1 'A Fruitful Age of Arrangements'

In 1802, Beethoven described his era as 'a fruitful age of [musical] translations'.[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 publishers 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 'translation' entailed in producing arrangements. Far from generally disapproving of arrangements, composers such as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven himself often produced them in the process of learning the art of composition. Beethoven made several arrangements of his own works for chamber

[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.

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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.

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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'.

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

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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

[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).

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genres, were changing. This awareness partly accounts for his and other publishers' application of the adjective 'grand' to certain arrangements – piano quintets and piano trios in Beethoven's case. This marketing ploy suggested that particular chamber works involved equality of part writing, even when the works in question did not in fact exhibit this feature (they did in Beethoven's case).[12]

But Beethoven apparently had larger artistic and aesthetic aspirations for these arrangements. Dörte Schmidt considers them in the context of Beethoven's developing compositional practice, and particularly his evolving conception of chamber music.[13] Noting the composer's preference for translating chamber music for winds into chamber music for strings and keyboard, Schmidt argues that Beethoven was using the process of arrangement to develop his thinking about the latter chamber genres in particular. After all, in the course of his career, he came to focus ever more exclusively on the string quartet and the piano sonata in his chamber music. There is good evidence for this strategic approach in the narrow band of genres for which he chose to arrange, in his subsequent emphasis on original composition in these genres, and also in the way he approached arrangement. In the case of his arrangement of the Piano Sonata Op. 14, No. 1 for string quartet, Lewis Lockwood has shown that Beethoven used the opportunity to rethink the composition in terms of motivic working and overall form, and of the specific capabilities of two violins, viola, and cello.[14] Thus the arrangement involved developing his understanding of the most prestigious chamber genre, which had long been considered the testing ground for budding composers.

Beethoven's use of the word 'translation' (*Übersetzung*) in correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel regarding his arrangement of Op. 14, No. 1 is significant for our understanding of his approach to arrangements more generally. The term was probably not chosen casually; indeed, it implies a useful context in which to understand musical arrangements of this era altogether. A shift was in process in the late eighteenth century in the spheres of language and communication. The idea of an underlying 'universal language' had meant that translation had been understood as the process of trying to transmit exactly the same basic meaning using a different language. This conception was slowly being replaced by the

[12] See the anonymous review of the 'Grand Trios' Op. 43 of Adalbert Gyrowetz in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 8/47 (1806), col. 751.

[13] Dörte Schmidt, 'Was ist Kammermusik?', in Sven Hiemke (ed.), *Beethoven-Handbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2009), pp. 532–9.

[14] Lockwood, 'Beethoven as Colourist', pp. 175–80.

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understanding that particular languages carried distinctive meanings, so that translating from one language to another always involved some alteration of meaning.[15] By the late eighteenth century, there was a growing awareness that the act of translation necessarily multiplies meaning, making it an interpretive act. Philip Bohlman demonstrates the crucial role of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) in ushering in new ideas of translation at this time. Herder adopted different 'translator personae' depending on reasons for translating, types of text, and intended readership.[16]

Correspondingly, the concept of music as a language was being renegotiated at this point. On one hand, Haydn could declare in 1790: 'one understands my language throughout the whole world' ('meine Sprach versteht man durch die ganze Welt').[17] He made this declaration with respect to his own music and in the context of his travels from Eisenstadt to England. But if he was suggesting that his music (i.e., European art music) was based on a universal language (or at least one understood throughout Europe), then some of the key thinkers from his era, and some of the musical 'translations', suggest a different view. For Herder in particular, who arranged folksongs and translated texts, the idea of music as 'universal' in its meanings, and so invariant under translation, was increasingly less tenable. Bohlman notes of Herder's work:

> Translation, in its multiple forms, transforms the musical object and affords it musical subject positions in history (e.g., nationalism, sacredness). The objects and subjects are, most critically, new, which is to say 'modern' . . . For Herder . . . this would increasingly become troubling, for he became deeply disturbed by the limits of nation and empire and the ways translation pushed at these.[18]

Of course Beethoven was not dealing with temporal distance when arranging his own chamber music for new chamber ensembles, or indeed cultural difference. Modernisation was not entailed, nor pushing at national borders. But within the culture of chamber music, his musical arrangements can still be described as transformational. Each of his

[15] Philip V. Bohlman, 'Translating Herder Translating: Cultural Translation and the Making of Modernity', in Jane F. Fulcher (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195341867.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195341867-e-21; on translation in connection with nineteenth-century arrangements, see also Jonathan Kregor, *Liszt as Transcriber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), especially pp. 4–5, 19–33, and 132.

[16] Bohlman, 'Translating Herder', p. 506.

[17] C. Albert Ludwig, *Joseph Haydn: Ein Lebensbild nach authentischen Quellen* (Nordhausen: Büchting, 1867), p. 73.

[18] Bohlman, 'Translating Herder', p. 505.

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arrangements re-shapes the musical object and enables new subject positions, especially where the genres involved have clearly distinct technical affordances (in terms of registers, timbres, textures), musical identities (such as soloist, accompanimental support, competing voices within a group), and status. As Lockwood suggests, parameters such as texture and timbre need to be considered as 'primary', rather than secondary (as is typically the case today), in order to understand these arrangements as transformational.[19] One also needs to think in terms of subtle changes in group dynamics to understand the distinct 'languages' of the different chamber genres. With these considerations in mind, we can apply the new (i.e., non-universalist) concept of translation emerging around 1800 to Beethoven's activities as an arranger of his own music. The composer was understanding the various chamber genres if not as distinct musical languages then at least as different modes of communication, each with their own particularities and meanings. His substantial compositional rethinking when arranging Op. 14, No. 1, for instance, suggests that he understood piano sonata and string quartet to speak in quite different ways. In two important respects the string quartet version recasts the work (formerly a speech from the piano?) as 'conversation', using the affordances of the four voices. Timbre (now more various) becomes a new compositional element, and motivic ideas latent in the one voice of the keyboard version are now worked out and shared between the four voices.

In the case of the rearrangement of the Wind Octet Op. 103 as the String Quintet Op. 4, the changes are more subtle, but nonetheless in line with the performing forces. Instrument pairing is much more prominent in the octet version, which, after all, comprises four pairs of winds; and the melodic line is more evenly shared between the instruments. In the quintet version, on the other hand, melodic lines tend to fall to the first violinist, and voice pairings are less prominent and more varied, as befits the smaller, more timbrally uniform, odd-numbered ensemble. Even in the opening statement, one sees how Beethoven has made full use of the potential of the eight voices of the octet: there is a gradual textural increase, in which different voice pairings (two clarinets, then second horn, second clarinet, and second oboe) participate, and the bassoons share a motivic idea (bars 6–7) that will be rendered in a single voice in the string quintet version. The quintet, by contrast, immediately pits the solo first violin against *tutti* accompaniment, rather than emphasising paired and dialoguing voices,

[19] Lockwood, 'Beethoven as Colourist', pp. 178–80.

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Example 1.1 Ludwig van Beethoven (a) Wind Octet in E flat, Op. 103 and (b) String Quintet in E flat, Op. 4, movement 1, bars 1–9

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Example 1.1 (*cont.*)

and emphasises different compositional means – articulation, dynamics, and weight more than texture and timbre – to build to the first climax, in bar 9 (Example 1.1). This arrangement was not simply a matter of trying to make up for missing voices in the quintet version: Beethoven was actually exploiting capabilities particular to the stringed instruments, such as triple stops and various types of staccato, as new compositional elements.

