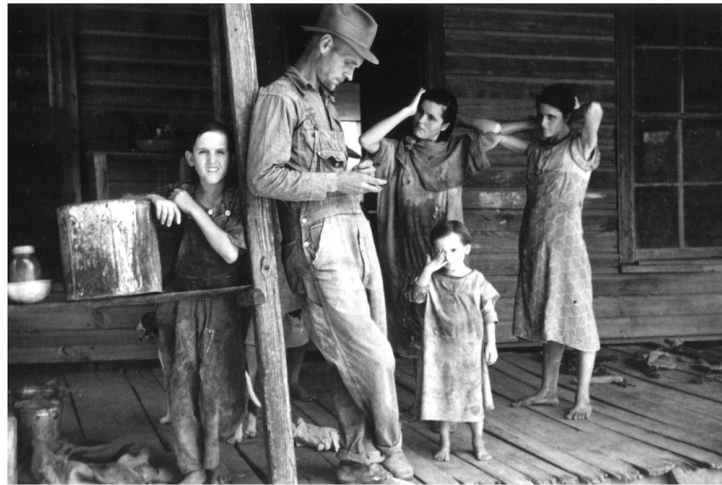Figure 1.1: *After Walker Evans*, Michael Mandiberg, 2001 (extract).

Figure 1.1 (continued): *After Walker Evans*, Michael Mandiberg, 2001 (extract).

Certificate of Authenticity

Untitled (AfterSherrieLevine.com/1.jpg)

Michael Mandiberg

This certificate guarantees that the accompanying digital image printout,
Untitled (AfterWalkerEvans.com/1.jpg), is an authentic work of art by
Michael Mandiberg so long as the following conditions have been met:

1. The image has been printed 3.825" x 5" at the highest resolution
   setting of the printer, up to the full resolution of 850DPI. The image is
   centered on an 8.5" x 11" piece of paper which has been trimmed to 8"
   x 10" to fit in the frame — the image must remain centered on the 8" x
   10" piece of paper.

2. The image has been framed in an 8" x 10" black pre-cut Nielsen &
   Bainbridge sectional frame kit, available inexpensively at most frame or
   art supply stores.

3. This certificate is signed by the printer of the image, trimmed to 8" x
   10" and placed in the rear of the frame facing out so it can be read
   while looking at the back of the frame.

Print your name here: _____

Sign your name here: _____

Date: _____

Figure 1.2: Certificate of Authenticity to accompany Michael Mandiberg's *After Walker Evans*.

the internet with free material and information, "a physical object with cultural value, but little or no economic value."[2]

The second is that he does not really own the images in the first place. In fact, the photographs available at the artist's website were not actually taken by him, but are scans of someone else's pictures, a set taken by the artist Sherri Levine and released in 1979 as an exhibition entitled "After Walker Evans". Furthermore, and as the name of her show suggests, Levine *too* took the images from the work of another artist, acquiring them by photographing the pictures contained in the 1941 book "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men", a collection produced in the 1930s by the celebrated cataloguer of depression-era life, Walker Evans. The images of the Burroughs family which are downloadable from Mandiberg's website and which become artworks on successful completion of the certificate are scans of pictures of original photographs of real scenes. Remarkably, and perhaps reflecting the belief that even the internet is no longer the main means through which limitlessly reproducible experiences can be shared, artist Bujar Bala has made Mandiberg's scans available to users on the move as an album for the iPhone downloadable through the "Jalbum" application (see figure 1.3).[3]

The reproductions of Walker Evans' images have just entered their third round of mimesis, aligning themselves each time to the newest form of reproductive media. What is the point of this rampant mimicry? Levine, the first to copy Walker Evans' pictures, was the most well-known of the group known as 'appropriation artists'.[4] Active in the 1970s and 1980s, appropriation artists reused well-known pieces of pre-existing artwork in order to force the viewer to question the relevance of apparently timeless values like originality and innovation. One of Levine's particularly celebrated offerings is her 1991 "Fountain", a bronze sculpture which exactly reproduces Marcel Duchamp's 1917 urinal, "Fountain". Since Duchamp's "Fountain" required neither skill nor craftsmanship to produce, arguably the only quality which made it a work of art in the first place was its originality. By precisely reproducing it, however, Levine has created a version of "Fountain" without this virtue. She is challenging us: what are the consequences of producing art which is not innovative? Is it an essential quality of a good piece of art that it be original?

From direct quotation through to the reuse of points of imitation, musical appropriation has a long and venerable history familiar to music historians. At the same time, suspicion dogs those who seem to make too great a use of it. Musical appropriation artists operating around the same time as Levine have met with comparably little success in challenging the view that appropriation is somehow creatively impotent, let alone in convincing us that it is artistically interesting. The second act of George Rochberg's 1967 *Music for the Magic Theater*, for example, a transcription of the *Adagio* of Mozart's Divertimento K.287, has generated more interest among critics of new music than it has among music historians.[5] Luciano Berio's extremely popular 1968–9 *Sinfonia*, to take another exam-

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[2]Michael Mandiberg, 'AfterSherriLevine.com', `http://www.aftersherrielevine.com/index.html` (accessed 15 September, 2009).

[3]See Bujar Bala, 'Bujar Bala', `http://bujarbala.net/` (accessed 20 September, 2009).

[4]See Irvin [2005].

[5]The notable exception to this is Robert Fink's short discussion of it in Fink [1999].

Figure 1.3: iPhone screenshot of Bular Baja's project, "After Michael Mandiberg".

ple, might have challenged audiences to assess the role that appropriation plays in musical composition, but it is a challenge that has hardly been adequately met: Berio's numerous complete transcriptions of works by other composers—like his beautiful 1975 version of Boccherini's *Ritirata Notturna Di Madrid*—have been largely ignored by historians and musicologists, despite the importance that the composer attached to both them, and the practice of transcription in general.[6] The obvious implication is that musical historians believe that works which are copied from others are less interesting—and, perhaps, lesser works—than those which are original. They are certainly seen as less historically important.

Ascribing to the position that originality is one of the most important criteria by which the historical value of a work can be determined is to commit a grave error, for it abandons the notion that the goal of music history is to write the history of music. There are a number of pertinent criteria which can help in determining the value of a work to an historical community. The most obvious is the impact which that work had on the community into which it was released. However, audience reaction to a composition is rarely taken as an indicator of its significance. Whether contemporary audiences enjoyed Czerny's music more than Beethoven's, for instance, is treated by music historians as incidentally interesting at best and at worst irrelevant, because Czerny's contribution to the society of the past is eclipsed by Beethoven's originality in the eyes of the society of the present. This is misguided because assessing the historical importance of a work based on its originality rather than its contemporary impact is to maintain that pointillistic moments of aesthetic innovation are more historically significant than the continuous story of the background against which these moments of breakthrough occurred and which enabled them to emerge in the first place. It is to argue that the goal of music history is to produce *music* history—history focused on flashes of musical genius in the form of originality—rather than music *history*.

Carl Dahlhaus has already made a similar argument when he points out the simple numerical difference between the number of nineteenth-century compositions which are deemed historically significant and the number which are not. "A tiny number of works," he writes "with unimpeachable claim to artistic status stand out against the vast output of nineteenth-century works which served an estimable social function but leave us under no compunction to include them in a history of music as art."[7] While his defence of them does not question the idea that originality is still vital for the production of great art, Dahlhaus does believe that these "non-artistic" works are worthy of study. "Dead as these works may be as musical artefacts," he maintains, "they still remain valuable documents of cultural history."[8] For Dahlhaus, musical histories of the nineteenth century which want to live up to their name are required to pay just as much attention to those works which are believed to be truly musical—original works of genius—as to those which are 'merely' part of the historical record. If music history wants to produce actual histories of music, then it is required to tell the story of the music

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[6]See [Berio, 1985, 112–113].
[7][Dahlhaus, 1989, 102].
[8][Dahlhaus, 1989, 48].

to which the audience was actually listening: music which might be lacking in originality, derivative, in poor taste, badly composed. Music which we, indeed, might not even like. These are all ways of describing keyboard arrangement.

Chapters two to four will, and following Dahlhaus' contention, concern themselves with demonstrating that keyboard arrangement is a practice which produced documents important to cultural history. This chapter, however, goes somewhat further, and presents a theoretical defence of the decision to devote the rest of this thesis to an exploration of keyboard arrangement by questioning the grounds on which it is correct to maintain that originality is an important criteria for the production of art. It considers the significance of history's first extant keyboard arrangements, those contained in the Robertsbridge Codex. These works are used to show that arrangements provide evidence for the broader social and cultural contexts in which arrangers were making their arrangements, and that this occurs not merely when arrangements treat their originals innovatively, but also when they are apparently almost exclusively derivative. The second and third sections of this chapter explain why keyboard arrangement of the nineteenth century has been passed over as an object of mainstream historical interest and the reasons that this is no longer defensible. In the fourth section of the chapter, a model for understanding keyboard arrangement is laid out. This draws on the analogy between arrangement and translation theory in general, Walter Benjamin's theory of translation in particular, and an analysis of the nineteenth-century critical rhetoric concerning the 'spirit' of the artwork. The chapter begins, however, somewhere completely different.

"Esloingner sa vie": Fauvel and the Fountain of Youth

Herodotus was the first to describe a fountain of youth in writing. Having been sent as spies to the court of the Ethiopian King by Cambyses II of Persia, the author tells us how the 'fish-eating' emissaries enquired of the King the secret of his health and longevity. In response, the King

> led them, it is said, to a spring, by washing in which they grew sleeker, as though it were of oil: and it smelled of violets. So light, the spies said, was this water, that nothing would float on it, neither wood nor anything lighter than wood, but all sank to the bottom. If this water is truly such as they say, it is likely that their constant use of it makes the people long-lived.[9]

Thus began a fascination with the rejuvenating power of water which has persisted in poetry and myth for fully two and a half thousand years. The Alexander Romance, for instance, gives several variants of a story in which Alexander the Great travels through the 'Land of Darkness' in an attempt to find the 'Water of Life'. The legends of Prester John tell that a fountain of youth was just one of many wonders possessed by the magnificent King. Five hundred years ago, the fountain of youth was said to have found a home when the European

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[9]Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. by A.D. Godley (London: Heinemann, 1921–24), III, §23.
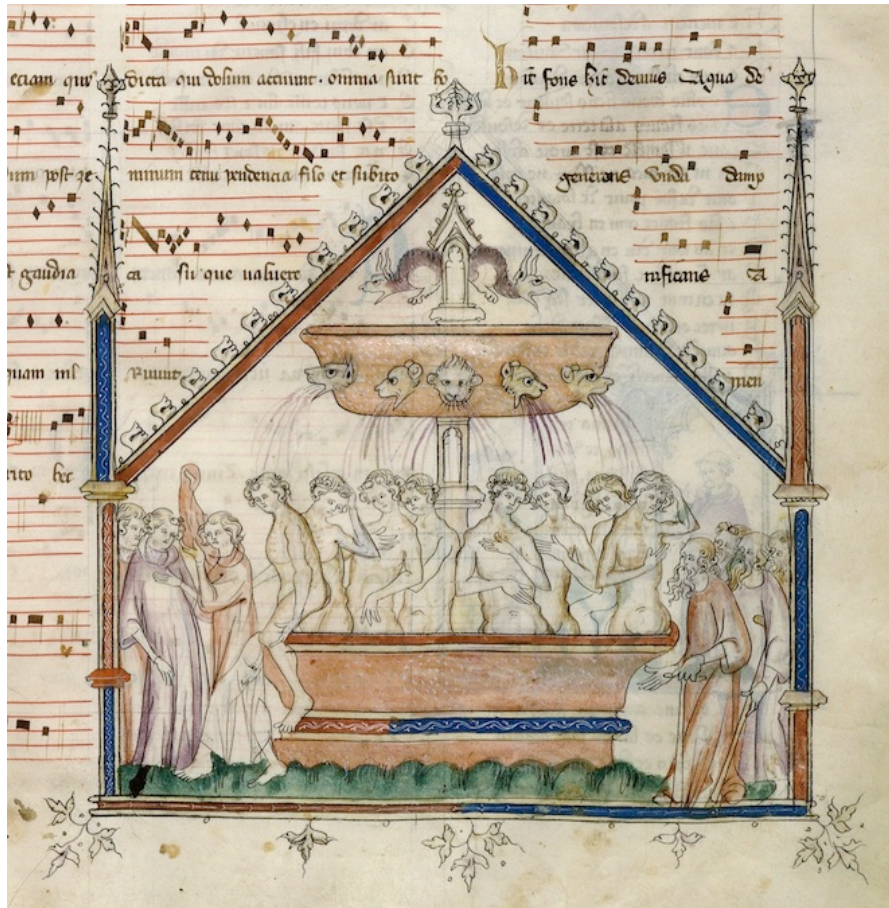
Figure 1.4: Roman de Fauvel; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr.146, folio 42r (detail).

explorer Juan Ponce de León, searching for the life-giving spring, instead discovered Florida. The magically restorative power of water is a trope both old and tenacious.

If there are numerous written descriptions of fountains of youth, visual representations of it are no less prolific. One image in particular is especially noteworthy (see figure 1.4). Balding and bearded elderly men walk with sticks or crutches, carefully picking their way from the right towards the centre of the image. There, a large basin plays host to the black baptism of its occupants.[10] They excitedly rub and douse themselves with the water which gushes down from the mouths of the grotesquely deformed gargoyles above. Finally, on the left, the men emerge from the font and clothe themselves—once more young, upright, and virile.

What relevance does the trope of the fountain of youth, and the image in figure 1.4 in particular, have to the history of keyboard arrangement? The inspiration for the image comes from a poem written at the French Royal Court between

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[10]For an explanation of how the illumination inverts traditional baptism imagery, see Kauffmann [1998].

1310 and 1317 by Court Chancery Gervais du Bois, the *Roman de Fauvel*. The poem tells the story of the rapid ascent to the highest levels of the aristocracy by an immoral horse-beast called 'Fauvel', helped in his passage by the evil machinations of Dame Fortuna and Vaine Gloire, his eventual bride. The poem most likely satirises the life of Enguerran de Marigny, a courtier whose career trajectory was similarly steep, and supposedly just as morally dubious, until his ignominious hanging in 1315 following the death of King Philip IV.[11] The *Roman de Fauvel* explains the evil intent with which Fauvel uses the fountain:

> Encore y a greingneur merveille
> Qui me met la puce en l'oreille
> Et me fait penser trop souvent:
> C'est que Heresie a en couvent
> A Fauvel d'esloingner sa vie,
> A sa fame et a sa lignie
> Par la fontainne de jouvent.[12]

By being reborn through unholy baptism in the fountain, Fauvel's satanic offspring ensure their future dominion over France.

A transcription of the text of the *Roman de Fauvel* provides the bulk of the content which makes up the manuscript in which the image in figure 1.4 can be found, MS français 146 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Fr.146 was most likely completed in 1317 and is a veritable cornucopia of material, containing "a complainte d'amour, a table of contents, a version of the *Roman de Fauvel* interpolated with music and images, a collection of eight political poems or dits attributed to Geoffroy de Paris..., a collection of songs attributed to Jehan de Lescurel and a rhymed chronicle."[13] The image of the fountain of youth is found in the bottom right-hand corner of folio 42r, concluding one of many interpolated motets by Philip de Vitry which enliven this presentation of the *Roman*—in this case, *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur*, whose text details the decline in favour of de Marigny (see figure 1.5).[14]

> Tribum que non abhorruit
> indecenter ascendere
> furibunda non metuit
> Fortuna cita vertere,
> dum duci prefate tribus
> in sempiternum speculum
> parare palam omnibus
> non pepercit patibulum.

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[11] For a full summary of the story and its origins, see [Dillon, 2002, 10–28].

[12] [Långfors, 1914–1919, 189], lines 1587–1593.

[13] cite[12]dillon.

[14] Note that Dillon also observes that the folio includes, just above the image, a text from the baptismal service—*Hic fons*—corrupted to draw attention to the "devious and perverted acts that occur in the fountain." See [Dillon, 2002, 256].

(Furious fortune has not feared to bring down swiftly the tribe which did not shrink from ascending indecently, while for the leader of the foresaid tribe, she has not refrained from preparing the gallows as an eternal mirror in the sight of everyone.)[15]

The relevance of *Tribum que non abhorruit* and its accompanying image to the history of keyboard arrangement lies in British Library Additional Manuscript 28550, the Robertsbridge Codex. The Robertsbridge Codex consists of only two leaves of music bound into the register of Robertsbridge Abbey, England. The date of the Codex's completion is not known, but the current consensus is that it was written some time shortly after the midpoint of the fourteenth century.[16] While it is not clear for precisely which instrument the music is scored, it is intended to be performed on a keyboard: John Caldwell explains that "in some places, the scribe even indicates that the left hand has to play the top part."[17] There can be no doubt that the Robertsbridge Codex is the earliest known source of notated keyboard music.

The music of the Codex consists of four complete and two incomplete works, all of which fall into one of two genres. The first set of three works are estampies, a popular Italian dance form of the Trecento; of these, the first is incomplete. The second genre of works represented here are intabulations, arrangements of vocal music for performance on keyboard or plucked-string instruments. Intabulation undoubtedly arose for practical reasons: keyboard- or lute-players wanting to perform alongside vocalists would have had to prepare their own scores for performance by reducing the vocal parts from the singers' various partbooks onto a single system.[18] The Codex features three intabulations—one of which is incomplete—of earlier material.

The Robertsbridge Codex is the first notated keyboard music in history. The Codex is important to this study, then, because the two complete intabulations within it must be counted as the earliest extant keyboard arrangements. Indeed, they are the earliest extant arrangements of any kind. The two complete pieces which have been arranged in the Robertsbridge Codex for performance at the keyboard are sourced from MS fr.146—*Fermissime fidem adoremus / Adesto, Sancta Trinitas*, and, most interestingly, *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam Secta Latronum / Merito*. The earliest extant keyboard arrangement is based on an original which was illustrated by an image of a black fountain of youth.

A fountain of youth illustrates the original motet on which the earliest known keyboard arrangements are based. Before the consequences of that fact are explored further, some time will now be spent considering the musical significance of the arrangements contained in the Robertsbridge Codex. Three points will be made: first, arrangements are records of a series of decisions on the part of the arranger which can be extrapolated through comparison of the arrangement and its

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[15]Ed. and trans. David Howlett. Quoted in Bent [1997].

[16]See John Caldwell. "Sources of keyboard music to 1660." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26298` (accessed April 6, 2010).

[17][Caldwell, 1985, 9].

[18]Howard Mayer Brown. "Intabulation." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13823` (accessed February 18, 2010).

Figure 1.5: Roman de Fauvel; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr.146, folio 42r, *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam Secta Latronum / Merito*.

Figure 1.6: Intabulation from the Robertsbridge Codex, British Library Additional Manuscript 28550, ca.1360 of *Fermissime fidem adoremus / Adesto, Sancta Trinitas* from the Roman de Fauvel, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr.146, transcription by Willi Apel, 1963.

original and which reveal the social and musical conditions under which the arranger was working; second, any comparison of arrangement and original must focus as much on those moments where the two are identical as on those where they are different, for both similarities and differences are key to understanding the dialectic of innovation and faithfulness which characterises arrangement; third, and as a consequence of the proceeding two claims, nineteenth-century keyboard arrangements cannot be dismissed as historically or artistically uninteresting simply because they seem to err on the side of fidelity to an original.

The intabulations in the Robertsbridge Codex are reprinted, and compared with their originals, in the 1963 volume of Willi Apel's *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music*.[19] The most immediately noticeable feature of the intabulations is their florid ornamentation of the upper voice. This is characteristic of most intabulations of this period. In the case of the *Adesto*, for example, what in the original was a simple composing-out of a minim f′ followed by a semibreve c′ (over a held f) has been transformed in the intabulation into a rhythmically undulating series of neighbour note ornamentations (see figure 1.6). An almost identical ornamentation style is also observable in the opening bars of the second complete intabulation, *Tribum quem* (see figure 1.7).

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[19]See Apel [1963].

Figure 1.7: Intabulation from the Robertsbridge Codex, British Library Additional Manuscript 28550, ca.1360 of *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam Secta Latronum / Merito* from the Roman de Fauvel, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr.146, transcription by Willi Apel, 1963.

In general, and in keeping with the techniques on display in other early intabulations, the two arrangements carry over as much as possible of their vocal models. The fairly dramatic alterations to the motets in the form of the ornamentation of the top lines of the intabulations must thus have been motivated by a serious concern on the part of the arranger. They are presumably concessions to the lack of sustain provided by the strings of the plucked keyboard instrument for which they were intended. This principle is already familiar from later works: music performed on the Baroque harpsichord was replete with ornamentation for exactly the same reason. Thus, concealed within the logic of the decision to ornament the top line of the intabulations is one of the arranger's motivations—a desire to make the notes sound longer—which reveals a fact about contemporary instrumental technology—notes on the instrument for which the arrangement was intended could not be sustained.

Other conclusions can be drawn from the same evidence. The fact of the ornamentation of the top part suggests, for example, that the arranger was intent on rendering the aural effect of the intabulation as close as possible to that of the original; he was trying to imitate the sound of the original by creating, through ornamentation, lines which mimic the voice's ability to sustain pitches. Further, this observation changes the way in which it can be assumed that the ornamentations were received by contemporary audiences. Where previously they might have been taken as aimless wanderings up and down the keyboard, it can now be argued that they were understood as attempting to 'sustain' the original, more fundamental, pitches of the source work. (As an aside, this is to ask something extremely profound of the listener, to have him or her mentally sustain a note which cannot be heard in the same form as that in which it is meant. It is this point which drives Schenkerian theory.[20])

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[20]See Schenker [1979].

The use of ornamentation in the *Adesto* and the *Tribum quem* demonstrates a vital point about the historical value of arrangements: an arrangement is a product of a series of decisions made by an arranger concerning the adaptation of an original to a new medium and which contains implicit within it the justifications for these decisions. Indeed, a brief consideration of five forms of arrangement at different times and places throughout history shows how they always reveal broader musical, aesthetic, social and technological trends. For instance, nineteenth-century adaptations of orchestral works for the piano were often at pains to find a convincing way of conveying the instrumental timbre of their originals, typically using tremolando to convey violin tremolo and drum rolls. Because there is nothing necessary about this use of tremolando, it reveals that value was obviously placed on the achievement of a similarity of aural effect between the arrangement and the original. Second, Schuberth's 1860 *erleichtert* version of Beethoven's *Trauermarsch*, for example, or the simplified edition of Liszt's *Rákóczy-Marsch* released in 1872 by the same publisher, speak of an audience who were not only keen to play and hear well-known works, but who were also untroubled by the fact that the only form in which they could manage to do so was not the one intended by the composer.[21] Nineteenth-century arrangers of Baroque works were often called upon to justify the changes they had made to an original in updating it for contemporary performance, and normally relied on appealing to changes in various facets of public taste to do so. J. F. Edler von Mosel, for example, writing in 1843, argues that the alterations he makes to Handel's compositions while preparing arrangements of them are in response to a lack of singers properly qualified for the job, a distaste for Handel's preferred means of formal expression, and the absence of a suitable concert vehicle within which these long works can be contained.[22] Fourth, some arrangements demonstrate that certain instrumental technologies or ensembles have become available at all. The existence of an arrangement of the first movement of Beethoven's first symphony for eight tubas, for example, suggests that tubas exist, it is possible for eight of them to be in the same place at the same time, eight people will be happy to take part in this kind of performance, an audience will be willing to accept this as a valid instrumental ensemble, and audiences will be happy to listen to musical jokes (assuming that it is one).[23] Finally, the contemporary preference for the kind of arrangement which sees harpsichord music of the Baroque era performed on the piano evidences developments in instrumental technology and changes in public taste and performance style.

In a number of extremely different ways, arrangements speak of contemporary social, cultural and aesthetic mores, as well as the technical means to which arrangers were bound. However, this is to show how arrangements contain information about their contemporary culture only when they differ from their originals. Nineteenth-century keyboard arrangements remained by and large extremely similar to the works which they arranged. This has typically been taken as a sign of any number of different lacks: a lack of invention on the part of the

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[21] Beethoven [1860] and Liszt [1872].

[22] See von Mosel [1843]. Mosel's position will be discussed at greater length in chapter two.

[23] Beethoven [1990].

arranger; a lack of worth of the final product; a lack of necessity for the arrangement in the first place; and so on. The clearest evidence for this litany of want is to be found in those many descriptions of arrangement which argue that the only arrangements worthy of study are those which manifest some kind of creative departure from their originals: the definition of 'Arrangement' in the first *Grove* dictionary of 1879, for instance, is a catalogue of the deviations which arrangements manifest when compared with their originals, introducing a series of lists with phrases like "[t]he most important changes..." or "the nature of Beethoven's alterations...". It is through changes and alterations, it is typically argued, that an arrangement derives its worth.

In fact, remaining faithful to an original was not in the nineteenth century seen a sign of a lack of creative thought on the part of the arranger. When considered in light of the claim made above that the practice of producing an arrangement is the process of making a series of decisions, this is not surprising: deciding to be faithful to the score is just as significant a decision, and one which is also made for externally- and internally-motivated reasons, as deciding to change it. This was certainly the case in the nineteenth century. Critic Louis Köhler, writing in 1853, for instance, saw the ideal arrangement as "[t]rue to the original even to each ideally essential note; effective in the spirit of the same as far as a daguerreotype compared with the real object can be; and as easily performable as fidelity to the score, together with all reasonable limitation, will admit."[24] Moments where the arrangement remains faithful to the original are just as significant as those in which changes are made.

To return, for example, to the *Adesto* and *Tribum quem*, numerous small deviations from the original are on display: in bar 7 of the *Adesto*, the intabulation but not the original features an incomplete upper-auxiliary note on the last semiquaver of the bar to push bass motion onwards into the next minim in bar 8 (see figure 1.6). This is repeated in bar 75, where a very similar moment in the melody is accompanied by an almost identical addition in the bass (see figure 1.8). Other changes include the addition of a left-hand part in bars 16 and 43 to stop the intabulation from paring down to one voice. The significance of these additions only emerges, however, when it is made clear that there are other, similar moments where the arranger does not alter the original. In bars 82 to 83 and 94 to 95, for example, there are no inserted upper-auxiliary notes in the bass, despite clear opportunities for them; and in bars 34 and 35 the arranger does not insert a new left-hand part, despite the fact that here the music does reduce to a solo line.

What the differing treatments of auxiliary notes and unaccompanied parts in the *Adesto* in fact demonstrate is that in the preparation and assessment of an arrangement, deviation and fidelity stand in a certain kind of dialogue with one another. This should not really be surprising; after all, arrangement is necessarily the placing in dialectic of the new and the same. An arrangement without fidelity is a free composition; an arrangement without deviation is the original work. Bars 16 and 43 only become especially interesting when it is noted that the arranger does not treat bars 34 and 35 in a similar way.

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[24][Köhler, 1853, 41].

Figure 1.8: Intabulation from the Robertsbridge Codex, British Library Additional Manuscript 28550, ca.1360, of *Fermissime fidem adoremus / Adesto, Sancta Trinitas* from the Roman de Fauvel, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr.146, transcription by Willi Apel, 1963.

There is another, even better example of this point. The most obvious large-scale departure from the originals made by both of these intabulations is the melisma-like ornamentation of their original melodies. Here it would have to be said that the arranger is most free with his original text. At the same time, however, the melody is only written in this florid manner so that the keyboard instrument can attempt to mimic the voice's ability to sustain pitches. The purpose of the innovative ornamentation is actually to allow the intabulation to approach, not distance itself from, the sonic quality of the original motet. The feature of the arrangements of the *Adesto* and *Tribum quem* which seems to be the most different from its original is at the same the one which is trying to be the most faithful to it.

Why is Arrangement Dismissed?

The work of appropriation artists of the 1970s like Sherri Levine questions the historical and aesthetic foundations for the use of originality as a tool for the assessment of art. Their conclusion—and it is one shared by other and more recent artists like Mandiberg and Balar—is that these criteria need not be considered universally significant. Art historian Sherri Irvin, for example, believes that the value of appropriation art consists in its demonstration that "[t]he demand for originality is an extrinsic pressure directed at the artist by society, rather than a constraint that is internal to the very concept of art."[25]Extending this point to music would necessitate a reconsideration of the aesthetic significance of musical genres or practices which lack originality or innovation. Keyboard arrangement is the most obvious of these practices, one which is quite clearly lacking in compositional originality. Before the evidence for suggesting that keyboard arrangement is deserving of attention on the grounds that it is historically significant is outlined in chapters two to four, that discussion must be prepared by showing

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[25][Irvin, 2005, 137].

first, why musical works which are not innovative are dismissed, and second, why this dismissal is no longer defensible.

That the elevation of originality to the status of aesthetic desideratum is a programme which has been running in western aesthetics since the early part of the nineteenth century has already been observed by several writers. In his attempt to find an alternative to this dominant aesthetic, an alternative which he calls serial aesthetics, Umberto Eco does a good job of explaining the importance it awards to the doctrine of originality. "Modern aesthetics and modern theories of art," explains Eco, in his 1990 essay "Interpreting Serials", "have frequently identified the artistic value with novelty and high information. The pleasurable repetition of an already known pattern was considered typical of Crafts—not Art—and industry."[26] "This is the reason," he continues, a little later,

> for which modern aesthetics was so severe apropros of the industrial-like products of the mass-media. A popular song, a TV commercial, a comic strip, a detective novel, a western movie, were seen as more or less successful tokens of a given model or type. As such, they were judged as pleasurable but non-artistic. Furthermore, this excess of pleasurability and repetition, and this lack of innovation, were felt to be a commercial trick (the product had to meet the expectations of its audience), not the provocative proposal of a new (and difficult to accept) world vision. The products of mass media were equated with the products of industry, insofar as they were produced in series, and the "serial" production was considered alien to the artistic invention.[27]

Eco believes that repetitive products of the mass media show more affinity with the results of modern mechanised industry than they do with those of art. This is because "modern aesthetics" hold that the artwork is necessarily concerned with the unique, the individual, and the non-commercial; innovation is its *sine qua non*.

Eco is not alone in dismissing the "modern aesthetics" as ignorant of the value of repetition. Critic Linda Hutcheon, for example, makes the same point in her book on contemporary adaptations, from film adaptations of books, to theme park ride adaptations of computer game adaptations of films. "Adaptations are everywhere," she observes.[28] Nonetheless, "in both academic criticism and journalistic reviewing, contemporary popular adaptations are most often put down as secondary [or] derivative."[29] The basis for this critical neglect, is, she believes, the continued dominance of Romantic aesthetics. She cites specifically Immanuel Kant's description of genius, a being whose essence "is entirely opposed to the *spirit of imitation*."[30] Artistic adaptations and appropriations are frowned upon, Hutcheon believes, because they violate the nineteenth-century principle of innovative creativity.

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[26][Eco, 1990, 83].

[27][Eco, 1990, 84].

[28][Hutcheon, 2006, 2].

[29][Hutcheon, 2006, 3].

[30]"Darin ist jedermann einig, daß Genie dem Nachahmungsgeiste gänzlich entgegen zu setzen sei." Kant [1996], Part 1, Division 1, §47, my emphasis.

Both Eco and Hutcheon argue that the contemporary dismissal of repetitious, appropriating or adapting works stems from a reliance on older aesthetic paradigms which emphasise innovation. There are two observations to be made about this point. First, although both Eco and Hutcheon take the position as tyrannically dominant, the modern visual arts have partially succeeded in challenging the notion that innovative genius is required to create great works. They have instead imprinted on the public mind the possibility that great art can be derivative, devoid of craft, or produced by the mere craftsman. The Chapman brothers' "If Hitler Had Been a Hippy How Happy Would We Be" 2008 exhibition, for example, featured 13 watercolours (supposedly) painted by Adolf Hitler, on which the brothers daubed rainbows, smiling faces and floating hearts. Antony Gormley's 2006 "Field" comprises 35,000 small clay figurines sculpted by brickmakers in Cholula, Mexico, working under the artists' guidance. Eco's and Hutcheon's positions must be tempered by the fact that the dominance of which they speak has already been partially undermined.

Second, however, it should also be observed that challenges to "modern aesthetics" have only been successful in certain fields. While practitioners in the visual arts are now seemingly free to appropriate the works of others, musical works which do or have done so are less likely to be the target of historical attention than those which have not. There are three specifically musical reasons why this—and especially when thinking about arrangement—might be so. They all share in common a sense that there is something undesirable in the loss of the principles that Eco and Hutcheon have identified as dominant—innovation and genius.

The first group of reasons that keyboard arrangement has largely been dismissed as aesthetically uninteresting revolve around the concept of *Werktreue*. Historian Kurt Blaukopf, for example, is so sure of the mutual influence of the ideology and arrangement that his 1968 book on the topic takes the two words as its title.[31] There is no pressing need to embark on a history of *Werktreue* here, since excellent descriptions of it already exist.[32] The earlier (and, to some extent, continuing) dominance of a belief in the principle has prohibited an accurate assessment of the importance of keyboard arrangement to musical life in the nineteenth century because a believer in its insistence on fidelity is likely to argue that the preparation of a keyboard arrangement is a clear violation of the original work. According to this position, the nineteenth-century popularity of keyboard arrangement was simply an outgrowth of the fact that there were no other means to circulate music: arrangement was an empty and meaningless concession to practicality whose infidelities against the artwork first, cannot be excused and second, can only be explained by the fact that it was merely plugging a technological gap. It was (and quite rightly so) forgotten as historical error as soon as a method of musical reproduction more faithful to the original—recording—was found.

Werktreue has had a particularly negative effect on historical interest in keyboard arrangement because of the impact which arrangement has on instrumen-

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[31]See Blaukopf [1968].
[32]See, for example, [Goehr, 1992, 243–286], and Danuser [2002].

tal timbre. Hector Berlioz, for example, argues that keyboard arrangement is rejected by the modern composer because it undermines the time he or she has spent working on orchestration. "By destroying the instrumental effects," he complains, "the piano at once reduces all composers to the same level, and places the clever, profound, ingenious orchestrator on the same platform with an ignorant dunce."[33] Keyboard arrangement, Berlioz believes, sins against the original composition in terms of timbre: by transforming an orchestral work into a version for solo keyboard, its unique sound colour is obliterated. Given that timbre would grow through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century to become a fully independent compositional parameter, it is unsurprising that any musical practice which attempted to ignore it would itself be subject to a lack of respect and interest.

The second group of reasons for the contemporary disinterest in keyboard arrangement concern arrangement's relationship with industry. It was shown above that Eco believes that copies are disliked because in recreating something as if from a mould they find themselves dangerously close to industry and thus "alien to the artistic invention."[34] The perceived bifurcation of industry and art is profound and long-standing. While industry and its products are fungible and transient, the content of artworks is truth itself, and truth is timeless and unchanging. Arguably the most suspicious industry of all is thus also the most transient, its name in fact often standing as another word for transience: fashion. Dahlhaus argues that fashion is a category "whose ill repute in the arts is matched only by its uncontested domination of adjacent fields."[35] Indeed, it is as fashionable objects in particular that keyboard arrangements suffer in contemporary estimations of them. Consider this ironic dialogue written by an anonymous critic in 1847:

> "Have you heard the new *Souvenir sur l'opéra 'L'Ame en Peine'*?"
>
> Ah, it is godly; it must be an excellent Opera, full of spirit and melody.
>
> "My daughter, who always buys the newest and most fashionable things, plays it like an angel."
>
> Oh, I assure you, in the Salon of Countess X, the new French dance from "Matrosen" had a volcanic success! Etc.[36]

The fast-changing dynamics of popularity meant that keyboard arrangement was in the nineteenth century a beloved vehicle for the demonstration of one's fashionability. The ironic tone of this piece, however, exemplifies that this demonstration made it inherently suspicious.

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[33][Berlioz, 1966, 84].

[34][Eco, 1990, 84].

[35][Dahlhaus, 1989, 140].

[36]"Haben Sie schon die neuen Souvenirs *sur l'opéra: "l'ame en peine"* gehört? Ah, die sind göttlich—muß eine ausgezeichnete Oper sein, voll Geist und Melodie.—"Meine Tochter, die stets das Neueste und Fashionabelste kommen läßt, spielt sie wie ein Engel!"—Ah, ich versichere Sie, im Salon der Gräfin X. hatten die neuen Françaisen aus den "Matrosen" einen wahren Chimborazo Erfolg! x." [L., 1847, 435], line breaks mine.

Related to the fact that lack of serious interest in arrangement stems from its apparent similarities to the products of any fashionable industry is that arrangements found both an audience and a use which have long been viewed with disdain by serious musical culture. Keyboard arrangements in the nineteenth century were often easy to perform, simple to understand, and thus favoured by the supposedly ill-educated amateur of questionable taste: recall Cyril Ehrlich's claim that arrangements were "mass produced for the ungifted and semi-trained to perform to the unmusical and half-listening."[37] Good music, so the argument goes, should not associate with such questionable company. To take an analogous case, the reception of Haydn's music as particularly profound has been hampered (in comparison with its reception as particularly funny, which has been strengthened) by the fact that its simple harmonic contour and approachable classical architecture have led to it being appropriated as a pedagogical aid in most *Harmonie-* and *Formenlehre*. This in turn has meant that it has often had to struggle to be accepted as a genre with serious musical aspirations.[38] In the same way, the widespread use of keyboard arrangements at home and for the education of those often disrespectfully called dilettantes has meant that they too have suffered from a lack of historical interest and are rarely today taken seriously outside of their role as musical distraction. Neither the fashionable, the educational, the simple, nor the popular are capable of being real musical works, let alone ones worthy of study.

Finally, the third reason for 'serious' musicology's disinterest in keyboard arrangement is that even when judged by those for whom appropriation is a valid form of artistic expression, the kind of appropriation practiced by keyboard arrangement seems to be particularly banal. In his 1982 book on imitation in literature, for example, Gerard Genette lays out at length the several different ways in which one work can appear in another.[39] One particular form of appropriation is imitation. Genette believes that for a work to be truly imitative, the new work has to do more than merely copy the old; it has to perform it. In the visual arts, imitation is a performance—it is called copying (in certain cases, forging), and it requires of the copier a certain degree of skill. In the musical arts, however, this is not the case. "To imitate directly—i.e., to copy—a poem or a piece of music," Genette argues, "is a purely mechanical task, at the disposal of anyone who knows how to write or to place notes on the staff, and without any literary or musical significance."[40] Keyboard arrangement is the clearest form of this mechanical copying. Genette believes that "direct imitation in literature or music, unlike what occurs in the visual arts, does not constitute a significant performance at all. Here, to reproduce is nothing."[41]

Genette's is a typically modernist position, one whose appearance in the work

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[37][Ehrlich, 1976, 93–94].

[38]This is the 'Papa Haydn' problem. See, for instance, Sutcliffe [1989] and James Webster and Georg Feder. "Haydn, Joseph. (§6, Character and Personality)." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44593pg6` (accessed October 10, 2010).

[39]See Genette [1997].

[40][Genette, 1997, 84].

[41][Genette, 1997, 84].

of an arch-structuralist might not be surprising. Most importantly, it relies on the assumption that mechanical copying is less interesting to an audience than transformation. Genette believes that an audience could not find anything of artistic interest in an unchanged copy of an original. As will be shown below, this position is patently false.

Redeeming Arrangement

Eco believes that "serial products" have tended to be dismissed by "modern aesthetics". The best explanation of why this dismissal is misguided is to be found not in Eco's work, but in that of one of his colleagues, Omar Calabrese. In his 1987 book, *Neo-Baroque: A Sign of the Times*, Calabrese is, like Eco, concerned with attempting to find a means of judging the products of systems of mass production which is more sympathetic to the ways that these systems operate. He grounds this exploration by critiquing the prevailing mode of judgement which has typically ignored these products. The critique is worth quoting at length. "After having lived through not only idealism but also the historical avant-garde," he writes,

> common sense tells us that repetition and serialism should be regarded as the exact opposite of originality and the artistic... When we read contemporary newspaper reviewing we too often find ourselves reading criticisms of aesthetic objects that "replicate" other objects, which are then considered to be forerunners of a type of series. This is permitted by the adoption of a group attitude that promotes serial products to the status of cult objects simply because, in doing so, an aesthetic value is produced that resides not in the work being cultivated but in the position of the consumer. This kind of position seems confused, out of date, and inadequate when confronted by the aesthetic objects produced by our culture. Confused, because the attitude, which is not only idealistic but survives in many other philosophical formulations, tends to superimpose upon each other a variety of accepted meanings of repetition without distinguishing between them. Out of date, because an attitude that idealises the work of art's uniqueness has undoubtedly been swept away by contemporary practices; since the 1960s, invented multiples, modern art movements have delivered a death blow to the myth of the original, and the idea of citation and pastiche is now exalted in many so-called post-modernist creations. Finally, inadequate, because the pre-conceived notion prevents us from recognising the birth of a new aesthetic, the aesthetic of repetition.[42]

For Calabrese,"idealist" aesthetics and their insistence on "uniqueness" and "the myth of the original" are masking the birth of a new aesthetic of production—one which places mass repetition at its heart. Mass and serial production is not

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[42][Calabrese, 1992, 27–8].

something to be bemoaned by an idealist aesthetics, but rather, and given its thorough penetration of both the artistic and commercial worlds, something to which any aesthetic system appropriate to contemporary mores should have to respond. Repetition, in other words, is no longer a sign of the decay of western society; it is its an essential contributor to that which makes it unique.

Calabrese's argument that any decent contemporary aesthetic system has to rise to the challenge of responding to repetition as a defining cultural enterprise rather than dismissing it as contravening the idealist injunction towards originality is an attack on the notion that originality is necessary for the production of good art. The work of the appropriation artists is only one instance in which a similar point is practically articulated. It is not hard to find others. During the Classical era, for instance, *imitatio* was a rhetorical practice in which students were expected to become extremely proficient and which consisted, in essence, of imitation. For Philodemus, "those who take over a story are better than its previous users, if they make a greater contribution of poetical excellence": the imitator could, in other words, be better even than the original author.[43] Seneca took this idea even further when he argued that it actually paid to be second: "[t]he last comer is best placed. He finds the words to hand; differently arranged, they take on a new look."[44] While governed by specific rules and injunctions, the subtleties of which will not be discussed here, the basic point concerning *imitatio* is that imitating a text in the Classical era was not seen to give rise to exclusively inadequate works, but was rather a sign of the author's laudable willingness to engage with his or her artistic heritage.

The logic at work in these practical examples has also had an impact on academic thought concerning appropriation in the visual arts. The consequence is that more interest has been shown to those artists who were supposedly 'copiers'. A notable example is Stephen Bann's 2001 book *Parallel Lines*, in which the author explores the relationship between French nineteenth-century artists and printmakers, as well as the effect that changes in print-making technology wrought on both the print, the concepts of the original and image, and the original itself.[45] Bann's study of print-making in nineteenth-century France has analogous significance to this study of nineteenth-century arrangement because the practices are themselves analogous. Both aimed at mass circulation of works which would otherwise have had little public impact; both were produced by individuals (arrangers and engravers) who have so far been understood as more or less historically invisible and subjectively transparent; both were often associated with large amounts of profit; both found a market among the newly emerged middle class; and so on. The two realms in fact often touched one another; Chopin and Liszt, for example, were known to have visited the print-making studio of Calamatta sometime in the 1830s.[46] Theodor Adorno, writing in 1933, directly compares the impact of the two practices on late nineteenth-century European bourgeois par-

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[43]Philodemus, quoted in [Russell, 1979, 4].

[44]Seneca, quoted in [Russell, 1979, 5].

[45]See Bann [2001].

[46]Probably 1835. See the recollection of Charles Blanc in [Bann, 2001, 1]: "This studio, silent for the most part, was visited by artists and well-known people…Franz Liszt, and the pale Chopin, who came in like a cold and polite ghost."

lour life and argues that "four-handed playing [of arrangements] was better than *The Island of Death* over the buffet" (a reference to the numerous and extremely popular prints of Arnold Böcklin's 1880 painting *Die Toteninsel*, see figure 1.9).[47] If Bann restitutes the print and the print-maker as objects worthy of historical attention, then, by analogy, he does the same for arrangement and the arranger.

Bann's book makes a number of points as to how print-making culture in nineteenth-century France challenges the inherited view of reproduction as creatively arid. He refers, for example, to several instances in which it is clear that the role of print-maker was not that of mere copier. Paul Mercuri, to cite the most obvious case, worked obsessively for over twenty-two years on the production of his engraving of Paul Delaroche's *Jane Grey*.[48] This feat alone would surely qualify his supposed 'copy' as its own work of art, notwithstanding the fact that Delaroche "was quite explicitly relying on Mercuri to correct his own mistakes of more than twenty years before."[49] Indeed, it was in fact an uncontroversial truth to nineteenth-century Parisian artistic circles that the engraver was always something more than a copyist: witness, for instance, nineteenth-century print-collector Philippe Burty's dismissal of the emerging technology of photography on the grounds that it—and not the engraving—is nothing more than an empty copy. "Photography," he claims, "is impersonal; it does not interpret, it copies; there is its weakness as well as its strength, for it renders with the same indifference the superfluous detail and the scarcely visible, scarcely sensible nuance that gives soul and likeness."[50] Contemporary evidence, in other words, suggests that the dominant position was that copying was very rarely merely copying.

Bann's aim, however, "is not just to invert the telescope and give due attention to the assiduous artisan, rather than the star of the salon" by arguing that the artisan produced images worthy of being called originals.[51] Rather, he is trying to problematise the very nature of the distinction between original and image at all, to ask "on what grounds, and according to what criteria, should the line between the 'original' and its reproductions be drawn?"[52] The existence, for example, of a print-maker like Mercuri who is interpreter enough to alter the very original which he has been contracted to copy suggests that the distinction drawn at this time between the two was in fact quite slim. Bann goes so far as to argue that this point in Western art history represents a move away from the separation of original from copy and towards the notion of the natural fecundity of the image. He relates this position to the Byzantine notion of economy, "epitomised by the act of God in offering the image of his Son as a model for action", and in stark contrast to Platonic mimesis which "notoriously represents the artistic image as a form of double derogation from the purity of the Idea."[53] He concludes that "nineteenth-century artistic practices in France were far from being regulated programmatically by the distinction between the 'original' and the 'copy'"

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[47]"Aber das Vierhändigspielen war besser als die Totinsel überm Büffet." [Adorno, 1982, 304].

[48]See Bann [2001], chapter four.

[49][Bann, 2001, 136].

[50]Philippe Burty in 1859, quoted on [Bann, 2001, 25].

[51][Bann, 2001, 3].

[52][Bann, 2001, 23].

[53][Bann, 2001, 29–30].

Figure 1.9: Arnold Böcklin, *Die Toteninsel, Dritte Version*, 1883.

and that in fact (and here he quotes art historian Richard Shiff) "pure original and perfect copy must be situated very close together...They occupy nearly the same position, while each maintains its unattainability."[54] Bann's belief is that the print, rather than being guilty of one of the first mass-market violations of the principles of originality, genius, creativity, and so on, actually represents the birth of a period in which those principles are undermined by the disappearance of the distinction between copy and original.

Bann's contention that the process of print-making in the nineteenth century was not a facile act of copying but arguably represents the birth of a new era of the image analogously vindicates historical investigation of keyboard arrangement. Indeed, Bann's conclusion that original and copy are situated on a continuum, and closer together than typically thought, is precisely the kind of attitude that typifies some contemporary engagements with arrangement. Malcolm Boyd's description of arrangement in *The New Grove*, for example, concludes by arguing that "[i]t would be unrealistic to propose that arrangements should be judged without reference to the original, but it is perhaps only by regarding the arrangement and the original as two different versions of the same piece that a solution to the aesthetic dilemma they so often create will be found."[55] Bann's position has already found some expression in musical circles.

It was explained above that the first specifically music-historical reason for the lack of interest shown to nineteenth-century keyboard arrangement was that adherence to the principle of *Werktreue* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries meant that any change to a score was considered a violation of the almost holy sanctity of the composer's thoughts. Although its historical importance is undeniable, *Werktreue* is now a deeply interrogated and problematic ideology—a consequence of the writing of its history has been a profound questioning of its validity. There are three relevant issues. First, Blaukopf argues that *Werktreue* is an ideal which actual nineteenth-century musical practice could never realise: composers were simply too reliant on arrangement as a means for communicating their music to new audiences to allow their desire to be faithful to their own work to take precedence. Even Berlioz, as Blaukopf notes, was not averse to arrangement when he stood to profit from it.[56] Second, it is never clear to what musical society is meant to be being faithful: the first published score, the most recently published *Urtext*, the composer's first draft, the composer's last draft, printed editions annotated by the composer, recordings of the composer performing his own work, and so on. The list of possible "authoritative" sources is long, and none (or rather, all) have a strong claim to being the most authoritative. As Blaukopf concludes, "the concept of *Werktreue* is questionable."[57]

Third, and finally, certain modern musical practices reveal *Werktreue* to be deeply anachronistic. In modern operatic performances, for instance, as contemporary stagings become less and less similar to those imagined by the com-

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[54][Bann, 2001, 40], and Richard Shiff, in 1983, quoted on [Bann, 2001, 41].

[55]Malcolm Boyd. "Arrangement." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01332` (accessed January 27, 2011).

[56]See [Blaukopf, 1968, 12].

[57]"Der Begriff der Werktreue ist fragwürdig." [Blaukopf, 1968, 7].

poser and librettist, the corresponding musical insistence on absolute accuracy to a supposed written authority seems more and more unreasonable, and the already often uncertain relationship between music and drama becomes more and more bifurcated. In this sense, cinema and the theatre provide interesting provocations with regards to the "arrangement" of old dramas in new ways: there are countless film versions of Shakespeare's plays, for instance, from Hollywood teen-dramas (*10 Things I Hate About You*, 1995, based on *The Taming of the Shrew*) to broadway musicals (*West Side Story*, filmed in 1961, based on *Romeo and Juliet*) to Japanese period dramas (Akira Kurosawa's 1985 *Ran*, based on *King Lear*). Theatrical "arrangements" are no less common, including, for example, Tom Stoppard's 1966 *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*, the 2003 *Sleep No More* (a Hitchcockian *Macbeth*), or even Henrik Ibsen's 1853 *St. John's Eve*, based on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Musical arrangements should not be dismissed on the basis of their trespass against the integrity of the original artwork because it is no longer clear that the sanctity of the original is something which it is necessary—in the other arts, at least—to protect.

The second specifically musical reason for disinterest in keyboard arrangement is its close association with the apparently transient and thus false glory of industry, and most particularly, fashion. Criticising arrangement on these grounds, however, is to misunderstand the role that fashion played in the nineteenth century (and, indeed, to be somewhat of a snob with regards to the role that it plays today). Dahlhaus, for example, argues that the principle of fungibility of a musical hit—what in the nineteenth century was referred to as *stagione*—was not abhorred, but rather, accepted: "the *stagione* principle of the nineteenth century proceeds from the thoroughly unobjectionable premise that one season's hit, rather than being perpetuated, will be superseded by a new hit in the next."[58] The fact of a work's fleeting popularity can change the way that it is regarded as an historical *musical* object—its fleetingness means that even today we might have difficulty accepting it as great music—but it should not affect the understanding of it as an *historical* musical object. If something was popular in the past, no matter how briefly, we are arguably bound as historians to be interested in it today.

In one way, this is already a response to the position that keyboard arrangement should be dismissed because of its simplicity and relationship with the clueless amateur. Since the genre was historically significant, the question of its relative ease or the nature of its audience plays no part in determining whether or not it should be studied. Regardless, the point can even be dismissed on its own terms. In chapter two it will be shown that keyboard arrangements actually only developed their reputation for keeping such poor company in the last years of the nineteenth, and early years of the twentieth, centuries, when they had already—to a certain degree—become artefacts of an earlier musical generation. In fact, in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, keyboard arrangements were not only accepted as making a valid contribution at both ends of musical culture, but were celebrated for it. In 1814, for instance, Ignatz Moscheles records the pleasant interaction between himself and Beethoven as they proceed with the production of an important arrangement: "[t]he proposal is made to me. . . ," re-

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[58][Dahlhaus, 1989, 140].

calls Moscheles, "to arrange the great master-piece "Fidelio", for the piano. What can be more delightful?"[59]

Finally, Genette's position is that musical appropriation is of no interest because it is rarely anything more than simple copying. This point can no longer stand. As has already been evidenced by the afterlife of Walker Evans' images, copying can be an artistically appropriate, appropriating position, one that challenges audiences to ask certain questions concerning the nature of originality and the artistic act. Furthermore, and as has been seen in Bann's work on French print-makers, it is not the fact of the difficulty of the preparation of an appropriation which is relevant, but rather, the extent to which the distinction between original and copy is held to be determinate. Ultimately, if it is agreed that innovation is no longer necessary for the production of great art, then Genette's argument can be dismissed at an absolutely fundamental level. If an artist no longer needs to be innovative, then is there really a need to maintain that he or she needs to be doing something particularly difficult?

This last point can be clarified by driving more carefully at the distinction between poiesis and esthesis. The esthesic question of the complexity or otherwise of the object which results from the act of arrangement (a copy of a score for the piano) is not the primary concern here. This thesis does not attempt to defend the study of keyboard arrangements by showing that some of their number possess a hidden artistic depth which actually chimes with the dictates of contemporary aesthetics: it does not claim, for example, that keyboard arrangements in general should be studied because they show a prescient interest in postmodern issues like multiple-authorship and intertextuality (although, as will be shown in chapter four, some of them do). Making this kind of claim when justifications of the study of a new body of material are attempted is common, but it creates a false aesthetic economy. As the 'new' object removes (for example, and in the case of arrangement) its veil of banality to reveal its 'true', complex aesthetic credentials, it loses its power to challenge the status quo by tacitly agreeing that the possession of complexity is necessary if the study of it is to be justified. Thus, rather than expanding the prevailing aesthetic mode, the difference which made the object interesting in the first place is lost. To argue that keyboard arrangement is worth studying because it is actually compositionally subtle would be to deny it that which makes it unique: its derivativeness. In order to avoid this danger, what has been discussed here is the poiesis of the arrangement, the idea that innovation is neither necessary nor an ahistorical desideratum for the production of new and interesting art.

It will be shown in chapters two to four that arrangements were extremely significant historically because they were responsible for disciplining countless aspects of the musical experience of the nineteenth-century audience. It is for *both* this reason and the ones laid out in the foregoing sections that keyboard arrangement is worthy of our attention as historians of music. From the vantage point of the historical musician, those interested in history first and music second, keyboard arrangement will be shown in what follows to be a vibrant and vital part of nineteenth-century musical life. If the values of originality, fidelity,

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[59][Moscheles, 1873, 10].

immutability and difficulty really have been questioned, then keyboard arrangement might even have something to offer the musical historian as well.

Translation and Keyboard Arrangement

Defining the keyboard edition in his 1835 *Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, Gustav Schilling argues that

> [c]ertain figures of other instruments, for example, the string orchestra, (or the sustained tones of the winds) are partly unplayable on the piano, partly without effect, or a bit of both. Other figures must therefore step into their place; one must achieve the same effect with other tools, just as the translator must give up fidelity to words in other languages in order to protect the sense.[60]

Schilling is far from the only individual to have noted the relationship between arrangement and translation. Writing in 1922, for example, Alexander Brent-Smith suggests that "[o]ne duty of the transcriber is to translate music from one language into another in which it will speak with greater force."[61] In his introduction to his keyboard arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies, Liszt explains that he "shall be satisfied if [he has] accomplished the task of the intelligent engraver and conscientious translator, who capture both the spirit and the letter of a work and thus help to propagate knowledge of the masters and a feeling for beauty."[62] Jonathan Kregor has recently adapted the translation theories of Friedrich Schleiermacher and Wilhelm von Humboldt to help understand Liszt's transcriptions.[63]

The basic claim of those who argue that arrangement and translation are analogous is relatively clear. Both the translation and the arrangement make an original available in a way that it would not previously have been; both are normally prepared by someone other than the creator of the original; both are often viewed with disdain; both are often closely associated with economic gain; and so on. Perhaps the deepest similarity, however, and as Schilling argues, is that both require of the translator or arranger that they take a position with regards to the apparently age-old distinction between letter and sense. In the case of translation, this is the distinction between the individual words of a sentence and the general meaning of a statement; in the case of arrangement, it is (apparently) the

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[60]"Gewisse Figuren anderer Instrumente, z.B. des Streichorchesters (oder die langaushaltenden Töne der Bläser) sind auf dem Fortepiano theils unausführbar, theils ohne Wirkung, oder doch von anderer oder geringerer. Es müssen also an ihre Stelle andere Figuren treten; man muß dieselbe Wirkung mit andern Mitteln erzielen, wie etwa auch der Uebersetzer aus fremden Sprachen die Worttreue bisweilen aufgeben muß, um den Sinn zu bewahren." See appendix one, page 191, line 78.

[61][Brent-Smith, 1922, 169].

[62]"Mein Ziel ist erreicht, wenn ich es dem verständigen Kupferstecher, dem gewissenhaften Uebersetzer gleichgethan habe, welche den Geist eines Werkes auffassen und so zur Erkenntnis der grossen Meister und zur Bildung des Sinnes für das Schöne beitragen." Forward to Franz Liszt, *Symphonies de. L van Beethoven, Partition de Piano*.

[63]See [Kregor, 2010, 12–33].

distinction between the specific notes of a passage and the general effect that the passage has when performed. Ultimately, this distinction might have its roots in any number of discourses, from the Biblical assertion that "the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life",[64] through to the classical metaphysical position that essence is distinct from accident.[65] Whatever its origins, the predominant discursive feature of translation theory has for several centuries been an antithesis between the spirit of the text and its letter, typically interpreted as a distinction between literal or idiomatic translation. As early as 46BC, Cicero writes of one of his translations that "I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language."[66] In 395, Jerome defends one of his translations by arguing that "I render not word for word, but sense for sense."[67] In 1680, John Dryden supports a translation which adheres to the spirit of a text rather than its letter by quoting Sir John Denham's paean to Sir Richard Fanshaw:

> That servile path, thou nobly do'st decline,
> Of tracing word by word and Line by Line;
> A new and nobler way thou do'st pursue,
> To make Translations, and Translators too:
> They but preserve the Ashes, thou the Flame,
> True to his Sence, but truer to his Fame.[68]

Managing the balance of ashes and flame has long been the particular challenge facing the translator.

One of the most celebrated contributors to the theory of translation is Walter Benjamin, whose 1923 piece "The Task of the Translator" has profound implications for the understanding of keyboard arrangement. For Benjamin, the translation is much more than the simple communication in a new language of a volume of information. Its purpose is to make both the original and the translation "recognisable as fragments of a greater language."[69] Language, Benjamin believes, is a site of pain: in using it one is committed to the fact of its separation of what is meant [*das Gemeinte*] from the way of meaning it [*der Art des Meinens*].[70] It is not possible to control the relationship between the two, nor to overcome the division: there is no necessary connection between the word 'bread' and bread itself. Benjamin believes, however, that there might be a language in which these torn halves are reunited. In this language of which Benjamin dreams—what he calls the "pure language" [*reine Sprache*]—the term for bread actually *is* bread itself.[71] Translation helps us realise the existence of this pure language because in the act of translating, one attempts to capture the things that are meant (*das Gemeinte*, the signified, concepts) by using different ways of meaning (*Art des*

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[64]2 Corinthians, Verse 3, Chapter 6, *The Bible*, English Standard Version.
[65]See, for instance, Aristotle [1999].
[66][Venuti, 2000, 13].
[67][Venuti, 2000, 23].
[68][Venuti, 2000, 39].
[69][Benjamin, 1996, 260].
[70][Benjamin, 1996, 257]. This can also be referred to as the distinction between the signifier and the signified.
[71][Benjamin, 1996, 261].

Meinens, the signifier, words). The consequence of this attempt is the acknowledgement that the two are separate at all. This realisation has a double impact. On the one hand, it reveals us to be in painful separation from our own language in the first place, a position where the word 'bread' only means bread by virtue of a series of arbitrary historical connections. On the other, it raises the Messiah-like hope that the two halves of language could one day be unified into a pure language without any such internal division. "[I]n a singularly impressive manner," believes Benjamin, the translation "at least points the way to this region: the predestined, hitherto inaccessible realm of reconciliation and fulfilment of languages."[72]

The translation, Benjamin argues, points up the promise of language's future reconciliation with itself. It also has an impact on the original text. Paul de Man, reviewing and exploring Benjamin's essay, argues that "[t]he translation canonizes, freezes, an original and shows in the original a mobility, an instability, which at first one did not notice...put in motion, de-canonised, questioned."[73] On the one hand, de Man believes, the translation completes a text by canonising it as something worth translating. On the other, it opens up the text to a destabilisation of its meaning by pointing out that all languages are simply fragments of the "pure language".

The point which de Man makes here is the same as the one made by some others in their discussion of arrangement. Peter Szendy, for example, and drawing specifically on Benjamin's theory of translation, says that arrangements

> follow [the original] without being subordinate to it, but also without being completely detached from it: a kind of alliance, like a shadow that, while still remaining linked to the body whose silhouette it is, has acquired a certain autonomy in its movements.[74]

Szendy argues that arrangement renders the original plastic; it sets it shimmering, such that a full sense of the 'meaning' of the original can only emerge when both original and the arrangement are considered alongside one another. This is exactly the point which, as was shown above, is made by the *New Grove* when it argues that "it is perhaps only by regarding the arrangement and the original as two different versions of the same piece that a solution to the aesthetic dilemma they so often create will be found."[75] As Benjamin concludes, the translation is a glass which focuses light onto the original. "A real translation," he maintains, "is transparent; it does not cover the original, does not block its light, but allows the pure language, as though reinforced by its own medium, to shine upon the original all the more fully."[76] The *New Grove* and Szendy want to argue that the same is true of arrangement.

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[72][Benjamin, 1996, 257].

[73][de Man, 1985, 35].

[74][Szendy, 2007, 61].

[75]Malcolm Boyd. "Arrangement." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01332` (accessed January 27, 2011).

[76][Benjamin, 1996, 260].

Benjamin's claim that the translation and its original must hold each other in tension if either is to be understood appears to be able to help produce a theoretical model for the understanding of keyboard arrangement. There are, nonetheless, two reasons to question the validity of using Benjamin's theory in this way. First, applying the results of Benjamin's analysis to arrangement is unjustified if his premises do not have an analogy in musical discourse. What motivates Benjamin is the belief in the bifurcation between the linguistic signifier and the signified. The purpose of translation is to expose this bifurcation and thus the (impossible) hope of its overcoming. What is the bifurcation in music which mirrors the linguistic one between word and sense? An initial answer might be that it is the distinction between note and meaning: the musical 'word' is the tone, and musical 'meaning', meaning. This answer, even if accurate, does not completely resolve the problem. Is musical meaning really analogous to linguistic meaning—that is, do they both 'carry' and 'convey' meaning in the same way? What kind of meaning might that be? Does musical meaning emerge from musical sound in the same way as linguistic meaning emerges from the sounds of language? A myriad of questions—none of them new—emerge as soon as the concept of musical meaning is invoked.

