[This is an early draft of an article who's sole purpose is to serve as part of the supporting information for a practice-based out for REF 2021]

JUPITER: Reading the "Viennese Classics" in 19th-Century Britain [Draft 4]

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Geographies and Temporalities of Arrangement: The JUPITER Ensemble.

Early nineteenth-century Britain saw an explosion in the popularity of arrangements of the symphonies, concertos and overtures of what are today considered the Viennese classics. Audiences had little opportunity to hear fully-scored versions of such pieces, but a particular form of arrangement was the principal means of access to these works in the period up to 1850 and beyond. Arrangements for fortepiano, flute, violin and cello – what will be termed the "JUPITER" ensemble – of works by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and their contemporaries were published in London for consumption by musicians across the country anxious to consume what was rapidly emerging as a canonic repertory across Europe.[1] In its rapidly developed and consistently deployed conventions, the JUPITER ensemble took on a generic status enjoyed, with the possible exception of piano reduction, by no other form of arrangement, and therefore demands attention as an critical element is the early reception of, and attribution of canonic status to, large-scale works by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.

It is widely recognized that those who consumed music in the period before the 1848 revolutions – and almost certainly beyond – did so in ways very different from those of today. The idea that large-scale instrumental, symphonic and ensemble works were mostly heard in the forms in which they are preserved in modern critical editions, for example, aligns poorly with the surviving early nineteenth-century sources for such works. Arrangements of all kinds were the principal means of experiencing symphonies and concertos by composers of the so-called Viennese school that are so important to early twenty-first musical culture. These adaptations were not inadequate or even corrupt means of musical consumption, but conventional routes to understanding, appreciation and pleasure. Scholarly attitudes to adaptation have changed in the last half century from the prejudicial assumptions that

[1] It is important to distinguish between the makeup of the JUPITER ensemble – keyboard and three distinct orchestral instruments – and the practice of advertising piano trios for sale where the violin part is advertised as playable by a flute. Whatever marketing ploys were adopted by their composers, the former remains a quartet, and the latter a trio. In subsequent discussions, arrangements for "piano-trio" encompass ensembles where purchasers were invited to replace the violin part with a flute, clarinet or other instrument. This feature is, needless to say, occasionally a characteristic of newly composed piano trios as well that reflects the genre's complex history. Research for this article was made possible through an award from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, September 2017: "JUPITER: Mozart in the 19th-Century Drawing Room" (AH/R005125/1).

arrangements embody the "trivial"[2] to a position – fueled by work in translation and adaptation (literature and film) studies – where "fidelity-criticism" is much less a discursive position than a historical view that itself demands critique. Such a position permits arrangements not only to be considered dispassionately as central elements in early nineteenth-century musical culture but also – in the eyes of both early nineteenth-century commentators and late twentieth-century theorists – a challenge to the concept of the "original" itself.[3]

If the importance of arrangement for nineteenth-century musical cultures is acknowledged by the scholarly world, the geographical and temporal conventions that govern the practice of arrangement are perhaps less clear. It might, for example, be asked whether practices of arrangement changed over time or if they were cultivated in distinctive ways in different places. The analysis of a specific set of conventions limited by time and place – the British Isles in the second quarter of the nineteenth century – is therefore the subject of this article. This study not only seeks to explain some aspects of the practice of arrangement in Britain in the nineteenth century but also opens up the questions of time and place in the culture of those arrangements. The temporalities and geographies of reception that the JUPITER arrangements for fortepiano, flute, violin and cello describe are clear and discrete. Almost exclusively published in London for use within Britain, these JUPITER arrangements created an identifiable aesthetic space that is distinguished from the pan-European practice of, for example, the arrangement for keyboard, two or four hands, or the piano trio. JUPITER arrangements also distance themselves from such other geographically discrete types of arrangement as those for strings – string quintet most notably – so popular in Vienna, or the enthusiasm for arrangements for *Harmonie* that extended across the *deutsche Sprachraum* and the Empire more broadly.

[2]"In the nineteenth century," wrote Christoph-Hellmut Mahling half a century ago, "the tendency to "trivialization" is general" ("Au XIX^{e} siècle, la tendance à la "trivialisation" est générale," "Arrangements d'œuvres de Schubert aux XIXe et XXe siècles," *Revue de musicologie*, 66 (1980) 88), and despite his (or his translator's) unconvincing qualification of the term, dedicates a third of the summary of his address to the Société française de musicologie to the relationship between Schubert arrangements and the "trivial." Helga de la Motte-Haber had gone further to argue that the "*judgement* of the "trivial" is … linked to the reception of the piece": the responsibility for the "trivial" lay with audiences ("Die Schwierigkeit, Trivialität in der Musik zu bestimme," *Das Triviale in Literatur, Musik und Bildender Kunst*, ed. Helga de la Motte-Haber, Studien zur Philosophie und Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts 18 (Frankfurt-am-Main: Klosterman, 1972) 180).

[3] See the useful review of much of the literature on this question and the issues that it raises in George Raitt, "Still Lusting after Fidelity," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 38 (2010) 47-58.

Arrangements for keyboard (for both two- and four-hands) were a widespread phenomenon, as familiar in London and Lisbon as in Birmingham and Budapest.[4] Such arrangements were vehicles of effect (*Wirkungsträger*) not only for symphonies and concertos from a Viennese orbit, but also for sacred music and all types of music in the theatre.[5] Given the infrastructure required –a keyboard and one, perhaps two, players – it is no surprise that so many arrangements across the century and across Europe took these forms. In the case of music that originated in the theatre, such adaptations for solo keyboard were closely allied with the preparation and publication of the piano-vocal score whose tradition sits apart from that of the adaptation of non-vocal music.[6]

Viewing the larger panorama across the continent and across the long nineteenth century suggests that traditions of ensemble arrangement that went beyond keyboard reduction were conditioned by time and place. The single format for adaptation that seems to be found right across the European continent is perhaps the simplest: the piano trio, but beyond the trio layout, there appears little consistency. Arrangements for *Harmonie* ensemble both varied enormously in their scoring as the catalogue of Mozart arrangements prepared by Peter Heckl shows very clearly, and seem to have been largely confined to German-speaking Europe.[7] Viennese preferences seem to have been for adaptations for string quintet and large ensembles without winds or keyboard whereas in Paris there seems to have been no governing convention beyond piano arrangement.[8]

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[4] See Thomas Christensen, "Four-hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999) 255-298.

[5] Karl Robert Mandelkow's concept of *Wirkungsträger* exists in a dialectical relationship with that of the *Erwartungshorizont*, elucidated by Hans Robert Jauss. While the "horizon of expectations" addresses the perspective of audiences - their anticipations and even beliefs – the *Wirkingsträger* speaks more to the nature of the object being received and its manner of delivery. See Karl Robert Mandelkow, "Probleme der Wirkungsgeschichte," *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik* 2 (1970) 71-84. Jauss' *Erwartungshorizont* is widely adumbrated in the author's writing and beyond. For an assessment in musicological terms, see Mark Everist, "Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses and Musical Value," *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 378-402, especially 382-383 and the sources cited there.

[6] Thomas Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera," *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 2027 (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000) 67-93.

[7] Peter Heckl, "W. A. Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen in Bearbeitungen für Harmoniemusik vor 1840" (PhD diss., Universität für Musik und darstellungen Kunst Graz, 2011) published under the same name, 4 vols, Studien und Materialien zur Muskikwissenschaft 81 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011).

[8] For the Viennese tradition, see Wiebke Thormählen, "Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna," *Journal of Musicology* 27 (2010) 342-376, and especially *eadem*, "Art, Education and Entertainment: The String Quintet in Late Eighteenth-Century Vienna" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2008), 213-277. For a sense of the kaleidoscopic range of ensembles used for arrangement in Paris, the exhaustive listing of arrangements of Mozart is instructive (Jean Gribenski, *Catalogue des éditions françaises de Mozart, 1764-1825*, Musica Antiquo-moderna: Collection du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles 1 (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Olms,

JUPITER arrangements are of such importance because of their consistent scoring for keyboard, flute, violin and cello; this is not a mixed ensemble subject to regular change but a stable and unchanging instrumental practice that took on a conventional status as the principal *Wirkungsträger* in the British Isles in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. London cultivated the JUPITER configuration of fortepiano, flute, violin and cello with a single mindedness that eclipsed other types of arrangement in a way that was not found anywhere else in Europe. This is not to say that other types of arrangement were not made by London-based musicians and published by London firms; but it is to stress the market dominance that these arrangements held. Arrangements were made for other ensembles in London (and the arrangements made by Cimador and Salomon must have continued in use after they ceased to be published), and there are very rare instances of the JUPITER arrangement showing up in publications in other European centers.[9] But London had a near-monopoly on the JUPITER layout. Such arrangements are occasionally found published elsewhere in Europe, but they are frequently later editions of those made and published originally in London.[10]

If the importance of JUPITER arrangements is partly a consequence of their "geography of reception," it is also a result of the discrete temporal limits by which the arrangements and their resulting conventions were bound. Late eighteenth-century traditions of arrangement centered on larger ensembles of strings and wind without keyboard. The two best-known exponents were Johann-Peter Salomon and Giambattista Cimador who arranged

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2006)). An entirely different view comes from the arrangement for reduced forces of Chopin's works for piano and orchestra where (1) the types of arrangement can only be ascertained from the composer's correspondence and (2) it seems clear that Chopin's orchestration practice was one that was taking account of both reduced and complete versions simultaneously (Halina Goldberg, 'Chamber Arrangements of Chopin's Concert Works', *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002) 39-84).

[9] For example, COLLECTION LITOLFF. / GESELLSCHAFTS-QUARTETTE / (Le Quatuor au Salon*)* / über berühmte Meisterwerke / / für / Piano, Flöte, Violine und Violoncell / bearbeitet von / WILH. POPP. / - / No. 1. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy / No. 2 C. M von Weber / No. 3 Franz Schubert / … / BRAUNSCHWEIG / HENRY LITOLFF'S VERLAG is a collection of extracts from the three named composers for the JUPITER ensemble. But not only is this arrangement prepared in Germany, but it also dates from 1882.

[10] There is a JUPTER arrangement of Beethoven's Septet, op. 20 by Hummel that was published by Richault in Paris some time before 1841: Grand / SEPTUOR / *de Louis Van Beethoven,* / Arrangé / *POUR* Le Piano *SEUL* / *ou avec accompt d'une Flûte Violon et Violoncelle* / PAR / J. N. HUMMEL / *Maitre de Chapelle de S. A. R. le Grand Duc de Saxe Weimar / … / A PARIS , Chez RICHAULT, Editeur de Musique, Boulevard Poissonnière, Nº. 16, au Premier*. This is however exactly the same arrangement as one published in London in 1827: BEETHOVEN'S / Grand Septett. / *Arranged for the* / Piano Forte, / *with Accompaniments of* / FLUTE, VIOLIN AND / *Violoncello*, / *BY* / I. N. HUMMEL, /*Maitre de Chapelle to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, / Knight of the French Legion of Honour &c. &c.* / … / *LONDON* / *Printed for the Proprietor*. / *Sold by Birchall & Cº S. Chappell, Goulding & Cº. and F. T. Latour.*, simply with newly-engraved plates. It is the most slender of evidence to suggest that JUPITER arrangements had some sort of purchase in Paris. The suggestion that the arrangement was for piano alone *or* with the three instruments was hopelessly misleading give the *obbligato* nature of Hummel's writing for the flute, violin and cello.

respectively Haydn and Mozart's symphonies for strings with flute but without keyboard.[11] Cimador died in 1805 and Salomon's last set of arrangements was apparently prepared in 1810, with no overlap with the emergence in the early 1820s of the British predilection for the adaptation of the larger scale Viennese classics for the JUPITER ensemble.[12] It is difficult to be certain when these conventions dissipated. Arrangements for fortepiano, flute, violin and cello continued to be made in London at least until the 1850s, but attempting to judge for how long there were consumed is impossible to establish. The dates that delimit the current study must therefore be taken to conservative in the extreme.

A final reason for the importance of the JUPITER arrangements of the Viennese classics is their position in the perceived hierarchy of distance from the composer. Such a hierarchy places arrangements made by the composer at the top,[13] followed by those sanctioned – and perhaps edited or modified – by the composer, to those about which the composer knew but expressed no opinion, and to those of which s/he expressed disapproval.[14] This hierarchy is inflected by the status of the arranger in the agreed canon of composers, with Liszt arranging Beethoven[15] or Saint-Saëns arranging Rameau as examples where the

[11] The best account of Salomon's Haydn arrangements is in Christopher Hogwood, "In Praise of Arrangements: the "Symphony Quintetto"," *Studies in Music History Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 82-104. Cimador's work as an arranger has yet to make any mark on the musicological world. See the brief comparison between his arrangement of the slow introduction to Mozart, Symphony 38 in D Major K. 504 and its original in Mark Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6-11.

[12] Despite a certain number of editions and recordings, the JUPITER arrangement remains without a scholarly account. See the editions of the Hummel arrangements of Mozart's symphonies in Uwe Grodd, ed., *Mozart's Six Grand Symphonies Arranged for Pianoforte, Flute, Violin and Violoncello* 6 vols (Wellington, New Zealand: Artaria [*sic*], 2015); of Clementi's edition of Mozart Symphony 40 in g minor K. 550 in Christopher Hogwood, ed., *Symphony no. 40 in G minor, K550: flute, violin, violoncello, pianoforte / Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; arranged by Muzio Clementi* (Launton: Edition HH, 2006); and of four of Hummel's arrangements of Mozart's piano concertos in Leonardo Miucci, ed., *Mozart/Hummel: Piano Concerto in c minor K491 [etc.],* 4 vols (Launton: Edition HH, 2013-2017); two of Mozart's symphonies in Hummel's arrangements are in Mark Kroll, ed., *Mozart's "Haffner" and "Linz" Symphonies Arranged for Pianoforte, Flute, Violin and Violoncello*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early twentieth Centuries 29 (Madison, Wisc.: A-R Editions, 2000), and Kroll has also edited overtures arranged by Hummel (*Johann Nepomuk Hummel: Twelve Select Overtures*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries 35 (Madison, Wisc.: A-R Editions, 2003)).

[13] This is readily identifiable from the presence or absence of arrangements in work-lists in dictionaries and in catalogues of composers' works. *Grove Music Online* and most catalogues of composers' works restrict themselves to arrangements in which the composer had a hand. But for an important exception, see Kurt Dorfmüller et al, *Ludwig van Beethoven: thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, revidierte und wesentlich erweiterte Neuausgabe des Verzeichnisses von Georg Kinsky und Hans Halm*, 2 vols (Munich: Henle, 2014).

[14] See for example the case of Anton Wranitzky's arrangement of Haydn's *The Creation* for strings which please Haydn (Wranitzky's teacher) so much that he suggested Wranitzky should undertake a similar arrangement of *The Seasons* (Thormählen, "Art, Education and Entertainment", 217).

[15] Liszt's canonic status has guaranteed that his arrangements of Beethoven symphonies have extensively investigated: William Michael Cory, "Franz Liszt's *Symphonies de Beethoven: partitions*

arranger's status as composer works to the advantage of the status of the arrangement[16]. Unlike, say, Viennese arrangements for strings which circulated during the composers' lifetimes, the JUPITER arrangements either date from after the original composer's death or appeared so late in the composers' lifetime and at such geographical remove that they could never have been aware of them. So the JUPITER arrangements fall outside this hierarchy based on the proximity to the composer, and consequently throw it even more into question; furthermore the ambivalent canonic/non-canonic status of Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Muzio Clementi and Johann-Baptist Cramer –three of the central figures among the JUPITER arrangers – complicates the hierarchy significantly.

JUPITER: Ontologies of Repertory

Ensemble arrangements published in the London after 1820 of symphonies, overtures and concertos composed between 1780 and 1830 deployed a particular type of ensemble, consisting of fortepiano, flute, violin and cello. This dominant ensemble for arrangement in London in the period may be abbreviated to "JUPITER" because the first printed edition of Mozart's Symphony 41 in C major. K. 551 to be given the title "Jupiter" was an arrangement for the ensemble that forms the basis of this study. Figure 1 gives the title page of this edition."[17]

[Figure 1]

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de piano" (DMA diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1981); Katalin Fittler, "Beethoven-szimfóniák Liszt átiratában," *Magyar zene: Zenetudományi folyóirat* 27 (1986) 12-20; two works by Zsuzsanna Domokos: "Beethoven-szimfóniák zongoraátiratai: Liszt interpretációja az elődök stílusörökségének tükrében," *Magyar zene: Zenetudományi folyóirat* 35 (1994) 227-318 and "'Orchestrationen des Pianoforte': Beethovens Symphonien in Transkriptionen von Franz Liszt und seinen Vorgängern," *Studia musicologica Academiae scientiarum hungaricae* 37 (1996) 249-341; the most recent exhaustive study is Jonathan Kregor, *Liszt as Transcriber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[16] Saint-Saëns on Rameau is an interesting counterweight: Christine Wassermann Beirão, "Die Wiederentdeckung Rameaus in Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50 (1993) 164-186; Marie-Gabrielle Soret, "Regards de Saint-Saëns sur la musique ancienne," *Noter, annoter, éditer la musique: Mélanges offerts à Catherine Massip*, ed. Cécile Reynaud, Herbert Schneider, Jacqueline Sanson, William Christie, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Sciences historiques et philologiques 5; Hautes études médiévales et modernes 103 (Geneva: Droz, 2012) 551-556; Graham Sadler, "Saint-Saëns, d'Indy and the Rameau Œuvres complètes: New light on the *Zoroastre* editorial project (1914)," *Historical interplay in French music and culture (1860–1960)*, ed. Deborah Mawer (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) 64-80.