When Beethoven entrusted his arrangements to others, they did not necessarily have the same idea of 'translation' in mind. On the contrary, some other arrangers of the day thought in terms of simple transcription, in which little or no account is taken of the change in medium. Such is the case, for example, with the anonymous arrangement of Beethoven's wind trio for two oboes and cor anglais, which was published by Simrock in 1806. The publication contained three versions entitled 'Grand Trio': one for two violins and cello, one for two oboes and bassoon, and one for two clarinets and bassoon. An 1808 reviewer for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* was

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clearly confused and rather annoyed by this publication.[20] Noting that 'these three are one', the writer proceeded to try to work out which was the original, guessing correctly, on account of the part writing, and lamenting the arranger's process of simply 'dressing up/disguising' (*Verkleidung*) the original, rather than taking account of the instruments' different ranges and idiomatic effects. The arranger had assumed that meaning was invariant under such a translation. The reviewer disagreed. The musical 'disguising' not only resulted in poor arrangements in the reviewer's opinion, but also deception. What bothered the reviewer most was that the title page did not reveal which version was the original, nor the identity of the arranger. Originality and authorship were starting to become important in the assessment of chamber music: arrangements that did not involve careful translation were considered to be nothing more than fakes.

This concern with authorship and the authority of a musical text comes at a time when early Romantic philosophers were pointing out the capricious nature of language more generally – the unreliable nature of communication and potential incomprehensibility of texts. These thinkers were responding to new modes, genres, and dissemination patterns in print culture, in particular in connection with a new confrontation, blurring, and bridging of public and private spheres. They developed an extended idea of 'translation' at this time, involving interpretation within one and the same language. This new conception can be understood by reference to Paul Ricoeur, who defines two paradigms of translation: the linguistic paradigm refers to how words relate to meanings within a language or between languages, while the ontological paradigm refers to how translation occurs between one human self and another, that is, how what is intended by a speaker (composer/translator) may well be interpreted differently by a hearer (listener).[21] Early Romantic thinkers such as Ludwig Tieck, Novalis (Georg Philipp Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg), and especially Friedrich Schlegel, who was strongly influenced by Herder, worked at the ontological level. They brought a recognition that understanding of language itself depends on the receiver, as well as on the writer or speaker and the text itself. That is, understanding depends on larger acts and processes of 'translation' between authors (or composers), via signs (such as words, or musical notation), and readers

[20] *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 11/7 (1808), col. 109.

[21] Paul Ricoeur, *On Translation*, trans. Eileen Brennan, Thinking in Action (New York: Routledge, 2006); orig.: *Sur la traduction* (Paris: Bayard, 2004).

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(or listeners). Illustrating this with a typical dose of irony, and with the example of a conversation, Novalis noted how 'capricious language' refuses to be tied down by the speaker's intentions; rather, it would be variously interpreted, understood, and misunderstood:

> [P]roper conversation is mere word game . . . Nobody is aware of the most peculiar property of language, namely, that it is concerned only with itself. Because of this, language is such a wonderful and fruitful secret that when someone merely speaks in order to speak, he utters just the most glorious, most original truths. But when he means to speak about something specific, capricious language lets him say the most ridiculous and perverse stuff.[22]

The Romantic philosophers' idea of the capriciousness of language was not necessarily applied to music. But there was a new awareness of the listener's role in interpretation around 1800, especially in connection with the new more public spaces in which chamber music was now heard. Chamber music in general, and in particular the string quartet, was widely celebrated and broadly understood as 'conversational'.[23] Gretchen Wheelock and Mary Hunter have drawn our attention to the extended meanings of 'conversation' that were applied to chamber music of this time, including interactions and interpretations that involve performers and listeners.[24] Arrangements for chamber music ensembles opened the door to such extended meanings, constructed by a broad range of listeners in various contexts. Such arrangements could be 'fruitful' in ways that did not necessarily depend on the original intentions of the composer, or those of the arranger. The act of translating a 'public' genre into chamber music, for instance – for example, arranging a symphony as a string quartet – would give rise to new meanings, undermine others, and possibly lead to miscomprehension and even incomprehension. Arrangers might go to great lengths to rethink works for new contexts and genres, or they might not. Regardless, listeners would make their own translations.

[22] Richard Samuel, Hans-Joachim Mähl, and Gerhard Schulz (eds.), 'Monolog', in *Novalis Schriften*, *vol. 2: Das philosophische Werk I* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965), pp. 672–3.

[23] See especially Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), p. 390.

[24] See, for example, Gretchen A. Wheelock, 'The "Rhetorical Pause" and Metaphors of Conversation in Haydn's Quartets', in Georg Feder and Walter Reicher (eds.), *Internationales Musikwissenschaftliches Symposium, 'Haydn und das Streichquartett', Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte 2* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2003), pp. 67–88; and Mary Hunter, 'Haydn's London Piano Trios and His Salomon String Quartets: Private vs. Public?', in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 103–30.

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Chamber Music and Musical Translations

This fruitfulness of arrangements on the one hand represented an exciting opportunity – perhaps especially for listeners and performers, who could find themselves playing a creative role in the construction of musical meanings. Arrangement in its various types, and in a broad variety of genres, also presented an opportunity for arrangers, who could exercise considerable compositional choice in interpreting a popular work, and so 'own' a version of it. On the other hand, the widespread, unregulated proliferation of versions presented a challenge for those who wanted to claim ownership or authorship. These people were not only composers, whose works were ever more widely and publicly disseminated, and whose reputations increasingly depended on public approbation, but also publishers seeking exclusive rights to works they considered lucrative, and critics and professional performers, who were interested in establishing their own ideas of taste, professionalism, and attentive listening. Such music spokespeople were not directly opposed to the culture of musical arrangements, but as they began to privilege an author's original work, they protested against publications they saw as dissembling or deceptive. These people – composers such as Beethoven, critics such as the 1808 reviewer cited previously, publishers such as Steiner, and professional performers such as Ignaz Schuppanzigh – initiated a move towards a new and narrow understanding of chamber music, which would ultimately exclude arrangements. They sowed the ideological seeds for privileging certain elite and relatively fixed products of chamber music, epitomised by Beethoven's original string quartets.[25]

But although the seeds of this shift were sown in the early nineteenth century, chamber music's definition was still capacious enough to permit and celebrate many and varied forms, including arrangements. After all, chamber music did not yet exist primarily as exemplary composition to be contemplated at a distance in concert halls or in scores, but as an enticing hands-on musical experience that promoted sociability and *Bildung* in the domestic sphere. In Beethoven's early years, chamber music was still almost exclusively associated with private performance, as one sees in Heinrich Christoph Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802). His entry on 'Chamber music' (*Kammermusik*) begins with a reminder that the word pertains to music that is for the 'Privatunterhaltung des Regenten' (private

[25] On this topic, see my *Cultivating String Quartets in Beethoven's Vienna* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017), pp. 137–9.

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entertainment of the ruler).[26] To be sure, Koch's definition did not envision chamber music's end-users in the early decades of the nineteenth-century, who were actually found in mainly middle-class homes rather than at court. But a desire to emulate the courtly entertainments of the past, in addition to the middle classes' thirst for entertainment and education through music, drove the market for chamber music to new heights.

In definitions of chamber music from the eighteenth century and earlier, performance parameters (location and function) rather than compositional parameters originally defined chamber music. Matters of instrumentation and ensemble size were considered secondary – or rather, flexible – and thus chamber music encompassed arrangements in various and multiple genres. Although composition was not exactly considered secondary, performers were thought to have a vital role in shaping a work of chamber music. Thus the idea of chamber music embraced a broad ontological view of the musical work, within which arrangements, with their various 'translators' and 'translation types', could flourish. Those who used the term chamber music in the early nineteenth century tended to retain the pragmatic emphasis on performance and location, and were persistently various and broad in their definitions. So, for example, the Viennese publisher Johann Traeg divided his 1799 publishing catalogue into three parts, for chamber, theatre, and church music, of which chamber music is by far the largest. This category is wholly made up of instrumental music, and includes symphonies, arrangements of large-scale works (e.g., operas, ballets, and overtures) for various instrumental forces, *Harmoniemusik* (wind ensembles), dances, variations, and unaccompanied sonatas, as well as the expected duos, trios, quartets, quintets, sextets, and so on. Beethoven's works are scarcely mentioned in Traeg's catalogues of 1799 and 1804, mainly because Beethoven's career was just starting to flourish, and the catalogues are slightly retrospective. But the catalogues provide a representative sample of contemporary Viennese demand, and supply, of both printed and manuscript chamber music around 1800.[27]

Early understandings of *Kammermusik* persisted, as in Traeg's catalogues. So, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the string quartet and symphony could still be understood as somewhat overlapping genres. Traeg's 1784 advertisement in the *Weiner Zeitung* further reinforces this view. Here Traeg offers a subscription service to furnish sheet music for

[26] Heinrich Christoph Koch, s. v. 'Kammermusik', in *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: Hermann, 1802; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), pp. 821–2.