Ultimately, in fact—and this is the second problem—there is always the possibility (absent from translation) that the arranger pays no heed to the question of musical meaning at all. The 'translation' of a musical original into new 'signifiers' can be (and was often) carried out purely mechanically: the arranger simply copies the original into piano score, ignoring the 'meaning' of the result altogether. The latter simply supervenes on whatever keyboard music results from the process of arrangement. How can the argument be made that both arrangement and translation attempt to capture old signifieds in new signifiers if it is not even clear that that is what arrangement is trying to do?

The parallel streams of word and sense in translation theory are only asymmetrically related to the musical side of the equation. Although sound approximates word, it is hard to identify what constitutes musical sense and whether and how it is preserved in keyboard arrangement. Since Benjamin's assumptions cannot be upheld in the musical realm, it is false to appropriate his conclusions.

Benjamin's translation theory cannot meaningfully be transferred in its entirety into the musical context. This inability notwithstanding, however, it is the case—and it is why those studying arrangements continue to return to it—that certain elements of translation practice seem too similar to practices of arrangement to ignore. Perhaps these similarities suggest that translation theory can provide the grounds for some kind of theory of arrangement, even if it cannot be appropriated in its entirety?

Frankenstein and Lazarus: Arrangement as Resurrection

It has already been shown that in her book on adaptation in contemporary culture, Hutcheon argues that although adaptations are pervasive, they are often viewed as "secondary".[77] In the same text, Hutcheon also makes some impor-

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[77][Hutcheon, 2006, 3].

tant observations concerning the ontology of the adaptation. For something to
be an adaptation, she reasons, it has to attempt to reproduce some externally-
derived content in a new medium. "[W]hat exactly constitutes," she asks, "that
transferred and transmuted 'content'?"[78] She answers that

> [m]any professional reviewers and audience members alike resort to
> the elusive notion of the "spirit" of a work or an artist that has to be
> captured and conveyed in the adaptation for it to be a success...Some-
> times it is "tone" that is deemed central, though rarely defined...; at
> other times it is "style". But all three are arguably equally subjective
> and, it would appear, difficult to discuss, much less theorise.[79]

For Hutcheon, the "content" which most people understand as being transferred
from an original to an adaptation is typically referred to as "spirit". However,
Hutcheon also suggests that spirit is too "subjective" a word to be a serious cate-
gory of historical enquiry. Actually, with respect to keyboard arrangement in the
nineteenth century, not only was spirit typically understood as the content which
was transferred from original to arrangement, but there is no reason not to take
reviewers and audience members who used the term at their word and to subject
its use to investigation. This grounds the development of a new model for the
interpretation of keyboard arrangement based on the principle of resurrection.

There are numerous examples of the view that the strength of an arrangement
lies in the extent to which it captures the spiritual content of the original work.
Writing in 1922, Brent-Smith argued that bad arrangements "make the mistake of
trying to reproduce the manner of the original rather than revealing another *spir-
itual* aspect."[80] Köhler's already-mentioned 1853 prescription for good arrange-
ments requires that they be "[t]rue to the original even to each ideally essential
note; effective in the *spirit* of the same as far as a daguerreotype compared with
the real object can be; and as easily performable as fidelity to the score, together
with all reasonable limitation, will admit."[81] Writing in the 1870 volume of their
encyclopædia, Hermann Mendel and August Reißmann argue in their definition
of "to arrange" that "the arranger uses the specific effects and expressive possi-
bilities of the new form in order to call up the closest possible effect of the original
and seeks above all to grasp and represent its *spiritual* essence."[82]

While these authors all argue that good arrangements should capture the spirit
of their originals, some others even went so far as to suggest that the elements of
an original's spirit could only be revealed through arrangement. Writing in 1875,
for example, an anonymous author argued that

> it is really possible...that something can be found in Schumann's
> Lieder, indeed, in Schumann's song melodies, which could actually

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[78][Hutcheon, 2006, 10].
[79][Hutcheon, 2006, 10].
[80][Brent-Smith, 1922, 169], my emphasis.
[81][Köhler, 1853, 41], my emphasis.
[82]"der Arrangirende benutzt die eigenthumlichen Wirkungs- und Ausdrucksmittel der neuen
    Darstellungsform, um eine dem Original möglichst gleichkommende Wirkung hervorzurufen
    und sucht vornehmlich den geistigen Kern desselben aufzufassen und wiederzugeben." My
    emphasis. See appendix one, page 197, line 8.

> have its real home in the instrumental realm; indeed, there could be
> something which would be more beautiful as a keyboard piece than
> as a solo piece with keyboard accompaniment.[83]

The only way to experience this musical "something", however, was to arrange the Lieder for performance on the keyboard. The benefit of the arrangement is that it allows the content of the work—which is immutable—to be seen in a new form. The work's content is the spirit which can easily possess different instrumental bodies; it is the "gold" which can be minted "by different workmen."[84]

The idea that arrangement should somehow capture the spiritual, rather than the material, essence of a chosen work is also held by this generation of music critics. In 1997, philosopher Roger Scruton explained that arrangement has a vital role to play in sustaining a "living musical culture". By demonstrating the transferability of the essential content of a work to another medium, arrangement sustains the distinction between the "essence of music" (which survives the transfer) and the merely "accidental" (which does not).[85] Importantly, "the most interesting cases" of arrangement are those in which the arranger manages to transfer into the arrangement the "aesthetic identity", "the old effect", "the message", "the aesthetic character", "the musical experience", "the artistic intention"—in short, "the musical essence"—of the original work.[86]

Good arrangements were typically praised for resurrecting the spirits of their originals. Negative reviews of arrangement published during the nineteenth century criticised the practice for one of many possible reasons: their reduction of the original work to a line-drawing of its former self, which assumes trespass against the original work as trespass against the intention of the composer; the commercial appeal of an arrangement, which assumes the mutual exclusivity of art and the market; the threat of repetition, which assumes a cult-like relationship between the repetition of the ritual and the diminution of its magical power; or the threat of making professional musicians redundant in the face of the popularity of home performance.[87] Far and away the most common position which reviews of bad arrangements take, however, is an underlining of their gross corporeality. This does not mean that critical reviews simply observe that the bad arrangement is a physical object—a thing rather than a work, to borrow Heideggerian terminology.[88] Instead, they go somewhat further, insisting on the arrangements' grotesquely physical nature.

There are several examples of this kind of emphasis on the gross physicality of the failed arrangement. Max Kalbeck, for instance, provides one when he describes how an arrangement can trespass against its original.

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[83]"so ist es ja möglich, dass sich unter Schumann's [*sic.*] Liedern, wir wollen sagen unter seinen Gesangmelodien Manches findet, was im instrumentalen Gebiete seine eigentliche Heimath hätte, also vielleicht einiges, was in richtiger Ausgestaltung als Clavierstuck schöner wäre, denn als Sologesang mit Clavierbegleitung." [Anon., 1875a, 759].

[84]"hier war es zunächst das Gold, welches geschätzt wurde, hinsichtlich des Gepräges lief es oft durch viele Werkstätten." [Anon., 1875a, 759].

[85][Scruton, 1997, 453].

[86][Scruton, 1997, 452–3].

[87]All of these are discussed at different points throughout this thesis.

[88]See Heidegger [2001].

> One can divest the work of its instrumental robes, take from it the blood-crimson of its billowing drapery, and have it walk about dressed in the bourgeois clothes of a piano arrangement and thereby be convinced that it tells an interesting chapter in the sad saga of a person tossed about here and there between differing emotions; however, it no longer foretells the fate of a hero who elicits fear and sympathy, who can stand as representative of a struggling, suffering and triumphant humanity.[89]

The bad arrangement, Kalbeck believes, appears living, but is in reality lifeless, a merely physical, unsympathetic automaton. Similarly, in 1847, an anonymous critic compared the modern arranger to a vampire, the original work to its prey, and the arrangement to its cast-off scraps of already chewed flesh.

> So many of the modern operas, and at the very least those with Upper-Rhenish origins, die out through the work of keyboard arrangers before they have even crossed the Rubicon. Hardly has the product of such a difficult labour, with all its heavy armour, its tamtams, triangles, and cymbals, jumped forth from its origins in its composer to stand   before   the   Parisian   audiences —a jump which has often proven to be a Salto Mortale;—hardly has it begun its poor growth, when the arranging Vampires immediately attach themselves to the tender, feeble being and suck up with their greedy snouts the few healthy and fresh thoughts which such a product possesses, only in order to send them into the world arranged as Etudes, Quadrilles, Thematic Souvenirs and Aris Variés for 10, 20, 60, or even more fingers of every ability, and inability.
> Next the army of dilettantes, musical cud-chewers, domestic keyboard pokers and singing house-toads attack the welcome meal.[90]

The flesh of the arrangement, unholy offspring of pure musical genius and blood-lusting vampire, falls lifelessly away, only to be drily gummed by the bovine-batrachian army which awaits its arrival.

The insistence on the grotesquely physical nature of bad arrangements is an inversion of the critical response attendant on good arrangements. Physical bodies assembled from various sources and artificially animated can only be seen as grotesquely physical objects when their animation occurs without the presence

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[89]Max Kalbeck, 1907, quoted in [Christensen, 1999, 273].

[90]"Gar viele der modernen Opern wenigstens jene von überrheinischem Ursprunge sterben durch die Clavier-Arrangeurs ab, noch ehe sie den Rubikon überschreiten. Kaum ist solch' ein Schmerzenskind aus dem Haupte des Componisten in all seiner schweren Rüstung mit Tamtam, Triangel, und Cinellen vor die Pariser Lampen gesprungen,—ein Sprung, der oft schon eine Salto Mortale gewesen;—kaum hat es seine ärmliche Vegetation begonnen, flugs hängen sich die arrangirenden Vampyre an das zarte schwächliche Wesen, und saugen mit gierigem Rüssel, die wenigen gesunden und frischen Gedanken, die ein solches Produkt bringt, auf, um sie als Etuden, Quadrillen, Transkriptionen, Souvenirs Themes und *Airs variés* für 10, 20, 60, oder mehr Finger von jeder Fertigkeit, oder auch Unfertigkeit arrangirt, in die Welt zu senden. Nun fällt das Heer der Dilettanten, der musicirenden Wiederkäuer, Familien-Clavierpauker und vocalisirenden Hausunken über die willkommene Speise her." [L., 1847, 435].

of spirit, that God-given prerequisite for life of which, and as has already been seen, good arrangements were possessed. Recall:

> It was on a dreary night in November that I beheld the accomplishment of my toils. With an anxiety that almost amounted to agony, I collected the instruments of life around me, that I might infuse a spark of being into the lifeless thing that lay at my feet. It was already one in the morning; the rain pattered dismally against the panes, and my candle was nearly burnt out, when, by the glimmer of the half-extinguished light, I saw the dull yellow eyes of the creature open; it breathed hard, and a convulsive motion agitated its limbs.
>
> How can I describe my emotions at this catastrophe, or how delineate the wretch whom with such infinite pains and care I had endeavoured to form? His limbs were in proportion, and I had selected his features as beautiful. Beautiful! Great God! His yellow skin scarcely covered the work of muscles and arteries beneath; his hair was of a lustrous black, and flowing; his teeth of a pearly whiteness; but these luxuriances only formed a more horrid contrast with his watery eyes, that seemed almost of the same colour as the dun-white sockets in which they were set, his shrivelled complexion and straight black lips.
>
> Oh! No mortal could support the horror of that countenance. A mummy again endued with animation could not be so hideous as that wretch. I had gazed on him while unfinished; he was ugly then, but when those muscles and joints were rendered capable of motion, it became a thing such as even Dante could not have conceived.[91]

Victor Frankenstein, obsessively concerned with the quest to reanimate the reassembled fragments of dead bodies, learns that if those fragments are reanimated without soul—with "watery eyes, that seemed almost of the same colour as the dun-white sockets in which they were set"—the once living can only ever remain the monstrous. If good arrangements capture the hidden, life-giving essences of their originals, failed arrangements are grotesquely and unnaturally reassembled corpses of previous works, reanimated, but lacking the quality which makes them alive—spirit.[92]

The theoretical model on which nineteenth century arrangements were often judged was—implicitly, at least—one of resurrection. Perhaps this is not completely surprising; in attempting to come to terms with the practices of appropriation relevant to them, writers working in other fields have relied on similar models. Classical *imitatio,* for example, was subject to two strict principles, as D. A. Russell summarises from Aristotle: first, that "the true object of imitation is not a single author, but the good qualities abstracted from many"; and second, that "the imitator must always penetrate below the superficial, verbal features of his exemplar to its spirit and significance."[93] *Imitatio* was only successful where

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[91][Shelly, 2007, 50–51].

[92]It eventually transpires, of course, that Frankenstein's monster can hardly be said to be without soul; at the moment of its animation, however, the doctor is not aware of this.

[93][Russell, 1979, 5].

it succeeded in channelling the spirit of the original.

Since "the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life", the resurrection model is also pre-empted in several discussions of translation. Most notably, a little might be salvaged from the author whose understanding of translation was earlier rejected as a model for the relationship of the arrangement to its original: Benjamin. Benjamin is utterly explicit that the translation is a form of resurrection of the original. He argues:

> a translation issues from the original—not so much from its life as from its afterlife. For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life. The idea of life and afterlife in works of art should be regarded with an entirely unmetaphorical objectivity... In the final analysis, the range of life must be determined by the standpoint of history rather than that of nature... And indeed, isn't the afterlife of works of art far easier to recognise than that of living creatures? The history of the great works of art tells us about their descent from prior models, their realisation in the age of the artist, and what in principle should be their eternal afterlife in succeeding generations. In them [translations] the life of the originals attains its latest, continually renewed, and most complete unfolding.[94]

The relevance of Benjamin's words to arrangement hardly needs exegesis: the life-force of great works passes from models, to realisations, to "eternal afterlife". For Benjamin, the translation—arrangement—is the next life-stage of the original: its afterlife; its resurrection.

The nineteenth-century critical response to an arrangement depends to a great extent on the degree to which it is perceived to be possessed by the spirit of its original. Arrangements are, according to this view, an attempt to give the work an afterlife, an attempt to assemble a new entity from the physical remnants of a body—a body which, if the difficulties inherent in trying to ensure that new music was heard in concert in nineteenth-century Europe are taken seriously, was already dead. When the attempt was successful, the rebirth was greeted in the Biblical mode, a kind of resurrection of Lazarus in which the spirit of the original successfully enters a body after death. On the other hand, and when the arrangement was disliked, the resurrection of the work had been a physical success but a spiritual failure; the result is a Frankenstein's monster whose lack of soul is emphasised by the gross corporeality of his artificially assembled body.

These were the two paradigmatic positions from which an arrangement in the nineteenth century could be judged: on the one hand, a spiritually animate Lazarus, and on the other, a physically degenerate Frankenstein. What both the positive and negative interpretations of arrangement share was that arrangement was understood as a kind of literal reanimation, a reversal of the flow of time which took a work out of the deathly obscurity into which a lack of concert houses and orchestras sentenced it, and into an afterlife in which it was promised

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[94][Benjamin, 1996, 254–5].

performance and impact. Keyboard arrangement turned back time in order that a work could at the very least attempt to spread its fame. It offered new life to old pieces. It was—and to return to the *Roman de Fauvel* and the first extant keyboard arrangements in the Robertsbridge Codex which opened this chapter—the fountain in which nineteenth-century musical works regained their youth.

This chapter began by demonstrating that arrangements contain evidence of the aesthetic, social and technological conditions under which their arrangers were working. It was suggested that these became clear not only when arrangements deviated from their originals, but also in those places where they were unoriginally imitative. It was then shown that adherence to *Werktreue*, a suspicion of fashion, a dislike of the simplicity of mass-produced objects, and a general belief in the value of originality were to blame for a lack of interest in keyboard arrangement. Each of these reasons was dismissed in turn. The renewed exploration of the practice of arrangement began by turning to translation theory, and in particular the work of Walter Benjamin. Finding the transference of his theory of translation into the musical domain unsatisfactory, a new model for understanding keyboard arrangement was proposed, drawing on the nineteenth-century discourse of the spirit of the arrangement, as well as the historical origins of the practice of arrangement in the manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel*. The chapter has throughout been concerned with showing that a work's use of appropriation is not reason enough for it to be dismissed altogether from historical or aesthetic enquiry.

In the chapters which follow, the model of the nineteenth-century arrangement as a fountain of youth which resurrects the spirit of its original in a new body will provide the ground above which the analysis will move. The idea, however, is not an unlikely one: the nineteenth-century orchestral work had scant opportunities for performance, and few listeners had the means to attend one of the very few concerts given by one of the even fewer concert orchestras. The only way to rescue these works from the premature death to which they had been sentenced was to have them move back in time, to recapture what they had lost: to have them bathe, in other words, in the fountain of youth. It was through this fountain that the original work found performances, an audience, indeed, life, beyond the death which it had so nearly suffered. It was thanks to the arranger and keyboard arrangement that works of all kinds could sing out into so many domestic drawing rooms from beyond the grave.

2 Babble? Critical Reactions to Keyboard Arrangement

> He devoted his whole time to making available the inexhaustible legacy of the classical generation to an ever-increasing audience by way of his numerous arrangements... No matter how highly, however, we value the results of this activity, which is actually harder than most people believe, a sad feeling will always come over us whenever we pick up one of Ulrich's countless arrangements, for we will always be reminded that someone who was given such a rich working talent by nature was content to let his strength slumber

ANONYMOUS OBITUARY OF HUGO ULRICH

Two sentences are barely enough to contain the myriad different opinions with which this anonymous author, writing an obituary for the recently deceased composer and arranger Hugo Ulrich, tries to load them.[1] He begins by portraying the arranger as a kind of Robin Hood figure, one who had given over his life to bringing—through arrangement—the inaccessible treasures of the classical period to the poor music-lovers who would otherwise never have been able to hear them. Then, however, there is a sudden retraction: the act of arrangement-making, he implies, even valued at its highest, will never be able to match up to the results of a real working talent. Even though—and here is the second *volte-face*—arrangement is actually harder than most people believe, Ulrich (number three) let his ability go to waste.

The author of Ulrich's obituary possesses—and reveals in only eighty or so words—a deeply conflicted opinion of arrangement. Indeed, the story of Ulrich's historical reception itself tells a tale of equally vacillating attitudes to the practice. Employed as the house-arranger by the Peters publishing firm, Ulrich enjoyed a relatively steady income as a result of the constant public demand for both arrangements in general and his in particular.[2] The first edition of Grove's

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[1] The epigraph to this chapter is taken from [Anon., 1872, 486]. The original reads "[s]eine ganze Zeit wandte er darauf, die nahezu unerschöpfliche Erbschaft unserer Classischen Vergangenheit in den mannigfachsten Berarbeitungen immer weiteren Kreisen zugänglich zu machen...Wie hoch wir auch die Ergebnisse diese Thätigkeit schätzen, zu der wahrlich mehr gehört als die Meisten glauben, ein wehmüthiges Gefühl beschlich uns dennoch stets, so oft wir eins der unzähligen Ulrich'schen Arrangements in die Hand nahmen, wurden wir hier doch immer von Neuem daran gemahnt, dass ein von der Natur so reich ausgestattets Talent an Arbeiten genüge fand, die seine besten Kräfte schlummern liessen."

[2] [Christensen, 1999, 267].

dictionary, however, published shortly after his death, ignores the fact of any such popular demand, suggesting that it was depression and the bottle which drove the failed composer to arrangement.[3] Unflattering as this entry may be, its existence demonstrates that Grove was at least willing to acknowledge the contemporary importance of arrangement. The omission of Ulrich from the 1980 edition of the same dictionary suggests that the practice was then no longer awarded that respect.[4] His presence in Thomas Christensen's 1999 study of arrangement is an indication of a thaw in this frosty attitude.[5]

As this very short example demonstrates, the issue of how to assess the contribution of arrangement and arrangers to nineteenth-century musical culture was, has been, and continues to be, divisive. The complexity of this critical response has largely been forgotten, however, as arrangements in the last hundred years have been almost exclusively criticised or dismissed as questionable acts of infidelity against a composer's intentions. Any attempt to understand the role and place of keyboard arrangements in the nineteenth century needs to spend some time attempting to unearth the livelier critical discourses of the time by which they were judged, not least because their existence reveals that arrangement was a practice significant enough to contemporary musical life to prompt heated debate. The purpose of this chapter is to explore at least part of this complicated critical response: who criticised and praised arrangement, why did they do so, and how did these positions change over time? These questions will be answered through a consideration of two groups of sources: German-language musical dictionaries and articles and reviews from the German-language musical press. The focus on German-language sources here is prompted by two considerations: first, one of availability—there is a plethora of German-language source material relating to these topics; and second, one of contrast—it provides an informative comparison with the focus on Britain in chapter four.

The chapter begins with an analysis of the definitions—taken from German musical dictionaries from the years 1802 to 1927—of three terms which are central to this study: "Arrangement" [*Arrangement, arrangiren*], "Keyboard Edition" [*Klavierauszug*], and, as representative of a much larger number of popular keyboard genres making use of techniques of arrangement all of which it would be impractical to study here, "Potpourri" [*Potpourri*]. Defining arrangement, lexicographers were typically critical, attacking the arranger's and audience's taste for the unsuitable instrumental combinations and tedious virtuosity of some arrangements, and the arrangement's violation of the original's essence and infidelity to the implied wishes of the composer. When discussing the keyboard edition, lexicographers were not only far more positive, but also more consistent, frequently claiming that editions were a helpful tool for spreading new music. Finally, the potpourri is almost exclusively criticised by lexicographers as tasteless and lacking in any unifying principle. The declining presence of all three of these terms in these dictionaries is symptomatic of a gradual decrease in the "real-world" importance of arrangement practices, a fall which leads to the re-

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[3]See Grove [1879].
[4]See Sadie [1980].
[5]See Christensen [1999].

placement of the complex nineteenth-century critical discourse for evaluating arrangements by the simpler one of the twentieth in which the practice is essentially disregarded.

The second part of the chapter explores the debates surrounding arrangement which arose in the German-language musical press of the nineteenth century. The discussion surrounding non-canonic keyboard arrangement of contemporary works is distinguished from another concerning arrangement that was of importance, the defensibility of adapting older works to conform to modern taste. The musical press was critical of the former, focusing on its encouragement of repetition. Following a brief excursus on music and repetition, it will be shown that when arrangement was criticised in the nineteenth-century musical press for being repetitive, it was normally for the same reasons that technologies for mass production have been disliked throughout history: because they threaten the labour potential of the masses.

Finally, it remains to be said that this chapter is dense with long quotations from a number of sources. The aim in using these quotations is to encourage the emergence of a rich counterpoint of voices which will reveal the diversity and liveliness of the nineteenth-century discourse on arrangement. Ultimately, the hope is that these lengthy excerpts can restore to present-day musicology an echo of the nineteenth-century critical babble concerning arrangement, and, in doing so, challenge the notion that arrangements have always been critically assessed as a somewhat dubious—and never really welcome—concession to a now out-dated practical need.

Nineteenth-Century Lexicographical Attitudes to Arranging Practices

One measure of the liveliness of the critical discourse which surrounded practices of arrangement in the nineteenth century is the extent to which dictionary definitions of all three of the terms under investigation here—arrangement, keyboard edition and potpourri—were subject to change over time. Changes in the individual definitions of the terms will be discussed at length in the discussion which follows; they also manifest themselves in two, more general ways. The first is at the level of staying the same: by noting what each author copied from another, the evolution of critical opinions concerning arrangement can be more precisely traced. To help with this task, the full texts of each of the relevant definitions, with analysis of the extent of their copyings, can be found in appendix one.

Second, change can also be exposed through a consideration of whether or not the lexicographer in question deemed each particular practice important enough to define it at all. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 convey this information graphically (and include two other terms, "Transcription" [*Transkription*] and "Four-Handed" [*Vierhändig*], to which reference is also made in the analysis). (The eleven editions of Hugo Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon* are displayed in a separate table so that the opinions of this single editor are not over-represented on the table illustrating the course of the century as a whole.) While it can be assumed that none of the terms

are defined in Johann Walther's dictionary of 1732 because they were not significant enough at that time to warrant inclusion, their absence from some later dictionaries—following their presence in those which appeared in the meantime—is more provocative.[6] These 'holes' are explained below, with reference to each particular term. In general, the most obvious developments which should be noted at this time are the gradual decline over the course of the century in the definition of the term keyboard edition and the rise in the definition of the term transcription. This is the result of a reduction in the contemporary importance of the former and an attempt to gather under the latter several, by that stage historical, arrangement practices. Indeed, it is during the period in which this occurred, beginning around the 1880s and ending by 1920, that not only is arrangement in general "museumified"—that is, reconstructed as an artefact of a bygone age—but critical responses to it simplify and harden. In a certain sense, this replacement of a myriad of nineteenth-century words and descriptions by a single concept is emblematic of the loss of discursive depth and texture which characterises the contemporary engagement with nineteenth-century arrangement practices, and which it is the aim of this chapter—and, in a broader sense, this thesis—to undo.

Lexicographical Attitudes to Arranging Practices: Arrangement

There are several key themes which emerge in the definition and discussion of arrangement in nineteenth-century German-language musical dictionaries. Certain of these are already well-known from other musical histories; others are less so. To the former group belong a suspicion of virtuosity and a dislike of music's direct involvement with the marketplace; to the latter, the emergence of the musical distinction between accident and essence and an increase in the perceived importance of an original work's instrumentation.

The nineteenth-century histories of arrangement and instrumentation are inextricably, but paradoxically, interlinked. It was during this period that instrumentation was first transformed into an independently expressive compositional parameter. An indirect consequence of this transformation was a need for arrangement: as composers created more specific and complex instrumentations, arrangement ensured that new works could be heard by those individuals who did not have access to either a concert hall or the more elaborate instruments and instrumental techniques which the new works required. To hear a nineteenth-century orchestral work in arrangement, however, was to miss out on experiencing the instrumental subtleties of the original which had necessitated arrangement in the first place. The consequence of a focus on instrumentation as an expressive musical function was thus the creation of an arrangement culture which obviated the sonic effects of the new, expressive treatment of instrumentation. It is an attempt to reason through this paradoxical relationship between arrangement and instrumentation which is expressed most consistently in the dictionary definitions concerning arrangement in the nineteenth century.

For instance, although it functions as a model for all of the definitions of the

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[6]Walther [1732].

Figure 2.1: Presence of terms in German-language dictionaries of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. (Works which were published in several volumes over a number of years appear here under the year of the appearance of their first volume.) Shading indicates that the term was present.
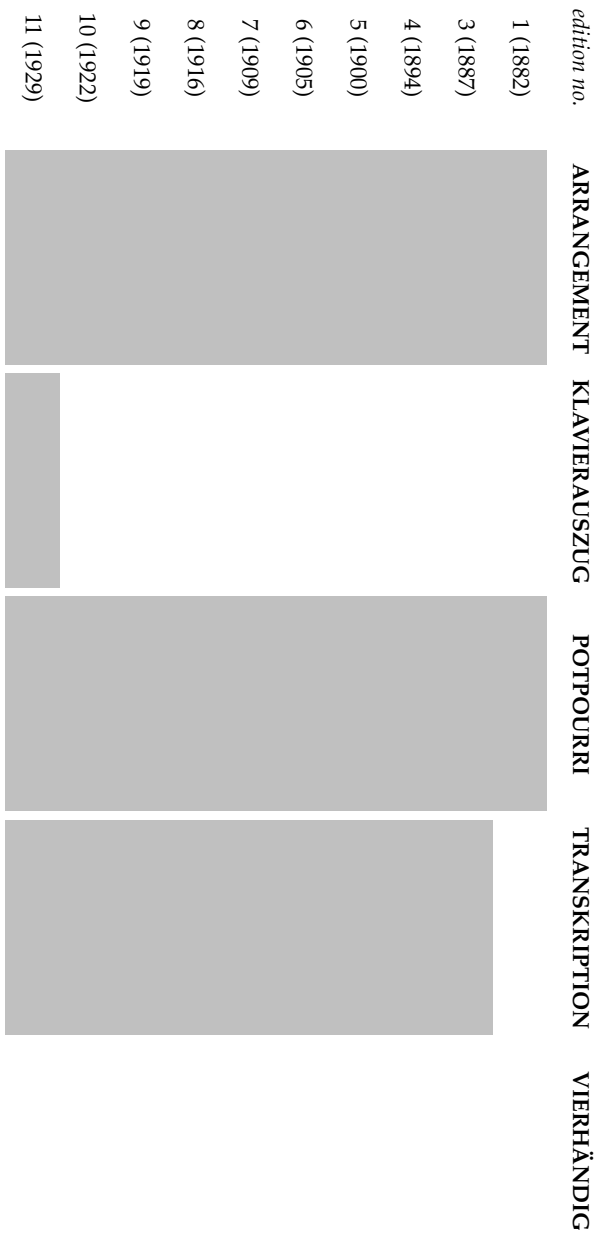
Figure 2.2: Presence of terms in editions of Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon*.

practice which are to follow, Heinrich Christoph Koch's concise 1802 definition of arrangement is actually more interesting with regards its airing of the problematic relationship between arrangement and instrumentation. The term arrangement is used, he writes, "when a piece is adapted for other instruments, or for fewer voices, than the score itself contains."[7] Koch's interest at first seems focused on the alteration of the number of instruments performing. His second sentence, however, introduces a more pressing concern about what arrangement necessitates: a change in the type of instruments. He writes that "one has whole operas, for example, arranged merely for woodwind instruments, or also as a quartet."[8] The meaning of the sentence rests on the implications of the word 'merely' [*bloß*]. Taken along with the evidence provided by his first sentence, two possible readings emerge. On the one hand, he could simply be attempting to contrast the difference in size of the instrumental forces he mentions; an entire opera arranged *only* for wind instruments. On the other hand, he could be airing a concern about just such an arrangement; the richness and colour of an entire opera arranged *merely* for wind instruments. His implication then would be that this is an operation which can hardly hope to do justice to the original.

While neither of these two readings of Koch can be argued to be definitive, the latter position—that certain instrumentations were less suited than others for certain kinds of work—was a key facet of the increased attention given to instrumentation in the nineteenth century. It draws on the belief that each instrument naturally lends itself to conveying its own idiosyncratic set of moods, dramatic situations, and even genres. In one sense, the whole of Hector Berlioz's *Treatise Upon Instrumentation*, for example, is an attempt to explain this relationship between instrumental colour and musical affect. Berlioz explains that

> [c]onsidered in its poetical aspect, this art [of instrumentation] is as little to be taught, as that of inventing beautiful subjects, fine successions of chords, or original and striking rhythmical forms. That which suits various instruments, that which is practicable or not for them, easy or difficult, dull or sonorous,—may be indicated; *it may also be pointed out, that such and such an instrument is more fitted than another to produce certain effects, and to express certain sentiments*: but as for stating their due grouping and associating, in small orchestras, or by large masses,—as for the art of uniting them, mixing them, in such a way as to modify the sound of some by that of others, giving the combined effect of a particular note, which could be produced by none of them singly, nor by joining it to instruments of its own species,—this can only be done, by instancing the results obtained by masters in the Art, and tracing their mode of procedure; results which, doubtless, could be again modified a thousand-fold, well or ill, by such composers as should reproduce them.[9]

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[7]All quotations in the following sections which are taken from musical dictionaries can be found in their original language in appendix one. References to the page and line numbers of the start of the quotation will be given here. This quotation, Arrangieren, page 187, line 1.

[8]Arrangieren, page 187, line 3.

[9][Berlioz, 1858, 4], my emphasis.

Berlioz maintains that certain instrumental colours are linked to certain musical affects. Since this is the case, arrangement, by changing the one, can only interfere with the other. The second interpretation of Koch's definition, then, mirrors a wider contemporary concern that arrangement subverted the relationship between content and sound-colour which the composer, in his or her wisdom, had already optimised. While it is not certain that this is what Koch is implying, the position is in fact characteristic of most of the dictionary definitions which are to follow.

Gustav Schilling, for example, in 1835, was unequivocally concerned about the manner in which arrangement trespasses on the relationship between sound colour and musical content. He explains that

> [j]ust as every type of tone and metre, every rhythm, every chord, etc. has its own unique character, so does every instrument, and not just on its own, but also in its relationships with other instruments; they even have their own unique physical nature which they do not share with any others, even similar instruments: thus a piece which is set for specific instruments cannot yield the same effect, or even a very similar effect, if it is played with other instruments or in other ways.[10]

Schilling goes even further than Koch, however, and attempts to prove his claim with examples drawn from history. He contends that

> [w]hen Handel in his 'Messiah' attempts to convey to us the shepherds in the fields through the entry of the combined reed instruments without any stringed or brass sounds...—if one should hear this on the violin perhaps, or on the piano, or presented on the flute or the clarinet, all its deep effect is destroyed.[11]

Schilling, in other words, contends exactly the same as Berlioz and (arguably) Koch: a change in musical timbre necessitates a change in musical content. This change is a trespass against the work itself. Making his argument so explicit, however, has also forced Schilling to go further than Koch and to formalise the distinction (only implicit in the earlier definition) between musical accident and musical essence. In other words: when Schilling argues that changing musical timbre is questionable because it invites a change in the essence of the musical work, he must contend that there is such a thing as the essence of a musical work around which a changeable property—in this case, timbre—gathers. This is clear when he maintains that "if the external form of an artistic work stops being itself and correct, it is necessarily the case that the foundational ideas on which the work is based will also stop, or at the very least, become completely different."[12] This distinction becomes a particularly important strand in this discussion over the course of the century.

Although Schilling does admit to the utility of arrangement, it is a utility which is not in the real interests of art. "While in some cases," he argues, "arrangement

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[10] Arrangiren, page 188, line 19.
[11] Arrangiren, page 188, line 33.
[12] Arrangiren, page 188, line 26.

is very useful and necessary—for without it, small orchestras and keyboard players, for example, would not be in a position to be able to get to know and to perform large compositions—it remains even so a sin against the artwork itself."[13] This sin is occasioned by the arrangement violating the content of the original by altering its sound colour. If arrangement absolutely must be carried out, he concedes, it should abide by two rules. First, the instruments used in the arrangement must be "related" to the original; violin pieces can be played on the flute, for instance, or oboe works on the clarinet, but the 'cello cannot be replaced by a trumpet, nor the flute by a bassoon.[14] Second, works can only be arranged for less instruments "as and when that group allows the performance of the complete and full harmony": an arrangement is only an arrangement, in other words, if it preserves the harmonic content of the original.[15] Notwithstanding the safety-net which these guidelines provide, Schilling's view of arrangement remains undoubtedly critical: the best it can ever hope to be, he contends scornfully, is a "surrogate".[16]

By 1840 and the appearance of Gathy's *Conversations-Lexikon*, Schilling's worry about the inappropriateness of the new instrumentation chosen for many arrangements is on the way to becoming a generally-held concern about the practice. At the same time, Gathy's opinion as to the value of arrangement is hard to decipher from his ambiguous definition. "Nowadays," he writes, "everything is arranged, potpourried, and reduced to its most essential elements; for example, the Overture to *Der Freischütz* for Flute and Guitar."[17] His use of the words "the most essential" [*auf das sinnvollste*] lends itself to three possible readings. It could represent a belief that nothing of value is lost through arrangement; it could be a fairly valueless description of the idea that arrangement is a necessary reduction of a work to its 'core ideas'; or (and coupling it with his use of the term "everything"), it could be implicitly dismissive of arrangement, as though it is a practice that occurs with such frequency that it is worthless ("arranged, potpourried, reduced", he lists).

However Gathy is read, it is interesting that the example of an arrangement he gives—what in his definition of "reduction" he calls "the ultimate form of arrangement"—is that of one for flute and guitar.[18] Why should he have chosen specifically to comment on the combination of these instruments in an arrangement of *Der Freischütz*? Given that the first sentence of Gathy's definition is a quotation of Schilling, he must have read that earlier work. A guitar and flute arrangement of Weber's opera would contradict the first of the two rules which Schilling gives concerning arrangement because they are a combination not directly related to the instrumentation of the original. Furthermore, not only did *Der Freischütz* remain in 1840 a beloved and popular composition, one that was arranged countless times and thus eminently suitable to stand as an example of the kinds of arrangements that were so common, it was also one of the first works

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[13] Arrangiren, page 188, line 6.
[14] Arrangiren, page 189, line 46.
[15] Arrangiren, page 189, line 62.
[16] Arrangiren, page 189, line 40.
[17] Arrangiren, page 192, line 2.
[18] Reducieren, page 193, line 2.

in which, as Carl Dahlhaus puts it, "the momentary timbral effect. . . is turned into a unifying element extending beyond the confines of the individual numbers."[19] This is because, he writes, "Samiel's motive in *Der Freischütz* consists substantially of instrumental timbre." The reduction of the score of the opera to a flute and guitar arrangement would necessarily spell the end of this timbral discourse. Thus, while Gathy's definition seems ambiguous, the critical mood of Schilling's definition hovers in the background. Gathy seems to be saying: while arrangement may be the only way in which new music can be spread, the need to spread it through arrangement at least raises the possibility of conflict with the development of new instrumental and timbral rhetoric in works like *Der Freischütz*.

Gaßner's dictionary of 1847 is less noteworthy than any of the foregoing, being more interesting with regards to what it omits than with what is has to say.[20] By quoting the first sentence of Schilling's 1835 definition of *Arrangiren* but not any of the rest, Gaßner produces a much more impartial definition than Schilling himself; at the same time, it could be argued that by cutting the bulk of Schilling's critique of arrangement, Gaßner reveals an explicitly positive attitude towards it.

Eduard Bernsdorf's 1856 definition is highly critical of arrangement, arguing that it can "only be excused on two grounds".[21] These are both repetitions of points which had already been made. "First," he argues,

> the necessity which compels small orchestras, for instance, and in accordance with their size, to make rich orchestral pieces smaller; and second, the need to make things more accessible, and also to render the content of their ideas available for examination and the familiarisation process.[22]

These points, of course, are both taken indirectly from Schilling, a fact which is borne out by Bernsdorf's quotation of that author at the beginning of his definition. Arrangement is a concession to practicality which is sometimes, unfortunately, necessary.

Bernsdorf moves on to make two observations concerning arrangement which appear here for the first time. First, he sees an explicit connection between arrangement and the keyboard edition.[23] That no other author had yet made this point is perhaps surprising; as will be shown later, however, lexicographers were actually keen to keep arrangement and the keyboard edition a safe conceptual distance apart because, while the former's contribution to nineteenth-century musical culture was questionable, the latter's was apparently vital. Even so, Bernsdorf's support of the keyboard edition in his definition of arrangement does not stem from any inherent virtue of the keyboard edition itself, but instead from a perceived failing of the broader publishing world. Keyboard editions are useful, he argues, because "in many cases, there is no full score available."[24]

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[19][Dahlhaus, 1989, 71].
[20]See Arrangiren, page 193, line 1.
[21]Arrangiren, page 194, line 4.
[22]Arrangiren, page 194, line 5.
[23]See Arrangiren, page 194, line 9.
[24]Arrangiren, page 194, line 11.

The second of Bernsdorf's new points adds another crime to arrangement's growing roster of misdemeanours—the encouragement of empty virtuosity. Writing in 1856, a short while after Liszt-mania had gripped Europe, but long before the age of the keyboard virtuoso was past, Bernsdorf lamented that arrangement more often than not led to a superfluity of tasteless virtuosity. "Most recently," he complains

> a new kind of arrangement has arisen, called Transcription or Paraphrase, and for which the keyboard virtuosi should be blamed. In it, a song, an aria, etc., is taken, doused with all kinds of soupy passage-work and then restamped as a showy, gem of a work, written by a virtuoso. Unfortunately the current age is overrun with these nasty little things, so much so that one might conclude we are actually completely unproductive.[25]

Bernsdorf is critical of the virtuosic arrangement both because he is suspicious of virtuosity—this, of course, a common nineteenth-century complaint—and because it indicates a lack of creativity.[26] He holds in low esteem the act of deriving the content of one work from another, and he believes that the process of "virtuosoifying" an arrangement is in itself banal, a simple act of pouring onto a tired and dried-out original a tasteless ready-made gravy. Virtuosic arrangement is to be avoided, he believes, because it encourages simple and talentless mimicry.

Arrey von Dommer's 1865 definition reiterates quite forcefully the by now extremely familiar criticism that arrangement often concerns itself with inappropriate instrumentations. In doing so, however, he ascribes for the first time the prevalence of arrangements which demonstrate this failing to greed. "For the right kind of arranger and a speculative publisher," he writes, "there is not a single piece which does not have to be arranged for absolutely every random instrument, even if it is the ninth symphony for flute and drum."[27] With the use of the terms "right kind of arranger" and "speculative publisher", von Dommer's implication is that these kinds of extraordinary arrangements owe their existence to the avaricious behaviour of unscrupulous arrangers and publishers, and not the purchasing public. Indeed, his point seems to be that the public is entirely blameless with regards to the popularity of arrangement.

This position is misguided. Publishers are only ever likely to produce works which they expect to sell. Even if it is argued that supply creates demand as much as demand creates supply, the public in von Dommer's marketplace should not simply be viewed as victims of devious but tasteless musical marketeers; to do so is to continue to support a view which contributes to the lack of contemporary interest in arrangements by suggesting that they are primarily an economic—and not a musical—phenomenon. A more economically realistic position would hold that while some individuals no doubt did stand to benefit financially from the sale of these works, given the numbers in which they were published, public

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[25]Arrangiren, page 194, line 17.

[26]See, for more discussions concerning the suspicion of virtuosity, Wagner [1912]; Rietmüller [2001]; and von Arburg [2006].

[27]Arrangiren, page 195, line 4.

demand for them must have been large.[28] These concerns notwithstanding, von Dommer's attempt to shift blame for the indiscretion that is arrangement away from musical culture and onto the publisher was to become extremely enduring.

Hermann Mendel and August Reißmann's entry on arrangement from their 1870 dictionary is largely—and ironically, given the attitude which they take to the practice—an arrangement of material by the authors already quoted held together by a few short sentences of their own. Their long definition functions as a summary of the attitudes manifested in these dictionaries; indeed, since it is the final entry in which all of these themes will be mentioned together, it might be seen as the last of the true nineteenth-century definitions of arrangement. Arrangement is potentially, first "a merely lifeless transposition and possibly a mechanical performance of the single leading principle" of a work, which leads to, second, "easy money, assessed by the publisher and paid for accordingly".[29] In the first claim lies the fear of mechanisation which, as will be shown below, was to play a much more substantial role in the musical press' rejection of arrangement; in the second, von Dommer's demonisation of the publisher and the commensurate vindication of the public who apparently had no interest in these works. Third, and reworking Schilling's theory of the difference between accident and essence, Mendel and Reißmann argue that "the arranger uses the specific effects and expressive possibilities of the new form in order to call up the closest possible effect of the original and seeks above all to grasp and represent its spiritual essence."[30] They go on to criticise empty virtuosity (they mention Liszt specifically) and the kind of meaningless passage-work which they see as characterising the potpourri, fantasy, transcription and paraphrase. They praise arrangement for giving individuals the opportunity to listen to works which would otherwise be unavailable to them, and quote Koch's entry on the keyboard edition to this end. Finally, they mobilise passages from Bernsdorf and von Dommer to explain that arrangement's biggest sin is the use of unlikely and intolerable instrumentations which do not aid the representation of the original content. In short, Mendel and Reißmann summarise all of the lexicographical opinions on arrangement which had appeared at various points during the nineteenth century.

After 1870, entries concerning arrangement in musical dictionaries avoid entirely the long and partisan discussions of the kind explored thus far and aspire instead to an apparently much more objective presentation of factual information. The shortening length of these entries after 1870 surely also mirrors the lessening contemporary importance of the practice for each author; as records and radios begin to become reality and audiences find other ways to experience music, arrangement as a tool for circulation becomes less essential, and is thus either no longer the focus of debate, or the focus of a debate which is much less significant. Seen in this way, these shorter dictionary entries are no longer attempting to define a living practice, but begin to view arrangement as a necessity forced upon a previous generation by a lack of—now-extant—technology. This is not to

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[28]Publication figures are discussed in some detail in chapter three.

[29]Arrangiren, page 197, line 5.

[30]Arrangiren, page 197, line 8.

suggest that arrangement was no longer, after 1870, practised; far from it. Rather, the change in lexicographical attitudes to arrangement—viewed along with the broader social changes which rendered arrangement less essential—reflects the movement of the practice from near the centre of domestic musical life to an ever more peripheral position. There are two observations with regards to these post-1870 entries to be made.

First, while arrangement is still defined in most of these dictionaries, there is a gradual shift of importance away from that term and towards transcription (see figure 2.1), under which other and various practices are defined. Thus, in Schuberth's dictionary of 1894, arrangement is not defined at all. Transcription, on the other hand, is defined, as arrangement was previously wont, as "the adaptation of a piece for instruments other than those for which it was written."[31] It "also refers to a free rewriting of a work, like those arrangements by Liszt of Schubert's Lieder."[32] Abert, writing in 1927, maintains that transcription is a term not only used to describe "the virtuoso keyboard transcriptions (and especially those by Liszt) of a Lied or piece from an opera, etc." but that it is also "very similar to the paraphrase."[33] The earliest incidence of the term is in Mendel and Reißmann's 1878 volume of their dictionary, where they argue that "one understands by "transcription" the adaptation of vocal works for performance at the keyboard."[34] Only a few years later, but still as early as 1887, Riemann's definition of transcription expands even further the scope of the term's reference: "[t]ranscription really means arrangement for another instrumentation, but is also used in many cases in the same sense as Paraphrase, Fantasy (on an opera melody and so on)."[35] The simultaneous lexicographic recognition of transcription after 1870, the collation of differing musical practices under it, and the loosening of the etymological boundaries between it and arrangement has a clear effect: a "museumification" of the diverse practices of arrangement under a single, 'new' concept. It is an attempt to classify and contain a tradition which is now irredeemably both historical, and other.

The rendering alien of the quickly becoming-historical practice of arrangement at the end of the nineteenth century is elegantly summarised in a short article published in *The Musical Times* in 1901.[36] Entitled "Curious Arrangements of the Hallelujah Chorus", it is essentially a list of odd (to the author's mind) arrangements—"derangements"—of Handel's Hallelujah chorus:[37] an arrangement for two flutes from around 1800, one for concertina from around 1850,[38] or another for concertino duo arranged by Joseph Warren sometime before 1848.[39]

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[31] Transsscription, page 200, line 1.

[32] Transsscription, page 200, line 2.

[33] Transkription, page 201, line 1.

[34] Transcription, page 199, line 5.

[35] Transkription, page 202, line 1.

[36] Anon. [1901].

[37] [Anon., 1901, 458].

[38] The date cannot be determined with certainty; it was arranged by a Mr. W.H. Birch, whose book *A New Tutor for the Concertina* was published in 1851. See [Eydmann, 1995, 64].

[39] Listed in Wheatstone & Co., "Music for the Concertina", January 1848, Horniman Museum, no. C823; online at Robert Gaskins, 'C. Wheatstone and Co.', `http://www.concertina.com/wheatstone/index.htm` (accessed 19 October, 2009).

On the one hand, the criticism of these arrangements continues the nineteenth-century tradition of showing suspicion towards those arrangements whose instrumentation appears questionable. On the other, arrangements are also now newly presented as curiosities, relics from a bygone age which did not know the value of musical integrity, an era in which one could "flutify" a "sublime chorus" without hesitation.[40] No reference is made to the complication facing nineteenth-century lexicographers that although these arrangements certainly were seen as suspect in some ways, they were still valuable in disseminating works and contributing to the standards of musical education. Contrast this to Schilling who—even though he was one of the harshest lexicographical critics of arrangement in the nineteenth century—did admit that arrangement was "in some cases...useful and necessary."[41]

Second, if these post-1870 entries tell the end of the nineteenth-century story, they mark the beginning of the twentieth-century one. While arrangement ended the nineteenth century as a practice newly made old, it ended the twentieth as old in every regard: the picture of arrangement painted by the post-1870 dictionaries would remain unchallenged for most of the next century. It is a picture whose difference to the one portrayed by the dictionaries from only a few years before is extremely profound. Gone are all considerations of the utility of arrangement in circulating new music—this was no longer necessary in the age of the recording. Gone are the debates about the preservation of the essence of the work during the adaptation of its accidents, about the role of the market, about the question of virtuosity, about reasonable and unreasonable forms of instrumentation. After 1870, arrangement becomes, quite simply, wrong. "Transposition," writes Moser in 1923, completely unable to find any reason to justify what he sees as a violation of the musical work, "is a frequently unsound undertaking, and one which speaks more to the requirements of the dilettantes than to the right of the creative artist."[42] Devoid of its *raison d'être*, and removed from the culture which sustained it, arrangement appeared to these later observers—not contemporary practitioners—as a derivative and lamentable infringement of a real work for the sake of popular satisfaction: as babble. "Arrangement," writes Riemann in 1882, and reprinted in all eleven editions of his dictionary until 1929, "is the opposite of original composition."[43]

Lexicographical Attitudes to Arranging Practices: Keyboard Edition

While dictionary authors had a conflicted and often troubled relationship with arrangement, their attitude towards the keyboard edition remains both consistent throughout the nineteenth century, and, more interestingly, remarkably positive. The high regard in which the keyboard edition was held was defended for several reasons. The most obvious was thanks to its role as what Schilling in 1835 called "a support tool" [*Hülfsmittel*] and which might see it take on one of any number of functions: enabling a single individual to play an entire opera,

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[40][Anon., 1901, 458].
[41]Arrangiren, page 188, line 6.
[42]Transposition, page 201, line 3.
[43]Arrangement, page 201, line 5.

permitting the dissemination of new music, or educating new listeners at home, for example.[44] Definitions are also broadly in agreement with regards to the description of both the ideal arranger and edition; the former should be skilful in general and well-versed in harmonic law in particular, while the latter should give a full picture of the original, be selective but complete (a pleasing paradox), and, finally, be appropriate for both the instrument and the ability of the intended public. A small number of critical comments were made, of course: most lexicographers were disturbed by the edition's obviously flirtatious relationship with the marketplace, while Schilling in particular was struck by the danger inherent in the mass reproduction of musical works. Finally, attitudes to the keyboard edition remained basically unchanged throughout the century (with the exception of the fact that the term "four-handed"—referring to one of the most popular forms of the keyboard edition—was introduced into the genealogy in 1865, and only defined separately in 1879).[45] The negative and dismissive assessment of the keyboard edition in Riemann's 1929 definition is the result of an absolutely fundamental break with the foregoing century of almost exclusively positive definitions.

The defence of the keyboard edition by lexicographers is, given their simultaneous rejection of arrangement, clearly hypocritical. How can a particular type of arrangement avoid the criticisms which befall arrangement in general? One of the most significant reasons for the lexicographical distrust of arrangement was because of its use of instrumental groupings which bore no relation to those of the original work or which were themselves unusual. This is a failing to which the keyboard edition—a work prepared necessarily and exclusively for the keyboard—cannot be said to be prey. At the same time, however, the keyboard edition cannot escape the many other criticisms which were levied at arrangement; most notably, the violation of the composer's intentions. These failings were consciously ignored by the authors of these dictionaries on the grounds that the keyboard edition contributed so positively to nineteenth-century musical life.

It is Koch's 1802 definition of the keyboard edition which is again the first to lay out several of the themes which are to become so important in the years which follow. The purpose of a keyboard edition, he argues, is twofold:

> [t]hey are made with not only the intention of allowing a single person to perform them at the piano, just like other pieces arranged for keyboard, but the practice also enables the dissemination of the originals in a cheap manner, and much more than normally happens with the publication of the complete score, among experts and lovers of art, in part for studying and in part for private practice in small circles.[46]

Keyboard editions, because they are cheaper and easier to perform than full scores, allow the circulation of music to interested parties. At the same time, this increased circulation works to the general good of musical education: through

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[44]Klavierauszug, page 190, line 5.
[45]See Christensen [1999] and Christensen [2000].
[46]Clavier-Auszug, page 187, line 5.

keyboard editions, audiences can study works which they would otherwise at best only be able to hear a small number of times in concert.

Koch goes on in his definition to speak of the skills required of the arranger. "The preparation of such an edition...," he believes, "not only requires much knowledge of harmony and the most advanced study of the artwork, but also a very fine artistic feeling."[47] In comparison to the impression of the ability of the arranger which emerges from dictionary definitions of arrangement, this is high praise indeed. The trinity of skills is necessary, Koch believes, because "it must be precisely considered and felt what of the ancillary and primary voices can be left out, and what must be treated as essential, if the ideal of the composer is not to be mutilated."[48] Finally, it is the purpose of arrangement, Koch argues, to "concentrate" the voices of the original work into the keyboard score.[49] This elegant chemical metaphor is an idiosyncrasy of Koch's, and one which unfortunately is not repeated anywhere else in the dictionary definitions of this period: the notion of musical content weakly dissolved in a full score but concentrated down into a more refined essence for the keyboard is particularly provocative. In sum, while Koch does admit that "opinions about a full work can only be given by experts after consultation of the full score," and that the preparation of editions "is a habit which without doubt owes its existence to mere market forces," the fact alone that this entry is six times longer than that of his on arrangement demonstrates the importance which he attached to a proper understanding of this practice, and thus, his belief in the size of its contribution to nineteenth-century musical life.[50]

Schilling's 1835 definition makes reference to several of the points which Koch had already made, and essentially reads like a longer and more closely argued version of that earlier entry. The keyboard edition is for Schilling, and he is the first to use the term, "a support tool", because it "makes beloved operas and oratorios available to singers and lovers of art more easily and cheaply."[51] The keyboard edition, just as it did in Koch's eyes,

> has had a vast amount to do with the spreading of musical education, because they replace expensive scores, the reading and playing of which are impossible without laborious education, with easily available forms; and works—which the majority of art lovers are accustomed to hearing only rarely in their full form (with orchestra)—and easily repeatable performances are made available.[52]

Just as Koch did before him, Schilling also presents a list of the characteristics of the ideal keyboard edition and arranger. First, since an arranger's aim is "to give the truest possible image of the original," they must strive towards "completeness".[53] Where this completeness is not possible, the arranger should be selective according to several key principles: he must consider first, the appropriateness of

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[47]Clavier-Auszug, page 187, line 12.
[48]Clavier-Auszug, page 187, line 17.
[49]Clavier-Auszug, page 187, line 3.
[50]Clavier-Auszug, page 187, line 23; Clavier-Auszug, page 187, line 22.
[51]Klavierauszug, page 190, line 5.
[52]Klavierauszug, page 190, line 26.
[53]Klavierauszug, page 190, line 44.

arrangement for the keyboard; second, the difficulty of the work for the pianist, for, although the average pianist is no virtuoso, he or she is certainly better than most publishers make out; and third, the fact that not all instrumental effects can be realised without alteration on the piano and that as such, "one must achieve the same effect with other tools".[54] In all, it requires

> an ingenious worker, who knows precisely the effects of the orchestra and piano, who grasps that to adapt artworks he has to seek a middle way and thus a reconciliation between the letter and fidelity to sense, between clinging to the material of the originals and to rambling changes; it is often a very hard and truly artistically challenging, but also—love of the work excluded—rewarding task.[55]

The arranger for keyboard is a true artist, tirelessly working to balance sense with fidelity in order to improve the musical standards of the deserving—and note, in contrast to arrangement, not unworthy—public.

Schilling's definition is more significant, however, because—and alongside this song of praise—it contains the only tangible criticism of the keyboard edition which is to be found in these sources before Riemann's entry of 1929. Schilling's fear is that with the great aid offered by the "support tool" that is the keyboard edition, there comes a "dark side" [*Schattenseite*].[56] He summarises this as a concern about the impact of reproduction [*Vervielfältigung*]. Through it, he believes,

> the depth of the effect is contaminated: it is impossible for a work, which has already become familiar to us at the piano, to make as deep an impression on us during a performance, as the composer through the union of all means in a single moment would have otherwise been able to achieve.[57]

Familiarity, in other words, undermines novelty: if the audience already knows how a piece moves in outline then its impact in full score will be all the weaker. In fact, Schilling goes even further and observes that there are two smaller threats to the nature of musical culture, related to the danger of reproduction, which have already taken their toll. First, "the dissemination of opera music has had the consequence that the Volkslied, the natural song of the heart, has been completely suppressed; artificially drummed-in or trained singing has stepped into the place of this purely natural joy of singing."[58] Second, "the keyboard edition enables the spreading of a volume of bad opera music and the ousting of better chamber music simply by carrying with it the memory of the overpowering glitter of the opera hall, or fashion."[59] Schilling proposes, then, three reasons that the relentless reproduction of music enabled by the keyboard edition is dangerous to musical culture: first, it undermines the novelty of the original composition; second, it has already destroyed the taste for the natural voice; and third,

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[54] Klavierauszug, page 191, line 82.
[55] Klavierauszug, page 191, line 89.
[56] Klavierauszug, page 190, line 32.
[57] Klavierauszug, page 190, line 32.
[58] Klavierauszug, page 190, line 36.
[59] Klavierauszug, page 190, line 39.

it encourages the spread of bad music. These are precisely the kinds of claim which are being made at the same time in the musical press concerning keyboard arrangement more generally.

While Schilling raises general concerns about the negative impact of the keyboard edition on musical culture, his will turn out to be the only concerned voice to emerge from these definitions in the nineteenth century. Gathy's 1840 definition, for instance, compressing Koch's from nearly 30 years before, repeats the claim that the production of a keyboard edition requires great skill if the original is not to be violated.[60] Gaßner's definition of the keyboard edition from 1847 excerpts three passages from Schilling's 1835 entry, and not only omits all of the observations concerning the potential damage which the keyboard edition can do to musical culture, but focuses instead on the manner in which the genre can improve the standard of musical education. Both demonstrate that Gaßner held the keyboard edition to be a respected component of nineteenth-century musical life. Keyboard editions are vital, he summarises, first because they make available music which is rarely heard in orchestral concerts, and second, because they do so cheaply.[61]

Bernsdorf's 1856 description of the keyboard edition is essentially a short excerpt from Schilling's definition. The entry is mainly interesting because it cross-references Bernsdorf's definition of arrangement. This is one of the only times that this occurs in these dictionaries, most lexicographers apparently keen to keep the predominantly positive picture of the keyboard edition distinct from the much more negative one of arrangement in general. As if to offset the risk that the reader might get the idea from this linkage that the keyboard edition is not a completely valuable part of nineteenth-century musical culture, Bernsdorf's entry on arrangement only mentions the keyboard edition when referring to one of the two exceptions under which arrangement can actually be tolerated: in this case, the fact that some arrangements allow the listener-performer to "get to know the content of the ideas of the work."[62]

Von Dommer's 1865 definition of the keyboard edition is notable because it is the first to discuss the specifically four-handed form of the genre. He begins, however, by recapitulating some of the claims already mentioned. Hence, he argues that in the keyboard edition "the movement of the main voices must remain recognisable."[63] As in Schilling, this can be achieved through selectivity: "[i]t is better," he writes,

> to leave out, change, or move into another position single complete voices which are not so integral in the orchestra, and which would in the keyboard obscure the progress of the main voices and exacerbate the clear presentation, than to impair the clearness of the piece and thus the effect of the whole through overloading.[64]

He quotes Koch on the skill required in order to achieve this and will do so again

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[60]See Clavier-auszug, page 193, line 5.

[61]See Klavierauszug, page 193, line 7 and Klavierauszug, page 193, line 5.

[62]Arrangiren, page 194, line 8.

[63]Clavier-auszug, page 196, line 8.

[64]Clavier-auszug, page 196, line 8.

when he maintains that keyboard editions are a useful contribution to musical culture because they enable the content of a piece to be represented for a small orchestra or those learning the work. The four-handed keyboard edition is introduced at the end of the definition when it is argued that

> [s]ymphonies and large orchestral works can be arranged for two players four-handed, or for two keyboards, in order to be able to represent more richly, strongly and powerfully not only the full effect of the sound but also the complete idiosyncrasies of the score.[65]

Von Dommer was not alone in believing that four-handed piano performance was one of the most efficient and satisfying forms of arrangement: Eduard Hanslick, for instance, argued that it was "really the most intimate, the most convenient, and within its limits, the most perfect kind of domestic music."[66]

Following von Dommer's definition at a distance of seven years is Mendel and Reißmann's, itself essentially a transformed quotation of the former. Two of the changes which are made, however, are extremely instructive. First, von Dommer's description of four-handed music is shifted to an earlier point in the definition. This has the effect of making the phenomenon seem more important in this later definition than it did in the earlier, a fact mirrored by Mendel and Reißmann's inclusion, five years afterwards and in a later volume of the same dictionary, of the first and only definition of the term which is to be found in this period. Their definition of four-handed music is essentially a brief history of the genre, with a particular focus on its newness: "[t]his treatment of the instrument is also a achievement of the modern period", they argue.[67] While some earlier composers did write for four hands (they mention Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven), it was "[o]nly as the development of the orchestra and of opera took on such vast dimensions and, as the leading kind of music, made necessary the arrangement of symphonies and operas for the keyboard, that four-handed playing became more generally loved."[68] The necessity of arranging for four hands rather than two emerged because, as was seen in von Dommer and Hanslick, it "enabled an appropriate representation of every large work on the keyboard, as if it were the playing of only one player."[69]

The second instructive element of Mendel and Reißmann's definition is the first appearance since Schilling of a potentially negative opinion concerning the keyboard edition. It is all the more potent because it is specifically inserted by them into an otherwise word-for-word quotation from von Dommer. In 1865, von Dommer argues that

> [l]arge vocal works with orchestra are also often published in keyboard editions (that means that the accompanying orchestra is arranged for keyboard, while the vocal parts are carried over without

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[65]Clavier-auszug, page 196, line 37.
[66]Eduard Hanslick, quoted in [Christensen, 1999, 262].
[67]Vierhändig, page 200, line 10.
[68]Vierhändig, page 200, line 16.
[69]Vierhändig, page 200, line 19.

change), not only to ease the accompanying itself, but also to ease the task of the musicians learning their parts.[70]

This is nothing new: all of the foregoing dictionaries have made similar points. In Mendel and Reißmann's text, however, the sentence reads:

> [w]hen large vocal works with orchestra are arranged into works in which the vocal parts are carried over into the keyboard, as well as in those editions where the accompanying orchestra is arranged for keyboard while the vocal parts lie above it in the score, they seem to speak to the needs of the dilettantes, not only in easing the act of accompaniment itself, but also to ease the task of the musicians learning their parts.[71]

This particular kind of arrangement, Mendel and Reißmann believe, is suited to the dilettante. Of course, the term is almost certainly being used here in its neutral form as a synonym for 'amateur'. Given the strongly critical attitude to the figure of the dilettante which later authors would take in their discussions of the keyboard edition, however, its use here should not be ignored. Moreover, it is the first indication since Schilling that the keyboard edition was believed to be anything but a useful and respected means for *any* member of the musical public to acquaint themselves with new compositions: the claim here is that they were more useful for amateurs than for musical experts. This entry thus arguably bespeaks a growing distrust of the artistic qualifications of the keyboard edition.

The style and tone of dictionary entries defining arrangement underwent a change from the 1870s to the 1880s, moving away from obviously partisan argument towards ostensibly objective—and historicised—description. With regards to the keyboard edition, however, this same shift is even more palpable: the term essentially stops being defined altogether. While in Tonger's dictionary of 1888 there is merely a single sentence explaining that the keyboard edition is "an arrangement of an instrumental work for solo piano", definitions of the term are entirely absent from Schuberth's 1894 dictionary, Moser's of 1923, and Abert's of 1927.[72] Such absence can surely only reflect a decline in the significance of the keyboard edition to everyday musical life, itself in turn mirroring the rise of the recording, the radio, and an even more pious insistence on fidelity to the composer's original intentions. Vitally, the term was also considered indirectly covered by the definitions of the new (after 1870) term "transcription", introduced as an umbrella description for all kinds of arrangement. This approach, however, was thoroughly misguided. It fundamentally misrepresents the forgotten difference between the respective esteems in which arrangement and the keyboard edition were held in the nineteenth century, one, very poorly, the other, very highly.