[17] *Mozart's celebrated Symphony* / "THE JUPITER" / *newly adapted for the* Piano Forte, *with accompaniments* / - *for a* - / Flute, Violin and Violoncello / - *BY* - / *Muzio Clementi* / N° 6 / *Ent. Sta. Hall* / *London, Published by* R. COCKS & C° *2C Princes Street, Hanover Square*. A facsimile of the title page has been available since 1955 in Alec Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect: Studies in Criticism and Bibliography* (London, New York and Toronto: Geoffrey Cumberledge; Oxford University Press, 1955), frontispiece; in *idem*, "The Origin of the Title "The Jupiter Symphony"," *ibidem*, 264, the status of the publication as an arrangement is not mentioned.

It explicitly reveals an edition of the work for the JUPITER ensemble of fortepiano, flute, violin and cello. This prompts a number of questions concerning the scope of the repertory arranged for this ensemble, the technical resources underpinning JUPITER arrangements, the ways in which they were consumed, and how they sit in modern theorizations and contextualization of arrangement.

Table 1 gives an overview of the repertory arranged for the JUPITER ensemble in summary form.[18]

[Table 1]

The preponderance of concertos and symphonies by Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven is unmistakable, a dominance that is mirrored in the oratorio and overture collections elsewhere on the table. In the opera arrangements, however, are also re-readings for ensemble of those composers whose music was well known across European theatrical cultures, including London: Auber, Rossini, Weber, Boieldieu and Méhul. But even in such compilations as William Hutchins Callcott's *Half Hours with the Best Composers*, the "Viennese classics" held sway. There are competing arrangements – all for the JUPITER ensemble – by more than one composer: Mozart's last six symphonies by both Clementi and Hummel,[19] and two arrangements of Beethoven's first symphony by Hummel and Girolamo Masi. A single symphony by Pleyel survives in a JUPITER arrangement by Stephen Francis Rimbault, who was also responsible for the majority of the Haydn arrangements, but alongside the works of the previous generation, the single Pleyel work (out of over thirty) retains nothing more than a liminal status.[20] And finally, while it is unsurprising that the arrangers of Mozart's piano concertos were themselves world-leading pianists and composers, Cramer and Hummel, it is perhaps more remarkable that Hummel and a third pianist-composer, Clementi, were also responsible for the larger parts of the arrangements of symphonies and other concerted ensemble works.

In general, however, the repertory of JUPITER arrangements consists of what we understand today to be canonic figures reworked by composers associated with what is

[18] A full listing of sources is in Appendix 1.

[19] *Mozart's celebrated Symphony* / "THE JUPITER" [etc.]; MOZART'S / Six / Grand Symphonies / *Arranged for the* / Piano Forte, / *with Accompaniments of* / *Flute, Violin & Violoncello* / *BY* / J. N. HUMMEL / *Maitre de Chapelle to the* / Duke of Saxe Weimar / … / *LONDON*, / *Printed & Sold for the Proprietor* / - / *by Chappell & C^o^ 50 New Bond Street and / to be had of all the principal Music Shops*.

[20] Pleyel's / Celebrated Symphony / *Adapted for the* / PIANOFORTE / *with Accompaniments for a* / Flute, Violin & Violoncello / *(ad libitum)* / BY S. F. Rimbault / LONDON / Printed & Sold by W. Hodsoll at his Music Warehouse, 45 High Holborn. / *Where may be had the favorite Overtures of Mozart & Haydn, with Accomp^ts^ as above*.

occasionally termed "The London Piano School."[21] However, the original composers of the works arranged for the JUPITER ensemble and in the musicians responsible for the arrangements are no more interesting than the conventions of the ensemble itself. Analysis of the ways in which these agents create musical networks through the JUPITER arrangements establishes some distance from the Beethoven-Czerny, Berlioz-Liszt or Bach-Busoni paradigm, and helps to understand how the JUPITER arrangement functions as a non-human networked agent.

JUPITER arrangements never served as a medium for original works. Most other ensembles that were vehicles for small-scale arrangement of the Viennese classics across Europe were ones that were also used for original compositions – piano and piano duet, most obviously – but also the piano trio and string quintet. Such an argument is made both *ex silencio* and in the knowledge that the discovery of a single original work for the ensemble would require nuance. Nevertheless, this characteristic marks JUPITER arrangements out from those for other ensembles, and constitutes another essential difference between them.

JUPITER: Techniques

Two expressions recur with some regularity on the title pages of, and in the advertising for, JUPITER arrangements: *obbligato* and *ad libitum*.[22] Used in their late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century senses of indispensable and dispensable respectively, they could be used to distinguish between arrangements that could be played by the fortepiano alone and those where melody instruments were essential. But the use of the terms may profitably be extended to encompass analytical methods for the examination of the process of arrangement, recognizing that *obbligato* and *ad libitum* organization may exist in the same arrangement, and even on the same page. In short, the terms are essential critical tools for describing the

[21] The term is of very recent coinage. See Nicholas Temperley, "London and the Piano, 1760-1860," *The Musical Times*, 129 (1988), 289, note 3 where he attributes to the phrase to Alexander L. Ringer, "Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School," *Musical Quarterly* 66 (1970) 742-758.

[22] In principle, adaptations that simply describe themselves as, for example "adapted for the pianoforte with accompaniments for flute, violin and violoncello" develop textures that mingle *ad libitum* and *obbligato* writing; those that specify "ad libitum" on their title pages are at least in theory playable by keyboard alone (see appendix 1). Morphology of this usage is critical: title pages use one of two past participles – never both: "arranged" or "adapted" followed by a mention of the keyboard instrument – fortepiano, pianoforte, and so on – or occasionally the harp and pianoforte. The descriptors for the remaining instruments – always flute, violin and cello and in that precise order – take one of the following forms: "with accompaniments"; "with *ad libitum* accompaniments", "with accompaniments (*ad libitum*)"; "with (*ad libitum*) accompaniments". Such other formulations as "as a quartet" or "for pianoforte and flute with accompaniments for violin and cello" are rarer. The usage found in much critical literature "arranged as a *quartetto*", which always seems to relate to the JUPITER configuration and not to the string quartet or piano quartet, is never found on the title pages of the editions.

shifting relationships between original and arrangement as a work for orchestra is reconfigured for fortepiano, flute, violin and cello.

Example 1 gives a passage from the finale of Mozart's Symphony 41 in C major, K. 551 in its arrangement by Clementi alongside the same passage from the edition in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*.[23]

[Example 1]

There are some obvious changes worthy of comment. Mozart's original tenths between first violin and viola in measure 203 are transformed into thirds between the right hand of the fortepiano and the flute, and the part writing around the pedal-point in 208 to 209 introduces a *e* in the left-hand of the fortepiano that is not in Mozart's scoring, and resolves awkwardly. More importantly, the example well illustrates the difference between *ad libitum* and *obbligato* writing in the context of an arrangement. Most of the activity in example 1 is *obbligato*: it is indispensable to the score, and the arrangement would simply be deficient without the instrumental parts. There are however three examples of *ad libitum* writing, boxed in example 1. Two examples are of the cello doubling the left hand of the piano – on the first and third staves of the arrangement – where the cello could comfortably be excluded. It is however less clear that the doubling of the right hand of the piano with the flute in measures 210-213 also constitutes *ad libitum* writing. Certainly the pitches are doubled, but the dynamic context suggests that there is a real question about the degree to which an 1828 Broadwood fortepiano at that pitch might penetrate the texture against contemporary double-stopped violin and a cello in its strongest register. The flute's *obbligato* status results from dynamic power rather than avoidance of pitch doubling.

In the *ad libitum* writing for the cello there is usually no attempt to supply 16' octaves to the texture, with the result that the lower octave supplied by Mozart's orchestral basses is missing for much of the time. However, there are exceptions which point to Clementi's understanding of the specific genre of Mozart's movement. It is only in the last twenty years or so that the background to Mozart's first movement in the tradition of the Viennese trumpet *sinfonia* where trumpet fanfares recur as refrains during the movement has been fully explained.[24] In Clementi's arrangement of the K. 551 first movement, these original trumpet fanfares are exactly the places where the cello is used to double the bass octave (example 2).

[Example 2]

[23] Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Sinfonien*, Neue Mozart Ausgabe IV/11/9 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1957), 187-266.

[24] A. Peter Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions and Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony K.551," *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003) 163-170.

The first trumpet fanfare begins at measure 9 and continues to the end of the example. Here the orchestral cello line is transposed down an octave, effectively duplicating Mozart's orchestral basses, but – unlike Mozart's orchestral basses – profiting from the open *c* string to enhance the texture even further. Clementi's pedaling only at the beginning of each measure enhances the same resonance. The same happens at the trumpet fanfare in measures 39-47, with the lowest sonority in the arrangement the open *g* of the cello. But the most striking moment is found in the third trumpet fanfare, in c minor at measure 81 where the cello's bottom *c* in the arrangement is a full octave below Mozart's original orchestral basses and two octaves below the cello's original written pitch; it also duplicates the rhythm of the timpani at this point.

The scoring of Clementi's arrangement both borrows specific instrumentation from its original and creatively reorchestrates. This passage in the slow movement of K. 551 (measures 28ff) gives the melody to the oboe, doubled an octave below by the first bassoon and first violins (example 3).

[Example 3]

Clementi preserves the melody in octaves but gives the upper octave to the flute and the lower to the right hand of the fortepiano. However, whereas Mozart gives the termination of the phrase in descending thirty-second thirds to the first violins only, Clementi regularizes the phrase to give the termination to the flute. This pattern continues in the ornamented repeat of the two-measure phrase. But while he carefully reorchestrates and modifies the melody lines, Clementi retains Mozart's exact second violin figuration in his solo violin as well as the exact lines of the cello; here, as so often, the 16' octave is missing.

Example 4, taken from the opening of Cramer's arrangement of Mozart's Piano Concerto in C major K. 467 shows how the original first four measures outline, *piano*, a march antecedent and consequent, which is followed by a two-measure *cantabile* and a *piano* two-measure fanfare; these second four measures are then repeated. (example 4).[25]

[Example 4]

Although measures 6-7 and 9-10 outline a simple tonic 5-3 to dominant 7-5-3, with a *c* in the bass moving to a *g*, Cramer changes this progression to a tonic *6*-3 to the dominant 7-5-3. The fact that the change is repeated in measure nine removes the possibility that this a textual error. Trying to reconstruct why this change might be made takes the discussion close to the

[25] The original version is represented by the edition in Hans Engel, and Horst Heussner, eds, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Konzerte für ein oder mehre Klaviere und Orchester mit Kadenzen*, Neue Mozart Ausgabe V/15/6 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1961) 93-176.

aesthetic of Cramer's arrangement and his reading of Mozart's concerto. The move from measures 4 to 5 is rendered smoother by the fact that bass line remains the same, and this continuity might be associated with Cramer's changes to Mozart's dynamics: Cramer takes Mozart's fanfare in measure 7 at face value and marks it *forte* in his 1827 arrangement and *fortissimo* in his 1836 revision, completely removing the ironic touch of Mozart's original. He then reverts to *piano* for the repeat of the *cantabile* line and a *forte* for the fanfare. Cramer's view of this opening is totally different to Mozart's: a simple alternation of loud and soft coupled to perhaps a smoother harmonic progression as opposed to a *piano* statement of march and fanfare topics which one would expect – as they are in K. 551 – to be *forte*.

Cramer also adds new contrapuntal lines to Mozart's original. Example 5 gives the opening solo, after the *Eingang*, in the first movement of K. 467 in both original and arranged forms.

[Example 5]

Cramer avoids the most obvious solution to the question of how to arrange this opening solo: to leave the solo line as it is, and to put the unison *piano* passage with the march topic in the three instrumental parts. Although he chooses this solution from measure 84 onwards, he gives the entire opening texture to the keyboard. Furthermore, rather than leaving measures 84ff as a solo, he thickens the texture by doubling the eighth-note chords in the left hand of the piano with violin and cello. In doing so he both adds the lower octave to the texture in the cello part, and adds a line for the flute that has no echo anywhere else in the original score. This is the first of several flute additions to the texture, which not only complicate the part writing but open up a much wider sonic space than simpler arrangements of Mozart's original might have envisaged.

It is perhaps inevitable that the more complex contrapuntal passages in the finale of K. 551 would elicit some of the most ambitious *obbligato* writing in Clementi's arrangement (example 6).

[Example 6]

Clementi has effectively six voices at his disposal in this passage from the coda: three voices in the keyboard (soprano and alto in the right hand and the bass doubled in octaves in the left, and the three instrumental lines. With the exception of three measures in this example (390-392), the flute doubles the right hand of the keyboard throughout the coda – i.e. it is *ad libitum* – while the violin and cello are almost exclusively *obbligato* throughout the same passage.

Concertos

While the examples in the previous section have borrowed freely from both concerto and symphony, the concerto poses its own discrete set of generic questions of the arranger. Unsurprisingly, Cramer published a fully-notated *Eingang* to the first movement (given above in example 5), but perhaps more surprisingly not only offered nothing for the end of the movement but also explicitly removed the *fermata* where the cadenza might be placed (marked with a star in figure 2).

[Figure 2]

Cramer's cadenza in the finale is as elaborate as his proposition for the *Eingang* in the first movement. Neither of Cramer's cadenzas however approaches the dimensions of those Mozart wrote himself for the concertos of the same period, and there is no surviving authentic cadenza for K. 467.

Whether the changes made by Cramer to Mozart's solo part should be read as a generalized practice from the end of the 1820s or whether they should serve as the basis for backward extrapolation to the 1780s is of less importance than the three types of modification that Cramer makes to the superstructure of Mozart's keyboard writing: rhythmic displacement, periphrastic ornamentation and change of register.

Cramer makes use of added grace-notes and arpeggiations of chords to blur downbeats and to desynchronize right and left hands in the keyboard parts. Example 7 is a good illustration, where the opening solo of the slow movement of K. 467 shows three clear examples of the melody line being rhythmically disturbed through the use of grace notes (measures 25, 28 and 32).

[Example 7]

Cramer achieves a similar effect by the arpeggiation of chords. His handling of the third-movement cadenza to K. 467 is a case in point, where the opening and closing chords are extravagantly arpeggiated (example 8).

[Example 8]

Example 7 also supplies examples of periphrastic ornamentation: an added *grupetto* in measure 27 and a replacement for Mozart's four descending sixteenth notes at the end of measure 33 with an ornamented version of eight thirty-second notes (Mozart's original fills in the space between b^b and *e*) before the cadential trill. A further example, at *allegro* tempo, may be seen in example 5 above, where in measure 87 Mozart's eighth, followed by two sixteenths and two eighths is amplified through periphrasis by Cramer's use of eight sixteenth notes.

It is now widely acknowledged that the fortepianist, whether Mozart, Barbara Ployer, Maria Theresa von Paradies or indeed Cramer or Hummel would have played in the tuttis of Mozart's piano concertos that are under discussion here.[26] This means that the rescoring of the tutti section in the JUPITER arrangements to include keyboard in the 1820s would have been much less striking than it appears today, with a sense of the work conditioned not only by later nineteenth- and twentieth-century performances that involve not only interpretative conducting and a "soloist" who remains silent in tuttis but also by the tradition (started in the 1950s by Edwin Fischer) of "conducting from the keyboard."[27] Arrangements by both Cramer and Hummel, sensitively interpreted, yield valuable evidence of the detail of how keyboard players behaved in both ritornelli and shorter tutti sections. In the case of the Hummel arrangements, the solo and tutti keyboard sections are distinguished by the use of large and small notes (illustrated in figure 2).[28]

Beethoven

The presence of multiple, and more or less contemporary, JUPITER arrangements of the same work invites comparative analysis of the types of questions adumbrated in previous sections of this article. The most pressing of these is perhaps the relative degrees of *ad libitum* and *obbligato* writing, and a comparison of Clementi's and Hummel's arrangements reveal a much greater preference for *ad libitum* writing, and a more literal adherence to the original, in the hands of the latter. Such questions return the discussion to fundamental issues of concept and marketing: while title pages frequently use the term *ad libitum* as a way of permitting the sale of the keyboard part of these arrangements on its own, very few arrangements make use of *ad libitum* writing throughout, and those who purchased the keyboard parts alone of many

[26] For an even-handed account of the evidence, and an evaluation of individual positions, see David Grayson, *Mozart: Piano Concertos No. 20 in d minor, K. 466 and No. 21 in C major, K. 467*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 104-108.

[27] For the early (the second half of the twentieth century) history of conducting Mozart piano concertos "from the keyboard," see Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts*, 237-239.

[28] Hummel was also the last composer to be engaged by George Thomson to contribute accompaniments to his legendary series of national folk songs, after Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven, Kozeluch and Weber. Although all the other contributors to the series wrote accompaniments for voice(s) and piano trio (fortepiano, violin and cello), Hummel initially arranged them for voice and the JUPITER ensemble. (London, British Library, Additional MS 35270 fols 1r-39v and 40r-44v), but they were published as arrangements for voice and piano trio in 1831 (The Melodies of Scotland, with Symphonies and Accompaniments for the Piano Forte, Violin &c. by Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, Hummel, &c. The poetry chiefly by Burns. The whole collected by G. Thomson. New edition, 1831. With many improvements. London : T. Preston ; Edinburgh : G. Thomson, 1831. [need to consult @ *GB-Lbl* I.367.e.]). See Dieter Zimmerschied, "Die Kammermusik Johann Nepomuk Hummels" (PhD diss. Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 1967) and Joel Sachs, "Hummel and George Thomson of Edinburgh," *Musical Quarterly*, 56 (1970) 270-287.

arrangements might well have thought themselves short-changed if they ever heard a fully-scored performance, or even if they perceived gaps in the texture of the solo piano part. But simply to argue that one arranger prefers *ad libitum* to *obbligato* writing seriously devalues the analytical currency not only of the relationship between the two styles of arrangement, but also between those two styles and the musical discourses of any putative original.