[27] See also the discussion of Traeg in Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna*, pp. 22–7.

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Viennese house concerts; he recommends either 'three symphonies or six quartets, six trios, etc.' for a fixed price, or double that amount of music at a discount price for those who wish to hold concerts twice weekly.[28] His advertisement suggests that attendees at Viennese musical gatherings might have been just as likely to hear (chamber arrangements of) symphonies as they would original chamber music, such as quartets.[29]

This capacious view of chamber music was starting to change, and precisely in connection with Beethoven's composition and the semi-public, professional string quartet performances inspired by Schuppanzigh in early nineteenth-century Vienna. But public, professional chamber music performances, which largely involved the performance of original works for string quartet, did not take hold as a norm within Beethoven's lifetime.[30] Janus-faced, composers and theorists of chamber music looked forward and backward. In his *Lexikon*, Koch pointed to an erosion of the traditional categories, which had distinguished the styles of the church, chamber, and theatre music in the past, and which Traeg still used. But Koch upheld the definition of chamber music as a finely detailed kind of music, essentially designed for private consumption, which would have included carefully executed arrangements.[31] Even as Beethoven himself shifted his emphasis to 'public' and professional chamber music, he still evidently subscribed to a broad definition, not unlike that of Koch. In discussing Beethoven's views on chamber music, scholars cite the composer's striking statement that he 'came into the world with an obbligato accompaniment'.[32] The composer thus suggested that all his music aspires to the condition of chamber music, where chamber music involves necessary, independent, fully constituted parts. This might seem to be a compositionally based understanding, which excludes the earlier, performance-based understanding involving improvisation and 'completion' on the part of performers. But Beethoven's conception also respects the idea of chamber music as carefully tailored and finely wrought, ideal for private settings. Anyway, 'arrangements' and

[28] *Wiener Zeitung* 16 (1784), p. 396.

[29] For another account of a private concert that somewhat effaces the distinction between 'public' and 'private' genres, see also Mozart's letter dated 7 October 1777 on a private concert that included quintets alongside concertos and a cassation. See Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (eds.), *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, vol. 2: 1777–1779* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005), pp. 40–1.

[30] In 1808–14, Schuppanzigh led the 'Razumovsky' Quartet, which, despite its privileged status, probably never performed in a truly public setting.

[31] See my *Cultivating String Quartets in Beethoven's Vienna*, p. 12.

[32] 'mit einem obligaten Accompagnement auf die Welt gekommen', Brandenburg (ed.), *Ludwig van Beethoven. Briefwechsel*, vol. 1, p. 54.

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'chamber music' were hardly mutually exclusive categories for Beethoven: the practice of arranging (or 'translating') his own music was a way to improve his skill for writing obbligato voices – in effect, his skill for composing music in general and chamber music in particular.

Choosing the Medium and Genre

Other arrangers in Beethoven's time rethought aspects of composition in accordance with the different 'languages' or communication modes of the genres, and with respect to their own musical vernacular. But they still had to choose from a large palette of possible media for an arrangement. Why were certain genres preferred, especially for 'translating' symphonies? On the one hand, composers were not necessarily highly selective and specific, but thought in terms of flexibility of performance options. So quite a few arrangements of the time, including Beethoven's own, were made so that a variety of (or at least two) performance options were immediately possible. But the decision also had to do with genre status, and the affordance of certain genres in translating orchestral music. A reasonably clear pattern emerges when we look at the genres arrangers chose for Beethoven's symphonies, as can be seen in the following graphs. The data plotted is not exhaustive but it is broadly representative.[33] Figures 1.1 and 1.3 plot 101 first edition arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies from the period 1800–30; whereas Figures 1.2 and 1.4 plot 103 first edition arrangements (almost half) for the period 1831–1900 (more than twice as many years). Although the data set does not include reprints, the graphs indicate a decline in arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies over the nineteenth century. A comparison of Figures 1.1 and 1.3 with Figures 1.2 and 1.4 shows that the variety of arrangements also declined considerably in the latter two-thirds of the century. In the first period there is a more or less even spread of arrangements for piano(s) alone (including two-, four-, and eight-hand versions), arrangements for piano chamber ensembles, and those for other ensemble types. The last include diverse trios, quartets, quintets, septets, and nonets, all in reasonable abundance. In the second period there is a sharper focus on arrangements for piano.

[33] Arrangements for more than one ensemble type are counted twice; some arrangements were published considerably later than they were produced; the 'piano duo' and 'piano quartet' categories are themselves quite varied. Only arrangements of entire symphonies are included.

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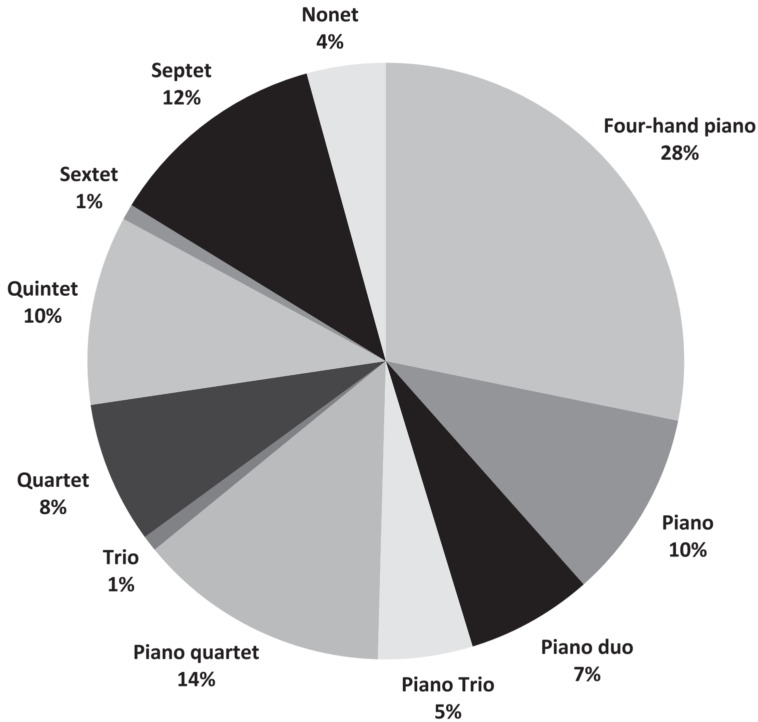

Figure 1.1 Distribution of 101 first edition arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies by genre, 1800–30

Nonetheless, Hanslick gave a wrong impression in 1860 when, looking back on the period around 1800, he said that the string quartet was the favoured genre for private music-making in Vienna at this time: 'practically every music-loving family gathered together their [string] quartet of amateurs, mostly on a given day of the week'.[34] Accounting for the Viennese quartet boom in the 1800s, he noted: 'musically talented sons were to learn violin and cello, whereas nowadays [the 1860s] music instruction in the home is completely absorbed by the piano'. String quartets were the preferred medium for masculine leisure.[35] But middle-class domestic music consumers in general were very much 'absorbed in the piano', even at this early stage. Katalin Komlós alerts us to the importance of chamber music with keyboard in the 1790s, which was to become yet more pronounced in

[34] Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, p. 202.

