'Krell, oft empörend'¹? Haydn, Scotland and Folksongs. An Intercultural Relationship

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Among the 429 folksongs that Josef Haydn arranged, most were of Scottish origin and had already been published in local editions in the course of the eighteenth century. Before arranging Scottish tunes, Haydn had already stayed in London and become acquainted with the culture of the British Isles. He was very popular in London society and was asked to compose for diverse people and occasions. Haydn worked for three editors of Scottish song collections from the early 1790s until 1804, a period that spanned his London stay and several years after he had left London. His collaboration with three Scottish editors - William Napier, George Thomson and William Whyte - has led to an outstanding cross-cultural relationship between Britain and Austria. Now, about two hundred years later, this project has come to a successful conclusion with 429 newly published arrangements in the *Complete Haydn Edition* of the Cologne *Haydn Institute*.²

The most assiduous of the three editors mentioned above was George Thomson. He asked several famous and less famous composers – Ignaz Pleyel, Leopold Koželuh and Beethoven, among others – to arrange (mainly) Scottish folksongs that he had published in numerous editions during many decades of his long life.³ Owing to a significant body of correspondence, Thomson's collaboration with Haydn can be retraced more or less exactly. Although fairly short, from the autumn of 1799 to the autumn of 1804, theirs became the most fruitful relationship for Thomson's unique exploit. James C. Hadden quotes Thomson: 'My first application to Haydn was upon the 30th of October 1799, when I sent him part of the Scottish melodies, which in the following summer he returned united to his admirable symphonies and accompaniments. And from that time we continued in correspondence till the year 1804, when I received the last of his many precious

¹ Cf. footnote Nr. 27.

² Cf. Table 7.1 at the end of this paper.

³ Cf. Kirsteen McCUE, George Thomson (1757–1851): His Collections of National Airs in Their Scottish Cultural Context, Oxford 1993, p. 284–314.

compositions.'⁴ Original versions of the songs exist in the form of manuscripts or of copies, mostly by his amanuensis, Johann Elßler.⁵

After the completion of the modern editions in five volumes and after enormous detectivework undertaken by the editors, the focus is to present a paper about the musical aspect of the folksongs and to look more closely at a genre of Haydn's output that for a long time has remained almost unobserved by the musicological discourse. In addressing the compositional techniques, the aim will be to show, from different perspectives, how Haydn handles melodies that sounded unfamiliar to his Central European ear. (1) At first the instrumental frame that Haydn was asked to observe will be examined in various respects, such as, in comparison with previous collections realised by fellow masters, the sociology of music in Scotland, and the character of the melodies sent to Vienna. But Haydn would not be Haydn if he could not succeed in breaking up this seemingly tight corset. This article will outline (2) typical and (3) less typical settings (4) and give proofs of Haydn's humoristic sophistry. (5) In daring a comparison between Haydn and Beethoven, the paper will concentrate on the most important collaborators of Thomson in relation to their reputation in the history of music. (6) The reference to recent critical work on song collections will offer an insight into a broader context of song tradition in Great Britain.

1 Haydn's 'template'

Haydn's arrangements for Napier introduced a new instrument in a Scottish song collection: the violin. Earlier in the 18th century collections were limited to a keyboard accompaniment. In addition, none of these collections, Napier's editions included, had instrumental introductions and endings. They were introduced almost simultaneously to Thomson in editions by Domenico Corri (1788) and Pietro Urbani (1792–1804) that also provided some pieces with violin and violoncello. Thus, the equivalent of the folksong arrangements for Thomson (and Whyte) in Haydn's instrumental music is the keyboard trio. The form of the arrangements and the instrumentation was not a free choice of

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⁴ James Cuthbert HADDEN, George Thomson, the Friend of Burns. His Life and Correspondence, London 1898, p. 304.

⁵ The references of the sources are listed in the annexes of the five volumes *JHW* XXXII/1-5, see table 7.1.

⁶ Cf. William NAPIER, A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots-Songs, Chiefly Pastoral, Adapted for the Harpsichord, with Accompaniment for a Violin, London 1792/95.

⁷ Cf. inter alia: William THOMSON, *Orpheus Caledonius or a Collection of the Best Scotch Songs Set to Musick*, London c. 1726.

⁸ Cf. Domenico CORRI, *New and Complete Collection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs*, 3 vol., Edinburgh 1788.

⁹ Cf. Pietro URBANI, A Selection of Scots Songs, 6 vol., Edinburgh 1792–1804.

Haydn but was stipulated by the editor George Thomson. ¹⁰ He wanted to breath still more life into this seemingly lucrative but temporary fashion in editing native music by engaging famous composers. The origin of the instrumentation has to be seen in the rivalry of Thomson with Corri and Urbani on the one hand, and in the context of Scottish society on the other. Coincidence with the keyboard trio is more or less random; the violin part could also have been substituted with the flute. Both additional parts could even be dropped, perhaps with the exception of most Beethoven and some Haydn settings, without diluting the musical message.

David Johnson points out that in the eighteenth century women were playing principally harmonic instruments, and men monodic instruments:

Of these, recorder, flute, violin, and cello were played only by gentlemen; gamba and keyboard instruments were played by both sexes, the latter becoming increasingly 'female' as the century progressed.¹¹

The reason was a societal one:

This distribution reflects a society where the men go out to work and meet each other while the women stay put in their own homes for the 'male' instruments are the sociable ones which fit together into orchestras and chamber ensembles, whereas the 'female' instruments are lone and harmonically self-supporting. ¹²

At the end of the eighteenth century music was no longer a preserve of higher society, but 'moved down' to the middle-class. While Scottish songs were arranged with the help of famous masters, British society of that time was interested not only in native song culture but also in foreign music bodies. Forced into Western notation, Indian music, for instance, 'migrates upwards within the music fabric'. The objective was clear for both folksong categories: bringing together confirmed amateur musicians - women and men in smaller ensembles for performing 'purified' folk music in a small circle of family or friends.

¹¹ David JOHNSON, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1972, p. 24.

Their repertoire consisted inter alia of 'Irish melodies'. The adaptations by continental composers are surely to be included, particularly as they are arranged for an ensemble that, in the near future, would prove to be very popular for amateur musicians of all social classes. 'Though favorite tunes and lyrics traversed class lines in promiscuous fashion'; cf. Gillen WOOD, Romanticism and Music Culture in Britain, 1770–1840: Virtue and Virtuosity, Cambridge 2010, p. 157.

¹⁰ See below.

¹² Ibid.

¹⁴ Cf. Nicholas COOK, Encountering the Other, Redefining the Self: Hindostannie Airs, Haydn's Folksong Settings and the "Common Practice" Style, in: Martin CLAYTON/Bennett ZON (Eds.), Portrayal of the East: Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780-1940, Aldershot 2007, p. 14.

Proof of direct instructions from Thomson to Haydn does not exist, but in a letter (3rd of April 1826) to one of his successors in arranging Scottish songs, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Thomson informed his collaborator about the instrumentation and gave exact quantitative counsels concerning the length of the 'symphonies', ¹⁵ that is, the ritornellos at the beginning (prelude) and at the end (postlude), but also some qualitative instructions:

Yet we wish the Accompaniments for the Violino-Flauto & Violoncello to be each in its turn a little obligato, as being thus more amusing than merely ad libitum: these Accompaniments may be as fanciful as you think proper, but the ladies like the Pianoforte Accomp. to their National Melodies to be rather in a simple Cantabile style. [...] Allow me to suggest that the two Ritornelles or Symphonies, the one at the beginning and the other at the end of each Melody should not be shorter than 6 or 8 bars each if you please. ¹⁶

Concerning more qualitative aspects, he not only gave instructions to Hummel, but at an earlier stage in a letter of 26 July 1793 to Ignaz Pleyel, a predecessor of Haydn in working for Thomson, the Scottish editor asked that the tune incipit should be anticipated in the instrumental introduction and that the whole 'symphony' should be in the genre cantabile and finish smoothly rather than brilliantly. In his letter to Weber, Thomson noted, 'I shall write the first verse under each Melody to show you its character'. Thomson never sent melodies to his arrangers with entire texts because he was worried about them editing the songs on their own initiative, as, for example, Weber did with the publication of ten Scottish national songs, J. 295–304 around 1825. Thus, Thomson joined a short description of the content and the mood and 'the two lines which are the most expressive of its general meaning'. Beethoven requested multiple times to provide him with texts but Thomson refused, giving the evasive responses that 1) some texts still are in the

¹⁵ The term 'symphony' appears in the title of Thomson's editions, for example: *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs, for the Voice with Introductory & Concluding Symphonies & Accompaniments for the Piano Forte, Violin & Violoncello, by Haydn,* vol. 4, London/Edinburgh 1805.

¹⁶ Cited in Joel SACHS, *Hummel and George Thomson of Edinburgh*, in: *The Musical Quarterly*, LVI/2 (1970), p. 273; N.B.: Thomson designates the two instrumental parts as ritornellos.