The forgetting of the respect which had been afforded the keyboard edition in the nineteenth century was a mistake confined to not only these four dictionaries. When the keyboard edition finally made a late reappearance in the eleventh

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[70]Clavier-auszug, page 196, line 32.
[71]Clavier-auszug, page 199, line 38.
[72]Clavier-Auszug, page 200, line 1.

edition of Riemann's music dictionary in 1929, its entry was notable for two reasons: first, because, and in contrast to the other definitions that have so far been seen, it was obviously referring to a now defunct, historical practice; and second, because, and for the very first time, it was extremely critical of the keyboard edition. In fact, Riemann's definition launches a number of attacks on the keyboard edition, a genre which for the past century (if not longer) had seen nearly nothing but praise. "In actuality," Riemann contends, the keyboard edition "had its origins in the growing number of dilettantes who were not in the position to be able to play from the full score the latest operatic works."[73] "They did not actually give," he continues, "a picture of the original score, but actually merely the most primitive musical continuity of a work."[74] By the 1920s, the keyboard edition was fully rejected by certain authors, and deeply suspicious to others.

Riemann's entry concludes by suggesting that for more information the reader must consult Dr.Karl Grunsky's book, *Die Technik des Klavierauszugs*.[75] Grunsky's text is essentially a primer, a teach-yourself guide to preparing keyboard editions of major orchestral works. It addresses in turn a number of issues confronting the prospective arranger of a work, using as an archetype Hans von Bülow's keyboard edition of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. While extremely supportive of the role that the keyboard edition has to play in contemporary musical life, this extraordinary text nonetheless stands as witness to the kinds of changes which had occurred in the forty years preceding Riemann's definition and partly explains the origins of his critical hostility.

Die Technik des Klavierauszugs stands in the same relationship to its musical climate as Bach's *The Art of Fugue* stood to its own: a loving farewell from a master to a cherished genre that no longer has a place in the modern world. In his introduction, Grunksy's tone is immediately defensive as he wards off criticism from imagined aggressors. Under the subtitle "Reasons for the Misperception of the Keyboard Edition", he argues that

> the sense for the effect of a complete artwork is completely lacking. Evidence for how poorly formed the contemporary view is can be found in the indifference with which the keyboard edition is greeted, even though it is intended to increase our horizons. If one draws someone's attention to how much more worthwhile it is to study a symphony of Beethoven's than an étude of Chopin's, then they reply that only one of them was actually written for the piano. The poor regard in which the edition is held seems to be justified by the previously mentioned taste for originals, by the well-known mistrust against the simulated.[76]

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[73]Klavier-Auszug, page 202, line 3.

[74]Klavier-Auszug, page 202, line 8.

[75]Grunsky [1911].

[76]"Überall fehlt der Sinn fürs Zusammenwirken. Ein Beweis, wie unreif die geltenden Anschauungen sind, liegt in der Gleichgültigkeit gegen den Klavierauszug, der doch berufen ist, den Gesichtskreis zu erweitern. Macht man darauf aufmerksam, wieviel wertvoller es sei, eine Sinfonie Beethovens, als eine Etüde Chopins zu studieren, so wird entgegnet, daß diese, aber nicht jene, fürs Klavier geschrieben sei. Der vorgegebene Sinn fürs Ursprüngliche, das zur Schau getragene Mißtrauen gegen das Nachgebildete scheint zu rechtfertigen, daß man den Auszug

Despite the fact that the purpose of the keyboard edition is an admirable one—to give the audience a sense of the whole of a work to which they otherwise would not have access—there is, Grunsky believes, a strong public feeling against them. To his mind, this stems from a contemporary suspicion of "the simulated". Indeed, the dislike of mimesis did play an important role in the musical press' rejection of the keyboard edition in the nineteenth century, such that it is not surprising that by 1911, Grunsky felt justified in referring to this as a society-wide problem. The keyboard edition, he contends, can only do so much to combat the broadly held belief that the original is better.

Despite the keyboard edition's mere "simulation" of an original, Grunsky believes for three reasons that it does have something to offer the musical culture of the early twentieth century. First, the criticism that the keyboard edition is merely a copy of the original is misguided. "The original," Grunsky maintains, "can only ever be in the head of the creator... An inaccessible performance of an orchestral work is just as much a bad copy as an understandable representation of it at the keyboard."[77] All performances of a work—indeed, all notations of it—are arrangements of 'the original'. This is the same point which Ferrucio Busoni makes in his contemporary essay "The Value of Arrangement".[78] A response to both authors might argue that an orchestral work scored and performed for orchestra will come closer to the 'true' original which lies in the head of the composer than one arranged and performed on a keyboard. Not so, argues Grunsky, citing his second justification: "the impression of music entrusted to the keyboard differentiates itself in degree, and not in kind, from the effect of the full instrumentation."[79] The comparison of an orchestral performance and a keyboard performance of an orchestral work is not one of apples and oranges, but rather, of two varieties of apple. The third criticism against which Grunsky defends the keyboard edition is that (and even he admits it) a great many of them, and in particular those made from works for large ensemble, are quite simply bad: "[t]he publishers of large works have already had to use up so much in their production that for artistically valid editions, there is very little left."[80] Grunsky's response to this objection is to suggest that it would be a mistake to judge a barrel of apples with reference to a few bad fruit: the existence of some weak keyboard editions does not mean that keyboard editions *per se* are bad.

On these three grounds, Grunsky defends the keyboard edition and holds that at the very least it can function as a tool for musical education. "Those who shun the keyboard edition never win an overview of the masterworks which (with a few exceptions) are not written for solo voice or solo instruments."[81] It is

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geringer werten dürfte." [Grunsky, 1911, 1].

[77]"Das Urbild... kann nur der Gedanke im Kopf des Schaffenden sein... Eine unzugängliche Orchesteraufführung gliche einer schlechteren Kopie als die verständige Wiedergabe am Klavier." [Grunsky, 1911, 1–2].

[78]See Busoni [2006].

[79]"... der Eindruck einer dem Klavier anvertrauten Musik wohl dem Grad, aber nicht der Art nach verschieden ist von der Wirkung der vollen Mittel." [Grunsky, 1911, 2].

[80]"Die Verleger größerer Werke haben von je auf die Herstellung so viel verwenden müssen, daß für künstlerisch vollwertige Auszüge wenig überblieb." [Grunsky, 1911, 3].

[81]"Wer den Auszug meidet, gewinnt nie den Überblick über die Meisterwerke, die mit wenigen Ausnahmen nicht für Sologesang oder Soloinstrumente allein geschrieben sind." [Grunsky,

painfully clear, however, that Grunsky's defence comes too little, too late. Each claim he makes in defence of the keyboard edition responds to a specific criticism to which the edition has, by 1911, been subject. History shows that his call for a reinvigoration of the art of the edition was to fall on deaf ears: the golden age of the keyboard edition was already past.

By striking such a defensive tone, the Introduction to Grunsky's *Technik des Klavierauszugs* testifies to the decline in favour of the keyboard edition which Riemann's 1929 definition was to confirm. This new, almost completely negative attitude was to come to characterise the twentieth- and twenty-first-century response to the keyboard edition—a profit-driven violation of the original composition for the satisfaction of the poorly educated audience and the benefit of the fat-cat publisher. It is vital to remember, however, that nineteenth-century opinion could not have been more different. Keyboard editions were defended by lexicographers for making available new music to new audiences, for requiring skill and subtlety to produce, and for reinforcing the standard of musical education. To continue to accept a wholeheartedly dismissive understanding of the keyboard edition is to continue to give credence to a modern judgement anachronistically cast backwards onto the nineteenth century, one which fundamentally misrepresents the purpose of the practice, its audience, its publishers, its arrangers, and the extremely high regard in which it was held at that time.

Lexicographical Attitudes to Arranging Practices: Potpourri

With a small number of exceptions, the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dictionary definitions of the term potpourri were critical of the genre. They make a number of interrelated points: that the potpourri has an overt and distasteful relationship with the entertainment industry; that the potpourri appealed to the uninformed dilettante; that the potpourri was typically created by a lesser arranger; and so on. By far the most frequent rebuke, however, focused on the nature of the potpourri's ontology as a mere mish-mash or patchwork. The musical consequence of this ontology is, so the argument goes, that potpourris lack a guiding and subcutaneous unity which separates the sensually agreeable from the musically profound.

The earliest definition in these dictionaries of the term potpourri is in Schilling's of 1835. While the potpourri had been recognised as a musical form since the early eighteenth century, the term in that period referred to a collection of individual works related by theme and performed in sequence; it was not until the later part of that century that it came to refer to a sequence of melodies strung together and performed in a single movement.[82] If the potpourri, however, had been a musical genre for at least 50 years preceding Schilling's definition, why did it take so long for it to make its first appearance in a musical dictionary? There are two possible answers to this question. The first is the age-old observation that theory often lags behind practice. The second is that it was only with the

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1911, 3].

[82] Andrew Lamb. "Potpourri." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22189` (accessed October 19, 2010).

growing economic importance of the potpourri that its inclusion in dictionaries seemed (perhaps begrudgingly) necessary.

Schilling's definition begins by explaining to a German reader the provenance of the "French word" which refers to one of three things: "a favourite dish made from various steamed and small pieces of meat; a dish or pot with various good-smelling flowers and herbs; and finally a mishmash in which all sorts of things are piled on top of one other."[83] It is in the latter sense that the term is used in musical circles. While he elaborates that the musical potpourri is "a piece consisting of several, in most cases famous, themes," he devalues both the skill necessary in the production of such a work, and, indirectly, the genre itself, when he explains that

> the arranger [*Verfasser*] has no other task than that of creating a skilled and pleasing compilation, the appropriate joins and the graceful realisation of the various melodies and small passages, which can be extracted from a single large work or taken from several different works of various genres.[84]

The key words here are "no other" [*kein anderes*]: the arranger merely has to compile sources and to ensure that these sources flow into one another elegantly and seamlessly. Indeed, the creators of potpourris are, for the most part, Schilling argues "young, French composers and talentless assemblers of fragments."[85] Potpourris, by extension, are not whole musical works, but ordered repetitions of the works of others.

Schilling does not stop with a mere criticism of the potpourri as product, however, but goes on also to attack the effect of that product on musical culture.

> Music teachers should be wary of giving these works too frequently to their students, because the purpose of the potpourri can only ever be to aid the passing of time and as pleasant amusement for the dilettantes, and musical education is never improved by them.[86]

Schilling believes that potpourris are harmful because they are merely a "colourful mishmash with no artistic unity."[87] The potpourri's lack of an overt unifying principle makes them not only distasteful, but actually threatening to musical order. "The potpourri is a musical ragout, which tastes of everything, but upsets the stomach."[88]

Schilling's entry introduces nearly all of the criteria by which the potpourri will be judged to be lacking for the next 100 or so years. There are, however, some dissenters from the belief that the potpourri was irreparably poor. Gathy's 1840 entry on the potpourri, for instance, translates "potpourri" into German as a "mish-mash", and goes on to define it as a "mixture of beloved motives, interwoven with variations and transitions: a patchwork."[89] His definition features

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[83]Potpourri, page 192, line 2.
[84]Potpourri, page 192, line 6.
[85]Potpourri, page 192, line 23.
[86]Potpourri, page 192, line 20.
[87]Potpourri, page 192, line 19.
[88]Potpourri, page 192, line 18.
[89]Pot-pourri, page 193, line 1.

several keywords which characterise the nineteenth-century's understanding of the potpourri, but which in fact (and as will be shown in chapter three) attribute to the genre more complexity than it really possesses. While it is inarguable that the melodies which are used in the construction of a potpourri are "beloved", it is in fact rare for them to be bound together with "variations" and "transitions", much less, and adopting Gathy's proto-organicist terminology, "interwoven" by them. In that sense, his definition is interesting precisely because it ignores the fact of the potpourri's lack of unification: the nouns which sandwich his definition, "mishmash" and "patchwork", come much closer to capturing the piecemeal, block-like construction of most potpourris than does his central contention. Gathy's emphasis on the potpourri's wholeness could be a repetition of a generally held view, or a defence against an implied criticism. Given the predominantly negative press given to the potpourri, as well as the fact that his statement here is so short, it is most likely a reflection of his lack of familiarity with the genre.

The next definition of the potpourri can be found in Gaßner's 1847 *Universal Lexikon*. Borrowing heavily from Schilling, the entry is once again more interesting with regards to what it omits from that earlier description than what it includes. First, Gaßner removes Schilling's reference to the relationship between the potpourri and opera which Schilling argued was typical; as will shortly be shown, this is an oversight on his part, opera being vital to the way in which the potpourri captured public interest.[90] Second, Gaßner omits Schilling's explanation of precisely why the potpourri is unsatisfactory—its lack of musical unity—and to whom it appeals—the musical dilettante. Rather than reflecting a rejection of these beliefs, however (and given Gaßner's largely negative tone), this was probably because these opinions were by this point understood as implicit.

Nine years later, Bernsdorf was also happy to reprint Schilling's negative analysis of the potpourri and argue that the task of the potpourri producer is not really a fully musical one. He, like Gaßner, also chooses to leave unsaid the fact of the potpourri's lack of unity and its appeal to the dilettante. He does, however, reintroduce Schilling's observation that potpourris were often drawn from contemporary opera. "In general usage," he writes, "the potpourri is an instrumental work in which the main and loved melodies of a larger whole, and in particular an opera, are presented together."[91]

Von Dommer's definition of the potpourri, appearing nine years after Bernsdorf's, is not only shorter, but also curiously positive. The potpourri, he writes, is "a patched-together piece of music comprising every kind of melody, but more specifically "known and loved" ones. In particular, the comic potpourris are to be recommended."[92] Von Dommer's much less stern critique of the potpourri, and his belief that composers and arrangers are justified in creating works whose only purpose is to entertain, evidence a tolerant attitude to the purposes of musical composition in general. (In mentioning "comic potpourris", Von Dommer

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[90]See chapter three, page 130.
[91]Potpourri, page 195, line 11.
[92]Potpourri, page 196, line 1.

is thinking of works like—and to take only one example from among many—
Die Drei Lebensmüden, a piece which tells the story "in the form of an operatic
potpourri" and through the use of extracts from works like *Der Freischütz*, *Die
Zauberflöte* and *Die Hugenotten*, of the frustrated attempt of a trio of men to com-
mit suicide.[93]) Von Dommer's definition serves as a reminder of why this genre
had become so popular in the first place: stringing together chains of melodies in
one work could be, among other things, funny.

Mendel's dictionary some twelve years later offers as sharp a lexicographical
rebuke as is possible to von Dommer's good-natured assessment. He reprints
the earlier writer's definition up to the point of the recommendation of the genre,
but then shifts tack by adding a negative critical opinion of his own: for him the
potpourri is "a patched-together piece of music comprising every kind of melody,
but more specifically "known and loved" ones, *which exists solely for the purpose of
entertainment*."[94] If von Dommer thought that potpourris could be funny, Mendel
thinks that this is at their own expense. In being comic, they lose all claim to
serious artistic worth.

While the next appearance of the term potpourri occurs in the first edition of
Riemann's musical dictionary, the term is in fact absent from two other dictionar-
ies which appear at the end of the nineteenth century (see figure 2.1). As with
arrangement and the keyboard edition, such an omission represents the gradual
decline in popularity and importance of the practice. Indeed, even Riemann's
definition is shorter and more vague than those so far investigated. The pot-
pourri is, he believes, simply "a colourful ordering of melodies."[95] Such a short
definition cannot demonstrate anything other than a *pro forma* inclusion. This
is borne out by the definitions which follow Riemann's in the first quarter of the
twentieth century. In 1923, for instance, Moser succintly but sourly explained that
the potpourri was "a placing together of melodies or pieces of melody which do
not belong together."[96] Abert summarises the negative profile of the potpourri
even more clearly when he comments in 1927 that the potpourri "in so far as
it can be distinguished from the old Quodlibet, can be done so on the grounds
that in the latter the heterogenous pieces of melody are unified into a new or-
ganic whole."[97] Abert's implication, of course, is that if those pieces of melody
in a quodlibet synthesise a new musical work, those in a potpourri do not. Just
as in Schilling's definition nearly a century earlier, the potpourri is admonished
because its laying out of musical fragments cannot achieve a new musical unity.

Definitions of the potpourri changed little over the one hundred years exam-
ined here. Whether because of its patchwork origins, appeal to popular taste,
lack of a profound musical unity, or any combination of the same, the potpourri
was nearly always rejected as unmusical and dangerous. The stable genealogy of
dislike sketched here should be instructive for two reasons. First, it demonstrates
that the definition over this period—and, indeed, that which is tacitly accepted
today—has never been subject to serious scrutiny; the time is ripe, in other words,

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[93]See Lux [ca. 1865].
[94]Pot-pourri, page 199, line 1, my italics.
[95]Potpourri, page 201, line 1.
[96]Potourri, page 201, line 1.
[97]Potpourri, page 201, line 3.

for a reconsideration of the validity of this understanding of the genre. Second, the overwhelmingly negative written reaction to the potpourri is markedly at odds with the evidence (presented in chapter three) of actual publication practices. These show that the potpourri was one of the most successful genres of the first half of the nineteenth century. This disagreement reveals the danger of using lexicographical evidence alone in the attempt to write comprehensive histories.

Changing definitions of the three terms arrangement, keyboard edition and potpourri in these dictionaries give a clear image of how lexicographical perception of them changed over time. They can only give, however, a partial picture of how these practices and genres were seen by a wider public. The next section considers discussions of arrangement in the musical press to investigate the views of a broader audience as to the value of arrangement.

Arrangement in the Musical Press

This section examines the presentation of arrangement in articles and reviews from the nineteenth-century German-language musical press. The aim in doing so is to attempt to reconstruct the subtleties of the nineteenth-century public discourse on arrangement. The most significant reason for the dislike of arrangement given by this body of literature is the fear that through it the musical world would become saturated with countless versions of the same works: that reproduction, in other words, would lead to a culture of musical babble. During the consideration of this evidence, then, there will be some reflection on the relationship between music and what will be referred to here as repetition.

Before the discussion begins, two points should be made with regards to the relationship between the debates in musical journals concerning arrangement and the definitions taken from dictionaries studied above. First, the danger of reproduction which forms the main concern of the authors writing here is barely mentioned in the dictionaries. (The exception is Schilling's 1835 entry on the keyboard edition (see page 69).) This reflects the close engagement of these authors with the musical marketplace. They, unlike the lexicographers, were concerned less with 'musical' issues of the skill of the arranger or the appropriateness of the instrumentation as they were with the practical concern of the impact of the individual arrangement on domestic culture: how hard it was, how much it cost, how often was it going to be heard, and so on. The differing responses to arrangement shown by these two groups of sources reflect different relationships to musical culture; more strongly, it might be said that they represent different relationships to entirely different kinds of musical culture, the one predominantly theoretical, the other, predominantly practical.

The second important point to make is that there is often no distinction drawn in this body of sources between arrangement, the keyboard edition, transcription, the potpourri, the paraphrase, and so on. These journal articles embody the fact—and it is one which the dictionaries at first glance seem to conceal—that the boundaries between these genres and practices are, in day-to-day usage at least, extremely fluid. For the most part, these authors preferred to adopt a shorthand and refer to all of the genres and practices under examination here as forms of

"arrangement". This is further evidence of the point just made, that lexicographers and journalists work in two characteristically different worlds of musical criticism.

The easiest way to appreciate the conceptual looseness of the term arrangement in the hands of these authors is to note that there are two very different, but equally important, nineteenth-century practices which go by the name. The first is the focus of this thesis: arrangement of contemporary operatic and orchestral music for keyboard performance in the home. The second is the updating of so-called "old" music for performance by contemporary performers on contemporary instruments in contemporary concert venues and, most controversially of all, according to contemporary taste. This only sometimes involved arrangement of orchestral or operatic music for the keyboard. The legitimacy of this second form of arrangement was a fiercely contested issue of great significance in the nineteenth century: these authors and musicians were the first to have to respond to the fact that they had a musical history which potentially had contemporary relevance.

The second practice of arrangement is not the one in which this study is primarily interested. Nonetheless, since the practice and its associated debate were of such importance to nineteenth-century musical culture, a brief analysis of it follows. Most importantly, it provides evidence that arrangement of all kinds found itself at the centre of fraught and impassioned critical discussions concerning its legitimacy.

In an article of 1843, J. F. Edler von Mosel is very keen to explain why the kind of arrangements which he makes are justified.[98] "It is certain," he writes, "that without my arrangements of the above-named oratorios, none—other than *Messiah* and *Alexander's Feast*—would have been performed, at least here in Vienna."[99] Mosel believes that it is his arranging practice that allows Handel's music to continue to be performed into the nineteenth century. He gives four reasons for believing that the adaptation of the original score was necessary. First, arrangement was vital "because the majority [of these works] call for too many solo singers, and, 'thanks to the daily decline in singers, who want to recite music of this type, and who want to do so properly', it is already hard to find three or four."[100] Second, arrangement is necessary "because these oratorios as a rule contain forty or more numbers, and consequently would far exceed the normal length of these Academy Concerts, which still tend to occur around lunchtime."[101] Third, Mosel arranges "because Handel...simply used song forms, which at the time had a lot of panache but which now tend no longer

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[98]von Mosel [1843].

[99]"Es ist gewiß, daß ohne meine Bearbeitung der oben genannten Oratorien, außer dem 'Messias' und dem 'Alexanderfeste', wenigstens hier in Wien, kein anderes zu Gehör gekommen seyn würde." [von Mosel, 1843, 578].

[100]"weil die meisten zu viele Solosänger fordern und 'bei der täglichen Abnahme an Sängern und Sängerinnen, welche Musik dieser Art vortragen mögen, und gehörig vortragen können', schon drei oder vier schwer zu finden sind." [von Mosel, 1843, 578].

[101]"weil diese Oratorien in der Regel vierzig und mehr Nummern enthalten, folglich die gewöhnliche Dauerzeit dieser Akadamien die noch dazu meistens um die Mittagszeit statthaben, weit überschreiten würden." [von Mosel, 1843, 578].

to please."[102] With these three justifications, Mosel asserts that old scores can reasonably be altered to meet changing instrumental restrictions (a lack of singers), changing performance circumstances (fitting a concert into a lunch-break), and changing public taste (decline in the popularity of song forms).

According to Mosel, it is worthwhile making these alterations because of the general improvement in musical education which they bring. "The issue concerns above all," he argues,

> the answer to the simple question: is it furthering for the art of music in general, and for the conservation of taste of noble, excellent music in particular, to bring to public attention the compositions of Handel in order to protect against the ever-worsening preference for the surface, the worthless, the fluttering; or is it better to allow them to lie, unbeknownst to the audience, on shelves of library and collections, where only the favoured few can enjoy them with their eyes? The answer, as one might guess, is the first alternative, and that—as every art-lover already knows—necessary above all is the dictum that 'what should be performed, must be made performable'.[103]

Mosel believes that the preservation of musical taste under the onslaught of contemporary tastelessness requires sacrifice. In this case, the sacrifice is the integrity of Handel's score, which can quite legitimately be altered to ensure the continued relevance of that last bastion of musical sense.

The fourth of Mosel's justifications for his particular arranging practice was to come to lie at the heart of a later debate. Mosel argues that

> because in Catholic lands compositions are not performed in churches, but in concert halls or theatres where there is no organ, many arias which in the original score are accompanied simply with figured bass or with figured bass and a violin will consequently not be performed at all, while so many choirs, which only have a string quartet for accompaniment, and which could only achieve full strength through the use of an organ, will fail to convey fully the effect which they are otherwise capable of performing.[104]

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[102]"weil Händel…bloß Gesangformen anbrachte, die zu jener Zeit im Schwunge waren, jetzt aber nicht mehr gefallen können." [von Mosel, 1843, 578].

[103]"Es handelt sich vor Allem um die Beantwortung der einfachen Frage: Ist es fördender für die Tonkunst überhaupt, und für die Bewahrung des Geschmacks an edler, großartiger Musik insbesondere, als Damm gegen die immer mehr einreißende Vorliebe für das Flache, Werthlose, Flitterhafte, Compositionen von Händel zu öffentlicher Anhörung zu bringen, oder sie, dem Publicum unbekannt, im Staube der Bibliotheken und Sammlungen, nur wenigen Auserwählten zum Genuß durch die Augen, liegen zu lassen?—Trifft die Antwort, wie zu vermuthen, die erste Alternative, so war—wie jener Kunstrichter sagt—vor Allem nothwendig, 'was aufgeführt werden soll, aufführbar zu machen'." [von Mosel, 1843, 578].

[104]"weil in katholischen Ländern derlei Tonwerke nicht in Kirchen, sonder in Concertsälen oder im Theater aufgeführt werden, wo keine Orgel besteht, folglich die vielen Arien, die in der Originalpartitur bloß mit dem bezifferten Basse, oder mit diesem und einer Violine begleitet sind, gar nicht aufzuführen wären, ja selbst so viele Chöre, welche nur das Streichquartett zur Begleitung haben, und ihre volle Kraft erst durch die Orgel erhalten, hinter der Wirkung zurückbleiben würden, die sie hervorzubringen fähig sind." [von Mosel, 1843, 578].

How else, other than through arrangement, Mosel asks, is the physical lack of continuo instruments when performing music in which the continuo was vital to be dealt with? Even should the performers have the equipment necessary to perform the continuo part, another pragmatic question, based on the improvisatory nature of continuo realisation raises itself: exactly which style of continuo playing should the performer adopt?

It was this question about the nature of continuo performance which Elaine Kelly has shown was at the centre of a debate in the 1860s and 1870s concerning the manner in which old music should be adapted for contemporary performance. According to Kelly, the root of this discussion lay more deeply than differing views over performance practice. "At the crux of the debate," she believes, "lay the fact that the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the past had its origins in two diametrically opposed philosophies."[105] She dubs these positions the 'Hegelian' and the 'Romantic'. The former places at its core a doctrine of "necessary anachronism" according to which the transient, material aspect of a work of art must be updated by each successive generation if the message of the artwork is to continue to resonate through the ages.[106] The latter position, on the other hand, contended that the past manifested a "golden age" which functioned as a soothing antidote to the "degenerate atheism and materialism of modern times."[107] Each position engendered a different musico-critical approach: the "Hegelians" believed that works not merely could, but indeed should be adapted to reflect contemporary mores; the "Romantics" held that it was a requirement of a sensitive interpreter to stay as true as possible to the original work.

The most famous of the two nineteenth-century interlocutors involved in this debate were Johannes Brahms and Robert Franz. Focusing on the editing of material by Handel, and, in particular, their composition and transcription of the continuo parts of his works, Brahms and Franz adopted polarised positions on the question of the role of the arranger in modernising old music. Brahms, on the one hand, followed the Romantic position, insisting that the best way to allow Baroque music to speak in the late nineteenth century was for it to remain as similar as possible to the original work. Franz, on the other hand, believed that the passage of time between date of composition and date of editing left ample room for the arranger to express himself and to strengthen the original in light of the intervening changes of skill, taste, and instrumental technology. His florid and contrapuntal style of continuo realisation was defended in his long 'Open Letter to Eduard Hanslick' in which he also laid out his criticisms of Brahm's own (less florid) contrapuntal methods, including long lists of the instances of parallel octaves and fifths which he had found in Brahm's editions of Handel's work.[108]

Brahms and Franz were only two of the numerous musicians and editors who became involved in this key debate concerning the extent to which arrangement was justified by the accommodation of old works to new tastes. While the de-

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[105][Kelly, 2006, 182].

[106][Kelly, 2006, 182].

[107]William Vaughan, quoted in [Kelly, 2006, 182].

[108]Kelly does an excellent job of exploring how these differing editorial stances manifested themselves in the editions which these two composers prepared. See Franz [1871] and Kelly [2006].

bate in the 1860s and 1870s was fought, as Kelly has observed, over fairly specific questions of continuo technique and editorial standards, its general shape extends much further back into the century. If Mosel, for example, was, in 1843, fairly certain that Handel's music would have died out in contemporary Vienna without his arrangements of it, Eduard Krüger in 1839 is, on the contrary, positive that such arrangement is always a sin against the artwork.

> They come up with ways to excuse the crime on both contemporary and old artworks; first is it the exaggerated length, then the impossibility of understanding it, next—God be gracious to the sinners—the incorrectness, the exceptionalness, the foreignness of single pieces, and in many other essential ways besides, which, so they say, compels them to act, so that they, the attendants of the spirit, cannot actually witness the immortal spirits of their worship through even the simplest means, namely, through the respect of the poet's plan. This addiction to accommodation—should I call it the mother or daughter of indolence, the *commodité*?—has very often embittered me to my core: now I find myself compelled to speak out openly about my silent thoughts because the opinion has been defended in the public organ of the German National Association for Music that Bach and Handel should no longer be presented in their original and old forms. This opinion is embedded deeper in cultural life than at first appears and demands from us some basic investigation.[109]

An addiction to accommodation was, according to Krüger, ruining the very music which should be treated with the greatest respect of all: that of the past. Interestingly, at least part of Krüger's disgust at the arrangement of older works stems from the understanding—which also featured in dictionary definitions of arrangement—that the essential ideas of an artwork are inextricably bound to its accidental body: "the more properly and higher that an artwork is both conceived and executed," he argues, "the more inseparable [*unzertrennlicher*] are the form and content, both inner and outer."[110]

The debate concerning the legitimacy of adapting old works to accord with new taste lies on the periphery of this study. Even so, the discussion of which Brahms and Franz, Krüger and Mosel were only four participants does provide even more evidence for the contention which is being made in this chapter: works

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[109] "Sie pflegen beides, den Frevel an heutigen und älteren Kunstwerken, auf allerlei Weise zu entschuldigen: bald ist's die übertriebene Länge, bald die Unverständlichkeit, bald—Gott sei den Sündern gnädig—die Ungehörigkeit, Sonderbarkeit, Fremdheit einzelner Stellen, auch wohl ganzer wesentlicher Theile, was ihnen, wie sie sagen, die Hände bindet, daß sie, die Diener des Geistes, unsterblichen Geistern ihre Verehrung nicht bezeugen können durch die einfachste Thatsache, nämlich durch den Respect vor des Dichters Plan. Diese Accommodationssucht— soll ich sie Mutter oder Tochter der Trägheit der *commodité*, nennen?—hat mich schon oft auf's Innerste erbittert: jetzt werde ich genötight, das Stillgedachte öffentlich auszusprechen, weil in dem öffentlichen Organe des deutschen Nationalvereins für Musik öffentlich diese Ansicht vertheidigt wird, als dürften etwa Händel und Bach in ihrer veralteten Gestalt nicht mehr zur öffentlichen Darstellung kommen. Die Ansicht greift tiefer in alles Kunstleben ein, als es scheint, und verlangt eine gründliche Betrachtung." [Krüger, 1839, 73].

[110] "je ächter und höher ein Kunstwerk concipirt und ausgeführt ist, desto unzertrennlicher sind Form und Inhalt, Aeußeres und Inneres." [Krüger, 1839, 73].

which made use of arrangement practices in the nineteenth century found them-
selves assessed by a dense, variegated and complex critical discourse which has
been largely forgotten over the intervening century and which it is the intention
of this study to try and resurrect.

Krüger cites one more reason to reject arrangement for the purposes of "ac-
commodation". Handel, he argues "did not create his eternal works with artistic
industry and enthusiastic joy in order to achieve a posthumous fame in which
leaves and flowers are picked from his fragrant wreath in order to fashion a
colourless or monochromatic bouquet for household use."[111] Handel's works,
creations of the great master himself, should not, Krüger believes, be arranged
for mere performance at home. It is to precisely this question—that of the value
of domestic keyboard arrangement, as analysed by the musical press—that this
chapter now turns.

In his 1876 story "A Literary Nightmare", Mark Twain describes how he became
a victim of repetition.[112]

> Will the reader please to cast his eye over the following lines, and see
> if he can discover anything harmful in them?
>
>> Conductor, when you receive a fare,
>> Punch in the presence of the passenjare!
>> A blue trip slip for an eight-cent fare,
>> A buff trip slip for a six-cent fare,
>> A pink trip slip for a three-cent fare,
>> Punch in the presence of the passenjare!
>>
>> CHORUS
>>
>> Punch, brothers! punch with care!
>> Punch in the presence of the passenjare!
>
> I came across these jingling rhymes in a newspaper, a little while ago,
> and read them a couple of times. They took instant and entire pos-
> session of me. All through breakfast they went waltzing through
> my brain; and when, at last, I rolled up my napkin, I could not tell
> whether I had eaten anything or not.

The simple jingle ultimately completely occupies the mind of the author. He
cannot sleep, he cannot eat, he cannot write; walking sets a rhythm against which
it will only too gladly sound; eventually he can no longer even talk, resorting
instead to muttering incoherent snatches of the offending verse. Facing insanity,
he realises that the only way to break the hypnotic spell of the ever-repeating

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[111]"Nicht dazu hat er mit künstlerischem Fleiß und begeisterter Freude seine ewigen Werke er-
schaffen, daß so ein *posthumus* ihm kommen sollte, Blätter und Blüthen herauszuzupfen und
ein farbloses oder einfarbiges Bouquetchen aus dem vollduftenden Kranze für den Hausge-
brauch…zu accomodieren." [Krüger, 1839, 74].

[112]The full text of the story can be found at Mark Twain, 'A Literary Nightmare', `http:
//acephalous.typepad.com/acephalous/mark-twain-a-literary-nig.html` (ac-
cessed 4 July, 2010).

lines is to take charge of them: by singing it to a friend, the verse is purged of its power, exorcised from our author, and moves on to possess his colleague instead.

It is precisely this kind of subjectivity-destroying repetition which journalists writing for the nineteenth-century musical press seem to have feared most from arrangements. While it seems at first glance that the biggest component of their fear of arrangements lies quite simply in the fact that they are going to have to hear them babble, a good part of it also stems from the broader social and philosophical consequences which they arguably realised would arise from the repetition which arrangement enabled.

A typical example of the criticism of musical repetition can be found in an anonymously written article on arrangement of 1841.

> There was once an Englishman, a harebrained eccentric; he had only one pleasure, which he pursued every day, in accordance with his old English habits. The quirk overcame him for the first time, when he heard the famous melody "Freut euch des Lebens" sung for the 184th time. He flew into the country, to his old estate in the highlands. There his caretaker or tenant celebrated the arrival of the master through music and—listen! Listen!—the first piece was the old well-known melody "Freut euch des Lebens". The tall Brit called the coach back, travelled to the nearest harbour town, boarded a ship, and sailed to Calcutta. He landed after several months in East India, thoroughly happy, dreaming of prospective opium smoking, sweet dancing girls, Hindustani sayings; there in the main square stood the Regimental band of the English Battalion garrisoned in Calcutta, who blew *con amore* the old melody "Freut euch das Lebens". The Brit dropped down, dead as a door-post.[113]

There is no particular reason given by the author as to why "Freut euch des Lebens" was likely to have such a mortal effect on a harebrained Englishman. Of course, the banality of the song itself cannot have helped (see figure 2.3).[114] A predominantly stepwise melody underpinning a saccharine lyric and supported by the most simple of alternating tonic-dominant harmonies hardly bears repetition once, let alone the seven times in which it stands in the original and complete song. This was likely of no concern to those singing it, since it was a popular

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[113]"Es war einmal ein Engländer, ein närrischer Kauz; er hatte nur ein Vergnügen, das er sich täglich selbst verschaffte, den altenglischen Spleen. Der Spleen überkam ihn das erste Mal, als er die berühmte Melodie "Freut euch des Lebens" zum 184. Male singen hörte. Er floh auf das Land, auf seinen alten Rittersitz im Hochlande. Da feierte sein Verwalter oder Pächter die Ankunft des Gebiethers durch Musik, und—hört! hört!—das erste Tonstück war die alte überall und nirgends Melodie "Freut euch des Lebens." Der lange Britte hieß den Postillon umkehren, fuhr in die nächste Hafenstadt, schiffte sich ein, und segelte nach Kalkutta. Er landete nach Monaten seelenvergnügt in Ostindien, und träumte von künftigen Opiumräuschen, süßen Bajadere, hindostanischen Sagen; da stand die Regimentsbande des in Kalkutta garnisonirenden englischen Regiments auf dem Hauptplatze, und blies von amore die uralte Melodie "Freut euch des Lebens." Da traf den Britten der Schlag, und er war mausetod." [Anon., 1841, 401].

[114]The song can be found in the *Allgemeines Deutsches Kommersbuch*. The full text is at 'Freut euch des Lebens', http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/text627.html (accessed 27 November 2010).

Figure 2.3: "Freut euch des Lebens", words, Martin Usteri, 1793, setting, Hans Georg Nägeli, 1793.

accompaniment to a student drinking game, a role which may have further contributed to the annoyance of the critic who lambasts it here so strongly. Banality and context aside, however, the reason implied by the passage as to why the song is so deadly is simply the fact of its repetition: repeated music is annoying.

The author of this piece is not, as he makes clear later, just writing about arrangements. In fact, he is concerned about any form of popularisation of a melody which will lead to it being repeated. "Is it not painful," he asks,

> when a composer sees the most beautiful gifts of his muse, the fine daughter of his honesty sent with heavenly enthusiasm, flying like a strumpet down every promenade and visiting every pub, until it has lost through familiarity all the aura of its godly arrival, until it has become through repetition a scarecrow for the musically educated?[115]

A melody's repetition of itself, the author maintains, is analogous to a loose woman making herself available to all and sundry. Repetition is indeed nothing less, he argues in another passage, than a transgression against composer, taste and music itself.

> Is it not a crime against the composer, against the love of music, against good taste, when a truly beautiful piece is whistled in all yards, is droned in all streets, barrel-organed in all fashionable bars, and to

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[115]"Ist es nicht schmerzlich, wenn ein Componist das schönste Liebespfand seiner Muse, das herrlichste Töchterlein seiner Ehe mit der Himmelstochter Begeisterung wie eine Metze so lange alle Promenaden durchfliegen, alle Kneipen besuchen sieht, bis es durch Gewohnheit den Nimbus seiner göttlichen Abkunft verloren hat, bis es durch Überdruß die Vogelscheuche für wahrhaft musikalisch Gebildete geworden ist?!" [Anon., 1841, 401–2].

such a degree, with such penetration, and such confident arrogance, that the most furious music enthusiast blocks his ears, and, like every Briton in East India, is stirred nearly to death, when the busy organ-grinder plays for the millionth time a piece that on the first evening left his heart impassive and his eyes dry?[116]

Part of the author's general exasperation stems not just from the fact of the current fad for musical repetition, but from the fact that the music being repeated is simply not very good. Whatever form the repetition comes in, however, the author's essential position on musical repetition is clear: it is to be discouraged. As he concludes, "I am a member of a temperance movement and a union against animal abuse, and am so out of conviction and love; but if an association against the corruption or boredom to the point of death of a beautiful musical thought through the work of organ grinders, harpists and organists should be set up, then I will leave all of the other institutions of this sort and sign up as the *Sbirre* of every musical smuggler."[117]

A much closer link between repetition and arrangement is made in a review piece of 1829. Ignatz von Seyfried opens his discussion of a number of new arrangements of works by various composers by explaining that normally, such a collection of works would have nothing to recommend them.

> In an age which is addicted to writing, where everyone who can hold a quill between their forefingers would like to be a writer merely in order to be able to crow "Auch'io!" with pompous peacock-pride and unflattering vanity, and when everyone already fancies themselves selected and called from above, and thus has to scribble something at least occasionally on a single sheet, it could be words, or notes, it could be his own, or foreign thoughts, views and opinions created by himself, or gossip repeated like a parrot, old or new, true or false, or rude, or clever, or ridiculous stuff;—in these, in some ways quantitatively fertile but also qualitatively sterile days, I believe, the fashion— one could really say the rage—to arrange (it should more appropriately be termed: to derange) has taken such a hold that one fears one is dealing with the devastating effects of an epidemic plague.[118]

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[116]"Ist es kein Diebstahl an dem Tondichter, an der Liebe zur Musik, an dem guten Geschmacke, wenn ein wahrhaft schönes Tonstück in allen Höfen gepfiffen, auf allen Gassen herabgeleiert, in allen schmutzigen Kneipen georgelt wird, und zwar mit solcher Ausdauer, solcher Zudringlichkeit, solcher zuversichtlichen Arroganz, daß der wüthendeste Musikenthusiast die Ohren zuhält, und wie jener Britte in Ostindien fast vom Schlage gerührt wird, wenn der rührige Leiermann ein Tonstück zum billionten Male aufspielt, das am ersten Abende kein Herz ungerührt, kein Auge trocken ließ?" [Anon., 1841, 401].

[117]During the nineteenth century, "*Sbirre*" was an Italian term for a watchman, bailiff, crier or officer. "Ich bin Mitglied eines Mäßigkeitvereines, eines Bundes gegen Thierquälerei, und bin es aus Überzeugung mit Leib und Seele, aber wenn ein Verein gegen Verballhornung oder langsames zu Tode Schinden eines schönen musikalischen Gedankens durch Leiermänner, Harfenisten und Orgeldreher über kurz oder lang ins Leben treten sollte, dann trete ich aus allen anderen Anstalten der Art, und arretire als Sbirre jeden musikalischen Schmuggler." [Anon., 1841, 402].

[118]"In unsern schreibelustigen Tagen, wo jeder, der nur einen Gänsekiel zwischen seinen Vorderfin-

Everyone nowadays, Seyfried complains, is an author. Musical culture specifically labours under a veritable plague of bad arrangers, arrangers who compose virtually nothing but who nonetheless call themselves writers. It is hardly surprising that the derangements they produce are of such poor quality: they repeat without compunction the gossip and ideas of others, mixing into it stolen ideas and what little creativity they themselves possess. In fact, arrangements are churned out in such quantities that Seyfried can happily speak of an age "which is addicted to writing." The effect on music of this rage to derange, this poverty of invention, this endless repetition of drivelling babble, is inescapably negative.

> Contaminated in this way, everything pushes onwards; nothing is too holy; nothing evades these iconoclasts; nothing is beautified; the largest symphonies, and overtures—masses and church cantatas—oratorios and opera etc. etc. etc., must do their duty, and are presented to us in various forms and designs; as keyboard editions with and without voice; adapted for military band,—as Quintets and Quartets, Trios, Duos, and solos for single instruments, eg., violin, guitar, flute, caskan, etc. (an aside; the harmonica commonly called the Jew's Harp offers a piece of land not yet cultivated: mark that, you lords!) finally truly metamorphosed into Waltzes, Galopps, Polonasises and Eccossiases.—The question of whether the narrow, even distortedly-cut clothes should adapt to the athletic structure of the original or not must be passed over without being asked, or being thought about and pondered; c'est égal!...and the publisher—wow!...They care as a rule to undertake nothing where bare profits with mathematical certainty cannot be spied.[119]

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gern zu halten vermag, so gar zu gerne schriftstellern möchte, blos um mit aufgeblasenem Pfauenstolz das seiner Eitelkeit so schmeichelhafte: "Anch'io!" mitkrähen zu können, und schon von oben herab sich erkoren und berufen wähnt, zeitweilig wenigstens einige Bogen vollkritzeln zu müssen, wärs nun mit Worten, oder mit Noten, seyen es eigene, oder fremde Gedanken, aus sich selbst geschöpfte Ansichten und Meinungen oder nachgeplappertes Papageyengeschwätz, altes oder neues, wahres oder falsches, höfliches oder derbes, kluges oder albernes Zeug; - in diesen, zugleich quantitativ fruchtbaren, qualitativ aber meist sterilen Tagen; mein' ich, hat die Manier – fast möchte man sagen: die Wuth, zu arrangieren—(sollte wohl öfters: dorangiren heissen), also, um sich gegriffen, dass man darin die verheerenden Wirkungen einer epidemischen Seuche zu gewahren befürchtet." [v. Seyfried, 1829, 174–5].

[119]"Angesteckt davon, drängt alles sich zu; nichts ist zu heilig; nichts entgeht diesen Bilderstürmern; nichts wird verschont: die grössten Symphonien, und Ouverturen—Missen, und Kirchen-Cantaten—Oratorien u. Opern etc. etc. etc. müssen herhalten, und werden uns dargeboten in den verschiedenartigsten Formen und Gestalten: als Clavier-Auszüge mit und ohne Singstimmen; eingerichtet für Militär-Banden, - als Quintette, und Quartette, Trio's, Duo's, und Solo's für einzelne Instrumente, scilicet: Violone, Guitarre, Flöte, Csakan, etc. (per parenthesin: die Mundharmonica, vulgo: Maultrommel bietet ein noch nicht urbar gemachtes Feld; merkts Euch, ihr Herrn!) zuletzt wohl noch gar metamorphosirt in Walzer, galopss, Polonaisen und Eccosaisen.—Zugestutzt muss es einmal seyn, ohne erst lange zu fragen, oder zu überlegen und darüber zu grübeln, ob auch das enge, bis zur Entstellung verschnittene Kleidchen den athletischen Gliedern anpassen will oder nicht; c'est égal! unverdrossen hämmern die Stecher drauf los, rüstig rühren die Drucker ihren Pressbengel, und die Verleger— — —ey nu! die mögen wohl auch dabey nicht zu Schaden kommen, sonst würden sie das Ding lieber bleiben lassen; denn diese—nach Magister Lämmermeiers Definition—geborenen und geschworenen Feinde der armen Autoren, verstehen quid juris, und pflegen in der Regel nichts zu unterneh-

There exists a relentless drive, Seyfried believes, a headlong rush towards arrangement of everything that can be arranged, regardless of whether or not the selected instrumentation is appropriate or the work even needs to be arranged in the first place. Repetition for repetition's sake—or, as he intimates at the end of the passage, for profit's sake—is utterly counterproductive to the enjoyment of the music which it is trying to promote and completely undermines any claim that an original or its repetition has to the status of art. "What wonder, then," asks Seyfried "that one is completely overcome with goosebumps and one feels as though one is shaken by a cold fever, when one again hears or reads of a new arrangement?"[120]

Other authors predicted that the results of the influx of new arrangements and the repetition that they engendered would be even more apocalyptic than a constant circulation of low quality works. The anonymous satirist who believed that the main role of the latest arrangements was as pawn in games of domestic one-upmanship (see chapter one) thought that the consequences of the craze for arrangements could be extremely serious.

> Now the opera appears on the German stage, it being drummed, drilled, fiddled and whistled from so many beautiful things that it generates a full house. But a familiar thought strikes the listening ear. "'We know this already," it says; but we are already eager for the next work! "See there, you already know this other one, too!" Now the poverty of the composition is really easy to spot, and, as the saying runs: "it's nothing special". One is already blasé before the first performance, the aura of newness gets lost beforehand, so that sometimes even the second and often the third presentation, that is, those on the next or the third evening, play before an empty house.[121]

Because audiences can hear most works at home in arrangement whenever they like, they no longer feel the need to come and hear them in concert. Even if they do attend a performance, their experiences of the programmed music which they previously derived through domestic performance of its arrangements means that they are able to identify quickly the weak points in the orchestral originals. This makes them even less likely to attend a concert in the future. The repetition of a work which its arrangement enables, the anonymous critic concludes, threatens the possibility of hearing the originals in concert altogether.

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men, als wo baarer Gewinn mit mathematischer Infallibilität heraussieht." [v. Seyfried, 1829, 174].

[120] "Was Wunder nun, das Einem schier die Gänsehaut überläuft und man sich wie vom kalten Fieber geschüttelt verspürt, wenn man nur irgend wieder von einem neuen Arrangement hört oder liest, ja diessfalls vielleicht noch obendrein, ein ernstes Wort darüber mitzusprechen, sich früher schon verpflichtet hat." [v. Seyfried, 1829, 175–176].

[121] "Nun erscheint die Oper auf der deutschen Bühne, Sie, aus der so viele hübsche Sachen getrommelt, gepaukt, gefiedelt und gepfiffen werden, macht ein volles Haus! Ein bekannter Gedanke nach dem andern schlägt in das lauschende Ohr. "Nun das kennen wir schon", heißt es, aber auch auf das Andere sind wir begierig! "Siehe da, dieses Andere ist Ihnen aber auch bekannt!" Jetzt tritt die Armuth der Composition erst recht an den Tag, und der Ausspruch lautet: "Es ist nichts daran!" – Man ist blasirt schon vor der ersten Vorstellung, der Reiz der Neuheit geht im Vorhinein verloren, so, daß zuweilen schon die zweite, oft aber die dritte Vorstellung bei bedeutend leerem Hause vor sich geht." [L., 1847, 435–6].

The fear that the repetition enabled by arrangement could somehow negate the need for live performance is to cast arrangement as the central technological development in a battle—already familiar from several analogous historical episodes—concerning the replacement of human labour by that of machine power. Karl Marx, for instance, writes of "The Struggle Between Worker and Machine", detailing how "[t]he instrument of labour, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the worker himself." Ultimately, "[t]he instrument of labour strikes down the worker."[122] This is the same concern which motivates the anonymous author: arrangement reproduces the orchestral score so easily and in such quantities that performers are no longer required.

There are also significant similarities between the reasoning of the author of the anonymous 1847 article and those who have protested the increasing use of computer technology in popular music since the 1980s on the grounds that it would replace the human musician. "Is music dead?" asked computer expert Richard Mansfield, in 1985, discussing the use of computers in composition and performance. "Maybe not quite, but it might be dying."[123] This concern has most recently manifested itself in the debate over the legitimacy of using synthesisers to replace orchestral musicians in stage musicals.[124] To some organisers of musical productions on Broadway it is apparently illogical to pay for an entire pit orchestra when two or three keyboard players with high-quality synthesisers can do the same job for a fraction of the price. The logic behind this position is exactly what the anonymous author in 1847 was worried would become more widespread. If in 1847 he or she was concerned that audiences would ask themselves why they should pay to hear orchestral music which they could enjoy much more cheaply in keyboard arrangement, in 2010 the worry is that concert organisers will stop hiring full orchestras because—the identical justification—they can hear the same music performed much more cheaply in keyboard arrangement.

From Marx and the machine, through the computer and synthesiser, via keyboard arrangement: in all of these cases, it is technology's ability to repeat with the minimum of human intervention—compare, a room of weavers to one technician, a full orchestra to a single pianist or synthesiser player—that makes it so threatening to the status quo. The danger of keyboard arrangement was not merely that the repetition it enabled was boring. Repetition undermined the necessity for professional performance altogether.

Concerns about the negative impact of musical repetition were and are not confined solely to critical studies of keyboard arrangement. Indeed, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, repetition in and of music has generally been viewed as anathema. Perhaps the most immediately recognisable indication of this dislike is the contemporary non-performance of exposition repeats. A stuck record or skipping CD is understood as annoying at best (in a shop, for example) and threatening at worst (used as a sign for lurking danger in a horror film). The physical irritation of constant sonic repetition has long been acknowledged in the German concept of the *Ohrwurm*, the ear worm, a song or (more likely)

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[122][Marx, 1976, 553, 557, 559].

[123][Mansfield, 1985, 31].

[124]See Paul Woodiel, "Gee, Officer Krupke, I Need Those Violins", *The New York Times*, July 10th, 2010.

snatch of melody and rhythm which literally worms its way into the ear canal and cannot be removed. Torture by music is now a recognised violation of a prisoner, brought to international attention through its alleged use at the American detention camp Guantanamo Bay, and is typically carried out through the loud repetition of short musical extracts.[125]

Repetition has been theorised many times during the course of the twentieth century, from Walter Benjamin's analysis of the impact of reproduction on the cultural object and, in turn, the political world, through Sigmund Freud's reexamination of the motivations behind human action, repetition and repression in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, to Gilles Deleuze's attempt to reinterpret the differences within repetitions in order to understand better the role of thought in the modern age.[126] The author whose work concerning repetition is most relevant to an understanding of a fear of repetition in music is, without doubt however, Theodor Adorno. For Adorno, not only does repetition characterise the culture industry—that mechanised production of falsely reified junk which confounds critical

thought and leads to passive acceptance of the (violent) status quo—it also musically bespeaks a triumph of ideology which leads to Auschwitz. That for Adorno, the culture industry is synonymous with repetition, is indubitable. He explains that

> [t]he culture industry did away with yesterday's rubbish by its own perfection, and by forbidding and domesticating the amateurish, although it constantly allows gross blunders without which the standard of the exalted style cannot be perceived. But what is new is that the irreconcilable elements of culture, art and distraction, are subordinated to one end and subsumed under one false formula: the totality of the culture industry. *It consists of repetition.* That its characteristic innovations are never anything more than improvements of mass reproduction is not external to the system. It is with good reason that the interest of innumerable consumers is directed to the technique, and not to the contents—which are stubbornly repeated, outworn, and by now half-discredited. The social power which the spectators worship shows itself more effectively in the omnipresence of the stereotype imposed by technical skill than in the stale ideologies for which the ephemeral contents stand in.[127]

The culture industry *is* repetition. "Improvements" to the system are nothing more than improvements to the procedures of mass production, that is, mass repetition; the consumer worships the fact of the technical skill which enables the omnipresence—repetition—of the thing; and so on. Ultimately, Adorno's main concern is that through its banal emphasis on 'things', repetition is not only undermining the metaphysical, but actually replacing it with the merely physical. "That the hygienic factory and everything pertaining to it, Volkswagen and the

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[125]See, for example, Clive Stafford Smith, 'Welcome to 'the Disco'', *The Guardian*, Thursday 19th June, 2008.

[126]See Benjamin [1969]; Freud [1984]; and Deleuze [2004].

[127][Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997, 136], my emphasis.

sports palace," he writes at the beginning of his *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, "are obtusely liquidating metaphysics does not matter in itself, but that these things are becoming metaphysics, an ideological curtain, within the social whole, behind which real doom is gathering, does matter."[128]

Given his intellectual background, Adorno's elevation of repetition to the single principle which most threatens metaphysics and thus the very nature of history and the human is unsurprising. It is clear, for instance, that Freudian assumptions underpin his accusation that a humanity labouring under the culture industry is regressing;[129] and while Freud himself never went so far as to claim that repetition *per se* was destructive, his belief that repetition is the manifestation of a desire to regress towards a death-like state obviously resonates with Adorno's analysis of it as bringing forth an uncritical and purely physical existence. Adorno was also famously a follower of Schoenberg's compositional school and studied with the composer's own pupil, Alban Berg. Amongst these artists, as Susan McClary puts it, "any reiteration registers as regression—as a failure or even a refusal to keep up the unending struggle for continual growth demanded for successful self-actualization."[130]

At the same time, Adorno had found other reasons to suspect specifically musical repetition. In his incomplete book on Beethoven, for example, he argues that "out of the recapitulation Beethoven produced the identity of the non-identical. Implicit in this, however, is the fact that while the recapitulation is in itself positive, the tangibly conventional, it is *also* the moment of untruth, of ideology."[131] The recapitulation in a sonata form movement is the point of repetition, the moment at which the opening returns as an ending. This is problematic because while the motivation for such a repetition is ostensibly internally motivated by a desire to resolve a conflict between tone and material, in reality it is in far more cases a simple (non-dialectical) acquiescence to a bland social convention. This is to drive at Adorno's ultimate problem with repetition: by undoing the negative dialectical dissolution of conceptual and, most importantly, critical limits, repetition creates falsely monodic, and, normally, fetishised objects.

Adorno was concerned about the replacement of metaphysics by the purely physical masquerading as the metaphysical. The consequence of such a loss, as he makes clear in his *Negative Dialectics* is the death of history, the end of time, and ultimately, of humanity as well.[132] It is this loss in particular which concerns Jean Baudrillard in his 1981 book *Simulacra and Simulation*.[133] According to Baudrillard, humanity is living in a time which is so flooded by representations and images that it can no longer point to the original which they supposedly mimic. "The territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it," he argues. "It

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[128][Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997, xviii].

[129]See, among others, Adorno [2002].

[130][McClary, 1998, 14].

[131]Adorno [1998], §33.

[132]See, for example, "History and Metaphysics", where he argues that "[t]he unhistoric concept of history [is] harbored by a falsely resurrected metaphysics in what it calls historicity," and " [n]o recollection of transcendence is possible any more, save by way of perdition; eternity appears, not as such, but diffracted through the most perishable." [Adorno, 1990, 358–360].

[133]See Baudrillard [1994].

is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory—*precession of simulacra*—that engenders the territory."[134] In fact, mankind is so surrounded by simulacra that even to make reference to 'representations' or 'images' is nonsensical: the difference between the real and the representation has been so completely lost that simulacra literally replace the real. Consequently, and in a world in which there can be no difference between real and representation, it is only possible to speak meaningfully of simulation, the "generation by models of a real without origin or reality; a hyperreal."[135] Metaphysics, just as Adorno diagnosed, is dead.

It is through Baudrillard's analysis that the nineteenth-century musical press' concerned and dismissive response to the repetition enabled by arrangement can be located in an historical framework. For Baudrillard, there are four "phases of the image". In the first, the image "is a reflection of a profound reality"; in the second, "it masks and denatures a profound reality"; in the third, "it masks the *absence* of a profound reality"; and in the fourth, "it has no relation to any reality whatsoever: it is its own pure simulacrum."[136] What is vital with regards to these "phases" is that they are "successive": they occur one after another in historical time, Baudrillard speaking of "transitions", "turning points", and "inaugurations".[137] The "second revolution", that of postmodernity, "the immense process of the destruction of meaning", and thus the move from the second and into the third and fourth phases of the image, occurred in the twentieth century.[138] The first revolution, however, took place in the nineteenth. It was then, Baudrillard believes, that the "process of the destruction of appearances (and of the seduction of appearances) in the service of meaning (representation, history, criticism, etc.)" became "fundamental fact".[139] "The true revolution of the nineteenth century, of modernity", he believes, "is the radical destruction of appearances, the disenchantment of the world and its abandonment to the violence of interpretation and of history."[140]

With Adorno and Baudrillard's analysis in mind, the suspicion shown to arrangement by nineteenth-century critics is partially explained. Theirs was not the reaction of ill-informed cultural luddites to new musical technologies, nor were they simply concerned with the fact that repetition was annoying. Their two concerns about repetition have in fact proven themselves to be tenacious. First, the replacement of human labour by machine power is a concern which motivates authors even today: witness the twentieth-first-century debate about the use of synthesisers in live performance, for example. Second, and more importantly, the rise of arrangement marks a point in history which later philosophers would come to identify as a key moment in the disappearance of metaphysics. For Adorno and Baudrillard, the nineteenth century was the moment in which mass repetition was invented and metaphysics began to die. The concerns of these nineteenth-century critics about the kind of repetition which arrangement

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[134][Baudrillard, 1994, 1].
[135][Baudrillard, 1994, 1].
[136][Baudrillard, 1994, 6].
[137][Baudrillard, 1994, 6].
[138][Baudrillard, 1994, 160].
[139][Baudrillard, 1994, 160].
[140][Baudrillard, 1994, 160].

enabled suggest that they had perhaps partially identified the significance of this moment.

Repetition in the form of arrangement in the nineteenth century was believed by writers in the musical press to threaten the continued health of musical culture. It was a violation of the composer, the listener, and music itself. It was in many cases, simply annoying. For some authors, it was the beginning of the end of musical practice as they knew it, foreshadowing what is now known Adorno and Baudrillard would come to see as the beginning of the end of history and reality, respectively. Compellingly, these are far removed from the reasons given by lexicographers for disliking the myriad forms of arrangement. These tend to focus instead on either arrangement's violation of the intentions of the composer or its concession to the demands of the marketplace. The fear on display amongst these journalists is arguably both more poetic and more mundane: a fear, respectively, of the long-term effects of repetition on metaphysics and the immediate annoyance of having to hear certain melodies over and over again. At the very least, it adds yet another strand to the now complex weave of the critical discourse by which these apparently babbling works were assessed.

This chapter began by observing that an anonymous author writing in 1872 could not conceal the contradictory attitudes which he brought to discussions about arrangement. Having witnessed the overwhelming plethora of opinions expressed by numerous groups of interested parties about the many different kinds of arrangements, these contradictions are not surprising. Lexicographers, for instance, dismissed arrangement as trespassing against the original, but praised the keyboard edition for making new works available to the masses. It was only after 1880 that this position began to solidify into the overwhelmingly dismissive one familiar today and which is often anachronistically read backwards onto the nineteenth century. Dictionary authors also disliked potpourris, and seemed to be making a stand against popular culture in doing so. Composers and critics were undecided as to whether or not arranging old works to conform to the dictates of contemporary taste was justified. If authors in the musical press were critical of arrangement or the keyboard edition, it was because of the threat of repetition which these works contained. This threat manifested itself in, on the one hand, the danger of boredom, and, on the other, what would later transpire to be the danger of the death of metaphysics and reality.

There was no critical consensus in the nineteenth century as to whether or not making an arrangement was a worthwhile musical enterprise. The century was characterised instead by a critical babble all of its own.

3 Keyboard Arrangement in the Nineteenth-Century Musical Marketplace

> LES HUGENOTS.—The Pianista, No. 96 and 97, 2s. each, contains:—Adolphe Adam's splendid arrangements of this Opera, which is the best piano arrangement extant. Also, Meyerbeer's "Prophete" in the Pianista, 117 and 118, 2s. each; "Roberto", in 82, 2s. Also, Donizetti's "Lucia", in Nos. 98, 99, 2s. each, "Sonnambula", "Don Pasquale", "Puritani", "Lucrezia", "Barbiere", and 40 other Operas, note for note as performed at the Italian Theatres, with Overtures complete, 2s. each, full music size. Post free, 30 stamps; or three Nos., 6s. 6d. in stamps.—Pianista Offices, 16A Argyll-street, Oxford-street; and 67, Paternoster-row.
>
> ADVERTISEMENT IN *The Daily News*, 1850

Advertisements like the one above are so ubiquitous in nineteenth-century newspapers that it is almost possible to look past them.[1] Indeed, some nineteenth-century readers almost certainly must have done. At the same time, the continued investment on the parts of the advertisers in these short announcements suggests that at least some readers did not; instead, they gathered together their postage stamps, placed them in an envelope with a card or letter indicating the code number of the work which they had chosen, sent the package off to the Pianista offices, and awaited with excitement the arrival of their new keyboard arrangement. But what a decision they faced before they could go about their placing their order! This advertisement alone lists fifty operas arranged (sometimes more than once) for performance at the piano. How did the typical consumer know what to look for in a good arrangement? How did he or she decide what to buy? What kinds of knowledge did the nineteenth-century consumer have about the market for keyboard arrangement which meant that they were able to navigate its complexities?

This chapter sets out to do two things. First, it provides further evidence for the claim that has been made several times throughout this thesis that arrangement was one of the key socio-musical phenomena of the nineteenth century by giving a rough estimate of the extent of the penetration of the musical marketplace by works which made use of techniques of arrangement. This is achieved

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[1] The epigraph to this chapter is taken from Anon. [1850].

through statistical analysis of the content of Friedrich Hofmeister's *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht neuer Musikalien*. It is shown that over the course of the period 1829 to 1900, an average of 30% of published unaccompanied piano music made at least some use of arrangement practices.