As an example of how complex this might be, Hummel's arrangement of a Beethoven symphony may be compared with the one by Masi. Hummel arranged the first seven of Beethoven's symphonies in 1825, and Masi arranged just Symphony no. 1 in C , op.21 ten years earlier; both for the JUPITER ensemble.[29] Example 9 gives the slow introduction and beginning of the first movement in both arrangements.

[Example 9]

The two are radically different, both in their response to the original scoring of the work and in their handling of the *ad libitum* and *obbligato* qualities of the JUPITER arrangement. Hummel simply replicates the texture of the opening string *pizzicati*, even retaining the exact triple-stopped writing for Beethoven's first violins, and adds in the woodwind chording in the keyboard, with a textural nod to his flute. While Masi removes the *pizzicato* string texture altogether, he retains the opposition between strings and woodwind by putting the strings into the keyboard part and giving the wind chording to the instrumental group, largely retaining the voice-leading of Beethoven's original. The effectiveness of the literal translation of tutti *pizzicato* strings to solo players is difficult to judge; even with the slacker gut strings of the early nineteenth-century instrument, solo *pizzicato* projects less convincingly than with a group of instruments, and such caution may have underpinned Masi's more interventionist strategy in his arrangement. In measures 5-7, neither arranger attempts to replicate Beethoven's octaves between the first and second violins (the latter in about as low a register as it is possible to write). However, Masi reintroduces the octaves in the counterpoint (originally flute and oboe; flute and violin in the arrangement) in measure 6 whereas Hummel retains a single octave with the *ad libitum* violin doubling the right hand of the piano. In the same passage, the flute and bassoon octave quarter-note movement is given the flute by Hummel, but to the cello – in the bassoon's register – by Masi. Hummel clearly prefers the

[29] *Beethoven's* / Grand Symphonies / *Arranged for the* / Piano Forte / *with Accompaniments of* / *Flute, Violin and Violoncello* / *BY* / J. N. HUMMEL, / *Maitre de Chapelle to the* / Duke of Saxe Weimar / … / N°. [1] / *LONDON* / *Printed & Sold for the Proprietor* / *by Chappell & C° 50, New Bond Street, and* / *where may be had Mozarts Six Grand Symphonies, arranged in the same manner also by Hummel*; N° 62. / BEETHOVEN'S / *First Grand Symphony* / *adapted for the* / PIANO FORTE & FLUTE, / *with Accompaniments for a / Violin & Violoncello* / BY / G. MASI. / … / *London Published by Monzani & Hill Patentees & Manufacturers / of the New Improved German Flute & Durable Clarinet 24 Dover Street Piccadilly*.

precise adherence to Beethoven's scoring while Masi chooses the fundamental of the octave, even if that means abandoning Beethoven's precise instrumentation. The accompaniment to this passage also differs radically in the two arrangements: Masi's might be thought to be more pianistic whereas Hummel's looks much more like a transcription from an orchestral score. In fact, however, even if all of Hummel's left hand of the keyboard is added except the bass pitches, Masi's more pianistic version still adds in quarter note *d*s and *c*s that Beethoven never wrote.

Study of the JUPITER arrangements elucidate the ways in which composers and performers of the 1820s and later re-read the larger-scale concerted music of the previous generation; it may also serve as the basis for a set of ways of approaching arrangement in general. The categories of *ad libitum* and *obbligato* are central to any critique, showing how simple doubling can be as creative as the scoring for independent parts; these affect such issues as the doubling in thirds, sixths and compound intervals, and contrasting approach to the 16' bass line. JUPITER arrangements display different responses to differing genres (the "trumpet symphony" being here a case in point) and well as to more general regularization of the irregular and vice versa. The arrangements creatively confuse the issue of part-writing, often complicating the original voice-leading with newly-composed lines in a context where one might have assumed simplification was likely to have been the aim. Concertos offer special instances of the treatment of cadenzas, the participation of the soloists in tuttis, and the variation of passagework. And finally the existence of arrangements for the JUPITER ensemble of the same work by different artists opens up the possibility of thinking about the ways in which different musicians heard the same piece of music, and how they responded critically and creatively.

Beyond the "London Piano School"

Although JUPITER arrangements by Hummel, Cramer and Clementi date from the 1820s, it is clear that the practice continued well into the second half of the nineteenth century. The arrangements by the three composer-pianists continued to be reprinted into the 1830s, 1840s and beyond, and new initiatives were forthcoming. Edward Francis Rimbault, the musical antiquarian (his father was also a JUPITER arranger), started a series of JUPITER arrangements of overtures by Mozart, Beethoven and others as late as 1844 before turning his attentions to music-historical scholarship,[30] and Cramer seems to have made a late foray into

[30] A sample of Edward Rimbault's series is AUBER'S FAVOURITE / OVERTURE / to the Opera of / THE SYREN, / *Arranged for the /* Piano Forte, / With ad libitum Accompaniments / *FOR* / FLUTE,

JUPITER arrangements of Mozart's symphonies in the 1830s and 40s.[31] Two very different figures may be identified as responsible for JUPITER arrangements in the 1850s, neither of whom had the cachet of Clementi, Cramer or Hummel.

Perhaps the most striking of the JUPITER arrangements which survives today is Edward Shuttleworth's arrangement of Mendelssohn's Octet for Strings in E^b major, op 20.[32] Striking, because the arrangement represents perhaps a much greater remove from the original than works conceived orchestrally, with or without solo keyboard. However, the opening of the finale of the Mendelssohn arrangement has much in common – in terms of the three-part counterpoint in the keyboard and that largely obbligato writing for the rest of the ensemble – with the finale of Mozart K. 551 (example 10).

[Example 10]

This arrangement of the Mendelssohn Octet was first published in 1853.

William Hutchins Callcott, son of the better-known John Wall Callcott, was an indefatigable arranger for all media, and in the 1850s published two series of arrangements for the JUPITER ensemble entitled *Half-Hours with the Best Composers* and *Sacred Half-Hours with the Best Composers*, both of which were immensely popular.[33] Callcott explained that they were modelled on Charles Knight's *Half-Hours with the Best Authors* that were published incrementally from 1847 onwards, and that were so successful that the latest edition preserved in the British Library dates from 1969.[34]

VIOLIN & VIOLONCELLO, / BY / E. F. RIMBAULT. / *London, Published by CHAPPELL, Music Seller to her Majesty, 50 New Bond Street*. Its plate-number (6915) indicates a date of 1844, seven years after his father's death in 1837.

[31] MOZART'S / Six Grand Symphonies, / *Newly Adapted* / For Two Performers / on the / Piano Forte / *With Accompaniments for* / Violin, Flute, and Violoncello / *ad libitum* / *BY* / J. B. CRAMER / … / LONDON, / *Published by J. B. CRAMER, BEALE AND C^o. 201 Regent Street* /. Published from 1831 onwards, this edition is an early example of the fortepiano being replaced by four hands at one keyboard.

[32] Mendelssohn's / OTTETTO / OP. 20 / ARRANGED AS A QUARTETT / FOR THE / Piano, Flute, Violin & Violoncello, / *By* / EDW^D SHUTTLEWORTH, M. A. / … / London / EWER & C^O 390 OXFORD ST.

[33] HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS, / HANDEL, / *Arranged as* SOLOS and DUETS for the / Piano Forte, / *With ad lib. Accomp^{ts} for Flute, Violin & Violoncello* / *By* / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / N$^{o.}$ [1] / … / LONDON / C. LONSDALE, 26 OLD BOND STREET, / *Where may be had be the same Arranger*, / HALF HOURS WITH / BEETHOVEN, MENDELSSOHN, WEBER, SPOHR, MOZART, &c. &c.; Sacred / HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS, / MENDELSSOHN, / ARRANGED AS SOLOS and DUETS, / FOR THE / Piano Forte / *With ad lib. Accomp^{ts} for Flute, Violin & Violoncello* / BY / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / / N^O. [6] / … / LONDON / LEADER & COCK, 63 NEW BOND STREET.

[34] HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS, back cover. The literary model was Charles Knight, *Half-hours with the Best Authors, selected and arranged, with short biographical and critical notices … Illustrated with portraits*, 4 vols (London: Author, 1847-1848).

Both Callcott's *Half-Hours* and *Sacred Half-Hours* followed a similar pattern of linking six or seven extracts from a single composer's works that would last the titular half hour in performance; they were arranged for the JUPITER ensemble whatever the scoring of the original. In the case of the Handel volume, the extracts consisted of arias (a quintet in one instance; a duet in another) from six different operas. The *da capo* aria was ideally suited to this kind of treatment, Weber much less so, and Callcott's volume dedicated to the composer consists of bleeding musical limbs cruelly sewn together, as its opening shows (example 11).[35]

[Example 11]

Callcott gives the first five and half measures of the overture to *Oberon* which are allowed to lead directly into the slow movement of Weber's Clarinet Concerto 1, op. 72, which in turn and after a truncated version of the closing section for horns, leads directly into an instrumental version of the "Mermaid's Chorus" from *Oberon*. Other numbers that are recruited to Callcott's *Half-Hour* campaign are the aria "Leise, leise" from *Der Freischütz*, the "Bridal Chorus" from *Oberon*, parts of the *Jubel-Overture* and "Over the Dark Waters," again from *Oberon*. The remaining sets show Callcott systematically choosing extracts from the composer's works that were already well known in England. Besides Handel and Weber, the composers are Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini, Spohr, Meyerbeer, Cherubini and Winter. The *Sacred Half Hours* were dedicated to Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, Weber and Mendelssohn.

The 1860s seem to have seen the end of the publication tradition of JUPITER arrangements, although the use of the editions discussed in this article continued until the end of the century and beyond. Callcott himself published a set of "Favourite Airs" from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* for the ensemble in 1865, by which date JUPITER arrangements had started to appear in both piano duet as well as solo piano versions (always with flute, violin and cello however). Possibly a response to the larger numbers of capable pianists at a single gathering, it is part of a broader trend in the second half of the nineteenth century towards a greater diversity of instrumental versions of the work that the JUPITER arrangements had done so much to resist in the first half of the century.

[35] HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS, / WEBER, / *Arranged as* SOLOS and DUETS for the / Piano Forte, / *With ad lib. Accomp*^{ts} *for Flute, Violin & Violoncello* / *By* / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / N$^{o.}$ [6] / … / LONDON / C. LONSDALE, 26 OLD BOND STREET, / *Where may be had be the same Arranger*, / HALF HOURS WITH / BEETHOVEN, MENDELSSOHN, SPOHR, &c.

Reading Arrangements and Listening to Music

JUPITER arrangements were made with the explicit intention of broadening the reception of the works chosen for adaptation, a quality that was recognized clearly in the pages of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*:

> The passion for arrangement is, we think, a little run mad.- It however has its benefits: it extends very widely the *knowledge* of the greatest composers, for there are many persons, *in the provinces especially*, who have few other chances of becoming acquainted with their works [emphasis added].[36]

These words may well be those of the editor in chief of the journal, Richard Mackenzie Bacon, reviewing a number of new arrangements for the JUPITER ensemble in 1822. The author's comments about the value of such arrangements to the provinces are made all the more striking by the fact that Bacon never lived in London, but on the outskirts of Norwich, and was responsible for the founding of the Norfolk and Norwich music festival in 1824.[37]

The provincial is key to understanding contexts for the JUPITER arrangements, and two examples are illustrative: Cramer's arrangement of Mozart's Piano Concerto in C major K. 467 and Shuttleworth's arrangement of Mendelssohn's Octet in E^{b} major op. 20. Both locate activity not only in the provinces but also well away from provincial centers.

Cramer dedicated his arrangement of K. 467 "To / Miss Greatheed / (of Landford Lodge Wilts) / This Concerto / is Inscribed by / The Adapter / 201, Regent Street, May 1827."[38] The dedicatee, Sophia Greatheed was born in Chelsea in January 1806 but baptized at the family country house, Landford Lodge (Wiltshire), in September the same year. Her parents were Samuel Greatheed and Sophia Greatheed (*née* White). She spent most of her youth at Landford until financial circumstances forced the family to let it sometime before 1831. Sophia married Richard Burgess, the Rector of Upper Chelsea in July 1837. The

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[36] *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 4 (1822), 229. For a discussion of the two principal contributors to the publication, see Leanne Langley, "The English Musical Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century," 2 vols (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1983), 1:249-266. I am grateful to Dr Langley for an exchange on this subject (private communication, 15 July 2017).

[37] See John Warrack, "Bacon, Richard Mackenzie (1776–1844), newspaper editor and music critic," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, consulted19 July 2019, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1006; Leanne Langley, "Bacon, Richard Mackenzie," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, consulted 19 July 2019, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001725.

[38] Mozart's / CELEBRATED CONCERTOS / *Newly Arranged for the* / Piano-Forte, / with additional Keys, and Accompaniments of / *Violin, Flute and Violoncello* / J.B. CRAMER / N^{o} [5] / *Ent. Sta. Hall.* / - / London, Published by J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Street, / Corner of Conduit Street, [3].

couple lived in Cadogan Place until Richard moved to Ickworth in Suffolk. Sophia had celebrated her 21st birthday at Landford just a couple of months before Cramer's dedication, and the arrangement's status as a gift cannot be ruled out.[39] A Grade II listed Building since 1960, Landford Lodge was built in the late eighteenth century, and most of the early nineteenth-century interior was assembled by the Greatheed family just before and during Sophia's youth.[40]

Although at present little is known of the library or instruments that were at Landford, the building survives in its early nineteenth-century form. Although it boasts four reception rooms and ten bedrooms, the reception rooms are modest, and give an intriguing context to Cramer's arrangement. The largest room in the building is what is today called the drawing room and measures 8.04m x 5.88m;[41] this would seat between ten and twelve in addition to the four musicians and the instrument, bearing in mind that the room would not be set up with an audience in rows, but as a conventional drawing room of the period, with attendees grouped around tables, and other pieces of furniture.[42] Such dimensions give a very real sense to the performative conditions that must have obtained when K. 467 was given for the first time in Cramer's arrangement. Sophia herself may have played the keyboard, with members of the family taking the instrumental parts; that she was the dedicatee of the work may well imply that she was technically capable of executing the keyboard part. It is equally possible that Cramer himself was present, given that he was a regular soloist at the Hampshire Music Festival in Winchester (35km from Landford) at least up to 1817.[43]

The environment for Cramer's adaptation of K. 467 was domestic, relatively modest, and provincial, not to say rural. Much the same could be said of the environment for Shuttleworth's arrangement of Mendelssohn's Octet for Strings Op. 20. In this instance, it is

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[39] See Jan Cooper, "The Worldwide Greathead Family," consulted 19 July 2019, http://www.greathead.org/greathead2-o/p562.htm#i14050.

[40] "Historic England: Landford Lodge," consulted 19 July 2019, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1023914. The house sits midway between Salisbury and Southampton, about 35km from Winchester.

[41] Although now in private hands, Landford Lodge was for sale during the final stages of the preparation of this article, and detailed plans were made publicly available as part of the sale. See "Savills | Landford, Salisbury, SP5 2EH | Properties for sale," consulted 19 July 2019, https://search.savills.com/property-detail/gbsarulac180100.

[42] The drawing room at Landford Lodge was the model for the video: "JUPITER: Mozart in the 19th-Century Drawing Room," filmed in the dining room at Chawton House, Hampshire, where the space was 8.80m x 6.20m (10% longer than Landford, and 5% broader; the position of the fireplace and windows is almost identical). The video reconstructs early 19th-century listening and participatory practices, and featured, with the exception of the four performers, thirteen individuals in shot. See https://sound-heritage.ac.uk/projects/jupiter-mozart-drawing-room.

[43] Samantha Carrasco, "The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013), 121.

the arranger himself that locates the activity so far away from the metropolis. Edward Shuttleworth was born in 1806 in Preston, was curate of the Parish Church in Chorley, Lancashire, and became the Vicar of Egloshayle, near Wadebridge in Cornwall in 1849.[44] He married Letitia Cary the same year, and his son, the lyricist Henry Cary Shuttleworth, was born in 1850.[45] Edward Shuttleworth remained at Egloshayle, also as an honorary canon of the Cathedral of Truro, for the last five years of his life, until his death in 1883.[46]

Shuttleworth's arrangement of Mendelssohn's Octet dates from early in his tenure of the parish of Egloshayle, and fits perfectly with his public pronouncements on music. Two in particular set the Mendelssohn arrangement in context. A concert in Wadebridge was given on 15 January 1866 in order to raise funds for Shuttleworth's church in Egloshayle. The Shuttleworth family was much in evidence with the sixteen-year-old Henry as one of the vocal soloists, "Mrs Shuttleworth" (presumably Edward's wife and Henry's mother) one of the unspecified instrumentalists, and Edward himself playing the cello. While the first half of the concert was given over to extracts from Handel, the second was dedicated to Mendelssohn's Piano Concerto no. 2 in d minor Op. 40.[47] Given the family participation, the fact that the concert was a benefit for Shuttleworth's church and that the second half of the concert was dedicated to Mendelssohn, it seems likely that Shuttleworth himself was taking entrepreneurial responsibility for the endeavor. Fifteen years later, Shuttleworth went as far as to write an account for *The Musical Standard* of a performance of Mendelssohn's *St Paul* [*Paulus*] op 36, this time in his own parish church at Egloshayle. The performance was directed by Thomas Craddock with vocalists brought in from Devon together with one of Shuttleworth's other sons. Accordingly to Shuttleworth himself – hardly an unbiased observer however – the performance was given "with a precision and point which would not have disgraced any choral society." Shuttleworth's opening claim in his letter to the editor of *The Musical Standard* aligned this performance with commentary on other JUPITER arrangements from the 1820s discussed earlier: "As an encouragement to those who are desirous of promoting the study and practice of high-class music throughout the country, I

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[44] Early in his career, Shuttleworth was the author of Sacred Music / TE DEUM, JUBILATE, MAGNIFICAT & NUNC DIMITTIS, *A* / MORNING AND EVENING CHURCH SERVICE / in Score for Four Voices, / *WITH AN ARRANGED ACCOMPANIMENT* / *for the* / Organ or Piano Forte, / *Composed and Inscribed by Permission to the* / RIGHT REV^{D} THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, &c. / *BY THE* / REV^{D} EDW^{D} SHUTTELWORTH. B. A. / *Curate of the Parish Church of Chorley, Lancashire* / … / LONDON / *Published for the Author by* PRESTON, *71, Dean Street, Soho*, / and may be had of M^{r} Beale, Music Seller, Manchester, / and M^{r} Green, Music Seller, Church S^{t} Preston.