¹⁷ Cf. Marc PINCHERLE (Ed.), *L'Edition musicale au dix-huitième siècle: Une lettre de Thomson à Ignaz Pleyel*, in: *Musique 1* (1928), p. 493–494. Original text: '... on pense que la Symphonie qui sert d'introduction doit toujours commencer par quelques notes de l'air meme (comme vous avez souvent fait) et qu'elle doit continuée ènsuite selon votre fantasie, & finie dolce, plutot que brillant'.

¹⁸ Joel SACHS, *Hummel and George Thomson*, p. 273.

¹⁹ Cf. Carl Maria von WEBER, Schottische Nationalgesänge mit neuen Dichtungen ... mit Begleitung der Flöte, Violine, des Violoncello und Pianoforte ... Leipzig, s. a.

²⁰ Cf. Kirsteen McCUE, Weber's ten Scottish Folksongs, in: Weber-Studien 1 (2013), p. 164.

'heads of the poets', and 2) he would send Beethoven the completed printed volume.²¹ On the other hand, Cooper simply recommends judging Beethoven's settings in 'purely musical terms'²². Song texts could be neutral or strophic, and melodies would be transferable. Only through-composed songs and strongly characterised texts necessitate an adapted composition.²³

When it comes to characteristic instrumentation, Haydn often applies in his keyboard trios the string setting. Jürgen Brauner calls it a 'block-wise treatment of the string instruments'. The short excerpt of keyboard trio Hob. XV:12 combines string instruments with the left hand of the piano. This routine can be retrieved in some arrangements. While the right hand is playing an independent melody rather than doubling the voice, as was typical, the other parts are linked.



Example 1.1 - Haydn, Trio Eb-Major, Hob. XV:29, 3rd mvt., beginning

Haydn's keyboard trios were initially considered as sonatas with string accompaniment, the generic term *keyboard trio* being introduced later.²⁵ The reliance of the string instruments on the keyboard part underscores this viewpoint. Thus, for Haydn the difference between both genres was due to an additional part, the voice, as well as of course the guidelines of Thomson, and due less to the handling of the instrumental parts. The last keyboard trio having been composed in 1797, only a few years later a certain evolution in the instrumentation can be observed, that is, the cello is more independent from the left hand, and the string parts are given generally a more important independency. However this is the case only in a few arrangements. Thus, the handling

²¹ Cf. Petra WEBER-BOCKHOLDT, *Beethovens Bearbeitungen britischer Lieder*, München 1994, p. 42.

²² Barry COOPER, *Beethoven's Folksong Settings. Chronology, Sources, Style*, Oxford 1994, p. 85.

²³ Cf. Ibid., p. 85–87.

²⁴ Jürgen BRAUNER, *Studien zu den Klaviertrios von Joseph Haydn*, Tutzing 1995, p. 124; original text: 'blockartige Führung der Streichinstrumente'.

²⁵ Cf. ibid., p. 91.

of the cello in the postlude of *The looking glass* (Nr. 204), arranged in 1801, is only a small passage, but as concerns Haydn it is a significant exception.



Example 1.2 - Haydn, The looking glass, Nr. 204, bars 25-end

In this example, the independence of the cello part arises from an altered string setting, where the string parts are not attached to the left hand; the cello is uncoupled from the latter and linked to the violin. Exceptionally, Haydn organises the string parts and the keyboard so that they are complementary, a method that Beethoven chose for his arrangements.²⁶

Haydn needed to feel his way into the essence of the Scottish song idiom. His attitude towards Scottish folksongs was partly positive, but also quite ambiguous. Griesinger, his friend and first biographer, provided the following statement: 'Haydn is interested in it. The melodies are shrill(?), often outrageous. But, through his accompaniment and with some further improvements, the relics of these old national songs became very passable.'²⁷ By expressing his interest in arranging songs, Haydn 'domesticates', respectively 'frames' alien melodies in relation to his 'own compositional vision'.²⁸ By contrast, Koželuh, who also arranged songs for Thomson, sent back a whole batch under the impression that there were a lot of copyist's errors, 'owing to the very faulty manner in which the music has been copied'²⁹ Yet these national airs seem already to have been

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²⁶ This will be discussed below.

²⁷ Georg August GRIESINGER, *Eben komme ich von Haydn ... : Georg August Griesingers Korrespondenz mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf & Härtel 1799–1819*, Otto Biba (Ed.), Zurich 1987, p. 191; original text: 'Haydn sezt einen Werth darein; die Melodie sey krell, oft empörend, aber durch sein beygeseztes Accompagnement und einige Nachhülfen seyn diese Reste alter Nationallieder sehr geniesbar geworden'.

²⁸ Matthew HEAD, *Haydn's Exoticisms: "Difference" and the Enlightenment*, in: Caryl CLARK (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, Cambridge 2005, p. 91.

²⁹ HADDEN, George Thomson, the Friend of Burns, p. 298.

smoothed, because the new trend bringing together old tunes with new texts in printed form surely affected also the melodies.³⁰ Nevertheless, the strange sounding Scottish idiom was upsetting also for Haydn and offended his ear, because he was used to hearing songs in diatonic major and minor scales or, at most, in native pentatonic scales, but not at all in modal scales with melodies ending not at the fundamental. Some examples will be discussed below. The 'improvement' of a 'krell' melody became for Thomson a business concept, but he also pursued an idealistic and pedagogical goal, namely, to make Scottish songs accessible for a broader audience. Two additional remarks should be noted: Griesinger uses the term 'accompaniment' and helps to find an answer to the question of whether the arrangement could be considered as a full composition or not. The tendency seems clear, but the 'symphonies' are partially independent compositions. The term 'Nachhülfe' (tutoring) suggests that Haydn has changed, respectively adapted melodies. But this is not the case. 'Nachhülfe' means adapting the harmonisation to the standards of Haydn's style without altering the melodic line of the song.

Shortly after his first arrangements for Thomson, Haydn stated in a letter (5 December 1801) to the editor that he hoped that his name would be remembered for a long time in Scotland through these arrangements.³¹ Only a few weeks later, Haydn wrote in another letter (2 January 1802) to Thomson that he was tired of pursuing his collaboration,³² a sentence which he struck through because it was not the intention of the polite master to offend the Scottish editor. However, it was still readable. In a third letter, written only a few weeks later (mid-January 1802), he highlighted that he was proud of his work.³³

Finally, Haydn consented to continuing his collaboration with Scottish editors, but by quite unfair methods. He engaged at least one of his pupils to make arrangements for him. It also has been proved that Haydn had an assistant for arranging songs, his pupil Sigismund Neukomm (1778–1858). In 1799, when Thomson first contacted him, Haydn was already 67 years old, and his shaky health confined him more and more frequently to bed. The style of Neukomm differs from those of his master with chromaticism, difficult, awkward harmonisation and four-part piano passages instead of the simpler, three-part harmonisation that were preferred by Haydn. Other distinctive attributes are long tempo indications, such as 'Vivace brillante, ma non troppo presto', dynamic and expression marks and artificial, unsuitable cadences in the solo voice. The role of Neukomm in Haydn's folksong arrangements was described relatively early by Rudolf Angermüller in

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³⁰ Cf. Celeste LANGAN, *Scotch Drink & Irish Harps: Meditations of the National Air*, in: Phyllis WELIVER (Ed.), *The Figure of Music in Nineteenth-Century British Poetry*, Aldershot 2005, p. 28.

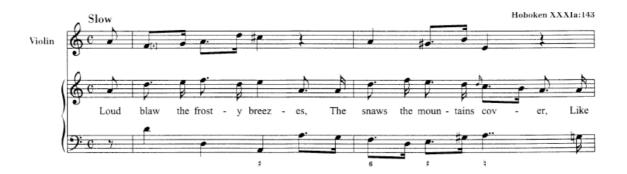
³¹ Dénes BARTHA (Ed.), *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Unter Benützung der Quellensammlung von H. C. Robbins Landon*, Kassel 1965, p. 385–386, 'con questo lavoro mi lusingho di vivere in Scozzia molti anni doppo la mia morte'.

³² Ibid, p. 390–391, 'ma per dirvi la verita, sono stanco di questo lavoro'.

³³ Ibid., 392, 'mi vanto del questo lavoro'.

1974³⁴ and after that by Marjorie Rycroft in relation to the edition of the Scottish songs within the complete edition of Haydn's works.³⁵

What does Griesinger mean by 'krell' and 'empörend' melodies, and what difficulties might arise when arranging such songs? Haydn, living and working with the traditional tonality system of the Viennese classical period, was accustomed to concluding a piece in the habitual dominant-fundamental logic. However, this was not always feasible in the arrangements of Scottish songs, especially not in those settings for Napier, which did not include an instrumental ending and ended simultaneously with the vocal part. Why? An important part of Scottish songs differs from the melodic construction common to folksongs of Central Europe. Most typical are melodies beginning in a major key and ending in the relative minor key, 36 or, in other words, the typical 'twist to the submediant'. 37 This might be a problem for Haydn's ear, but it would not be a problem to arrange them in the usual way, that is, ending with the perfect minor chord. Melodies ending on the third or fifth tone do not cause a problem; they can be harmonised with the perfect major or minor chord. However, melodies ending on a different degree cannot be harmonised in Haydn's 'tradition'. The fluctuation of tonality not only concerns interchanges between major and minor, but also between major/minor and modal keys. According to Collinson's classification of Scottish tune tonalities, 38 the opening of Young Highland rover (Nr. 143) could be considered as being partially in the Lydian mode. Although for the assignment to a particular church mode, at least one further attribute (for instance, the existence of a recitation tone) is required, Collinson's method supplies hints for how to make clear distinctions between scales in the Scottish idiom.