Second, the chapter attempts to derive a much fuller understanding of the chief musical, material and commercial characteristics of nineteenth-century keyboard works which make use of techniques of arrangement. It shows—and this follows the demonstration in the previous chapter that different practices of arrangement were greeted critically in different ways—that the range of 'arrangements' on offer to the nineteenth-century musical consumer was a wide and differentiated one.

Three genres which make various use of techniques of arrangement are examined: the *Klavierauszug*, the potpourri and the variation set. They are subjected to two rounds of analysis. In the first, they are considered as musical works: their general musical characteristics and the way in which their arrangers solved the problems with which they were faced in their production are explored. In the second, they are analysed as commercial and material objects: factors such as the composer, age and type of their sources, their costs, and their typical publication locations will be considered. These results will be derived from a close examination of a complete list of all of the works of these three genres which were recorded by Hofmeister's catalogue as being published in the year 1840 (given in appendix three). It will be shown that these genres differed from each other both musically, materially, and commercially, in a myriad of surprising ways. It is concluded that given these differences—and they are differences with which musical audiences of the time would arguably have been familiar—not only is it possible to derive an extremely full picture of the characteristics of the various genres of keyboard music which made use of techniques of arrangement, but that this picture is both colourful and subtly shaded.

The Penetration of the Musical Marketplace by Practices of Arrangement

It has been so far argued that keyboard arrangement was extremely important to the nineteenth-century musical world because it enabled a variety of works, irrespective of their original instrumentations, to move freely through domestic musical life. This claim has been supported through the examination of contemporary accounts of arrangement in musical journals, newspapers and dictionaries, as well as by references made in diaries, letters, and texts by modern historians. In this chapter, another attempt to demonstrate the significance of keyboard arrangement to the nineteenth-century domestic musician will be made. What characterises this section, however, is a turning away from the kind of written sources which have already been examined and a focus instead on accounts of a more commercial nature: publication figures. The logic behind such a move is this: if keyboard arrangement was a significant part of nineteenth-century musical life, it must also have been a significant part of the marketplace which sustained that life.

There are several valid ways in which the investigation of the relative penetration of the musical marketplace by arrangement practices might proceed. On the one hand, the advertisements which appeared in newspapers, journals, or on the back-pages of sheet music could be examined in order to determine what percentage of the works being advertised there made use of arrangement techniques. Alternatively, the advertising catalogues sent to customers by music shops could be consulted and a similar calculation performed. It would also be possible to analyse the publication lists of major musical publishing houses in order to do the same thing, or to consult the sales records of sheet music shops to see exactly what they sold. All of these approaches, although reasonable, would generate only relatively small sample sets: the analysis would be limited by the size of the advertisement, shop, or publishing house, and the number of advertisements, catalogues and sales records which were examined. To provide a more compelling analysis a much larger sample is needed, a longer list of the works which were made available to consumers in the nineteenth century. This list is extant in the form of Friedrich Hofmeister's catalogue of nineteenth-century musical publications. The rest of this section will be concerned with demonstrating how Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte* can be used to show that approximately 30% of unaccompanied piano music published between 1829 and 1900 made use of techniques of arrangement.

Born in 1782, Hofmeister spent most of his working life as a music publisher based in Leipzig. In 1819, he took over the publication of the supplements to Carl Friedrich Whistling's *Handbuch der musikalischen Litteratur*, a bibliography which listed all of the music and music-related publications available in German-speaking countries. In 1829, it became known as the *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht neuer Musikalien*, and henceforth appeared (nearly) every month until the end of 1900. The *Monatsberichte* listed the musical works, journals, newspapers, instruction manuals, and even busts and decorative pictures which were available to the musically-inclined consumer in the nineteenth century. For entries concerning musical works, it gives as standard the name of a work's composer, its title, its price, its publication location, and its publisher. Since 2006, the entire *Monatsberichte* have been available online, and a simple search function allows the reader to search for works for by date, title, composer or keyword.[2]

By listing the bibliographic details of over 330,000 musical publications, the *Monatsberichte* constitute an extremely valuable tool for tracing patterns of musical publication. As the text which accompanies the online catalogue explains, the *Monatsberichte* "permit the dating to within approximately eight weeks of any piece of printed music listed. They are in this way an indispensable resource for the study of musical taste and publishing trends in the nineteenth century."[3] It is exactly this promise of the ability to track "musical taste and publishing trends" which makes the *Monatsberichte* so significant to this project. With them, it is possible to analyse on an extremely large scale the penetration of practices of arrangement in the nineteenth-century musical marketplace.

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[2]The database is available at 'Hofmeister XIX', `http://hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/` (accessed February 15, 2009).

[3]'Hofmeister XIX: The project', `http://hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/about/project.html` (accessed February 15, 2009).

Before any analysis can proceed, however, it must be noted that there are three significant problems associated with the use of the *Monatsberichte* for this kind of work. First, it might be queried to what extent the *Monatsberichte* can be used as a means to assess the actual importance of arrangement to nineteenth-century musical life. The catalogues do not list, after all, the sales figures of each work; they merely indicate that a work was published. There is no evidence to suggest that the listing of a work in the *Monatsberichte* means that it was purchased, played, enjoyed, or indeed, had any influence whatsoever in the world beyond the limits of the catalogue.

The second problem with using the catalogue for this kind of research is that, entirely unsurprisingly for a publication which compiles a vast amount of data, it contains numerous errors. These errors were not only (intentionally) reproduced in the conversion of the catalogue into the electronic database, but it is highly likely that this process of digitisation also introduced additional mistakes not present in the original. The inaccuracies might be obvious—a spelling mistake here, a missed piece of information there—or they might be harder to spot: an incorrect date, for instance, or the wrong price. Whatever the kind of error, the risk is that they negate the accuracy of this analysis by introducing false data into the final results.

Finally, the team who oversaw the transformation of the *Monatsberichte* into digital form raise their own concerns with regards to the use of the records for statistical analysis. These revolve around the way in which bibliographic information has been stored in the database. Two typical lines in the catalogue, for example, read as follows:

- **Kodelski (C.M.)** *2e Concertino p. Violon av. Acc. d'Orchestre. Oe. 2, in D.* (Déd. à Mr. Ch. Möser.) Berlin, Trautwein 1 Thlr.

- **Idem** av. Acc. de Quatuor. Ebend. 12 Gr.[4]

The first entry should be relatively clear: Kodelski's second Concertino for violin with accompaniment for orchestra, published by Trautwein in Berlin and available for the price of one thaler. The form of the second, however, generates problems. Although the entry makes good sense when placed alongside the one which precedes it—the same Concertino but with accompaniment for string quartet, not orchestra—when it is placed in a database, it is forced to stand alone as a separately searchable entry. Consequently, it would not be returned by a search for pieces composed by "Kodelski", pieces with the title "Concertinos", pieces published in "Berlin", and so on. This second entry is meaningless as soon as it is removed from its context, a necessary step in statistical analyses of any kind. This fact significantly affects the accuracy of any data which is extracted from the database using digital techniques: a search for pieces by Kodelski for example, would always be (at least) one entry too low because the name of the work's actual composer has been replaced by the word "Idem". The shorthand used in the original catalogue is, in the words of the database team, "*a significant*

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[4]Taken from the January, 1840 instalment of the *Monatsberichte*.

limitation of Hofmeister XIX, in its current form, as a source of statistics."[5]

None of these three reasons are sufficient to stop a statistical analysis of the *Monatsberichte* from going ahead. First, to counter the claim that there is no guarantee that the *Monatsberichte* reflect patterns of consumption, two defences can be invoked. The weaker position would argue that an analysis based on the Hofmeister catalogues is informative, if not as an indicator of sales patterns, at least as an indicator of patterns of production: while they do not show what was consumed, the catalogues do reflect what was published. The second claim is much stronger. It would argue that the availability of a product only comes about where a market for that product exists: the more produced an object is, the more consumed it must be. It is a legitimate inference, in other words, that moves from the fact of high publication figures to the supposition of high figures of consumption. This thesis holds to both positions: the Hofmeister catalogues show that piano works which make use of techniques of arrangement were produced *and* consumed in large quantities.

The second potential problem with Hofmeister's catalogues—the notion that it is useless as a tool for statistical analysis because of the likelihood that there are errors within it—is based on a misunderstanding of the purposes of analysis. Very few datasets are really perfect: from mistakes made while data is being entered, to respondents lying on questionnaires, no set of data can ever be said to be completely accurate. This, however, is certainly not grounds for abandoning the analysis of a dataset like Hofmeister's catalogue altogether. By analysing hundreds of thousands of records in the way in which is carried out here, it is possible to isolate from the data the trends and patterns which are at work in it. These trends and patterns, *because* they are based on many hundreds of thousands of records, actually obviate the significance of those pieces of data which are false or mistaken: the more records that are analysed, the less it matters that some of them are wrong. Of course, the results which are output by such an analysis can certainly never hope to be exact, but they can claim to reduce the significance of false data to such a tiny degree that the results are helpfully representative of the main and important trends.

Similar reasoning helps the defence of the use of the *Monatsberichte* against the third criticism levied at it, that the use of "Ibid.", "Idem", and "Ebendem" make it impossible to separate individual entries from their contexts. The total number of "Ibids" and its cognates used per year is relatively small: in 1830, for instance, only about 40 entries out of 2,000 are involved. The small size of this total is certainly not a solution to the problem of how to deal with the context-dependence of the entries in the *Monatsberichte*, for some "Ibids" which refer to works featuring arrangement will slip through the search queries and not be included in the final counts of arrangement practices in the nineteenth century. However, it should raise questions about the legitimacy of ruling out statistical analysis altogether. If the limitations of an analysis' claim to absolute accuracy are borne in mind, there is no reason that the catalogue cannot be quite successfully used as a source for identifying nineteenth-century publishing *trends*. Producing approx-

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[5]'Hofmeister XIX: Help—Introduction', `http://hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/help/help.html` (accessed February 15, 2009), original emphasis.

imate figures—all the while being extremely careful to remember that they can never be completely accurate, nor should they ever claim to be—is surely better than missing the opportunity to interrogate this valuable resource by producing no figures at all.

A final problem it is worth mentioning at this stage with regards to the use of the Hofmeister catalogue for statistical analysis is the possibility that the analyst makes mistakes in conducting the analysis. To be clear: it is likely—indeed, given the factors laid out above, certain—that the absolute figures returned by the queries used here will be inaccurate. This is a result not only of the issues already mentioned—like Hofmeister's misprints and his use of "Idem"—but factors concerning specifically computational problems, like database and query design (discussed fully in appendix two). There are two responses to this observation. The first is to remember that this kind of inaccuracy is to be expected from this analysis, and that the figures which are derived here do not claim to be anything other than approximations. The second—and it is really just a way of putting the first response into practice—is to refuse to deal with absolute figures at all and to focus instead on percentages. This is because where the searches accidentally omit certain entries or include others, they will most likely do so when calculating *both* the total number of works produced in a year *and* the number of works making use of arrangement practices. Since a certain number of works are being included or omitted from both totals, the ratio between the two will remain representative. It is for this reason that for the purposes of graphing the output, five-year averages of these percentages are used. By approximating approximations, it is impossible to be under any illusions that the results of this analysis claim to be either absolute or precise. They can, nonetheless, quite satisfactorily indicate broad patterns and interesting trends.

The process of the analysis is detailed in its entirety in appendix two. Since this is a somewhat technical account, a more approachable version is offered here. The aim of the analysis is to calculate the penetration of the musical marketplace from 1829 to 1900 by arrangement practices; that is, to calculate what percentage of unaccompanied piano music listed in the Hofmeister catalogue for each year featured or made use of techniques of arrangement. The initial step on the path to completing this analysis is relatively simple. Calculating the total amount of piano music listed in the *Monatsberichte* each year can be done by counting the number of titles listed in each relevant section of the catalogue. The next stage of the process, however—determining what proportion of this music makes use of arrangement techniques—is somewhat harder. How can one tell, based on a work's bibliographic information, whether or not it features arrangement?

The answer involves a fact which is both convenient and interesting: convenient because it enables this enquiry to continue relatively easily, and interesting because it both reveals and draws on an important fact concerning the marketing of arrangement in the nineteenth century. The fact is this: nearly all nineteenth-century musical works which make use of arrangement practices refer to the fact that they are doing so in their titles. A number of examples serves to illustrate this.

- Dancla, Ch., Op. 67, *Duo brill. <u>sur</u> l'Etoile du Nord, de Meyerbeer, p. Pfte et*

Violon (Berlin: Schlesinger), 1 Rt. 5 Ngr.

- Diabelli, Ant., Op. 130, *Concordance. Periodisches Werk f. Pfte u. Violine. Heft 88, 89, 2 Potpourris <u>nach</u> Motiven der Oper: Il Trovatore, v. Verdi* (Wien: Spina), à 1 Rt.

- Baier, J, *Marsch <u>über</u> Themas aus der Oper: Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor, v. Nicolai* (München: Falter), 5 Ngr.

- *Opern-Bibliothek. Potpourris <u>nach</u> Themen der neuesten Opern. No. 81, 82, Meyerbeer, Der Stern des Nordens, arr. v. R. Müller* (Leipzig: Hirsch), à 20 Ngr.[6]

These works all indicate that they feature arrangement techniques by naming either a source work or a source composer. Not only this, but this indication is normally carried out with the aid of one of a number of keywords, including 'sur', 'über', 'nach', 'aus', and so on. A selection of words (normally prepositions) serve as signs to the consumer that the work which he or she is purchasing makes use, at least in part, of practices of arrangement.

Given the dubious reception which arrangement has received in the twentieth century, it might be surprising to learn that in the nineteenth, works were keen to advertise their origins in another composition. Reflection, however, should reveal the fallaciousness of this logic. First, since it has been shown at length that the nineteenth-century perception of at least the keyboard edition was broadly much more positive than in the twentieth, some publishers and arrangers of at least this genre of work saw no need to conceal the fact that a piece made use of arrangement techniques. Second, works which trumpeted the name of the original on which they were based gave listeners a clearer idea of what they could expect—and thus encouraged them to part with their money—than vaguer titles like *Duo Brill.* or *Marsch*. Third, by advertising the name of a source composition on the cover of a work which made use of arrangement techniques, publishers were attempting to make their offerings seem more valuable by virtue of association. Finally, since arrangement was a means for circulating new music to audiences which otherwise would not have been able to listen to it, arrangement gave the consumer the chance to 'hear' an original—a point which any publisher or arranger would obviously want to make clear by announcing in the title the name of the work the audience had the chance to enjoy.

The use of these keywords in the titles of works which feature practices of arrangement is extremely useful for this analysis. By compiling a list of the words, it is possible to separate—based on title alone—the works which feature practices of arrangement from those which do not. The list of words used in this way is shown in table 3.1. By searching for these words in Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*, it is possible to calculate the percentage of keyboard works published in the nineteenth century which made use of techniques of arrangement.

It should be observed that analysing these keywords in this manner introduces into the queries one last area of inaccuracy: the titles of some works feature one

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[6]All taken from the May, 1855 instalment of the *Monatsberichte*. Emphasis mine.

arr.	aus	über
sur	nach	potpourri
motif	fantasie über	paraphrases
bearbeitet[8]	Transcriptions[9]	Arrangement
arrangée	thème	auszüge
Aufz	Oper[10]	opéra[10]
Ouvertur[10]	Vorspiel[10]	Einleitung[10]

Table 3.1: Keywords which signal that a work contains arrangement practices.

of these keywords even though the work itself does not make use of any arrangement practices. In May 1855, for example, the second volume of W. Popp's book of *Neue Lieder* contains the song "Sehnsucht <u>nach</u> der Geliebten".[7] Because 'nach' is a keyword in table 3.1, this song is falsely returned by the search as a work making use of techniques of arrangement. Nonetheless, checks indicate that the number of works which falsely slip through in this way is extremely low—less than 5 per year, for instance. As has already been argued, slight inaccuracies such as these do not justify the dismissal of this entire analysis.

Two more boundaries of the analysis must still be set. First, only piano music will be investigated; this is in deference to both practicality (it simply saves time) and to the historical importance of the piano as the home keyboard instrument of choice through most of the nineteenth century. While arrangements for the physharmonica or the harmonium were made at the time, it is perfectly acceptable for the sake of brevity to focus on piano music alone. Second, only those piano works which were designed to be performed by an unaccompanied piano or several unaccompanied pianos will be considered. This means that works for several pianos (compositions for eight hands at two pianos, for example) and several players at one piano will be included in the analysis, but works for violin with piano accompaniment will not. The reasons for this limitation are the same as those given for focusing only on piano music: it provides a large volume of information without sacrificing conciseness.

A detailed breakdown of the results of the analysis can be found in appendix two of this thesis (see table 1, page 231). These results are represented graphically in figure 3.1, with the curved line showing the five-year averages of the percentage of unaccompanied piano works listed by Hofmeister's catalogue which make use of techniques of arrangement. The straight line gives the average for the whole period. There are two aspects of these results worth mentioning here. First, the general shape of the graph is extremely striking. Overall, it shows a gradual decline in the penetration of arrangement practices from 1831 to 1898, dropping from a peak of around 47% in the mid 1830s to a low at the end of the century at around 20%. More specifically, from an apparent heyday in the 1830s,

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[7]Popp [1855].

[8]And its variants, Bearbeitung, Bearbeitungen, etc..

[9]And its variants, transcribed, etc.

[10]When used in the title of a keyboard work, this term can only refer to an arrangement.

the penetration of techniques of arrangement fell quite sharply in the 1840s, only to plateau throughout the 1850s and '60s at around 23%. Following a brief resurgence in the 1870s, the numbers fall again, past their mid-century level and down to 20% in the late 1890s.

The general shape of this curve accords with the analysis of written sources pertaining to arrangement carried out in chapter two. The contention made there that arrangement was a widely discussed and popular practice is now supported by the extremely high penetration of arrangement practices in the early part of the century. The significant shift in the tone of definitions concerning arrangement in the 1870s and 1880s referred to in chapter two as the "museumification" of arrangement follows a period in which the penetration of arrangement techniques was stable at a lower level (the period through the 1850s and 1860s), and is reflected in the gradual decline of penetration in the 1880s and 1890s.

The production and publication of works making use of arrangement techniques fell throughout the course of the nineteenth century from a period in the 1830s in which they were extremely common through to a period of, in comparison, relative paucity in the 1890s. However, even if the shape of this curve reveals a halving in the percentage of unaccompanied piano works which made use of techniques of arrangement, perhaps the most significant point arising from the entire analysis is the second one which should be made: the average percentage of unaccompanied piano works which make use of techniques of arrangement from 1829 to 1900 is astonishingly high, at a little under 30%. Indeed, even at its lowest point, in the 1890s, one in five of the unaccompanied piano works recorded in Hofmeister's catalogue featured practices of arrangement. This alone would be noteworthy: the fact that the average for the century approaches one in three (or that in the 1830s it is nearly one in two) is extremely significant. Based on these figures, there can be absolutely no doubt that works making use of practices of arrangement were a hugely significant part of the musical marketplace in the nineteenth century. Only the true skeptic can doubt that they were a hugely significant part of everyday musical life as well.

The Domestic Musical Media: Practices of Arrangement

Three genres of keyboard music which make use of practices of arrangement will be analysed here: the *Klavierauszug*, the potpourri, and the variation set. The analysis of them moves in two steps. In the first, the general characteristics of each of the genres will be discussed, including: the way that the keyboard edition chose to lay out its material on the page, attribute its sources, and acknowledge the instruments for which the original was composed; how the potpourri dealt with the problem of musical continuity; and how the variation set varied its theme. In the second, the focus is on the material and commercial characteristics of these same three genres. Questions such as how much they cost, where they were published and what kind of sources they used will be answered by consulting a list of all the keyboard editions, potpourris and variation sets which Hofmeister's catalogue listed as being published in 1840.
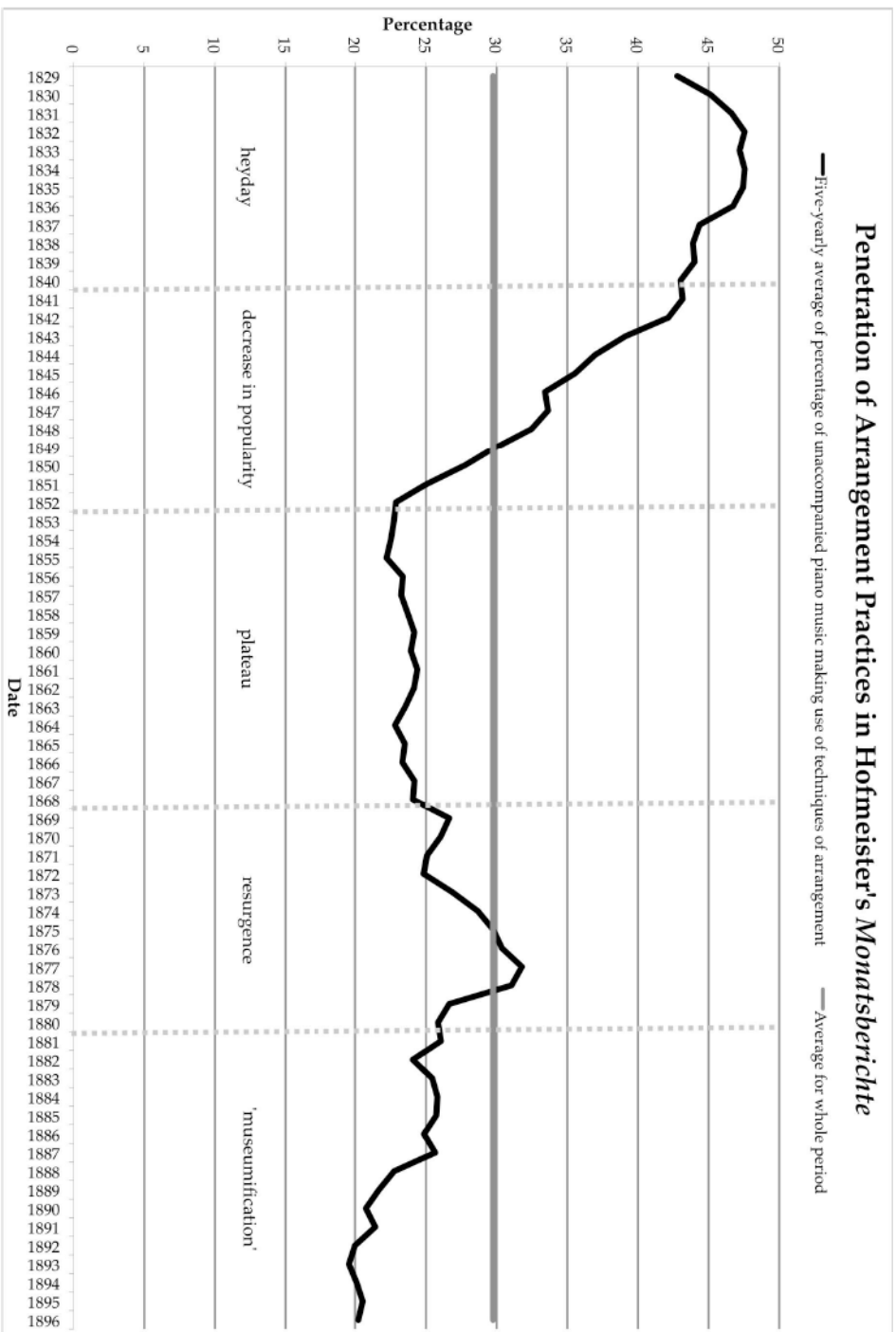
Penetration of Arrangement Practices in Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*

—— Five-yearly average of percentage of unaccompanied piano music making use of techniques of arrangement   —— Average for whole period

Figure 3.1: Graph to show the percentage of unaccompanied piano music published from the years 1829 to 1900 which made use of techniques of arrangement, as derived from Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*.

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Figure 3.1: Graph to show the percentage of unaccompanied piano music published from the years 1829 to 1900 which made use of techniques of arrangement, as derived from Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*.

Penetration of Arrangement Practices in Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*

Five-yearly average of percentage of unaccompanied piano music making use of techniques of arrangement

Average for whole period

heyday

decrease in popularity

plateau

resurgence

'museumification'
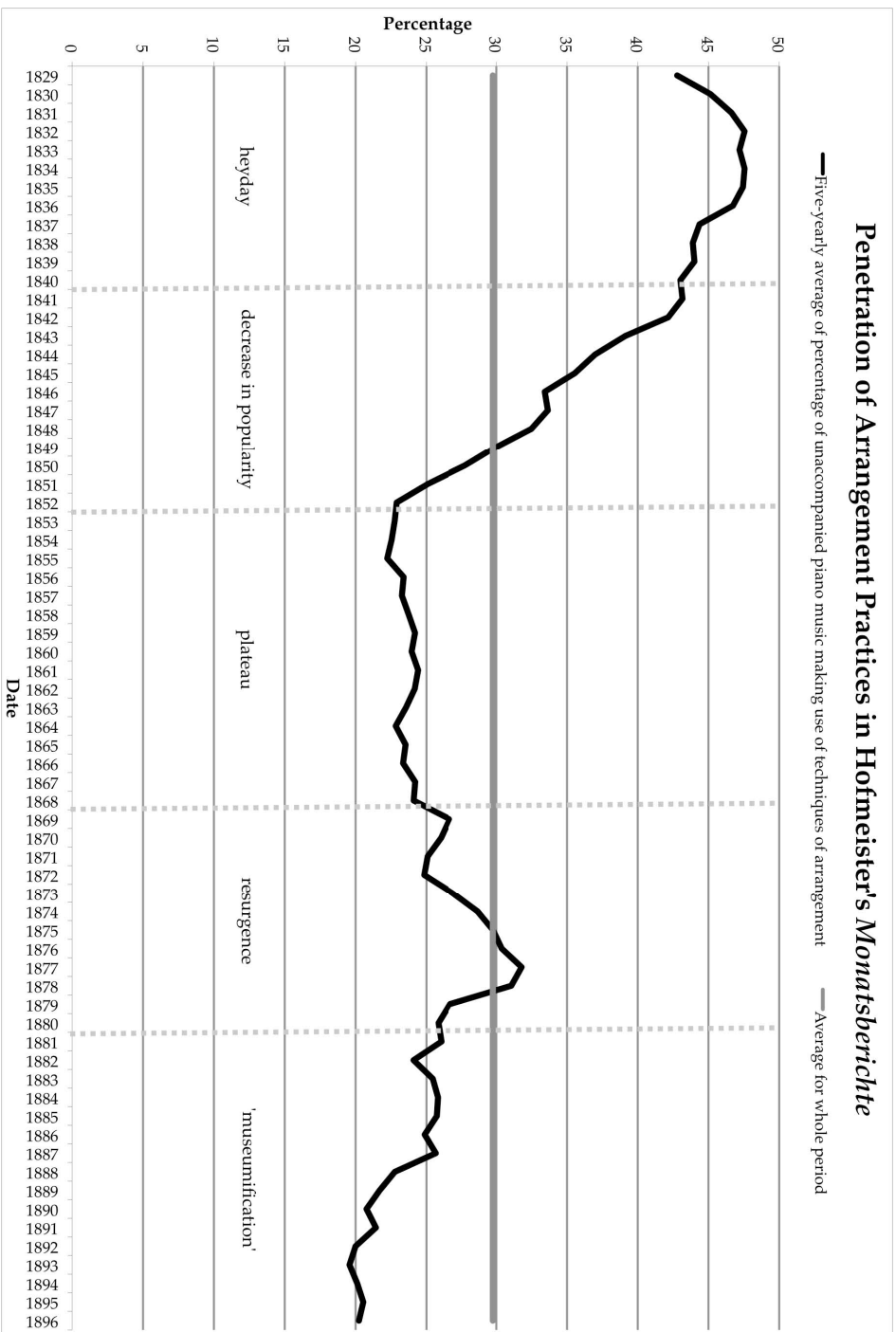
Practices of Arrangement: The *Klavierauszug*

The keyboard works which most obviously make use of techniques of arrangement are those which declare themselves to be no more (or less) than keyboard arrangements: those which consist, in other words, of partial or complete scores arranged for performance at the keyboard: *Klavierauszüge*.[11] Keyboard editions were produced for a variety of reasons. Perhaps the most common was to circulate the latest operatic and orchestral music to domestic listeners. There are a number of pieces of evidence which testify to this.

First, keyboard editions were significantly cheaper for publishers and consumers than full scores, offering the listener the ability to hear the latest operatic or concert music without the added expense of buying the full publication or of travelling to hear it performed in concert (pricing is discussed further at page 134). Second, editions went to great lengths to advertise as widely as possible—and not to conceal—their origins in other works, suggesting that they were marketed as affording listeners the chance to hear the original work on which they were based. The titles of most keyboard editions, for example, are almost always identical to their original compositions. The front page of an 1818 *Klavierauszug*, for example, runs *"Die Dorfsängerinnen", Komische Oper in zwei Akten, Musik von Fioravanti, vollständiger Klavierauszug von C.Klage*.[12] The title of the later *"Euryanthe", Große Romantische Oper in drei Aufzügen, Musik von Carl Maria von Weber, Vollständiger Auszug für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen* goes to great trouble to identify its source, but not its arranger.[13] The straightforwardness with which these editions name their sources removes any suspicion that they are attempting to copy illicitly the music of their originals in order to fool consumers into buying what they believed to be an original work. In fact, the obvious advertising of the original work on the cover of a keyboard edition suggests that it was far more likely that publishers were using the reputation of the original to increase the chances of selling the arrangement based on it.

Third, keyboard editions were recognised as affording the individual the opportunity to hear the latest music at home because special effort was made to make them performable there. Some *Klavierauszüge*, for example, were simplified to make them suitable for the ability of the domestic pianist: the 1822 work *"Der Freischütz", Romantische Oper in drei Aufzügen von Carl Maria von Weber, mit leichter Clavier-Begleitung eingerichtet von Carl Zulehner*, for example, featured a simplified accompaniment suitable for the less able in the domestic music market.[14] Auber's *Mélange de la Fiancée* was arranged by an unknown arranger into keyboard edition in 1829 into a version which was described as being "easy, arranged for the youth".[15] Thomas Christensen has written at length concerning the virtues of the four-handed arrangement from the perspective of the domestic market. Since "[s]olo piano transcriptions were usually too difficult for most amateurs," only the duet arrangement "seemed to embody…the dual qualities

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[11] See Christensen [2000].
[12] C.Klage [ca. 1818].
[13] von Weber [ca. 1828].
[14] von Weber [1822].
[15] Auber [1829].

of practicality and verisimilitude."[16]

A number of pieces of evidence suggest that the keyboard edition was designed at least in part to carry music into the domestic home. This function presented publishers and arrangers with certain problems. For example, with the question of how the keyboard edition was to be made suitably easy for the home audience comes the question of precisely how the score of the edition was going to be laid out such that it would be both affordable and legible for that audience. The overture was by far the most commonly arranged number of an opera for two reasons: first, because even in its original orchestral form it telescoped together all the important themes of the opera, offering a kind of musical summary of the whole work's content; and second, because it enabled the arranger and performer to avoid the problem of having to arrange and perform (respectively) the vocal lines of the original. This meant that the keyboard edition of an overture was ordinarily excused from most of the questions concerning layout which troubled arrangers of editions of complete operas.

Problems arose, however, when the issue of how to represent and organise the vocal parts of a complete opera in keyboard edition was considered. Most nineteenth-century keyboard editions settled for the option which continues to be the standard for editions produced today: a two-line keyboard system with as many vocal staves above it as are necessary. Solo and choral voices are normally notated separately but in parallel. Some early editions, however, did not favour this approach, and attempted to save money on printing and paper costs by using fewer staves. The 1786 edition of Dittersdorf's *Betrug durch Aberglauben* features throughout a standard keyboard system which does double duty by containing *both* the orchestral and the vocal parts.[17] During arias, the vocal melody is notated in the top voice of the keyboard's right hand, and the keyboard player must infer (based also on the bass part given in the left hand) a suitable right hand accompaniment. In choral numbers the (largely homorhythmic) vocal parts— also recorded on only a single stave in the keyboard's right hand—should be divided amongst the vocal performers according to the voice type of their character. It is interesting that this type of extremely pared-down representation did not catch on: what the score gained in cheapness it obviously lost in information, and nineteenth-century publishers and consumers were willing to pay slightly higher prices for a score which could be more easily read.

If the decision as to the number of staves which the *Klavierauszug* should use presented the publisher with the problem of balancing cost with ease-of-use, so too did the issue of how translations were to be laid out in the score. Given the highly national character of opera at this time, it is not surprising that many editions were destined only to be published in the countries in which the opera had premiered and that their texts would consequently not need translation. However, international publication was not uncommon, and at the very least, the publication of Mozart's Italian operas presented difficulties to German publishers. The modern solution to this problem consists of placing both original text and translation underneath the vocal stave to which those texts apply. Most

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[16][Christensen, 1999, 260]. See also Adorno [1982].
[17]von Dittersdorf [1786].

nineteenth-century editions adopt a similar layout. However, this is a solution which was only arrived at after a period of experimentation: in an 1810 edition of *Die Zauberflöte*, for instance, the layout of the texts is somewhat more complicated.[18] For solo arias, Italian and German are positioned in parallel directly beneath the vocal stave as normal. In ensemble numbers, however, voices are represented on two staves (the exact layout varying according to who is singing at the time); the German text is written below the higher voices and the Italian below the lower. This means that a high voice singing in Italian has to use the pitches laid out in the top line, but the text from the bottom. This is a cheaper way of printing the vocal texts—only one line of text per vocal line, regardless of language—than the one familiar to consumers today. It can hardly, however, be said to be practical. The solution which has weathered the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—print both original text and translation beneath every vocal part—represents, then, another victory for practicality over cost-reduction: although it is obviously the more expensive option, it is also the most intuitive, especially when dealing with contrapuntal music.

Arrangers and publishers also had to compromise when they attempted to balance the fact of the edition's origins in another composition with its aspirations to being a self-contained work for keyboard. The clearest evidence of this negotiation is the presence or absence of instrumental indications, the words or phrases written on or near the system which carry information concerning the instrumentation of the original work whose arrangement is being performed or read. Instrumental indications are subtle signs that the keyboard edition is not a stand-alone composition, but rather a derivative work which is attempting to capture the 'spirit' of another. Peter Szendy has argued that instrumental indications "create a longing" for their source composition, and, in so doing, render the arrangement "plastic", bending it between its status as a complete work and as a copy of another.[19] The indication is an echo of the original in the new.

Szendy's position is an elegant but not particularly informative analysis of these snatches of text. This is because it is in reality relatively hard to generalise about their function and meaning. In some cases they seem to appear randomly; in others, they are absent altogether; in still others, they indicate every instrumental entrance. It might be possible to infer that these different uses represent different understandings of the relationship between original and edition. A heavy use of instrumental indications, for example, could be related to a desire to try to capture in an edition the original composition almost completely—as though the arranger is somehow apologising that the work he or she has produced is not the original. No indications at all, on the other hand, could be taken to signify a belief on the part of the arranger that the edition functions perfectly well as a stand-alone work and that it does not need the support of its original to make musical sense. This argument is hard to maintain outside of the abstract, however, not least because most *Klavierauszüge* change the frequency with which they use instrumental indications during their course. It is somewhat more helpful to speak more concretely about editions and instrumental indications than

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[18]Mozart [1810].
[19][Szendy, 2007, 57].

either Szendy or this abstract contention would allow.

Early instrumental indications are particularly linked to a military topos. In the 1786 edition of Dittersdorf's *Betrug durch Aberglauben*, for example, only those instruments associated with military music are marked: a note in the second aria, for instance, reads "Trompeten und Paucken".[20] (The importance of these timbres is reflected in a line in the final chorus of the work, "sounds, the beat of drums and music resound and announce the joyful day."[21]) An even earlier 1778 edition of *Ariadne auf Naxos* also only annotates the martial, describing what in the original was a far-off burst of military music as the "distant sound of trumpets."[22]

It is not only military topoi which share a close relationship with the instrumental indication: it was also apparently deemed necessary for editions to record the instrumentation of the exotic. One particularly informative case comes in the form of the keyboard version of the "Zigeunermarsch" in the 1821 edition of Weber's *Preciosa*, an edition which the composer prepared himself.[23] Here, the edition attempts to capture the exotic spirit of the original music—and the gypsies which it represents—by including the names of the instruments on which that music was performed, notably, the "Triangel" and the "Tambourin". The mystery of the gypsies is emphasised even further later in the keyboard edition, when the fact that horns were placed in the theatre to echo those in the main ensemble is recorded above the piano part with the words "Corni auf dem Theater als Echo". Still another example of the use of instrumental indications to illustrate exotic instrumentation will be discussed in chapter four.

While Szendy believes that in general the instrumental indication represents a sort of neurotic apology for an arrangement's inherent lack, by looking more specifically at certain works it can be shown that the they often had a much more precise function. The brashness of the march or the shimmer of the exotic are tropes which depend on musical timbre to achieve their affect. Instrumental indications in the examples above thus recorded in words the orchestral subtleties of an original work at those moments where musical rhetoric is more than normally dependent on instrumental timbre. Since these timbres are necessarily lost when the work is transported into the sound world of the keyboard, it was at these moments that the arranger felt particularly compelled to record in the arrangement what the original orchestral score had prescribed. The instrumental indication helps to excuse to the domestic listener what might, when performed on the keyboard, come across as weak or inexplicable by clarifying that it is in the original a colourful moment of military grandeur, mysterious quiet, and so on.

Even this claim about instrumental indications cannot be understood as generally true, however, for the point remains that while some arrangers used them in this way, others never used them at all, and still others used them nearly all the time. What this inability to generalise reveals is that the keyboard edition as a genre was never understood as having only one specific function. The tendency

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[20]von Dittersdorf [1786].

[21]"ja es Schalle, Paukenklang und Musik halle und verkünd den Freudentag." From the last chorus of von Dittersdorf [1786].

[22]"ferne den Schall der Trompeten." From Benda [1778].

[23]von Weber [1821].

to omit spoken dialogue from editions of *Singspiele*, for example, means that these editions would be unlikely candidates for the role of bringing a complete and understandable performance of a work to a domestic audience;[24] similarly, certain arrangements are written solely as instrumental works and do not feature any vocal lines at all.[25] On the other hand, some arrangements are so comprehensive that they are clearly intended not only to enable a domestic audience to get an idea of a complete opera, but to be able to perform it in its entirety: in number four of Castelli's 1840 arrangement of *Les Huguenots*, for example, the arranger writes "if one wants to sing this song without chorus, one should play, in the MAJOR, the piano accompaniment of the first 9 bars after the first verse, and then jump directly from the symbol S to the symbol O."[26] A similar emphasis on amateur performance, but this time at the cost of fidelity to the original, occurs in a note in the keyboard edition of Dittersdorf's *Betrug durch Aberglauben*, where the instruction is given that "if the bass is too difficult, the descant can play at the octave."[27] Finally, overemphasis on fidelity can also result in an edition which is barely performable, but eminently suitable for analysing the original composition: Weber's edition of his own *Preciosa* makes frequent use of *ossias* to show how the original opera sounded, even if those notes cannot always be played by the pianist. It is not possible to generalise about the uses for which *Klavierauszüge* were intended.

The myriad material differences between keyboard editions are reflections of the myriad uses to which they were put throughout the nineteenth century. It is this point which makes speaking about them in general—and in a way which has so far been the predominant way in which historical discourse has engaged with them—reductive and simplistic. The keyboard edition varied in its physical constitution, the uses for which it was intended, and the uses to which it was put. Any successful analysis of them has to attempt to do justice to that variety. As Arnold Schoenberg pointed out in his collection of musings on the keyboard edition in 1923, while there are a number of different ambitions which the keyboard edition can have, each individual publication can only successfully fulfil one.

> The attempt to make a useful object equally useful for a variety of purposes is usually the way to spoil it completely; it is no good for anything. Is a piano reduction to be used for reading, or for playing? For playing to others, or for accompaniment? Should it be a reduction, transcription, arrangement, paraphrase, or re-arrangement? How is it to be all these things at once?[28]

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[24]See, for example, Mozart [1810].

[25]See von Weber [ca. 1828].

[26]"Wenn man dieses Lied ohne CHOR singen will, so spiele man die Pianofortebegleitung der ersten 9 Takte in DUR nach dem 1. Verse und springe dann gleich vom Zeichen S bis zum Zeichen O." [Meyerbeer, ca. 1840, 17].

[27]"Wenn der Baß zu schwer wird, kann der Diskant in der Octave spielen." [von Dittersdorf, 1786, 6].

[28]'The Modern Piano Reduction', 1923, in [Schoenberg, 1984, 348–350].

Practices of Arrangement: The Potpourri

The *Klavierauszug* is the genre of nineteenth-century keyboard music which most closely matches the typical understanding of 'an arrangement': the complete arrangement for the keyboard of another, normally non-keyboard, composition. Other genres of nineteenth-century keyboard music are just as interesting with regards to the way in which they make partial use of techniques of arrangement. Potpourris, for example, are certainly not 'arrangements' in the stronger sense of the *Klavierauszug*, because they do not attempt to set an entire source composition for performance on the keyboard. However, because, in re-presenting on the keyboard short extracts of a source work, they make substantial use of arrangement practices, they are eligible for examination here.

While it is the title page which normally opens a potpourri, this page is often accompanied, and in some cases prefigured, by another: the advertisement. These advertisements are striking for a number of reasons. Most obviously impressive is the sheer number of works which they list (see, for instance, figure 3.2). In other cases, it is the range of domestic instrumental combinations which may be noteworthy. In figure 3.3, for example, sixty-three potpourris, on source works by various composers, are offered by C. F. Peters for two or four hands. A further thirty-three of these are available for piano plus violin, 'cello, flute, or violin and 'cello. In figure 3.4, an extraordinary 521 transcriptions and potpourris are available for various combinations of two- and four-handed piano and piano and violin. All the works listed possess a code number to simplify the ordering process for the purchaser. Christensen has made the point that advertisements like these function like contemporary compact disc mail-order catalogues.[29] Extending this technological metaphor, it might be argued that lists like those in figures 3.3 and 3.4 not only offer the domestic consumer the latest music on compact disc, but, depending on the instrumental technologies which they had at home, on record, cassette tape, minidisc and mp3 as well.

Christensen's point that these advertisements function like compact disc catalogues suggests the not unreasonable possibility that these works were understood as offering to the listener—in the same way as the CD—a 'recording' of the original composition. The title pages, for example, of most potpourris were keen to emphasise to the consumer just how direct an access to the original work the potpourri enabled. The front page of Henri Cramer's extremely successful series of potpourris features a border ornamented with lush greenery and the names of source composers entwined around the verdant bough, ripe for picking (see figure 3.5). Other title pages engaged more subtle means to lead the consumer to believe that he or she was purchasing their opportunity to enjoy the original composition. The most common was quite simply to omit the name of the arranger altogether, thus conveying the impression that the original had somehow mechanically arranged itself into the form of a potpourri and promising the listener an unmediated experience of the original work. Another method used to the same end was to ensure that the arranger's name was printed in much smaller print than the name of the composer of the original (see figure 3.6).

Potpourris are, in the main, single movement works. While their length can

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[29][Christensen, 1999, 259].

Figure 3.2: Title page and advertisement of *"Les Fleurs des Opéras" Potpourris pour Piano & Flûte, No. 60: "Marschner, Templer und Jüdin"*. Though it saves the publisher money by requiring them to print one page rather than two, the overlapping of title page and advertisement here is not merely incidental: it also forces the consumer to consider purchasing any one of the other number of other works which are listed as part of the same series.

Figure 3.3: Advertisement page accompanying the 1870 instalments of the series
Potpourris en forme de Fantasies par Hector Oliver (Leipzig and Berlin: C.
F. Peters).

Transcriptionen von Victor Felix für Piano zu 2 Händen und Piano & Violine.

2 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 Hdn., Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 Hdn., Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 Hdn., Piano & Violine.
800	860	**Abt:** Es hat nicht sollen sein.	820	880	**Kücken:** Maurisches Ständchen.	840	900	**Speier:** Die 3 Liebchen.
801	861	— Gute Nacht du mein herziges.	821	881	**Lindpaintner:** Fahnenwacht.	841	901	**Spohr:** Faust-Polonaise.
802	862	— Schlaf wohl du süsser Engel.	822	882	**Mendelssohn:** Auf Flügeln des Ges.	842	902	**Stigelli:** Die schönsten Augen.
803	863	— Wenn die Schwalben heimwärts.	823	883	— Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath.	843	903	**Taubert:** Wiegenlied.
804	864	**Beethoven:** Adelaide.	824	884	— Ich wollt meine Liebe.	844	904	**Verdi:** Miserere.
805	865	**Conradi:** Herzliebchen mein.	825	885	— Wer hat dich du schöner Wald.	845	905	**Wagner:** Abendstern.
806	866	**Eckert:** Tausendschön.	826	886	— Wohin ich geh und schaue.	846	906	— Tannhäuser-Marsch.
807	867	**Esser:** Mein Engel.	827	887	— Hochzeitsmarsch.	847	907	**Weidt:** Wie schön bist du.
808	868	**Graben-Hoffmann:** 500,000 Teufel.	828	888	**Mozart:** Veilchen.	848	908	**Wilhelm:** Wacht am Rhein.
809	869	**Gounod:** Faust-Walzer.	829	889	**Naumann:** Leicht Gepäck.	849	909	**Volkslieder:** Ach wie ist's möglich.
810	870	**Gumbert:** Das theure Vaterhaus.	830	890	**Preyer:** Spricht du zum Vogel.	850	910	— Aennchen von Tharau.
811	871	— O bitt' euch liebe Vögelein.	831	891	**Proch:** Das Erkennen.	851	911	— Der rothe Sarafan.
812	872	— Spielmannslied.	832	892	**Reichardt, A.:** Ich kenn' ein Auge.	852	912	— Hoch vom Dachstein.
813	873	**Heiser:** Zieht im Herbst die Lerche.	833	893	**Reichardt, G.:** Das Bild der Rose.	853	913	— Home sweet home.
814	874	**Hölzel:** Mein Liebster ist im Dorf.	834	894	**Rossini:** Cujus animam.	854	914	— Letzte Rose.
815	875	**Krebs:** Adelheid.	835	895	**Schubert:** Erlkönig.	855	915	— Nach Sevilla.
816	876	**Kücken:** Ach wenn du wärst.	836	896	— Horch, Horch.	856	916	Carneval von Venedig.
817	877	— Das Sternlein.	837	897	— Lob der Thränen.	857	917	Polka bohémienne.
818	878	— Der kleine Rekrut.	838	898	**Schumann:** Ich grolle nicht.	858	918	Radetzky-Marsch.
819	879	— Du bist wie eine Blume.	839	899	**Speier:** Der Trompeter.	859	919	Rakoczi-Marsch.

1200	**Stumme:** *Schlummer-Arie.*	1209	**Faust:** *Soldaten-Chor.*	1219	Tannhäuser: *Pilgerchor.*
1201	**Fra Diavolo:** *Auf jenen Fels.*	1210	Robert der Teufel: *Gnaden-Arie.*	1220	Lohengrin: *Brautzug.*
1202	**Maurer:** *Zankduett.*	1211	Hugenotten: *Schwerterweihe.*	1221	Meistersinger: *Am stillen Herd.*
1203	**Fidelio:** *Gefangenen-Chor.*	1212	Don Juan: *Reich mir die Hand.*	1222	— *Preislied.*
1204	**Norma:** *In dieser Stunde.*	1213	Figaros Hochzeit: *Dort vergiss.*	1223	Freischütz: *Jägerchor.*
1205	**Sonnambula:** *Finale.*	1214	Zauberflöte: *Glockenspiel.*	1224	— *Jungfernkranz.*
1206	**Weisse Dame:** *Komm holde.*	1215	Lustige Weiber: *Wie freu ich mich.*	1225	Air: *Louis XIII.*
1207	**Lucia:** *Sextett.*	1216	Barbier: *Una voce poca fa.*		
1208	**Martha:** *Spinnquartett.*	1217	Trovatore: *Ziegeunerin-Arie.*		

Transcriptions élégantes pour Piano seul par Ch. d'Avenel.

600	**Adam:** Postillon. *Chanson.*	621	**Mendelssohn:** Marche de noces.	641	**Verdi:** Traviata. *Ame fanciulla.*	660	**Mendelssohn:** O Thäler weit.
601	**Auber:** Muette. *Air de sommeil.*	622	— Athalie. *Marche.*	642	— Rigoletto. *La Donna è mobile.*	661	— Wer hat dich du schöner.
602	— FraDiavolo. *Air de toilette.*	623	**Meyerbeer:** Robert. *Grace.*			662	— Auf Flügeln des Gesanges.
603	**Bellini:** Norma. *Marche.*	624	— Huguenots. *Conjuration.*	643	**Wagner:** Holländer. *Spinnerl.*	663	— Ich wollt meine Liebe.
604	— Puritani. *Polacca.*	625	— Huguenots. *Duo.*	644	— Tannhäuser. *Marsch.*	664	**Reissiger:** Zigeunerbub.
605	— Sonnambula. *Sovra il sen.*	626	— Prophète. *Marche.*	645	— do. *Abendstern.*	665	**Schubert:** Haidenröslein.
606	**Boieldieu:** Dame bl. *Ah quel pl.*	627	— Dinorah. *Schattentanz.*	646	— do. *Pilgerchor.*	666	— Lob der Thränen.
607	**Donizetti:** Luzia. *Sextett.*	628	— l'Africaine. *Duo.*	647	— Lohengrin. *Brautchor.*	667	— Ständchen. *Horch, Horch.*
608	— do. *Finale.*	629	**Mozart:** Don Juan. *Menuet.*	648	**Weber:** Freischütz. *Durch die Wälder.*	668	**Schumann:** Du meine Seele.
609	— Lucrezia. *Chanson à boire.*	630	— Don Juan. *La ci darem.*	649	— Oberon. *Meermädchen.*	669	**Volkslieder:** Muss i denn.
610	— Elisir d'Amore. *Jo son ricco.*	631	— Figaro. *Schreibduett.*	650	— Preciosa. *Einsam bin ich.*	670	— Ach wie ist's möglich.
611	— Regimentstochter. *Heil dir.*	632	— Zauberflöte. *Ein Mädch.*	651	**Abt:** Gute Nacht du mein herz.	671	— In einem kühlen Grunde.
612	**Flotow:** Martha. *Letzte Rose.*	633	**Nicolai:** Lustige Weiber. *Mondaufgang.*	652	**Eckert:** Tausendschön.	672	— Loreley.
613	— do. *Mag d. Himmel.*	634	**Rossini:** Barbier *Introduction.*	653	**Esser:** Mein Engel.	673	— Wohlauf noch getrunken.
614	**Gounod:** Faust. *Valse.*	635	— Tell. *O Mathilde.*	654	**Gumbert:** O bitt euch liebe Vög.	674	— Gaudeamus igitur.
615	— Faust *Blümlein traut.*	636	— do. Romance. *Sombre forêt.*	655	**Krebs:** Adelheid.	675	— Lang, lang ist's her.
616	— do. *Salut (Gegrüsst).*	637	— Stabat mater. *Cujus anim.*	656	**Kücken:** Gretelein.	676	— Chant bohémien.
617	— do. *Duo.*	638	**Spohr:** Jessonda. *Schönes M.*	657	— Mädchen von Juda.	677	— Seht ihr 3 Rosse.
618	— do. *Finale.*	639	**Verdi:** Trovatore. *Miserere.*	658	— Ach wenn du wärst mein.	678	— Marseillaise.
619	**Halévy:** Jüdin. *Finale I.*	640	— Trovatore. *Stride la vampa.*	659	**Lindpaintner:** Fahnenwacht.	679	**Schubert:** Valses gracieuses.
620	**Lortzing:** Czar. *Sonst spielt.*						

Potpourris von Victor Felix für Piano zu 2 & 4 Händen und Piano & Violine.

2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.
1500	1550	1600	Postillon.	1510	1560	1610	Regimentstochter.	1523	1573	1623	Don Juan.	1533	1583	1633	Trovatore.
1501	1551	1601	Stumme.	1511	1561	1611	Martha.	1524	1574	1624	Figaro.	1534	1584	1634	Traviata.
1502	1552	1602	Maurer.	1512	1562	1612	Stradella.	1525	1575	1625	Zauberflöte.	1536	1586	1636	Tannhäuser.
1503	1553	1603	Fra Diavolo.	1513	1563	1613	Faust.	1526	1576	1626	Lustige Weiber.	1537	1587	1637	Lohengrin.
1504	1554	1604	Fidelio.	1515	1565	1615	Zampa.	1527	1577	1627	Orpheus.	1538	1588	1638	Freischütz.
1505	1555	1605	Nachtwandlerin.	1516	1566	1616	Nachtlager.	1528	1578	1628	Schöne Helena.	1539	1589	1639	Oberon.
1506	1556	1606	Norma.	1517	1567	1617	Zar.	1529	1579	1629	Barbier.	1540	1590	1640	Euryanthe.
1507	1557	1607	Weisse Dame.	1520	1570	1620	Hugenotten.	1530	1580	1630	Tell.	1541	1591	1641	Preciosa.
1508	1558	1608	Lucia.	1521	1571	1621	Prophet.	1531	1581	1631	Jessonda.				
1509	1559	1609	Lucrezia.	1522	1572	1622	Afrikanerin.	1532	1582	1632	Rigoletto.				

Potpourris in Fantasieform von H. Ollivier für Piano zu 2 & 4 Händen und Piano & Violine.

2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.	2 Hde.	4 Hde.	P. & V.	Piano zu 2 & 4 Hdn. u. Piano & Violine.
300	400	—	Postillon.	319	419	511	Jüdin.	337	437	520	Lustige Weiber.	355	455	528	Freischütz.
301	401	500	Stumme.	320	420	—	Zampa.	338	438	521	Orpheus.	356	456	—	Oberon.
302	402	—	Maurer.	321	421	—	Nachtlager.	339	439	—	Schöne Helena.	357	457	—	Euryanthe.
303	403	501	Fra Diavolo.	322	422	—	Zar u. Zimmermann.	340	440	—	Hochzeit bei Lat.	358	458	529	Deutsche Volkslieder.
305	405	—	Fidelio.	323	423	—	Waffenschmied.	341	441	522	Barbier.	359	459	530	Ausserdeutsche Vlksl.
306	406	502	Nachtwandlerin.	324	424	—	Hans Heiling.	342	442	523	Tell.	360	460	531	Märsche.
307	407	503	Norma.	325	425	—	Vampyr.	343	443	—	Stabat mater.	361	461	532	Tänze.
308	408	504	Puritaner.	326	426	—	Templer und Jüdin.	344	444	—	Messe (Rossini).	362	462	—	Vierstimmige Lieder.
309	409	—	Romeo (Bellini).	327	427	512	Sommernachtstraum.	345	445	—	Schöne Galathé.	363	463	—	Meistersinger.
310	410	505	Weisse Dame.	328	428	513	Robert der Teufel.	346	446	—	Flotte Bursche.	364	464	—	Rienzi.
311	411	506	Lucia.	329	429	514	Hugenotten.	347	447	—	Pensionat.	365	465	—	Fliegende Holländer.
312	412	—	Liebestrank.	330	430	515	Prophet.	348	448	—	Mignon.	366	—	—	Rheingold.
313	413	507	Lucrezia Borgia.	331	431	—	Nordstern.	349	449	—	Hamlet.	367	—	—	Tristan.
314	414	508	Regimentstochter.	332	432	—	Dinorah.	350	450	524	Rigoletto.	368	—	—	Walkyre.
315	415	509	Martha.	333	433	516	Afrikanerin.	351	451	525	Trovatore.	369	—	—	Siegfried.
316	416	—	Stradella.	334	434	517	Don Juan.	352	452	526	Traviata.				
317	417	510	Faust.	335	435	518	Figaro.	353	453	527	Tannhäuser.				
318	418		Romeo (Gounod).	336	436	519	Zauberflöte.	354	454	—	Lohengrin.				

Figure 3.4: Advertisement page accompanying the 1880 instalments of the series *Transcriptionen von Victor Felix für Piano zu 2 u. 4 Händen und Piano & Violine* (Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters).
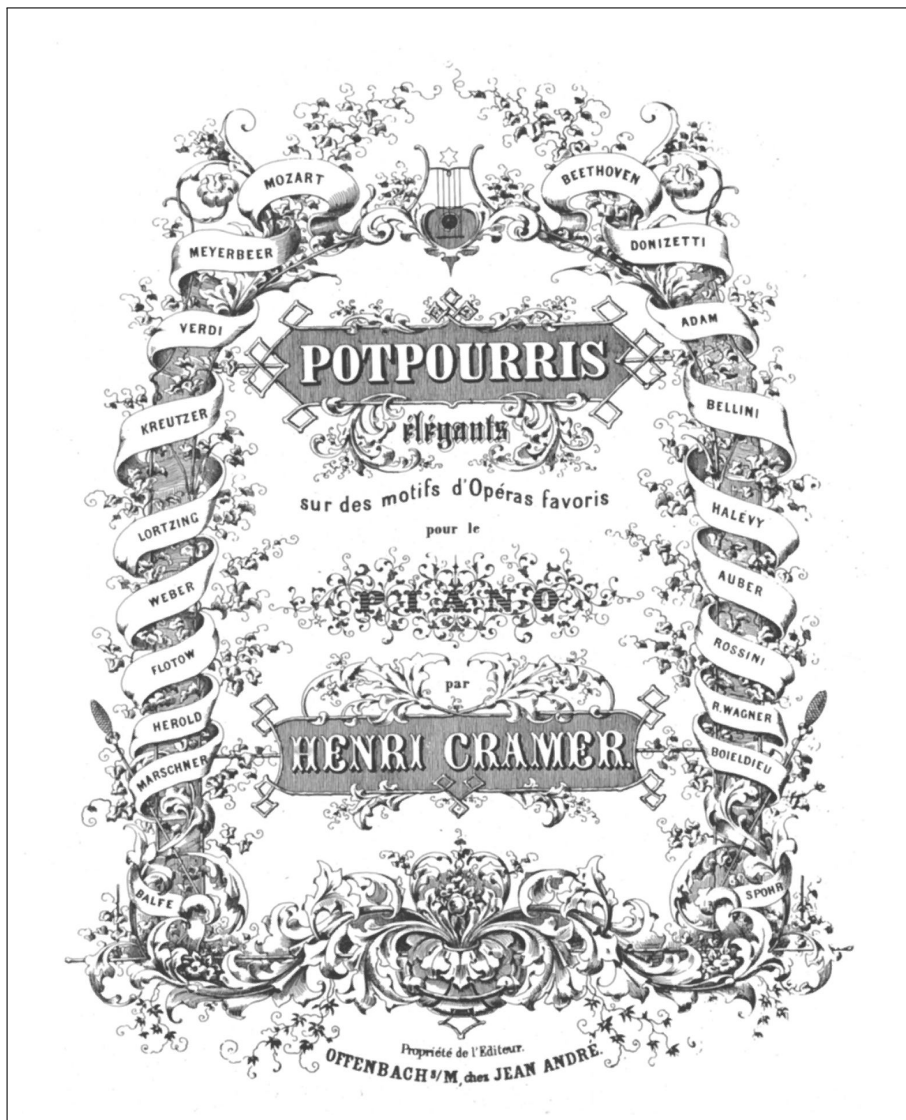
Figure 3.5: Title page of a Potpourri from Henri Cramer's series, *Potpourris élégants sur des motifs d'Opéras favoris*. Running from 1852 to 1894, the series totalled a remarkable 194 instalments by the time it was discontinued.

Figure 3.6: Title page of Weber's *Preciosa* from the series *Transcriptionen von Victor Felix für Piano zu 2 u. 4 Händen und Piano & Violine* (Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters) (this publication ca. 1880). Weber's name is printed at the top of the page; Felix's is not only at the bottom, but is smaller and in brackets.

be anywhere between 200 and 900 bars, 300 to 400 bars is a more likely average. This represents a performance time of approximately ten minutes. The most obvious musical problem confronting the arranger in the production of a potpourri was the question of how ten minutes worth of arrangement was to be turned into a coherent work if the source material of that arrangement could be cut up and rearranged into any order which the arranger chooses. How did arrangers attempt to ensure that potpourris—comprising fractured fragments of an original work—presented at least a minimally continuous—and coherent—musical experience?

Arrangers attempted to create musical continuity in their potpourris in a number of different ways. They will be discussed here with reference to three musical criteria: harmonic continuity, melodic continuity, and the textual manifestation of continuity. It is nonetheless important to emphasise that any attempt on the part of potpourri arrangers to ensure musical continuity did not and does not transcend the broken musical surface which potpourris otherwise possess. It would be easy to overstate the apparent continuity of the potpourri, and, in so doing, ignore what is perhaps their most interesting feature—their near overwhelming discontinuity. The potpourri remains through and through a fractured musical artefact.

The first way in which potpourris aim at continuity of musical experience is through the use of harmonic means to conceal the interstice which emerges at the break between one sourced extract and another. By far the most common method with which this is achieved is for a section to end on the dominant-seventh chord of the tonality which follows it; this is either marked with a fermata or followed immediately by a short silence.[30] More elaborate harmonic transitions—that is, entire passages in which a single governing tonality is destabilised in order to ease the music into a new key—are extremely rare, and usually only emerge when the keys of two neighbouring sections are sufficiently distant that a simple dominant-seventh chord would not suffice. In Henri Cramer's potpourri on Bellini's *Sonnambula*, for example, a four-bar passage accomplishes the transition from the arrangement of the Cavatina *Dieser Jubel, diese Freude* in G major to the E♭ Quintet *Kein Gedanken*.[31]

Harmonic continuity on a larger scale could be ensured through the employment of an overall key strategy. Some potpourris—though far from all—end in the same key as that in which they begin.[32] Others attempt to give shape to their overall key motion—a Hector Oliver potpourri from 1870, for example, begins in E♭ major, and, moving arch-like through neighbouring flat keys, travels to C major and then back again.[33] For the most part, however, potpourris have no large-scale harmonic strategy.

Melodic continuity in potpourris is even rarer than large-scale harmonic continuity. In fact, virtually no potpourri attempts to create a seamless melodic surface, let alone use material specially composed for the purpose of making a work more melodically continuous. August Conradi's already idiosyncratic—because

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[30]See, for example, von Weber [ca. 1825].
[31]See Cramer [ca. 1850].
[32]See, for example, von Weber [1825] and Anon. [ca. 1865].
[33]The potpourri on Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* from the series Oliver [ca. 1870].

Figure 3.7: Transition from extract 21 to extract 22 of *"Ein Melodiensträus'chen"*, *Potpourri von August Conradi, für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen*, op. 106 (Berlin und Dresden: Fusstner, ca. 1870).

it sources extracts from a huge variety of works—1870 *Melodiensträus'chen* features the only clear example of melodic 'development' this author has seen, in which Wagner's Bridal March from *Lohengrin* 'transforms' into Strauss' *Kathinka-Polka* through the agency of a reinterpreted semiquaver neighbour-note motive (see figure 3.7). Most arrangers, however, in moving from one source melody to another, were content simply to break off at the end of a phrase, pause on a silence or held chord, and then continue with a new passage. The idea that potpourris were carefully constructed reconstitutions of strings of favourite melodies bound together into a single sweep is far from accurate.

