Introduction

This first detailed study of the art and culture of arranging music in the early nineteenth century takes arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies as a case study. These canonical works are often considered to be paradigmatic musical works, touchstones for the development of the musical work that reside essentially in the complete orchestral versions left by the composer, which correspondingly demand fidelity to the composer's intentions in editing, performance, and study. The works are, thus, often studied in terms of their genesis – numerous sketch studies chart how Beethoven's works evolved into fully formed wholes. This book studies this central repertoire from a new angle, looking at their reception in the nineteenth century, rather than their making, and exploring the ways in which arrangements extended the works in terms of their meaning and accessibility. In doing so, the book takes part in current debates on the nature of the musical work, the status of the composer, and the roles of music, especially chamber music, in nineteenth-century society. It adds to our understanding of private-sphere music-making in this era, but with a new emphasis on arrangements rather than original works.

The book deals mainly, although not solely, with the early nineteenth century, partly because arrangements at that time were more varied in terms of genre, and partly because this was a crucial period of development regarding canon formation and the conception of the musical work. The degree to which musical arrangements shaped the social, musical, and ideological landscape in this era deserves considerably more attention than it has had. Beethoven's symphonies make ideal case studies here, helping us to explore a tension that can be observed between two different ways of experiencing classical music at this time. Early to mid-nineteenth-century composers, publishers, and writers erected influential ideals of Beethoven's symphonies, in particular, as untouchable masterpieces. Meanwhile, many and various arrangements of symphonies, principally for amateur performers, fostered diverse, 'hands-on' cultivation of the same works. The focus here is on arrangements of entire symphonies, rather than excerpts, which were certainly popular for 'hands-on' cultivation in the home. But arrangements of excerpts from Beethoven's symphonies became more prevalent in

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the late nineteenth century, and fascinatingly various in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The Epilogue considers this development.

The culture of arrangement in Beethoven's Vienna is a principal focus in this book. Domestic performance of arrangements thrived in Vienna, where large public assemblies, including concerts, were often forbidden, particularly under the Metternich System. The Viennese culture of musical arrangement rearranged music to suit consumers, promoting consumers' preferred performance modes, reflecting their reception, and promulgating the socio-cultural meanings to which they subscribed. So Vienna was, in the early nineteenth century, an important centre for musical arrangements in terms of production and publication. Considering the Viennese social contexts of arrangements, Wiebke Thormählen has shown how arrangements played a part in aesthetic and moral education in the late eighteenth century.[1] This book deals largely with the next generation of arrangers, musical amateurs, and publishers. This book also considers how practices, cultures, and markets for musical arrangement developed in other places, including London, Paris, and various German cities. Reception and canon-forming processes in different centres are compared, as are practices and aesthetics related to arrangement, the details of which are left for future studies.

I explore a selection of arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies by a cross-section of the finest arrangers of the era, which will help students and scholars to consider both the *art* and the *culture* of arrangement in this period, rather than dismissing it as the low-quality work of hacks, as has typically been the case in musicology. After all, some of the leading musicians of the time, including Beethoven and Lizst, produced numerous arrangements. The work of five important arrangers who worked in Beethoven's lifetime are discussed and compared, including prominent musicians such as Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837) and Ferdinand Ries (1784–1838). Hummel, for one – who had worked closely with Beethoven, conducted his symphonies, and was one of the most outstanding pianists of the day – made arrangements of the first seven of Beethoven's symphonies for piano with the optional accompaniment of flute, violin, and cello. Ries, a friend, pupil, and secretary to Beethoven, scored Beethoven's Second Symphony for nonet (alternatively quintet), and he also rearranged several of Beethoven's chamber works more than once, for alternative chamber ensembles.

[1] Wiebke Thormählen, 'Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in Van Swieten's Vienna', *Journal of Musicology* 27/3 (2010), pp. 342–76.

Other well-known musicians and composers of the time who produced first-rate arrangements were Michael Gottlieb Fischer, William Watts, and Carl Zulehner. Zulehner was indeed notorious for his editions, not all of which were authorised; but he was also known for the quality ('complete-ness' and playability) of his arrangements, explored in Chapter 2. These musicians produced arrangements of works by canonical and non-canonical composers, and sometimes more than one kind of arrangement of a given work; occasionally, too, they produced a series of related arrangements, as did Hummel, Ries, and Watts. The 'age of arrangements' had its own practices, cultures, and networks.