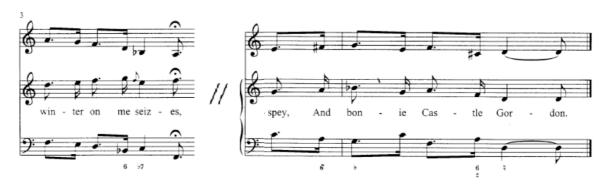
³⁴ Rudolf ANGERMÜLLER, *Neukomms schottische Liedbearbeitungen für Joseph Haydn*, in: *Haydn-Studien III/1* (1974), p. 151–154.

³⁵ Marjorie RYCROFT, *Haydns Volksliedbearbeitungen von Neukomm? Über die Authentizität einiger Bearbeitungen*, in: *Haydn-Studien VIII/4* (2004), p. 341–356.

³⁶ Cf. Francis COLLINSON, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, London, p. 21–23.

³⁷ HEAD, *Haydn's Exoticisms*, p. 88.

³⁸ Cf. COLLINSON, ibid., p. 15–16.



Example 1.3 - Haydn, The young Highland rover, Nr. 143, first phrase and final bar

Haydn's harmonisation begins in D minor, and the first part closes in F major. The second part does not cause further problems because it ends in D minor, which Haydn concludes in unison. In the arrangement of *Morag* for Thomson (Nr. 254), which is an almost identical variant of Nr. 143 with some insignificant rhythmical changes, the tonality of the first part has been brought to C minor, and the initial 'krell'-sounding Lydian mode has been abandoned in favour of a 'regular' major/minor melody. We can observe this inter alia in the descending line of the second bar of the vocal part,

$$f^2$$
 - e^2 - d^2 - c^2 - b^1 (instead of b-flat¹) - a^1 in Nr. 143, vs.
e-flat² - d^2 - c^2 - b-flat¹ - a - flat¹ - g^1 in Nr. 254.³⁹



Example 1.4 – Haydn, *Morag*, Nr. 254, bars 4-7

In *Morag*, Haydn benefits from a larger instrumentation and from instrumental parts at the beginning and at the end; additionally, he introduces contrapuntal patterns in the instrumental parts to obfuscate the original tonality.

³⁹ In this context, it must be emphasised again that Haydn did not change melodies submitted by Thomson.

Numerous are those songs ending in the Dorian mode. Here, Haydn has no other choice than to finish with a chord different from the tonic.

The Phrygian origin of *My mither's ay glowran o'er me* (Nr. 70) might be conceivable, and the mutation to E minor is clarified through some occurrences of D sharp and through F sharp in the key signature. The end of the melody in F sharp, the second degree – Collinson calls it a 'thumbprint' in Scottish melodies⁴⁰ – forces Haydn to terminate with a half-cadence on the dominant chord. In the same arrangement for Thomson (Nr. 182), however, he has the opportunity to alter the end to his needs and to lead the last dominant chord with the aid of the following ensuing instrumental part to the tonic.⁴¹ Cook argues that Haydn manipulates original songs to a so-called 'common practice style'⁴² but also makes concessions 'to regularise the tonal structure'⁴³ concerning his own style in relation to the settings for Thomson.



Example 1.5 - Haydn, My mither's ay glowran o'er me, Nr. 70, last phrase



Example 1.6 – Haydn, *My mither's ay glowran o'er me*, JHW XXXII/3:182, end of the vocal part and instrumental conclusion

⁴⁰ COLLINSON, ibid, p. 23.

⁴¹ Cf. also COOK, *Encountering the Other*; his discussion of Haydn's *'O'er Bogie* Nr. 16 for Napier and Nr. 190 for Thomson, p. 33–35.

⁴² Ibid., 14.

⁴³ Ibid., 34.

An example to prove that Haydn is conforming his arrangement partially to the Scottish style is *O, let me in this ae night* (Nr. 61). The melody begins in D minor, and the end can be seen in F major. Both, the last bar of the first part and the last bar of the second part are identical. The harmonisation takes an unexpected turn, when ending the second part in A major, the 5th degree of D minor, and the first part, as expected, in F major. However, this reference to the style of the native idiom should be considered as an exception and not as a rule within Scottish song items.



Example 1.7 - Haydn, O, let me in this ae night Nr. 61, end of the first song part & two last bars

In addition to the differences of tonalities between Central European and Scottish songs, comes the structure: Scottish songs are altogether symmetric with two parts of usually four phrases each, whereas Central European songs are frequently less symmetric, being in most cases shorter and having phrases different in length.

2 Typical Arrangements

Among the 429 settings, many examples follow basic principles and regularities and have to be 'integrated' into a pre-existing 'template'. It seems barely imaginable that the old and widely accepted master at the zenith of his career followed stereotypical patterns. One reason may be that Haydn, during the years (1792–1804) in which he arranged folksongs, was extensively involved in other 'more important' compositional projects, so that he could not pursue a uniform stylistic line for the settings. This might be the reason why this large corpus contains a diversified mixture of airs combining the native Scottish idiom with the Viennese classical style. Because Haydn's arrangements were realised in broad time lapses, he simply could not put emphasis on a uniform style. Furthermore, his commissioners, especially Thomson, would not have accepted a uniform treatment of songs, their stereotypical aspect being the main reason for Thomson to appoint illustrious personages from the continent. Haydn was surely chosen because of his expertise and his ability to inject more variety into future settings.

But the question is: are there standards which allow the assessment that a 'template' also generates a stereotypical treatment of the musical substance, or should each singular song setting be considered as a unique example that can be found many a time in the whole genre of the settings? If so, what are the criteria?



Example 2.1 - Haydn, She's fair and fause, Nr. 121

The first example is She's fair and fause (Nr. 121). The main source is the Scots Musical Museum⁴⁴ and the lyrics are from Burns, who wrote a new text to an existing melody.⁴⁵ As a consequence, 'the tunes themselves' that, according to Griesinger, Haydn branded as 'krell' and 'empörend' 'entered the polite repertoire'. 46 The arrangement of She's fair and fause of the second set for Napier (1795) refers to a common type of setting: the relation between accompanying and solo parts, in particular, and the voice leading the two instrumental parts, in general, is not uniform over the course of the arrangement. The violin begins with a discreet accompaniment and the keyboard provides an appropriate rhythmical base with a basso continuo. From bar 5 on, violin and keyboard are often linked in thirds. In the second part, the accompaniment becomes more agitated in adopting partially the rhythm of the vocal part, and in the two last bars the violin embarks in rhythmical acceleration. In the few last bars the coupling of the two instrumental parts is abandoned in favour of greater autonomy of the single parts. Although described as a typical arrangement, Haydn permits himself more liberties concerning the instrumentation in the Napier songs, despite their smaller size, than in the broader 'template' with instrumental parts, as, for instance, in Killicrankie (Nr. 244) for Thomson. *Killicrankie*⁴⁷ exists in two versions, one as a folksong arrangement and a second version

⁴⁴ Cf. James JOHNSON, *The Scots Musical Museum (SMM)*, William STENHOUSE (Ed.), vol. 1, London, 1853, reprinted in facsimile by Henry George FARMER, Hatboro, PA 1962, Nr. 398, p. 411.

⁴⁵ Cf. William STENHOUSE, *The Scots Musical Museum. Illustrations of the Lyric, Poetry and Music of Scotland (ISMM)*, vol. 2, London 1853, reprinted in facsimile by Henry George FARMER, Hatboro, PA 1962, p. 359.

⁴⁶ Cf. WOOD, Romanticism and Music Culture in Britain, p. 14.

⁴⁷ Killicrankie was published in the third volume of *JHW* and was sent to his Scottish commissioner on 27 October 1801 together with nine other songs; cf. Marjorie RYCROFT, Warwick EDWARDS and Kirsteen McCUE, Kritischer Bericht, in: Volksliedbearbeitungen.

as a Scottish folksong with variations, which Haydn based upon the former arrangement for Thomson.⁴⁸



Example 2.2 – Haydn, *Killiecrankie*, Nr. 244, bars 1–5, 9–10, 19–end

Schottische Lieder für George Thomson. Inklusive Vorwort und kritischer Bericht, (= JHW XXXII/3:151-268), Munich 2001, p. 307.

⁴⁸ Cf. *JHW XXXII/3:268*, 295-299, published at the end of the third volume. It belongs to a collection of six variations on Scottish folksongs (Nr. 263–268).