[35] Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015), pp. 13–18.

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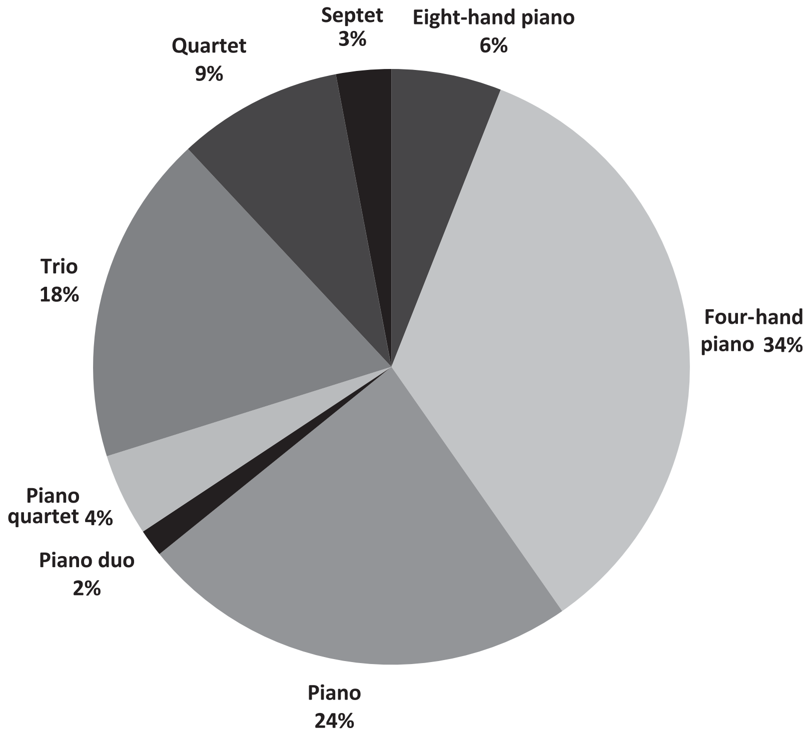

Figure 1.2 Distribution of 103 first edition arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies by genre, 1831–1900

the nineteenth century.[36] More than other types of arrangement, piano arrangements served various end-users and purposes: they functioned as honorary scores, useful for rehearsal; and in general they functioned as the most compact medium for getting an overview of the work. They also appealed to female performers, where string and wind arrangements were mainly for men. And four-hand arrangements enabled a matchless source of sociability, pleasure, and technical challenge through music-making, with just one instrument.[37]

Hanslick was not far wrong: other than the vast number of arrangements for solo piano and four-hand piano, arrangements for quartet were among the most prevalent at this time. This is hardly surprising: the string

[36] Katalin Komlós, 'The Viennese Keyboard in the 1780s: Sociological Background and Contemporary Reception', *Music and Letters* 68/3 (1987), pp. 222–34; and Komlós, 'After Mozart: The Viennese Piano Scene in the 1790s', *Studia Musicologica* 49/1–2 (2008), pp. 35–48.

[37] See especially Thomas Christensen, 'Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52/2 (1999), pp. 255–98.

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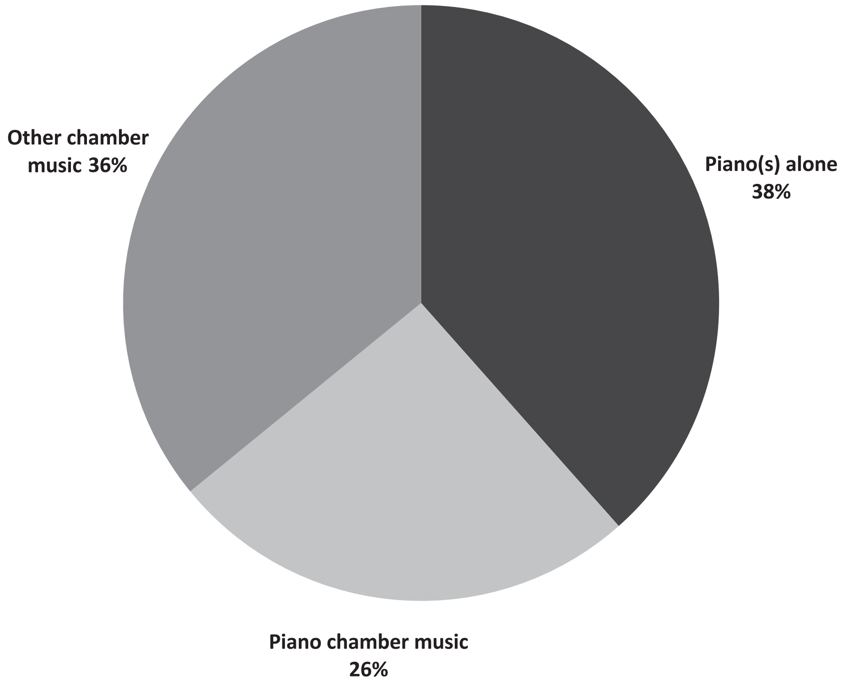

Figure 1.3 Distribution of 101 first edition arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies by genre, 1800–30

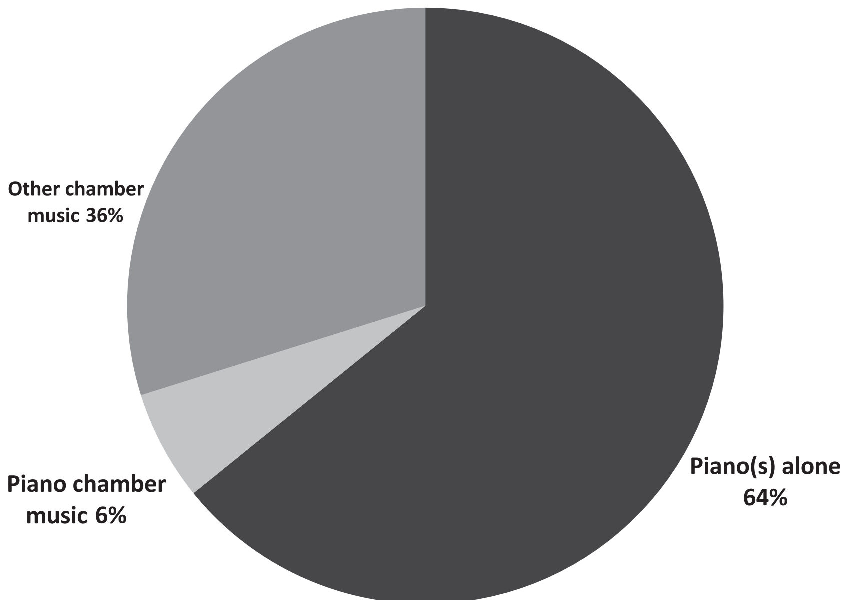

Figure 1.4 Distribution of 103 first edition arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies by genre, 1831–1900

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quartet was one of the most popular genres around 1800, due to the flexibility and homogeneity of its four voices, and it was increasingly considered to be the supreme form of chamber music, both compositionally and in terms of its scope for sociability. In his composition treatise of 1793, Koch observed that the string quartet was the 'the favourite genre of small musical societies' ('das Lieblingsstück kleiner musikalischen Gesellschaften').[38] This is not especially evident in the arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies (Figure 1.1), in which only around 8–9 per cent are quartets, and few of these are string quartets. But the quartet's popularity as a medium for arrangement can be seen, for example, in Johann Traeg's Viennese publishing catalogue of 1799, where quartets are the most numerous type of arrangement. Traeg lists forty sets of arrangements for string quartets from works by twenty-six composers.[39]

All the arrangements for string quartet listed in Traeg are of theatrical music: opera, and ballet to a lesser extent. Often, around 1800, these are excerpts. But Wiebke Thormählen notes a shift from arrangements of selected hits towards the publication of arrangements of entire works in the early nineteenth century.[40] By 1815, for example, Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Die Zauberflöte*, *Don Giovanni*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Così fan tutte*, *Idomeneo*, and *La Clemenza di Tito* were all available to Viennese music lovers in string quartet and quintet arrangements. Catering to a rapidly growing and evidently highly musically literate middle class, such large-scale arrangements helped perpetuate a composer's popularity with the domestic music market, served an educative purpose by helping players and listeners to get to know large-scale works, and also performed an ideological function, reinforcing the emerging concept of the musical work as an inviolable whole.