Arrangements of large-scale works for smaller forces and private use were tremendously popular in Beethoven's time. Composers and publishers alike recognised arrangements as a vital means of disseminating symphonies and theatrical works to a large and eager amateur market, in a time of high theatre ticket prices and limited opportunities for large-scale performances. Chamber arrangements of large-scale works were so prevalent in the nine-teenth century that to ignore them, as has often been done, is to miss an essential part of the reception or 'life history' of the works in question. The reason they have been ignored is tied up with anachronistic ideas about 'the work', which arrangements ask us to revise. Arrangements, rather than the original version of a given work, were often an essential means by which a work was disseminated and (in the case of composers such as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven) canonised before the age of the gramophone.

This book shows *how* this domestic-sphere aspect of canon formation took place, and how it changed during the nineteenth century with shifting contexts of reception and in tandem with changing ideas of the musical work.[2] This calls into question the anachronistic idea that the music of Beethoven and his contemporaries resides essentially in 'complete', unified works, in their original form as left by the composer – the so-called *Fassung letzter Hand*. Performance and pragmatism were central to the understand-ing and realisation of the musical work in the early nineteenth century. One sees this pragmatism, along with a recognition of the importance of arrangements to the reception of given works, in the tendency to re-issue certain works in diverse formats. Arrangements helped to *extend* the mean-ings of musical works – for example, by repurposing symphonic music as

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[2] A central study here is James Parakilas, 'The Power of Domestication in the Lives of Musical Canons', *Repercussions* 4/1 (1995), pp. 5–25; on the emergence of the 'work' concept in Beethoven's day, see in particular Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

small-scale chamber music – inviting the social interaction of the domestic sphere. But arrangements also supported new developments in canon formation, especially insofar as they were considered to be clear-cut 'derivatives'.

The book also enriches understanding of the status of the symphony in Beethoven's time. David Wyn Jones describes 'the reluctance of publishers to issue symphonies' as a major feature of Vienna's musical life in the early nineteenth century.[3] This was largely due to the decline in large-scale *Kapellen* at the time, brought on by the Napoleonic wars, the invasion of Vienna (1809), and very high, related inflation. But this raises that question of what filled the apparent gap in the publication of symphonies, and why. All the multifarious forms in which symphonies could be published around 1800 are pertinent, but especially the many and various arrangements. The detailed discussion of contemporary publishing catalogues in this book illuminates this 'repackaging' of symphonies. It explores how arrangements of this music allowed participants (performers and listeners both) to engage with aesthetic ideas prominent in the period, such as the sublime.

A study of early nineteenth-century arrangements has considerable relevance today for students, scholars, and performers. Christopher Hogwood observes: 'many of [the early arrangers'] better-wrought products could easily be taken into the repertoire of today's performers'.[4] The interest in and use of these arrangements for modern-day performers relates not only to their potentially good quality. The balance and the relative popularity of genres represented among arrangements, discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 in particular, helps to round out our understanding of chamber music in the era. Repertoire of the Classical era for larger chamber groupings of mixed winds and strings might seem relatively scarce, for instance, until one looks at arrangements. There is attention in the book to the most popular ensemble types for arrangement in Beethoven's day: quartets of various kinds, string quintets, and larger chamber ensembles; and an emphasis towards the end of the book on the social and musical reasons behind the terrific popularity of piano transcriptions, which increased during the nineteenth century but was already evident in Beethoven's day.

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[3] David Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 27.

[4] Christopher Hogwood, 'In Praise of Arrangements: The "Symphony Quintetto"', in Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (eds.), *Studies in Music History Presented to H.C. Robbins Landon on His Seventieth Birthday* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), p. 83.