Killicrankie can be considered as a typical arrangement that Haydn produced for Thomson with the instrumentation described above, that is, a keyboard instrument, which could be a harpsichord or a piano, a violin and a violoncello accompanying the vocal solo.

The archetype of an arrangement has an instrumental introduction of four to eight bars, a vocal part and a postlude, which is normally shorter than the introduction. The instrumental parts, or 'symphonies', are short compositions by Haydn. The song incipit is anticipated in the instrumental introduction, normally in the right hand of the keyboard, and is usually two to four bars long. The violin plays a counterpart to the melody, and the violoncello doubles the left hand of the piano in the regular cello range and rests on higher ranges (in example 2.2 in bar 5), the timbre of the piano of that period being more perceptible in the middle as in the low register, or it has an 'easier' part (bars 21–22, 25-26). The violin is more independent from the keyboard than is the cello. The right hand doubles the voice, and the keyboard is written mostly in three parts. The postlude normally is shorter and, concerning the motivic work, it is totally independent and different from both, the introduction and the vocal part. However, in example 2.2 the postlude is also eight bars long and has some rhythmical similarities with the vocal part. Furthermore, the transitional bar 29 is similar to the corresponding bar in the introduction.

This could be understood as two aberrations from the rule, but it would be a rule that does not exist: the 429 arrangements are far from being uniform, because Haydn operates in a formal range that allows him significant creativity.

3 Less Typical Arrangements

Some of Haydn's folksong arrangements fall out of the ordinary. The ordinary, or the standard, affects all compositional elements simultaneously. To speak of less typical arrangements may suggest that Haydn has followed a certain set of rules, such as those described above. However, this would fail to recognise that Haydn, at the summit of his reputation, had achieved a compositional wisdom that allowed him, in contrast to Beethoven, for example, to hang back and to give the advantage to the Scottish idiom in composing a discrete accompaniment. The designation 'less typical' indicates that in some arrangements Haydn is operating with compositional elements that cause astonishment because they are beyond the beaten track. *The lea-rig* (Nr. 152) belongs to the first set of 32 arrangements that Haydn sent to Thomson via the intermediation of Alexander Straton, legation councillor at the British Embassy in Vienna, on 18 June 1800.⁴⁹ In only 14 bars, it reveals some compositional particularities and begins with an astonishing instrumental introduction.

⁴⁹ Cf. RYCROFT et al., Kritischer Bericht, pp. 322, 325.



Example 3.1 – Haydn, The lea-rig, Nr. 152, bars 1–5, 9-end

Although four bars long, it is not sectioned into parts of two bars, as would be expected, but every bar is emphasised by evident segmentations and by alternating dynamics, p/f/p/f. The song ends with a surprising short postlude of two bars. Dynamics such as p and f in the introduction and p, cresc. and f in the final part are uncommon in Haydn's arrangements. A relatively modest independence of the cello part from the left hand - in only a handful of cases does this independence go further - refers not so much backward to Haydn's handling of the cello part in his keyboard trios, but forward to Beethoven's instrumentation practice in this chamber music genre. Furthermore, the motivic work is more developed than usual, with a five-tone interval motive derived from the song incipit, present in every part of the arrangement, be it in its complete five-tone intervallic shape or in its reduced three-tone rhythmical peculiarity. This motive leads to a more rhythmical designed tone sequence inside the song, precisely at the end of the first melody phrase, the common element to the two motives being the upbeat of two semiquavers. The entire accompaniment is influenced by these two motives.

In the third bar of the introduction, Haydn converts the interval motive into a two-step sequence in the left hand. The right hand is engaged in a triple sequence, not yet introduced in its original contour; this occurs at the beginning of the vocal part in bar 6. In the last bar of the introduction, the interval motive of the left hand is altered into a shorter sequence of octave skips. Bar 9 is a repetition of bar 3, or, rather in reverse, bar 9 is anticipated in bar 3. In the course of the vocal part, the interval motive forms the spine of the accompaniment and shapes the end of the song melody. In the first bar of the postlude, Haydn combines both motives in a tellingly short double sequence. While the interval motive rises from the left hand to the right, the semiquaver element of the rhythmical motive runs in a crosswise direction from the right hand down to the left. In this arrangement, motivic and contrapuntal work is emphasised by the conciseness of the interval motive, whereas the rhythmical motive calls for Haydn's ingenious approach to musical microelements to be intelligible for the audience. Only a few arrangements deal with such delicate compositional approaches, which reveal an inner coherence. But this is more probably an exception in hundreds of settings. It could be believed that Haydn took special care with this song. Since it was one of the first, Haydn seemed to be more inspired by this new genre than after innumerable arrangements. Could this be a reason to assume that Haydn rigorously followed a scheme imposed by the editor? Once again, no; the arrangements should not be typified as plot-guided artefacts with stereotypical formal guidelines. Despite a narrow framework, Haydn succeeded in accomplishing his task with the ease of a confirmed routinier with many a surprise for his audience up on his sleeve.

4 Wit and Humour

What does scholarship say about wit in relation to Haydn in person and to his music, and does this wittiness also occur – willingly or unwillingly – in his folksong arrangements? Atypical settings and settings with witty and humoristic traits are not so far apart. Wit and

humour were for Haydn lifelong maxims that were turned into routines in his compositions, which became a topic in Haydn scholarship and was already a topic during Haydn's own lifetime:

A harmless waggishness or what British call humour was a main character trait of Haydn. He discovered slightly and by preference the funny side of an object, and whoever spent an hour with him, could recognise that the spirit of Austrian national fun breathed in him. [...] Even physical suffering could not defeat Haydn's buoyant sense, and whenever you found him initially gloomy and then left him heavy-hearted, he called after you 'Many greetings to all beautiful women'.⁵⁰

The final bars of the string quartet op. 33/2 with the sobriquet *The Joke* are often discussed. They keep the audience in the dark about the effective end of the piece. Haydn realises this *Joke*, while he permanently repeats the ending phrase in E flat major and by interjecting more or less long general rests.⁵¹

Andreas Ballstaedt enumerates three viewpoints of wit and humour in Haydn's oeuvre. First, he notes the cliché of the polite and old-fashioned *Papa* Haydn, which is only concerned with Haydn's cheerful habit of mind and places special emphasis on his character, but does not take into account his music. A second, more scholarly method of establishing the presence of wit and humour would entail compiling in Haydn's oeuvre single records to deduce criteria of wit and humour; evident examples would be the *Surprise*⁵³ and the Farewell symphonies, whereas, in the latter, wit lies outside the music. A third method is more general and vague: scholars could investigate Haydn's personal style. Undoubtedly, this all-encompassing method would include the symphonic form which is extroverted, addresses a larger audience and finds a sympathetic ear for musical, droll stories, whereas chamber music, including folksong settings, focuses on

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Georg August GRIESINGER, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, reprint of the Leipzig edition of 1810, Peter KRAUSE (Ed.), Leipzig 1979, p. 107; original text: 'Eine arglose Schalkheit, oder was die Britten Humour nennen, war ein Hauptzug in Haydns Charakter. Er entdeckte leicht und vorzugsweise die komische Seite eines Gegenstandes, und wer auch nur Eine Stunde mit ihm zugebracht hatte, musste es bemerken, dass der Geist der österreichischen National-Heiterkeit in ihm athme. [...] Selbst körperliche Leiden konnten Haydns heitern Sinn selten niederschlagen, und wenn man ihn auch anfangs verdrüßlich fand, und eben mit gepreßtem Herzen Abschied nahm, so rief er wenigstens bey dem Weggehen noch: "viele Grüße an alle schönen Weiber".'

 ⁵¹ Cf. Gretchen A. WHEELOCK, *Haydn's Ingenious Jesting with Art*, New York 1992, p. 10–12.
 ⁵² Cf. Andreas BALLSTAEDT, "Humor" und "Witz" in Joseph Haydns Musik, in: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, LV/3 (1998), p. 209–211.

⁵³ Cf. BALLSTAEDT, ibid., p. 211; Ballstaedt does not consider the timpani beat as a short episode of shock, but as a starting point for an ongoing evolution.

⁵⁴ This is an argument, which contradicts Willock's statement about the final bars of string quartet op. 33/2.

connoisseurs or directly on performers which would have insight into the humoristic insertion in their score, and hence, the wit would be incomprehensible in this case.

Concerning the arrangements, the question is whether the combination of a Scottish folksong idiom with art music of the Viennese classical period should be considered as a source of humour from the outset. Innumerable are those examples, which cause a certain grin, when both sound traditions 'collide'. However, neither the music nor the intention of the composer gives rise to it. The categories of wit and humour must first of all be defined for the genre of the 'arrangements'. We try to accomplish this in floating three questions: (1) Can aberrations from the standard already be considered as a comical input? (2) Must certain criteria be fulfilled to characterise an arrangement or a pattern as witty and humorous? Or in a more general sense (3), should wittiness not be deduced from the entirety of an arrangement, including the text, even if it could only be linked to details?