The third aspect of the potpourri in which continuity is explicitly negotiated is their textual layout. Nearly all potpourris textually indicate the transitions between different passages of source material during the course of the work. They do so in one of several ways, which can be placed on a scale from relatively continuous to relatively discontinuous. The most relatively continuous layout is probably the most common, in which the break between two source passages is marked with a double bar and a new performance direction (see figure 3.8).[34] The next most discontinuous form of transition is similarly laid out, but uses a final double bar instead of a double bar (see figure 3.9). The sense of dislocation when reading here is more pronounced than with the double bar alone.[35] The next most

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[34]See, for example: von Weber [ca. 1822]; von Weber [ca. 1825]; Berens [ca. 1823]; Oliver [ca. 1870] and Fromett [ca. 1830].

[35]See Bellini [1835].

Figure 3.8: Textual continuity in potpourris, type 1.

Figure 3.9: Textual continuity in potpourris, type 2.

discontinuous form shows the use of the double bar, as in the first example, but with the new source separately named on the score (see figure 3.10). This happens relatively infrequently.[36] Next sees the use again of the the double bar, but followed this time by the recommencement of the music on a new line (see figure 3.11).[37] Finally, the most disjunct layout of the potpourri has each change from one source to another marked by a final double bar followed by a new line, an indent and the rewriting of the instrumental indication (see figure 3.12).[38] This is again relatively uncommon.[39] In short, five main methods of notating the gaps between the sourced material of a potpourri indicate five different ways in which their arrangers understood their relative continuity.

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[36]Cramer [ca. 1850].

[37]See the return of the overture at the end of Fromett [ca. 1830].

[38]See von Weber [1825] and Conradi [ca. 1870].

[39]There are other examples, although they are too rare to be of real note. von Weber [ca. 1850], for instance, only informs the performer-listener of the movement from one source passage to another with words written above the system.

Figure 3.10: Textual continuity in potpourris, type 3.

Figure 3.11: Textual continuity in potpourris, type 4.

Figure 3.12: Textual continuity in potpourris, type 5.

Although arrangers tended to adopt the most contiguous of the common methods for indicating a change in the source material in the potpourri—a simple double bar—it is still the case that changes in source material were always clearly indicated on the score. Indeed, the frequent use of the double bar throughout most potpourris exemplifies the fact that arrangers, publishers and audiences were clearly interested in being able to note the point at which the source passage in the potpourri changed. Even the double bar—let alone any of the more substantial notational strategies—encourages the performer to observe a more significant break than a notated fermata and rest alone would have suggested.

At moments of transition, potpourris are harmonically continuous at only the most basic—dominant-seventh to tonic—level. Melodically, they manifest no attempt on the part of the arranger to produce a coherent musical experience. Textually, performers were always encouraged to make clear the gaps between passages sourced from different parts of the original score. In light of this three-fold emphasis of the piecemeal nature of the genre at three fundamental musical levels, it is clear that potpourris do not attempt to conceal the fractures which are inherent to their manner of production. In fact, given the sheer obviousness of many of these fractures, the large number of them which can be found in individual works, and their frequent appearance across the genre as a whole, it should be concluded that not only did arrangers avoid any attempt to unify the disparate elements which they took from their sources, but that they actually went so far as to celebrate them.

There are two important points to be made about the emphatically fractured nature of the potpourri. First, it led nineteenth- and early twentieth-century critics to reject the potpourri as, and in keeping with the literal meaning of its name, rotten—"potpourri" literally means "rotten pot". Second, the potpourri and its associated popularity provide evidence for the existence of a market of listeners who valued shortness, dissociation and fracture. The potpourri offered the consumer an experience that was unashamedly piecemeal. Chapter four will analyse why this is significant.

Practices of Arrangement: The Variation Set

Just like the potpourri, the nineteenth-century variation set on a theme is not 'an' arrangement. Nonetheless, variation sets are a form of keyboard music which make sustained use of practices of arrangement because they consist of a number of different arrangements of the same material, itself presented in arrangement at the beginning of the work.

The first important issue which confronted the composer of the variation set was the question of what was to be varied: what were the criteria according to which themes were chosen? The first point which the composer considered was the popularity of the source material. The more celebrated the original composition, the more likely it was that the variation set based on that composition would achieve economic success. This principle was presumably based on the public's desire to thrill at hearing short extracts from new and celebrated works in the comfort of their own homes. Consequently, a large number of variation sets were based on themes from successful operas or orchestral compositions,

while a smaller number were sourced from national or 'folk' songs. The fact that sets were based on well-known contemporary compositions was, as with the pot-pourri and the keyboard edition, heavily advertised on their covers. Some sets even went so far as to boast about the popularity of their source: one of Czerny's 1821 variation sets was based on Schubert's "beloved Viennese *Trauer-Walzer*", for example.[40]

There are a host of more specifically musical characteristics which the themes preferred by variation set composers tend to share. Almost all, for example, consist of balanced binary structures with internal repeats, periodic phrasing, and lengths of 16, 24, or 32 bars. Texturally they are almost exclusively homophonic, with strongly profiled melody and accompaniment lines. The opening of a number of such themes can be seen in figure 3.13. A key musical characteristic of variation set themes is not merely simplicity, but also clarity: melodic shapes are strong, easily memorisable, and, as a result of internal repetitions and balanced forms, repeated; harmonies are straightforward and progress simply; and right and left hands unambiguously take on the performance of clearly profiled melody and accompaniment lines.

Just as with the potpourri, the variation set presented itself as a disjunct and discontinuous genre. Nearly all sets make use throughout their variations of the repeat signs which are normally to be found halfway through and at the end of their original themes. These repeats provide a clear moment of written and aural disjunction between (and within) individual variations, a disjunction which (normally) further manifests itself to the listener as either a fermata on the last chord of a variation or a short silence at its end. Another indication that each variation was aurally separated from its neighbours was that since each individual variation tended to make use of one musical technique—arpeggiation of the left hand chord pattern, for example, or division of the original melody into smaller rhythmic units—the sonic differences between them were marked and the differentiation of them was easy. Finally, the clearest indication that these works were specifically discontinuous is that the order of the individual variations is, normally, irrelevant. Because inter-variation relationships never exist at the horizontal level, they can be played in basically any order. Variations are only 'continuous' with one another in the sense that they share an origin in the same theme.

The fact that variation sets are relatively disjunct and discontinuous should not be taken to say, however, that the composer spent no time in trying to create a well-shaped experience for the listener. In fact, and as the nineteenth century progressed, it seems to have become the norm to at least attempt to do so. One of the ways in which this was carried out was to try to conceal the additive nature of the variation set by giving it a strong sense of telos. The standard way to do this was with a brilliant, dramatic, and sometimes virtuosic closing passage. Weber's circa 1840 variation set on *Castor und Pollux*, for example, ends with a brilliant mazurka; Moscheles' circa 1831 work "über eine beliebte Cavatine von Nicolini" features at its close an inserted "Marche de la Patrouille"; and Carl Oesterich's set on "Denkst du daran" finishes with a long *Pollacca brilliante*, containing nothing

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[40]Czerny [ca. 1821].

(a) From *Six Variations pour le Piano-Forte sur une Marche de l'Opéra: Coriolan, Composées par Gelinek* (Bonn: Simrock, ca. 1813).

(b) From *Variationen für das Piano-Forte über die Arie "Mich fliehen alle Freuden", komponiert und in tiefster Ehrfurcht untertänigst gewidmet der durchlauchtigsten Herzogin und Frau des gnädigst regierenden Herzogs zu Sachsen* (Coburg, ca. 1830).

(c) From *Variations pour Piano sur une Cavatine favorite de l'Opéra "La Straniera" de V. Bellini F. A. Weber* (Leipzig: Frédéric Hofmeister, 1842).

Figure 3.13: Examples of themes from variation sets.

less than a Trio and several variations of its own.[41] Even L'Abbé Gelinek's circa 1823 variation set on a waltz from *Der Freischütz*—noteworthy because its theme and every variation which follow it fade away into a vague and inconclusive shroud of silence rather than purposively concluding—features a bombastic and virtuosic closing passage.[42] In this latter case—where the contrast of the anaemic diminuendo of every variation and the brilliant finality of the close could not be more stark—the artificiality of the externally imposed ending is laid bare in its more general impotence. The motivation behind penning such a 'conclusion' to a variation set is to give the audience the sense of having heard a work whose hidden but single-minded programme throughout its length has been the generation of energy that could finally be released at its close. The reality is that these concluding flourishes sometimes even contributed to the radical disjunction created by the purely additive methods of variation set composition because appending a dramatic passage to a work's end does not automatically provide the background coherence of a dramatic crescendo over the course of its whole. The passage is—much like each of the variations themselves—often just another externally added, non-structural facade whose only shared musical characteristic with the theme is its key.

Perhaps aware of this limitation, other attempts were made at strengthening a variation set's claim to being more than a random sequence of discrete variations. Some sets, for example, tried to battle the tendency towards fragmentation by bookending the variations between an introduction *and* a conclusion, literally holding them together like string wrapped around a bundle of papers. Czerny's variations on "Beethoven's" (actually Schubert's) "Wiener Trauer-Walzer", for example, features one such introduction, a passage which is not related to its variations through motivic, melodic, or harmonic content, but which, like many Baroque preludes, simply prepares the listener for the harmonic ground on which the piece will move with a series of virtuosic scale passages and simple chord progressions in the tonality of the main work.[43] The introduction to Henri Herz's circa 1860 opus 23 is similar, though here an extremely austere *Largo maestoso e serioso* in E♭ minor prepares the listener through a series of thick and slow-moving harmonies for a work in its tonic major.[44]

The use of an introduction to attempt to give a shape to the variation set beyond that of its naturally fragmented form is rarer than the use of a finale alone. Even rarer still was the use of imported principles of strict formal organisation to the same end. Indeed, I have found only one work which can be said to make use of this technique, Loeschhorn's circa 1844 variations on music from Lortzing's opera *Czaar und Zimmermann*.[45] Here the theme and four variations are organised into four sections which take on quite loosely the shape of a four-movement sonata: the theme and first variation constitute the first movement; variation two is the minuet and trio; variation three is headed *Adagio*; and the fourth—which is extended and somewhat brilliant—is called *Finale*. This practice shows a more

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[41] von Weber [ca. 1840]; Moscheles [ca. 1831] and Oesterich [ca. 1830].
[42] Gelinek [ca. 1823].
[43] See Czerny [ca. 1840].
[44] See Herz [ca. 1860].
[45] Loeschhorn [ca. 1844].

subtle approach to the challenges of attempting to create a single and coherent musical work from the additive form of the variation set. The obvious criticism of it, however, is that four-movement sonata forms are not necessarily any more coherent than variation sets, and are (normally) only 'continuous' by musical and social convention. Either way, this is such a rare example of an attempt at unification that it need not detain us long.

Whether through dramatic conclusions, preludial introductions or even an imported formal process, the inherent discontinuity of the variation set was often challenged. This challenge, however, was rarely successful. The efforts made to create a continuous variation set imply that composers and publishers wanted their sets to be seen and heard as continuous works and that individual consumers were interested in buying sets which presented themselves in this way. The fact that these attempts at unification rarely succeeded—but that they kept being offered nonetheless—implies furthermore that consumers were not particularly good at spotting the extent to which they were sufficient: it must have appeared to audiences that the sets they were buying did come across as continuous.

Finally, what characterises the nineteenth-century variation set at the level of the individual variation? Carl Dahlhaus explains that if one of the "twin styles" of the nineteenth century saw the "essence" of music in the "role of function", the other—the one which came to be particularly associated with Franco-Italian opera in the Rossinian tradition— saw it in "melody".[46] Charles Rosen agrees, arguing that "the initial success of an opera demanded at least one original melody that seemed long familiar at first hearing, and could be whistled by the audience on leaving the opera house."[47] Indeed, the perception that it was melody which was the essence of any musical work—and not just opera—found its way into legal discourse; in the case of *D'Almaine v. Boosey* in 1835, for example, the Lord Chief Baron points out that "[i]t is the air or melody which is the invention of the author, and which may in such case [*sic*.] be the subject of piracy."[48] Under the terms of this case, the owner of the melody—that is, the person who composed it—was the legal owner of the whole musical work.

Consumers purchasing works which claimed to be based on contemporary operas would without doubt want to hear the melodies which they felt characterised and constituted that work. For the arranger of the keyboard edition or the potpourri, this demand was unproblematic: the keyboard edition simply arranged these essential melodies for the piano; the potpourri was valued precisely because it was so good at stringing together selections of popular melodies from well-known works. The problem facing the composer of the variation set in the nineteenth century was more challenging. His or her task was to offer the musical variety that the genre of the variation promised without, at the same time, changing that essential element of the original composition which the audience had paid and expected to hear—the melody. He or she had, in other words, to vary a theme without varying it thematically.

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[46][Dahlhaus, 1989, 15].

[47][Rosen, 1995, 603].

[48]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835) 1 Y. & C. EX. 288, p.123. See footnote on page 140 for an explanation of this citation form.

The solution to this problem which these variation sets adopted was remarkably elegant. They chose to vary a musical property which affected neither harmony nor melody, but merely the manner in which they were presented. This property was texture. By altering texture alone, the performer-listener experiences a sense of variety without losing a strong awareness of the melody which he or she understood as being the essential content of the original work.

The way in which this form of variation without varying was carried out can be demonstrated by using a simple reduction of a variation set. Two examples are presented here: Wolfram's *Introduction and Variation über ein Thema aus der Oper: "Der Bergmönch"* from 1836 (see figure 3.14), and A. Loeschhorn's *Variationen über das Lied "Sonst spielt' ich mit Scepter", aus der Oper "Czaar und Zimmermann"* (see figure 3.15).[49] At the top of each summary, the first four bars of the theme of the set are given. Following this, one per line, is a representation of the textures that each of the variations in turn exploits. Since these textures remain constant for each of the variations, only two bars of each are shown. The harmonic and melodic contents of the variations are not given, because they are as similar to the opening theme as the textural variation will allow. As the diagrams show, each discrete variation adopts a texture unique to itself among that particular variation set (though rarely unique in general). At the same time, each texture has been selected such that the clear presentation of the theme is not hindered. In this way, the variation set succeeds in simultaneously offering the variety which it naturally promises, and the repetition of the famous tune which the audience demands. The constant arrangement and re-arrangement of the variation theme into different textural backgrounds ensures a serial-like repetition of the ever-changing same.

If nineteenth-century consumers who purchased variation sets based on Franco-Italian operas were particularly keen on hearing melodies from those operas, it is not surprising that the sets show a number of other similarities with the operas on which they tended to be based. As Dahlhaus argues, "[t]he substrate of Rossini's melodies and harmonies, then, is trivial: his rhythms have a sharpness of focus that emphasises the banal; his formal are designs are guilelessly simplistic."[50] In Rossini's operas, this leads to "sharply focused rhythms" assuming the "musical burden".[51] In the variation set, the same role is taken by musical texture.

Nineteenth-century variation sets were a clever response to the problem of how to circulate music using the home keyboard. They gave the listener an excuse to enjoy the melodies of the latest musical works over and over again through a form of variation which actually succeeded in keeping the key musical parameter unchanged. Enamoured of the kind of experience which Eco and Calabrese argue is offered by late twentieth-century serial objects, nineteenth-century domestic music consumers remained devoted to the variation set throughout much of the century.

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[49]See Chwatah [1836] and Loeschhorn [ca. 1844].
[50][Dahlhaus, 1989, 60].
[51][Dahlhaus, 1989, 60].
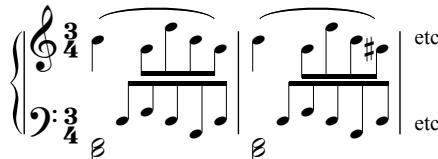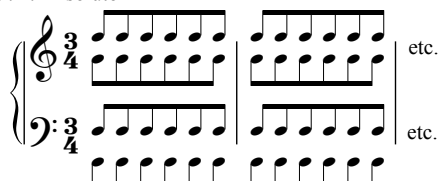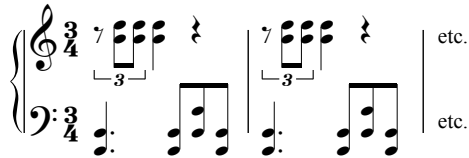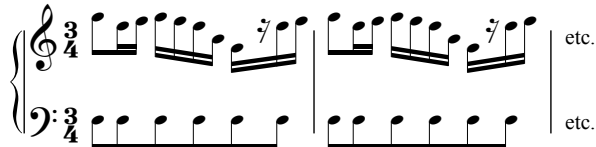
Figure 3.14: *Introduction und Variationen über ein Thema aus der Oper "Der Bergmönch," von Wolfram, componirt für das Pianoforte von X. Chwatal, Op.11*; textural reduction.

Var. 6. Con fuoco

Var. 7a. Legato

Var. 7b

Figure 3.14 (continued): *Introduction und Variationen über ein Thema aus der Oper "Der Bergmönch," von Wolfram, componirt für das Pianoforte von X. Chwatal, Op.11*; textural reduction.

Arrangement Practices in 1840

The foregoing section has been concerned with examining the musical characteristics of three nineteenth-century keyboard genres which made use of techniques of arrangement. In this section, these same three genres will be analysed with regards their characteristics as commercial objects. This will be done by considering a complete list of all of the unaccompanied piano works of each genre which were recorded by Hofmeister's catalogue as being published in the year 1840 (the full lists are given in appendix three). This year has been picked because, as was shown at the beginning of this chapter, it marks a point at which arrangement was extremely popular and there is thus plenty of data to consult. It will be concluded that despite the part overlap in their techniques—the use of arrangement to bring music into domestic circulation—each of these genres provided a unique commercial product.

Arrangement Practices in 1840: The *Klavierauszug*

There were fifty-two *Klavierauszüge* recorded by Hofmeister's catalogue as published in 1840 (see table 2, page 236). Forty-four of these arranged an operatic source. Of the eight which did not, four were based on concert overtures, three on ballets (two complete works and one overture) and one on music for a theatrical work. Of the forty-four operatic arrangements, there were slightly more arrangements of the overture alone than of the entire work: twenty-five publications were of the former type, but only nineteen were of the latter. This suggests

Figure 3.15: *Variationen über das Lied "Sonst spielt' ich mit Scepter", aus der Oper "Czaar und Zimmermann" von Lortzing für das Pianoforte componirt und seinem Freunde, dem Regimentsarzt Herrn Dr. Puhlmann gewidmet von A. Loeschhorn, op.8*; textural reduction.

that it was these shorter works which were more popular with consumers at this time.

The most arranged composers in 1840 were Mercadante (with seven entries), Mozart (five), Adam (five) and Donizetti (five). The earliest source composition to have been arranged and offered for sale in 1840 was Friedrich the Great's *Il Re Pastore* from 1743, followed by Gluck's 1774 *Iphigénie en Aulide*. There then follows a string of Mozart works, first performed from 1781 to 1791. With the exception of the edition of Spohr's *Faust* (which originally appeared in 1816), the source compositions of the remaining forty-four works published in keyboard edition in 1840 all originally appeared between 1825 and 1840. This represents a gap of thirty-five years between 'older' and 'newer' sources. There were, in other words, two types of keyboard edition which appeared in 1840: those which arranged works composed in the previous fifteen years, and those which arranged ones which were older than fifty. From the fact of this clear division the conclusion can be drawn that the keyboard edition had two functions at this time: first—and once again—the circulation of new music to audiences who wanted to hear it; and second, the bringing of the 'classics' to new audiences, or, through new editions, giving old audiences new perspectives on old works. The keyboard edition in 1840 played a dual role as both a tool through which new music was circulated and one through which a canon of classic works was built.

Thirty-two of the compositions which were published in keyboard edition in 1840 were offered in only one version; six were arranged into two versions; and only two—Mercadante's *Il Bravo* and Adam's *La reine d'un jour*—were available in more than two versions. In general, then, it was uncommon for the same source work to be offered in more than one version in the same year. As far as it is possible to conclude based on the names of arrangers given, it was also rare for different arrangers to arrange the same work in the same year: there is no record of it occurring in 1840. This is in distinction to the potpourri and the variation set, where the same work was often made available in several versions, or arranged by different arrangers, in the same year.

Of the fifty-two editions published in 1840, a remarkable 50% are recorded in Hofmeister's catalogue as having been published without crediting an arranger. In comparison to the other two genres under investigation here, this is a significant proportion. Ultimately, the justification for this omission can only be that the name of the arranger was—half of the time—seen to be irrelevant by the consumers and publishers of these works. This disregard could imply that the consumer was meant to ignore the arranger's agency in the process of preparing an edition, perhaps because his or her task—reduction—is one which was seen to require less input than the recomposition which was (supposedly) necessary in the production of a potpourri or a variation set. It also implies that the edition marketed itself as a form of the original composition, as a way for the domestic audience to experience the source work at home. Czerny and F. L. Schubert are familiar names appearing on the list of credited arrangers.

42% of the keyboard editions listed by Hofmeister as appearing in 1840 are published in Germany, 33% in Austria, and 25% in France. The average price of an edition in each country varies according to whether or not the full work or simply an overture is being considered. In Germany an edition of a whole work

cost in 1840, on average, 3 thalers; in Austria, 6 florins, and in France, 18 francs. Overtures, on the other hand, cost half a thaler in Germany, a single florin in Austria, and 3 francs in France (these figures are summarised in table 3.2, page 136; see footnote to page 236 for an explanation of the currencies in use at this time). While these numbers will become more interesting in comparison to the other genres considered below, it should be noted here that in each of the three countries, an edition of a complete composition cost exactly six times as much as that of the overture alone.

Arrangement Practices in 1840: The Potpourri

In 1840, 109 potpourris were listed in the Hofmeister catalogue (see table 3, page 239). This represents approximately 9% of the unaccompanied piano music listed that year by Hofmeister, and a full 20% of the unaccompanied piano arrangements. It is more than twice as many as *Klavierauszüge* and about a quarter more than variation sets. These figures testify to the tremendous popularity of the potpourri in the nineteenth-century musical marketplace.

Of the 109 potpourris listed in 1840, only two were not based on operas, meaning that more than 98% of the works listed were. 93% of the potpourris arranged an opera published in the preceding decade. Only five potpourris took their material from earlier than this: four were sourced from works only three years older, and merely a single work looked as far back as to 1787 and Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. These numbers contrast compellingly with those of the keyboard edition, whose sources were drawn from either the previous 15 years, or, in a smaller number of cases, from more than 50 years before. Those who prepared potpourris were clearly much more concerned with the contemporaneity of the source material than those who prepared keyboard editions. This in turn suggests that the potpourri was particularly linked to the circulation of the latest in contemporary music.

Donizetti and Bellini are quite clearly the two composers most often arranged into potpourris in 1840, accounting for just under fifty of the 109 works listed by Hofmeister. This reflects not only their extremely popular public profile at this point but also the contemporary interest in bel canto opera. It further reinforces the point made above about the particular popularity of clear and lyrical melody to nineteenth-century domestic listeners. Mercadante and Adam were also well-represented.

As opposed to the keyboard edition, where a significant 50% of the arrangers went unrecorded in Hofmeister's catalogue, the number of anonymous potpourri arrangers was only twelve, about 11%. This might mirror a belief that potpourri arrangers exercised more creativity than those who prepared full keyboard editions and were thus more entitled to being credited. Most potpourri arrangers (and again in contrast to the keyboard edition) arranged more than one piece a year. Some produced a very large number of works: Diabelli published twenty-eight potpourris in 1840, Haslinger eighteen, F. L. Schubert ten, and Czerny eight.[52]

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[52]Note that it is not always possible to determine from the catalogue entry whether a publisher was also the arranger of the work, and vice versa.

The high number of works published by these individuals demonstrates both the ease with which they could be produced, as well as the size of the popular demand for them: Haslinger would have been unlikely to produce eighteen works of the same genre if he was not convinced that they would sell well.

In 1840, by far the most potpourris were published in Austria, which was home to 69% of the potpourris listed here; Germany saw a much lower 27% of the market. Interestingly, potpourris made at this stage very little impression on the French market: only 4% of the potpourris published in 1840 appeared there. The clear popularity of the potpourri in Austria compares with a more even distribution of publication locations of the keyboard edition, perhaps suggesting that the Austrians were particularly struck by the craze for the potpourri.

The prices of the potpourri in 1840 are in Germany and Austria identical to those of the keyboard edition of an overture: just over a florin in Austria and half a thaler in Germany. In France, where the potpourri was less popular, they were more expensive—4 francs and 20 centimes—than a keyboard overture. The cheapest potpourris are those published by Czerny, while the prices of those by Diabelli and Haslinger are still a bargain, hovering as they do closer to the average. This resonates, perhaps, with a principle familiar from the practice of mass production that those who can produce the most can charge the least for it.

There are certain other elements of potpourri publishing in 1840 which support this comparison with mass production. Many potpourris in this year, for example, are published as part of a series in which each work is understood as a single instance of the larger programme: Haslinger's *Flore théâtrale. Nouvelle Collection de Fantaisies élégantes en Potpourris brillants sur des Thêmes d'Opéras modernes et favoris p. Pfte*, for instance, ran from at least 1836 to 1873 and featured in all more than 220 instalments, including four published in 1840. Within these series, the final form of each work stays the same—a potpourri of comparable length and style—but the material input—the source opera—changes. The series takes on a machine-like function in which the identical titles betray the repeated 'potpourri-ing' of a source which, through repetition, is revealed to be utterly fungible. Musical content is divorced from form, and the former is shaped to fill the mass-produced mould of the latter. This sense is only exacerbated when it is remembered that twelve of the 109 potpourris in 1840 were arranged anonymously, implying perhaps that the music was sometimes understood—or at least marketed—as mechanically arranging itself.

Arrangement Practices in 1840: The Variation Set

Eighty-one variation sets on preexisting themes were listed by the Hofmeister catalogue as published in 1840 (see table 4, page 245). This makes them somewhat less well-represented than the potpourri, but more common than the keyboard edition. Fifty of these eighty-one works—approximately 62%—take their source material from an operatic work, confirming once more the significance of techniques of keyboard arrangement for the circulation of operatic works to a domestic audience. However, for the first time in this discussion, non-operatic sources make an important contribution to the material which was published: sixteen works are based on popular folk songs, two on pieces of piano music,

two on a song (falsely) attributed to Hummel, one on a waltz by Strauss, and one on music by Weber to the play *Preciosa*. The catalogue does not give sufficient information to permit the identification of the source type of the remaining nine variation sets.

Just as they were in the list of potpourris published in 1840, Donizetti and Bellini are particularly well-represented here as source composers, providing material for twenty-seven of the eighty-one variation sets given by Hofmeister. Weber and Meyerbeer have four entries each. The most popular individual source, however, is unnamed: sixteen of the variation sets are based on folk songs. These sources had obvious attractions for publishers, since it is likely that they could have been used as source material without incurring copyright charges.

The keyboard edition selected its source from one of two different temporal streams, while the potpourri tended to be based on music from the past decade. The variation set sides with the latter in its choice of source material, also focusing on works which—where dated—were published in the last ten years: these account for 78% of the variation sets published in 1840 whose source date can be traced. The variation set, however, was not relentlessly contemporary: it also took an interest in the 'timeless' in the form of the sixteen works it based on popular songs and folk music which were published in 1840 (though which may of course, and as was typical, have actually been composed in the nineteenth century).

Just as with the potpourri, and in comparison to the keyboard edition, those composers who were producing variation sets tended to produce more than one a year: in this case, Czerny composed seven sets, Hunter five, and Pizolli, Rossellen and Herz four each. Czerny's seven are across an interesting range of sources, including Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Bellini's *Norma*, Donizetti's *Parisina*, Havely's *La shérif*, a song (supposedly) by Hummel, an anonymous Russian song, and a work by la Comte de Gallenberg. The volume of works which certain arrangers were able to compose suggests, once more, the relative ease with which they were produced, as well as how comparatively lucrative the work was.

Unlike the potpourri, whose appeal seems to have varied quite dramatically by country, the popularity of the variation set was a little more stable across Europe, with 44% of the works listed by Hofmeister in 1840 being published in Germany, 34% in Austria, and 20% in France. The increased popularity of the variation set in France as compared to the potpourri is demonstrated by its price, nearly a whole franc less than a potpourri. In Germany, a variation set cost on average two-thirds of a thaler, while in Austria a similar work would cost 1.2 florins. In both Germany and Austria, then, the variation set was slightly more expensive than the potpourri, supporting the suggestion that the variation set was held in slightly higher regard than the extremely populist potpourri. In all three countries, the variation set was more expensive than the keyboard edition of an overture alone, though in each case the prices were very nearly identical.

Arrangement Practices in 1840: Summary

Given the volume of information produced by this investigation of three keyboard genres which make use of techniques of arrangement and which were

recorded in the Hofmeister catalogue as being published in 1840, some comments by way of a summary are in order.

Potpourris were the most commonly listed of the three genres examined here, with 109 appearing in Hofmeister's catalogue in 1840 (see table 3.2, page 136). Since they were the most commonly published, they were arguably the most popular of these three genres. The variation set follows close behind with eighty-one publications, while the keyboard edition was less than half as frequently published as the potpourri, accounting for only fifty-two of the entries in Hofmeister's catalogue. The significance of the potpourri, however, should not detract from the fact that large numbers of the other two genres studied here were also being published: indeed, it would technically have been possible for a domestic music-maker (should he or she have been happy to order music from abroad) to purchase two potpourris and one variation set a week, as well as a keyboard edition of an overture once a fortnight, for all of 1840—and never receive the same piece of music twice.

The sources on which these works were based are often operatic. 98% of those potpourris and 85% of those keyboard editions which appeared in the Hofmeister catalogue in 1840 have operatic precedents. Two-thirds of the variation sets published in the same year are based on opera; the remaining sets are derived from popular works and folk songs. This latter point suggests that the fact of the melody's origin in an opera was not necessarily the most significant factor considered by variation set composers when choosing a theme. The close relationship in general between these three keyboard genres and opera does however suggest that there was great interest in—and an economic advantage to—making operatic music available to domestic, piano-playing audiences.

The dates of the source publications on which these genres of keyboard music are based vary according to the precise genre in question. The keyboard edition made use of sources from two different periods, one consisting of music released in the past fifteen years and the other of music more than fifty years old. The potpourri adapted almost exclusively music from the past ten years. The variation set was interested in music from the past ten years where opera was the source; outside of the operatic realm, the composer's gaze typically first fell on popular song or folk music, in which case, the date of the original composition was irrelevant. In all three genres, then, contemporaneity was absolutely vital, and thus one of the two main criteria by which the suitability of a source was assessed. The other, as revealed by the keyboard edition's use of 'classic' works or the variation set's use of folk songs, was the popularity of the source.

All of these genres favoured sources written by contemporary opera composers of the day, like Donizetti, Bellini and Weber. Where a beloved 'classic' was needed, the composer most often selected was Mozart.

Some of the arrangers or composers who created a number of these works are relatively familiar, like Czerny, or F. L. Schubert. More telling, however, is the number of arrangers who remained anonymous on publication of their work. The highest percentage of anonymous arrangers can be found in the list of the keyboard editions, where a full 50% of the arrangers did not receive public acknowledgement of the work that they had done. This compares with the variation set, which always saw the name of its composer listed by Hofmeister. It

is hard not to read this presence or absence of the arranger's name as anything other than a comment on the issue of whether or not the arranger was perceived as a true composer or merely a musical cipher through whom the music simply passed. According to this position, the 50% anonymous rate of the keyboard edition would represent a split in half of public and professional opinion as to whether or not the arranger of the keyboard edition was deserving of acknowledgement. As will be shown in the following chapter, this reflects quite accurately the division to be found in contemporary public opinion in nineteenth-century Britain. Finally, this position would also mean that in most cases, it was accepted that the arranger of the potpourri had carried out more independent work than the arranger of the keyboard edition, but less than the composer of the variation set.

Two points of interest emerge from a consideration of the countries in which these keyboard genres were published in 1840. The first is that the potpourri was much more popular in Austria than it was in Germany or France; the second is that the same genre made barely any impression on the French market at all. These figures are in contrast to the approximately 40% · 35% · 25% split which characterised the other two genres (and which, given the inevitable geographical bias of Hofmeister's catalogue, may well represent in actuality a 33% · 33% · 33% balance). While the keyboard edition and the variation set had a (more-or-less) uniform popularity across Europe, the potpourri's audience was concentrated mainly in Austria.

With the exception of the potpourri in France (which had very little impact on the musical market anyway) and keyboard editions of complete works, the average prices for a work in any one of these three genres remained the same in each of the three territories respectively: approximately half a thaler in Germany, a florin in Austria and three francs in France. These prices are within that of the range for the tickets for what William Weber calls "lower" status concerts in Paris and Vienna.[53] This represents quite a saving when it is remembered that the music which these keyboard genres were circulating was typically operatic, tickets for which Weber considers to be of "upper" status. Arrangement was unequivocally used as a tool for circulating music cheaply to domestic audiences. The variation set was a little more expensive than these standard prices, perhaps reflecting the belief that it was considered the most 'composed' of the three genres. The cost of a keyboard edition of a complete work was, in all three countries, six times as expensive as that of an overture.

Piano works making use of techniques of arrangement constituted in Europe in 1840 a vibrant market force with various and diverse commercial characteristics particular to each genre and country. Further studies could quite easily begin to investigate how the figures which have been presented here changed over time and place. For now, this study can merely suggest a flash of the dense and multi-coloured weft of producers, consumers and market forces which patterned the fabric of that practice which is today all too-readily dismissed as a monochromatic and uninteresting historical oddity—arrangement in the nineteenth century.

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[53][Weber, 2004, 161].

This chapter has made two points. First, Hofmeister's music catalogue has been used to show that approximately 30% of the unaccompanied piano works published between the years 1829 and 1900 made use of techniques of arrangement. Viewing this conclusion alongside the results of previous chapters, it is now irrefutably clear that arrangement was a vastly important socio-musical phenomenon. Second, the chapter has embarked on an effort to explore exactly how these nineteenth-century arrangement techniques manifested themselves. Three genres of keyboard music which make various use of practices of arrangement have been investigated from the standpoints of their musical characteristics and their commercial profile. Having examined, to give only a few examples, the attempts on the parts of potpourri arrangers to deal with the problem of internal fractures, how and why keyboard editions make use of instrumental indications, and the price of a variation set in Austria compared to France, it has been shown that arrangement practices in the nineteenth century were diverse. They drew on different sources from different periods; they were put to use in different kinds of compositions, which featured different challenges for both arranger and performer; they were sold in different quantities in different places, and for different amounts; they implied different opinions of their arrangers, composers, and the skills of their audiences; and so on. If it is the case that arrangement can no longer be downplayed as a historical practice of great significance, then it is important that the renewed response to it is adequate to its subtle multivalency. To do anything else is to misrepresent the great diversity of arrangement techniques in the world of nineteenth-century domestic music-making. It is, in fact, to continue to look past the advertisements which littered the pages of so many nineteenth-century newspapers and journals.

	Number Published	Operatic Source	Source Age	Anonymous	Location			Average Price		
					Germany	Austria	France	Germany (Thlr)	Austria (Flor)	France (Franc)
Klavierauszug	52	44 (85%)	>50yrs <15 yrs	26 (50%)	42%	33%	25%	3^a 0.5^b	6^a 1^b	18^a 3^b
Potpourri	109	107 (98%)	<10yrs	12 (11%)	27%	69%	4%	0.5	1	4.2
Variation Set	81	50 (62%)	<10yrs	0 (0%)	44%	34%	20%	.66	1.2	3.4

Table 3.2: Piano works featuring practices of arrangement recorded by Hofmeister's catalogues as being published in 1840.

[a] Refers to arrangements of the complete score of the original.
[b] Refers to arrangements of the overture of the original.

4 Trial by Ear: Listening to Keyboard Arrangement

> Arrangements are important documents on how music was received at the time
>
> CARL DAHLHAUS

Is a musical property properly private, and if so, when and how does one trespass upon it?"[1] This is the question that in 1985 John Oswald—composer and driving force behind the musical movement known as 'plunderphonics'—asked himself. His response came four years later in the form of an album, 'Plunderphonic', a wild canvas of hundreds of excerpts from works by artists as diverse as Stravinsky, Lizst, Michael Jackson, James Brown and Webern. It was the wrong answer. At the beginning of 1990, he was forced to surrender for destruction all copies of the work to the Canadian Recording Industry Association. His crime: creating music by sampling the works of others, 'plundering' small snatches of other recordings and arranging them to form a new composition. Although the record was never sold, only offered for free, and generated no royalties, the CRIA believed that its clear and extended use of pre-existing material contravened the right which Michael Jackson, among others, had to protect the use of his compositions: it violated, in other words, the terms of his copyright.

As has been shown throughout this thesis, the use of earlier music in new compositions is neither new nor innovative. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the legal questions which surround the practice are, if younger, no less venerable. Modern musical copyright law in Britain, for example, is based on cases which were heard in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they in turn derive their legislative power from the world's first copyright act, the 1710 Statute of Anne. Since that time, composers who reuse parts of one composition in another have often faced the problem of attempting to justify the legality of that practice. Given the importance of keyboard arrangement to the nineteenth-century musical marketplace, it was inevitable that it too would eventually find itself called to account by Britain's justice system.

This chapter will show that keyboard arrangement lay at the heart of three key court battles in nineteenth-century Britain concerning the copyright status of pieces of music which are based on others. It is divided into two halves. The first does three things. It explores the history of legal attitudes to keyboard arrangement and shows that these cases help form the basis of modern musical copyright

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[1]John Oswald, "Plunderphonics, or Audio Piracy as a Compositional Prerogative", reprinted at 'plunderphonics', `http://www.plunderphonics.com/` (accessed January 27, 2010). The epigraph to this chapter is taken from [Dahlhaus, 1989, 42].

law; it uses the variety of the arguments presented in the legal cases as a means to derive a more precise understanding of the contested position of keyboard arrangement within nineteenth-century British culture; and it demonstrates that it is possible to reconstruct from these cases—and the scores with which they are concerned—an impression of the kind of musical experiences which keyboard arrangements promised their audiences. It also shows that these experiences are familiar from altogether more modern genres like the multiple-author pop song or the cover version. In the second part of the chapter, a broader analysis of the relationship between keyboard arrangement and musical experience in the form of practices of musical listening will suggest that keyboard arrangement can inform the understanding of nineteenth-century listening practices in two ways. The chapter ends by showing that two of the three genres discussed in the preceding chapter offered audiences experiences which resonate quite profoundly with those generated by some contemporary popular musical works.

Discussion in this chapter revolves around keyboard arrangement, musical experience in the form of listening, and the courtroom. At least some motivation for the linkage of these three comes from the work of French philosopher Peter Szendy.[2] In his hunt for the apparently evanescent evidence of individual listening experiences, Szendy turns to the location where the rights and duties of musical parties have been debated and protected: the courtroom. "For *my* rights and duties" as a listener, he argues, "since they have never been explicitly codified, stem implicitly from laws that, little by little, have ended up ruling musical life."[3] "Disagreements," he writes, "have so often been pleaded, regulated, negotiated for *me*. . . taking me, the listener, as a witness or pretext for . . . conflicting interests," that the courtroom provides the best location in which I, the listener, can be located.[4]

While Szendy's position is not false, in this chapter another, much stronger position will be held. What is unique about legal cases that concern musical works is that they lie at the intersection between music's immateriality—the musical experience that silently motivates historical agents—and its materiality—its existence as a written object, produced by an author, sold in a marketplace and otherwise known as a 'work'. Legal cases manifest the tension between music's legal and aesthetic objects, the mundane musical score and the transmundane musical experience. As a result, by studying cases which concern keyboard arrangement, it is possible to reveal not only both the legal and aesthetic factors that motivated these historical agents, but also the way in which the two interact: how the legal object, the score, is perceived to impact on the musical object, aesthetic experience, and vice versa. Legal cases are special in that they present a record of methodical attempts to reason out the precise nature of this relationship in a given time and place.

Copyright cases of the nineteenth century that concern music have actually already been used to produce two kinds of history. On the one hand, there exist several histories of *musical* law; on the other, several histories of musical *law*.

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[2]See Szendy [2007].

[3][Szendy, 2007, 4–5].

[4][Szendy, 2007, 5].

Neither alone is sufficient.[5] Interpreted as legal documents, cases concerning music can be used to write a history of the development of the law by exploring the genealogy and heredity of concepts like authorship and ownership; in so doing, the music itself, however, falls silent. Interpreted as sources for the production of a history of music, copyright cases are held to be the legal substrates of the aesthetic practices that engendered and sustained them; the law is reduced to an intentionless mirror of musical practice. The first kind of history is exemplified by any number of textbooks and treatises of legal history in which music is dealt with as just another practice seeking legal protection.[6] The second kind of history has been written by, most notably, Lydia Goehr, when she argues that the eventual recognition of the musical composition's right to copyright protection reflects the emergence in the practical—aesthetic—realm of the concept of the "musical work".[7] What neither position can do, however, is explain the cross-fertilisation that occurred between the two fields. How, on the one hand, did legal discourse and judicial rulings influence musical practice in the marketplace? How, on the other, did musical practice—conceived both discursively and at the mechanical level of instrumental procedure—influence the decisions that legal practitioners took? The discussion that follows attempts to demonstrate how these two practical discourses and discursive practices, the musical and the legal, mutually influenced one another throughout the course of the nineteenth century.

Musical Copyright in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The right of an author's work to be protected from unauthorised copying and reprinting was first recognised in Britain—and indeed, the world—under the terms of the 1710 'Statute of Anne'.[8] This act not only asserted the right of an author to fourteen years of protection (and indeed, another fourteen years should he or she be alive at the end of that initial period), but also awarded copyright for twenty-one years to any book already in print. It laid down strict guidelines for the control of book prices in the United Kingdom as well as requiring that any publication seeking copyright protection would not be considered covered "before such Publication be Entred [*sic*.], in the Register-Book of the Company

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[5]We are reminded of Dahlhaus' argument that "[a] *history* of art which is not at the same time a history of *art*—that is, one that bypasses aesthetic interpretation in favour of documentary interpretation, or vice versa—falls wide of the goals of any music history with a claim to be more than a collage." [Dahlhaus, 1989, 7].

[6]See for instance the popular Bouchoux [2008].

[7]See [Goehr, 1992, 218–220]. Interestingly, this dynamic has also been argued to move in the opposite direction, with changes in the legal definition of the 'units' entitled to protection leading to the emergence in the aesthetic realm of the concept of the 'work'. See Barron [2006].

[8]Variously known as the 'Statute of Anne', the 'Copyright Act 1709 8 Anne c.19', or 'An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or purchasers of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned'. A facsimile can be found online at 'Statute of Anne (1710)', `http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cgi-bin/kleioc/0010/exec/showThumb/22uk_1710%22/start/%22yes%22` (accessed August 3, 2010).

of Stationers..., which Register-Book shall at all times be kept at the Hall of the said Company."[9] This requirement—that all publications be entered into a book set aside for the purpose in the hall of the Stationers' Company, the livery company of the printing trade based in London—was the continuation of a practice over a century old. Both the necessity of entry into the register and its physical location in London were to be of profound significance for the history of musical copyright in the nineteenth century.

While the 1710 Statute of Anne made it clear that both "Book or Books" were protected for up to twenty-eight years after their date of publication, its stance on published music was unclear.[10] Its position was not to be clarified until sixty-seven years later, when, in order to stop the publication of pirated copies of his works by a London publishing firm, Britain's courts were granted a rare personal appearance by one of history's great composers. In the 1777 case of *Bach v. Longman*,[11] J. C. Bach protested that

> one James Longman together with Charles Lukey ... who stile themselves Longman Lukey & Co. of Cheapside London Music Sellars and Copartners ... have by undue means obtained copies of the two several Musical Works or Compositions before mentioned [an unnamed sonata with Viol da Gamba accompaniment] and have lately in the name of your orator but without your orators Licence and Consent printed published and sold for a very large profit divers Copies or parts of or taken from the said two several Compositions.[12]

Before what was to become his landmark case of 1777, Bach's legal recourse to Longman and Lukey's piracy, as John Small explains, could feasibly have come from any of three different sources.[13] First, in 1763 Bach had been granted a Royal Privilege, awarding him the exclusive rights to publish his own works for fourteen years. There was considerable disagreement, however, as to whether or not these Crown-awarded monopolies were still valid under the terms of the Statute of Anne.[14] Bach's second possible legal defence was from the copyright in his work that some parties of the time argued existed under common law; according to the terms of that position, the work is the author's property simply because he created it. Common law copyright protection certainly existed in England until 1709; it was decided, however, in the 1774 case of *Donaldson v. Beckett*, that the Statute of Anne had rendered it invalid.[15] Since copyright was now awarded by the Statute, it could not be considered an inalienable right, but rather, a privilege

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[9]The Statute of Anne, p.263.

[10]The terms are used sixteen times in the relatively short act.

[11]*Bach v. Longman* (1777) 2 Cowp. 623. (Legal citations adopt the following format: *case name* · (date of decision) · [date of published report] (optional) · volume number · journal of publication · page number of *first* page. While it is not normal to cite specific page numbers of quotations, it will be done here.) Facsimiles of this case can be found at 'Bach v. Longmann (1777)', `http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cgi-bin/kleioc/0010/exec/showThumb/%22uk_1777%22/start/%22yes%22` (accessed August 3, 2010).

[12]Chancery Bill of 1773 in J. C. Bach's name, quoted in Small [1985].

[13]See Small [1985].

[14]See [Small, 1985, 527].

[15]*Donaldson v. Beckett* (1774) 2 Brown's Parl. Cases 129.

afforded by the legislature. The third, and only, route open to Bach, then, was to hope that music was deemed to fall under the terms of the Statute of Anne. Luckily, this is what pro-copyright Lord Mansfield concluded when Bach's case came before him in 1777. According to Lord Mansfield, "[t]he words of the Act of Parliament are very large: 'books and other writings.' "[16] He goes on:

> Music is a science; it may be written; and the mode of conveying ideas is by signs and marks... If the narrow interpretation [that music is not subject to copyright]... were to hold, it would equally apply to algebra, mathematics, arithmetic, hieroglyphics. All these are conveyed by signs and figures. There is no colour for saying that music is not within the act.[17]

Mansfield was adamant that the terms of the Statute of Anne implied the protection of music. He could not agree to the suggestion that documents that consisted of signs that communicated with non-alphabetical symbols were not subject to copyright protection. Thus, until music was specifically mentioned in an 1842 revision to the Copyright Act, all copyright protection afforded to music was under the terms of the *Bach v. Longman* case of 1777.

Two issues concerning musical copyright were of particular interest to nineteenth-century musical culture. The first was the question of international copyright: whether and how British works were to receive copyright abroad, and how foreign authors were to ensure the protection of their works in Britain. Notable cases were those of *Chappell v. Purday*, from 1840 to 1844—which concerned the legitimacy of the international copyright in Auber's *Fra Diavolo*—and the *Jeffreys v. Boosey* cases of 1851 and 1854 which revolved around a cavatina from Bellini's *La Sonnambula*.[18] In each case, the defendant disputed the legitimacy of the plaintiff's claim to holding an international copyright in the foreign-authored work in question, and thus published it (or, in the former case, an arrangement of it) in Britain, leading to claims of piracy from the plaintiff. The outcomes of such cases had substantial impact on everyday publishing practice. An 1851 newspaper report, for instance, details how "a very numerous meeting of British authors, publishers, stationers, printers, and others interested in the subject of copyright" was held in London to discuss the "anomaly" following recently heard cases that "the claim of a non-resident foreign author to copyright in this country was allowed, although the English author was strictly excluded from the benefit of copyright in foreign countries."[19] Ultimately, the position would be clarified by a string of International Copyright Acts leading into the 1880s, and the Berne Convention of 1886.

The second issue involved the question of whether or not an announcement should be printed on the published work to explain that it was protected by

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[16]In fact, as Small observes, the Statute of Anne only once refers to 'books and other writings', in the preamble of the document, limiting itself to discussing 'books' thereafter. See [Small, 1985, 526].

[17]*Bach v Longman* (1777), p. 624.

[18]*Chappell v. Purday* (1845) 14 M. & W. 303 and *Jeffreys v. Boosey* (1854) 4 HLC 815. See also Anon. [1844]; Anon. [1847b]; Clare [1845] and Anon. [1854].

[19][Anon., 1851, 421].

copyright. The history of this discussion is best explored through reference to the curious episode of Henry Whiting, aka Harry Wall, or, as he was referred to in the House of Lords, 'The Musical Hawk'.[20] Performing rights—that is, legislation protecting the rights of the author or copyright assignee to receive payment for a performance of their work—had existed nominally since as early as 1842 and the passing of the so-called Talfourd's Act. In practice, however, fees for public performance were rarely, if ever, collected.[21] This situation changed in the early 1870s, when owners of copyright catalogues began to demand the payment of relatively large fines for copyright infringement occasioned by performance without the right to do so. They did this with the aid of the travelling payment collector Harry Wall. Realising the lucrative nature of this business, Wall was quick to begin purchasing copyrights of his own; by 1875 he was not only the self-styled secretary of the London-based agency he called the 'Copyright and Performing-Right Protection Office', but also the owner of his own, growing, copyright catalogue.[22] What particularly ired performers, legal practitioners and journalistic commentators alike was not necessarily the fact of Wall's collection of his fees—after all, the right to performance was protected—but rather, his particular *modus operandi*. It has already been noted above that copyright was granted to works only once they had been entered in the register of Stationers' Hall. Since the single copy of this book was kept in London, the only way for the performer or concert organiser to check if a work was under copyright was to travel to Stationers' Hall and physically consult it. For a large concert promoter in London this was relatively easy (although the superciliousness of the registrar was legendary); for an amateur performer of charity concerts in public venues in the north of England, however, it was essentially impossible. Realising this, Wall did not purchase the rights to large works favoured by more professional musical organisations, because they were more likely to obtain the correct legal rights to performance. Instead, he focused on acquiring the performance rights to amateur vocal works popular at smaller, local and often charitable concerts. In so doing, he was attempting to catch short those performers whose limited means prohibited them from travelling to London and ascertaining the copyright status of the work.

For ten years between the mid 1870s and 1880s, newspapers across England, but particularly those in the north of the country, were full of references to Wall. Some came from those who had been victim to his ruse; they lamented the loss of money for their particular good cause, warned others to beware, and asked more generally how the amateur musical world could continue to flourish in the age of copyright.[23] Others focused on legal issues arising from his practice, and asked why a simple notice—similar to that which is used today—could not be affixed

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[20] Anon. [1888].

[21] [Phillips, 1863, 182].

[22] Wall's Office is mentioned in countless 'Advertisements' and 'Notices to Readers' in nineteenth-century British Newspapers; the earliest I have found is Anon. [1875b].

[23] There are countless of these articles and letters. For a sample, see Anon. [1878]; Anon. [1881b]—which concerns a concert given to repair a Church clock and to provide coal for the poor—and Anon. [1881a], detailing the fines levied on a concert given to raise money for a Church Sunday School Library.

to all works in copyright to announce that they were.[24] Others still came from Wall himself, objecting to his portrayal as a cold profiteer and observing that he was not, after all, acting illegally.[25]

(This practice—which might be referred to as 'copyright squatting'—still occurs today. Bridgeport Music Inc., based in the United States, claims to be the owner of—others claim that it stole—the copyright to several hundreds of funk songs from the 1960s, '70s and '80s.[26] These remain popular with contemporary hiphop artists for their potential as sources of samples, small units of sound that can be lifted from a source, digitally transformed, and then inserted into a new song. The company—in actuality, a single individual by the name of Armen Boladian—had, by 2004, launched over 700 copyright infringement cases in the US courts relating to samples taken from its catalogue.[27] In several notable instances, it has won: the 2005 case of *Bridgeport Music, Inc. v. Dimension Films*, for instance, is the current standard in the interpretation of copyright law with reference to sampling.[28] It states that any sample, no matter how small, is, if used without permission of the copyright owner, illegal.)

By 1882, the legislature had taken notice of the problem. The Musical Copyright Act of the same year mandated that a musical work was not entitled to copyright protection in the performance if it did not print a notice on its cover explaining that it was protected—a measure that at least one commentator believed was a response to Wall's behaviour.[29] Nonetheless, the act did not set in place provisions to punish those copyright holders who did not print such a notice on their music. Wall was consequently able to continue to catch unsuspecting amateur performers off-guard by refusing to see that the notice was printed on his music, and then demanding payment from them regardless. By 1887, his actions had taken a severe and worrying toll on the amateur music world. As one newspaper reported,

> [l]ast night Baron Henry de Worms, President of the Board of Trade, received a deputation from the Copyright Amendment Association, who desired the Government to introduce a Bill to stop the recent vexatious proceedings to recover penalties for singing and playing copywright [*sic*.] music. —Mr Addison, Q.C., M.P., said the association had been recently established in the north of England to resist proceedings which, under the cover of the law, had been brought against a number of publicans, music hall proprietors, clergyman, and other people, chiefly by a man by the name of Wall...The Govern-

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[24]Equity [1876], possibly, and ironically, by Wall.

[25]See, for instance, Wall [1882], one of his many letters protesting his innocence.

[26]Bridgeport Music Inc.'s website—a single page listing their catalogue—can be found at 'Bridgeport Music Inc...Funkadelic, Ohio Players', `http://bridgeportmusicinc.com/index.html` (accessed September 1, 2010).

[27]See Daniel Fisher, 'Name that Note', `http://www.forbes.com/forbes/2004/1018/054.html` (accessed September 1, 2010) and Tim Wu, 'The shady one-man corporation that's destroying hip-hop', `http://www.slate.com/id/2153961/` (accessed September 1, 2010).

[28]*Bridgeport Music, Inc. v. Dimension Films* (410 F.3d 792 (6th Cir. 2005)).

[29][Scrutton, 1883, 157–8]. Chapter six of this text also features a description of the requirements of the 1882 Act.

ment would carefully consider whether in another session the matter could not be remedied.[30]

In the end, such action was not necessary. Harry Wall, or rather, Whiting, was arrested, tried and convicted in 1888, not for his role in the copyright scandal, but instead for imitating a solicitor.[31] It transpired that the letters demanding fees sent by his debt collection agency claiming to be penned by a solicitor were in fact written by him. Whiting was sentenced to prison. Although he served his short sentence without incident and vanished into historical obscurity, the 'All rights reserved' message reprinted on countless twentieth-century scores is, in part, a quiet reminder of his impact on the history of musical copyright.

Arrangement and the Multiple-Author Work: *Leader and Cock v. Purday*, 1849

Three nineteenth-century cases concern the legality of making keyboard arrangements of other works.[32] The first to be analysed here is that of *Leader and Cock v. Purday* of 1849.[33] It concerns the apparent piracy of a small air called 'Pestal' in an arrangement for piano and voice.[34] Two questions were asked, both of which are essential to understanding the copyright status of arrangement in the nineteenth century. First, could copyright exist in an arrangement of a melody that was originally a popular folk tune? Second, how were legal practitioners (and the general public) to determine the difference between unintentional musical similarities occasioned by arranging the same melody in similar ways on the one hand and, on the other, theft?

'Pestal' was not composed by one individual. Rather, it was adapted from the 'original' air and given words by one hand, and then arranged into a piano and vocal work by another. The full story of its creation is told by the individual who oversaw it—who today would be called its producer—William H. Bellamy. In 1844, Bellamy, a solicitor with an interest in domestic music-making, heard his wife perform at the piano "an air so striking in character" and of such "extreme beauty" that he felt compelled to enquire of her concerning its origins.[35] She had

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[30]Anon. [1887].

[31]Anon. [1888].

[32]The three cases that are examined in what follows are not the only significant nineteenth-century musical copyright cases. For instance, in the 1852 case of *Novello v. Sudlow*, it was determined that the lithographic copying of Novello's work 'Benedict's Part Song: The Wreath' by the Liverpool Philharmonic Society was an infringement of copyright, even though the copies were only used by the members of that society for the express purpose of private rehearsal and public performance (*Novello v. Sudlow* (1852) 12 C.B. 177). Second, in the *Boosey v. Fairlie* case of 1877 (and the *Fairlie v. Boosey* appeal of 1879), it was decided that it was illegal to construct a full score of an opera from a non-copyright piano edition if the opera itself is under copyright (*Boosey v. Fairlie* (1877) 7 C.A. 301; *Fairlie v. Boosey* (1879) 4 H.L. (E.) 711). The work under consideration in this case was Offenbach's *Vert-Vert*. Since neither of these cases are particularly informative with regards the contemporary perception of keyboard arrangement, they will not be considered here.

[33]*Leader and Cock v. Purday* (1849) 7 C. B. 4.

[34]Bellamy and Horn [1845], British Library catalogue number H.1652.jj.(17.).

[35][Anon., 1847a, 742].

taken the air, by the name of 'Pestal', she answered, in manuscript from a friend. Convinced of the popular potential of the melody as a piece of vocal music, Bellamy composed to it five stanzas of text. These relate to the story that he printed at the head of the published music (and which, he admits, he invented).

> The illfated Individual who bore the above name, having render'd himself obnoxious to the Russian Goverment [*sic.*], was imprison'd and condemn'd to death. A few hours before his execution he composed, and scratched upon the wall of his dungeon, the following exquisite Air. The touching melody of which, added to the circumstances under which it was written, have suggested the words which will be found on the other side.[36]

His somewhat laborious text runs:

> Yes! it comes at last!
> And from a troubl'd dream awaking,
> Death! will soon be past!
> And brighter worlds around me breaking.
>
> Hark! methinks I hear sweet voices sing to me,
> "Soon thou wilt be free, Child of misery;
> Rest and endless joys, in Heav'n, are waiting thee,
> Spirit, spread thy wings and flee."
>
> Yes! the strife is o'er
> With all its pangs, with all its sorrow;
> Hope, shall droop no more,
> For endless day will dawn tomorrow.
>
> Proud oppressor, vain thy utmost tyranny,
> Come and thou shalt see, I can smile at thee,
> Mine will be the triumph, mine the Victory,
> Death but sets the Captive free!
>
> Yes! it comes at last,
> And from a troubled dream awaking,
> Death will soon be past,
> And brighter worlds around me breaking.[37]

With the text in place, but unconvinced of his own musical ability, Bellamy asked his friend C. E. Horn to arrange the air into a piece for keyboard and voice. Horn was glad to oblige, for a fixed (but unstated) fee. Not long after, but still in 1844, the finished song was sold by Bellamy to the music publishers Leader and Cock. The price was three Guineas and the understanding that should the song ever sell more than 1,000 copies—which it quite easily did—Bellamy would receive another two.[38] Bellamy / Horn / Leader and Cock's 'Pestal' was a runaway success, selling 11,000 copies before the end of 1847.[39]

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[36] Bellamy and Horn [1845].

[37] Bellamy and Horn [1845].

[38] For the sake of comparison, the three Guinea sale price would have enabled Bellamy to purchase about sixty of the final printed product.

[39] See [Anon., 1847a, 742].

The score is possessed of a title page featuring the name of the composition and the publisher; no composer is given. The first page begins by crediting the 'words' and 'arrangement' to their respective authors, Bellamy and Horn, before printing the short anecdote given above, and then the music to the air that had inspired Bellamy in the first place (see figure 4.1). This is a triple-time, 24-bar ternary-form piece in F major, characterised by melodic, rhythmic and harmonic simplicity. It makes use of only three, exclusively root-position, harmonies; the tonic F major, its dominant C major, and, in the central section, its dominant, G major. The 8-bar A section consists of eight rhythmically identical bars, each of which prolongs through neighbour-note motion one note of the F major scale; the two four-bar periods of which it is comprised are nearly identical. A repeat of this opening section closes the air after the intervening and contrasting B-section, which, although beginning with similar neighbour-note motion, uses dotted rhythms and some melodic jumps (sixths and thirds) to provide variety.

After this reprint of the 'original' air, there follows the keyboard and vocal arrangement itself (see figure 4.2). This consists of a two-fold performance of the air and a four-bar postlude, making in total 52 bars. Bellamy's text supplements the A and B sections of the first run-through of the air, and the whole ABA form of the second. The melody line of the original air has been transposed down an octave and placed in the vocal part; the text-setting is syllabic. The piano provides in the right hand broken chord figuration over the same harmonies as the air, and in the left, root-position harmonic support. Both vocal and piano parts are suitable for the absolute amateur.

The simplicity that characterises Leader and Cock's 'Pestal'—along with the pathetically tragic overtones of its accompanying anecdote—no doubt contributed greatly to its commercial success in the last years of the 1840s. At some point during this period, a rival 'Pestal', published by Thomas Purday, appeared on the market. While Purday's 'Pestal' cannot be traced today, court reports suggest that the only obviously new enterprise that had gone into the production of the work concerned the text; everything else, from the keyboard adaptation through to the anecdote and the title page, was nearly identical to Leader and Cock's version. Leader and Cock were willing to defend in court their rights to the work of Bellamy and Horn; and so, in 1847, began the case of *Leader and Cock v. Purday*.[40]

Two issues emerged in court as central. First, could an individual own the copyright in a piece of music for which he or she had written neither the melody nor the accompaniment, but simply organised its production based on the arrangement of a 'found' melody? In other words, was his version of 'Pestal' actually Bellamy's to sell? Purday's council emphasised that Bellamy had not only not composed the melody—something that he, with his story about the friend of his wife and her manuscript book, did not deny—but also that he had probably stolen it. They insisted, for example, that "there was reason to believe that the air was a Russian polonaise that had been in existence for upwards of twenty years."[41] They even called upon the colourful testimony of some of the members

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[40] Note that although the case took place in 1847, it is listed in the 1849 volumes of official court reports, hence the use of that date in some references here.

[41] [Anon., 1847a, 743].
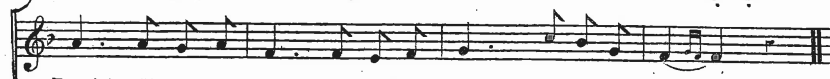
Figure 4.1: The 'original' air of 'Pestal', as given in Bellamy and Horn, *Pestal* (London: Leader and Cock, 1845).

Figure 4.2: Vocal arrangement of 'Pestal', Bellamy and Horn, *Pestal* (London: Leader and Cock, 1845).

of the Royal Artillery band at Woolwich, who, true to form, march one-by-one in and out of the witness stand to explain that 'Pestal' has been in their "band book" for at least a decade and that this, ultimately, must be the source of the melody that passed in manuscript into Mrs. Bellamy's hands. Bellamy's claim to copyright entitlement was, according to them, "monstrous".[42]

The question of whether or not Bellamy could own the copyright to his version of 'Pestal' was relatively easily resolved. The key principle here, reasoned the presiding judge Sir Cresswell Cresswell, was that those individuals who use "their own industry to obtain some end" are entitled to copyright protection in the result of that industry.[43] In other words, while the air itself was 'found', and while the Royal Artillery band almost certainly did play a very similar or identical melody in the years preceding publication of Bellamy's arrangement, adding a text to the song was Bellamy's idea, and the production of that text and the commissioning of the new accompaniment his labour. The latter was itself the independent work of Horn, and the copyright in it was legally sold to Bellamy. The resulting song quite clearly, therefore, belongs to him. The judge draws on a mechanical metaphor to clarify his reasoning: "[i]n declaring for an infringement of a patent right," he explains, "where the claim is of a *combination* only, the declaration never need specify the particular parts of the machine or manufacture of which the plaintiff alleges himself to be the inventor; the plaintiff may claim generally."[44] Since it is legal to copyright (patent) a machine that has been cre-

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[42][Anon., 1847a, 743].