However, the idea that the instrumentation or orchestration was part of this 'inviolable whole' was not widespread at the time. Thus one needs to look closely at data such as titles and cataloguing categories to discover the string quartet's relationship with the symphony, which is more blurred and flexible than one might expect given today's stable and distinct understanding of these two genres. In Traeg's catalogue of 1799 there are arrangements outright, such as an entry under J. Haydn in 'Quartetti' for '8 Quartett

[38] Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1782–93), vol. 3 (1793), p. 325.

[39] See Alexander Weinmann (ed.), *Johann Traeg: Die Musikalienverzeichnisse von 1799 und 1804* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1973), pp. 69–70.

[40] Thormählen, 'Playing with Art', pp. 344–5; these were catalogued by Artaria, for example, as 'Arien, Overturen und ganze Operen in Quartetten'.

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Sinfonien arrang.'. These arrangements were likely to have been drawn from Haydn's late Paris and London Symphonies. But this section also lists numerous quartets that can be performed as symphonies, including thirty-one works labelled 'Quartet Sinfon.', by C. P. E. Bach, Kobrich, Monn, and Holzbauer. These are probably what would today be considered a mixed genre, music that could be played with a string quartet or a string orchestra, depending on preference and the available forces. The titles on the individual works of this kind are often various – for example, 'Quatuors', 'Quartet Sinfon.', and 'Sinfonien'. Such works are listed under 'Quartetti', but there is one cross-reference in Traeg's 'Sinfonien' section, under C. P. E. Bach, where one reads: 'NB. Vierstimmige Sinfonien von C. P. E. Bach sind unter den Quartetten à 2 Violini Viola e Basso zu finden' (NB: four-part symphonies by C. P. E. Bach are to be found under quartets for two violins, viola, and bass). The nature of these works was determined by performance practice, not by composition; and flexibility was highly desired. Under 'trios', too, some crossover genres appear: trios titled 'Sinfonien', for example. Again, certain works are arrangements for trios. These examples show how the symphony gets 'repackaged' at this time, marketed in the newly popular take-home form of small-scale chamber music.

The popularity of the string quartet as a medium for arrangements was not just about its increasingly canonic status. It was also the convenience of four-part chamber music, from a compositional and performance point of view, that made this genre so suitable. This is evident from the fact that arrangers and performers did not necessarily prefer *string* quartets as the medium for translation this time. In Traeg's catalogue, for instance, there are just as many arrangements for 'mixed' quartets (i.e., comprising wind and stringed instruments) as there are for string quartets; this is particularly true of arrangements of theatrical works. Perhaps the varied timbres of mixed ensembles were considered more suited to these works, in order to show the interaction of parts/characters to best advantage. More broadly, it is apparent that the aesthetic ideals of purity and homogeneity – which were becoming associated above all with the string quartet – were not necessarily governing the taste of the amateur performer in this period. Sarah Jane Adams finds evidence of the popularity of chamber repertoire for mixed wind and string instruments in Mozart's time; this continued into the early nineteenth century.[41]

[41] See Sarah Jane Adams, 'Quartets and Quintets for Mixed Groups of Winds and Strings: Mozart and His Contemporaries in Vienna, c. 1780–c. 1800', PhD diss., Cornell University (1994).

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In fact of Beethoven's symphonies, only the first three were published in arrangements for string quartet in his lifetime: these are Carl Zulehner's arrangements of the First and Second Symphonies (1828; see Chapter 2); and an anonymous arrangement of the *Eroica* Symphony, which was issued by Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie (1807). Some of the more popular arrangements were for other kinds of quartet groupings: the Hummel arrangement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, for a piano quartet comprising flute, violin, cello, and piano (or piano alone), is part of an extensive collection of arrangements that he made for this grouping. The Hummel quartet arrangement of the *Eroica* Symphony is another example of the popularity of 'mixed' chamber groupings in general, and quartets involving strings and wind instruments in particular (see Chapter 5).

One of the most popular media for arrangements at this time, especially for symphonic works, was the string quintet (representing 10 per cent of Figure 1.1). Original works for string quintet were in any case a popular form of chamber music around 1800, as one sees from Traeg's 1799 list of 'Quintetti'. There are 171 original compositions listed, in sixty-three sets by twenty-three composers, which is around one-sixth of the total number of works compared with the string quartets, and one-fifth of the number of composers.[42] This makes the quintet the fifth most popular chamber genre in his catalogue: it takes its place after string quartets, solo piano works, duets for two violins, and string trios for two violins and cello. The favouring of chamber ensembles composed of stringed instruments at this time can be seen in this list, and is evidenced by various other sources, such as published lists of amateur and professional performers in Vienna.[43]

In terms of the relative prestige of genres, the quintet was often considered equivalent to the string quartet in the early nineteenth century; but with their extra voice quintets had an advantage for arrangements, especially where large-scale works were concerned. Johann Conrad Wilhelm Petiscus, writing in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1810) on the virtues of string quartets, praised the quintet's greater resources:

With good reason one selects for a good quartet the four well-known string instruments, which, on account of their uniformity of timbre, are most capable

[42] See Weinmann, ed., *Johann Traeg*, pp. 54–6.

[43] See, for example, Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1796; facsimile edn, Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1976), pp. 109–38, 139–41, and 144–5; and Ignaz von Mosel, 'Uebersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Tonkunst in Wien', *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 1/7 (1808), pp. 49–54.

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of the most perfect unity. Quintets, in which the added second viola increases the power and variety of the composition, *belong to this genre*.[44]

After endorsing the sharing of melodic material between the parts that characterises 'true' string quartets, he observed: 'In this sense and spirit, Haydn and Mozart have written their better pieces – for example the quintets of the latter'.[45] Other reviewers in Beethoven's day considered string quintets by Mozart and others under the heading 'Quartettmusik' in order to draw attention to and praise the genre, especially regarding the sharing of musical material between the parts, which was an essential feature of good chamber music and a good arrangement, in that it allowed every player to enjoy the musical interactions.[46]

Historically, both viola quintets (featuring two violas) and cello quintets (involving two cellos and one viola) have been popular forms of the string quintet, including arrangements for string quintet. These forms have been much more common than string quintets involving a double bass or three violins. Beethoven himself produced three viola quintets (Op. 4, Op. 29, Op. 104). Of these, only Op. 29 is an original composition for that genre. The String Quintet Op. 4 is a reworked version of the earlier Octet for Winds, Op. 103, while Op. 104 is an arrangement of an earlier piano trio, Op. 1, No. 3. Beethoven reflected the tastes of his day in that the viola quintet was one of his own preferred media for arrangement. It is also apparent that this popular form of arrangement did not always involve a reduction in performers from the original number. Notable cello quintet arrangements of Beethoven's music include Ries's arrangement of Beethoven's Cello Sonata Op. 5, No. 1, which was published by Dunst *c.*1815; and an anonymous arrangement of his Violin Sonata Op. 47 ('Kreutzer'), first published by Simrock in 1832.[47] The latter provides a striking example of how arrangements from chamber music to chamber music can change meaning: in this work, a virtuoso solo violin accompanied by, and to some extent pitted against, an equally virtuoso solo piano is transformed into a varied conversational landscape, which is still technically very challenging.[48] For example,

[44] Johann Conrad Wilhelm Petiscus, 'Ueber Quartettmusik', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12/33 (1810), col. 517 (my emphasis).