In looking for answers to these three questions, we tend to deny spontaneously the first and to affirm the remaining two. A confirmation of the first question would imply that an important part of the settings would be witty and humorous. However, although each arrangement fits into a predefined scheme, there exists a diversified variability within this stereotypical model, and only a minority of settings offers more or less humoristic traits. However, this statement could be approved if a connotation could be established with the spoken joke, where surprise, contrasts and contradictions prompt laughter. A positive answer to the second question seems to bear less complexity. With a compilation of a catalogue with pre-defined criteria, examples of wit and humour in the arrangements could be systematically detected.⁵⁵ In answering the third question, it must be taken into account that the idea of humour emerges primarily from listening and only secondarily from reading a score, unless the wit has extra-musical origins, as, for instance, the text. In addition, it is probable that Haydn never saw or heard any of his arrangements in their definitive form and that he had no knowledge of the song texts,56 and if wit and humour based on a text-music relationship occurs, it cannot therefore be a result of Haydn's involvement. Nevertheless, for the description of the categories of wit and humour, it seems to be accurate to provide an answer to the third question and to integrate viewpoints that could emerge from the first two. A meticulous differentiation between wit in terms of an unexpected surprising incident and humour in relation to a typecast of a

⁵⁵ This work has been undertaken by Wheelock in relation to Haydn's complete oeuvre, cf. above.

⁵⁶ Thomson sent Haydn melodies without texts. In an epoch where vocal music has primacy over instrumental music, Haydn would surely have notated the song text, if it had been transmitted to him.

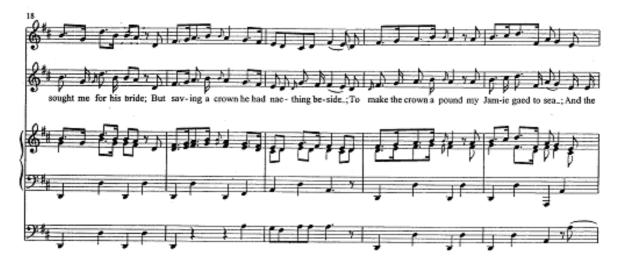
widespread entity in the sense of the three viewpoints established by Ballstaedt should be kept in mind, although his differentiation goes too far regarding the arrangements.⁵⁷

On the basis of these considerations, we will turn towards some examples and seek to detect and to illustrate some aspects of wit and humour in Haydn's folksong settings. This investigation can only be undertaken selectively and will certainly not satisfy any requirement of completeness.

Auld Robin Gray (Nr. 161) exemplifies a humoristic trait that Haydn achieves in omitting inter alia only one single note, b¹. It could be characterised as a 'wit for experts', because the melodic line of the song incipit reveals a commonplace in Central European folksongs and can only be understood by an enthusiast of these melodies. The arrangement has an exceptional form; it combines two songs, an 'old' modal air and a totally different 'modern' air in a major tonality. At the opening of the introduction to the modern air, the second part of the setting, Haydn anticipates, as usual, the song incipit. But this introduction is not a literal quote because there are some minor rhythmical changes. While the first bar of the song melody ends with a syncopation and the third beat of the following bar is formed by a kind of 'regularised' Scotch snap, Haydn alters the Scottish idiom into a commonplace phrase of his Central European homeland in substituting the syncopation with a dotted rhythm and by omitting the Scotch snap. With these barely noticeable modifications at the opening of the second part's instrumental introduction, Haydn seems to address himself to the audience of the Viennese environs which is familiar with something similar by recollecting an old song or even only on a part of a song.



⁵⁷ Cf. BALLSTAEDT, ibid., pp. 198–200 and 205–206; Ballstaedt mentions the minuet of the symphony Nr. 58, entitled *Menuet alla zoppa*, which means 'minuet of a limper', suggesting humour already through the title.



Example 4.1 - Haydn, Auld Robin gray, Nr. 161, bars 13-22

Thus, the melody acquires a sort of stability common to the songs of his native country that, in the eyes of the Austrian Haydn, is missing in the Scottish song dialect. After four bars, however, the mid-European formula leans back into a familiar Scottish song. The non-tone-for-tone adoption of the song opening mutates the Scottish idiom in this small pattern into a Central European idiom. This modification is realised by the most marginal musical means, but the effect is astonishing. It would be idle to speculate about the origin of this insignificant transformation, but, undeniably, it is a musical joke. Some would assume that Haydn conceived these few bars without giving them serious consideration. In this case, he would have achieved this humorous aside quasi-automatically and unintentionally, and the passage would just be heard as an allusion to the European folksong. In view of numerous proofs of wit and humour in Haydn's music, however, this position is difficult to admit. It seems to be more probable that Haydn did not ignore what he did: with marginal changes he was able to realise consciously this witty allusion to the Central European idiom which, on the one hand, would remain undiscovered by his commissioner and by Scottish people, and, on the other hand, would raise smiles among his audience at home.



Example 4.2 - Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen, beginning

Today, everybody familiar with folksongs in Central Europe associates this short passage with an air named *Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen*. The opening of this song in turn is based on *Alle meine Entchen*. Apparently, both songs were written by Ernst Anschütz

(1780–1861),⁵⁸ that is, 15 years after Haydn's death. Many elementary patterns of this kind are commonplaces in Central European folksongs. They existed long before the two airs of Anschütz, could be extracted from compositions and became parts of popular songs afterwards (but could also have existed before). Thus, we find the song incipit in Mozart's variations KV 264 (1778) that, in turn, are based upon Lison dormait of Nicolas Dezède's (1740–1792) comic opera *Julie* (1772).



Example 4.3 - Haydn, Hooly and fairly, Nr. 241, bars 17-20

Hooly and fairly (Nr. 241) is an arrangement that was completed in the autumn of 1801.⁵⁹ It is hard to believe that Haydn had no knowledge of the text, 60 because the arrangement and motivic work are perfectly adapted to the message of the tale. In this case, the humour is not due to Haydn, but arises only through the combination of music and text. The sarcasm of the ballad declares itself through the inversion of the gender role. The story turns on a husband who complains of his wife because she spends the evening in the pub and comes home, drunken, rampaging and growling. Then at home she lies in bed all the livelong day.

1. Oh! what had I ado for to marry! My wife she drinks naething but sack and canary, I to her friends complain'd rught early O! gin my wife wou'd drink hooly and fairley, Hooly and fairly, hooly and fairly,

⁵⁸ Both songs are most popular in the German folksong repertoire. Multiple references can be found at the Internet page http://www.deutscheslied.com (8/2013).

⁵⁹ Cf. RYCROFT et al., *Kritischer Bericht*, p. 307.

⁶⁰ Cf. above, Thomson sending no entire texts, but descriptions of the contents to his arrangers.

Wou'd she drink her ain things, I would na care;But she drinks my claiths I canna weel spare;When I'm wi' my gossips, it angers me sairlyO! gin ...

. . .

10. When she comes to the street, she roars and she rants,
Has no fear of her neighbours, nor minds the house wants;
Rants some foollish sang, like Up your heart, Charlie;

O! gin ...

When she comes to the street, she roars and she rants, Has no fear of her neighbours, nor minds the house wants; Rants some foollish sang, like Up your heart, Charlie;

O! gin ...

Table 4.1 – Hooly and fairly, Verses 1, 5, 10 and 11

The black humour is caused by a brisk and wild tempo – that depends on the interpretation, of course. At the end of the vocal part, at the transition of bar 17 to 18, Haydn picks up a hiccup motive that could symbolise the drunken wife and combines it with the other main motive of the arrangement. It is a knocking rhythm – one accentuated crotched, one quaver and one crotched – in the characteristic string setting at the beginning of the vocal part which could symbolise the determination of the wife and the power that she exercises over her husband. It is present permanently all through the arrangement and changes from an accentuated rhythm into a lighter upbeat motive in the postlude in bars 19–20, again in the string setting. The combination of both motives – accented semiquavers and unaccented quavers – can be considered as a further reference of Haydn to the Scottish song idiom by adjusting a Scotch snap to his needs, but it is definitely also – consciously or unconsciously – a source of humour.

The hiccup motive calls to mind Caspar's drinking song 'Here, in this mundane vale of tears' in Carl Maria von Weber's *Marksman*, where in the short interlude between each stanza the piccolo flute plays a comparable pattern that Weber, in contrast to Haydn, utilises with full intention to underline the scurrility of the text and to paraphrase the hiccup by onomatopoeia.

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⁶¹ 'Hier im ird'schen Jammerthal.'



Example 4.4 - Weber, Hiccup-motive, Marksman, New York/London 1904, p. 48

It is known that the text of this Scottish ballad has its origins around the middle of the eighteenth century. It had been adapted to an existing melody that was published about the same time in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion* of James Oswald. The cliché depicting the woman dominating her husband is widely spread over language boundaries and can be encountered in many a regional folksong collection in the Anglo-American language area, in France and in Germany and probably also in other folksong cultures. As a partial aspect of the man-woman relationship in folksongs, it has its place beside more harmless subjects like simple love songs and wedding songs and beside more malicious topics like infidelity and adultery. In this sense this tradition goes farther than Langan points out when he considers that drinking-songs 'are deformations of the national air produced by English colonization'. 63

5 Haydn and Beethoven

The comparison of Haydn's folksong arrangements with those of composers like Pleyel, Koželuh, Hummel, and Weber, who were also engaged by Thomson, cannot be condensed to a few words. Furthermore, their quantitative contribution can in no way be compared to Haydn's. Although Koželuch's contribution is, with 144 songs, also substantial, all of these arrangements being more uniform than Haydn's, and the assumption of an 'integration' into a pre-existing 'template' being accurate to a certain extent.⁶⁴

Therefore, it will be more helpful to concentrate on a comparison between Haydn and the other eminent collaborator of Thomson: Beethoven. In contrast to the other four composers, a further reason is the higher artistic standard.