[43][Anon., 1847a, 744].

[44]*Leader and Cock v. Purday* (1849), p.11.

ated by combining parts or adapted for another purpose, it is also acceptable, the judge reasons, to do so with a musical work. Bellamy's arrangement of 'Pestal' was copyrightable—and did not infringe anyone else's copyright—because the "machine" which Bellamy had created through someone else's arrangement was so different to the "part" with which he had started. It does not matter that this "part" was found, 'merely' arranged into the finished work, or that he was not the person to do the arrangement. The results of arranging various musical and linguistic elements into a single work are eligible for copyright protection because this act requires a certain amount of innovation and labour.

Cresswell's point here that Bellamy owns the rights to a work that involves the labour of others because he was the organiser of that work and entered into a private contract with his co-authors essentially legitimates the copyrighting of multiple-author musical works. Legal treatises, for instance, summarised the decision by explaining that "where a non-copyright air was furnished with words and a preface by B., who also procured a friend to compose an accompaniment, the result, under the name of 'Pestal', was held copyright".[45] This was to prove extremely significant in the next century: multiple-author works in the form of song-writer partnerships, for example, like those of Lennon and McCartney (The Beatles) or Andersson and Ulvaeusor (ABBA), are a foundation on which much western popular music is built. They are so significant that the modern UK Copyright Service gives separate and specific advice to creators—and in particular musicians—on how to deal with them. Today, and just as Bellamy had done in 1844, multiple-author works require the drawing of separate, private contracts detailing who in the partnership owns which aspect of the composition, and thus the copyright.[46]

A consequence of its multiple authorship is that Bellamy / Horn / Leader and Cock's 'Pestal' is also noteworthy in terms of the nature of the experience that it offered listeners of the nineteenth century. This experience stands in stark contrast to the kinds offered by single-author works. The latter are typically taken to be fully-formed compositions bursting directly forth from strong authorial voices who are understood as creative wellsprings, guiding hands, and, in essence, creative Gods. Multiple-author works, both today and in the nineteenth century, do not speak with the same promise of unbridled access to subjective interiority. They offer instead a composition whose origins in shared labour inescapably reveal it to be the result of a process of work, mediated, handled, negotiated: a product. The multiple-author keyboard arrangement of the nineteenth century is a musical commodity far removed from the expressive essays of a Berlioz or a Beethoven. In fact, and by virtue of its manner of incubation, the experience it offers to the listener is similar to the one presented by most popular music at the end of the twentieth century, written, performed, edited, mixed, produced and marketed by normally hundreds of individuals. 'Pestal' is an important re-

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[45]See [Scrutton, 1883, 162].

[46]See UK Copyright Service, 'Copyright protection advice: Agreements between co-authors', http://www.copyrightservice.co.uk/protect/agreement (accessed August 27, 2010) and Point 4 of UK Copyright Service, Fact Sheet P-07, 'Music Copyright', available at 'P-07: Music Copyright Information Fact Sheet', http://www.copyrightservice.co.uk/protect/p07_music_copyright (accessed August 27, 2010).

minder that such multiple-author, mass-produced musical products are by no means confined to popular music's post-gramophone age.

Since Bellamy did own the copyright to his version of 'Pestal' and had legitimately sold that copyright to Leader and Cock, the court were free to move onto the second question which faced them: had that copyright been infringed by Purday's publication? Was Purday's 'Pestal' a pirated copy of Leader and Cock's? Responses to this question came in two forms. The first was relatively simple, and approached the problem on a purely material level. "One of the most striking instances," argues Mr. W.H. Calcott, professor of music and witness for Leader and Cock's prosecution, "is that in the plaintiff's copy there are three musical errors. Those errors are repeated in the defendant's copy in the very same place."[47] Because Purday's version of 'Pestal' is no longer extant, it is not possible to identify the three errors to which Calcott refers in his testimony. Nonetheless, the claim is clear: because the arrangements are similar down even to the errors, they must be copies of one another.

Purday's defence responded to the prosecution's claims with contradictory material evidence. Mr. W. Collins, bandmaster of the Woolwich Royal Artillery band, argued that

> [i]n the first five bars in the defendant's accompaniment the letters are not the same as in the plaintiffs'. They are not all "f's", "c's", and "a's". They are different. There is a striking difference in sound—I persist in that answer. In bars 9, 10, and 12 of the accompaniment there are not several chords. There is a difference all the way down.[48]

If some moments of the two scores appeared so similar it seemed that one had to be a copy of the other, other passages were shown to be so different that they could not possibly be.

It was up to Purday's brother, Charles, himself later to become author of a legal pamphlet on musical copyright, to move away from the material question and to shift the discussion to a more subtle level.[49] There is, he explains, a great difference between musical piracy and similarity occasioned by musical necessity. Since a tonal melody will always imply tonal harmony, and perhaps even an accompaniment style and mood, it is not surprising—or worthy of litigation—if two (very simple) settings of the same melody manifest numerous similarities. In the case of the two versions of 'Pestal', Purday argues, "[t]he similarity is not occasioned from copying one from the other, but from the nature of the melody."[50] Anybody setting the melody used in the two versions of 'Pestal' would have set it in the single way in which they both chose to do it.

While the jury were charged with determining whether or not the similarities between the two versions of 'Pestal' which lay before them were "designed" or "merely accidental", the manner in which they were to reach their verdict is not actually discussed in this case. This is because the principle which was to govern their logic had already been formalised in a case heard somewhat earlier in

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[47][Anon., 1847a, 743].
[48][Anon., 1847a, 743].
[49]See Purday [1877].
[50][Anon., 1847a, 743].

the century in 1835, the third to be discussed here. Working under this principle, the jury were convinced that the similarities which existed between the two scores were intentional. Purday's publication was ruled to be an infringement of the copyright that the judge, in answering the first question of the legality of multiple-author arrangements based on found melodies, had determined did exist in Leader and Cock's publication. Leader and Cock had won.

Is a Keyboard Edition a Musical Work? *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1867–1868)

The next legal exchange to concern the legality of keyboard arrangement in the nineteenth century actually took place over the course of two cases; the first, in the Court of the Queen's Bench from January 12th to the 14th, 1867, and the appeal, on February 4th, 1868.[51] It was brought by music-seller and publisher George Wood against the Boosey publishing house and concerns the *Klavierauszug* of Otto Nicolai's 1849 opera *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor*. As background to the case, two (still-binding) provisions of the Statute of Anne should be recalled. First, all publications seeking copyright protection had to be registered at Stationers' Hall, the guild-hall of the printing trade located in London. Second, a copy of the work in question also had to be physically deposited there. What complicated this procedure was that as a result of prohibitively high printing costs, it was rare for large works—opera scores, for example—to be printed immediately in full. Consequently, in order to ensure that a complete opera was covered by copyright, publishers would often use keyboard editions of the opera as surrogates in the registration procedure. As one contemporary newspaper report explained, because "the instrumental score of an opera is hardly ever printed on the first appearance of the work. . . , the pianoforte score has to do duty for it at Stationers' Hall and elsewhere."[52] This complex situation in which keyboard editions stood for full scores was always likely to cause legal confusion, a confusion that eventually lead to Wood's complaint against Boosey.

Wood's original 1867 submission was that Boosey had infringed his copyright in Nicolai's opera by publishing a variety of what would today be termed "spin-offs" of the original work: keyboard editions of the overture, for example, or arrangements of its most popular arias. Boosey's defence was very simple: he did not infringe Wood's copyright because Wood never copyrighted the work in the first place. The entry that was made in the logbook of Stationers' Hall (see figure 4.3) lists the title of the work, in the second column, as "Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Komische Oper, composed by Otto Nicolai. Pianoforte Score." In the third column, the name of the composer is given as Otto Nicolai. The work that was presented to the Hall was, as was the custom, not the full score of the opera, but a keyboard edition of it, produced, in this case, in 1850 by Ferdinand F. Brissler of Berlin. Now, had Wood simply registered the work as a *Komische Oper* composed by Otto Nicolai—that is, not stated that he was entering a pianoforte

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[51] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1867) 2 L.R. 340; *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868) 3 L.R. 223. There is a concise summary of the first case at Anon. [1867a].
[52] Anon. [1867b].

Time of Making the Entry.	Title of Book.	Name and Place of Abode of the Author or Composer.	Name and Place of Abode of the Proprietor *of the* Copyright.	Time and Place of First Publication.
October 4, 1851.	Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Komische Oper, composed by Otto Nicolai. Pianoforte Score.	Otto Nicolai, Berlin.	Ed. Bote and G. Bock, Berlin.	Berlin, 1st Sept. 1851.

Figure 4.3: Wood's entry of *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor* into the register at Stationers' Hall, 1851 (copied from *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1867)).

score—copyright would have been granted in the normal way. However, since he superfluously indicated that he was submitting a keyboard edition of the opera, Boosey was convinced that it was a false entry and that copyright could not be granted. This was because Otto Nicolai never composed a pianoforte score of *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor*, only a full one. The entry, as Boosey saw it, referred to a work that did not exist.

Although the foundation of Boosey's case rested quite clearly on nothing more than a petty technicality, Wood was forced to admit the logic of Boosey's position: Otto Nicolai cannot have been the composer of the pianoforte score *per se*. Wood thus had to adapt to the demands of Boosey's defence with an argument that might seem insincere because it was clearly *ad hoc*, but in which he nonetheless had sufficient faith to attempt to defend in court. This argument was that the entry in the register of Stationers' Hall was actually correct because Nicolai was indirectly the composer of the pianoforte score. This was, he maintained, because the creation of a keyboard edition requires no skill: the original composer had already done the hard work. "Brissler," argues the council for the prosecution "has done nothing new; his work is simply a transcription of what Nicolai has done; the arrangement is purely mechanical."[53] Because keyboard editions are simply technological reproductions of their originals, Wood argues, Nicolai is *ipso facto* the composer of the pianoforte score, and the entry in the logbook at Stationers' Hall is accurate.

Boosey's response to these claims is to dismiss them altogether. The production of a keyboard edition is an activity that does require skill and labour—what in today's legal terms might be referred to as "sweat of the brow". "It is true," admits Boosey's council, "that the original airs, &c, are the invention of Nicolai; but the composition of the pianoforte score is an entirely new work, requiring equal musical skill, if not invention, as the original opera."[54] Nicolai cannot have composed the keyboard edition entered at Stationers' Hall, Boosey responds, because arrangers like Brissler do have a determinate effect on the music of the editions

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[53]*Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1867), p. 348.
[54]*Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1867), p. 346.

which they arrange. The entry is wrong.

Two positions are laid out in court. On the one hand, arrangement is a mechanical act of copying for the merely practical purposes of circulation and copyright registration; on the other, it is an inventive practice of re-composition which incidentally has certain practical uses. On the one hand, when performing the keyboard edition the listener experiences the music of the original composer played on a new instrument; on the other, the experience is of an arranger's idiosyncratic interpretation of the ideal content of the original. Boosey and Wood find themselves positioned right at the heart of the nineteenth-century critical debate concerning the nature and the value of the keyboard edition.

Although it is the rulings of the second judge who sat in the second—appeal—round of the *Wood v. Boosey* case which are particularly interesting here, those of the first judges of both the initial and appeals round do warrant brief consideration. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn was the first individual to respond to the evidence of the case. His was a decision that was later to cause him much embarrassment in the press. Brissler's edition, he determined, was an independent act of labour because

> [i]t seems impossible to believe that any musician, however great his talent, whether as a composer or an executant, from the mere circumstance of having the opera or its entirety before him, that is to say, with all the score for all the instruments, which neither eye nor mind could take in at the same time, could be able to play the accompaniment while singing the music of the opera at the piano. It requires time, reflection, skill and mind so to condense the opera score as to compose the pianoforte accompaniment.[55]

While Cockburn is of course correct in his belief that "skill, labour, and musical knowledge are required to adapt the music of an entire opera to the pianoforte," he bases his claim on an inaccurate assessment of the nature of that skill: it is possible to sight-read opera scores at the piano.[56] This fact notwithstanding, Cockburn's word was law. Since he had ruled that Brissler was the author of the keyboard edition, the entry made in the logbook of Stationers' Hall was by extension inaccurate. Wood's claim to copyright in the original opera was invalid.

Convinced that this was—given the judge's obvious lack of familiarity with musical practice—an unfair ruling, Wood took the case to appeal. Heard a little over a year later in early 1868, this case was presided over by a judge Kelly. Kelly affirmed the judgement of Lord Cockburn.

> The accompaniment for the pianoforte is a work of greater or lesser skill. In some cases, perhaps in many cases—it may be in this for aught I know—the operation of adaptation is little more than mechanical, and what any one acquainted with the science of music, any composer of experience, might have been able to do without difficulty; but it may be, and often is…, a work…of great merit and skill.[57]

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[55] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1867), p. 350.
[56] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1867), p. 351
[57] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p. 230

Kelly too concluded that arranging a composition for keyboard is a task which produces a substantively new work. As such, he can only maintain that the entry in the register at Stationers' Hall is incorrect.

The findings of the second judge in the appeal case, George Wilshere, Lord (and later Baron) Bramwell, amateur musician and sometime expert in domestic music-making, are substantially more interesting than those of either of his colleagues. Bramwell dismisses Wood's claim and asserts the right of the keyboard edition to copyright protection on four interrelated grounds. First, the production of a keyboard edition is a work of skill because, quite simply, in order to produce it, the arranger has to be relatively skilled at piano playing: "it would be a bad arrangement," Bramwell observes, "if he put in passages that do not lie well for the hands."[58] Second, arrangement cannot be a merely mechanical process because the edition itself is singular: "if Brissler arranged it over again, he would do it differently, because there is no rule by which a man is bound to do it in a particular way."[59]

Bramwell's third point concerns the arranger's exercise of judgement. "The adapter," he argues, "cannot produce upon the pianoforte everything that the author wrote."[60] The arranger must consequently use his professional skill to determine for example, first, which notes to include and which to omit, and second, how to convey certain orchestral effects on the keyboard—"[f]or example," Bramwell suggests, "where there is a tremolando in the music…that cannot be done on the piano, and sometimes for a substitute an octave is played with the thumb and finger."[61] Tremolando of this sort is of course a staple of most keyboard editions, conveying everything from sustained tremolo strings to drum rolls. Specifically, it is typically used at those points at which orchestral timbre is more than usually important for understanding musical rhetoric; those places in the edition, in other words, where a deliberately provocative orchestral colour needs to be captured. Brissler's edition of *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor* makes prolonged use of the technique in the third act scene 'Moon Rise', a kind of comic Wolves' Glen sequence in which the failed lethario Falstaff is punished by Spirits, Elves, and Insects (see figure 4.4).[62] It is not surprising that Nicolai chooses to set this passage celebrating nature and its other-worldly powers with such deliberately crafted orchestration, or that Brissler, having heard this colourful setting, attempts to convey that experience to his audience through the use, in his edition, of tremolando.

Brissler does not use tremolando alone in his attempt to do justice to the point at which the instrumental colour of the original seems most integral to its rhetoric, but also makes use of instrumental indications, the only point in the entire key-

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[58] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p. 232.

[59] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p. 233.

[60] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p. 231.

[61] *Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p. 231.

[62] A copy of the Berlin publication of the piano edition is preserved in the Royal Music Library of the British Library, catalogue number R.M.25.b.6.(2.), with the title *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor, Komisch-Phantastische Oper in drei Akten mit Tanz nach Shakespeares gleichnamigen Lustspiel*, bearbeitet von H.S. Mosenthal, Musik von Otto Nikolai, Vollst. Klavier-Auszug (Berlin: Ed. Bote und G. Bock, c.1850). Brissler's name is not given on the cover; perhaps this is why his name was not given in the register at Stationers' Hall?

Figure 4.4: Brissler's keyboard edition, ca. 1850, of Nicolai's "Der Mondauf-gang", *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor*, 1849.

board edition in which he does so. The effects of these indications on the musical experience of the individuals who heard and performed this work in keyboard edition were twofold. First, they call upon the imagination of the performer-listener, engaging his or her inner ear in an act of creative listening to supplement the keyboard sounds of the edition with an imagined orchestration. Second, they not only obviously reflected a growing appreciation of the importance of orchestral colour to musical rhetoric, but they also engendered it. These instrumental markings literally taught audiences how to listen to orchestral colours and timbral arguments, without which, music of the twentieth century would be unthinkable.[63]

The fourth reason that Bramwell judges that keyboard editions are not merely mechanical reproductions of their originals is because it is possible to express judgements about them that are not conditional upon opinions of the original score. "Anybody," Bramwell opines, "who plays any musical instrument knows it is a very common expression to say, such a piece is very well arranged, such a piece is very ill arranged."[64] These expressions of taste even go so far as to ground the differences between national schools of arrangement: "[t]hose who play the German arrangements," Bramwell comments, "know they are more difficult than the English, because the German, with great conscientiousness, endeavours to put into the arrangement every note."[65] This acknowledgement is extremely significant on three grounds: first, it implies that arrangement is a practice carried out by an idiosyncratic individual, not a mechanically functioning reproducer; second, Bramwell hears in the edition certain marks of the arrangers' personal style; and third, these personal marks can even be aggregated into national schools. For Bramwell at least, the experience of the edition is not the uncritical consumption of a black and white sketch of an original oil painting (a common metaphor to describe arrangement);[66] rather, the experience is laden with the added-value provided by the idiosyncrasies of the arranger and his national style. As a result of the intervention of the arranger, a new strata of meaning is deposited onto the source material, and the listener's experience of the edition becomes a negotiated process of excavation and interpretation.

Bramwell dismisses the claim that keyboard editions are merely mechanical reproductions of their originals in favour of the view that they are the result of an intellectually rigorous practice of transformation. He concludes that Nicolai was not the author of the keyboard edition of *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor* and rules that the entry made in Stationers' Hall is incorrect. Boosey did not infringe copyright law.

While judicial response to the cases of *Wood v. Boosey* expressed unanimously the belief that the keyboard edition was entitled to copyright protection distinct from its source composition, public opinion on the issue remained instructively

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[63]See chapter three, pages 107 to 109 for a longer discussion of the role of instrumental indications in the *Klavierauszug*.

[64]*Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p. 232.

[65]*Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p. 232.

[66]George Bernard Shaw, for instance, explains that "when you go from the picture-gallery to the photo-graph shop, you are revolted by the inadequacy of the "reproductions" which turn Carpaccio's golden glow into sooty grime." [Shaw, 1894, 266].

divided. Of course, a number of commentators responded first and foremost to Cockburn's false claim that the production of a keyboard edition is a work of labour because it is not practical to do it at sight. "Where is the learned judge's authority for stating that no musician 'however eminent' can read and faithfully interpret a full score 'on the pianoforte'?" asked an author in *The Musical Standard*. "We should decidedly like to know, because we have been hugging ourselves with the belief that there was one Mendelssohn who found it far from impossible."[67]

Despite this distraction, the focus of public debate was on the case's finding on the copyright status of the edition. The same author who had criticised Cresswell's reasoning, for example, agreed nonetheless with his conclusion, writing that

> we are willing to grant that a full score is "caviare to the general", and that in most cases an arrangement is a matter of necessity. It is this fact, and the other yet more important one that time, reflection and skill of no ordinary kind, are required to make a good pianoforte score, which induce us on the whole to acquiesce in the result of the trial.[68]

The same paper, however, following the appeal case, retracted that assessment, and suggested that arrangement is actually "only the vulgar way of writing down another man's thought."[69] The author adopts an analogy to explain himself:

> given one shilling's worth of half-pence: we may set them out in line, twenty-four distinct pieces all "visible to the naked eye;"—that is *partitur*; or we may collect them all together, and put them into a pocket—that is adaptation; are they the less halfpence? or suppose in pocketing them we drop three, will the remaining twenty-one be the less halfpence because they make only tenpence halfpenny all counted?[70]

Editions, he believes, are nothing more than mathematically governed reorderings of the original work.

Analogies, however, can be cut both ways. Writing in *The Musical Times* in support of the case's findings, a commentator explains with reference to the entry of the wrong name in the register in Stationers' Hall that

> [a] sack of flour, for instance, cannot be claimed after it has been converted into loaves, because the article lost is flour, and not bread. The baker has used skill, industry, and capital to form this flour into bread, and it therefore can be legally sold to the public, because the miller, unfortunately, has sought to recover his property under the name of flour.[71]

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[67][Anon., 1867c, 34]. [Anon., 1867d, 472] is similarly scathing.
[68][Anon., 1867c, 34].
[69][Anon., 1868, 81].
[70][Anon., 1868, 81].
[71][Anon., 1867d, 471].

If movements of stacks of coins were used to support the notion that arrangement was a mechanical practice, flour and bread are mobilised here to suggest that when the arranger baked the original into the form of an edition, the flour used in that process stopped being the property of the miller.

While legal opinion supported the notion that labour was required to produce a keyboard edition, that of the public was more divided. Wood, after all, believed he had had a chance in taking Cresswell's original finding to appeal. Further, as many as ten years later, Charles Purday, already-mentioned brother of the defendant in the 'Pestal' case, used the "perfectly ridiculous" outcome of *Wood v. Boosey* as the basis for his call for a complete rethink of the musical copyright system in England.[72] If the keyboard edition was legally above reproach as an independent work of a creative mind, it was not in the public eye so highly respected.

In allowing that the edition qualifies as a legally independent musical work, Bramwell legitimates other so-called 'derivative' musical compositions.[73] Most obviously, he prepares the way for the legal recognition of the modern cover version. The term "cover version" is as guilty as "keyboard edition" of attempting to cover a maddeningly diverse range of practices—from a simple copy (Frank Sinatra's "New York, New York", originally sung by Liza Minnelli), through a remix (the 2008 release of Michael Jackson's "Billie Jean" featuring Kanye West), to a reinterpretation in a particular style (Soft Cell's cover of Gloria Jones' "Tainted Love"). It would be inadequate to attempt to deal with all these particular practices at once. Nonetheless, conceived broadly, the keyboard edition and the cover version do share a number of defining characteristics. They both, for example, function as a way of increasing or changing the circulation pattern of a preexisting piece of music; they are both subject to similar expressions of suspicion ("It's not as good as the original"); most importantly, they both add value to their originals in exactly the way that Bramwell has argued. The experience which they offer to the listener, in other words, is identical: not an unthinking imitation of an original piece, but rather, a negotiated stratification of voices which requires exegesis and interrogation if it is to be fully understood. Gabriel Solis, who believes that "[c]overs are not simply new iterations of old songs, but a versioning practice",[74] argues that

> [e]ven though a cover is a performance or recording of a song with a prior authorial connection, the cover itself confers authorial status on the coverer in ways that other versioning practices do not…When a cover succeeds, the coverer creates a sense of his or her own authorship in authoring the recording.[75]

Of course, it is important not to import wholesale the logic of the cover version to the keyboard edition: both are specific cultural practices with their own unique attitudes to the role of the author and questions of authenticity and originality.

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[72]See Purday's letter to *The Standard*, reprinted as the front matter to Purday [1877].

[73]This is the term used in both UK and US law to describe works based on others. It will be discussed further below.

[74][Solis, 2010, 298].

[75][Solis, 2010, 315].

Nonetheless, it is clear that Solis' position with regards to the authorial status of the coverer resonates quite profoundly with Bramwell's analysis of the role of the arranger of the keyboard edition from a century and a half earlier.[76]

Arranging for the Purpose of Dancing: *D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835)

The practice of extracting highlights from new operas and arranging the short samples for home performance was extremely common in the early part of the nineteenth century. Having acquired the British copyright to Daniel François Esprit Auber's 1834 opera *Lestocq* in the year of its completion, for example, the publisher D'Almaine made available no less than 13 individual arrangements for piano of passages from the work. These included 'The Celebrated Galop' arranged by Henri Herz and a 'Melange, containing the Favorite Airs' of the opera by F. Kalkbrenner.[77] Given the volume of these kinds of arrangement that were published, it is clear that they were extremely popular, and a useful way of enabling those whose reach—either geographically or financially— did not extend to an opera house to follow the trends in new music. What, however, was the legal status of these kinds of spin-off? Was it acceptable to publish selected and arranged highlights of an opera for the keyboard if, for instance, another party held the copyright to the original?

These questions were the focus of the *D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* case of 1835.[78] Several months after the initial appearance in London of Auber's *Lestocq*, and inspired by its popular success, Boosey commissioned and published Philippe Musard's 57th and 58th sets of quadrilles and his 42nd set of waltzes, all based on melodies taken from it (see figure 4.5). (Since the waltzes on which the case is based cannot be located, focus here will remain solely on the music of the quadrilles.)[79] D'Almaine believed this to be an infringement of their copyright in the opera, and began proceedings against Boosey for the illegal use of their copyright material.

As the size of the number in its title suggests, Musard had been publishing quadrille sets of this sort for many years; the earliest date from at least 1820.[80] Danced by four, six or eight couples, quadrilles were extremely popular in Paris during the First Empire, and were introduced to London in 1815 by Lady Jersey through the Almack Rooms, London's most exclusive dance-hall, first opened in 1765 by William Almack.[81] The quadrille consists of a sequence of four contredanses; because of the large number of these, a total of 16 possible quadrilles were recognised in the 1820s. By far the most popular was that known as the 'first set' which featured a final, fifth, dance based on the cotillon. By the time Queen

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[76]For further discussion of cover versions, see, for instance, Plasketes [2005].

[77]See back cover advertisement of Anon. [ca. 1835], British Library Catalogue number H.1650.w.4.

[78]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835) 1 Y. & C. EX. 288.

[79]The quadrilles can be found in the British Library, Musard [1834a] and Musard [1834b], Catalogue Number h.1480.l.(12.).

[80]See Anon. [1820].

[81]The summary that follows is taken from Richardson [1960].

Figure 4.5: Philippe Musard's 57th Set of Quadrilles on Daniel François Esprit
Auber's *Lestocq*, 1834, title page.

Victoria ascended the throne in 1835, the first set quadrille had become the official court dance. Musard's 57th and 58th sets of quadrilles are both examples of this type.

Musard was one of the most high-profile contributors to the music that was played in the Almack rooms. A society figure himself, he was partly responsible for the court's quadrille-obsession, composing several for the new Queen.[82] His quadrilles tended to be based on popular works—most often operas—of the time; the 42nd set, for example, is taken from Boieldieu's *La Dame Blanche*, the 45th from Meyerbeer's *Il Crociato*, and the 47th from Rossini's *Maemetto*.[83] Indeed, Musard's quadrilles, waltzes and polkas, which numbered over 150 in total, were described as "functioning like a 'sample or prospectus' for new operas."[84]

Given the vogue for the sampling of contemporary works for the production of popular dance music, it is unsurprising that a copyright case to determine the legality of the practice arose. While Musard had—according to the title page in figure 4.5—originally composed these quadrilles for performance at the Almack rooms, it was over their piano and flute version for performance at home that Boosey was legally challenged by D'Almaine. The question that the court had to decide was the following: what is the labour required to transform a work intended for the opera house into one intended to bring the glamour of the dance hall into the home, and is it sufficient to ensure that the latter should not be seen as infringing the copyright of the former?

In court, Boosey's defence argued that Musard is more skilled than most other arrangers—who "possess an inferior degree of talent to the original composer"— because his arrangements of Auber's opera are qualitatively different from both the simple arrangements produced by those arrangers and *Lestocq* itself.[85] This is because they are composed with a very different purpose in mind: dancing. The original, explains Boosey's council,

> had not those necessary breaks and portions of melody which are absolutely necessary to form a quadrille or waltz...whereas the *object* of the defendant's publications was the arrangement or adaptation of the music of *Lestocq*, so as to admit of the same being danced to.[86]

In adapting an original opera for the purpose of dancing, Boosey's council concludes, "a very considerable degree of musical skill and talent is necessary."[87]

According to the evidence provided by the scores of these quadrille sets, how much skill really is involved in their production? Figures 4.6 and 4.7 provide an analysis of the content of the ten dances. It is clear that Musard has had to do very little to transfer the extracts to the keyboard and to arrange them so that they correspond to the various demands of the dances of the first set quadrille. Time

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[82][Richardson, 1960, 108].

[83]Anon. [1827].

[84]In the *Revue musicale*, as quoted in Gérard Streletski, et al. "Musard, Philippe." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, `http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19390` (accessed September 24, 2010).

[85]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 292.

[86]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 292.

[87]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 292.

Movement	Phrase	Source in *Lestocq*	Key (major) Original	Key (major) Musard	Time Original	Time Musard
Pantalon	A	11; Act II Finale. Allegro	A♭	A♭	6/8	6/8
	B	*combines half of transposed A with material derived from C*		E	6/8	6/8
	A	11; Act II Finale. Allegro	A♭	A♭	6/8	6/8
	C	11; Act II Finale. Allegro - B section	A♭	A	6/8	6/8
	A	11; Act II Finale. Allegro	A♭	A♭	6/8	6/8
Éte	A	New		A		2/4
	B	8; Quintetto Allegro non Troppo	A	A	2/4	2/4
	A	8; Quintetto Allegro non Troppo	A	A	2/4	2/4
Poule	A	New		G		6/8
	A	6; Entr'acte et Air (Air; Allegretto)	G	G	6/8	6/8
	B	6; Entr'acte et Air (Air; Allegretto)	G	G	6/8	6/8
	A	6; Entr'acte et Air (Air; Allegretto)	G	G	6/8	6/8
	C	*augmentation of second cell of A plus new cadential pattern*	C	C	6/8	6/8
	A	6; Entr'acte et Air (Air; Allegretto)	G	G	6/8	6/8
	D	6; Entr'acte et Air (Air; Allegretto)	G	G	6/8	6/8
	A	6; Entr'acte et Air (Air; Allegretto)	G	G	6/8	6/8
Pastourelle	A	10; Couplets	C	D	2/4	2/4
	B	New		D		2/4
	C	New		D		2/4
	B	New		D		2/4
	A	10; Couplets	C	D	2/4	2/4
Finale	A	Overture; Un peu plus de Mouvement (also Finale, Allegro non Troppo)	D	D	4/4	2/4
	A	Overture; Un peu plus de Mouvement (also Finale, Allegro non Troppo)	D	D	4/4	2/4
	B	Overture; Loco	D	D	4/4	2/4
	B	Overture; Loco	D	D	4/4	2/4
	A	Overture; Un peu plus de Mouvement (also Finale, Allegro non Troppo)	D	D	4/4	2/4
	A	Overture; Un peu plus de Mouvement (also Finale, Allegro non Troppo)	D	D	4/4	2/4

KEY:
Copied Material
Recomposed Material
New Material

Figure 4.6: Derivation of material in Musard's 57th set of quadrilles on Auber's *Lestocq* for flute and piano.

Movement	Phrase	Source in *Lestocq*	Key (major)		Time	
			Original	Musard	Original	Musard
Pantalon	A	6; Entr'Acte et Air (Entr'Acte)	G minor	G minor	6/8	6/8
	B	6; Entr'Acte et Air (Entr'Acte)	G minor	G minor	6/8	6/8
	A	6; Entr'Acte et Air (Entr'Acte)	G minor	G minor	6/8	6/8
	C	6; Entr'Acte et Air (Entr'Acte)	G minor	G minor	6/8	6/8
	A	6; Entr'Acte et Air (Entr'Acte)	G minor	G minor	6/8	6/8
Éte	A	7; Duo, Andantino	B♭	E	2/4	2/4
	B	7; Duo, Andantino	B♭	E	2/4	2/4
	B	7; Duo, Andantino	B♭	E	2/4	2/4
	A	7; Duo, Andantino	B♭	E	2/4	2/4
Poule	A	13; Cavatine et Trio	A	A	6/8	6/8
	B	13; Cavatine et Trio	E	E	6/8	6/8
	A	13; Cavatine et Trio	A	A	6/8	6/8
	C	New		D		6/8
	A	13; Cavatine et Trio	A	A	6/8	6/8
	B	13; Cavatine et Trio	E	E	6/8	6/8
	A	13; Cavatine et Trio	A	A	6/8	6/8
Trénis	A	5; Act I Finale, descant to final Tutti, B	A	A	4/4	2/4
	B	5; Act I Finale, descant to final Tutti, A	A	A	4/4	2/4
	B	5; Act I Finale, descant to final Tutti, A	A	A	4/4	2/4
	A	5; Act I Finale, descant to final Tutti, B	A	A	4/4	2/4
Finale	A	New		D		6/8
	A	New		D		6/8
	B	New		A		6/8
	B	New		A		6/8
	A	New		D		6/8
	A	New		D		6/8

KEY: Copied Material
Recomposed Material
New Material

Figure 4.7: Derivation of material in Musard's 58th set of quadrilles on Auber's *Lestocq* for flute and piano.

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signatures were changed on only two occasions, when 4/4 was simply rewritten in 2/4 for the finale of quadrille 57 and the trénis of quadrille 58. The keys of three of the dances are different to that of their source passage (numbers one and four of the 57th set and number two of the 58th) but the alterations are not made with any conceit towards large-scale harmonic design but to favour the colour of sharp major keys. Structurally, each of the dances is based on material from a single number alone of the opera; the quadrille sets are not conceived *in toto* as arrangements of the entire opera, but rather, the ten individual dances of the two sets are understood as much smaller-scale arrangements of ten individual operatic numbers. In most cases, the disposition of the material in the contredanses matches precisely the disposition of the material in the original numbers—formally speaking, A becomes A, B becomes B, and so on. Indeed, since the phrase lengths of the dances match for the most part the phrase lengths of the original, Musard was basically able to appropriate passages from the original score completely unaltered (see figure 4.8). Finally, the central paradigm here really is note-for-note copying. Melodies, rhythms and harmonies in the quadrilles deviate rarely, and only ever slightly, from the original (see figures 4.9 and 4.10). The bulk of Musard's 'adaptation' was already carried out the moment he picked *Lestocq* as his source.

(The comparisons in figures 4.6 to 4.11 make use of the only version of Auber's *Lestocq* available to me, *Lestocq oder Intrigue und Liebe, vollständiger Clavier Auszug von Joseph Rummel*, published around 1834.[88] This itself is a keyboard edition, which makes precise investigation of Musard's adaptation techniques difficult. However, since this keyboard edition of the opera was not made for dancing, the comparisons it enables can be used to answer the question at hand: how transformative is the work of turning an opera into dance music for the keyboard?)

There are some points at which it was necessary for Musard to abandon the technique of nearly note-for-note copying which governs most of his arrangement practice. These nearly always correspond to points at which alterations to *Lestocq* were necessary to improve its suitability for dancing. The most frequent change that Musard makes, for example, is to the articulation of the original melodies. The contour that he edits onto the melody of the second dance of the 57th set endows it with a much livelier sense of rhythmic poise than the lyrically legato original (see figure 4.11). Further, all of the eight bar phrases in Musard's arrangement had to be clearly distinct from one another so that the dancers for whom this music was intended were able to follow it easily. In order to provide this contrast, and as can be seen in figures 4.6 and 4.7, he occasionally adapted pre-existing material more substantially, or, indeed, composed new phrases altogether. Finally, the most obvious display of Musard's creative input comes in the form of the finale of the 58th set, which has no precedent at all in Auber's score (see figure 4.12). This suggests that he had exhausted the supply of suitable dance material in the original score.

Boosey's claim was that Musard's reworking of *Lestocq* into music suitable for dancing required such skill that the result should be entitled to receive copyright protection. In response, D'Almaine attempted to explain exactly how similar the two works really were. He did this by calling to the stand a musical expert who

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[88] Auber [ca.1834], Staatsbibliothek Berlin catalogue number 55 NB 5826.

Figure 4.8: Comparison of Musard's 57th set of quadrilles on Auber's *Lestocq* for flute and piano, number two, and Auber's *Lestocq*, number eight, Quintetto.

Figure 4.9: Comparison of Musard's 57th set of quadrilles on Auber's *Lestocq* for flute and piano, number four, and Auber's *Lestocq*, number ten, Couplets.

Figure 4.10: Comparison of Musard's 57th set of quadrilles on Auber's *Lestocq* for flute and piano, number five, and Auber's *Lestocq*, Ouverture.

Figure 4.11: Changes to articulation through adaptation for dancing: comparison Musard's 57th set of quadrilles on Auber's *Lestocq* for flute and piano, number two, and Auber's *Lestocq*, number eight, Quintetto.

Figure 4.12: Musard's 58th set of quadrilles on Auber's *Lestocq* for flute and piano, number five, excerpt.

believed the quadrilles to be self-evidently plagiarised from the original score. With reference to the 57th set of quadrilles, for example, he argues

> that the second quadrille was so completely similar to an air of the opera called "Gentile Muscovite", that it was nearly note for note the same even to the accompaniments; that the melody of the fourth quadrille was like another air of the opera with some variations in certain bars..., and that the melody of the fifth quadrille was contained in certain bars of the overture.[89]

With both sources available, it is not hard to confirm the expert's claim (see figures 4.8 and 4.9). These passages do not seem to alter their originals in any meaningful way.

Interestingly, two of the passages which D'Almaine's expert listener has chosen to mention occur in dances which make use of material which Musard has composed himself (see figures 4.6 and 4.7). Even the inclusion of these passages however, the expert argues, cannot save Musard from being found guilty of copyright infringement. He believes that "although in several instances the music of the quadrilles in question was slightly varied from the airs of the opera, yet such variation was not more than is always found to be necessary when the music of an opera is arranged in the form of quadrilles."[90] Any moments of selectivity, adaptation, and creativity which Musard's arrangements exemplify, the expert maintains, are not creative reinterpretations of the score for the purposes of dancing, but are merely the formal manifestations of alterations necessitated by the transformation of an opera into dance music. Musard was not being creative in changing the music in this way; the music changed itself. Musard was simply the cipher who wrote it down.

The Lord Chief Baron—sitting in judgement—found in favour of D'Almaine, ruling that Musard had not carried out enough independent work to avoid the charge of copyright infringement. He reached this conclusion by analogy. "What," he asked, "shall be deemed such a modification of an original work as shall absorb the merit of the original in the new composition?"[91] In certain cases, he observes, the original idea can be absorbed without the danger of piracy. He cites the digest, for example, in which the "compiler intends to make of [his sources] a new use."[92] But if a digest compresses a body of facts into a shorter form, what, he wonders, is the equivalent "subject" of music which offers itself up for compression?[93] "It is the air or melody which is the invention of the author, and which may in such case be the subject of piracy; and you commit a piracy if, by taking not a single bar but several, you incorporate in the new work that in which the whole part of the invention consists."[94] How is one to tell, though, if enough original melody has been absorbed for piracy to occur? The Lord Chief Baron rules that there is only one way to decide if Musard has transformed

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[89]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 290.
[90]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 290.
[91]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 301.
[92]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 301.
[93]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 301.
[94]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), pp. 301–2.

the original source, if a new geological strata of added-value has been added to the quadrilles—to determine, in other words, if he really has carried out enough work and demonstrated enough skill in the process of transforming *Lestocq* into dance music that he was not to be found guilty of infringing the copyright of the opera. This is the principle according to which the jury in the case of *Leader and Cock v. Purday* made their decision in 1847. "The piracy," the judge argues, "is where the appropriated music, though adapted to a different purpose from that of the original, may still be recognised by the ear."[95]

Listening to the Domestic Music Machine

The opinion of the judge in the *D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* case was that the only way to tell if an arrangement really infringed the copyright of an original was to listen to them both. He believed that actual musical experience was the ultimate arbiter in musical copyright cases. So far, it has been shown that while Leader and Cock's arrangement of 'Pestal', Brissler's keyboard edition of *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor* and Musard's 57th and 58th sets of quadrilles all share an involvement with questions of originality, multiple-authorship and domestic use, they each place their emphasis slightly differently across these three factors. At least part of the reason for the differences in these emphases stems from the fact that all of the works offered their domestic listeners different kinds of musical experience. In general, it is possible to identify two different positions about the relationship between one form of musical experience—listening—and keyboard arrangement. Both will now be considered in turn, before it is shown with the aid of two of the three keyboard genres which were discussed in chapter three that there are numerous similarities between the listening habits arising from those genres and certain popular musical ones of the twenty-first century.

Szendy places arrangement at the heart of his 2001 text *Listen: A History of Our Ears*.[96] For Szendy, arrangements are written presentations of the arranger's aural experience of the original work. What we have in an arrangement, he reasons, is a record of the way in which an arranger listened to the original. "[I]t seems to me," writes Szendy,

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[95]*D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey* (1835), p. 302. A note regarding the relationship between the second and third cases under investigation here. At first glance, it might seem that the 1835 case made arrangement illegal, while the 1868 case reversed this decision by suggesting that keyboard editions were actually transformed versions of their originals. That is not correct. The 1835 case found extraction from an original work for the sake of the production of dance music to be a copyright infringement if the arrangement sounded the same as the original. The case from 1868, on the other hand, found that keyboard editions could be copyrighted provided they were of originals *which were not themselves under copyright*: it did not impact on the legality of producing editions of works that were still under copyright, since it assumed those to be illegal. As the appeals judge Kelly explains in 1868, it is still the case that if an edition "be published as the adaptation to the pianoforte by a composer other than the composer of the original opera, no doubt it is a piracy of the opera" (*Wood v. Boosey and Another* (1868), p.230). Of course, this was only the explicit conclusion: it is very clear that in his judgement Bramwell is implicitly (though technically irrelevantly) defending the legal protection of all keyboard editions. Even the judges in these cases could not agree as to the legal status of keyboard arrangement.

[96]Szendy [2007].

that what arrangers are signing is above all a listening. *Their* hearing of a work. They may even be the only listeners in the history of music to *write down* their listenings, rather than *describe* them (as critics do).[97]

Arrangers, Szendy believes, are listeners "who have written down their listenings."[98] In listening to an arrangement, we do not simply hear a new version of a pre-existing work. What we actually experience is someone else, listening.

Szendy's contention that arrangements are written evidence of other people's aural experience is extremely attractive for three reasons. First, it helps explain that sense of doubleness that emerges when an arrangement is listened to, a feeling that both the original and the new are being heard at the same time. Szendy dubs this sense the rendering "plastic" of the original text. "*We are hearing double*," he argues; "an oscillating, divided listening...that lets itself be hollowed out by the endlessly traversed gap between the original version and its deformation."[99] Second, the position avoids viewing arrangements as historically dubious relics of a need to circulate music. Instead, they are unique documents, near-priceless records of what might otherwise have remained always already lost: the way that other people have heard music. In this way, and finally, Szendy's argument presents the possibility that rather than being evanescent, listening experience is fixable, if not completely transparently (everything still has to be written down), at least approximately. Arrangements embody the hope that musical listening experience is neither lost in the moment it occurs, nor sentenced to be merely asymptotically approximated in written documents, but can actually be captured in musical notation and repeated as contemporary musical experience. On Liszt's arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies, for instance, Szendy eulogizes, "[b]etween Beethoven and me there is Liszt the listener, reinscribing his listenings for the piano. And I *listen to him listening*."[100]

Two canonic arrangements can be cited which seem to support Szendy's provocative view. Webern's 1935 *Fuga aus dem "Musikalischen Opfer"* is an orchestration of the six-part ricercar from J.S. Bach's 1747 *Musical Offering*.[101] The work is often mentioned as one of the best examples of *Klangfarbenmelodie*, achieved in this case through the careful segmentation of the original musical lines into smaller units and the allocation of these units to disparate instruments and instrumental groups. Dahlhaus goes further than presenting this technique as a mere instance of *Klangfarbenmelodie*, however, and argues that Webern practices here what he calls "analytic instrumentation".[102] He contends that from the way in which Webern copies the original melodic lines into the new lines of the orchestra the composer makes clear how he has interpreted—listened to—Bach's fugue.

Dahlhaus gives one particularly pertinent example of Webern's "analytic instrumentation". He observes that a four-note descending motive part way through Webern's Bach ricercar is linked to the descending motive at the opening of

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[97][Szendy, 2007, 36].
[98][Szendy, 2007, 6].
[99][Szendy, 2007, 36].
[100][Szendy, 2007, 60].
[101]See Bach [1935].
[102]Dahlhaus [1987].

the work by virtue of the fact that the later appearance, rather than being torn apart by the disjunct and rapidly changing instrumentation which prevails at this point, is presented, as in its earlier appearance, whole and unbroken. Since the descending motive part-way through the work is not technically derived from the opening, but is merely similar to it, there is evidence not only that the unbroken presentation of this motive was a calculation on Webern's part, but that it was a response to his experience of the original work. Because Webern heard the four-note motive during the course of the work as deriving from the four-note motive at its beginning, he orchestrated it as such. As Webern himself explained, the orchestration of the ricercar was made "to reveal its motivic coherence and … to indicate the way I feel about the piece."[103]

Another arrangement which fulfils Szendy's requirement of being a signed listening is Luciano Berio's 1991 *Rendering per orchestra*, his three movement work based on the incomplete sketches for Franz Schubert's tenth symphony.[104] At the time of his death in November 1828, Schubert left behind seven manuscript sheets containing sketches for his tenth symphony in D major. They consist of fragmentary material, presented on a single piano stave, and sometimes only on a single line. Lost, they were rediscovered in 1978, and in at least one case, completed by a modern musicologist.[105] In engaging with the sketches, Berio, however, wanted to do something different. Musicologist Thomas Gartmann explains that

> Luciano Berio combines in *Rendering* all of the following approaches: he presents the material, at the same time making use of that which was rejected; he composes in the style of Schubert; he wilfully completes, but at the same time makes apparent the fragmentary nature of the sketches; he gives his commentary as a contemporary composer and makes visible at the same time his distance and nearness to the composition. In this sense the double meaning of the title becomes clear: 'rendering' means not only interpretation, presentation and repetition, but also translation.[106]

Berio makes it clear in *Rendering* that he does not simply want to complete the work in the style of Schubert. He does this in part by ensuring that it is very obvious when and where he has himself had to compose material in order to bridge the "gaps" which he sees in the original sketches. Thus, Berio orchestrates Schubert's original draft material in a manner approaching Schubert's own style (see figure 4.13). At the same time, the passages which he has interpolated make use of an idiosyncratic orchestral timbre which includes the celeste and muted

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[103]Webern, Anton, quoted in Bradshaw, Susan, 'The Works of Anton Webern,' Liner Notes, *Anton Webern: The Complete Works. Pierre Boulez*, Sony Classical, 1991, p.35.

[104]See Schubert-Berio [1989].

[105]Newbould [1995].

[106]"Luciano Berio verbindet in *Rendering* alle diese Ansätze: Er zeigt das Material vor, verwendet dabei auch Verworfenes, komponiert im Stile Schuberts, ergänzt kräftig, macht teilweise aber auch das Fragment als solches ersichtlich, gibt seinen Kommentar als Komponist der heutigen Zeit und macht so zugleich Distanz und Nähe dieser Musik erfahrbar. In diesem Sinne ist auch der doppeldeutige Titel zu verstehen: 'Rendering' bedeutet sowohl Interpretation, Vortrag, Wiedergabe als auch Übersetzung." [Gartmann, 1994, 129].

strings playing *sul ponticello* (see figure 4.14). Their content is derived from motives, harmonies and timbres from a number of other, completed, late Schubert works, including the B♭ Piano Sonata D960 and songs from *Die Winterreise*. The result is a dense, almost blankly monotone substance, for which Berio provides a visual analogue.

> When you go to Assisi, you will find beautiful Giotto paintings, some of which are damaged. Now instead of having them repaired by some stupid painter who pretends to be Giotto and fills in what is missing, they decided to leave the white, the concrete as it was, which is very expressive too. I did the same thing with Schubert. I orchestrated, completed some parts, but where the sketches stop I created a kind of musical concrete, a plaster made of many different things, with a totally different sound. Then you go back to the next Schubert sketch. I have an especial dislike for musicologists who decide to complete an unfinished work. It has been done with Schubert piano sonatas for instance, where people tried to squeeze an artificial form out of the sketches, basing them on the sonata form. But things didn't work that way for Schubert.[107]

The use of this compositional concrete, Berio argues, has a nearly ethical import. Berio is not Schubert; to pretend to be would be immoral. So where he sees the sketches fall silent, the best he can do is to complete the gaps with musical 'filler', a kind of binding agent made out of motives and colours from works composed in the period in which Schubert was sketching the tenth symphony. It is the alternation between 'original' and added materials which is, in both Berio's *Rendering* and Giotto's frescoes, so polyvalent (see figure 4.15).

Berio's *Rendering* is a highly personal attempt to 'render' performable the sketches for Schubert's tenth symphony. It is also an extremely idiosyncratic 'hearing' of the material in those sketches. The clearest way to appreciate this is to observe how Berio's laying-out of the material of the sketches into a completed work differs from the way in which others 'hear' the disposition of the same content. Schubert specialist Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, for instance, observes that the content of the drafts is not nearly as fragmentary as other arrangers, Berio included, have assumed. "[T]he symphony sketches offer," summarises Hinrichsen, "despite their inevitable incompleteness, a very clear and coherent picture of Schubert's overall plan."[108] Where, for example, Berio perceives holes in Schubert's notes, Hinrichsen, more experienced in reading Schubert's continuity drafts and tracking their relationships to their finished scores, sees (hears) an indication for the reuse of certain passages which have already been sketched. In fact, Hinrichsen, the 'ideal' Schubert-listener, is able to show that the sketches are almost entirely continuous.[109]

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[107][Muller, 1996, 19].

[108]"So bietet denn auch der vorliegende Symphonie-Entwurf in all seiner zwangsläufigen Unvollständigkeit sehr wohl ein klares und zusammenhängendes Bild von Schuberts Gesamtplan." [Hinrichsen, 2002, 137].

[109]See Hinrichsen [2002].

Figure 4.13: Schubert-Berio, *Rendering per orchestra*, 1991. Berio's orchestration of Schubert's sketches.

Figure 4.14: Schubert-Berio, *Rendering per orchestra*, 1991. Berio's interpolation between the 'gaps' in Schubert's sketches.
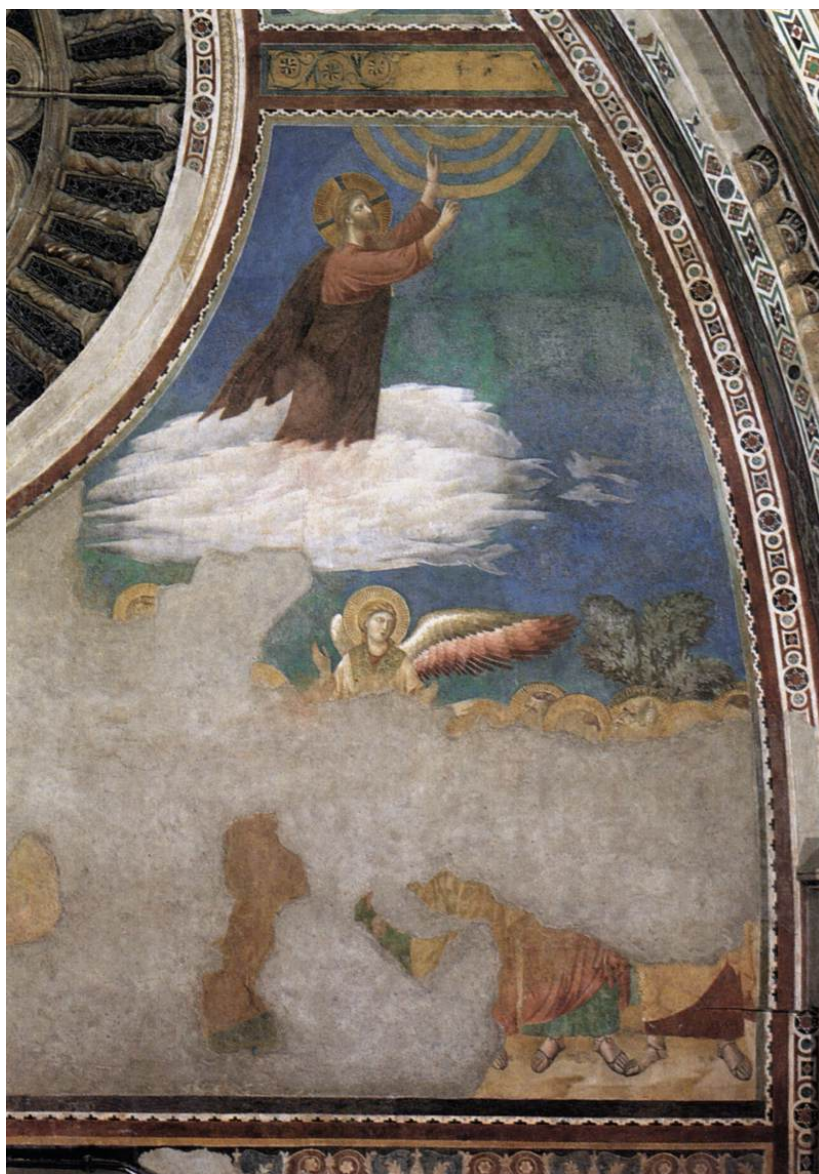
Figure 4.15: Berio's visual analogue for his *Rendering per orchestra*; Giotto di Bondone, *Ascension of Christ*, ca. 1300, Fresco, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi.

Hinrichsen does not want to argue that this misunderstanding (mishearing) on the part of Berio should be criticised. As he argues, the mistakes which Berio makes with regards "the timing (and location) of the sections turn out to be a fruitful misunderstanding."[110] Regardless, the important point is that by noting that Berio's analysis of Schubert's drafts for the tenth symphony differs from that of Hinrichsen's, it is made clear that Berio's Schubert rendering is precisely that: *Berio's*. *Rendering* presents in musical form an account of the way in which Berio listened to Schubert's sketches. Hinrichsen concludes that Berio's *Rendering* is a "composed essay on Schubert's late works".[111] More specifically, after Szendy, it could be described as a composed essay on Berio's listening to Schubert's late works.

In the light of these two examples, it might seem that Szendy's position that arrangements provide evidence for the way that arrangers have listened to an original work is compelling. Despite the rich implications of the view, however, it is not as useful to this investigation as it at first appears. This is because Szendy's argument only applies to a relatively small number of historical arrangements. These tend to be those made of canonic works by other canonic composers: Busoni's arrangements of Liszt, Liszt's arrangements of Beethoven, Wagner's arrangements of Beethoven, Stokowski's arrangements of Bach, and so on. Szendy's model of a great composer creatively rehearing the work of one his forebears, a plastic reintegration of a old work into the new, does not apply to the majority of arrangements, especially those for keyboard produced in the nineteenth century. These were generally made quickly and in large numbers by professional arrangers who had neither the time nor the inclination to respond to the idiosyncrasies of the original sources; they deviated very little from those sources, let alone in ways which might suggest that they were being creatively 'reheard'; and the sources were normally chosen for purely commercial reasons, not out of an artistic need to respond to their unique musical demands. All of this is to say that these works were conceived, produced and sold in a different aesthetic realm than that which Szendy considers. Although there is a possibility that these kinds of non-canonic arrangements do occasionally contain signs of how an original work was reheard by an arranger, in more general terms it seems that they actually contradict Szendy's claim that *all* arrangements manifest listening experiences: where is the evidence, for example, that the arrangers of the non-canonic keyboard arrangements which are the subject of this study ever actually listened to the originals which they arranged (other than perhaps at their own keyboards, already in arrangement)?

While Szendy's claim that arrangements are written evidence of composer's aural experiences is not helpful in a study of non-canonic keyboard arrangement of the nineteenth century, arrangement can still be shown to be useful to the historian of listening. This is because it can function as a mirror which reflects listening practices and makes them available to historical enquiry.

The two examples just given of the way in which arrangements can function

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[110]"Der Irrtum, wenn (und wo) er denn tatsächlich vorliegen sollte, erweist sich als fruchtbares Mißverständnis." [Hinrichsen, 2002, 142].

[111]"komponierter Essay über Schuberts Spätwerk." Hinrichsen [2002].

as signed 'listenings' serve to illustrate this point. In explaining why Webern rewrote Bach in the way in which he did, Dahlhaus has recourse to a quotation by Schoenberg. He argues that

> Schoenberg does not, however, claim to understand Bach better than Bach understood himself; rather, he was referring to the development of musical listening. The experience gained from having the motivic structure clarified by the orchestration—an experience which the listener owed to Mahler—could not be forgotten when listening to Bach, in spite of all efforts to think historically.[112]

Webern, Schoenberg argues, listening after Mahler and used to having contrapuntal argument 'explained' by instrumental texture, could not help but hear Bach in this way. His arrangement of Bach reveals how listening practices have changed over time.

The fragmentary nature of Berio's *Rendering* also arguably reveals that certain transformations in listening paradigms have taken place. David Osmond-Smith argues that

> Berio's polemic against the compulsion to complete may well strike a chord with a generation reared less upon the concert-hall, with its enforced concentration upon 'whole' works, than upon indefinitely repeatable and interruptible domestic listening. Art-lovers have long been willing to put the fragment or sketch within a frame, and enjoy its sense of the virtual as much as—in some instances more than—the 'complete' work that it heralds. Berio's *Rendering* asserts the same possibility for music.[113]

Berio's *Rendering*, Osmond-Smith believes, only came about in the form in which it did because of developments in domestic listening practices.

Three other authors have made similar points about the value of arrangements in reflecting changes in historical listening practices. Theodor Adorno's views on listening are summarised in his extremely well-known 1938 essay 'On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening'.[114] He argues that developments in the technological capabilities of sound reproduction have fundamentally altered listening habits. The easy availability of sound recordings and the near-perfection of their reproduction encourage the listener to consume uncritically the object as it is presented by the recording. The saturation of the market by an object which appears to be nothing less than perfect has a phantasmagorical effect, concealing that object's origin in human labour. The result of this is passive acceptance of the musical work—akin to passive acceptance of Fascist doctrine—and thus a consequent simplification—which he likens to a Freudian regression—of listening ability.

What is notable about Adorno's argument for this discussion is that while making it he also criticises a genre which makes use of techniques of arrangement for

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[112][Dahlhaus, 1987, 182].
[113][Osmond-Smith, 1994, 81].
[114]See Adorno [2002].

contributing to the same regression. The potpourri, Adorno believes, sacrifices the musical work's dialectical and immanent logic in favour of a merely "culinary" presentation of its highlights.

> Vulgarisation and enchantment, hostile sisters, dwell together in the arrangements which have colonised large areas of music. The practice of arrangements extends to the most diverse dimensions. Sometimes it seizes on the time. It blatantly snatches the reified bits and pieces out of the context and sets them up as a potpourri.[115]

In 1930s Europe, the listener's critical function has been anaesthetised by the purely superficial allure of arrangement and the potpourri.

Adorno's contention is that because the fractured surface of the potpourri is not dialectically motivated by a subcutaneous logic, it contributes in the 1930s to the regression of listening. Somewhat surprisingly, however, he is keen to defend the use in the Germany of his childhood—in which concert recordings were both rarer and less technologically assured—of another genre which makes use of arrangement: the keyboard edition. In an essay from 1933, he argues that

> [i]n an age of the strict division of labour the citizens defended their last music in the fortress of the keyboard, which they kept closely-guarded… Even the mistakes which they inevitably made provided an active relationship with these works, a relationship which had long been lost by those who listened intoxicated to flawless concert recordings.[116]

The domestic keyboard player of early twentieth-century Germany avoided the culinary and undialectic passivity which would plague the 1930s listener by being musically active. This occurs during the performance of a keyboard edition on at least two levels: first, the fact that the listener is playing; and second, the necessity of critical self-reflection on wrong notes and questions of style and technique. Adorno believes that it was through such activity that the listener's critical function—which the fetished and unblemished concert recording would later violently castrate—was kept alive. In order to experience a four-handed keyboard arrangement, he concludes, one cannot simply listen, because "merely listening to a four-handed performance is hardly a joy"; rather, "in order truly to gain the symphony, in order really to occupy it, one always had to do one thing: play it."[117]

Adorno argues that different kinds of arrangement at different times have prompted different kinds of listening. The second author who uses arrangements as evidence in a history of musical listening is Thomas Christensen. He argues nothing less than that the attitude which is currently accepted as the concert

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[115][Adorno, 2002, 298–9].

[116]"Im Zeitalter der strikten Arbeitsteilung verteidigten die Bürger ihre letzte Musik in der Festung des Klaviers, die sie dicht besetzt hielten… Noch die Fehler, die sie unvermeidlich machten, bewährten einen tätigen Zusammenhang mit den Werken, den die längst nicht mehr besaßen, welche berauscht vollkommenen Konzertwiedergaben zuhörten." [Adorno, 1982, 305].

[117] "[d]as Zuören beim Vierhändigspielen vollends ist kaum je eine Freude"; "stets noch mußte er wahrhaft die Symphonie erwerben, um sie zu besitzen: sie spielen." [Adorno, 1982, 305, 304].

standard—silent and withdrawn absorption—was first forged in the nineteenth century in response to keyboard arrangement.[118] Drawing on Jürgen Habermas' distinction between the public and private spheres, Christensen observes that the music which was performed domestically on the home keyboard was typically originally intended for public performance in large concert halls—normally popular Italian opera.[119] The consequence of this was that when these domestically trained audiences did attend public concerts, they took with them the sensibilities they had nurtured in the bourgeois home—"seclusion, security. . . and a more intimate emotional alchemy with the music."[120] These sensibilities, of course, are now the ones associated with contemporary concert attendance. As Christensen concludes, "the wholesome practice of *Hausmusik* may have helped inculcate an attitude of attentiveness and absorption that audiences could then bring into the concert hall."[121]

The third author to argue for the relationship between keyboard arrangement and listening practices is Leon Botstein. He contends that the growth in popularity of keyboard arrangements over the nineteenth century shifted focus from a discourse largely focused on performance—typified by sight-singing—to one characterised by reading and listening.[122] The explosion in musical newspapers, journals, critical reviews, programme notes and analyses in the middle of the century led to a rise in the belief that musical knowledge circulated in the form of the written word, and thus a decline in the ability to sing at sight. This caused an increased interest in the piano as the instrument which could translate the written note into sounding music. However, with that, "the link that existed in Beethoven's time between listening and the capacity to play along, or to read and "compose" along with what one heard, was severely diminished"; this is because while the ability to play the violin or to sing requires the performer to listen so as to ensure his or her tuning is accurate, the ability to perform at the piano is predominantly manual.[123] As Botstein puts it "[r]ecognition and response supplanted the active manipulation of musical materials. Sight reading replaced sight hearing."[124] Consequently, the preponderant taste for performance of keyboard arrangements, Botstein believes, led to a reduction in the activity of the listener long before Adorno's identification of the same event as a result of the rise in the recording industry.[125]

Adorno and Botstein both focus on the question of the relationship between ar-

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[118]See Christensen [1999] and Christensen [2000].

[119]See Habermas [2009].

[120][Christensen, 1999, 284].

[121][Christensen, 1999, 286]. Wagner, no less, supports Christensen's view, writing that "[i]f [the Eroica] to-day is received with acclamation almost everywhere, the sufficient reason, to take the matter seriously, is that for some decades past this music has also been studied outside the concert-room, especially at the pianoforte, and thus has found all kinds of circuitous routes for the exercise of its irresistible force in its no less irresistible factors." See [Christensen, 1999, 287].

[122]See Botstein [1992].

[123][Botstein, 1992, 137].

[124][Botstein, 1992, 137].