[45] George W. E. Russell, *Henry Cary Shuttleworth: A Memoir* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1903), 1.

[46] Augustus Blair Donaldson, *The Bishopric of Truro: The First Twenty-Five Years (1877-1902)* (London: Rivingtons, 1902), 144.

[47] *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular*, 1 February 1866.

wish to inform you that [*St Paul*] was performed almost entire in my church of Egloshayle….."[48] Shuttleworth's JUPITER arrangement of Mendelssohn's Octet fits perfectly into this type of musical culture and has much in common with the Mozart performances at Landford (280km east of Egloshayle) a quarter of a century earlier.

Practices throughout the century point to a provincial, domestic and largely non-professional engagement with JUPITER arrangements. The same sources point to views on the relationship between original and arrangement in the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. In 1823, the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, published the following (probably by Bacon's collaborator, William Horsley): a review of Hummel's set of six arrangements of Mozart's symphonies:

> MOZART's Symphonies are pre-eminently qualified, above any other, for being reduced from a full orchestra to a quartetto … on account of those melodies which, by their striking beauty and exceeding clearness, constitute, as in most of the other works of that immortal composer, their principal merit….. With regard to the arrangement of MR. HUMMEL, it may be said with truth that it is a perfect model, because *there is hardly a single trace that indicates its not being an original composition*—the greatest praise that can be given to an arrangement. Of all the great living composers, no one could be better calculated for a task like this, Mr.H. having been, for a series of years, the principal pupil of MOZART. *His own style partakes much of that of his master* [emphasis added].[49]

The comments were originally made in the context of a comparison between the suitability of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven for JUPITER arrangements. The most intriguing argument is that the greatest praise could be given to an arrangement is that it appears like an original composition: "There is hardly a single trace that indicates its not being an original composition." What this does is to downplay the importance of the original and bring into serious question the very idea of "original" and "arrangement": that an arrangement – whatever the original – could be so well done that its status as an arrangement was eclipsed, leaving the players and listeners with the sense that it was an original composition. And this focus is sharpened – but also complicated – by the claim that Hummel was particularly

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[48] *The Musical Standard*, 5 February 1881.

[49] *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 5 (1823), 234. Horsley's use of the term "model" here is potentially confusing as it overlaps with such oppositions as "model – imitation" favored by Deleuze and Baudrillard and examined later. What Horsley means here is something much simpler: that the arrangement he is reviewing is worthy of serving as a model to other arrangers – an exemplar in other words – and one that meets with his approval. It says nothing about the relationship of the original to its arrangement.

suitable as an arranger because – as a pupil of Mozart, as he indeed was from 1786-1788 – his style was so similar to that of the composer.

Clementi, Hummel, Cramer and their colleagues all had access to original copies of the music that they were arranging, and in terms of physical production – the mechanics of writing down the music of the arrangement and publishing it – it is perfectly reasonable to speak of "original" and "arrangement." But turning the lens to focus on questions of consumption – towards those who purchased these arrangements and towards the use they made of them – gives a striking perspective on how early nineteenth-century consumers thought of "original" and "arrangement." The first of the two quotations from the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* spoke about the importance of JUPITER arrangements in the British provinces. And to look for example – choosing the province in which Bacon lived and worked – at the early programs of the Norfolk and Norwich Festival, its first year – 1824 – reveals that they contained no more than a single performance of Mozart's Symphony 39 in E^b K. 549 and Beethoven Symphony 1 in C major Op. 21. That was the only opportunity to hear such works in a fully-scored form even in as ambitious a provincial center as Norwich, up to a half century after they were written.[50]

Even in London, where the arrangements were published, opportunities to hear original, fully-scored versions of the works arranged for the JUPITER ensemble were rare. Data are scattered, but for example during the opening season of the Philharmonic Society in 1813, there were no more than three performances of symphonies by Beethoven, four by Haydn and three by Mozart: ten for the entire year. By 1823, the numbers were only Beethoven: six, Haydn: four and Mozart: three.[51] The Philharmonic Society was not the only organization in the capital, and it seems clear that even London musicians who bought, played, listened to and studied JUPITER arrangements, would have had a knowledge of the originals that might have extended to nothing more than having heard a single performance, and some works might very well have been completely unknown in their original form even to the most assiduous devotee.

For most consumers of JUPITER arrangements, as well as for most of those of arrangements of other sorts, there frequently was no original with which the arrangement could be compared. All the JUPITER arrangements were – except to a small handful of the cognoscenti – effectively original works in their JUPITER form: they were what the reviewer

[50] Robin E. Legge and W. E. Hansell, *Annals of the Norfolk and Norwich Triennial Musical Festivals, MDCCCXXIV:MDCCCXCIII* (London and Norwich: Jarrold, 1896), 8-14.

[51] Myles Birket Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London, 1813-1912: A Record of a Hundred Years" Work in the Cause of Music* (London etc.: John Lane, 1912), 8-12 and 66-70.

in the second *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* quotation praised "because there is hardly a single trace that indicates its not being an original composition." In other words, the lack of access to a printed, manuscript or sonic "original" meant that the JUPITER arrangement presented itself to its players and listeners effectively as a new composition. The arrangement itself takes on the status of a new composition: original and arrangement, for the early nineteenth century, were significantly closer to each other than twentieth-century fidelity-criticism would like to acknowledge. Indeed, and this takes the discussion to the core of this article, such arrangements as those for the JUPITER ensemble were in many, if not most, cases the only modes of access to the Viennese classics.

These comments about the relationship between original and arrangement from the second quarter of the nineteenth century find an echo in those from the last third of the twentieth. Gilles Deleuze put the matter very starkly in his *Différence et répétition* of 1968, when he argued that the privileged position of the original is compromised by its imitation (for the purposes of this study, arrangement), or what he calls the *simulacre* as he closes his first chapter: "Everything has become *simulacre*, for by *simulacre* we should not understand a simple imitation but rather the act by which the very idea of a model or privileged position is challenged and overturned."[52] His challenge to the status of what he calls the "model" (what has been called in this article the "original") resonates loudly with the idea that nineteenth-century performers were playing arrangements largely with no knowledge of any putative original, and that the ultimate goal of an arrangement might well have been – if one is to believe Horsley – to sound as much like an original composition as possible. Deleuze is clearly making a greater claim than the one made here, since to lose the ultimate concept of, say, a fully-scored version of Mozart's *Haffner Symphony*, for example, flies in the face of surviving evidence, however slender that might be in comparison with its arrangement. But if Deleuze's claims that the imitation ("arrangement") effaces the original are taken seriously, it will at the very least have the effect of legitimizing – if indeed it were still needed – the position in an early nineteenth-century musical culture of all forms of arrangement to the extent that they should hold no less a critical position than the original of which they are arrangements. Such a view is enhanced by Deleuze's related idea that it is a "privileged position [that] is challenged or overturned" – the privileged position, that is, of the original.

Deleuze's perspective might run counter to expected claims that such arrangements as those for the JUPITER ensemble, as fairly elementary sites of reception, both constitute and exert a pressure on a canonic discourse: promoting Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven above their

[52] "Tout est devenu simulacre. Car, par simulacre, nous ne devons pas entendre une simple imitation, mais bien plutôt l'acte par lequel l'idée même d'un modèle ou d'une position privilégiée se trouve contestée, renversée." (Gilles Deleuze, *Différence et répétition* (Paris: PUF, 1968), 95).

uncanonized and un-arranged contemporaries. Deleuze goes even further: that the *simulacre* challenges the status of the potentially canonic original, and the specific evidence of the JUPITER arrangements goes a long way to pulling back from his excessive (nihilistic, even, in the hands of his later critics) attempts to neutralize the original. Deleuze is, however, only a preliminary and problematic point of entry to the ontology of the *simulacre* and how the concept might help explain the particular nature of the JUPITER arrangements of the early nineteenth century in the early twenty-first. It is unclear if he ultimately rejects the concept of the *simulacre*,[53] and even less clear whether this is in the context of a revision or repudiation of Platonism,[54] and it is furthermore doubtful what status the *simulacre* enjoys in discussions of Deleuze's broader attitude to Platonism.[55]

Deleuze's principles were advanced by Jean Baudrillard who developed a genealogy of simulation into which the JUPITER arrangements, as well as most of their contemporaries, inject a degree of disturbance. He sets out three types (*ordres*) of *simulacre*, some of which echo Deleuze's simpler idea of model and imitation (or – for current purposes – original and arrangement), some of which make greater claims; Baudrillard further assigns historical trajectories to his three types: first order *simulacre* (*contrefaçon*) where representation is nothing more than a marker for the original – associated with the pre-modern period; second order *simulacre* (*production*) associated with the modernity of the industrial revolution (as understood in 1975); third order *simulacre* (*simulacre* itself) where the *simulacre* precedes the original and in turn becomes meaningless, and which is associated with the postmodernity of Late Capitalism.[56]

The relationships between musical arrangements for reduced forces and their originals are more complex in the early nineteenth century than they are usually credited with being; the early nineteenth-century commentaries on the JUPITER arrangements are just the tip of an iceberg. They all sit – piano transcriptions, arias for the theatre arranged for voice and keyboard, the JUPITER arrangements and Salomon's versions for larger forces – somewhere overlapping Baudrillard's second and third orders. To some degree, this might be simply falling in line with even those sympathetic critics of Baudrillard who consider that his

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[53] See the section "Exeunt simulacra" in Daniel W. Smith, "The Concept of the Simulacrum: Deleuze and the Overturning of Platonism," *Continental Philosophy Review* 38 (2006) 117-118.

[54] The conventional view is that Deleuze attempts to revise Platonism (James Williams, *Gilles Deleuze's "Difference and Repetition": A Critical Introduction and Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 79; for a spirited but contrary view, see Charles Mayell, "The Rise and Fall of the Simulacrum," *Deleuze Studies* 8 (2014) 467.

[55] *Ibidem*.

[56] Jean Baudrillard, "L'ordre des simulacres," *L'exchange symbolique et la mort*, Bibliothèque des sciences humaines (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 75-128. For a later but more concise account of the same set of considerations, See *idem*, *Simulacres et simulation*, débats (Paris: Galilée, 1981), 17.

third order is so extreme as to reduce the possibility of critical engagement to nothing.[57] But Baudrillard's alignment of his second order with the industrial revolution speaks eloquently to the forces at work in nineteenth- and twentieth-century musical culture in general: the growth in keyboard technology that placed larger and larger numbers of instruments in more and more homes, the explosion in the printing industry than began in the late eighteenth century and the later development of recorded sound. Baudrillard's third order – where the *simulacre* precedes the original – approaches the reality of nineteenth-century culture where arrangements effortlessly function without an original. The complete effacement of the original (Baudrillard's' model') was never achieved by the JUPITER phenomenon for the simple reason that the title pages of the prints that enshrined the arrangements always evoked the title and genre of the original ("Auber's favorite overture … arranged for the pianoforte with ad libitum accompaniments", for example), so that those who consumed the JUPITER arrangements may not have known the original but would have been aware of its existence.

Baudrillard addresses less explicitly the capacity of consumers to absorb the immense volume of such phenomena as the JUPITER arrangements, which is associated with the larger degree of leisure, and also the development of a music press that could bring these changes into a regular literary discourse where these changes could be publicly digested. None of this however addresses the question of the personal networks that enmesh Hummel, Cramer and Clementi and those composers whose larger works were the subject of their promotion through arrangement. Hummel was a pupil of Mozart, and Clementi dueled at the Keyboard with him while Cramer – a pupil of Clementi – was on good terms with both Haydn and Beethoven. A complete view of the JUPITER phenomenon therefore encompasses a matrix of practices: the arrangements as sites of reception; a complex network of agents (pupils, teachers, competitors, friends); and a challenge to the status of model and imitation. But, despite the almost complete absence of fully-scored versions of symphonies and concertos by Viennese composers, these originals most certainly existed, and calls into question Baudrillard's neat distinction between the "pre-modern" and the "industrial." On the other hand, Baudrillard's characterization of these two periods, with very different understandings of the relationship between model and imitation, is a productive set of tools to examine the detail of the arrangements, with or without reference to any original, as this study has suggested.

[57] Paul Hegarty, *Jean Baudrillard: Live Theory* (London and New York: continuum, 2004), 59, and – at greater length – Michael W. Smith, *Reading Simulacra: Fatal Theories for Postmodernity*, The SUNY Series in Postmodern Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 65-76.

Somewhere between the fully-scored performances that might sound recognizable in the first quarter of the twenty-first century and arrangements for two or four hands at a single keyboard familiar in the first quarter of the nineteenth sat a repertory of JUPITER arrangements for fortepiano, flute, violin and cello. The amount of music arranged for these forces and their impact on Georgian and Victorian culture was immense; versions of works by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven for this ensemble appear to have been published only in London and to have dominated the British market, both metropolitan and provincial. They constitute a fundamental canonic force in the first half of the 19th century.

JUPITER arrangements unsurprisingly afford a glimpse of how the pianists and arrangers Clementi, Cramer and Hummel viewed Mozart's concerted ensemble music, for example, and how they may have played his concertos. But they also reveal how such musicians attempted to reinscribe the sonorities they heard in concerted works from Haydn to Mendelssohn. Such arrangements contributed so much more to the musical culture of the early nineteenth century than performances of fully-score originals that the status of the original may be called into question.

Everist: Captions

Figure 1: *Mozart's celebrated Symphony* / "THE JUPITER" / *newly adapted for the* Piano Forte, *with accompaniments* / - *for a* - / Flute, Violin and Violoncello / - *BY* - / *Muzio Clementi* / N° 6 / *Ent. Sta. Hall* / *London, Published by* R. COCKS & C° *2C Princes Street, Hanover Square*, title page

Figure 2: *Mozart's* / CELEBRATED CONCERTOS, / *Newly Arranged for the* / Piano Forte. / with additional keys and Accompaniments of / *Violin, Flute and Violoncello* / By / J. B. CRAMER / *Ent. Sta. Hall* / London, Published by J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Street, / Corner of Conduit Street, 17

Table 1: Arrangements for fortepiano, flute, violin and 'cello. All published in London and earlier than 1830 unless otherwise specified

Example 1: Mozart Symphony 41 in C major, K 551, fourth movement, arranged Muzio Clementi, measures 202-217

Example 2: Mozart Symphony 41 in C major, K 551, first movement, arranged Muzio Clementi, measures 1-14

Example 3a: Mozart Symphony 41 in C major, K 551, second movement, measures 28-33

Example 3b: Mozart Symphony 41 in C major, K 551, second movement, arranged Muzio Clementi, measures 28-33

Example 4a: Mozart, Piano Concerto in C major, K. 467, first movement, measures 1-12

Example 4b: Mozart, Piano Concerto in C major, K. 467, first movement, arranged Johann-Baptist Cramer, measures 1-13

Example 5a: Mozart, Piano Concerto in C major, K. 467, first movement, measures 80-89

Example 5b: Mozart, Piano Concerto in C major, K. 467, first movement, arranged Johann-Baptist Cramer, measures 80-88

Example 6: Mozart Symphony 41 in C major, K 551, fourth movement, arranged Muzio Clementi, measures 384-399

Example 7: Mozart, Piano Concerto in C major, K. 467, second movement, arranged Johann-Baptist Cramer, measures 24-35

Example 8: Mozart, Piano Concerto in C major, K. 467, third movement, arranged Johann-Baptist Cramer, measure 432 (cadenza)

Example 9a: Beethoven, Symphony 1 in C major, Op. 21, first movement, arranged Johann Nepomuk Hummel, measures 1-33

Example 9b: Beethoven, Symphony 1 in C major, Op. 21, first movement, arranged Giralomo Masi, measures 1-33

Example 10: Mendelssohn, Octet in E^b Major, Op. 20, fourth movement, arranged Edward Shuttleworth, 54-55

Example 11: HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS, / WEBER, / *Arranged as* SOLOS and DUETS for the / Piano Forte, / *With ad lib. Accomp^ts for Flute, Violin & Violoncello* / *By* / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / N^o. [6] / … / LONDON / C. LONSDALE, 26 OLD BOND

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Everist:
Figure 2

Everist: Table 1

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Beethoven Symphonies 1-7 (Hummel); Symphony 1 (Masi)

Haydn Symphonies 1-12, 18, 20 (Rimbault)

Mozart Symphonies 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41 (Clementi)

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[Everist: Appendix 1]

This list gives arrangements for fortepiano, flute, violin and cello alphabetically arranged with no limitation of date or place of publication. Some publications contain more than a single work, in which case the number of volumes is indicated in [ ].