[45] Ibid., p. 516.

[46] See Markus Frei-Hauenschild, *Friedrich Ernst Fesca (1789–1826): Studien zu Biographie und Streichquartettschaffen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998), p. 187.

[47] See Paul Baritt (ed.), *Kreutzer Sonata: An Anonymous Arrangement for String Quintet* (Cambridge: SJ Music, 2004). The edition was based on the Simrock edition found in Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, shelf mark C 47/17.

[48] Matthew Oswin, 'Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata: Nineteenth-Century Art of Arrangement – One Piece, Three Ways', MMus diss., Victoria University of Wellington (2013).

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Example 1.2 Beethoven, Violin Sonata in A major, Op. 47 ('Kreutzer'), arranged for string quintet (Bonn: Simrock: 1832), movement 1, bars 1–8

the opening chords, originally executed on the solo violin, are now shared between all five parts; timing is of the essence, and so all the performers must watch each other carefully (Example 1.2).

The quintet for mixed winds and strings was also a popular medium for arrangement in the early nineteenth century. As he does with quartet arrangements, Traeg devotes a separate section to quintet arrangements in his 1799 catalogue, containing twenty-five sets, by ten composers. These are arrangements of popular operas of the day. But in the early nineteenth century the string quintet proved to be the preferred medium for translating orchestral works to chamber ensemble. String quintet arrangements were published for a great number of Beethoven's works during his lifetime, including all the symphonies with the exception of the Third and Ninth; many overtures; and *Fidelio*, in two parts. Several works were also arranged and published for flute quintet.[49] Furthermore, the string quintet (and not the string quartet) was one of the genres chosen for arrangement by Beethoven and Steiner when they decided to release his orchestral works Opp. 91–3 in various arrangements simultaneously with the first edition (1816–17).

Other celebrated orchestral works were published in quintet arrangements besides those of Beethoven. In the quintets category in Traeg's 1799

[49] Sabine Kurth, *Studien zu Beethovens Streichquintetten* (Munich: Fink, 1996), p. 137.

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catalogue, for example, three sets (fifteen works in total) are arrangements of symphonies, labelled 'Quintetti Sinfonien', including works by Haydn (6), Mozart (6), and Pleyel (3). We can no longer determine precisely which symphonies were arranged, since these works were in Traeg's now lost manuscript collection, but it is noteworthy that they came from the most popular composers of instrumental music of the day, including the increasingly canonised Haydn and Mozart. However, the keys of the Haydn works listed provide a good clue to their identities: the six works are in D major (2), B flat major, C major, C minor, and G major. They must be the first six 'London' Symphonies, Nos. 93–8 (1791–2). Each of these quintets was priced relatively steeply, so that all six would cost more than twice the price of the more expensive sets of six string quartets in Traeg's 1799 catalogue. This suggests this item was valued highly at the time – more highly than what is today regarded as more prestigious chamber repertoire. This set of arrangements for string quintet foreshadows the work of Johann Peter Salomon, who issued Haydn's 'London' Symphonies in a highly successful 'mixed' quintet publication for flute, two violins, viola, and cello; the set was first published by Simrock (1799), who had already issued Salomon's arrangement of these works for piano trio (1796–7). This was a way of canonising the works through performance before the advent of the regular concert series.[50]

Why was the quintet such a popular choice for arrangements of symphonic music? Possibly this was due to the slightly increased potential for varied and thickened textures that the extra voice afforded, compared with the quartet and trio; so that quintets approached the orchestral sound more nearly while still retaining the quartet's congenial disposition for translating four-part harmony (which was, of course, also available in chamber ensembles with piano). One can see how an arranger might take advantage of this feature of quintets in Steiner's 1817 arrangement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 8. In the second movement, Allegretto scherzando, for example, the two violas are given much of the wind and brass material. This distinction is not slavishly observed. Thirteen bars before the end of this movement, where the strings drop out of the orchestral texture completely, the quintet version gives the upper winds' material to the upper strings, while the lower strings take the horns' sustained notes (Example 1.3). The best arrangers of the era

[50] Hogwood, 'In Praise of Arrangements: The "Symphony Quintetto"', pp. 82ff; see also Mark Everist, 'JUPITER: Reading the "Viennese Classics" in 19th-Century Britain', paper read at 'Rethinking Musical Transcription and Arrangement', 19 May 2018, University of Cambridge.

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Example 1.3 Beethoven, Symphony No. 8, Op. 93, movement 2, bars 69–81, arranged for string quintet (Vienna: Steiner, 1817). Nancy November (ed.), *Chamber Arrangements of Beethoven's Symphonies, Part 2. Wellington's Victory and Symphonies Nos. 7 and 8 Arranged for String Quintet*, Recent Researches in Music of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries, vol. 77 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2019)

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treated the five voices with flexibility and imagination, aiming to convey varied orchestral textures.

The Rage for Large Chamber Ensembles *c*.1800

Bigger did not necessarily mean better as regards the ensemble for performing arrangements. As we have seen, flexibility was a desirable attribute of chamber music, and pragmatics also helped determine the popularity of genres. So duets of all kinds, perhaps especially those for flute (for opera arrangements), were surprisingly popular; and the smallest-scale arrangements – piano transcriptions of various kinds – were extremely popular. Arrangements for larger forces are also sometimes advertised as being useful for smaller forces. Thus Ries's 1807 arrangement of Beethoven's Second Symphony was issued for string quintet or nonet. In London, Girolamo Masi issued Beethoven's First, Third, and Fifth Symphonies (1807) in sets that could be played as either septets or quintets; and William Watts did likewise with Beethoven's Second, Fourth, and Sixth Symphonies (1810).

But there were several grounds for preferring larger chamber ensembles for arrangements, especially arrangements of orchestral works (septets and nonets account for 16 per cent of Figure 1.1, for instance). Part of the reason Salomon released his arrangement of Haydn's 'London' Symphonies for string quintet as well as for piano trio was doubtless to give a fairer representation of Haydn's symphonic texture, and to help represent the range of orchestral timbres. In his advertisement for this new arrangement in *The Times* on 19 June 1798, he also noted that a separate bass part could be purchased if desired. It was for these compositional reasons – the ability to represent texture and timbre – that a reviewer of an 1806 arrangement of Beethoven's Second Symphony for piano trio found that medium almost unfit for the task:

> The Reviewer, who has heard the entire symphony often, but who certainly did not consider it in terms of an arrangement, would hardly have believed that, in regard to the major point, one so satisfactory and yet so well suited to all three instruments could be made from it as is actually given here. In fact, one received a not unworthy picture of the entire piece that is as complete as possible. In some parts, however, this was impossible. The beautiful Andante, for example, loses very much, since the masterful division among the various instruments, in particular the opposition of string and wind instruments, is missing. Also, several passages where the composer intended a beautiful effect based directly upon the charm or the

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distinctive characteristics of a specific instrument here must leave us rather indifferent.[51]

During Beethoven's lifetime, large-scale chamber arrangements of large-scale works were in favour. The First, Second, Third, Seventh, and Eighth Symphonies of Beethoven appeared in early arrangements for nonet (up to 1817); and the first seven symphonies were issued in arrangements for septet in Beethoven's lifetime.[52] Several of these arrangements appeared before the respective score editions. The sextet was another, though less common, larger-scale chamber ensemble for arrangement. The larger arrangements could not only capture something of the complex textures and special use of timbre in the originals, but also give some sense of the massive nature of these works. Reviewers repeatedly noted the 'colossal' nature of Beethoven's symphonies, in contexts that suggest not only length, structure, and performing forces but also overall aesthetics. Works such as Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony and the Fifth Symphony were considered by contemporaries to offer fine examples of the musical sublime, due to their complex textures and the awe and sense of incommensurability they invoked. The sublime was a powerful, shocking, manipulative, and disturbing category of aesthetic experience, with the potential to overcome the beholder or listener.[53]

Writers of the time emphasised that the sublime in music was not dependent on sheer numbers or loudness. So, for example, the early nineteenth-century theorist Christian Friedrich Michaelis cites uniformity, complexity, and striking juxtaposition as sources of the musical sublime, and makes no mention of performing forces.[54] It is true that when writers did refer to the sublime in connection with musical works, they invariably

[51] *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 9/1 (1806), col. 9.