Studying arrangements also gives us insights into how chamber music functioned to foster sociability and education. As Hans Grüß observes, arrangements of the time direct us to a usefully close connection between the work and its receiver: arrangements helped one to get to know the works by means of a 'hands-on' approach.[5] The book touches on questions of musical literacy, inquiring into the nature of the 'inside knowledge' that was (and is) achieved through playing and was (is) less readily available through listening to recordings and attending concert performances. Chapter 3 raises the important issue of arrangements as a 'performance' or 'rehearing' of a work, a topic that also receives further attention in Chapter 5, where the role of the listener in constructing the work, based on an arrangement, is considered.

Musical case studies of diverse early to mid-nineteenth-century arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies draw out aspects of domestic music-making and performance which have been little discussed before, despite the extensive attention chamber music around 1800 has attracted. Several of the case studies demonstrate the flexibility of arrangement that was common for the time: arrangements were often designed to be adaptable to various ensemble sizes. Chapter 4 includes a telling case study. In 1816, Beethoven and Steiner decided to issue *Wellington's Victory* and the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies in arrangements for various combinations of chamber group simultaneously, and concurrently with the original orchestral edition in parts and score.[6] Important here, and moving well beyond publishing's 'business as usual', was the issuing of complete scores. These demonstrate the evolving conception of the musical work: silent score study would gradually replace the hands-on reception and construction of the musical work via arrangements for chamber ensemble.

Comparing the work of various arrangers in Beethoven's Europe, exploring their backgrounds, and looking at their relations to each other and to the composers whose works they arranged, one starts to build up a sense of how canonical composers were variously understood and interpreted during Beethoven's lifetime and immediately thereafter. Chapters 5 and 6, in particular, turn to these questions of reception. For example, Liszt and many Beethoven admirers of his time tended to turn Beethoven into a

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[5] Hans Grüß, 'Bearbeitung – Arrangement – Instrumentation als Form der Aneigung musikalische Werke von Beethoven bis Schubert', in Andreas Michel (ed.), *Ansichtssachen: Notate, Aufsätze, Collagen* (Altenburg: Kamprad, 1999), p. 49.

[6] See, for example, Sieghard Brandenburg (ed.), *Briefe, 1783–1807, Ludwig van Beethoven. Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe*, 7 vols. (Munich: Henle, 1996–98), vol. 3 (1997), p. 109.

deity. But through Hummel's arrangements, among others, we glimpse a more down-to-earth view of Beethoven, through the eyes of a musician who revered him but also had to deal with the reality of him.[7] Studying early arrangements does not necessarily bring us closer to a given composer's work than would otherwise be possible, but we get closer to an understanding of how a composer's contemporaries viewed that composer.

Piano transcriptions (for two hands, four hands, and two pianos) became ever more prominent, completely taking over the field after Beethoven's lifetime. As Eduard Hanslick put it in *History of Concert Life in Vienna* (1869): 'music instruction in the home is completely absorbed by the piano'.[8] The book's final chapters chart the story of how and why this shift occurred.

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[7] Mark Kroll, 'On a Pedestal and Under the Microscope: The Arrangements of Beethoven Symphonies by Liszt and Hummel', in Markéta Štefková (ed.), *Franz Liszt und seine Bedeutung in der europäischen Musikkultur* (Bratislava: DIVIS-Slovakia, 2012), pp. 123–44.

[8] Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869), p. 202.

1 | 'A Fruitful Age of Arrangements'

In 1802, Beethoven described his era as 'a fruitful age of [musical] transla-
tions'.[1] He was referring to a wealth of arrangements of symphonies,
theatrical works, and chamber music, for piano, string quartet, wind band,
and so forth, which flourished particularly in Vienna around 1800, but also
in other European centres. These largely forgotten domestic arrangements
fostered sociability, music literacy, and connoisseurship, and involved
women in roles that public-sphere music-making did not, especially in
the case of the symphony. But the very ubiquity of nineteenth-century
arrangements is no doubt part of the reason we see few of them today:
the perception persists of arrangements as hastily produced, low-quality
'spin-offs' for a popular market, which do not largely respect or fully
represent their originals.[2] This is partly true, as Beethoven also found:
arrangements were not always distinguished by their quality. While
describing the age as 'fruitful' in terms of arrangements, he advised pub-
lishers that the title page of an arrangement should always state that it is an
arrangement, 'to protect the honour of the author and to stop people being
led astray'.[3] He, like later commentators, privileged the original work, and
suggested that arrangements could be misleading.