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Sacred Airs, / Composed by / MOZART, HAYDN, MARCELLO, PERGOLESI, / NAUMANN, HUMMEL D^R^ CROTCH, & c. / *Arranged for the* / Piano Forte, / (AS SOLOS OR DUETS.) / *With Accompaniments (ad lib.) for* / Flute, Violin & Violoncello, / By *WILLAIM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT* / *Book 1* / LONDON / *Printed & Sold by C. Lonsdale, 26 Old Bond Street.*

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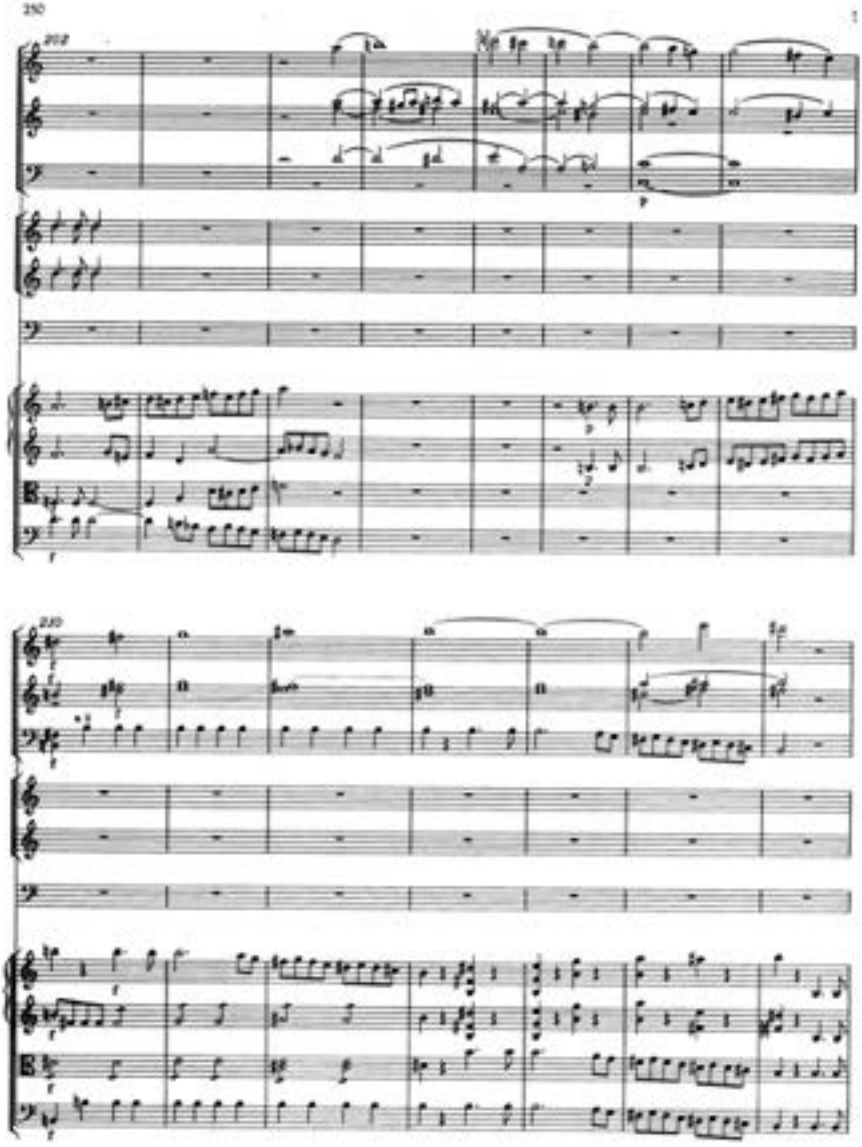
Everist Example 1a



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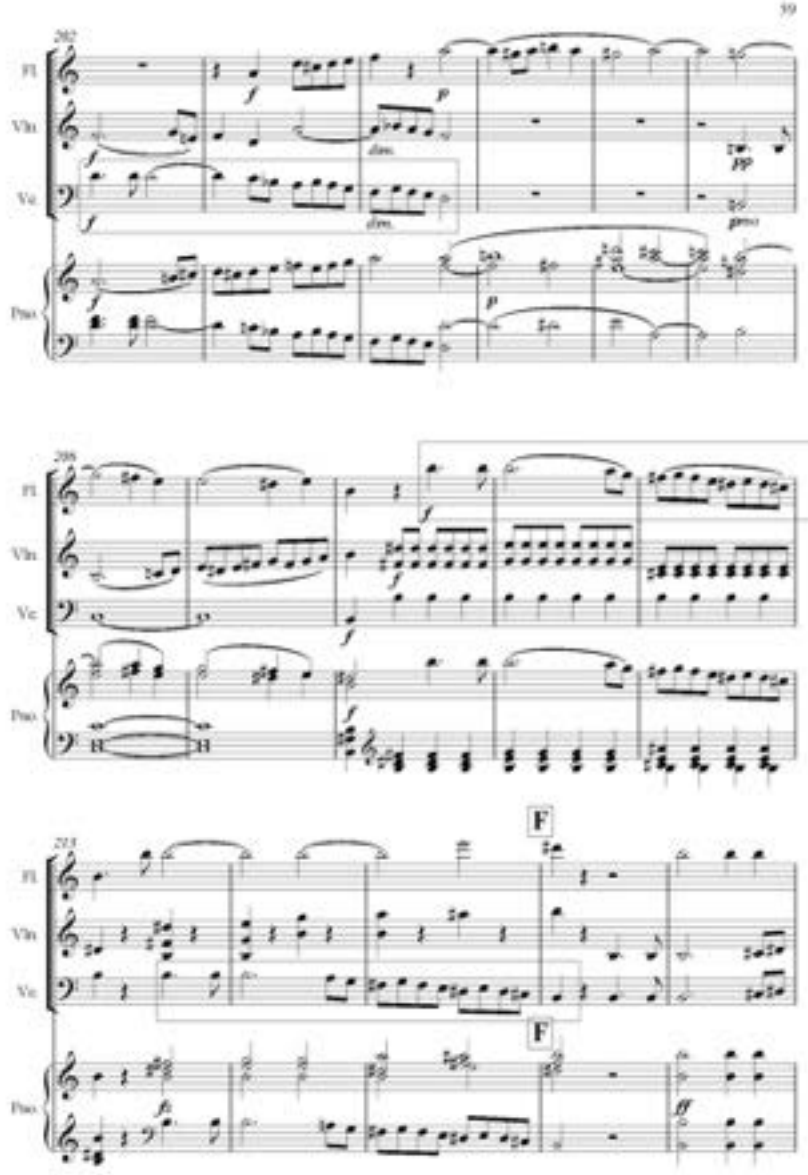
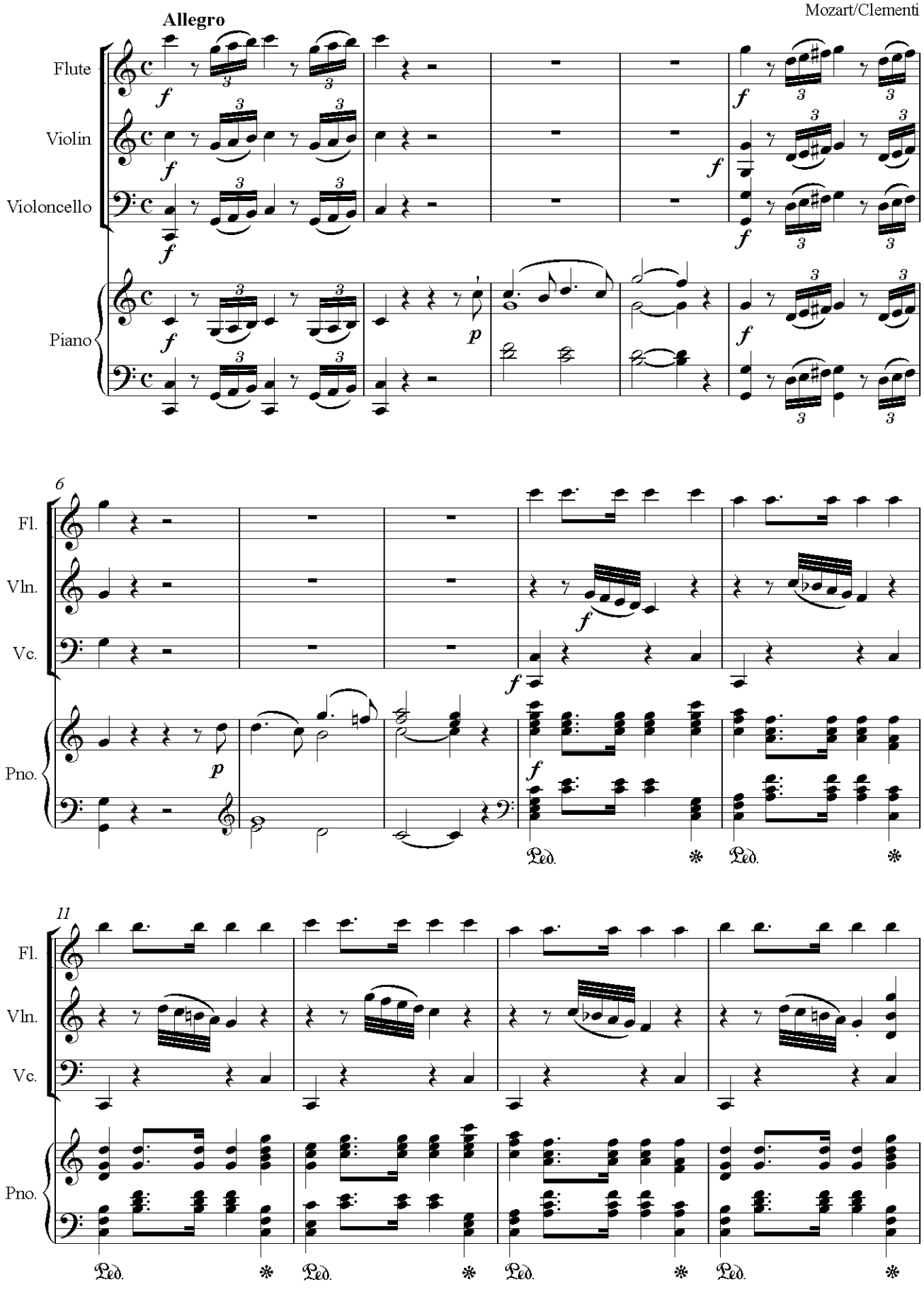


Everist: Example 2

Jupiter Symphony

Adapted for the Piano Forte and Accompaniment

Mozart/Clementi



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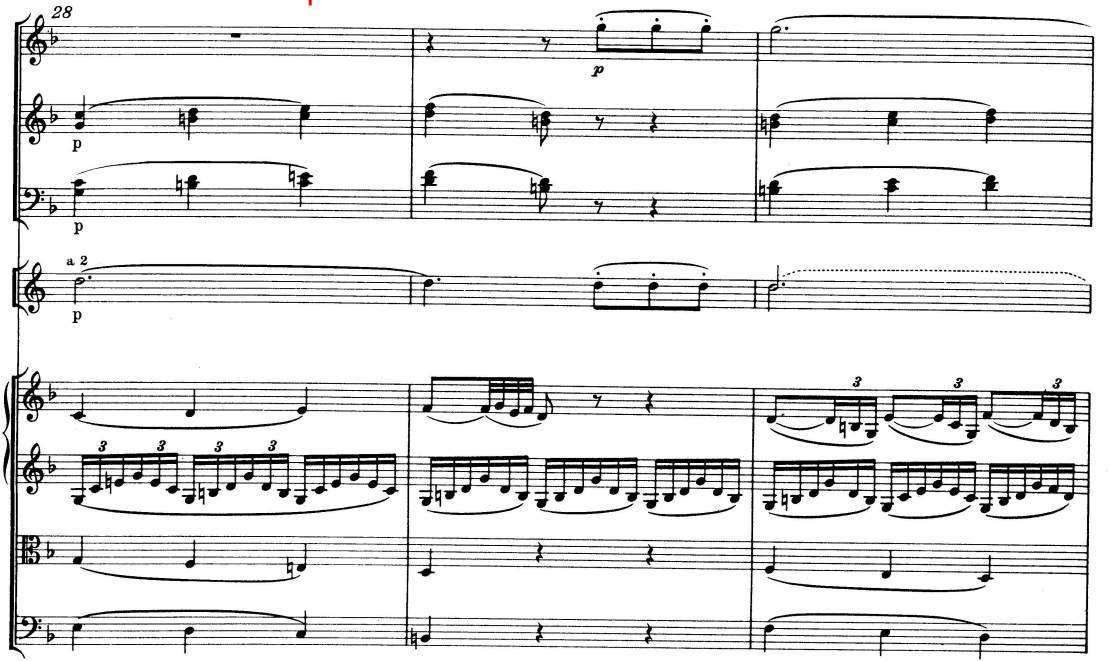
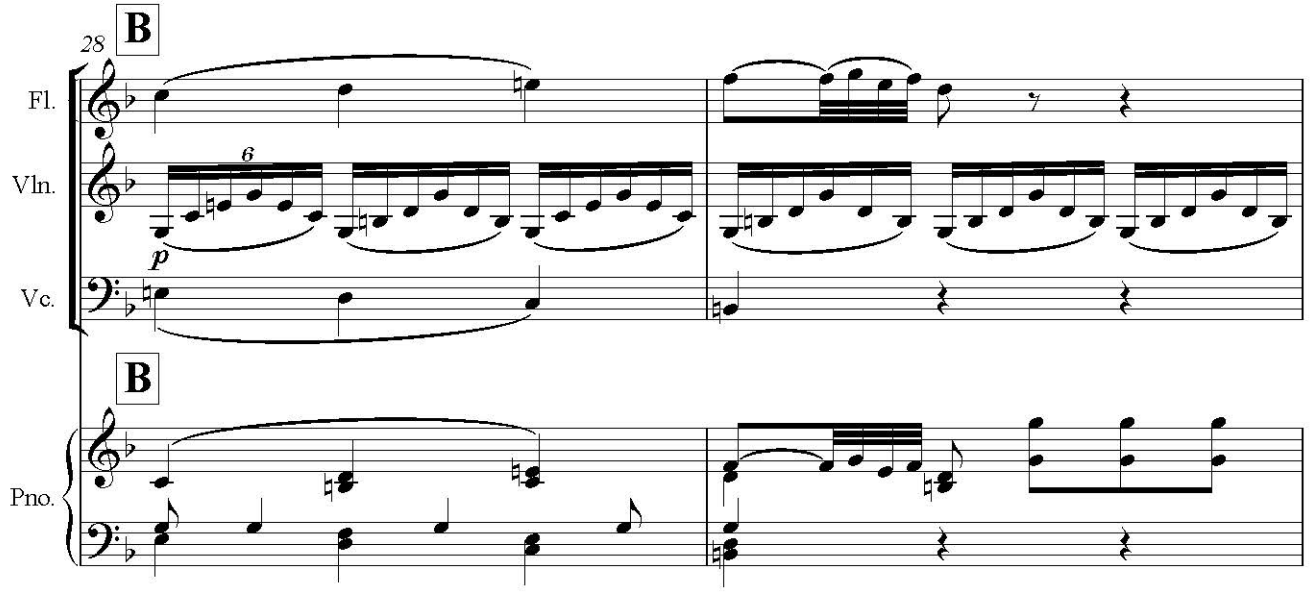
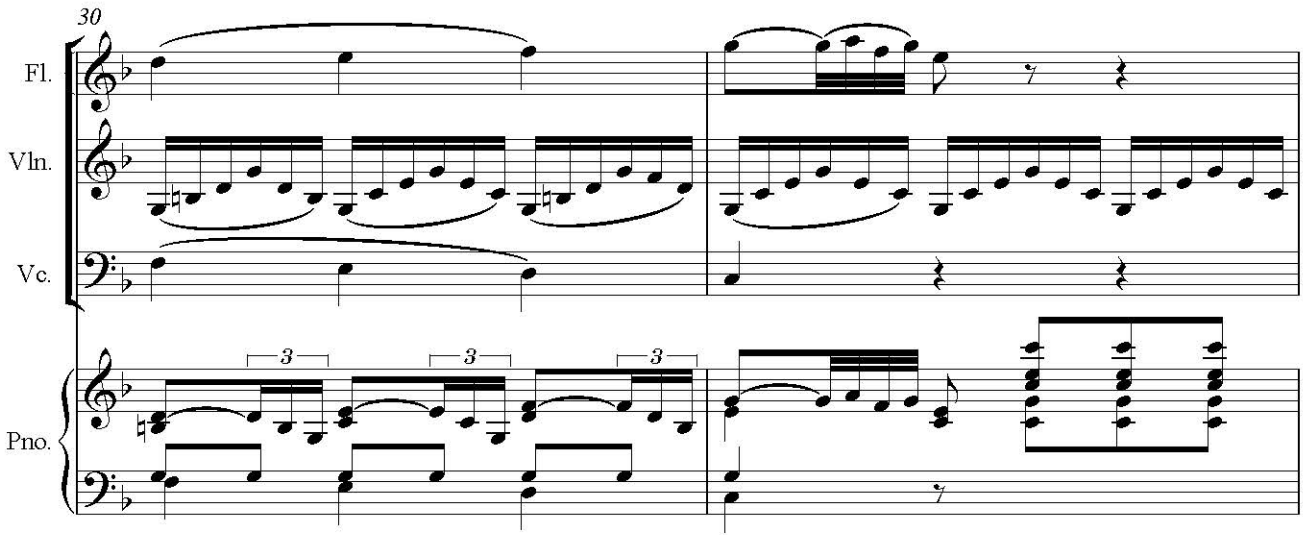




Everist: Example 3b, page 1



Everist: Example 3b, page 2

Everist: Example 4a

Konzert in C

KV 467

Datiert: Wien, 9. März 1785

Allegro maestoso*)

Flauto

Oboe I, II

Fagotto I, II

Corno I, II in Do/C

Clarino I, II in Do/C

Timpani in Do-Sol/C-G

Pianoforte

Violino I

Violino II

Viola I, II

Violoncello e Basso

*) Tempobezeichnung, die im Autograph fehlt, nach Mozarts eigenhändigem Werkverzeichnis.