[125]This marks another sense, then, in which keyboard arrangement and the recording industry are analogous: both contributed, albeit at different historical points, to the increased passivity of the listener. See Introduction, page 4.

rangement and the relative activity of listener, while Christensen is interested in the development of concert listening habits under the influence of arrangements. Whichever position appears more compelling—and it is not a discussion which needs to take place here—the important point is this: for Adorno, Botstein and Christensen, keyboard arrangement was a determining force in the formation of listening attitudes for at least one hundred and fifty years. Whether keeping listeners active (Adorno's keyboard editions), rendering them stultified (Adorno's potpourris), teaching them how to listen to concert music (Christensen's keyboard editions), or undermining their ability to sing and compose at sight (Botstein's keyboard arrangements), arrangement has been shown by several authors to be a valuable tool for revealing the history of listening habits. It is in this spirit that the final section of this thesis argues that nineteenth-century keyboard works featuring practices of arrangement can be used to do the same. Specifically, it shows that two genres of nineteenth-century keyboard music which make use of techniques of arrangement cater to an audience taste which has much in common with contemporary listening practices.

First, it has been shown at some length in chapter three that potpourris do not attempt to conceal their radically fractured nature.[126] Harmonically, potpourris are only very basically continuous; melodically, they are often radically fragmentary; and textually, the layout of their score invited the performer to acknowledge in performance the frequent breaks between excerpts. The potpourri and its associated popularity, then, provide evidence of a listening practice which valued shortness, dissociation and fracture. These are qualities which obviously resonate with postmodernism and contemporary cultural experience.[127] Indeed, it is the technology of the iPod which provides the clearest modern-day descendent of the musical experience offered by the potpourri. Where in the potpourri, short extracts of music separated only by a few seconds of silence follow one another in seemingly random order, when a listener uses an iPod, short units of music separated by a few seconds of silence follow each other at random thanks to the use of the function of the same name. In both instances, the prevailing technologies for musical circulation—on the one hand, the potpourri, on the other, the iPod—affect the music which they exist to propagate, cutting it—in the former case, whole operatic works, in the latter, whole albums or music collections—into shorter units which can be sequenced as the 'arranger' sees fit.

The iPod is a device for potpourriing music collections, for automatically highlighting selections from a listener's personal musical past and playing them back-to-back. The iPod is the digital replacement of the arranger; it automates the process which he merely practiced. The Apple corporation's recent introduction of the 'Genius' function on their music products, an add-on that during playback selects "songs that go great together", only serves to reinforce this point.[128] For most listeners today—and just as in the past—complete randomness is not desirable. In the same way that potpourris normally draw all of their extracts from just one source work, the need for the 'Genius' function issues from a desire for

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[126]See chapter three, pages 110 to 120.

[127]See, for example, Jameson [1991].

[128]'Apple—iTunes—Learn about the features of iTunes 10', `http://www.apple.com/itunes/features/` (accessed 30 April, 2010).

the 'randomness' of the experience offered by the iPod to be at least in some way structured.

The iPod, then, resonates with the potpourri as the technology for musical circulation which caters to a taste for fracture and variety. This fracture of course, is not always welcome: it was Apple's insistence that individual tracks be made available on their music distribution programme iTunes that prompted legal action from bands like Pink Floyd, keen to preserve what they saw as being the "seamless" unity of their albums.[129] Similarly, and in response to the perceived increase in the fracturing of musical experience along the lines of individual tracks in an album, so-called 'Classic Album Sundays' have arisen in a number of UK cities. Their aim is to encourage the enjoyment of albums in their entirety, a powerful testament to the perceived domination of listening culture by the potpourriing effects of the iPod.[130] Whatever the contemporary argument made against it, however, it is clear that the musical artefact which the iPod creates—and the listening style to which it appeals—is nearly identical to that which enjoyed such prevalence through the potpourri 200 years ago.

Second, it was shown above that the nineteenth-century variation set was popular because it offered the listener the opportunity to experience the same melody over and over again through textural, rather than harmonic or melodic, variation.[131] The implication of this claim is that the audiences who enjoyed this music might have been more than usually sensitive to textural shifts rather than those associated with melody or harmony; that they might, in other words, have been 'textural listeners'. This listening practice resonates with those which arise from several twentieth-century popular music genres. For example, late twentieth-century electronic dance music tends to suppress—or even avoid altogether—harmonic and melodic features while building a musical rhetoric in the form of textural developments occasioned by changes in percussive patterns. "Texture," writes Mark Jonathan Butler, "stands out as a primary compositional parameter in Electronic Dance Music."[132] Audiences prove themselves adept at listening in this non-harmonic, hyper-textural way when they respond to shifts in texture through dance: an increase in the density or frequency of sonic events is reflected by more intense forms of movement. More generally, rock music of all kinds focuses on texture as an expressive and compositional parameter. Theodore Gracyk, for instance, argues that "[f]or rock music, structural simplicity is generally balanced by textural nuance in creating the music's expressive power." Similarly, Joe Carducci believes that in rock music, "[t]he tonal colouring of the music's chords and notes is frequently more telling than the chord itself."[133] Rock and pop songs focus on offering textural variety achieved through the electronic manipulation of instruments, dramatic shifts in instrumentation, and timbral subtlety. The variation set, by insisting on the variation of texture, is propagating a type of musical style which was to become significant in the dance and rock music cultures of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is a style in which

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[129]See 'Pink Floyd end EMI legal dispute', BBC News, 4th January, 2011.
[130]See 'Are record clubs the new book clubs?', BBC News, 18th January, 2011.
[131]See chapter three, pages 120 to 125.
[132][Butler, 2006, 93].
[133]Both quotes from [Gracyk, 2003, 52].

textural variation is understood as being largely constitutive of the heard experience.

The musical experiences engendered by certain nineteenth-century keyboard genres which make use of techniques of arrangement are profoundly similar to those offered by some popular musical genres of the current age—an experience in which texture is the primary musical parameter, for example, or one in which fracture and discontinuity are emphasised over reasoning and argument. Arrangements—in the sense of two keyboard genres which make use of practices of arrangement—have shown once again to be useful in the production of histories of listening.

The discovery of continuities between certain practices of listening from opposite ends of the twentieth century raises several questions. Is it the case that these fractured, textural listening styles have remained largely invariant over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? If it is, what does this mean about our perception of the apparent ideological 'superiority' of the silent, concert listening style?[134] What is the relationship between silent, concert listening and 'arrangement listening'? How is the understanding of the historical emergence of concert listening practice changed by the fact that there seem to be several others which remain stable throughout the same period?

In one sense of course, the discovery of these nineteenth-century listening styles is really only a *re*discovery. It has already been shown in the numerous dictionary and encyclopædia entries concerning arrangement considered in chapter two that the audiences—the dilettantes—who listened in this way were criticised through much of the nineteenth century for their engagement in precisely those kinds of textural, fractured—"surface"—-listenings encouraged by some forms of arrangement. The fact of this rediscovery does however contradict the claims made by the authors who argue that the emergence of the fractured or textural listener was a twentieth-century event: Adorno's belief, for instance, that the regressed listener emerged with the birth of the radio and sound recording, or Eco and Calabrese's view that it was only in the twentieth-century that audiences had the opportunity to learn how to respond to mass-produced cultural commodities. What the positions of these commentators and historians suggest is that the late nineteenth-century discursive attempt evidenced by the dictionaries and encyclopædiae to wipe from the musicological record the listening styles sustained by these non-canonic forms of arrangement was largely successful: not only did the silent concert listening style emerge from the nineteenth century as the ideologically superior position, but twentieth- and twenty-first-century historians have shown their thrall to the idea of the superiority of this style by first, continuing to be silent about other nineteenth-century listening styles and second, suggesting that fractured and disjointed listening only emerged in the twentieth century.

By demonstrating the popularity of keyboard arrangement in the nineteenth century, its importance to the contemporary musical market, the subtlety of the critical judgements made about it, and so on, it can be shown that there was a profoundly widespread culture of domestic listening which experienced music in

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[134]See, for the history of this practice, Johnson [1995].

a way which is remarkably similar to the way in which some popular musics are listened to today. Whether or not, of course, it is a 'good' listening style remains to be seen. Either way, it is impossible to make informed decisions about our attitude to the fractured and textured listening styles which the iPod and dance music respectively share with keyboard arrangement until it is acknowledged that it is actually a habit which may well be over two-hundred years old.

This chapter has explored the different kinds of musical experience keyboard arrangement offered musical consumers of the nineteenth century by examining three court cases that concern the legality of it. The arrangement at the heart of the *Leader and Cock v. Purday* case lacks a strong authorial voice and promises its audience instead a negotiated engagement with the several voices of a team of musical actors. The multiple cases of *Wood v. Boosey* affirmed that the keyboard edition of a complete opera offered a substantially new and discursively rich experience, one that asked the listener to involve themselves in complicated questions of intertextuality, multiple authorship and added-value. Finally, the case of *D'Almaine v. Boosey* contended that if the listening ear said so, arrangements of operas made for dancing provided a thinly derivative experience of an original whose arrangers were little more than ciphers that could—should—be ignored. It has also been shown that the experiences the three cases reveal all possess strong affinities with those displayed by late twentieth-century popular musics.

Using this last observation as a springboard, the chapter went on to consider the relationship between arrangement and the paradigmatic form of musical experience, listening. It proposed that the listening practices which accompany the potpourri and the variation set resonate quite clearly with those modern listening practices which emphasise fracture and texture. The consequence of this contention is a need for the reevaluation of what is understood as being typical of nineteenth-century musical experiences and a reconsideration of the relationships between these experiences and those of today.

It is no small testament to the importance not only of these cases, but, quite clearly, keyboard arrangement itself, that the outlines of the principles that they enshrined are quite clearly recognisable in the shape of modern copyright law. Both British and American law, for instance, recognise within the concept of the 'work' the category of the 'derivative' product. The former defines this as one "that is based on (derived from) another work; for example a painting based on a photograph."[135] Copyright will be granted in this work—just as it was in two of the cases which have been studied here at length—

> [p]rovided it is significantly different to the original work...Bear in mind that to be subject to copyright the creation of the derivative work must itself be an original work of skill, labour and judgement; minor alterations that do not substantially alter the original would not qualify.[136]

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[135]UK Copyright Service, Fact Sheet P-22, 'Derivative Works'.
[136]Ibid..

Advances have been made, of course. The principle that a derivative work should be 'substantially' different to an original is now referred to in American law as 'transformativeness', a term coined by Pierre N. Leval in a 1990 article.[137] Just as Lord Bramwell believed that Brissler's keyboard arrangement of *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor* did, and the Lord Chief Baron argued that Musard's quadrilles did not, a transformative work, according to Leval, "adds value to the original".[138]

If instantiating the necessary difference between a derivative work and its original in the principle of transformativeness is a new development, the manner of its proving is familiar. The first case in which it was argued was that of *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc* (1994) in which it was shown that rap group *2 Live Crew*'s recording of Roy Orbison's 'Pretty Woman' did not qualify as a copyright infringement and was a derivative work because, through its parody, it affords the audience a new perspective on the original music.[139] The importance of music in this case is suitable recognition, perhaps, of the role that musical cases had to play in the history of derivative works and copyright law. It is no surprise that both UK and US law specifically mention arrangement as one of their acceptable categories of derivative work.[140]

Why do these cases matter? It has been shown that the three pieces examined in the first half of this chapter are significant because they help reveal discourses, practices, beliefs, and ideologies that shine a light onto the relationship between nineteenth-century popular keyboard arrangement and musical experience. There is, however, another, equally important reason. Leader and Cock's 'Pestal' is similar to a multiple-author pop song, Brissler's keyboard edition to a cover version. Musard's quadrilles are a form of arrangement geared to the purpose of dancing. This involves the selection of extracts from a popular source work, the composition of new material to enable the functional use of these extracts, the use of the latest technologies in the performance of the result, and finally, the suitability of that result for movement. In short, the quadrilles show countless similarities with the works produced by contemporary sampling culture, a culture in which—as the music of John Oswald exemplifies—popular source works are cut up, handled, and spliced along with newly composed passages in order to create new dance works. Both encourage an experience—that is, a listening style—that emphasises brevity, variety and discontinuity. In other words, and just as with the other two works which have been examined here, both this kind of compositional activity and this listening style cross generations and genres and connect musical practice of the mid-nineteenth century with today. A reconsideration of the significance of the non-canonic keyboard arrangement to everyday musical experience in the nineteenth century challenges our notions of the uniqueness of the twenty-first-century popular musical experience: fractured, disjointed, and arranged.

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[137] Pierre N. Leval, 'Toward a Fair Use Standard' (1990) 103 Harv. L. Rev. 1105.

[138] Ibid..

[139] Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music (1994) 510 U.S. 569.

[140] See UK Copyright Service, Fact Sheet P-22, 'Derivative Works' and US Copyright Office, Information Circulars and Factsheets, No. 14, 'Copyright Registration for Derivative Works.'

Appendix One:
Complete Dictionary and Encyclopædia Entries

Note In what follows, dictionaries are listed chronologically, except for the individual editions of Riemann's dictionary, which can be found under their own separate subheading. The symbols ⌐ and ¬ enclose sentences on which comments are made in the corresponding footnote. All passages have been copied exactly as they appear in the named publication.

Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: Bärenreiter, 2001 [1802])

1 **Arrangieren, arrangirt** wird gebraucht, wenn ein Tonstück für andere Instrumen-
2 te, oder auch für weniger Stimmen als die Partitur desselben enthält, eingerichtet
3 wird. So hat man, z.B. ganze Opern, die für bloße Blasinstrumente, oder auch als
4 Quartetten arrangirt sind.

1 **Clavier-Auszug** Wenn der Hauptinhalt aller Stimmen eines vollstimmigen Ton-
2 stückes auf wenigen Liniensystemen vorgestellt wird, so nennet man eine solche
3 concentrirte Partitur einen Clavier-Auszug.

4 Man macht dergleichen Auszüge gemeiniglich nur von Opern, Cantaten, und
5 andern beliebten Kunstwerken von großem Umfange. Sie haben nicht sowohl
6 zur Absicht, dass sie von einzelnen Personen, so wie ein fürs Clavier arrangirtes
7 Tonstück, vorgetragen werden sollen, sondern man sucht durch dieses Verfah-
8 ren hauptsächlich solche Kunstwerke auf eine wohlfeilere Art unter Kenner und
9 Liebhaber der Kunst, theils zum Studium, theils zur Privatausübung derselben
10 unter kleinen Zirkeln, zu verbreiten, als es durch die Herausgabe der vollständi-
11 gen Partitur geschehen kann.

12 Die Verfertigung eines solchen Auszuges, besonders wenn er von dem Verfas-
13 ser des Kunstwerkes nicht selbst gemacht wird, setzt nicht allein viel Kenntniß
14 der Harmonie, und das genaueste Studium des Kunstwerkes, sondern auch ein
15 sehr feines Kunstgefühl voraus, um aus den Stimmen der vollständigen Parti-
16 tur alle die Züge heraus zu heben, und in den Auszug überzutragen, die zum
17 Umrisse des Bildes des Tonsetzers nöthig sind. Es muß dabey auf das genaueste
18 erwogen und gefühlt werden, was in den Neben- und Füllstimmen wegbleiben
19 kann, und was davon nothwendig aufgefasst werden muss, wenn das Ideal des
20 Komponisten nicht verstümmelt werden soll.

21 Es würde hier zu weitläufig seyn, diese Verfahren, nemlich ein Kunstwerk im
22 Auszuge darzustellen, (eine Gewohnheit, ⌐die ohne Zweifel ihr Daseyn bloßen
23 Finanzoperationen zu verdanken hat,¬) gehörig zu würdigen; daher nur für den

²⁴ Kenner ein solches Kunstwerk nur in seiner Vollendung; das heißt, in seiner Voll-
²⁵ ständigen Partitur, behaupten kann.

**Gustav Schilling, editor, *Encylopädie der gesamten musikalischen
Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart: Franz
Heinrich Köhler, 1835)**

¹ **Arrangement (Arrangschemang)**—das Umsetzen oder Anordnen und Einrich-
² ten einer Composition für andere Instrument- oder Singstimmen, oder auch für
³ eine geringere oder größere Anzahl als für welche oder für wie viele der Compo-
⁴ nist sie ursprünglich bestimmt und gesetzt hatte.

¹ **Arrangiren** (von dem Franz. Arranger—ordnen, anordnen, einrichten) heißt in
² der musikalischen Kunstsprache das Einrichten eines vorhandenen Tonstücks für
³ andere Instrumente, wenigere oder mehrere. Man arrangirt kleinere und größere
⁴ Orchestersachen, ja ganze Opern, für's Clavier, Quartett, für 6, 5, 3, oft auch nur 2
⁵ Instrumente; und umgekehrt Claviersachen für größere und kleinere Orchester,
⁶ Quartette, Quintette, x. So nützlich und nothwendig auch in machen Fällen das
⁷ A. ist, kleinere Orchester z.B. und Clavierspieler würden ohne dasselbe niemals
⁸ im Stande seyn, größere Compositionen kennen zu lernen und aufzuführen, so
⁹ bleibt es immer doch eine Versündigung am Kunstwerke selbst. Soll ein Ton-
¹⁰ stück, wenn es den Werth und den Charakter eines Kunstwerks besitzt, in der
¹¹ Idee seines Schöpfers erschienen, in denselben Formen und unter denselben äu-
¹² ßern Verhältnissen, in und unter welchen es der Komponist dachte und meistens
¹³ auch nur denken konnte, da sein Kunst- oder Darstellungsobject nur auf diese
¹⁴ eine und keine andere Weise zur Erscheinung gebracht werden konnte, und dar-
¹⁵ auf gerade die Wirkung und der Eindruck sich gründet, die hervorzubringen er
¹⁶ dabei beabsichtigte, so kann dasselbe, das Tonstück, auch mit keinen anderen,
¹⁷ mit nicht mehreren und nicht wenigeren Instrumenten, in keiner anderen Tonart
¹⁸ und Tonfolge vorgetragen werden, als für und in welchen der Componist selbst
¹⁹ es gesetzt hat. So wie jeder einzelne Ton an und für sich, jede Ton- und Taktart, je-
²⁰ der Rhythmus, jeder Accord x., so hat auch jedes einzelne Instrument sowohl für
²¹ sich als in seiner Zusammenstellung mit noch anderen Instrumenten seinen ei-
²² genthümlichen Charakter, seine besondere psychische Natur, die es mit keinem
²³ anderen, auch nicht mit einem ähnlichen Instrumente theilt, und so kann kein
²⁴ für bestimmte Instrumente gesetztes Tonstück dieselbe oder auch nur eine ähnli-
²⁵ che Wirkung hervorbringen, wenn es mit anderen Instrumenten oder auf andere
²⁶ Weise vorgetragen wird. Hört die äußere Form einer Kunstdarstellung auf, die-
²⁷ selbe und richtige zu seyn, so muss nothwendig die derselben zu Grunde liegen-
²⁸ de Idee ebenfalls aufhören oder wenigstens eine ganz andere werden. Da nun
²⁹ aber beim A. eines Tonstücks diese Form an sich nicht eigentlich ganz aufhört,
³⁰ sondern nur durch das Hinwegnehmen oder Vertauschen einers ihrer Glieder ge-
³¹ wissermaßen verunstaltet wird, so erhält dasselbe dadurch natürlich auch keinen
³² eigentlich andern, sondern nur einen—wenn man so sagen darf—verunstalteten,
³³ oder besser gar keinen Ausdruck. Wenn Händel in seinem "Messias" durch die
³⁴ combinirten sanften Gänge der Rohrinstrumente ohne allen Saiten- und Blech-
³⁵ klang uns wirklich unter die Hirten auf dem Felde versetzt, Mozart in seinem

"Requiem" dem "tuba murum" den Geisterruf der Posaune vorausschickt und dadurch wirklich die Ahnung des jüngsten Gerichts in uns erweckt,—man höre jene Stelle vielleicht von Geigen oder auf dem Claviere, diese von Flöten oder Clarinetten vortragen, und all jene tiefe Wirkung ist vernichtet. So bleibt jedes arrangirte Tonstück immer nur, und kaum dies noch, ein Surrogat, bei dem man auf alle eigentliche Kunstdarstellung in dem Tonstücke und den hiermit beabsichtigten Eindruck größtentheils verzichten muß. Daraus gehen nun zugleich auch die Regeln hervor, nach welchen man zu verfahren hat, wenn einmal ein Tonstück arrangirt und zwar so arrangirt werden soll, das wenigstens noch Einiges von dem ursprünglichen Character desselben übrig bleibt. Zunächst muß, bei dem A. eines Tonstücks für ein einzelnes Instrument, wenigstens ein verwandtes dazu gewählt werden; man kann Violincompositionen für die Flöte, Compositionen für die Oboe, für die Clarinette, dergleichen für die Posaune, für das Horn x. einrichten, nicht aber, wie es freilich und leider nur zu oft geschieht, auf dem Violincell, Trompete, auf der Geige, Horn, auf der Flöte, Posaune blasen, und umgekehrt wieder auf dem Fagott, Violine und auf der Clarinette, Contrabaß spielen. Bei dem A. größerer Orchestersachen für wenigere Instrumente müssen zuvörderst die Subjecte aufgesucht und diese wiederum solchen Instrumenten zugetheilt werden, die mit den ursprünglich dafür bestimmten verwandt sind; und alsdann, bei dem dabei umgänglich nothwendig Concentriren der volleren und weitern Harmonie, dürfen nur die Töne ausgeschieden werden, deren rein harmonischen Intervalle bereits schon in anderen enthalten sind, und daher, blos grammatikalisch betrachtet, eigentlich nur als Unterstützungen und Verdoppelungen angesehen werden dürfen; nicht eingedenk nun noch der Gesetze, welche der strenge Satz hiebei eben so sorgfältig zu beobachten verlangt, als bei einer wirklichen Composition. Deshalb kann denn auch solche Tondichtung für nicht weniger Instrumente arrangirt werden, als auf welchen die ganze und volle Harmonie ausgeführt werden kann. Die geringste Zahl ist da wohl das Quartett; mit 2 Flöten, Guitarre, x. allein kann nichts dergleichen geschehen. Sollen im Gegentheil Tonstücke, welche ursprünglich für ein oder wenige Instrumente gesetzt sind, für ein größeres Orchester arrangirt werden (ein in mancher Hinsicht noch mehr zu billigendes Verfahren), so muß man den Componisten nicht allein sondern die ganze Tonsetzkunst genau verstehen: man muß vor allen Dingen den Ausdruck des Tonstücks erforschen, dann die psychische Natur des verschiedenen Instrumente, und nun die von dem Componisten behuf des Ausdrucks seines Tonstücks gewählten Mittel in steter Berücksichtigung dieses eigenthümlichen Charakters der Instrumente kunstgerecht unter diese zu vertheilen und in ihrer Mannigfaltigkeit zu einem einzeln Ganzen anzuordnen verstehen. Gewonnen wird übrigens, für den höheren Werth einer Tondichtung, auch dadurch nichts. Wenn man z.B. ein Quartett von Haydn, eine Claviersonate von Mozart, für ein großes Orchester arrangieren wollte, wo bliebe der Ausdruck, der ächte Kunstcharakter, den diese Tonstücke in ihrer jetzigen Gestalt besitzen?—Sehr Beachtenswerthes über das A. sagt Ritter von Seyfried in einer Recension Caecilia Bd. 10, page 174ff.; neben dem A. überhaupt tadelt er, bitter zwar, aber mit Recht auch die damit gewöhnlich noch verbundenen Metamorphosen zu Walzern, x.—Vergl. Auch d. Art. Clavierauszug.

1 **Klavierauszug** heißt bekanntlich die Einrichtung eines für mehrere Instrumen-
2 te, oder für Gesang mit Begleitung von Instrumenten componirten Tonstücks
3 zum Vortrag auf dem Klaviere oder Fortepiano. I Man ist schon ziemlich früh im
4 achtzehnten, wenn nicht bereits im siebzehnten Jahrhunderte zu diesem Hülfs-
5 mittel gekommen, beliebte Opern und Oratorien den Kunstfreunden und Sän-
6 gern leichter und wohlfeiler zugänglich zu machen. Meistens gab man Anfangs
7 nur die Sologesänge, allenfalls von einem besonders beliebten und melodiösen
8 Chor die Oberstimme, oder die beiden obern. Die Begleitung (also der eigent-
9 liche Klavier-Auszug) beschränkte sich auf einen dürftig bezifferten Baß, allen-
10 falls in Ritornellen und an einzelnen Punkten mit der ersten Geigenstimme be-
11 reichert. Von dieser Beschaffenheit kennen wir die Klavierauszüge von Lully's
12 Opern, dann später von Handel'schen Oratorien (namentlich dem Messias) Has-
13 se'schen und Graun'schen Compositionen, selbst noch von Hiller'schen Sing-
14 spielen, und Arrangements Händel'scher Oratorien (z.B. des Judas Makkabäus),
15 von Reichardt'schen Werken u.s.w. Erst gegen das Ende des vorigen, und im
16 Laufe des jetzigen Jahrhunderts haben die Klavierauszüge eine befreidigende-
17 re Gestalt angenommen. Wer übrigens die Opern des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts
18 (besonders der ersten Hälfte) und die in gleicher Weise behandelten Sologesänge
19 der Oratorien und Cantaten kennt, wird die dürftige Gestalt der alten Klavieraus-
20 züge nicht zu unbefriedigend finden. Denn die Partitur zeigte fast durchgängig
21 auch nicht mehr, als eine drei- oder zweistimmige einfache Begleitung mit figur-
22 irten Ritornellen für die erste Violine; ja, sie beschränkte sich oft auf eine einzige
23 Violine mit Baß, und überließ die Ausfüllung der meistens sehr einfachen, wo
24 nicht armen Harmonie dem Generalbaßspiel am Flügel, das jeder halbwegs ge-
25 wandte Dilettant aus den wenigen Ziffern und der Singstimme mit Baß schon
26 so ziemlich errathen konnte. II Die Klavierauszüge haben unermeßlich viel zur
27 Ausbreitung musikalischer Bildung gethan, indem sie theure Partituren, deren
28 Lesung und Spiel nicht ohne umständige Vorbildung gelingt in leicht zugängli-
29 cher Form ersetzten, und Werke, die die Mehrzahl der Kunstfreunde verhältnis-
30 mäßig zu selten in ihrer Vollständigkeit (mit Orchester) hört, zu wiederholter
31 leichter Ausführung ihnen in die Hände gab. Doch hat diese Wirksamkeit auch
32 ihre Schattenseite. Mit der Vervielfältigung wird der Tiefe der Wirkung Eintrag
33 gethan; denn unmöglich kann ein Werk, das uns schon am Klavier familiär ge-
34 worden ist, nachher bei voller Aufführung noch den tiefen Eindruck machen,
35 den der Componist durch die Vereinigung aller Mittel in einem Moment hätte
36 hervorbringen können. Dabei hatte die Verbreitung der Opernmusik die Fol-
37 ge, daß vollends das Volkslied, der natürliche Herzensgesang, verdrängt wurde
38 und an die Stelle reingemüthlicher Gesangsfreude oft nur künstlich eingelerntes
39 oder abgerichtetes Singen trat; endlich verbreitete sich durch die Klavierauszü-
40 ge eine Masse schlechter Opernmusik und verdrängte die bessere Kammermusik
41 blos durch den Beistand der Erinnerung an die Gesammtwirkung im glänzen-
42 den Opernsaale, oder durch die Mode. Es bleibt unter diesen Umständen nur
43 zu wünschen, daß die Klavierauszüge selbst so viel als möglich der allgemei-
44 nen Kunstidee und der besonderen Tendenz jedes Werkes entsprechen. III Die
45 Aufgabe des Klavierauszugs ist nun, vom Original ein möglichst getreues Ab-
46 bild zu geben. Hierzu ist vor Allem 1) Vollständigkeit erforderlich. Nicht blos
47 die etwaige Hauptmelodie und die Harmonie im Allgemeinen, sondern das gan-

ze Stimmgewebe muß so viel wie möglich festgehalten werden, also bei Instrumentalwerken wo möglich alle Stimmen, bei Gesangwerken die Instrumentalparthie. —Wo nun diese Vollständigkeit (wie besonders in neueren Werken seit Haydn und Beethoven) unmöglich erscheint, muß 2) erwogen werden, welche Stimmen zu vereinigen, welche mit der geringsten Einbuße ganz wegzulassen sind. Hier ist zunächst auf Beibehaltung der inhaltvollsten Stimmen und einer nicht zu leeren Harmonie zu sehen; bei der Begleitung mehrstimmiger Gesangsstücke darf bisweilen die Vollstimmigkeit der Masse der Sänger überlassen und damit Raum und Hand zur Zufügung obligater Begleitungsstimmen gewonnen werden (eine bei Seb. Bach'schen und Beethoven'schen Werken oft unvermeidliche Einrichtung), wiewohl es im Allgemeinen rathsamer erscheint, schon der Klavierbegleitung, ohne Rechnung auf die Singstimmen, vollständigen Satz zu zuertheilen. —Man verzichtet sogar 3) freiwillig auf diese Vollständigkeit, wenn sie verhindern sollte, daß eine im Orchester deutlich hervortretende Hauptstimme auch auf dem Fortepiano genügend wirken könnte. So dringt z.B. im Orchester die Violin- oder auch eine obligate Violoncellstimme leicht aus der darüber hinliegenden Blasharmonie hervor, die auf dem Klaviere, wenn man alle umgebenden Nebentöne beibehalten wollte, an Klarheit und Kraft verlieren würde. Allerdings soll auch bei dem Streben nach Vollständigkeit besonnene Rücksicht auf die Schwierigkeit der Ausführung genommen werden, da bei der Mehrzahl der Klavierauszüge-Brauchenden nicht Virtuosität und vielleicht noch weniger Fertigkeit im vielstimmigen, wohl gar gebundenen Spiele vorausgesetzt werden kann. Nur darf man hier nicht zu nachgiebig gegen die Wünsche allzubequemer Dilettanten und allzu gewinnsüchtiger Verleger seyn; das Klavierspiel ist ja in unserer Zeit so weit ausgebildet, daß ein nicht unbesonnen erschwerter Klavierauszug schwerlich der fähigen Spieler ermangeln wird. —Oft ist übrigens eine geschickte Verlegung oder Aussparung der Nebenstimmen genügend, Hauptparthien unverkümmert neben der Vollständigkeit zu erhalten. – Bis hierher ist die genaueste Beibehaltung des Partitur-Inhaltes leitende Rücksicht gewesen. Nun aber muß noch 4) bedacht werden, daß dieselbe auch im Einzelnen der Stimmen weder immer möglich, noch stets genügend ist. Gewisse Figuren anderer Instrumente, z.B. des Streichorchesters (oder die langaushaltenden Töne der Bläser) sind auf dem Fortepiano theils unausführbar, theils ohne Wirkung, oder doch von anderer oder geringerer. Es müssen also an ihre Stelle andere Figuren treten; man muß dieselbe Wirkung mit andern Mitteln erzielen, wie etwa auch der Uebersetzer aus fremden Sprachen die Worttreue bisweilen aufgeben muß, um den Sinn zu bewahren. Ferner können wenige Töne starker Orchesterinstrumente eine Kraft ausüben, der nur die vollste Massenwirkung des Fortepiano einigermaßen zu entsprechen vermag; und wiederum ist das vollstimmige Orchester eines Piano (im Verhältnisse zu seinem Forte) fähig, das auf dem Fortepiano schlechterdings nur durch Minderstimmigkeit (etwa in weiten sorgsam gewählten Harmonielagen) darstellbar ist. Hier wird ein geistreicher, die Wirkungen von Orchester und Fortepiano genau kennender, das zu übertragende Kunstwerk begreifender Arbeiter zwischen Buchstaben und Sinnestreue, zwischen Kleben am Materiellen des Originals und zu abschweifender Umänderung, Mittelweg und Aussöhnung zu suchen haben; eine oft sehr schwierige, und einen wirklichen Künstler fordernde, aber (Liebe zum Werk vorausgesetzt) auch dankbare Aufga-

95 be. —IV. Noch wollen wir schließlich die famosen Klavierauszüge ohne Worte
96 perhorrcsciren,[1] die Gesangstücke in unzulängliche und unverständliche Instru-
97 mentalstücke verwandeln und verderben. Aber was vermag ein Protest gegen
98 Geldspekulation? ABM.

1 **Potpourri** eigentlich ein französiches Wort, das zunächst dasselbe was *Olla po-*
2 *trida* bedeutet, also ein Lieblingsgericht, das aus verschiedenen kleingeschnitte-
3 nen u. zusammengedämpften Fleischarten besteht; dann ein Geschirr oder Topf
4 mit verschiedenen wohlriechenden Blumen und Kräutern; und endlich jedes Ge-
5 mengsel, das durch- und unter einander geworfen ist. In dem Sinne ist denn das
6 Wort auch in die Musik gekommen. Man versteht darunter ein aus mehreren und
7 zwar größtentheils bekannten Themen zusammengesetzes Tonstück, wobei der
8 Verfasser kein anderes Verdienst hat, als das einer geschickten und glücklichen
9 Compilation, der passenden Verknüpfung und anmuthigen Ausführung der ver-
10 schiedenen Melodien und kleinen Tonsätze, die nun aus einem einzigen Werke
11 z.B. zusammengelesen oder auch mehreren anderen Werken verschiedener Gat-
12 tung entnommen seyn können. In diesem Falle heißt das Tonstück jedoch Quod-
13 libet. Dem allgemeineren Gebrauche nach ist Potpourri ein Instrumentalstück,
14 worin die Haupt- und beliebesten Melodien eines größern Ganzen und vorzüg-
15 lich einer Oper zusammengestellt sind, und danach von einem concertirenden
16 Instrumente oder auch von einem Orchester, unter dessen Instrumenten dann
17 die einzelnen Melodien vertheilt sind, vorgetragen werden. Ein musikalisches
18 Ragout könnte man allenfalls ein Potpourri nennen, das nach Allem schmeckt,
19 aber den Magen verderbt; ein buntes Allerlei ohne jede künstlerische Einheit.
20 Musiklehrer sollten sich hüten, dergleichen zu oft ihren Schülern in die Hände
21 zu geben, denn nur Zeitvertreib und angenehme Unterhaltung für Dilettanten
22 kann der Zweck der Potpourri's seyn, wobei es auf Bildung des Geschmacks
23 durchaus nicht ankommt; dahin aber zielt nicht der Unterricht. Besonders sind
24 es einige junge französische Componisten und talentlose Stückfabrikanten, die
25 mit dergleichen zusammengestoppelten Machwerken die musikalische Literatur
26 überfluthen. Der Kunst wird damit nie in Etwas genutzt.

A. Gathy, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon: Encyklopädie der gesammten Musik-Wissenschaft für Künstler, Kunstfreunde und Gebildete* (Hamburg: G.B. Niemeyer, 1840)

1 **Arrangiren** ⸢Ein Tonstück für ein anderes Instrument oder andere Instrumente
2 einrichten, als für welche es ursprünglich geschrieben ist.⸣[2] Heut zu Tage wird
3 Alles arrangirt und potpourrit, und auf das sinnvollste reducirt, z.B. Ouverture
4 zum Freischütz für Guitarre und Flöte, x. x.; s. Reduciren.

1 **Clavier-Auszug** ⸢Nennt man die aus der Partitur eines großen Musikstücks,
2 meist einer Oper, Cantate eines Oratoriums, x, auf wenige Liniensysteme zusam-
3 mengezogene Stimme, welche den Charakter der ganzen Harmonie desselben

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[1]"[M]it Abscheu zurückweisen; verabscheuen, entschieden ablehnen." *Duden—Das große Fremd-wörterbuch: Herkunft und Bedeutung der Fremdwörter*, 4., aktualisierte Auflage (Mannheim, Leipzig, Wien, Zürich: Dudenverlag 2007).
[2]Compare Schilling [1835], Arrangement, page 188, lines 1 to 4.

⁴ auf dem Clavier wieder zu geben suchen.⌐3 ⌐Die Verfertigung eines solchen Aus-
⁵ zugs ist sehr schwer, denn es ist nicht allein eine große Kenntnis der Harmonie
⁶ und das genaueste Studium des zusammenziehenden Musikstücks erforderlich,
⁷ sondern auch ein sehr feines Kunstgefühl, um aus den Stimmen der vollstän-
⁸ digen Partitur alle die Züge herauszuziehen und in den Auszug überzutragen,
⁹ die zum Umrisse des Tongemäldes nöthig sind. Da muss dabei auf das genaueste
¹⁰ erwogen und gefüllt werden, was in den Neben- und Füllstimmen wegbleiben
¹¹ kann, und was davon nothwendig aufgefasst werden muss, wenn man das Ideal
¹² des Komponisten nicht verstümmeln will.⌐4

¹ **Pot-pourri** (Gemengs?) Mischung beliebter, mit Variationen durchwebter, und
² durch Uebergänge verbundener Motive; Flickwerk.

¹ **Reduciren, Réduire** (Franz.) Die Harmonie einer vielstimmigen Partitur auf we-
² niger Instrumente zusammenziehen. Der letze Grad des Reducirten ist das Ar-
³ rangement für Flöte und Guitarre.

Dr. F. S. Gaßner, *Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler, 1847)

¹ **Arrangement**—⌐das Umsetzen oder Anordnen und Einrichten einer Compositi-
² on für andere Instrumente oder Singstimmen, oder auch für eine geringere oder
³ größere Anzahl als für welche, oder für wie viele der Componist sie ursprünglich
⁴ bestimmt oder gesetzt hatte.⌐5 S. Den Art. Arrangiren.

¹ **Arrangiren** ⌐(von dem franz. arranger – ordnen, anordnen, einrichten) heist in
² der musikalischen Kunstsprache das Einrichten eines vorhandenen Tonstücks für
³ andere Instrumente, weniger oder mehrere.⌐6 —Vergl. Auch den Art. Clavieraus-
⁴ zug, das Hauptwerk und Gaßner's Partiturkenntnis Thl. I. Pag. 64ff.

¹ **Klavierauszug** ⌐heist bekanntlich die Einrichtung eines für mehrere Instrumente,
² oder für Gesang mit Begleitung von Instrumenten componirten Tonstücks zum
³ Vortrag auf dem Klaviere oder Fortepiano.⌐7 ⌐Die Klavierauszüge haben uner-
⁴ messlich viel zur Ausbreitung musikalischer Bildung gethan, in dem sie theu-
⁵ re Partituren, deren Lesung und Spiel nicht ohne umständliche Vorbildung ge-
⁶ lingt, in leicht zugänglicher Form ersetzen, und Werke, die die Mehrzahl der
⁷ Kunstfreunde verhältnißmäßig zu selten in ihrer Vollständigkeit (mit Orchester)
⁸ hört, zu wiederholter leichter Ausführung ihnen in die Hände gab.⌐8 ⌐Die Aufga-
⁹ be des Klavierauszugs ist, vom Original ein möglichst getreues Bild zu geben.⌐9

¹ **Potpourri** ⌐eigentlich ein französisches Wort, das zunächst dasselbe was Olla po-
² trida bedeutet, also ein Lieblingsgericht, das aus verschiedenen kleingeschnit-
³ tenen und zusammengedämpften Fleischarten besteht; dann ein Geschirr oder

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³Compresses Koch [2001], Clavier-Auszug, page 187, lines 1 to 11.
⁴Koch [2001], Clavier-Auszug, page 187, lines 12 to 20.
⁵Schilling [1835], Arrangement, page 188, lines 1 to 4.
⁶Schilling [1835], Arrangiren, page 188, lines 1 to 3.
⁷Schilling [1835], Klavierauszug, page 190, lines 1 to 3.
⁸Schilling [1835], Klavierauszug, page 190, lines 26 to 31.
⁹Schilling [1835], Klavierauszug, page 190, lines 44 to 46.

⁴ Topf mit verschiedenen wohlriechenden Blumen und Kräutern; und endlich je-
⁵ des Gemengsel, das durch- und unter einander geworfen ist. In dem Sinne ist
⁶ denn das Wort auch in die Musik gekommen. Man versteht darunter ein aus
⁷ mehreren und zwar größten Theils bekannten Themen zusammengesetztes Ton-
⁸ stück, wobei der Verfasser kein anderes Verdienst hat als das einer geschick-
⁹ ten und glücklichen Compilation, der passenden Verknüpfung und anmuthigen
¹⁰ Ausführung der verschiedenen Melodien und kleinen Tonsätze, die nun aus ei-
¹¹ nem einzigen größeren Werke z.B. zusammengelesen oder auch mehreren an-
¹² deren Werken verschiedener Gattung entnommen seyn können. In diesem Falle
¹³ heist das Tonstück gewöhnlicher jedoch Quodlibet.ˈ[10]

Eduard Bernsdorf, editor, *Neues Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst, Für Künstler,*
Kunstfreunde und all Gebildeten, Unter Mitwirkung der Herren
Hofkappelmeister Dr. Frz. Liszt in Weimar, Dr. H. Marschner in Hannover, C.S.
Reiffiger in Dresden, Dr. L. Spohr in Cassel x. x. x. **(Dresden: Robert Schaefer,**
1856)

¹ **Arrangiren** ˈund davon abgeleitet Arrangement (fpr. Arrangschiern, Arrang-
² schemang) ist das Einrichten oder Umsetzen eines Tonstücks für andere Instru-
³ mente, sowohl der Zahl wie der Art nach, als für welche es ursprünglich gedacht
⁴ war.ˈ[11] Es giebt eigentlich nur zwei Gesichtspunkte, unter denen das A. entschul-
⁵ digt werden kann: erstens, die Nothwendigkeit, die, um nur Eins anzuführen,
⁶ z.B. kleinere Orchester zwingt, reich instrumentirte Stücke ihren Kräften gemäß
⁷ zu reducirien, und zweitens das Bedürfnis, Sachen überhaupt sich zugänglicher
⁸ zu machen und sie in ihrem Ideen-Inhalt zu prüfen und kennen zu lernen. In
⁹ letzterer Beziehung spielen die Klavierauszüge (s.d.) eine bedeutende Rolle und
¹⁰ sind auch in der That fast unentbehrlich für die Kenntnißnahme größerer Werke,
¹¹ Opern, Oratorien, u.s.w., von denen in sehr vielen Fällen gar keine Partitur vor-
¹² handen ist. Das A. verhält sich zur ursprünglichen Komposition wie der Kup-
¹³ ferstich zum Oelbilde; man kann wohl Zeichnung und Gruppirung daraus er-
¹⁴ kennen, aber nicht das Kolorit, die belebende Färbung. Gegen die Auswüchse,
¹⁵ dass man z.B. Sopran-Arien für Posaune oder Trompete, Lieder ohne Worte von
¹⁶ Mendelssohn für ganzes Orchester, ganze Opern für zwei Violinen, oder gar Flö-
¹⁷ ten arrangirt, muß man mit allen Kräften protestiren. In neuester Zeit ist auch
¹⁸ eine neue Art des Arrangirens aufgekommen, die sich Transcription oder Para-
¹⁹ phrase nennt und das zumeist die Klaviervirtuosen verschuldet haben. Da wird
²⁰ nämlich ein Lied, eine Arie u.s.w. hergenommen, mit allerhand Passagen-Saucen
²¹ übergossen und zu einem Schau- und Glanzstück von des Virtuosen Fertigkeit
²² ungestempelt. Leider ist unsre Zeit zu reich an dergleichen Odiosa, als dass man
²³ nicht daraus auf die eigentliche Unproduktivität schliessen sollte.

¹ **Klavier-Auszug** ˈnennt man die Einrichtung eines für mehrere und verschiede-
² ne Instrumente, oder für Gesang mit Begleitung von Instrumenten komponirten
³ Tonstücks zum Vortrag auf dem Klavier oder Fortepiano (S. unter Arrangiren.).ˈ[12]

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[10]Schilling [1835], Potpourri, page 192, lines 1 to 13.
[11]Compare Schilling [1835], Arrangement, page 188, lines 1 to 4.
[12]Schilling [1835], Klavierauszug, page 190, lines 1 to 3.

¹ **Potpourri, (spr. Popurrih)** ⌐ein französiches Wort, bedeutet zunächst ein Gericht,
² das aus verschiedenen kleingeschnittenen und zusammengedämpften Fleischar-
³ ten besteht; dann ein Geschirr oder einen Topf mit verschiedenen wohlriechen-
⁴ den Blumen und Kräutern; und endlich jedes Gemengsel, das durch- und unter-
⁵ einandergeworfen ist. In diesem Sinne ist das Wort auch in die Musik gekommen.
⁶ Man versteht darunter ein aus mehreren und zwar größtentheils bekannten The-
⁷ men zusammengesetzes Tonstück, bei dem der Verfasser kein anderes Verdienst
⁸ hat, als das einer geschickten Compilation und passenden Verknüpfung der ver-
⁹ schiedenen Melodien, die nur aus einem einzigen Werke zusammengelesen oder
¹⁰ auch mehreren anderen Werken verschiedener Gattung entnommen sein kön-
¹¹ nen. In letzterm Falle heißt das Tonstück jedoch auch Quodlibet. Dem allgemei-
¹² nern Gebrauche nach ist P ein Instrumentalstück, in dem die Haupt- und be-
¹³ liebten Melodien eines größern Ganzen und vorzüglich einer Oper zusammen-
¹⁴ gestellt sind, und danach von einem konzertirenden Instrumente oder auch von
¹⁵ einem Orchester, unter dessen Instrumenten dann die einzelnen Melodien vert-
¹⁶ heilt sind, vorgetragen werden.⌐[13]

Arrey von Dommer, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (J.C.B. Mohr, Academische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1865)

¹ **Arrangiren** ⌐heisst ein Tonstück für andere Stimmen oder Instrumente, als wo-
² für es ursprünglich gesetzt ist, einrichten.⌐[14] Also z.B. Orchesterwerke für Cla-
³ vier, zweihändig oder vierhändig, oder für Streichquartett, für einzelne Streich-
⁴ und Blasinstrumente oder nur für Blasinstrumente. Für einen richtigen Arran-
⁵ geur vom Handwerk und eine speculativen Verleger existirt wohl nicht leicht ein
⁶ Tonstück, welches nicht für jedes beliebige Instrument sich müsste arrangiren las-
⁷ sen, und wenn es die Neunte Symphonie für Flöte und Trommel wäre. Hat man
⁸ doch auch bis zu dem Unverstand sich verstiegen, Claviersolostücke von so spe-
⁹ cifisch claviermässiger Art wie nur möglich, als z.B. Beethoven'sche Sonata oder,
¹⁰ um den Unsinn noch höher zu treiben, Bach'sche Orgeltoccaten für Orchester
¹¹ einzurichten. Dennoch sind solche Experimente noch immerhin harmlos gegen
¹² den noch in diesen letzten Tagen an einer Anzahl Präludien aus dem Wohltemp.
¹³ Clavier von S. Bach verübten Unfug, im Hineinflecken einer (natürlich über alle
¹⁴ Maassen modernen) "hinzucomponirten" obligaten Violoncellostimme und (in
¹⁵ einem anderen Arrangement) eines zweiten concertirenden Clavieres bestehend.
¹⁶ Und zwar nicht etwas bloss mit dem unschuldigen Bemühen, einem längst ge-
¹⁷ fühlten Bedürfniss abzuhelfen, sondern mit der ausgesprochenen Absicht, den
¹⁸ Präludien neue Charakteristik, moderne Färbung, concertirenden Effect zu ge-
¹⁹ ben; s. L. Moscheles, Melodisch-contrapunktische Studien, etc. Op. 137 a, b. Ein
²⁰ glänzendes Beispiel von Kunstverständniss und Pietät gegen die Meisterwerke.

¹ **Clavier-Auszug** die Einrichtung einer Partitur für Clavier. Die Benennung Aus-
² zug hat ihren Grund darin, dass diese Einrichtung in den meisten Fällen nicht
³ alle Stimmen der Partitur enthalten kann, sondern meistentheils auf die wesent-

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[13]Schilling [1835], Potpourri, page 192, lines 1 to 17.
[14]Combines Koch [2001], Arrangieren, page 187, lines 1 to 4; and Schilling [1835], Arrangement,
    page 188, lines 1 to 4.

4 lichsten hingewiesen ist, daher die Partitur nicht vollständig, sondern nur einen
5 Auszug daraus giebt. Da die Hände des einzelnen Spielers in vielen Fällen den
6 ganzen Stimmeninhalt der Partitur nicht wiederzugeben vermögen, kommt es
7 darauf an, die alsdann nothwendig werdende Reduction so vorzunehmen, dass
8 vor allem die Bewegung der Hauptstimmen kenntlich bleibt. Es ist besser, ein-
9 zelne Füllstimmen, welche im Orchester zurücktreten, am Clavier aber den Gang
10 der Hauptstimmen verdunkeln und den deutlichen Vortrag erschweren würden,
11 fortzulassen oder zu ändern oder in andere Lage zu bringen, als die Klarheit des
12 Ganzen durch Ueberladung zu beeinträchtigen. 'Die Verfertigung eines solchen
13 Auszuges ist, namentlich für jemand, der das Tonstück nicht selbst verfasst hat,
14 unter Umständen eine schwierige Aufgabe; es werden nicht nur genaue Kennt-
15 nisse vom Tonsatze, sondern auch das sorgfältigste Studium und vollkommene
16 Verständniss des Kunstwerkes, sowie ein feines Kunstgefühl vorausgesetzt, um
17 aus der vollen Partitur diejenigen Züge hervorzuheben und in den Auszug zu
18 übertragen, die zur Anschaulichkeit des Bildes, welches der Tonsetzer mit weit
19 umfänglicheren Mitteln hergestellt hat, nothwendig sind. Es muss dabei aufs ge-
20 naueste gefühlt und erwogen werden, was von Neben und Füllstimmen weg-
21 bleiben darf, und was davon nothwendig zur Anschaulichkeit gehört, wenn das
22 Werk nicht verunstaltet und die Ideen des Componisten unkenntlich werden
23 sollen.'[15] Da aber der Clavierauszug doch mehr nur die Contouren giebt, wird
24 man bei gründlichem Studium eines Werkes selbstverständlich nicht an ihn son-
25 dern an die Partitur sich halten, und der fertige Partiturspieler wird auch mit weit
26 mehr Genuss die Partitur selbst zur Unterlage seiner Begleitung oder seines Vor-
27 trages eines Tonsatzes am Clavier wählen, als den Auszug. 'Dieser hat auch im
28 wesentlichen nur den praktischen Zweck, die Tonwerke auch solchen Personen,
29 die des Partiturlesens nicht kundig sind, zugänglich zu machen, Ausführung
30 derselben privatim oder in kleinen Cirklen zu ermöglichen und auf diese Weise
31 zu einer weiteren Verbreitung des Kunstwerkes, als durch Herausgabe der voll-
32 ständigen Partitur geschehen kann, beitragen zu helfen.'[16] Grössere Vocalwerke
33 mit Orchester werden gewöhnlich auch im Clavierauszuge (d.h. das begleitende
34 Orchester für Clavier arrangirt, die Stimmen selbstverständlich in Partitur dar-
35 über) herausgegeben, sowohl um die Anschaffung derselben, als auch um dem
36 begleitenden Musiker beim Einstudiren seine Aufgabe zu erleichtern. Sympho-
37 nien und grössere Orchesterwerke pflegt man für zwei Spieler vierhändig oder
38 auch für zwei Claviere zu arrangiren, um sie sowohl hinsichts der Einzelheiten
39 vollständiger als auch in Bezug auf die gesammte Klangwirkung reicher, kräfti-
40 ger und mannigfaltiger wiedergeben zu können.

1 **Potpourri** ein aus allerhand, namentlich "bekannten und beliebten" Melodien
2 zusammengeflicktes Tonstück, ein Quodlibet. Insbesondere die komischen Pot-
3 pourri's sind sehr zu empfehlen.

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[15]Koch [2001], Clavier-Auszug, page 187, lines 12 to 20.
[16]Koch [2001], Claiver-Auszug, page 187, lines 4 to 11.

Hermann Mendel and August Reißmann, editors, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon. Eine Encyklopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften. Für Gebildete aller Stände unter Mitwirkung der literarischen Comission des Berliner Tonkünstlervereins* (Berlin: Heimann u. Oppenheim, 1870–1883)

1870

1 **Arrangement** (franz.) ⌐das Umsetzen oder Einrichten eines Musikwerks für an-
2 dere Tonverhältnisse, als für welche es ursprünglich bestimmt war (S. Arrangir-
3 en).⌐[17] Auch das so umgestaltete Werk selbst wird ein A. genannt.

1 **Arrangiren** heist ein Tonstück für andere, der Zahl und Art nach verschiedene,
2 Stimmen oder Instrumente einrichten, als wofür es ursprünglich gesetzt ist. So
3 können Orchester- und Gesangswerke für das Pianoforte zwei- oder vierhän-
4 dig, oder für Streichquartett, für einzelne Streich- und Blasinstrumente, oder
5 nur für Blasinstrumente umgesetzt werden. Das Arrangiren kann ein blosses
6 todtes Umsetzen und die Möglichkeit der mechanischen Ausführung das ein-
7 zige leitende Prinzip dabei sein, eine Lohnarbeit, welche auch von den Verle-
8 gen demgemäss taxirt und bezahlt wird, oder aber der Arrangirende benutzt die
9 eingenthümlichen Wirkungs- und Ausdrucksmittel der neuen Darstellungsform,
10 um eine dem Original möglichst gleichkommende Wirkung hervorzurufen und
11 sucht vornehmlich den geistigen Kern desselben aufzufassen und wiederzuge-
12 ben. Letztere Art hat in neuster Zeit Franz Liszt am weitesten und vielseitigsten
13 selbst bis zum Uebergreifen der Grenze ausgebildet, wo die Freiheit in das Gebiet
14 der Willkür hinüberschweift. Eine andere Gattung des A. besteht darin, dass nur
15 die hervorstechendsten Gedanken und Effekte eines oder mehrerer Tonstücke zu
16 neuer Gestaltung in anderer Form benutzt, oder auch mit mehr oder weniger
17 Geschick ohne alle Form an einander gereiht werden, wie in den zahllosen Pro-
18 ducten der Potpourris, Fantasien, Transcriptionen und Paraphrasen. ⌐Es giebt nur
19 zwei Auffassungen, nach denen das A. entschuldigt werden kann, erstens das Be-
20 dürfnis für kleine Chöre und Orchester, reich besetzte Tonwerke sich gleichfalls
21 zugänglich zu machen, was meistentheils nur durch eine Reduction der Stimmen
22 zu ermöglichen ist: sodann, um den Ideeninhalt grosser Werke überhaupt repro-
23 ducierend beurtheilen zu können, ohne desshalb auf eine Aufführung warten zu
24 müssen. In dieser Beziehung ist die Existenz von Klavierauszügen unter allen
25 Umständen höchst wichtig, da sie wenigstens annähernd die Original-Partituren
26 ersetzen, welche überhaupt schwer zu haben sind, oder gar nicht existieren.⌐[18]
27 ⌐Immerhin gehört zur Anfertigung des A. ein gewandter und erfahrener Musi-
28 ker, welcher das Original unverstümmelt zu erhalten weiss und mit gewissen-
29 haftigster Ueberlegung, Umsicht und Ernst verfährt.⌐[19] ⌐Gegen den Unfug mit
30 A., wie er zwar keineswegs neu ist, wie er aber in der Zeit der Intelligenz, als
31 welche die unserige sich so gern hinstellt, müsste unaufhörlich protestiert wer-
32 den, bis das vernünftige Wort seine Wirkung thäte. Als Zeichen dieser Zeit, ge-
33 genüber der Vergangenheit, wo man ganze Opern für zwei Violinen oder auch

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[17]Schilling [1835], Arrangement, page 188, lines 1 to 4.
[18]Bernsdorf [1856], Arrangiren, page 194, lines 4 to 12.
[19]Contraction Koch [2001], Clavier-Auszug, page 187, lines 12 to 20.

34 für zwei Flöten, ja sogar für etwas schlimmeres arrangirte,⌐20 notiren wir, dass
35 man fast täglich die edelsten Lieder (nicht blos die Lieder ohne Worte von Men-
36 delssohn) hören kann, arrangirt für Solo-Trompete oder Posaune mit Orchester,
37 ⌐ferner nicht ganz selten Beethoven'sche Klaviersonaten und andere specifisch
38 Klaviermässige Werke, ja sogar Bach'sche Orgeltoccaten für Instrumentalmusik,
39 endlich die pietätslose Gounod'sche Verballhornung des ersten Präludiums aus
40 J.S. Bach's Wohltemperiertem Klaviere durch Hineinflecken einer neuen, hetero-
41 gen modern-süsslichen Stimme.⌐21

1872

1 **Clavier-Auszug** nennt man die Einrichtung eines Orchester- oder mehrstimmi-
2 gen Instrumentalwerkes nur für Klavier (zwei- oder vierhändig) und ebenfalls
3 die Reduction eines grösseren Werkes für Gesang und Orchester, z.B. einer Oper,
4 eines Oratoriums u.s.w. auf Gesang mit das Orchester vertretender Clavierbeglei-
5 tung. ⌐Auszug heisst ein derartiges Werk desshalb, weil es in den meisten Fällen
6 nicht alle Stimmen der Partitur enthalten kann, sondern nur auf die wesentlich-
7 sten hingewiesen ist, sodass es also die Partitur nicht vollständig, sondern nur
8 einen Auszug daraus giebt. Da die Hände des einzelnen, resp. der beiden Spieler
9 häufig den ganzen Stimmeninhalt des Originals nicht wiederzugeben im Stan-
10 de sind, so kommt es darauf an, die alsdann nothwendig werdende Reduction
11 so zu bewerkstelligen, dass wenigstens die Bewegung der Hauptstimmen kennt-
12 lich bleibt. Es ist besser, einzelne Füllstimmen, welche im Orchester zurücktre-
13 ten, am Clavier aber den Gang der Hauptstimmen verdunkeln und den deutli-
14 chen Vortrag erschweren würden, fortzulassen, zu ändern oder in andere Lage
15 zu bringen, als die Klarheit und damit die Wirkung des Ganzen durch Ueberla-
16 dung zu beeinträchtigen. Die Verfertigung (Arrangement genannt) eines C. ist,
17 namentlich wenn diese nicht der Componist selbst unternimmt, unter Umstän-
18 den eine schwierige Aufgabe. Es werden nicht nur tiefe und genaue Kenntnisse
19 vom Ton—wie vom Claviersatze, sondern auch das sorgfältigste Studium und
20 vollkommene Verständniss des Kunstwerkes, sowie ein feines Kunstgefühl und
21 grosses Geschick beansprucht, um aus der vollen Partitur diejenigen Züge abzu-
22 heben und in den Auszug zu übertragen, welche zur Anschaulichkeit des Bildes,
23 das der Tonsetzer mit einem weit vollkommenen Apparate hergestellt hat, erfor-
24 derlich sind. Da aber der Clavierauszug doch mehr nur die Contouren zu geben
25 vermag, wird man bei gründlichem Studium eines Werkes sich selbstverständ-
26 lich nicht an ihn, sondern an die Originalpartitur halten, und der fertige Partitu-
27 renspieler wird auch mit weit höherem Genusse die Partitur selbst zur Unterlage
28 seines Vortrages oder seiner Begleitung wählen, als den C. Dieser hat auch im
29 Allgemeinen nur den praktischen Zweck, die Tonwerke auch solchen Personen,
30 die des Partiturlesens nicht kundig sind, zugänglich zu machen, die Ausführung
31 derselben privatim oder im kleinen Kreise zu ermöglichen und auf solche Art zu
32 einer weiteren Verbreitung des Kunstwerkes, als durch die Herausgabe der im-
33 mer verhältnismässig kostspieligen vollständigen Partitur geschehen kann, bei-
34 tragen zu helfen. ˌSinfonien und grössere Orchesterwerke pflegt man vorzugs-
35 weise für zwei Spieler vierhändig oder auch für zwei Claviere zu arrangiren, um

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[20]Bernsdorf [1856], Arrangiren, page 194, lines 14 to 17.
[21]von Dommer [1865], Arrangiren, page 195, lines 9 to 15.

36 sie sowohl hinsichtlich der Einzelheiten vollständiger, als auch in Bezug auf die
37 gesammte Klavierwirkung reicher, kräftiger und mannigfaltiger wiedergeben zu
38 können. Grössere Vocalwerke mit Orchester erscheinen dem Bedürfnisse der Di-
39 lettanten entsprechend, zwar auch in dieser Art, wobei die Singstimmen mit in
40 den Claviersatz gezogen sind, aber auch in einem Auszuge, der das begleitende
41 Orchester für Clavier arrangirt und die Stimmen in Partitur darüber zeigt, so-
42 wohl um die Anschaffung eines solchen Werkes als auch dem begleitenden Mu-
43 siker beim Einstudiren seine Aufgabe zu erleichtern.⸜[22] Man spricht dem Begrif-
44 fe entsprechen daher von Clavierauszügen mit Text und von Clavierauszügen
45 ohne Text, richtiger eigentlich von Clavierauszügen mit oder ohne Singstimmen.

1877

1 **Pot-pourri** ⸜ein aus allerhand beliebten Melodien zusammengestelltes Musik-
2 stück,⸝[23] das nur den Zweck der Unterhaltung verfolgt.

1878

1 **Transcription = Uebertragung** heisst die Bearbeitung von Tonstücken zur Aus-
2 führung für andere, als die ursprünglich von dem eigentlichen Schöpfer dersel-
3 ben gewählten Organe. Die Uebertragung von Orchesterwerken, Sinfonien, Ou-
4 vertüren, Quartetten u. dergl., wie von Opern, Oratorien und andern grössern
5 Chorwerken bezeichnet man in der Regel mit "Arrangement"; unter Transcrip-
6 tion versteht man meist die Uebertragung von Vocalliedern zur Ausführung für
7 das Clavier. Während es beim Arrangement die Arrangeure als Hauptaufgabe
8 betrachten, das Original genau wiederzugeben, muss dies sich bei der Trans-
9 cription mancherlei Aenderungen gefallen lassen, der "Wirkung" halber. Bei der
10 Transcription von Liedern mit Clavierbegleitung muss die Lage der Melodie häu-
11 fig verändert werden, um die Begleitung aufnehmen zu können, und diese wie-
12 der verändert ihre Lage an anderen Stellen, um der Melodie Platz zu machen.
13 Zu diesen, durch die Nothwendigkeit gebotenen Veränderungen kommen aber
14 viel durchgreifendere von dem betreffenden Bearbeiter, der höhern "Wirkung"
15 halber beliebte, die nicht selten die Transcription zur "Paraphrase", zur Um-
16 schreibung des Originals machen. Die ganze, namentlich seit Liszt's Transcripti-
17 on Schubert'scher Lieder in Aufnahme gekommene Gattung hat nur untergeord-
18 neten Kunstwerth. Die oben erwähnten Arrangements sind nur Nothwendig ge-
19 worden in mehr als einer Hinsicht; die Transcriptionen dagegen dienen meist nur
20 der niedern Lust am Musiciren. Sie sind nur Concessionen an die dilettantische
21 Musikpraxis der Gegenwart, die alles, was auf anderen Gebieten der Musik Be-
22 achtung findet, dem Allerweltsinstrument, dem Pianoforte, zu vermitteln sucht.
23 Sie begnügt sich nicht damit, die grossen, schwerer zugänglichen Orchester- und
24 Vocalwerke in Arrangements der Hausmusik zu vermitteln; sie überträgt und

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[22]The passage from line 5 to this point is an almost exact quotation from von Dommer, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, Clavier-Auszug, page 195, lines 1 to 40. The two sentences between the marks ⸜ and ⸝ are reversed, and at the full stop in line 24 the following sentence is omitted: "Es muss dabei aufs genaueste gefühlt und erwogen werden, was von Neben- und Füllstimmen wegbleiben darf, und was davon nothwendig zur Anschaulichkeit gehört, wenn das Werk nicht verunstaltet und die Ideen des Componisten unkenntlich werden sollen." The final sentence is somewhat altered.