But this negative view of arrangements has been unduly emphasised,
and the standards by which arrangements have been judged have changed
since the early nineteenth century: thus we have tended to lose sight of the
considerable cultural, musical, and historical insights that can be gained
from studying, performing, and creating them. In fact, composers of
Beethoven's era gained professionally as well as financially from the 'trans-
lation' entailed in producing arrangements. Far from generally disapprov-
ing of arrangements, composers such as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven
himself often produced them in the process of learning the art of compos-
ition. Beethoven made several arrangements of his own works for chamber

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[1] *Wiener Zeitung* 87 (1802), p. 3916 (all translations are mine unless otherwise noted).
[2] On this subject, see Christopher Hogwood, 'In Praise of Arrangements: The "Symphony
Quintetto"', p. 83.
[3] Ibid.

ensemble, which probably had as much to do with the development of what we might call 'chamber music thinking' as with the marketing of his work.[4] Composers could also make arrangements of other composers' works in the interests of learning their art, furthering their own reputations and those of the composers whose works they arranged. Liszt, for example, transcribed the entire cycle of Beethoven's symphonies in the period 1837–65, a process he considered important for his development as a composer.[5] And composers often did not mind having their own work arranged by others. Correspondence between Beethoven and his publisher Steiner, regarding the production of third-party arrangements for Opp. 91–3 simultaneously with the first edition, shows that he was at least prepared to consider such arrangements.[6] Sanctioning third-party arrangements could give a composer some control over their quality and dissemination.

But composers did not necessarily approve of third-party arrangements. The arrangement of Beethoven's String Serenade Op. 8 by Franz Xaver Kleinheinz, published as the Notturno for Keyboard and Viola, Op. 42, is a case in point. Beethoven wrote to Hoffmeister (22 September 1803) emphasising that the arrangement should not be advertised as being his own 'for that would be a lie and I could find neither time nor patience for such work'.[7] Since Beethoven himself made several arrangements of his own early chamber music, this comment suggests that he wanted to distance himself from Kleinheinz's arrangement of Op. 8 in particular, rather than the process of making arrangements in general. Chapter 6 considers another such case, in which Beethoven was unwilling to allow the release of a third-party arrangement of his *Große Fuge*, taking over the task of arrangement himself instead.

[4] Dörte Schmidt, 'Kammermusik mit Bläsern und der Umbau des Gattungssystems', in Sven Hiemke (ed.), *Beethoven-Handbuch* (Kassel: Metzler, 2009), p. 535; see also Walter Koller, *Aus der Werkstatt der Wiener Klassiker: Bearbeitungen Haydns, Mozarts und Beethovens* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1975), pp. 13–30, 107–20, and 125–79; and Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven as Colourist: Another Look at His String Quartet Arrangement of the Piano Sonata, Op. 14 No. 1', in Sieghard Brandenburg (ed.), *Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven: Studies in the Music of the Classical Period. Essays in Honour of Alan Tyson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 175–80.

[5] On this topic, see Zsuzsanna Domokos, '"Orchestrationen des Pianoforte": Beethovens Symphonien in Transkriptionen von Franz Liszt und seinen Vorgängern', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37/2–4 (1996), pp. 227–318.

[6] See Kurt Dorfmüller, Norbert Gertsch, and Julia Ronge (eds.), *Ludwig van Beethoven, thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, 2 vols. (Munich: Henle, 2014), vol. 1, p. 578; also Domokos, 'Orchestrationen des Pianoforte', p. 254.

[7] Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *The Life of Beethoven*, ed. and trans. Henry Edward Krehbiel, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), vol. 1, p. 208.