**) Ausführung des Vorschlags:

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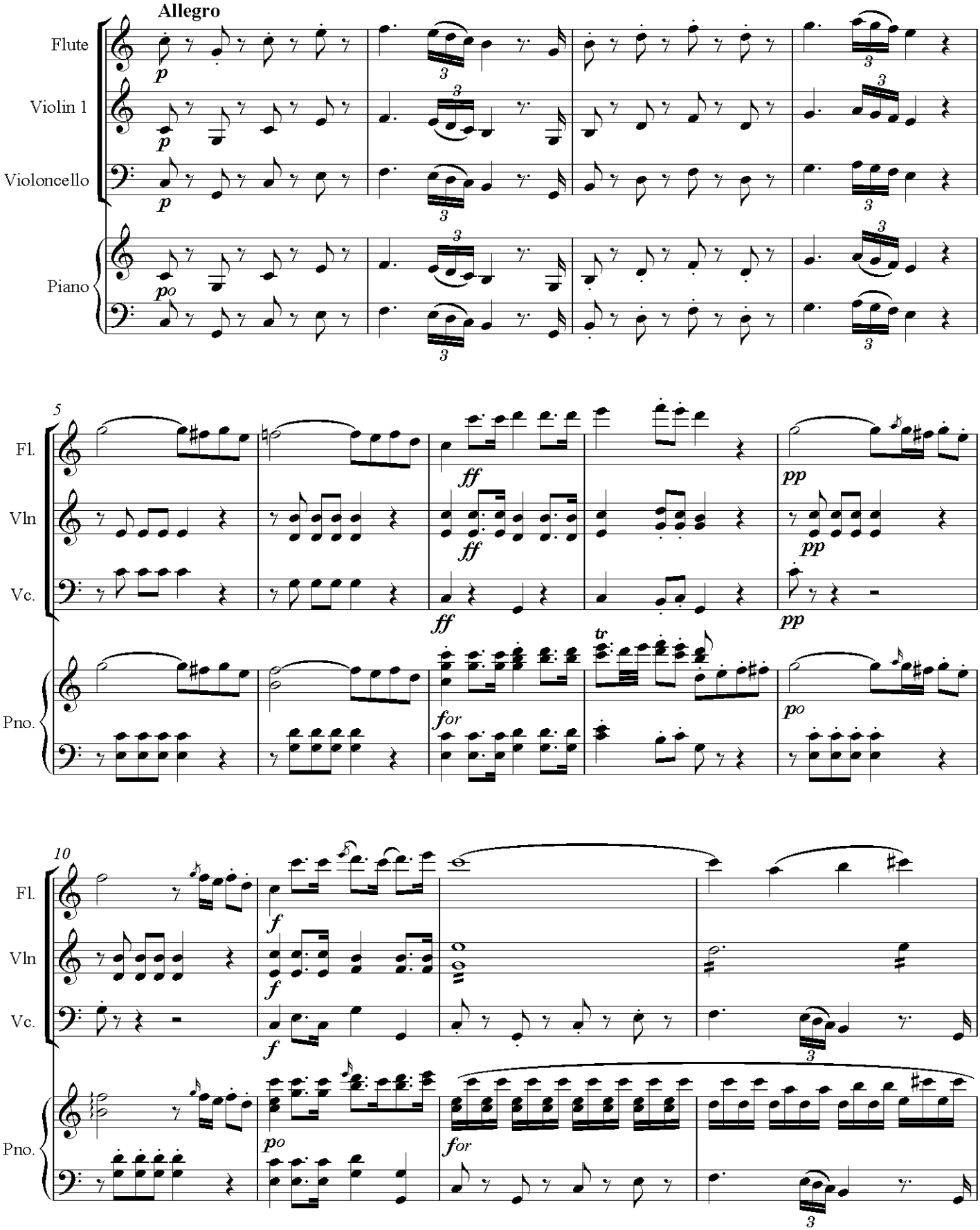
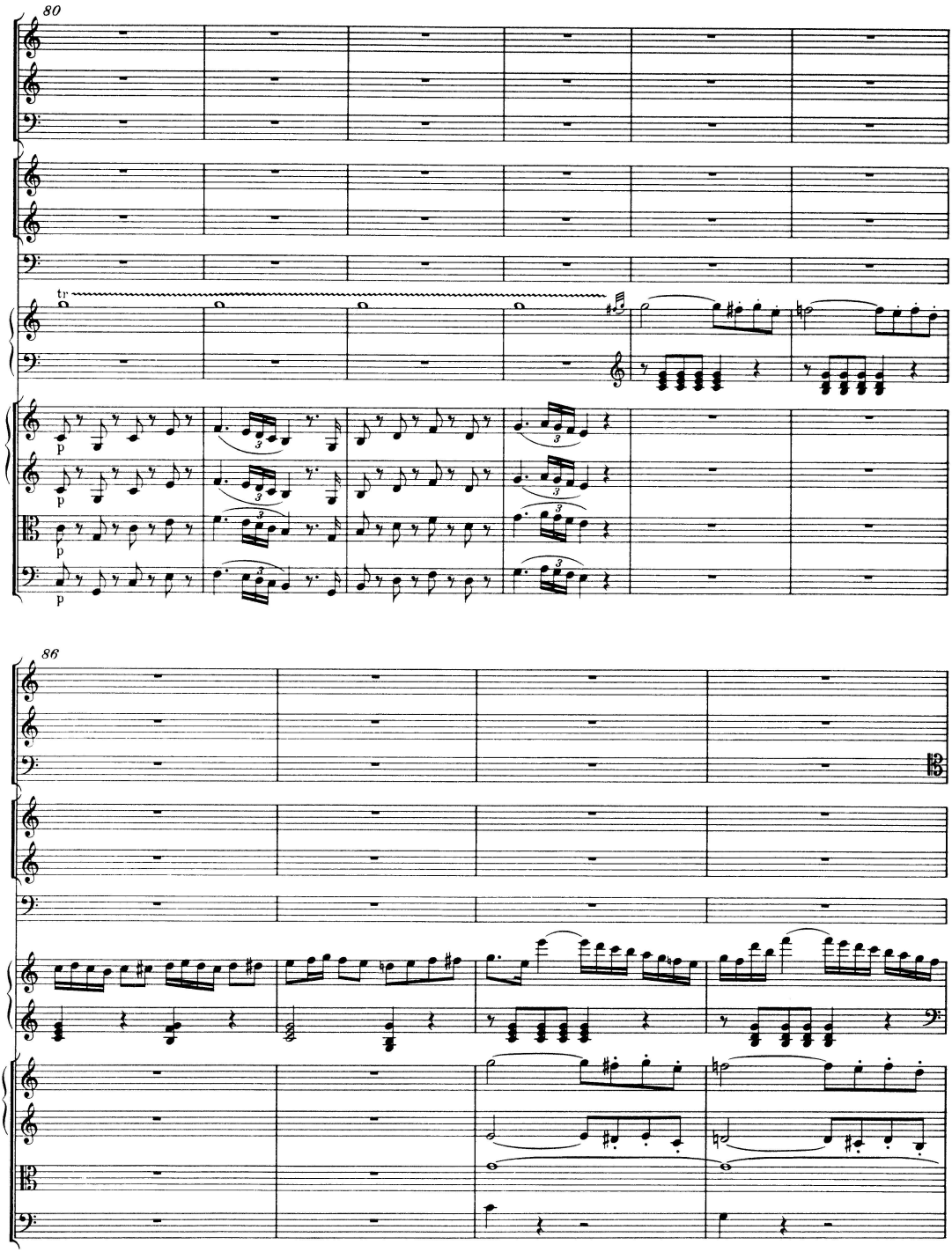
Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Online Publications (2006)

Everist: Example 4b

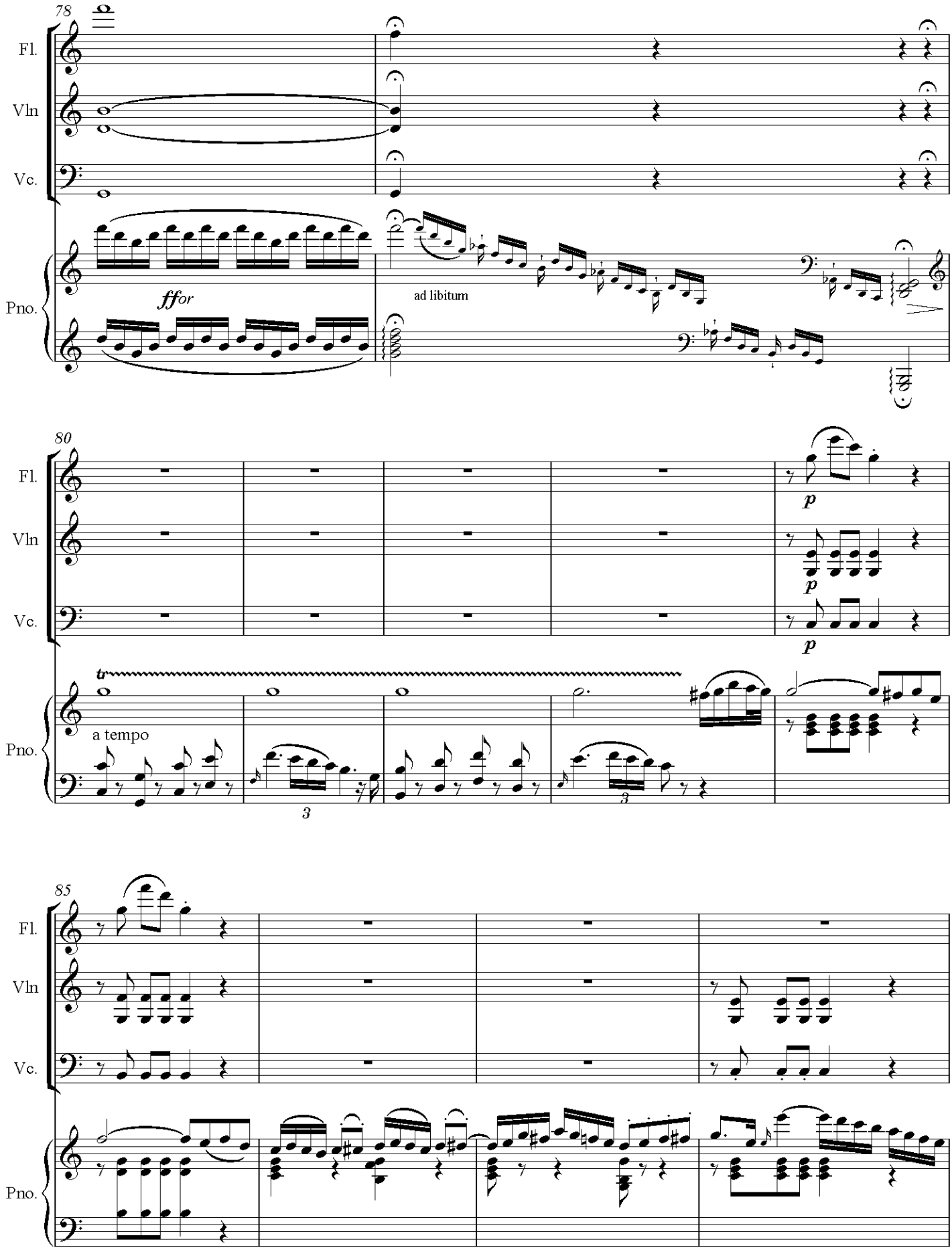
Piano Concerto in C Major

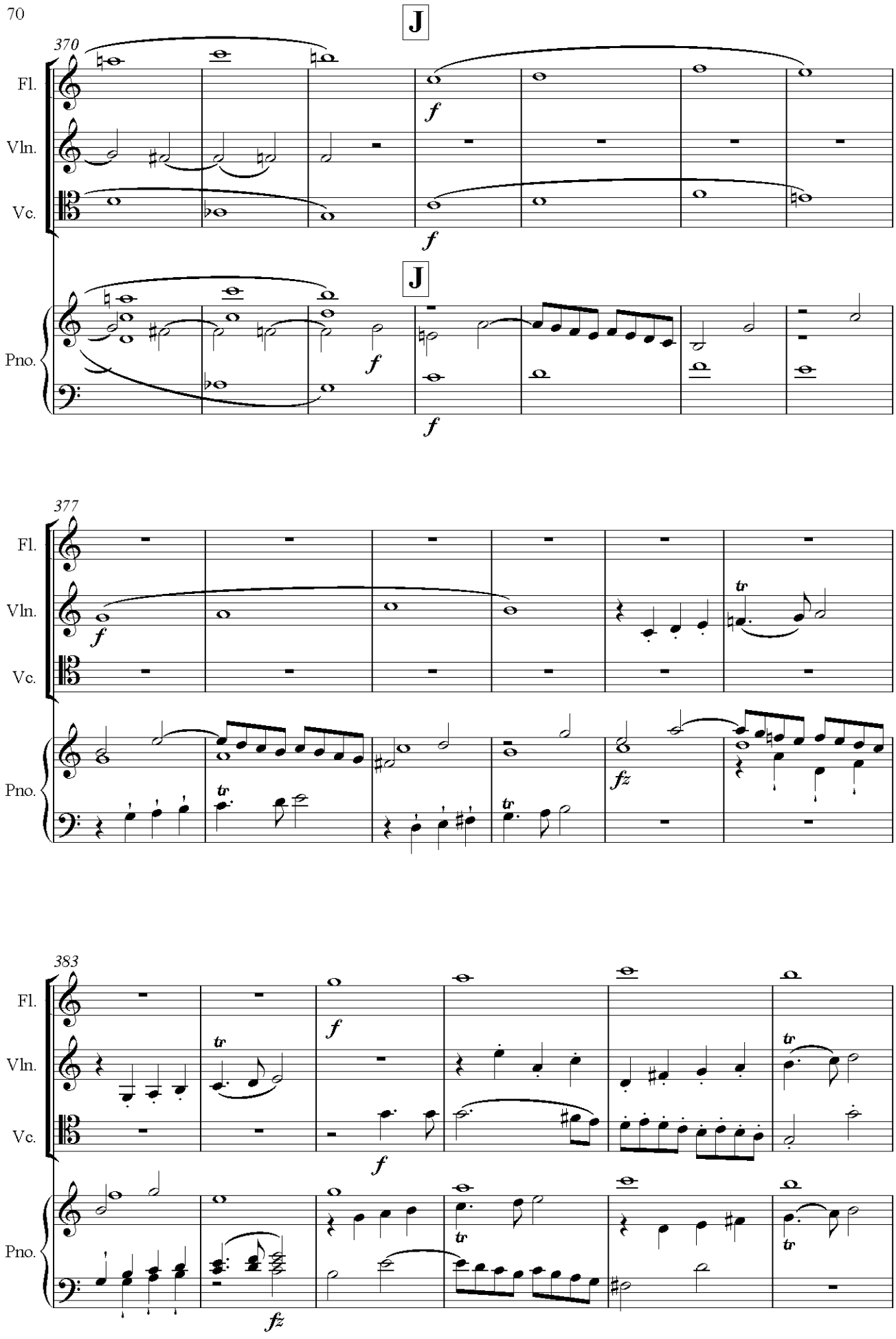
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
Arranged by J. B. Cramer, London 1827