⁶² Cf. SMM II, Nr. 199, 191 / In the ISMM, 180–182, Johnson states that the text originates from the second volume of C. YAIR, *The Charmer. A Choice Collection of Songs, Scots and English* of 1751; the melody is based on the air 'Faith I defy thee' published in the fifth of six volumes of James Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, London, about 1743–59, p. 32.

⁶³ LANGAN, Scotch Drink & Irish Harps, p. 46.

⁶⁴ Cf. Table 7.2.

The most apparent difference for connoisseurs of keyboard trios and folksong settings of Haydn is a priori the independence of the cello part from the left hand in the arrangements of Beethoven. In quite a number of his settings, the string parts and the keyboard part stand as two different but interconnected elements within the setting. This disposition can also be detected in the scores: Beethoven annotates in his autographs first the voice(s), then the strings and, at the end, the keyboard. 65 In the Complete Beethoven Edition the voice(s) have been adapted to today's conventions and transferred to the middle of the score between the strings on the top and the keyboard below. Haydn's disposition of the score - violin, voice, keyboard and violoncello - also reflects his compositional practice. In contrast to the Complete Edition of Beethoven, the disposition of the parts has been maintained in JHW. While the violin often stands alone and figures the vocal part, which is located between the violin and the keyboard part, the cello part below the keyboard points out its attachment to the left hand. Regarding this compositional template, we could consider Beethoven's settings as being schematic. Yet, Beethoven would not be Beethoven if he did not succeed in 'filling' this schema with musical geniality, being far away from uniformity.

In contrast to Haydn, who principally separates the parts of the arrangements and the song phrases by clearly audible caesura, the instrumental parts of Beethoven are not only longer, but phrasing is more spacious, and the junction of phrases is fluent. This seems to be a structural principle for Beethoven, and it provides to his settings the impression of an integral whole. In addition, he connects the song parts by a short one-or two-bar intermezzo. Concerning the doubling of the vocal part, which was requested by Thomson as instrumental support for his expected amateur clientele, ⁶⁶ Beethoven, in contrast to Haydn, occasionally changes between the right hand and the violin. From time to time, Beethoven also loosens the doubling or suspends it without substitution, but he principally prefers the violin as support for the vocal part. Could the close proximity of both parts in Beethoven's autograph be the reason? Surely not! In several arrangements with more than one vocal part, the violin doubles the first vocal part and the cello mutates from a bass to a tenor instrument or violin and cello forge an independent string bloc beside the keyboard and double the vocal part(s) only partially. Although Cooper sees a

⁶⁵ Cf. the digitalised reviewed copy of *Fünfundzwanzig Schottische Lieder für Singstimme*, *Violine*, *Violoncello und Klavier*, op. 108, 1-25, at the Internet page (7/2013) and the digitalised autograph of *Lieder verschiedener Völker*, 1. *Abteilung*, "Bolero a due" für zwei Singstimmen, Violine, Violoncello und Klavier (= WoO 158, 1, 20) picture 5, at the Internet page (7/2017).

⁶⁶ Cf. PINCHERLE, L'Edition musicale, p. 493–494.

relative diversity in the handling of the instrumental parts,⁶⁷ it is obvious that Beethoven deals more assiduously with the musical material of the submitted melodies by splitting of motives and by inserting them as 'melodic shreds' in the overall musical context; this strategy appears to be relatively uniform. Throughout the instrumental prelude, the fifth c¹-b¹ at the upbeat of *Highland Harry* is emphasised by the strings like single dashes of colour on an unpainted screen, and reappears with tantalising regularity in the course of the vocal part.



Example 5.1 - Beethoven, Highland Harry, WoO 156,4, bars 1-9

Above a minimalistic accompaniment pattern, a minimalistic three-tone motive which is deduced from the upbeat of *Come fill, fill, my good fellow* stands in the right hand. Both pattern and motive are repeated monotonously up to the opening of the vocal part, and the listener is left in doubt about the intention of the composer. A comparable approach would be rather improbable for Haydn, because he does not repeat stereotypically such short motives of the song material, ⁶⁸ but prefers inventing motives of his own, independent from the melodic material of the song.



68 The example of the 'The lea-rig' discussed above is a rare exception, and the motive deduced from the song material is longer (five tones).

⁶⁷ Cf. COOPER, Beethoven's Folksong Settings, p. 171–172.



Example 5.2 - Beethoven, Come fill, fill, my good fellow, op. 108,13, bars 1-5

Haydn and Beethoven have arranged in six cases the same Scottish melody:

- 1. Duncan Gray⁶⁹
- 2. Can you sew cushions (Beethoven's song is entitled: Oh! sweet were the hours 70)
- 3. Onochri⁷¹
- 4. Bonny wee thing⁷²
- 5. From thee, Eliza, I must go⁷³
- 6. Auld lang syne⁷⁴.

However, it cannot be excluded that further melodies have been arranged by both composers. Finding this out would be a difficult, time-intensive task, because in the sources identical melodies often have different song titles, so songs ought to be reviewed and compared one by one. While Beethoven worked only for Thomson, Haydn arranged the first two songs, *Mary's Dream* and *Duncan Gray*, for Napier and provided three arrangements of *Bonny wee thing*, one for each publisher. Haydn's arrangement of *Auld lang syne* (Nr. 388), and Beethoven's arrangement (WoO 156, 11), both for Thomson, are the result of an unofficial co-operation. While Haydn arranged the song for one voice, Beethoven enlarged Haydn's arrangement to a trio, but did not change anything in the instrumentation. Thomson published Haydn's arrangement for the first

⁶⁹ Cf. JHW XXXII/1:34, 35; BW XI, 1, WoO 156, Nr. 9, p. 156-158

⁷⁰ Cf. JHW XXXII/1:48, 51; BW XI, 1, op. 108, Nr. 3, p. 14–16

⁷¹ Cf. JHW XXXII/1:85, 89; BW XI, 1, WoO 156, Nr. 5, p. 146–147.

⁷² Cf. *JHW XXXII/2:102*, p. 3–4; *JHW XXXII/3:250*, p. 233-234; *JHW XXXII/5:*392, p. 72–74; BW XI, 1, WoO 156, Nr. 22, p. 199–200.

⁷³ Cf. JHW XXXII/5:385, p. 55–57; BW XI, 1, WoO 156, Nr. 14, p. 171–173.

⁷⁴ Cf. JHW XXXII/5:388, p. 63–65; BW XI, 1, WoO 156, Nr. 11, p. 162–164.

⁷⁵ Cf. *JHW XXXII*/2:102, p. 3–4 for Napier; *JHW XXXII*/3:250, p. 233–234 for Thomson; and *JHW XXXII*/5:392, p. 72–74, for Whyte.

time in 1822^{76} and Beethoven's version with three vocal parts in two editions, one in 1825^{77} and the other in $1826.^{78}$

A comparison with uniform criteria would be unsuitable for arrangements that Haydn wrote for Napier, because the formal structure and instrumentation are different. This is the case for the arrangements 1-4 and 6 listed above. From thee, Eliza, I must go might be most suitable for comparison, because here formal structures are similar, with the difference that Beethoven has extended it to three vocal parts. The minimal rhythmical disparity between both song tunes is irrelevant. The arrangement begins quite unusually with a relatively short asymmetrical introduction of three bars and a caesura at the end of the second bar. The references to elements of the song melody are more evident in Haydn's arrangement, but Beethoven's method seems to be subtler. He alludes to the song opening with its characteristic descending line in the violin⁷⁹ and the right hand in the second bar; the cello and the left hand play a second voice on the same rhythm. At the transition point between the introduction and the vocal part, the cello interjects a motive rhythmically derived from the song incipit. With this short insertion, Beethoven links the introduction directly to the vocal part and avoids a caesura. The long notes of the violin and the cello give a hint about the hymnal character of the vocal part. The instrumentation follows the logic of the separation between the string section and the keyboard.



⁷⁶ Cf. George THOMSON, Selected Melodies of Scotland, Edinburgh 1822, Nr. 22.

 $^{^{77}}$ Cf. George THOMSON, *Thomson's Collection of the Songs of Burns*, Edinburgh 1825, Nr. 22.

⁷⁸ Cf. George THOMSON, *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, 2nd edition, Edinburgh 1826, Nr. 236.

⁷⁹ Violin and flute parts are identical.