[52] Data from Dorfmüller et al. (eds.), *Ludwig van Beethoven, thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*.

[53] For relevant contemporary comments on how composers might achieve the musical sublime, see Christian Friedrich Michaelis, 'Einige Bemerkungen über das Erhabene der Musik', *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 1/46 (1805), cols. 179–81, esp. col. 180; Peter Le Huray and James Day, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 289; on 'incommensurability' as a hallmark of this dramatic mode, see James Webster's discussion in 'The *Creation*, Haydn's Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime', in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, pp. 63–4; on the sublime in connection with the aesthetics of the symphony, see Mark Evan Bonds, 'The Symphony as Pindaric Ode', in Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World*, pp. 131–53; Mary Sue Morrow considers critical discourse on Viennese concerts of the era, with an emphasis on the symphony: 'Of Unity and Passion: The Aesthetics of Concert Criticism in Early Nineteenth-Century Vienna', *19th-Century Music* 13/3 (1990), pp. 193–206.

[54] Michaelis, 'Einige Bemerkungen über das Erhabene der Musik', pp. 179–81.

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chose large-scale works as examples – Handel's oratorios, Mozart's operas, and Beethoven's symphonies. But the days of 'giant' performances of those works were largely yet to come, ushered in by the likes of Mendelssohn and Berlioz. Hoffmann, who most clearly speaks of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in terms of the sublime, was, after all, reviewing the work from a piano transcription. The ability of arrangements to inspire 'larger' aesthetic ideas, and to encourage the listener to imaginatively 'fill in' the rest, was an important aspect in their favour (see Chapter 5).

The popularity of chamber music with large forces for arrangement probably had less to do with aesthetic values such as the sublime, compositional affordances, or conceptions of ideal or 'canonic' performance than one might think today.[55] More likely this popularity had mostly to do with pragmatics and sociability, two cornerstones of the contemporary culture of chamber music. Simply put, chamber music for large forces provided more entertaining and pleasantly challenging musical interactions for more people. And chamber music arrangements for large forces provided a suitable means to support the increasingly popular performances of large-scale works in the early nineteenth-century salon, as Leopold von Sonnleithner reported in his recollections of early nineteenth-century Vienna.[56] Arrangements of Beethoven's Second and Fourth Symphonies, for nonet and sextet respectively, show the typical flexibility of performance forces that was desired for chamber music: both arrangements can be performed with or without the addition of winds. Which arrangement one chose depended on who was available.

In general, these larger-scale chamber arrangements, such as the quartets and quintets, represent the contemporary taste for 'mixed' groupings, including winds and strings. Some early nineteenth-century critics had started to use the ideals associated with string quartets to place 'mixed' repertoires firmly in the margins. Petiscus, for instance, made his preference for homogeneous 'all strings' textures very clear in 1810, invoking the ideals the quartet was perceived to embody:

> A combination of wind instruments with string instruments never gives as beautiful and pure a result as four stringed instruments, where sustained notes flow together into a single harmonious sound. How felicitously one has arranged for three string instruments quartet or quintet parts, which had originally been written for four quite dissimilar instruments! This is the case,

[55] On the idea of 'canonic' performance, see Lydia Goehr, 'Being True to the Work', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 47/1 (1989), pp. 55–67.

[56] See Chapter 4.

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for example, with *Hoffmeister's* arrangement of *Mozart's* Quintet in [E flat major, K. 452], which is taken from a double sonata for fortepiano accompanied by wind instruments.[57]

But composers, performers, audiences, and critics certainly did not automatically regard chamber music for combinations of winds and strings as lower in rank or quality.[58] The sheer number of such works composed is evidence of the contemporary taste for varied chamber music, along with data from publishing catalogues, concert programmes, and preferred ensembles for arrangements. Around 1800 there had been a general revival of interest in chamber music with winds. This music was especially beloved of the Parisians, but it became popular in German lands, particularly through Beethoven's Op. 20 and later Schubert's Octet, D. 803. In fact (*pace* Petiscus), the wind quartet grouping used by Mozart in K. 452, for oboe, clarinet, horn, and bassoon, in combination with keyboard, was far from unpopular. This instrumentation was imitated by several composers, including Beethoven, although later composers such as Louis Spohr and Georges Onslow preferred to substitute flute for oboe.

Critics of the time were often sympathetic to 'mixed' chamber music, especially works such as Beethoven's Op. 20 and Sextet in E flat, Op. 71 (1796). In the period from 1804 to 1816, when Ignaz Schuppanzigh was trying to establish his quartet series in Vienna, commentators tended to approve his inclusion of chamber music for larger, 'mixed' ensembles. In late 1808, for example, Reichardt reported hearing Schuppanzigh's ensemble playing quartets by Haydn and Mozart, and Beethoven's Op. 71: 'On that first quartet morning the beautiful, clear Sestet [*sic*] by Beethoven with wind instruments was played, and made such a beautiful, powerful effect.'[59] When Schuppanzigh chose to supplement his quartet offerings with larger ensemble works in his 1820s Viennese chamber music concerts, the critics tended to bestow special attention on them, and by 1828, these larger chamber works were the only items on his programmes to attract critical attention.[60]

[57] *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12/33 (1810), cols. 520–1 (emphasis original).

[58] This topic is discussed further by Adams, 'Quartets and Quintets for Mixed Groups of Winds and Strings', pp. 92–128; see also Adams, '"Mixed" Chamber Music of the Classical Era and the Reception of Genre', in James P Cassaro (ed.), *Music, Libraries, and the Academy: Essays in Honor of Lenore Coral* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007), pp. 3–19.

[59] Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, 1810), vol. 1, p. 208.

[60] Ibid.

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In the private sphere of music-making at this time, one of the most popular media for arrangements was in fact the *Harmonie* band, comprising eight wind players. The availability of good wind players from the military bands in Vienna made such chamber music with winds readily feasible there, but other 'mixed' and larger-scale groupings (relative to the string quartet) were also popular. The new Steiner–Beethoven publishing policy of 1816 included not only a string quintet arrangement but a nine-part wind ensemble arrangement for all orchestral works, starting with Op. 91, *Wellington's Victory*, which was also issued in a version for full 'Turkish music': two piccolos, flute, two oboes, six clarinets, two bassoons, one double bassoon, four horns, four trumpets, trombone, serpent, cymbals, small (snare) drum, and bass drum (Figure 1.5). If such a large group were to be assembled, why not just perform the orchestral version? At this time, large public assemblies were difficult to mount in Vienna, and fitting so many performers into a house might well have proven problematic. But clearly politics and pragmatics were not the only grounds for preferring certain types of arrangements. An arrangement might actually be preferred in terms of aesthetics, or sheer entertainment value. Using the metaphor of 'fruitfulness', one might think of the arrangement process as 'cherry picking': the arranger producing the most entertaining and interactive – or even noisiest – rendition of the work.