Many people and factors contributed to creating a 'fruitful age of arrangements' during Beethoven's lifetime. These agents of musical arrangement are discussed in detail in the chapters that follow. Arrangers themselves were motivated by a need to have a reliable source of income in an age when courtly patronage was on the wane, musical unions were just becoming established, and support for freelance musicians was tenuous; arrangements were lucrative, and effected connection to the big names of the day. Performers and listeners wanted and needed 'take-home' versions of large-scale works, at a time when orchestral concerts were scarce and theatre tickets were costly. By playing arrangements, people could 're-live' large-scale works over and over again in the privacy and comfort of their own homes, and actively engage with these works in ways that were not possible in the concert setting. There was a corresponding desire on the part of publishers and composers to have works represented in all the spheres of musical activity, as a source of income and a publicity campaign.

Beethoven's word 'fruitful' in connection with arrangements might also refer to their various types, which reflect the diverse uses and users of arrangements in this era. A striking aspect of the culture of musical arrangements in Beethoven's day is the wide variety of genres chosen for the arrangements. The most popular type of arrangement by far during this era was the translation of a 'public' work into chamber music. But the chamber music arrangements themselves ranged from terrifically popular solo and four-hand piano versions right up to nonets, which were also common. The arrangements for larger chamber ensembles could be supplemented to create in effect a mini-orchestra. This chapter studies how and why arrangers, including Beethoven, chose from this broad palette of media.

Beethoven and the Arrangement as Translation

Beethoven's own contribution to the 'fruitful age of arrangements' was twofold. He carried out quite a number of arrangements of his own music, especially his early chamber music; and he also authorised others to make arrangements of his music, and not just in connection with the Steiner agreement. The arrangements that he made himself are of various kinds, motivated by various artistic and pragmatic factors.[8] But within this variety can be discerned trends in his arrangement practices that indicate the types of arrangement he considered 'fruitful'.

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[8] See especially Eberhard Enss, *Beethoven als Bearbeiter eigener Werke* (Taunsstein: Media, 1988).

Beethoven did most of his arranging with respect to his early chamber music for winds. He also endorsed third-party arrangements of works from this particular group. So, for example, the early wind octet (mis-numbered Op. 103; from 1793) was first published in its arranged form as the 'Grand Quintet Op. 4' (1796), and only much later, in 1830, in its original version.[9] The first edition of the Quintet for Piano and Winds, Op. 16 (1801), as well as the Trio for Two Oboes and Cor Anglais, Op. 87 (1806), appeared simultaneously with arrangements: Op. 16 (composed 1796) appeared simultaneously as a piano quartet; while Op. 87 was issued with two alternative versions that were authorised by Beethoven, for two violins and viola and as a 'Sonata' for violin and piano, published by Artaria.[10] Sometime after 1807 he arranged the Septet in E flat major, Op. 20, for mixed winds and strings as a 'Grand Trio' for piano, clarinet/violin, and cello, Op. 38. His 1802 arrangement of the Piano Sonata in E major, Op. 14, No. 1 for string quartet speaks to his developing interest in that genre and his desire to learn how best to write for strings.[11]

It is not surprising that Beethoven mainly carried out musical arrangements early in his career, given that arrangement was a typical autodidactic means of learning the art of composition at the time. His arrangements often, but not always, involved a move towards smaller performing forces. This was also typical for the time. But reduction in forces per se does not seem to be the governing idea behind his arrangements. More suggestive is that Beethoven's arrangements are *re*-arrangements of chamber music, and almost all involve a move from ensembles involving wind instruments to strings-and-piano-based genres. How do we account for this? Pragmatic and mercantile considerations are not out of the question: many of these arrangements led directly to publication, the arranged version sometimes being published ahead of the original. Varied versions of a given chamber work, especially those in popular and/or prestigious genres, meant more sales, better dissemination, and possibly fewer pirate editions; such concerns lay behind Beethoven's endorsement of third-party arrangements, and possibly some of his own. As regards prestige, he and his publishers were aware that definitions of chamber music, and the relative status of

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[9] There is also a Serenade for flute and piano, Op. 41, which is an arrangement of the Serenade Op. 25 for flute, violin, and viola from 1801, and is not by Beethoven but probably Franz Xaver Kleinheinz.

[10] Schmidt dates the sonata to 1795; one or both arrangements were not by Beethoven but were probably authorised.

[11] There is also a string quartet version of a keyboard Minuet in A flat (WoO 209), probably from around the same time (*c.*1790).