Example 5.3 - Beethoven, From thee, Eliza, I must go WoO 156,14, bars 1-7

When it comes to Haydn, the situation is somewhat different. Nevertheless, the openings of the arrangements are uncommon for both composers. Haydn's introduction is longer by one bar. Normally it is the other way round, and Beethoven gives his openings more emphasis. Haydn anticipates the song incipit as usual in the right hand, albeit with a very short, only one-bar-long incipit quote. The left hand and the cello are connected, and the violin plays, completely independently from the cello, a facile upper part, concluding the passage work of the left hand in the fourth bar. The semiquaver triplets could be interpreted as a rhythmical allusion to the beginning of the song melody, although the corresponding motive is descending. Yet, this figure has a particular significance in the arrangement; it occurs in the 'symphonies', but also in the accompaniment. Haydn's symmetric segmentation of the introduction into two parts of two bars is logically structured and clearly comprehensible, the first part being devoted to the song incipit and the second part figuring the short semiquaver triplet of the song's beginning. However, the segmentation is weakened by a four-tone ascending line at the upbeat at the intersection of bars 2/3. Both composers come together in accompanying the vocal part. In Beethoven's trio, the violin plays the melody of the first voice in the upper octave. Haydn fulfils this task, as is the custom, by doubling the vocal part unisono in the right hand.

In the first section of the vocal part, Beethoven indicates the caesura, but, as Haydn does in linking bars 2/3 of the introduction, he establishes a flowing transition between the first and the second song phrases (in bar 5/6) by the third vocal part, then in bar 7 between the second and the third phrases, this time together by the left hand.



Example 5.4 - Haydn, From thee, Eliza, I must go Nr. 385, bars 1-7, 21-end

The relatively monotone piano accompaniment acts contrary to the evident structure of the song melody with its clearly identifiable segments, while Haydn's phrasing is adapted to it. He applies connections between the song parts, but they are weaker and could be intercepted by short respirations. Furthermore, Beethoven links the melody parts – normally two in Scottish folksongs – by a short two-bar (bars 11/12) intermezzo.



Example 5.5 – Beethoven, From thee, Eliza, I must go, bars 10–15

This example is free of melodic elements of the song melody, apart perhaps from the small motive of the quavers b²-d³ followed by a Scotch snap, which can be considered Beethoven's reference to Scottish music. A Scotch snap in an instrumental part of Haydn would be difficult to imagine, unless in an incipit quote or in doubling the vocal part.⁸⁰ In the second section of the vocal part (bars 14–15) Beethoven welds phrases together even more consequently. At the end of the vocal part he transfers the melodic line directly to the keyboard in order to avoid a caesura. The same applies to the repetition at bar 21, the vocal parts coming together with the string parts to their final chord and the keyboard starting one quaver earlier. Thus, Beethoven forms a whole out of separate parts.



Example 5.6 - From thee, Eliza, I must go: Haydn - ritornello; Beethoven - end of the vocal part

⁸⁰ However, there are some rare exceptions of Scotch snaps standing alone.

Haydn has a different approach: first, he separates the instrumental introduction from the vocal part, and then he adapts his arrangement to the needs of the song structure. By contrast, Beethoven transfers the song into his composition. However, we can notice two atypical aspects in Haydn's arrangement. They concern the instrumental parts which normally have no common traits, whereas in this example the last one and a half bars are equivalent, with the semiquaver triplets borrowed from the song incipit. A similar exception has been described in example 1.2. Then, the postlude achieves a certain uniformity by the semiquaver triplets, but it is structured asymmetrically with an isolated last bar, linked to the previous bars by the right hand.

In summary, it can be stated that Haydn's arrangement should under no circumstances be considered as being inferior to Beethoven's and that he delivered patchwork to Thomson. Haydn remains true to himself in many aspects. As Petra Weber-Bockholdt notes, 'Haydn, this mighty expert, demonstrates his mastery through a kind of nonchalance in restraining himself and in leaving the song to itself. [...] He composes easier than Beethoven does, because he understands that the songs do not belong to him, but to the British, and polite Haydn doesn't capture them.'⁸¹

Weber-Bockholdt focuses on the fact of nonchalance in arranging Scottish songs and argues that Haydn, who stayed in England for some years, knew insular folk music, while Beethoven, who was never there, was not aware of the cultural context enclosing the melodies. His only reference was the music on a sheet of paper. In consequence, there exists a more artistic distance between the creativity of Beethoven than a societal distance between persons. In relation to their folksong conception, Cook has a different view of Haydn than Weber-Bockholdt - he does not mention Beethoven, but he is closer to Weber-Bockholdt's view of Beethoven, namely, Haydn 'was working from notations rather than from personal experience'. Head assumes that Haydn probably knew the fictive poetry of Ossian. It was widely brought to light in German speaking countries by means of Herder's endeavour to collect folksongs. Ossian plays an important role in the part of Herder's oeuvre concerning folksong collection and research.

We can accept all of these viewpoints, but two questions remain. Do composers like Haydn and Beethoven rely on a vivid impression of the folk music jargon of a specific tradition to achieve an appropriate outcome? Concerning Weber-Bockholdt's statement,

Petra WEBER-BOCKHOLDT, Komposition oder Begleitung. Ein Vergleich der Bearbeitungen schottischer Lieder von Haydn und Beethoven, in: Haydn-Studien VIII/4 (2004), p. 406; original text: 'Haydn, dieser gewaltige Könner, zeigt seine Meisterschaft in der Lässigkeit, mit der er sich zurückhält und das Lied Lied sein läßt. [...] Er komponiert lässiger als Beethoven, weil er begreift, daß diese Lieder nicht seine Sache sind: sie sind Sache der Briten, und der höfliche Haydn reißt sie nicht an sich'.

⁸² Cf. ibid., p. 406–407.

⁸³ COOK, Encountering the Other, p. 31.

⁸⁴ Cf. HEAD, *Haydn's Exoticisms*, p. 86.

would Beethoven's arrangements be different if he had benefited from a personal experience of life in the British Isles with its cultural environment? Would they be similar to Haydn's? The answer in this case would have to be linked to a survey, seeking information about Beethoven's (or Haydn's) style in related compositions, such as keyboard trios or songs with keyboard accompaniment, for example. Without this information, any answer is rather hazardous, and therefore it would be helpful to consider the facts.

The creative potential of Beethoven has to face up to a small-sized form. Some elements of this potential in relation to the tight song structure can be identified in the examples above: the motivic work in the introductions and partially also in the instrumental interludes, and the connection of phrases that forms a broader context. But we also can see Beethoven restraining himself when he merges phrases less strongly and overlaps only one or two parts. Where Beethoven brings together the song parts with an interlude, Haydn mostly inserts only breath marks. The question is, does Beethoven surpass Haydn in the artistic quality of his settings?85 Weber-Bockholdt avoids a clear answer and, at this point, we do not attempt to provide one either. With his setting of 'The lea-rig' discussed above, Haydn's style is very close to Beethoven's, but Haydn only realises a small number of settings of this kind. Haydn's routine of the confirmed master against Beethoven's assiduity and talent, Haydn's professional distance against Beethoven's heart's blood, Haydn's humour and surprises against Beethoven's consequent differentiation between keyboard and string parts, and Haydn's 429 against Beethoven's 179 arrangements⁸⁶ do not require an evaluation, but rather an appropriate integration, consideration and appraisal within the complete oeuvre of both masters. Finally, the better-sold songs of Haydn against Thomson's difficulties with the commercialisation of Beethoven's settings in Scottish society speak for themselves.⁸⁷

While Head emphasises that Haydn's 'music discloses the particularity of Viennese "Classicism" through his humorous denaturalization of conventions coupled with a complex negotiation of regional and national styles', 88 this does not apply in the same way to Beethoven's settings. With his preference in atomising melodies and in placing the excerpted motives at the most diverse positions in the arrangement, Beethoven imposes his own style onto the Scottish song template and stands against Haydn's choice of using song material in a wider context at the beginning of the introduction and of respecting the formal structures of the Scottish melody. Thus, we can agree with Head on the following point: Haydn, who had to observe Thomson's guidelines, found a healthy combination between Scottish idiom and classical style in giving up a part of the latter

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⁸⁵ Cf. WEBER-BOCKHOLDT, Komposition oder Begleitung, p. 406.

⁸⁶ According to Cooper's listing, cf. COOPER, *Beethoven's Folksong Settings*, p. 211–223.

⁸⁷ Cf. Petra WEBER-BOCKHOLDT (Ed.), Schottische und walisische Lieder (= Beethoven Werke, Gesamtausgabe, Abteilung XI, Bd. 5), Munich 1999, foreword, p. XII.

⁸⁸ HEAD, Haydn's Exoticisms, p. 92.

and in integrating more of the former. However, he was able to apply with the keyboard trio a typical 'template' of the classical style, which in Scotland cannot be considered as a genre, but as an instrumentation that was deduced, as described above, from sociological study of music in Scotland at this time. With this in mind we can argue that Scotlish national airs were not too much unsettled.