Defining the 'Age of Musical Arrangements'

Why the flourishing of varied arrangements in Beethoven's lifetime? Bohlman coins the phrase 'age of musical translations', which he places at a roughly similar time in European musical history, 1780–1820.[61] Beethoven's musical translations do not primarily entail arrangements of instrumental music into other (usually smaller-scale) instrumental genres. Rather, he refers to the more varied musical translation process by which earlier popular or folk music and texts were translated into domestic music for the early nineteenth-century drawing room. Beethoven's efforts arranging Scottish, Irish, and Welsh folksongs for one or more voices and piano trio were part of this process, which was motivated by feelings of loss and nationalism, as well as musicological inquiry. But such arrangements were also motivated by a desire to enrich

[61] Bohlman, 'Translating Herder Translating', p. 10.

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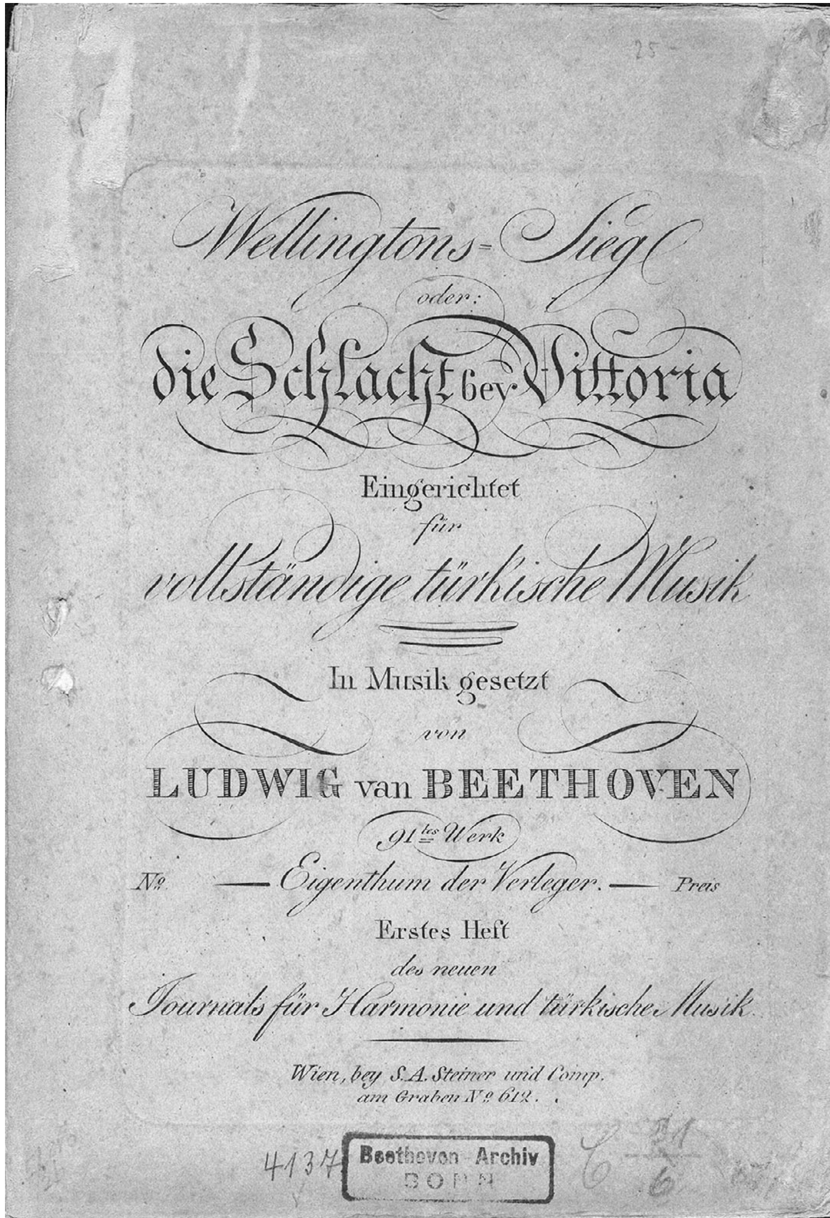

Figure 1.5 Title page, *Wellington's Victory*, Op. 91, for full 'Turkish music' (Vienna: S. A. Steiner, 1816)
Courtesy of Beethoven-Haus, Bonn

the domestic musical experience. James Parakilas speaks of a longer-standing process of 'domestication', by which larger-scale works of European music were translated into music for the home. This process, too, could involve excerpting and re-positioning the works

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culturally – for example, by adding a religious text to an originally secular composition.[62]

The 'age of musical arrangements' in Beethoven's time is related to both of these broader phenomena. It is a flourishing of musical 'domestication', which involves a 'translation' between two musical entities (the original and the arrangement). These works might be set apart from each other by a cultural and spatial remove. So, for example, the musical arrangements considered here can involve a shift between 'public' and 'private' (or semi-public and semi-private) settings, between relatively 'high' and more popular genres, and between professional and amateur spheres of performance. With the earliest arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies, the temporal space between the original and the arrangement is not more than a few years; more often, the arrangements under consideration appeared simultaneously, or close to, the original edition of the work in question. Varied 'translations' of Beethoven's symphonies could flourish in an era in which there was a new desire for and sense of cultural ownership by the middle classes, which had not yet translated into the creation of fixed cultural products emblematic of these classes. Rather, musical 'works' were still primarily understood as fluid entities which could take on new meanings in new spatial settings, in new genres, and with new performers, including amateurs in the home. Symphonies' meanings were not yet firmly tied to the authors' intentions, or to their 'complete', original forms. And chamber music was a capacious category, which embraced arrangements as integral.

While the primary definition of chamber music in terms of function and location still obtained, the larger musical context in which it made sense was shifting. In particular, with the development of public concert life and its infrastructure (publishers, critics, concert halls), chamber genres, and especially string quartets, were starting to be heard in public places. The newer views of chamber music that were starting to inform musical practice in the early nineteenth century were driven by new ideologies of the musical work, which insisted on authorial intentions and originality. This led to an emphasis on instrumentation and ensemble size – both now increasingly stable, integral elements of the work's increasingly fixed meaning.[63] As far as

[62] Parakilas, 'The Power of Domestication in the Lives of Musical Canons', pp. 5–25.

[63] For a detailed and critical study of the term, see especially Christina Bashford, 'Chamber Music', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 5, pp. 434–48; and Axel Beer, 'Überlegungen zum Begriff Kammermusik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', in Kristina Pfarr, Christoph-Helmut Mahling, and Karl Böhmer (eds.), *Aspekte der Kammermusik vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Mainz: Villa Musica, 1998), pp. 1–29. See also my *Cultivating String Quartets in Beethoven's Vienna*, Chapter 1.

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Beethoven's symphonies were concerned, the temporal gap between the original and any new arrangements for chamber ensemble of course widened as the nineteenth century progressed. So, more significantly, did the ideological gap. In particular, arrangements could no longer be considered to be chamber music.

In the typical modern-day application of the term 'chamber music', which dates from the later nineteenth century, it is understood as instrumental music for two or more solo (*obbligato*) parts, comprising anything from duos to works for nine or ten players. String quartets are still privileged, and arrangements are typically excluded. So modern-day musicologists such as Kofi Agawu can claim, 'The core of Beethoven's chamber music consists of string quartets.' And Angus Watson can relegate to brief appendices all of Beethoven's chamber music with winds, and all his arrangements. But these diverse forms and genres of chamber music were prominent in Beethoven's day.[64] Contrary to the modern view, arrangement was fruitful for European composers of Beethoven's era, including Beethoven; the practice was useful in helping develop ideas about musical composition, especially in the field of chamber music. The practice of arrangement was also fruitful in the varied types and genres that resulted, among which chamber music for winds was particularly popular. And the performance of arrangements was fruitful in meeting the various needs and stimulating the imaginations of diverse end-users – performers (including women), listeners, and critics.

[64] Kofi Agawu, 'The Chamber Music of Beethoven', in Stephen Hefling (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music* (New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 1–2; Angus Watson, *Beethoven's Chamber Music in Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).

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