[23]von Dommer [1865], Potpourri, page 196, lines 1 to 3.

25 verarbeitet auch den vocalen Theil instrumental-claviermässig, der im Hause im
26 Original seine eigentliche Stätte haben müsste.

1879

1 **Vierhändig**—a quattro mani—à quatre mains—nennt man die Clavierstücke,
2 welche von zwei Personen auf einem Instrument ausgeführt werden, so dass die
3 eine die obere Partie (Primo), die andere die untere (Secondo) spielt. Erfolgt ei-
4 ne derartige Ausführung an zwei Instrumenten, so dass gleichfalls vier Hände
5 beschäftigt sind, braucht man jene Bezeichnung nicht; eine solche Composition
6 heisst dann als für zwei Claviere eingerichtet, weil in diesem Falle jedes dersel-
7 ben selbständiger und nicht als Primo und Secondo bedacht ist. Jedem der beiden
8 Spieler steht bei dieser Einrichtung der ganze Umfang des Instruments zur Ver-
9 fügung, während bei dem sogenannten Vierhändig-Spiel an einem Instrument
10 jeder Spieler nur die Hälfte des Umfangs verwenden kann. Diese Behandlung
11 des Instruments ist auch eine Errungenschaft der neuern Zeit. Im vorigen Jahr-
12 hundert waren Clavierstücke zu vier Händen noch eine grosse Seltenheit und Jos.
13 Haydn ist der erste bedeutende Meister in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahr-
14 hunderts, von dem solche vorhanden sind; seinem Beispiel folgten die jüngeren
15 Meister Mozart und Beethoven und auch kleinere, wie Stamitz u.s.w. Aber auch
16 sie vermochten der Gattung noch keine rechte Verbreitung zu geben. Erst als die
17 Entwicklung des Orchesters und der Oper so gewaltige Dimensionen annahm
18 und als die Hauptmusik das Arrangement der Sinfonien und Opern für Clavier
19 nöthig machte, wurde auch das Vierhändig-Spiel allgemeiner beliebt; da es eine
20 entsprechendere Darstellung jener grossen Werke auf dem Clavier ermöglichte,
21 als das Spiel von nur einem Spieler. Seitdem sind auch eine Reihe selbständiger
22 Werke zu vier Händen geschrieben worden, die weitere Verbreitung fanden.

P.J. Tonger, *Conversations-Lexikon der Tonkunst Herausgegeben als Beilage der Neuen Musikzeitung* (Köln: Hasse o.J., ca. 1888)

1 **Arranger, Arrangiren** Ein Tonstück für gewisse Instrumente oder Gesang der
2 Zahl und Art nach für andere Instrumente oder Gesangstimmen einrichten.

1 **Clavier-Auszug** Ein Instrumental-Tonwerk für Piano allein arrangirt; bei Gesangs-
2 Werken mit Beibehaltung des Gesang-Textes.

Emil Breslaur, editor, *Julius Schuberth's Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon, Elfte, gänzlich ungearbeitete und bedeutend vermehrte Auflage* (Schubert and Co., ca. 1894)

1 **Transscription** Uebertragung eines Tonstückes für andere Instrumente als die,
2 für welche der Komponist es geschrieben. Auch eine freie Umformung (Umdich-
3 tung) eines Werkes, wie die Liszt'sche Klavierübertragung Schubert'scher Lieder.

Dr. Hans Joachim Moser, *Musikalisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig u. Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1923)

Potpourri (fr. = Topf voll gemischten Gemüse) Zusammenstellung nicht zusammengehöriger Melodien oder Melodieteile zu einem Stück (S. auch Quodlibet).

Transposition (lat. Überschreibung) Bearbeitung eines Tonsatzes für andere (vokale oder instrumentale) Besetzung als sie ursprünglich beabsichtigt war, daher ein oft anfechtbares Unternehmen, das mehr dem Bedarf des Dilettanten als dem Recht des Schaffenden Künstlers entspricht.

Hermann Abert, *Illustriertes Musik-Lexikon* (J. Engelhorns, 1927)

Arrangement s.v.w. Bearbeitung eines Tonstücks für andere Besetzung als ursprünglich gemeint ist. Es kann sich dabei um eine Vereinfachung sowohl als auch um eine Komplizierung des Apparates handeln (z.B. Klavierauszüge von Opern, Orchesterwerken oder Orchesterarrangements von Solo- und Konzertmusik).

Potpourri im 19. Jh. aufgekommener Name für Musikstücke, in dene alle möglichen Melodien ohne organischen Zusammenhang aneinandergereiht sind; insofern also von dem alten Quodlibet unterschieden, als dort die heterogenen Teile zu einem neuen musikalischen Organismus verschmolzen werden.

Paraphrase allgemein s.v.w. Umschreibung, Verzierung, Bearbeitung. H. Riemann bezeichnet mit P. z.B. den Stil der Liedbearbeitung bei den englischen Meistern des 15. Jhs. In der neueren Musik heißen häufig brilliante Variationen oder Phantasien über irgendwelche Themen P.en; besonders bei den Klaviervirtuosen der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jh.s ist dieser Ausdruck für seichteste Salonware sehr beliebt gewesen (Thalberg, Tedesco u.a.m).

Transkription im 19. Jh. (besonders bei Liszt) gebräuchlicher Ausdruck für die virtuose Klavierbearbeitung eines Leides, eines Opernstückes usw., also sehr ähnlich der Paraphrase.

Riemann

Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882)

First Edition, 1882

Arrangement (frz. spr. arrang'schmáng), f.v.w. Bearbeitung eines Tonstücks für andere Instrumente, als der Komponist es geschrieben; z.B. ist der Klavierauszug eines Orchesterwerks ein A.; desgleichen werden vierhändige Klavierwerke zweihändig 'arrangiert'; auch Klavierwerke, die für Orchester umgesetzt (instrumentiert) werden, heißen Arrangements. Das Gegenteil von A ist Originalkomposition.

Potpourri (franz.), eine bunte Folge von Melodien (Quodlibet, Allerlei).

Third Edition, 1887

¹ **Transkription** (lat. 'Umschreibung'), eigentlich soviel wie Arrangement für eine
² andere Besetzung, wird aber auch vielfach in demselben Sinne wie Paraphrase,
³ Phantasie (über eine Opernmelodie oder dgl.) gebraucht.

Sixth Edition, 1905

¹ **Paraphrase** (griech.), s.v.w. Umschreibung, Bearbeitung mit ausschmückenden
² Zutaten.

Seventh Edition, 1909

¹ **Arrangement** [reprints the definition from the first edition, and continues:] Kla-
² vierarrangements von Orchester- oder Orgelwerken erforden, wenn sie der Wir-
³ kung des Originals nahe kommen sollen (was wenigstens die neuere Zeit gern
⁴ anstrebt), sehr erhebliche Komplikationen der Technik. Vgl. Die vortrefflichen Be-
⁵ merkungen darüber in Busonis Ausgabe des Wohltemperierten Klaviers; s. auch
⁶ die Bearbeitungen Bach'scher Orgelwerke von Liszt, Tausig, d'Albert, Reger.

¹ **Paraphrase** [reprints the definition from the sixth edition, and continues:] Durch-
² aus unberechtigt ist der Gebrauch des Wortes für einfache, nicht verzierte Arran-
³ gements für andere Besetzung (Transkriptionen)

Eighth Edition, 1916

¹ **Transkription** [reprints the definition from the third edition, and continues:] Ei-
² ner der Hauptfleger der T. war Franz Liszt (er schrieb Aug. 1880 an Graf Zichn:
³ "Die T. ist ja quasi durch mich erfunden").

Eleventh Edition, 1929

¹ **Klavier-Auszug** Die Geschichte des Kl.-A.s beginnt im Grunde bereits mit den
² Arrangements von Tänzen und Chansons, die Attaingnant um 1530 veranstal-
³ tete; sie ist dann identisch mit derjenigen der Tablatur (s.d.) überhaupt. Im ei-
⁴ gentlichen Sinn jedoch hat sie ihre Anfänge in dem wachsenden Anteil der Dil-
⁵ lettanten, die nicht mehr imstande waren, aus der Partitur zu spielen, an der
⁶ Opernproduktion. Nach der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts erschienen von erfolg-
⁷ reichen Opern, Singspielen, "Opern-Retten", Melodramen Klavier-Auszüge in
⁸ Massen: sie gaben folgerichtig kein Bild der Partitur, sondern lediglich von dem
⁹ primitivisten musikalischen Verlauf eines Werkes; der Kl.-A. ohne oder mit über-
¹⁰ gedrucktem Text ist freilich erst ein Produkt des 19. Jahrhunderts. Auf Klavier-
¹¹ Auszüge von Opern folgen sehr rasch solche von Sinfonie- und Kammermusik.
¹² Einen Wendepunkt in der mehr oder weniger handwerksmäßigen Herstellung
¹³ des Kl.-A.s bedeutet der Kl.-A. von Tristan und Isolde von Hans v. Bülow (1859);
¹⁴ am Wagner'schen Drama scheidet sich überhaupt der praktische Kl.-A. (Bülow)
¹⁵ und der virtuose (Tausig, Klindworth), der sich mehr der Liszt'schen Transkrip-
¹⁶ tion nähert. Vgl. u. A. Karl Grunsky, Die Technik des Kl.-A. (Leipzig, 1911).

¹ **Transkription** [adds another sentence, such that the whole reads:] (lat. 'Um-
² schreibung'), eigentlich soviel wie Arrangement für eine andere Besetzung, wird
³ aber auch vielfach in demselben Sinne wie Paraphrase, Phantasie (über eine
⁴ Opernmelodie oder dgl.) gebraucht. Zu den frühesten T.en gehören wohl die
⁵ Übertragungen zeitgenössischer Violinkonzerte auf die Orgel durch J.G. Walter
⁶ und J.S Bach (?) [*sic.*], oder die T.en von Opern für Blasorchester, die das 18. Jahr-

7 hundert gepflegt hat. Einer der Hauptfleger der T. war Franz Liszt (er schrieb
8 Aug. 1880 an Graf Zichn: "Die T. ist ja quasi durch mich erfunden").

Appendix Two:
Analysis of Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*

This appendix presents an account of the analysis of the Hofmeister XIX database. It does not provide a defence of the decision to subject Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte* to statistical analysis. This is given in the main text (beginning at page 99).

The 'raw data' of the Hofmeister catalogues from 1829 to 1900 can be downloaded from the website of the digital Hofmiester XIX project.[1] The bibliographic information contained in the original catalogue has been digitised by the database team using the programming language XML. There is one .xml file for each issue of the (mostly) monthly Hofmeister catalogue. With the help of suitable software (I used the XML editor oXygen, version 12.1), the computer language xQuery can be used to subject the data contained in the Hofmeister database to more stringent and specific searches than the online search function will allow.

Data in .xml files is organised in a hierarchical tree structure, similar to files on a normal household computer. One relevant section of the tree structure of the Hofmeister .xml files is given in example 1.[2] Under a single `hofClass`, a number of specific pieces of information are stored. `hofClasses` are those categories into which the Hofmeister catalogue was originally divided, like "Musik für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen", "Musik für die Tischharfe", or "DD". The numerous entries listed under a `hofClass` might contain information as to the `bibl` (reference number), `composer`, `opus number`, `title`, and so on, of specific individual publications. Using these data, the number of publications whose constituent bibliographic information fulfil certain sets of criteria can be calculated.

Since the types and forms of publication listed by the original Hofmeister catalogue are various, not all entries in it contain the same information. Consequently, the way that data is stored in the database is variable. A significant number of `titles` are not found in the path laid out in example 1, for instance, but rather in the one represented in example 2.[3] The `wip` path shown here distinguishes itself from the `bibl` path in that several different `titles` can be found in the same location: it is the path for a group of individual pieces published in an album by one composer. Consider the example from August, 1890, given in example 3.[4] Each of Max Stange's *Seven Songs* for voice and piano was available for separate purchase. Consequently, they were listed in Hofmeister's catalogue as seven different publications. This generates not one, but eight pieces of `title`

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[1] Available at 'Hofmeister XIX', `http://hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/` (accessed February 15, 2009).

[2] Somewhat simplified.

[3] Somewhat simplified.

[4] Somewhat simplified.

Example 1: Tree structure of the Hofmeister database (`bibl` path)

```
...
text
 body
  head
   div
    hofClass
     bibl
     composer
     opus
     title
     pubPlace
     publisher
     ...
```

Example 2: Tree structure of the Hofmeister database (`wip` path)

```
...
text
 body
  head
   div
    hofClass
     wip
     composer
     opus
     pubPlace
     publisher
     title
     title
     title
     ...
```

---

information. The first is the generic `wip` title for the whole collection, "Sieben Lieder u. Gesänge f. 1 Singst. m. Pfte"; the remaining seven correspond to the individual songs. Eight `titles` stem from one `wip`.

Most of the `title` information relevant to my queries can be found under the `bibl` and the `wip` paths of examples 1 and 2. A small amount of bibliographic data is also contained under two further paths, `...div/hofClass/ listBibl...` and `...div/hofClass/album....` As the number of titles under these classes is extremely small (in 1900, for instance, 0 and 7 titles, respectively, less than 0.06% of the annual total), I did not feel it important to include these paths in my analysis.

The first task in calculating the percentage of works listed in Hofmeister's catalogue which are unaccompanied piano pieces making use of techniques of arrangement is to calculate the total number of pieces of unaccompanied piano music listed as published each year. This can be done by running a query to

```
...
wip id=``hofm_1890_08_0347_11''
 composer = Stange , Max
 opus = 27
 title = Sieben Lieder u. Gesänge f. 1 Singst. m. Pfte
 pubPlace = Berlin
 publisher = Raabe &amp; Plothow
 title = No. 1. ``Die Mutter mahnt mich abends''
 title = 2. ``Armes Herz schlaf' ein''
 title = 3. Dass Gott dich behüt: ``Du lächelnde Dirne''
 title = 4. Gretel: ``Auf Bergesgefilden''
 title = 5. Welke Blätter: ``Ach, wie war's im Busch so traurig
    ''
 title = 6. Letzte Begegnung: ``Kam ich an das graue
    Kirchhofsthor''
 title = 7. Herzeleide: ``Schlaf' ein, mein Kind''
...
```

count the total number of unaccompanied piano titles associated with each `bibl` and `wip` branch per year, and then summing them together to provide the total number of `titles`.

First, the total number of unaccompanied piano `titles` published each year which lie on a `bibl` branch is calculated (see example 4, page 209). Line 1 instructs the programme to count the number of `titles` which fulfil the rules about to be specified. In line 2, the location of the files to be searched is defined: in this case, all of those from 1829. Lines 6–132 inform the programme of the search criteria: works contained in those `hofClasses` which list unaccompanied piano music. These titles and descriptions are taken from the `hofClass` thesaurus (prepared by the Hofmeister project) which gives the full list of classes and their equivalencies used by the original catalogues. Next, a relationship needs to be defined between `title` and `hofClass` so that only those `titles` under the relevant `hofClasses` will be counted. The programme is told (lines 3–5) that `hofClass` and `title` are related by having a shared root at their respective `div`. Finally (line 133), the search. The program is instructed to return the total number of `titles` it finds which are subject to the conditions which have already been specified. In the case of the year 1829, Hofmeister's catalogue lists 849 published unaccompanied piano works under the `bibl` path.

The next step is to run the same query, but searching for those works which are to be found under a `wip` branch (see example 5, page 214). Some substitutions to the original query have been made here in order to deal with the complication that `wip` is the path for collections, not single titles. First (line 1), because this query returns groups of titles which occur as part of the same series, a `sum` of the individual titles which are found is required instead of a simple `count`. Second (line 5), the program is told that the relevant titles in this case occur on the `wip` (and not the `bibl`) branch of the Hofmeister tree. The final change

(line 133) is the most significant. In example 3, Stange's title "Sieben Lieder u. Gesänge f. 1 Singst. m. Pfte" is not actually a publication in itself, but merely the title of the collection. Thus, from the titles which are found by the query (`count($t/title)`) the `title` which refers to the generic title of the collection (`count($t)`) must be subtracted. This is so that only the number of actually published titles are counted, and not the generic title of the set (in this case, $8 - 1 = 7$).

There is a risk in this procedure, for in some cases `wip` is not used in the database for entries corresponding to collections, but refers only to single works. I cannot ascertain the justification for this decision on the part of the database maintainers, though there most certainly must be one. The query laid out in example 5 ignores these entries because in these cases, the number of `titles` within the set as a whole (1) is the same as the number of generic `titles` of the album (1). Since there is no difference between these counts ($1 - 1 = 0$), the query will not return these unusual entries and the relevant works are omitted from the analysis. This is an inherent risk of working with a dataset based on a source so malformed as Hofmeister's original catalogue. The use of the dataset in spite of problems like these is defended in the body of this thesis at page 99.

The query in example 5 is run for every year and the results are stored for analysis. Adding the number of titles found under `bibl` strings to the number found under `wip` gives the total number of unaccompanied piano works listed by the catalogue each year.

The next step in the analysis is to calculate how many of these works feature practices of arrangement. This is done by adding to the previous queries the requirement that the titles of the works contain one or more of the keywords by which compositions which make use of arrangement techniques were typically identified (see table 3.1, page 102). This produces another two queries (one each to track `titles` under `bibl` and `wip`; see examples 6 and 7, pages 219 and 225, respectively, lines 133–202). These two queries were run for each of the years covered by the Hofmeister catalogue and the data recorded for separate analysis.

The results of these queries are shown in table 1 (see page 231). Here, the total number of unaccompanied piano works which appear in Hofmeister's catalogue in each year is recorded, followed by the total number of unaccompanied piano pieces which make use of techniques of arrangement. The latter is expressed as a percentage of the former, before the five-year average of these figures from the years 1831 to 1898 is given.

The significance of these results is discussed at length in the main body of this text in chapter three.

```
1  count(
2  let $doc := collection(``file:///Users/williamlockhart/dropbox/
        PhD Files/hofmeister/monatshefte/1829?select=*.xml'')
3  for $d in $doc//div,
4      $c in $d/head/hofClass,
5      $t in $d/bibl/title
6  where contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte zu
           vier Händen.')
7      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Entr'acts für Pianoforte zu
           vier Händen.')
8      or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
           .')
9      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
10     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
           .')
11     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
12     or contains($c,'Qh')
13     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
           .')
14     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
15     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pionoforte zu vier Händen.')
16     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
17     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
18     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
19     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
20     or contains($c,'Ouverturen u. Entre-Acte für Pianoforte.')
21     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Entre-Actes für das
           Pianoforte.')
22     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
           .')
23     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
           .')
24     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
           allein.')
25     or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte.')
26     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für da&amp;#8217;s Pianoforte.')
27     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pfte.')
```

Example 4 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `bibl`

28	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte.')
29	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte.')
30	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte.')
31	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte allein.')
32	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte.')
33	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 2 Händen.')
34	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte')
35	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte')
36	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte allein.')
37	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
38	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
39	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
40	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte.')
41	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und vier Pianoforte.')
42	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
43	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
44	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
45	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
46	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu drei Händen.')
47	*or* **contains**($c,'Qf')
48	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs und drei Händen.')
49	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pfte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
50	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
51	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
52	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
53	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
54	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
55	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
56	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte, und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

Example 4 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `bibl`

```
57    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte , sowie für
         Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
58    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und 8 Händen
         und für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
59    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
         Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
60    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu
         acht Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
61    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und zu 8
         Händen.')
62    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu
         acht Händen.')
63    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht
         Hände.')
64    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht
         Händen.')
65    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier u. acht
         Händen.')
66    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
         Händen')
67    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
         Händen.')
68    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
69    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen und
          für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
70    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen und
         für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
71    or contains($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
72    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
73    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
74    or contains($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte.')
75    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte.')
76    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pinoforte.')
77    or contains($c,'Musik für Zwei Pianoforte.')
78    or contains($c,'Musik für zwel Pianoforte.')
79    or contains($c,'Musik für drei Pianoforte.')
80    or contains($c,'Musik für acht Pianoforte.')
81    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
82    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu drei Händen')
83    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier und acht Händen
         .')
84    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
85    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu rier Händen.')
```

Example 4 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `bibl`

```
86      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
87      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
88      or contains($c,'Qg')
89      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
90      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianofote zu vier Händen.')
91      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs und zu drei
        Händen.')
92      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen u. für 2
        Pianoforte zu 4 u. 8 Händen.')
93      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
94      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
95      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
96      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Sechs Händen.')
97      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu acht und sechs
        Händen.')
98      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
99      or contains($c,'Qo')
100     or contains($c,'Tänze und Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
101     or contains($c,'Tänze u. Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
102     or contains($c,'Tänze und Märsche für Pianoforte.')
103     or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pfte.')
104     or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pianoforte.')
105     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte.')
106     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte')
107     or contains($c,'Tänze für Piänoforte.')
108     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte allein.')
109     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
110     or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte.')
111     or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte.')
112     or contains($c,'Qp')
113     or contains($c,'Märsch für das Pianoforte.')
114     or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
115     or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
116     or contains($c,'Märsche Für Pianoforte.')
117     or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu einer Hand.')
118     or contains($c,'Musik für eine Hand.')
119     or contains($c,'Musik für die linke Hand.')
120     or contains($c,'Werke für die linke Hand allein.')
121     or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte allein.')
122     or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte allein.')
123     or contains($c,'Qi')
124     or contains($c,'Qk')
```

Example 4 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `bibl`

```
125      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
126      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte.')
127      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
128      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Zwei Händen.')
129      or contains($c,'Qm')
130      or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pfte.')
131      or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pianoforte.')
132      or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pianofote.')
133 return (count($t)))
```

Example 5: Unaccompanied piano works under `wip`

```
1  sum(
2  let $doc := collection(``file:///Users/williamlockhart/dropbox/
       PhD Files/hofmeister/monatshefte/1829?select=*.xml'')
3  for $d in $doc//div,
4      $c in $d/head/hofClass,
5      $t in $d/wip
6  where contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte zu
       vier Händen.')
7      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Entr'acts für Pianoforte zu
          vier Händen.')
8      or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
          .')
9      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
10     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
          .')
11     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
12     or contains($c,'Qh')
13     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
          .')
14     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
15     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pionoforte zu vier Händen.')
16     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
17     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
18     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
19     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
20     or contains($c,'Ouverturen u. Entre-Acte für Pianoforte.')
21     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Entre-Actes für das
          Pianoforte.')
22     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
          .')
23     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
          .')
24     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
          allein.')
25     or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte.')
26     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für da&amp;#8217;s Pianoforte.')
27     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pfte.')
```

Example 5 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `wip`

28   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte.')
29   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte.')
30   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte.')
31   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte allein.')
32   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte.')
33   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 2 Händen.')
34   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte')
35   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte')
36   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte allein.')
37   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
38   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
39   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
40   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte.')
41   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und vier Pianoforte.')
42   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
43   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
44   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
45   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
46   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu drei Händen.')
47   *or* **contains**($c,'Qf')
48   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs und drei Händen.')
49   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pfte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
50   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
51   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
52   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
53   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
54   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
55   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
56   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte, und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

Example 5 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `wip`

57   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte, sowie für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

58   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und 8 Händen und für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')

59   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

60   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu acht Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

61   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und zu 8 Händen.')

62   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu acht Händen.')

63   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht Hände.')

64   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht Händen.')

65   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier u. acht Händen.')

66   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht Händen')

67   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht Händen.')

68   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')

69   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

70   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen und für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')

71   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')

72   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')

73   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')

74   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte.')

75   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte.')

76   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pinoforte.')

77   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für Zwei Pianoforte.')

78   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwel Pianoforte.')

79   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für drei Pianoforte.')

80   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für acht Pianoforte.')

81   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')

82   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu drei Händen')

83   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier und acht Händen.')

84   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')

85   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu rier Händen.')

Example 5 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `wip`

```
 86    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
 87    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
 88    or contains($c,'Qg')
 89    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
 90    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianofote zu vier Händen.')
 91    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs und zu drei
          Händen.')
 92    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen u. für 2
          Pianoforte zu 4 u. 8 Händen.')
 93    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
 94    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
 95    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
 96    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Sechs Händen.')
 97    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu acht und sechs
          Händen.')
 98    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
 99    or contains($c,'Qo')
100    or contains($c,'Tänze und Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
101    or contains($c,'Tänze u. Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
102    or contains($c,'Tänze und Märsche für Pianoforte.')
103    or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pfte.')
104    or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pianoforte.')
105    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte.')
106    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte')
107    or contains($c,'Tänze für Piänoforte.')
108    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte allein.')
109    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
110    or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte.')
111    or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte.')
112    or contains($c,'Qp')
113    or contains($c,'Märsch für das Pianoforte.')
114    or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
115    or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
116    or contains($c,'Märsche Für Pianoforte.')
117    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu einer Hand.')
118    or contains($c,'Musik für eine Hand.')
119    or contains($c,'Musik für die linke Hand.')
120    or contains($c,'Werke für die linke Hand allein.')
121    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte allein.')
122    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte allein.')
123    or contains($c,'Qi')
124    or contains($c,'Qk')
```

Example 5 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano works under `wip`

```
125      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
126      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte.')
127      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
128      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Zwei Händen.')
129      or contains($c,'Qm')
130      or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pfte.')
131      or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pianoforte.')
132      or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pianofote.')
133  return (count($t/title)-(count($t))))
```

```
1  count(
2  let $doc := collection(``file:///Users/williamlockhart/dropbox/
       PhD Files/hofmeister/monatshefte/1829?select=*.xml'')
3  for $d in $doc//div,
4      $c in $d/head/hofClass,
5      $t in $d/bibl/title,
6  where (contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
       zu vier Händen.')
7      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Entr'acts für Pianoforte zu
           vier Händen.')
8      or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
           .')
9      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
10     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
           .')
11     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
12     or contains($c,'Qh')
13     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
           .')
14     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
15     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pionoforte zu vier Händen.')
16     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
17     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
18     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
19     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
20     or contains($c,'Ouverturen u. Entre-Acte für Pianoforte.')
21     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Entre-Actes für das
           Pianoforte.')
22     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
           .')
23     or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
           .')
24     or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
           allein.')
25     or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte.')
26     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für da&amp;#8217;s Pianoforte.')
27     or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pfte.')
```

Example 6 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `bibl`

28	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte.')
29	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte.')
30	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte.')
31	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte allein.')
32	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte.')
33	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 2 Händen.')
34	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte')
35	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte')
36	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte allein.')
37	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
38	*or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
39	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
40	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte.')
41	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und vier Pianoforte.')
42	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
43	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
44	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
45	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
46	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu drei Händen.')
47	*or* **contains**($c,'Qf')
48	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs und drei Händen.')
49	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pfte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
50	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
51	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
52	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
53	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
54	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
55	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
56	*or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte, und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

Example 6 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `bibl`

```
57    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte , sowie für
         Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
58    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und 8 Händen
         und für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
59    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
         Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
60    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu
         acht Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
61    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und zu 8
         Händen.')
62    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu
         acht Händen.')
63    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht
         Hände.')
64    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht
         Händen.')
65    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier u. acht
         Händen.')
66    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
         Händen')
67    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
         Händen.')
68    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
69    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen und
         für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
70    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen und
         für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
71    or contains($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
72    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
73    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
74    or contains($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte.')
75    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte.')
76    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pinoforte.')
77    or contains($c,'Musik für Zwei Pianoforte.')
78    or contains($c,'Musik für zwel Pianoforte.')
79    or contains($c,'Musik für drei Pianoforte.')
80    or contains($c,'Musik für acht Pianoforte.')
81    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
82    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu drei Händen')
83    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier und acht Händen
         .')
84    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
85    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu rier Händen.')
```

Example 6 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `bibl`

```
 86    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
 87    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
 88    or contains($c,'Qg')
 89    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
 90    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianofote zu vier Händen.')
 91    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs und zu drei
          Händen.')
 92    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen u. für 2
          Pianoforte zu 4 u. 8 Händen.')
 93    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
 94    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
 95    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
 96    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Sechs Händen.')
 97    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu acht und sechs
          Händen.')
 98    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
 99    or contains($c,'Qo')
100    or contains($c,'Tänze und Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
101    or contains($c,'Tänze u. Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
102    or contains($c,'Tänze und Märsche für Pianoforte.')
103    or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pfte.')
104    or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pianoforte.')
105    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte.')
106    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte')
107    or contains($c,'Tänze für Piänoforte.')
108    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte allein.')
109    or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
110    or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte.')
111    or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte.')
112    or contains($c,'Qp')
113    or contains($c,'Märsch für das Pianoforte.')
114    or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
115    or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
116    or contains($c,'Märsche Für Pianoforte.')
117    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu einer Hand.')
118    or contains($c,'Musik für eine Hand.')
119    or contains($c,'Musik für die linke Hand.')
120    or contains($c,'Werke für die linke Hand allein.')
121    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte allein.')
122    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte allein.')
123    or contains($c,'Qi')
124    or contains($c,'Qk')
```

Example 6 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `bibl`

```
125        or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
126        or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte.')
127        or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
128        or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Zwei Händen.')
129        or contains($c,'Qm')
130        or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pfte.')
131        or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pianoforte.')
132        or contains($c,'Variationen für das Pianofote.'))
133  and(contains($t,' sur ')
134        or contains($t,' Sur ')
135        or contains($t,'arr.')
136        or contains($t,'Arr.')
137        or contains($t,'Potpourri ')
138        or contains($t,'potpourri ')
139        or contains($t,'Potpourris ')
140        or contains($t,'potpourris ')
141        or contains($t,'Motif ')
142        or contains($t,'motif ')
143        or contains($t,'Motifs ')
144        or contains($t,'motifs ')
145        or contains($t,'Fantasie über ')
146        or contains($t,'fantasie über ')
147        or contains($t,'Phantasie über ')
148        or contains($t,'phantasie über ')
149        or contains($t,'aus der ')
150        or contains($t,'aus den ')
151        or contains($t,'aus dem ')
152        or contains($t,'Oper ')
153        or contains($t,'oper ')
154        or contains($t,'Opéra ')
155        or contains($t,'opéra ')
156        or contains($t,'aus d. Opern ')
157        or contains($t,'Paraphrases ')
158        or contains($t,'paraphrases ')
159        or contains($t,'Paraphrase ')
160        or contains($t,'paraphrase ')
161        or contains($t,'bearbeitet ')
162        or contains($t,'Bearbeitet ')
163        or contains($t,'bearb ')
164        or contains($t,'Bearb ')
165        or contains($t,'Transcriptions ')
166        or contains($t,'transcriptions ')
167        or contains($t,'transcription ')
168        or contains($t,'Transcription ')
169        or contains($t,'transcriptionen ')
170        or contains($t,'Transcriptionen ')
```

Example 6 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `bibl`

```
171     or contains($t,'Ouv')
172     or contains($t,'Ouvertur')
173     or contains($t,'ouvertur')
174     or contains($t,'Overtur')
175     or contains($t,'overtur')
176     or contains($t,'Vorspiel')
177     or contains($t,'vorspiel')
178     or contains($t,'Einleitung')
179     or contains($t,'einleitung')
180     or contains($t,'Arrangement')
181     or contains($t,'arrangement')
182     or contains($t,'arrangée')
183     or contains($t,'Arrangée')
184     or contains($t,'arrangés')
185     or contains($t,'Arrangés')
186     or contains($t,'nach dem')
187     or contains($t,'nach der')
188     or contains($t,'nach den')
189     or contains($t,'Thème')
190     or contains($t,'thème')
191     or contains($t,'Thèmes')
192     or contains($t,'thèmes')
193     or contains($t,' über ')
194     or contains($t,' Über ')
195     or contains($t,'auszuge')
196     or contains($t,'ausz')
197     or contains($t,'aufz')
198     or contains($t,'Auszug')
199     or contains($t,'Ausz')
200     or contains($t,'Aufz')
201     or contains($t,' nach ')
202     or contains($t,' Nach ') )
203  return count($t))
```

```
 1  sum(
 2  let $doc := collection(``file:///Users/williamlockhart/dropbox/
        PhD Files/hofmeister/monatshefte/1829?select=*.xml'')
 3  for $d in $doc//div,
 4      $t in $d/wip,
 5      $c in $d/head/hofClass
 6  where (contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
        zu vier Händen.')
 7      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Entr'acts für Pianoforte zu
            vier Händen.')
 8      or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
            .')
 9      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
10      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
            .')
11      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
12      or contains($c,'Qh')
13      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen
            .')
14      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
15      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pionoforte zu vier Händen.')
16      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
17      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
18      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
19      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu vier Händen')
20      or contains($c,'Ouverturen u. Entre-Acte für Pianoforte.')
21      or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Entre-Actes für das
            Pianoforte.')
22      or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
            .')
23      or contains($c,'Ouvertüren und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
            .')
24      or contains($c,'Ouverturen und Zwischenakte für Pianoforte
            allein.')
25      or contains($c,'Ouverture für das Pianoforte.')
26      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für da&amp;#8217;s Pianoforte.')
27      or contains($c,'Ouverturen für das Pfte.')
```

Example 7 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `wip`

28   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte.')
29   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für das Pianoforte.')
30   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte.')
31   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte allein.')
32   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte.')
33   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für das Pianoforte zu 2 Händen.')
34   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte')
35   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte')
36   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte allein.')
37   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouverturen für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
38   *or* **contains**($c,'Ouvertüren für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
39   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
40   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und drei Pianoforte.')
41   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei und vier Pianoforte.')
42   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
43   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
44   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
45   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
46   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu drei Händen.')
47   *or* **contains**($c,'Qf')
48   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs und drei Händen.')
49   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pfte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
50   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte u. f. ein Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
51   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte und für Pfte zu 6 Händen.')
52   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
53   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
54   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
55   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte und Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
56   *or* **contains**($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte, und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')

Example 7 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `wip`

```
57    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte , sowie für
          Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
58    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und 8 Händen
          und für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
59    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
          Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
60    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu
          acht Händen und für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
61    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 4 und zu 8
          Händen.')
62    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und zu
          acht Händen.')
63    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht
          Hände.')
64    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier od. acht
          Händen.')
65    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier u. acht
          Händen.')
66    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
          Händen')
67    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier und acht
          Händen.')
68    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
69    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen und
          für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
70    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen und
          für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
71    or contains($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
72    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu 8 Händen.')
73    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
74    or contains($c,'Musik für 2 Pianoforte.')
75    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pianoforte.')
76    or contains($c,'Musik für zwei Pinoforte.')
77    or contains($c,'Musik für Zwei Pianoforte.')
78    or contains($c,'Musik für zwel Pianoforte.')
79    or contains($c,'Musik für drei Pianoforte.')
80    or contains($c,'Musik für acht Pianoforte.')
81    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 3 Händen.')
82    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu drei Händen')
83    or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier und acht Händen
          .')
84    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
85    or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu rier Händen.')
```

Example 7 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `wip`

```
86      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
87      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu vier Händen.')
88      or contains($c,'Qg')
89      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 4 Händen.')
90      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianofote zu vier Händen.')
91      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs und zu drei
            Händen.')
92      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu 6 Händen u. für 2
            Pianoforte zu 4 u. 8 Händen.')
93      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu 6 Händen.')
94      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
95      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu sechs Händen.')
96      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Sechs Händen.')
97      or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu acht und sechs
            Händen.')
98      or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu acht Händen.')
99      or contains($c,'Qo')
100     or contains($c,'Tänze und Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
101     or contains($c,'Tänze u. Balletmusik für Pianoforte.')
102     or contains($c,'Tänze und Märsche für Pianoforte.')
103     or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pfte.')
104     or contains($c,'Tänze für das Pianoforte.')
105     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte.')
106     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte')
107     or contains($c,'Tänze für Piänoforte.')
108     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte allein.')
109     or contains($c,'Tänze für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
110     or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte.')
111     or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte.')
112     or contains($c,'Qp')
113     or contains($c,'Märsch für das Pianoforte.')
114     or contains($c,'Märsche für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
115     or contains($c,'Märsche für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
116     or contains($c,'Märsche Für Pianoforte.')
117     or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte zu einer Hand.')
118     or contains($c,'Musik für eine Hand.')
119     or contains($c,'Musik für die linke Hand.')
120     or contains($c,'Werke für die linke Hand allein.')
121     or contains($c,'Musik für das Pianoforte allein.')
122     or contains($c,'Musik für Pianoforte allein.')
123     or contains($c,'Qi')
124     or contains($c,'Qk')
```

Example 7 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `wip`

```
125      or contains($c ,'Musik für das Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
126      or contains($c ,'Musik für das Pianoforte.')
127      or contains($c ,'Musik für Pianoforte zu zwei Händen.')
128      or contains($c ,'Musik für Pianoforte zu Zwei Händen.')
129      or contains($c ,'Qm')
130      or contains($c ,'Variationen für das Pfte.')
131      or contains($c ,'Variationen für das Pianoforte.')
132      or contains($c ,'Variationen für das Pianofote.'))
133 and( contains($t ,' sur ')
134      or contains($t ,' Sur ')
135      or contains($t ,'arr.')
136      or contains($t ,'Arr.')
137      or contains($t ,'Potpourri ')
138      or contains($t ,'potpourri ')
139      or contains($t ,'Potpourris ')
140      or contains($t ,'potpourris ')
141      or contains($t ,'Motif ')
142      or contains($t ,'motif ')
143      or contains($t ,'Motifs ')
144      or contains($t ,'motifs ')
145      or contains($t ,'Fantasie über ')
146      or contains($t ,'fantasie über ')
147      or contains($t ,'Phantasie über ')
148      or contains($t ,'phantasie über ')
149      or contains($t ,'aus der ')
150      or contains($t ,'aus den ')
151      or contains($t ,'aus dem')
152      or contains($t ,'Oper ')
153      or contains($t ,'oper ')
154      or contains($t ,'Opéra ')
155      or contains($t ,'opéra ')
156      or contains($t ,'aus d. Opern ')
157      or contains($t ,'Paraphrases ')
158      or contains($t ,'paraphrases ')
159      or contains($t ,'Paraphrase ')
160      or contains($t ,'paraphrase ')
161      or contains($t ,'bearbeitet ')
162      or contains($t ,'Bearbeitet ')
163      or contains($t ,'bearb ')
164      or contains($t ,'Bearb ')
165      or contains($t ,'Transcriptions ')
166      or contains($t ,'transcriptions ')
167      or contains($t ,'transcription ')
168      or contains($t ,'Transcription ')
169      or contains($t ,'transcriptionen ')
170      or contains($t ,'Transcriptionen ')
```

Example 7 (cont.): Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements' under `wip`

```
171      or  contains($t ,'Ouv')
172      or  contains($t ,'Ouvertur')
173      or  contains($t ,'ouvertur')
174      or  contains($t ,'Overtur')
175      or  contains($t ,'overtur')
176      or  contains($t ,'Vorspiel')
177      or  contains($t ,'vorspiel')
178      or  contains($t ,'Einleitung')
179      or  contains($t ,'einleitung')
180      or  contains($t ,'Arrangement')
181      or  contains($t ,'arrangement')
182      or  contains($t ,'arrangée')
183      or  contains($t ,'Arrangée')
184      or  contains($t ,'arrangés')
185      or  contains($t ,'Arrangés')
186      or  contains($t ,'nach dem')
187      or  contains($t ,'nach der')
188      or  contains($t ,'nach den')
189      or  contains($t ,'Thème')
190      or  contains($t ,'thème')
191      or  contains($t ,'Thèmes')
192      or  contains($t ,'thèmes')
193      or  contains($t ,' über ')
194      or  contains($t ,' Über ')
195      or  contains($t ,'auszuge')
196      or  contains($t ,'ausz')
197      or  contains($t ,'aufz')
198      or  contains($t ,'Auszug')
199      or  contains($t ,'Ausz')
200      or  contains($t ,'Aufz')
201      or  contains($t ,' nach ')
202      or  contains($t ,' Nach '))
203  return  (count($t/title )−count($t)))
```

Year	Unaccompanied piano music	Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements'		
	Total	Total	% of total unacc. piano music	Five-year average
1829	946	340	35.9	
1830	899	348	38.7	
1831	872	399	45.8	42.8
1832	791	386	48.8	45.1
1833	854	382	44.7	46.6
1834	868	414	47.7	47.6
1835	945	436	46.1	47.2
1836	1109	559	50.4	47.6
1837	900	423	47.0	47.4
1838	1253	583	46.5	46.7
1839	1061	500	47.1	44.4
1840	1129	481	42.6	43.9
1841	1081	417	38.6	44.0
1842	1210	540	44.6	43.0
1843	1261	594	47.1	43.2
1844	1416	597	42.2	42.2
1845	1707	740	43.4	39.1
1846	1751	587	33.5	37.0
1847	2120	625	29.5	35.6
1848	1789	651	36.4	33.4
1849	1427	500	35.0	33.6
1850	1774	580	32.7	32.5
1851	2389	827	34.6	30.0
1852	2809	664	23.6	27.8
1853	2446	583	23.8	25.1
1854	2290	552	24.1	22.9
1855	2603	504	19.4	22.8
1856	2654	625	23.5	22.5
1857	2443	560	22.9	22.2
1858	2359	537	22.8	23.4
1859	2447	552	22.6	23.3
1860	2701	679	25.1	23.7
1861	3216	738	22.9	24.2
1862	2932	741	25.3	24.0
1863	2791	699	25.0	24.4

Continues...

Table 1: Number of unaccompanied piano pieces and unaccompanied piano pieces making use of techniques of arrangement from the years 1829 to 1900, according to Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*.

Year	Unaccompanied piano music	Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements'		
	Total	*Total*	*% of total unacc. piano music*	*Five-year average*
1864	2969	634	21.4	24.2
1865	3018	828	27.4	23.6
1866	2643	575	21.8	22.8
1867	2986	663	22.2	23.5
1868	3015	645	21.4	23.3
1869	3321	825	24.8	24.2
1870	2614	694	26.5	24.1
1871	3050	794	26.0	26.6
1872	2751	596	21.7	26.0
1873	2700	922	34.1	25.1
1874	2916	636	21.8	24.8
1875	3210	699	21.8	26.9
1876	3290	817	24.8	28.7
1877	3304	1055	31.9	29.8
1878	3872	1665	43.0	30.4
1879	3328	907	27.3	31.8
1880	3740	931	24.9	31.1
1881	2733	871	31.9	26.7
1882	3283	928	28.3	25.9
1883	2879	604	21.0	26.1
1884	2798	651	23.3	24.1
1885	2465	639	25.9	25.4
1886	2446	538	22.0	25.8
1887	3299	1157	35.1	25.7
1888	3081	703	22.8	24.9
1889	2879	658	22.9	25.7
1890	3315	717	21.6	22.8
1891	2802	726	25.9	21.7
1892	2603	537	20.6	20.8
1893	3119	544	17.4	21.4
1894	2819	514	18.2	20.0
1895	2930	731	24.9	19.6
1896	3440	644	18.7	20.1
1897	2822	522	18.5	20.5
1898	2944	594	20.2	20.2

Continues…

Table 1: Number of unaccompanied piano pieces and unaccompanied piano pieces making use of techniques of arrangement from the years 1829 to 1900, according to Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*.

Year	Unaccompanied piano music	Unaccompanied piano 'arrangements'		
	Total	Total	% of total unacc. piano music	Five-year average
1899	2735	557	20.4	
1900	2392	560	23.4	

Table 1: Number of unaccompanied piano pieces and unaccompanied piano pieces making use of techniques of arrangement from the years 1829 to 1900, according to Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte*.

Appendix Three:
Complete Lists of Unaccompanied Piano Works Featuring Practices of Arrangement, 1840

Arranger	Source			Description	Price
	Composer	Title	Date		
Tiehsen, O.	Friedrich der Grosse	Il Re Pastore	1743	Overture (opera)	8 Gr.[1]
	Gluck	Iphigénie en Aulide	1774	Overture (opera)	10 Gr.
Richter, E.F.	Mozart	Don Giovanni	1781	Complete (opera)	3 Thlr.
Schubert, F.L.	Mozart	Le nozze di Figaro	1786	Complete (opera)	2 Thlr. 12 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Mozart	Le nozze di Figaro	1786	Complete (opera)	3 Thlr.
Richter, E.F.	Mozart	Die Zauberflöte	1791	Complete (opera)	2 Thlr. 12 Gr.
Richter, E.F.	Mozart	La clemenza di Tito	1791	Complete (opera)	2 Thlr.
	Spohr	Faust	1816	Overture (opera)	1 Fl. 45 Xr.
	Reissiger	Ahnenschatz	1825	Overture (opera)	16 Gr.
	Boieldieu	La dame blanche	1825	Overture (opera)	8 Gr.
Czerny	Berlioz	Les francs-juges	1825-6	Overture (opera)	1 Thlr.
	Mirecki	I due forzati	1826	Overture (opera)	5 Fr.
Mart., Gust.	Mendelssohn	Die Hochzeit des Camacho	1827	Overture (opera)	12 Gr.
	Bellini	Il Pirata	1827	Overture (opera)	36 Xr.
	Berlioz	Waverley Overture	1827	Overture (concert)	14 Gr.
	Kuhlau	The Elf Hill	1828	Overture (theatre)	18 Gr.
	Herold	Emmeline	1829	Overture (opera)	2 Fr.
	Donizetti	Anna Bolena	1830	Overture (opera)	36 Xr.

Continues…

Table 2: Keyboard editions in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

[1]Noteon currencies in use in 1840: the German Thaler (Thlr.) consisted of 30 Groschen (Gr.); the Austrian florin (Fl.) ('forint' in Hungarian and 'Gulden' in German) of 60 Kreuzers (Xr.); the French Franc (Fr.) of 100 Centimes (Ct.).

Arranger	Source			Description	Price
	Composer	Title	Date		
Schubert, F.L.	Onslow	Guise ou les États de Blois	1836	Complete (opera)	3 Thlr. 12 Gr.
	Donizetti	Roberto Devereux	1837	Overture (opera)	16 Gr.
	Donizetti	Gabriella di Vergy	1838	Complete (opera)	26 Fr.
	Adam	Le brasseur de Preston	1838	Complete (opera)	8 Fl. 24 Xr.
Rummel	Adam	Le fidèle berger	1838	Complete (opera)	5 Fl. 24 Xr.
Haslinger	Lindpaintner	Die Genueserin	1839	Complete (opera)	5 Fl.
Gervasi, L	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	Complete (opera)	16 Fr.
Gervasi, L	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	Complete (opera)	26 Fr.
	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	Complete (opera)	18 Fr.
Gervasi, L	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	Complete (opera)	26 Fr.
	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	Complete (opera)	14 Fr.
Gervasi, L	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	Complete (opera)	9 Fr.
Gervasi, L	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	Complete (opera)	9 Fr.
	Rietz	Konzertouvertüre für das Niederrheinische Musikfest 1839	1839	Overture (concert)	20 Gr.
Cornette	Adam	La reine d'un jour	1839	Overture (opera)	1 Fl.
Cornette	Adam	La reine d'un jour	1839	Overture (opera)	1 Fl.
Cornette	Adam	La reine d'un jour	1839	Overture (opera)	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Clapisson	Clapisson	La Symphonie ou Maître Albert	1839	Overture (opera)	48 Xr.
Clapisson	Clapisson	La Symphonie ou Maître Albert	1839	Overture (opera)	1 Fl.

Continues…

Table 2: Keyboard editions in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

Arranger	Composer	Source		Description	Price
		Title	Date		
Richter	Auber	Le Lac des Fees	1839	Complete (opera)	6 Thlr.
	Halevy	Le shérif	1839	Overture (opera)	14 Gr.
	Halevy	Les Treize	1839	Complete (opera)	4 Thlr.
	Verdi	Oberto, Conte di San Bonifacio	1839	Overture (opera)	2 Fr. 50 Ct.
Bournonville	Fröhlich	Das Fest in Albano	1839	Complete (ballet)	1 Thlr. 8 Gr.
Potier	Donizetti	Fille du régiment	1840	Overture (opera)	48 Xr.
	Mazzucato	I Corsari	1840	Overture (opera)	2 Fr. 75 Ct.
Siri	Solera	Ildegonda	1840	Overture (opera)	2 Fr. 75 Ct.
Potier	Donizetti	Les Martyrs (Poliuto)	1840	Overture (opera)	1 Fl.
	Auber	Zanetta, ou Jouer avec le feu	1840	Overture (opera)	48 Xr.
	Auber	Zanetta, ou Jouer avec le feu	1840	Overture (opera)	1 Fl.
Schmidt	Taglioni	Liebeshändel	1840	Overture (ballet)	6 Gr.
Schmidt	Taglioni	Liebeshändel	1840	Complete (ballet)	1 Thlr. 6 Gr.
	Titl	Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor	1840?	Overture (concert)	1 Fl.
	Titl	Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor	1840?	Overture (concert)	1 Fl. 30 Xr.

Table 2: Keyboard editions in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

| Arranger | Source | | | Price |
	Composer	Title	Date	
Labitzky	anon.	böhemische Nationallieder	NA	1 Fl. 15 Xr.
Labitzky	anon.	böhemische Nationallieder	NA	2 Fl. 15 Xr.
Küffner	Mozart	Don Giovanni	1787	2 Fl. 2 Xr.
Haslinger	Bellini	Il Pirata	1827	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Bellini	Il Pirata	1827	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Donizetti	Olivo e Pasquale	1827	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Donizetti	Olivo e Pasquale	1827	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Bellini	Norma	1831	1 Fl.
Diabelli	Bellini	La Sonnambula	1831	1 Fl.
Diabelli	Bellini	La Sonnambula	1831	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Bellini	La Sonnambula	1831	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Bellini	La Sonnambula	1831	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Bellini	La Sonnambula	1831	1 Fl.
Schubert, F.L.	Bellini	La Sonnambula	1831	16 Gr.
Andre, Aug	Bellini	La Sonnambula	1831	45 Xr.
Durst	Donizetti	L'elisir d'amore	1832	1 Fl.
Schubert, F.L.	Harold	Le Pré aux clercs	1832	16 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Donizetti	L'elisir d'amore	1832	16 Gr.
Haslinger	Donizetti	Parisina	1833	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Donizetti	Parisina	1833	1 Fl.

Continues…

Table 3: Potpourris in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

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| Arranger | Composer | Source | | Price |
		Title	Date	
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	1 Fl. 15 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	1 Fl. 15 Xr.
Czerny	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Parisina	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Parisina	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Parisina	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Parisina	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Marks	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	1 Thlr. 8 Gr.
	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	14 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Bellini	Beatrice di Tenda	1833	16 Gr.
Czerny	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	30 Xr.
Czerny	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	30 Xr.
Czerny	Donizetti	Lucrezia Borgia	1833	30 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	45 Xr.

Continues...

Table 3: Potpourris in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

| Arranger | Source | | | Price |
	Composer	Title	Date	
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	45 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	50 Xr.
Diabelli	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	1833	50 Xr.
Berchtold	Kreutzer	Das Nachtlager in Granada	1834	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Haslinger	Donizetti	Lucia di Lammermoor	1835	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Donizetti	Lucia di Lammermoor	1835	1 Fl.
Canthal	Donizetti	Lucia di Lammermoor	1835	14 Gr.
	Donizetti	Marino Faliero	1835	16 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Bellini	I Puritani	1835	16 Gr.
Durst	Donizetti	Belisario	1836	1 Fl.
Bonn	Meyerbeer	Les Huguenots	1836	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Marks	Donizetti	Belisario	1836	1 Thlr. 8 Gr.
	Donizetti	Belisario	1836	12 Gr.
	Donizetti	Belisario	1836	14 Gr.
Hall, Gustav	Donizetti	Belisario	1836	16 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Adam	Le Postillon de Lonjumeau	1836	16 Gr.
Andre, Aug	Adam	Le Postillon de Lonjumeau	1836	45 Xr.
Diabelli	Meyerbeer	Les Huguenots	1836	50 Xr.
Diabelli	Meyerbeer	Les Huguenots	1836	50 Xr.
Diabelli	Meyerbeer	Les Huguenots	1836	50 Xr.

Continues…

Table 3: Potpourris in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

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| Arranger | Composer | Source | | Price |
		Title	Date	
Diabelli	Meyerbeer	Les Huguenots	1836	50 Xr.
Diabelli	Meyerbeer	Les Huguenots	1836	50 Xr.
Berchtold	Auber	Le domino noir	1837	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
	Lortzing	Zar und Zimmermann	1837	12 Gr.
	Lortzing	Zar und Zimmermann	1837	14 Gr.
Chotek	Mercadante	Il giuramento	1837	3 Fr. 30 Ct.
Andre, Aug	Lortzing	Zar und Zimmermann	1837	45 Xr.
Vitzthum	Halevy	Guido et Ginevra	1838	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Diabelli	Ricci	La prigione di Edimburgo	1838	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Diabelli	Ricci	La prigione di Edimburgo	1838	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Abt. Fr.	Marschner	Der Bäbu	1838	16 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Benedict	Der Zigeunerin Warnung	1838	16 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Adam	Le brasseur de Preston	1838	16 Gr.
Abt. Fr.	Adam	Le brasseur de Preston	1838	16 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Adam	Le fidèle berger	1838	16 Gr.
Abt. Fr.	Thomas	Le perruquier de la régence	1838	16 Gr.
Andre, Aug	Benedict	Der Zigeunerin Warnung	1838	45 Xr.
Andre, Aug	Adam	Le fidèle berger	1838	45 Xr.
Berchtold	Adam	Le brasseur de Preston	1838	54 Xr.
Haslinger	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	1 Fl.

Continues...

Table 3: Potpourris in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

Arranger	Composer	Source		Price
		Title	Date	
Haslinger	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	1 Fl.
Haslinger	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	1 Fl.
Berchtold	Lindpaintner	Die Genueserin	1839	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Berchtold	Adam	La reine d'un jour	1839	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Beyer	Adam	La reine d'un jour	1839	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Beyer	Adam	Régine, ou Les deux nuits	1839	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Czerny	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Chwatal	Kücken	Die Flucht nach der Schweiz	1839	10 Gr.
	Adam	La reine d'un jour	1839	14 Gr.
	Auber	Le Lac des Fees	1839	14 Gr.
	Halevy	Les Treize	1839	14 Gr.
	Adam	Régine, ou Les deux nuits	1839	14 Gr.
	Adam	Régine, ou Les deux nuits	1839	16 Gr.
Schubert, F.L.	Adam	La reine d'un jour	1839	2 Fl.
Küffner	Auber	Le Lac des Fees	1839	20 Gr.
	Thomas	Le panier fleuri	1839	20 Gr.
Czerny	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	30 Xr.

Continues…

Table 3: Potpourris in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

| Arranger | Source | | | Price |
	Composer	Title	Date	
Czerny	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	30 Xr.
Czerny	Mercadante	Il Bravo	1839	30 Xr.
Leidesdorf	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	3 Fr. 50 Ct.
Küffner	Adam	Régine, ou Les deux nuits	1839	48 Xr.
Leidesdorf	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	5 Fr.
Diabelli	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	50 Xr.
Diabelli	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	50 Xr.
Diabelli	Mercadante	Elena da Feltre	1839	50 Xr.
Siri	Donizetti	Fille du régiment	1840	5 Fr.

Table 3: Potpourris in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

Composer	Source			Price
	Composer	Title	Type	Date	
Czerny	Mozart	Don Giovanni	Opera	1787	3 Fl.
Herz	not given [Mozart]	O dolce Concento [das Klinget so herrlich, from The Magic Flute]	Opera	1791	2 Fl. 24 Xr.
Weber	Abbe Vogler	Samori	Opera	1804	1 Fl.
Czerny	Hummel	La Sentinelle	Popular song	ca. 1815	1 Fl. 30 Xr.
Krebs	Hummel	La Sentinelle	Popular song	ca. 1815	1 Thlr. 4 Gr.
Bock	Weber	Preciosa	Play	1820	12 Gr.
Dejazet	Rossini	Corradino [Matilde di Shabran]	Opera	1821	2 Fr.
Hünten	Weber	Der Freischütz	Opera	1821	2 Fr.
Thalberg	Weber	Euryanthe	Opera	1823	1 Fl.
Hünten	Rossini	Moise et Pharaon, ou Le passage de la Mer Rouge	Opera	1827	1 Fr. 50 Ct.
Lemoine	Bellini	Il Pirata	Opera	1827	36 Xr.
Pizzoli	Bellini	Il Pirata	Opera	1827	8 Fr. 50 Ct.
Bock	Auber	La fiancée	Opera	1829	12 Gr.
Pizzoli	Bellini	La straniera	Opera	1829	3 Fr.
Vlach	Bellini	La straniera	Opera	1829	4 Fr.
Neumayer	Donizetti	Anna Bolena	Opera	1830	30 Xr.

Table 4: Variations sets in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

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| Composer | Source | | | | Price |
	Composer	Title	Type	Date	
Pizzoli	Donizetti	Anna Bolena	Opera	1830	6 Fr.
Henselt	Meyerbeer	Robert le Diable	Opera	1831	1 Thlr. 8 Gr.
Japha	Bellini	Norma	Opera	1831	12 Gr.
Siegel	Herold	Zampa	Opera	1831	14 Gr.
Fesca	Bellini	La Sonnambula	Opera	1831	16 Gr.
Czerny	Bellini	Norma	Opera	1831	2 Fl. 15 Xr.
Dejazet	Bellini	Norma	Opera	1831	2 Fr.
Dejazet	Bellini	Norma	Opera	1831	2 Fr.
Fessy	Bellini	La Sonnambula	Opera	1831	2 Fr. 50 Ct.
Pizzoli	Bellini	Norma	Opera	1831	2 Fr. 75 Ct.
Henselt	Meyerbeer	Robert le Diable	Opera	1831	2 Thlr. 4 Gr.
Rossellen	Bellini	La Sonnambula	Opera	1831	3 Fr. 50 Ct.
Henselt	Meyerbeer	Robert le Diable	Opera	1831	3 Thlr. 12 Gr.
Rossellen	Bellini	Norma	Opera	1831	6 Fr.
Kelz	Bellini	Norma	Opera	1831	8 Gr.
Herz	Donizetti	L'elisir d'amore	Opera	1832	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Osborne	Donizetti	L'elisir d'amore	Opera	1832	1 Fl. 48 Xr.
Herz	Donizetti	L'elisir d'amore	Opera	1832	1 Thlr. 8 Gr.
Kelz	Donizetti	L'elisir d'amore	Opera	1832	12 Gr.
Siegel	Donizetti	L'elisir d'amore	Opera	1832	12 Gr.

Continues...

Table 4: Variations sets in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

Composer	Source			Price
	Composer	Title	Type	Date	

Composer	Composer	Title	Type	Date	Price
Czerny	Donizetti	Parisina	Opera	1833	1 Fl.
Osborne	Donizetti	Torquato Tasso	Opera	1833	1 Fl. 48 Xr.
Louis	Donizetti	Lucia di Lammermoor	Opera	1835	1 Fl. 21 Xr.
Chwatal	Strauss	Philomelenwalzer	Waltz	1835	12 Gr.
Neumayer	Donizetti	Belisario	Opera	1836	30 Xr.
Neumayer	Meyerbeer	Les Huguenots	Opera	1836	30 Xr.
Osborne	Donizetti	Robert Devereux	Opera	1837	1 Fl. 48 Xr.
Schubert, F. L.	not given	Zar und Zimmermann	Opera	1837	16 Gr.
Burgmüller	Halevy	Le shérif	Opera	1839	1 Fl.
Burgmüller	Halevy	Le shérif	Opera	1839	1 Fl.
Burgmüller	Clapisson	La Symphonie	Opera	1839	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Rossellen	Clapisson	La Symphonie	Opera	1839	1 Fl. 12 Xr.
Herz	Auber	Le Lac des Fees	Opera	1839	1 Fl. 21 Xr.
Burgmüller	Marliani	La Xacarilla	Opera	1839	12 Gr.
Czerny	Halevy	Le shérif	Opera	1839	14 Gr.
Louis	Adam	La reine d'un jour	Opera	1839	2 Fl.
Rossellen	Montfort	Polichinelle	Opera	1839	54 Xr.
Hünten	anon.	not given	Popular song	Undated	1 Fl.
Burgmüller	anon.—German	not given	Popular song	Undated	1 Fl.
Rummel	anon.—Swiss	not given	Popular song	Undated	1 Fl. 12 Xr.

Table 4: Variations sets in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

Composer	Source		Type	Date	Price
	Composer	Title			
Hünten	anon.—Swiss	not given	Popular song	Undated	1 Fr. 25 Ct.
Riehle	anon.—Russian	not given	Popular song	Undated	10 Gr.
Riehle	anon.—Russian	not given	Popular song	Undated	10 Gr.
Riehle	anon.—Russian	not given	Popular song	Undated	12 Gr.
Riehle	anon.—Russian	not given	Popular song	Undated	12 Gr.
Weber (Fr. Ant.)	anon.—English	not given	Popular song	Undated	18 Gr.
Czerny	anon.—Russian	not given	Popular song	Undated	2 Fl.
Gantzer	anon.—Russian	not given	Popular song	Undated	20 Gr.
Thalberg	anon.—Scottish	not given	Popular song	Undated	45 Xr.
Fanna	anon.—Italian	not given	Popular song	Undated	6 Fr. 50 Ct.
Dolch	anon.	not given	Popular song	Undated	6 Gr.
Phillip	anon.—Russian	not given	Popular song	Undated	8 Gr.
Kelz	anon.—Scottish	not given	Popular song	Undated	8 Gr.
Chwatal	Beethoven [false attr.]	Sehnsuchtswalzer	Piano music	Unknown	2 Thlr.
Tscherlitzky	Aliabieff	not given	Unknown	Unknown	1 Thlr.
Horwitz	Beethoven	not given	Unknown	Unknown	10 Gr.
Kummer	Bellini	not given	Opera	Unknown	10 Gr.
Marks	Vigano	Carneval de Venise	Unknown	Unknown	12 Gr.
Czerny	le Comte de Gallenberg	not given	Unknown	Unknown	16 Gr.
Lemke	not given	Das Herzelaod	Unknown	Unknown	2 Fr.

Continues…

Table 4: Variations sets in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

| Composer | Source | | | | Price |
	Composer	Title	Type	Date	
Chwatal	Weber	not given	Unknown	Unknown	2 Thlr.
Hünten	not given	d'Alexandre	Unknown	Unknown	20 Gr.
Kalkbrenner	Chopin	not given	Piano music	Unknown	20 Gr.
Carello	Carafa	Aure soavi, aure felici	Unknown	Unknown	3 Fr.
Schnabel	not given	not given	Unknown	Unknown	8 Gr.

Table 4: Variations sets in Hofmeister's catalogue, 1840.

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Selbständigkeitserklärung

Ich erkläre, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig und nur unter Verwendung der angegebenen Literatur und Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe.

London, den 01.01.2013   William Lockhart