6 Final remarks

The integration of Haydn's arrangements in his complete oeuvre can be described from several viewpoints, such as Haydn's affinity for folksong during his late mastery, or what Head calls Haydn's 'Celtic-Germanic primitivism'. 89 But his sympathy for folksongs goes farther and encompasses also his last symphonies, both, his oratorios on this earlier compositions. Simon McVeigh sees Haydn develop a popular style already between 1770 and 1780 and detects certain elements, such as 'Allegretto variation melodies', 'trios in landler style', melodies marked by simple tonic-dominant changes, which can be brought in relation to this folk-like style. 'All of these elements constitute a strongly pastoral folk-imagery, whether genuine or not.'91 St. David's Day, also called a 'musical farce' was premiered in 1800. It constitutes a further example of where art and folk music are combined. The English composer Thomas Attwood compiled Welsh folksongs into a comic opera. It was chiefly conceived to describe both, the distinctiveness of Welsh and English people and the 'innate union between Wales and England'. 92 Meirion Hughes refers to some composers of the ancient regime and states that the incorporation of national tunes into art-music becomes a clue of emancipation in political terms and which inevitably makes one think to the Enlightenment.⁹³

Haydn's arrangements belong to the last compositions of the old master. Griesinger outlines Haydn's difficulties in completing his last string quartets, ⁹⁴ and according to Horst Walter, Haydn gave up the occupation on his last string quartet in D minor, op. 103, Hob.

⁹⁰ Cf. Gottfried SCHOLZ, "Ein Mädchen, das auf Ehre hielt" inspirierte Poeten und Komponisten, in: Wiener Musikgeschichte. Annäherungen – Analysen – Ausblicke, in: Julia BUNGARDT, et al. (Eds.), Festschrift für Hartmut Krones, , Vienna 2009, p. 146; concerning the insertion of folksong elements in the 'Seasons'.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 86

⁹¹ Cf. Simon McVEIGH, Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn, Cambridge 1993, p. 135. ⁹² Meirion HUGHES, Attwood's St David's Day: Music, Wales, and War in 1800, in: Rachel COWGILL/Julian RUSHTON (Eds), Europe, Empire and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music, Aldershot 2006, p. 142.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 141.

⁹⁴ Cf. BIBA/GRIESINGER, "Eben komme ich von Haydn …", pp. 195, 201, 210–211, 217–219, 220–221, 227, 243.

III:83 in August 1805⁹⁵ and sent the unfinished composition to *Breitkopf and Härtel* in 1806.⁹⁶ On the other hand, Ludwig Finscher mentions 1803 as the latest year of Haydn's engagement on op. 103.⁹⁷ Regarding the arrangements, Friesenhagen assumes that an ultimate set of arrangements for Whyte was accomplished in the autumn of 1804,⁹⁸ and the editors of the fourth volume, *JHW XXXII/4:269-364*, specify that Haydn sent a last set of 13 songs to Edinburgh on 17 October 1804 for Thomson.⁹⁹

Concerning Thomson, what was his goal in justifying such rapid edition activities? Could he really expect that devotees of Scottish music would accept their native songs as a cross-cultural 'classical disguise'? Why should Scottish people not express their reserves about arranged songs as an alienated artefact of their own cultural origin, like those of Haydn? Could the idea of disseminating music of the classical period merged with folksongs become a lucrative one? Apparently, yes! Thomson seemed to capture the zeitgeist and triumphed in editing and re-editing multiple selections of songs arranged above all by composers of the Continent, and this during decades of his long life. 100 In this light Wood's assumption that adapted and arranged Scottish melodies became a pan-European and commercial phenomenon is correct. 101 Prior to Thomson, there were other editors who were more or less successful. The arrangement of Scottish songs came from a long tradition. Transcriptions of songs with their melodies began long before the first initiatives of writing down songs and melodies in Central Europe, and the records often were realised with a rudimentary keyboard accompaniment in the form of a basso continuo - for instance in William Thomson's Orpheus Caledonius published in 1726. 102 Later, Napier showed which path to go down. After some first attempts in music publishing in the 1780s that were doomed to fail, his editions of Haydn songs in 1792 and 1795 turned out well, with a violin part from the pen of Haydn added to the keyboard and the voice. William Whyte, imitating Thomson, tried his luck with two volumes of Haydn settings with the same instrumentation and was also successful. 103

In trying to find an answer to the question about standards and stereotypical treatments raised in relation to typical arrangements, the description of a stylistic evolution in

⁹⁵ Cf. Horst WALTER, *Streichquartette 'Opus 76', 'Opus 77' und 'Opus 103' Hob. III:75–80;* 81–82; 83; (= JHW XII/6), Munich 2003, foreword, p. XI.

⁹⁶ Cf. Ibid., p. XII.

⁹⁷ Cf. Ludwig FINSCHER, *Joseph Haydn und seine Zeit*, Regensburg 2000, p. 74.

⁹⁸ Cf. Andreas FRIESENHAGEN, "For an Obscure Music Seller". Haydns Bearbeitungen schottischer Lieder für William Whyte, in: Haydn-Studien VIII/4 (2004), pp. 361, 373.

⁹⁹ Cf. RYCROFT et al., Kritischer Bericht, p. 264.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. McCUE, George Thomson, p. 284–314.

¹⁰¹ Cf. WOOD, Romanticism and Music Culture in Britain, p. 14.

¹⁰² Cf. William THOMSON, *Orpheus Caledonius*, see above..

¹⁰³ Cf. William WHYTE, A Collection of Scottish Airs, Harmonised for the Voice & Piano Forte, with Symphonies; and Accompaniments for a Violin & Violoncello, by J. Haydn, edited in two volumes, Edinburgh 1806/7.

Haydn's arrangements could be a possible means to finding an answer – and would (perhaps) find that there is no evolution. However, at the beginning of his collaboration with Thomson, Haydn was rapidly involved in a new occupation, which seemed strongly to interest him, at least at the beginning. Then, after a while, his interest seems to have declined. Motivic work evaporates and arrangements become more – but far from – uniform. Therefore, every arrangement remains a unique little bijou, and with simple, but individualised musical means, each one escapes the anonymity of thousands of missing and forgotten melodies. While Beethoven imposes his style on Scottish melodies and estranges the Scottish character by transforming it into a Viennese classical composition, *Papa* Haydn politely hangs back in keeping a respectful distance between himself and the Scottish song, the distance of a self-confident, satisfied, successful and no more aspiring old master.

7 Tables

1.	150 arrangements for William Napier (c.1740–c.1812), published in two volumes			
	• JHW XXXII/1:1–100 (Munich: Henle, 1961), edited by Karl Geiringer			
	• JHW XXXII/2:101–150 (Munich: Henle, 2001), edite Andreas Friesenhagen			
2.	214 arrangements for George Thomson (1757-1851), who also provided Haydn with some Welsh and Irish songs			
	JHW XXXII/3:151–268 (Munich: Henle, 2001), edited by Marjorie Rycroft, Warwick Edwards and Kirsteen McCue			
	JHW XXXII/4:269–36, (Munich: Henle, 2004), edited by Marjorie Rycroft, Warwick Edwards and Kirsteen McCue			
3.	65 arrangements for William Whyte (c.1771-c.1858)			
	• JHW XXXII/5:365–429 (Munich: Henle, 2005), edited by Andreas Friesenhagen and Egbert Hiller			

Table 7.1 - Haydn's Folksong Arrangements Published by the Haydn Institut in Cologne

Arranger	Number	Reference
Pleyel	32	Doblinger edition ¹⁰⁴
Koželuh, Leopold Antonin	144	British Library (GB-Lbl Mss Add 35277 & 35278)
		and Thomson's editions an reissued editions 105
Haydn	429	see above
Beethoven	179	Cooper ¹⁰⁶¹⁰⁷
Weber	10	Gesamtausgabe ¹⁰⁸
Hummel	20	New Grove Dictionary 109

Table 7.2 – Number of songs of the British Isles arranged by Continental composers

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Ignaz PLEYEL, Scottish Songs for George Thomson. 32 Schottische Lieder für 1–2 Singstimmen, Violine, Violoncello und Klavier, Marjorie RYCROFT (Ed.), Vienna 2007.

¹⁰⁵ The first edition of songs arranged exclusively by Leopold Antonin Koželuh was released in 1798, and the last was reissued songs of Koželuh among others in 1841; cf. McCue, *George Thomson*, p. 284–314.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Weber-BOCKHOLDT (Ed.), *Beethoven Werke, Schottische und walisische Lieder*; the edition of the Irish songs is planned and will also be edited by Petra Bockholdt. After his collaboration with Thomson, Beethoven continued to arrange songs from the Continent on his own initiative. The edition of the Continental songs is also planned and will be edited by Andreas Friesenhagen under the title *Lieder verschiedener Völker*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. COOPER, Beethoven's Folksong Settings, p. 211–223.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Gesamtausgabe, at the Internet page http://www.weber-gesamtausgabe.de/?id=88 (7/2017).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Joel SACHS, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel*, in: Stanley SADIE/John TYRELL (Ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 11, Oxford 2001, p. 835.