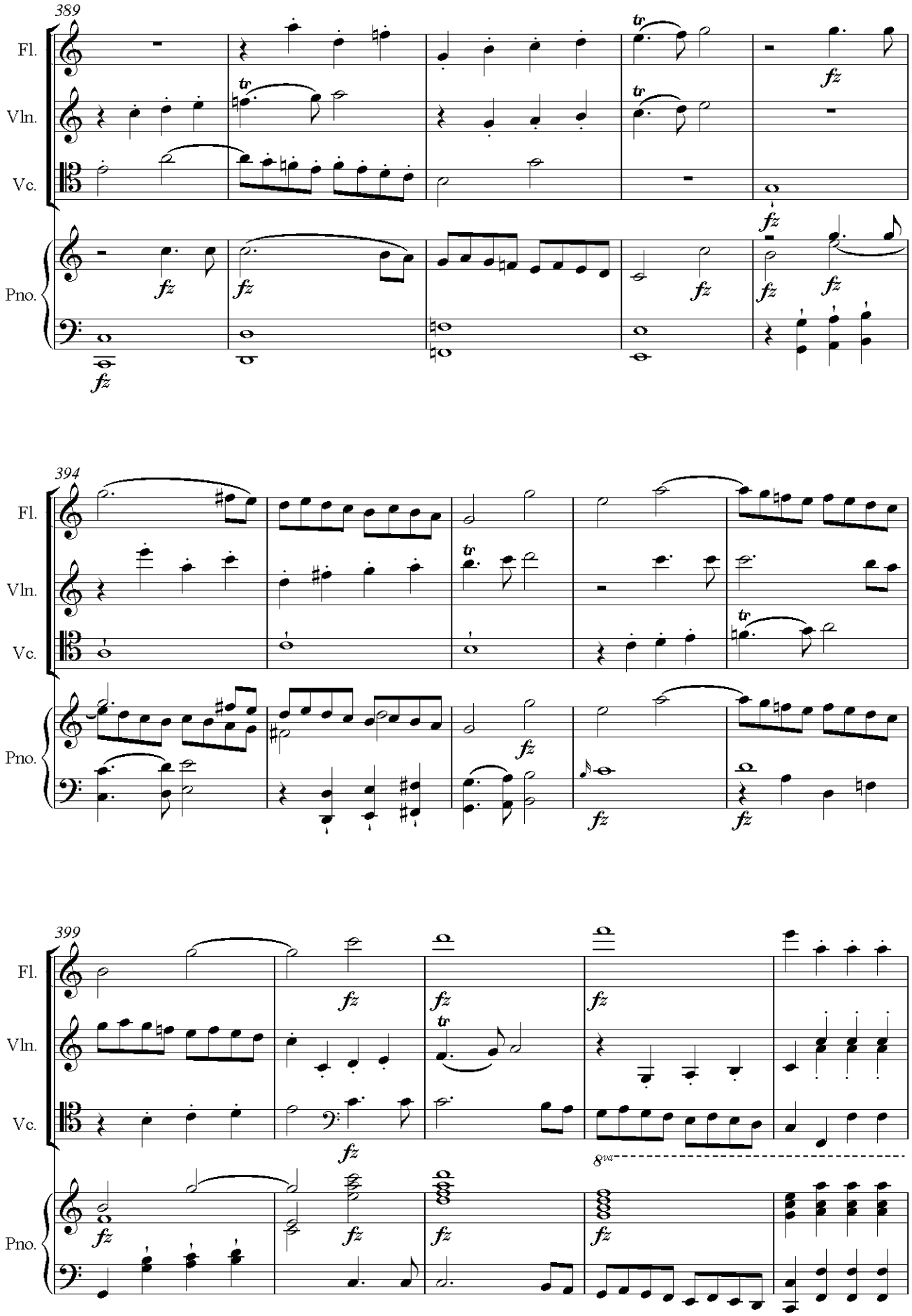


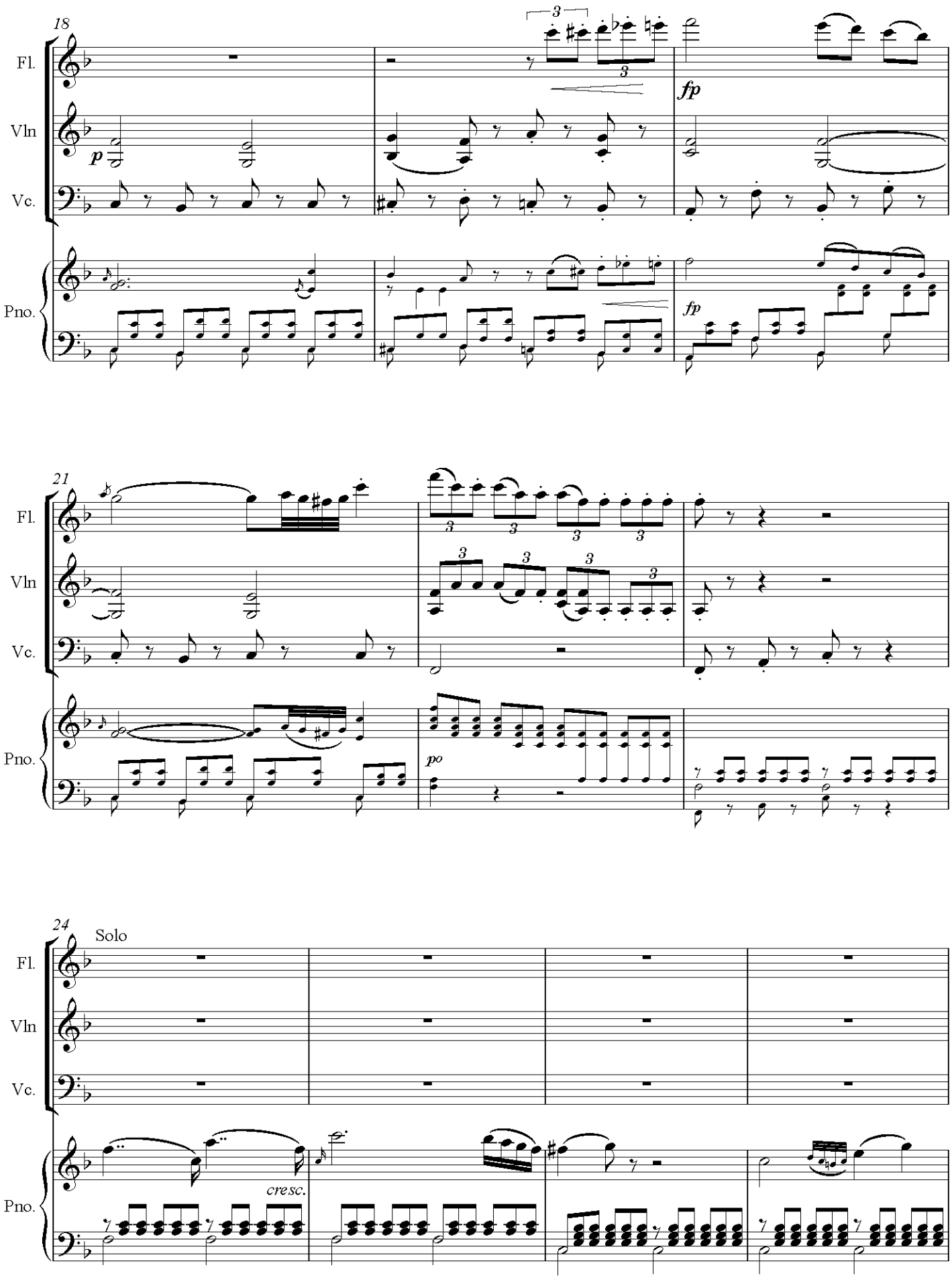

80
tr
p
86

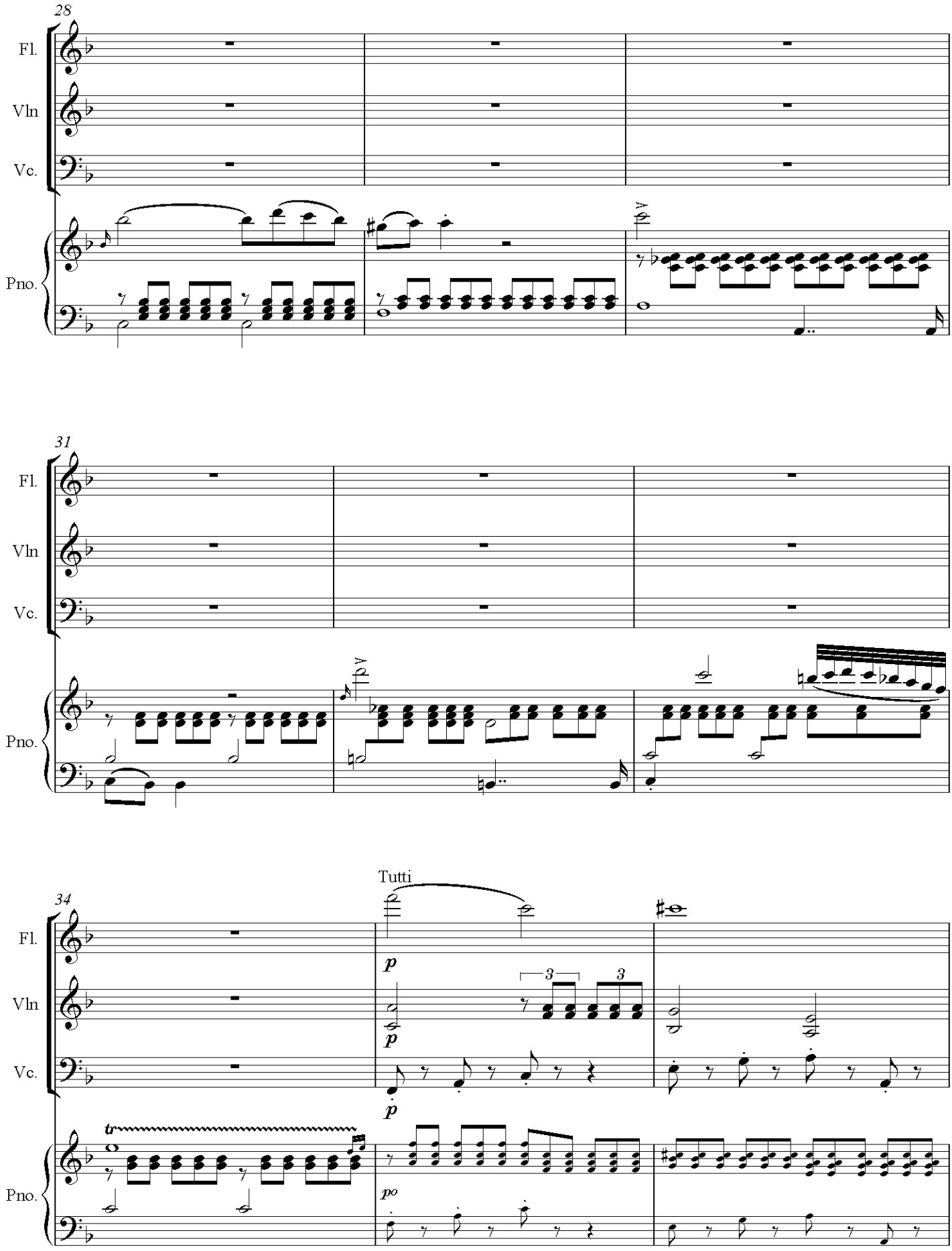
Everist: Example 5b

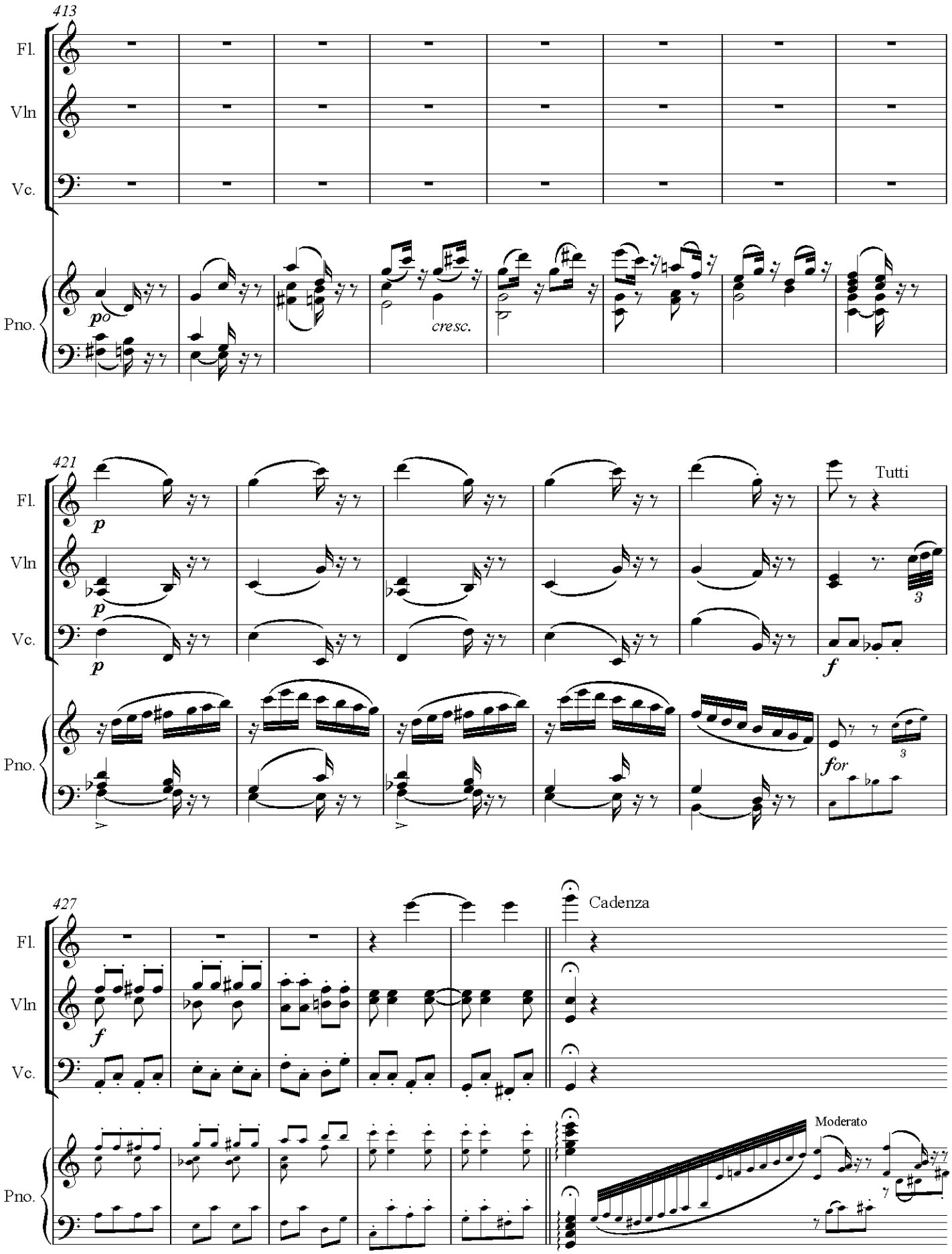



70
370
J
Fl.
Vln.
Vc.
Pno.
f
377
tr
fz
383

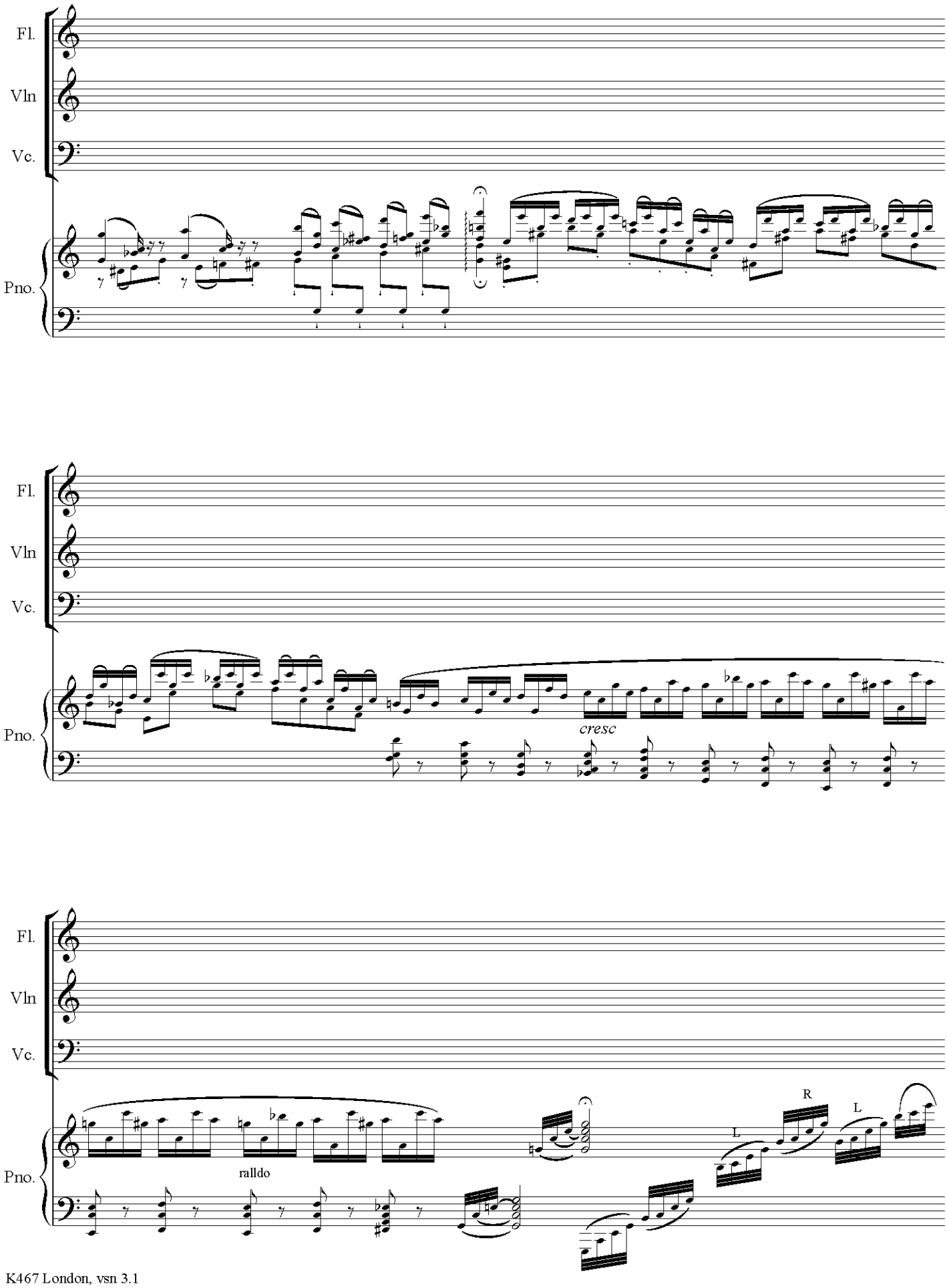

389
Fl.
Vln.
Vc.
Pno.
394
399
8va

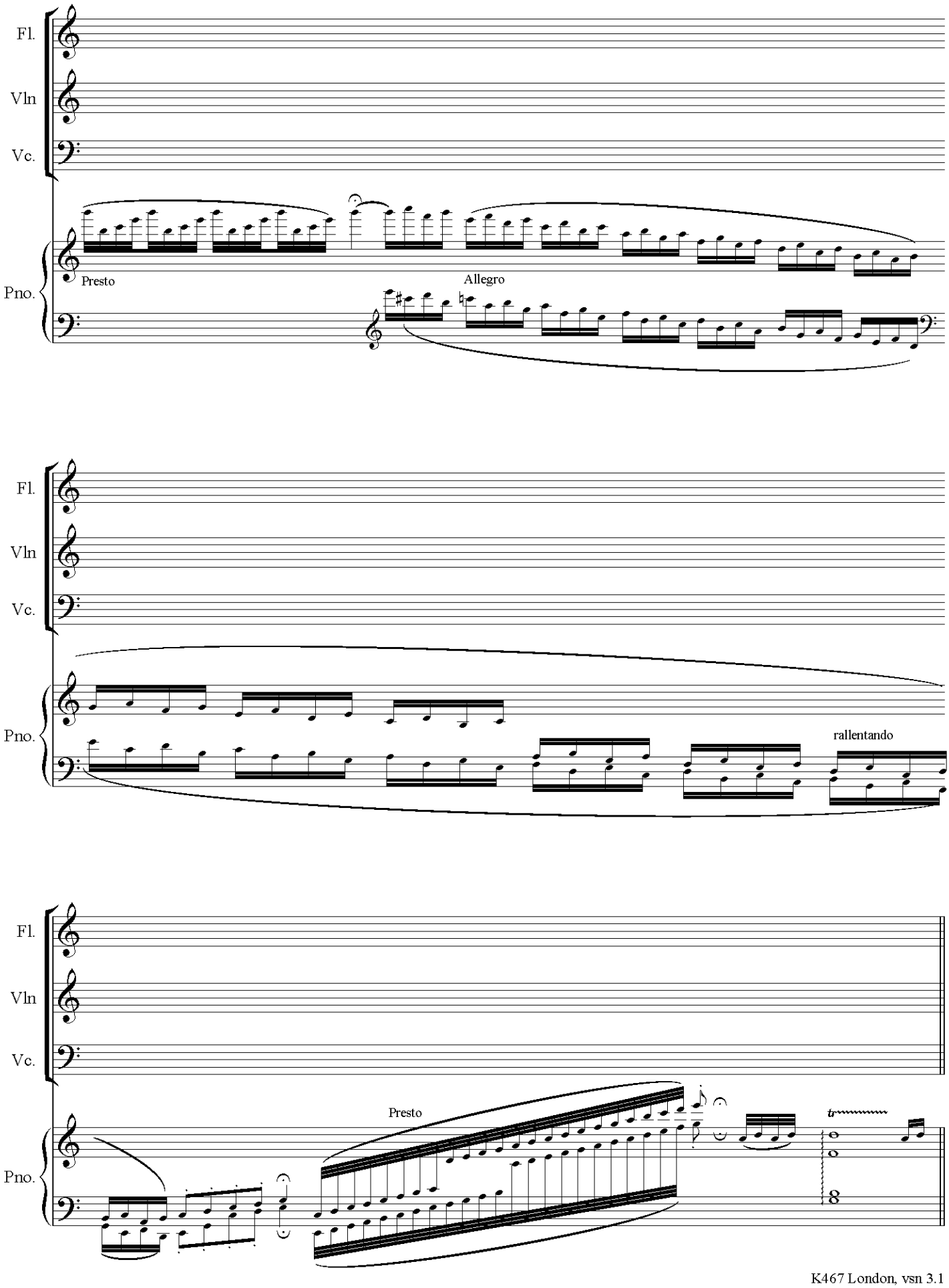

18
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
p
fp
fp
21
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
po
24
Solo
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
cresc.

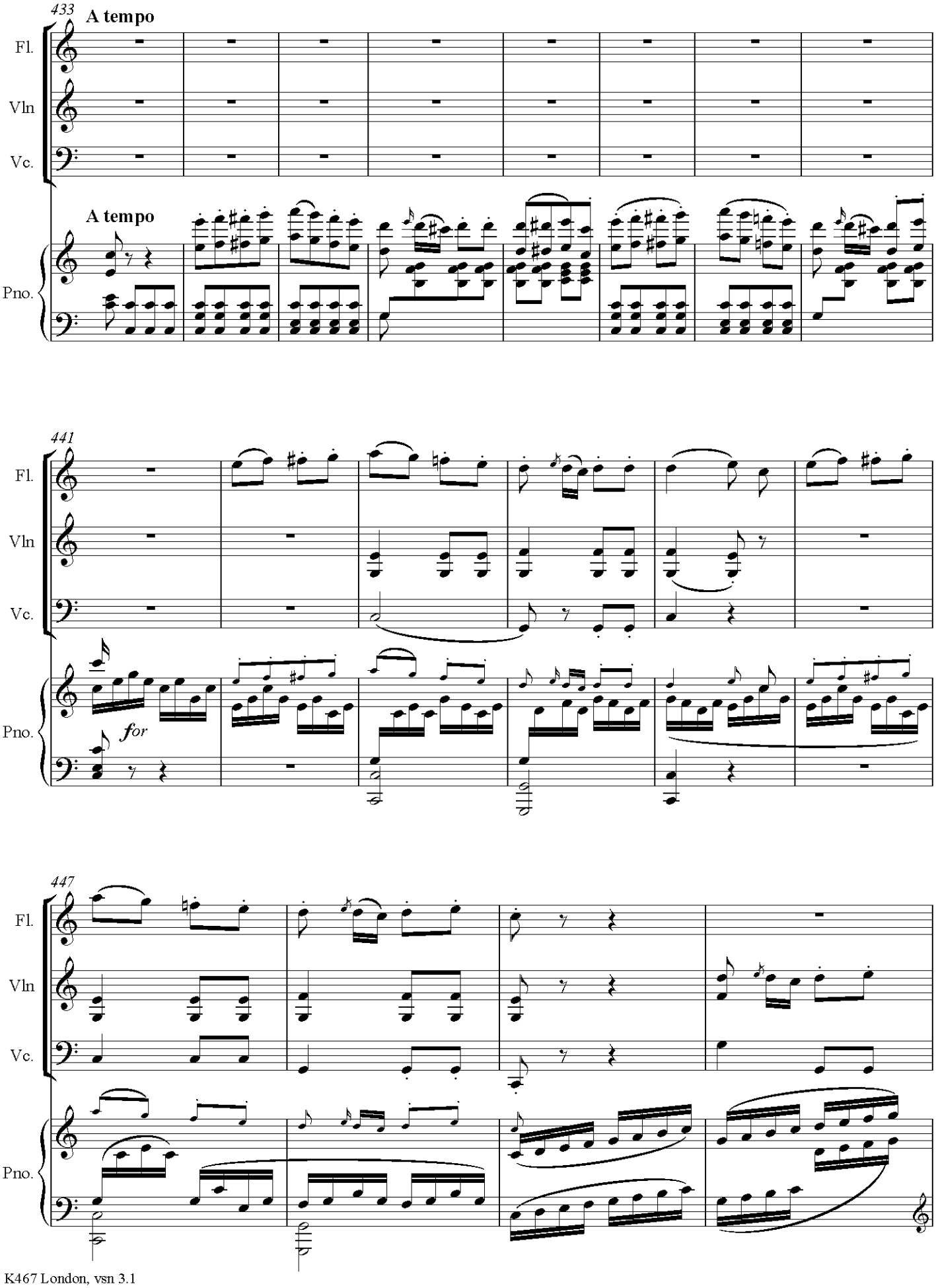

28
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
31
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
Tutti
34
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
p
3
tr
po


413
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
po
cresc.
421
p
Tutti
f
for
427
Cadenza
Moderato

74



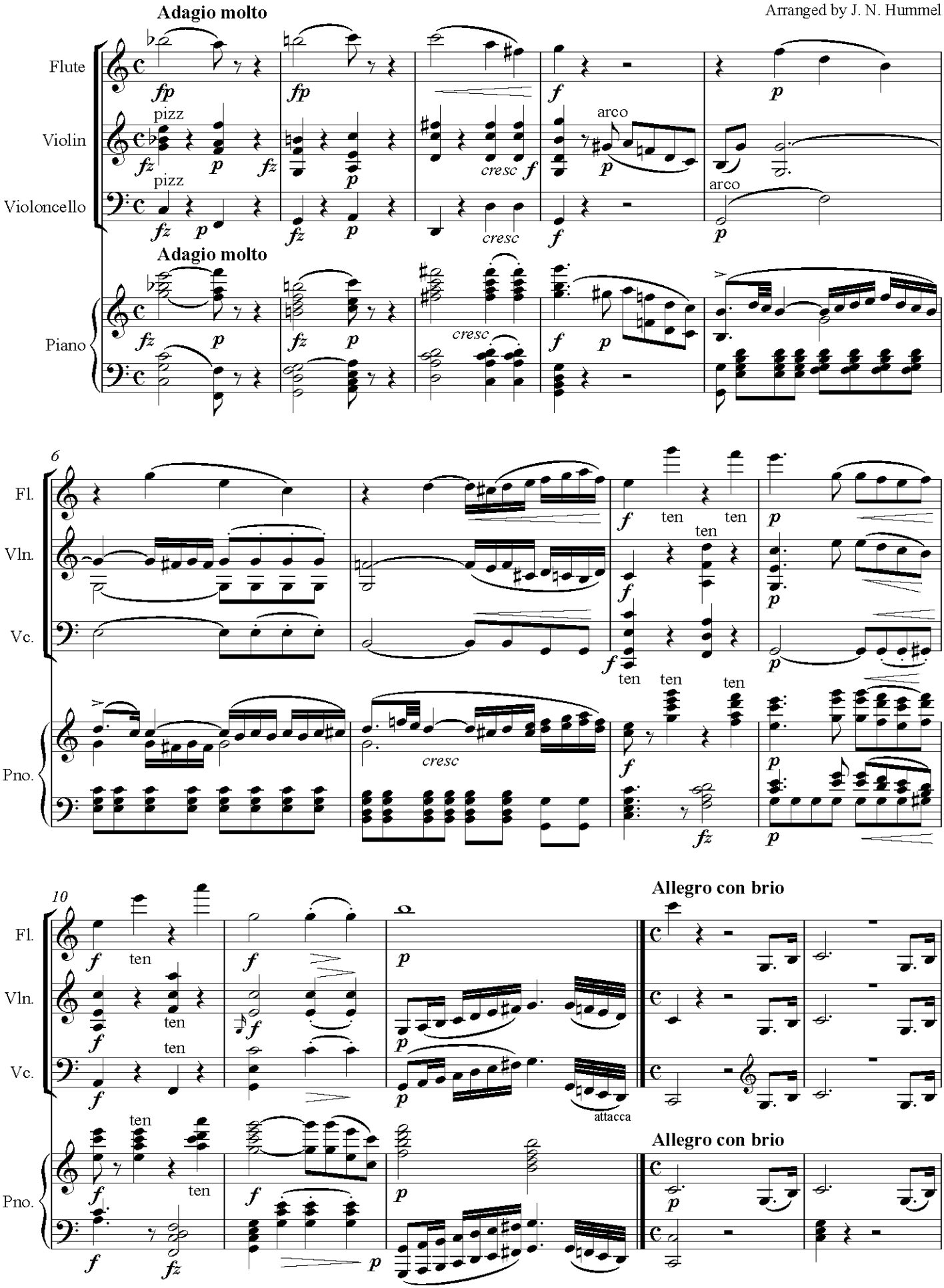

Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
Presto
Allegro
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
rallentando
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.
Presto
tr


433
A tempo
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
A tempo
Pno.
441
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
for
Pno.
447
Fl.
Vln
Vc.
Pno.

Everist: Example 9a

Symphony No. 1

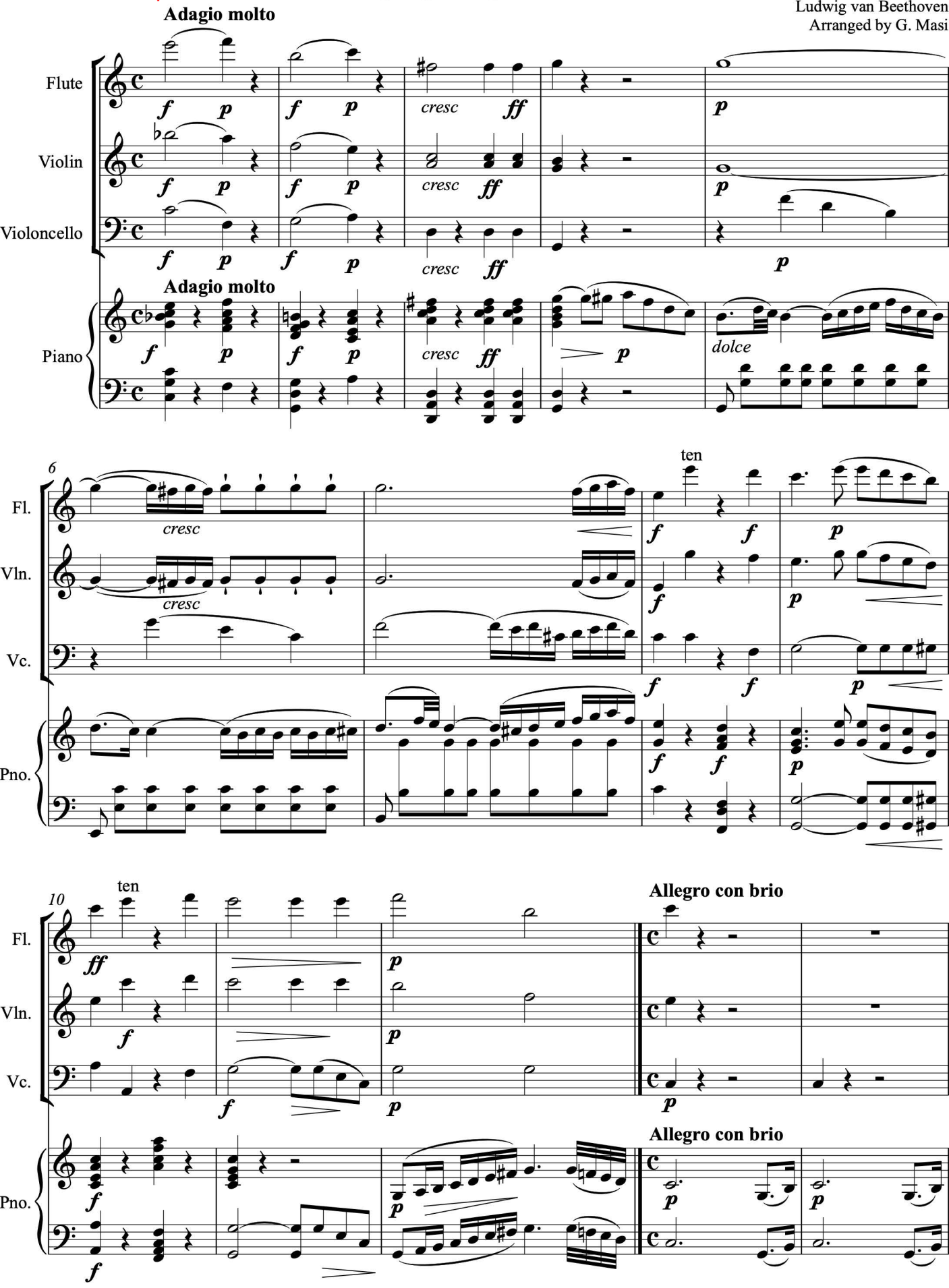
Ludwig van Beethoven
Arranged by J. N. Hummel



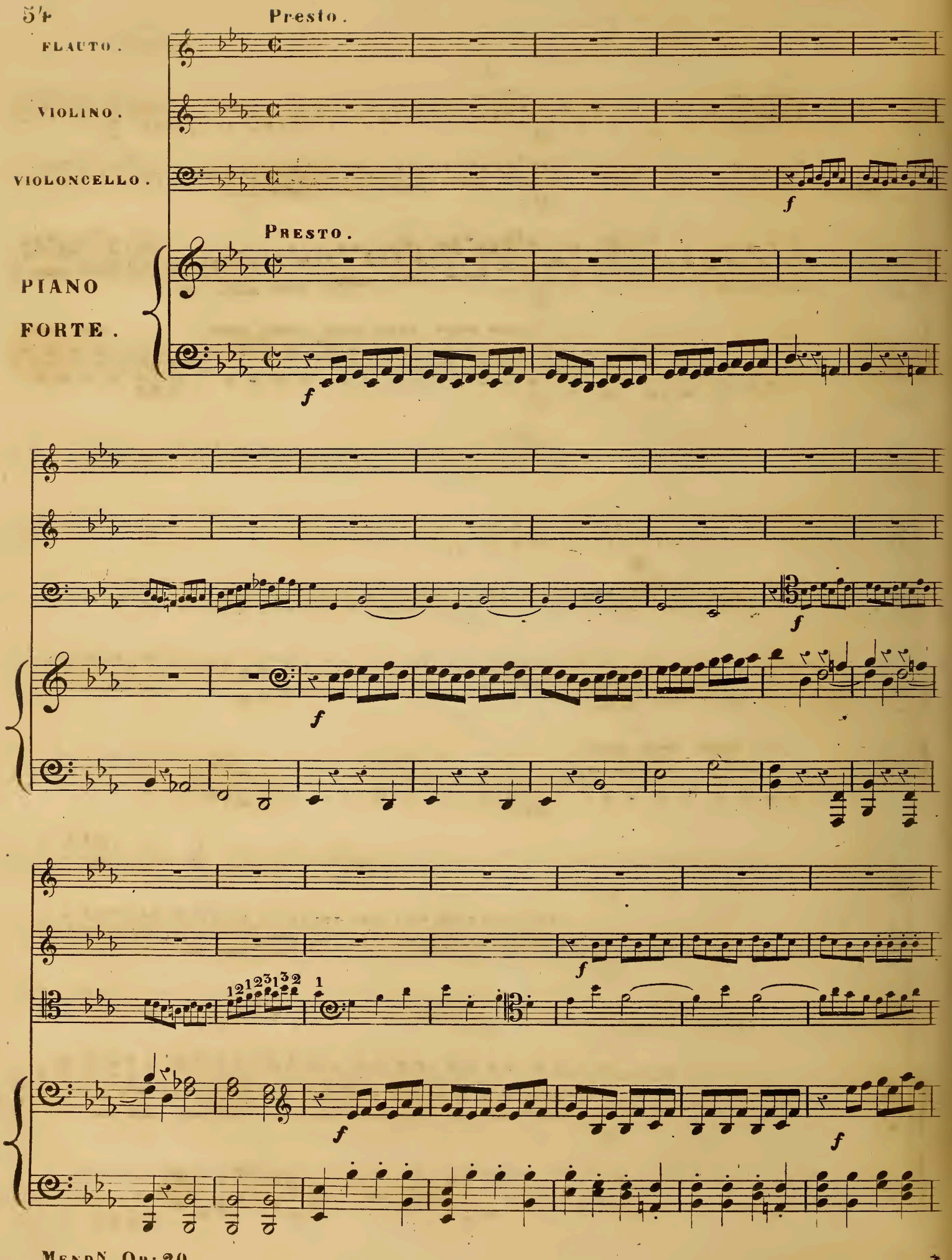
Everist: Example 9b

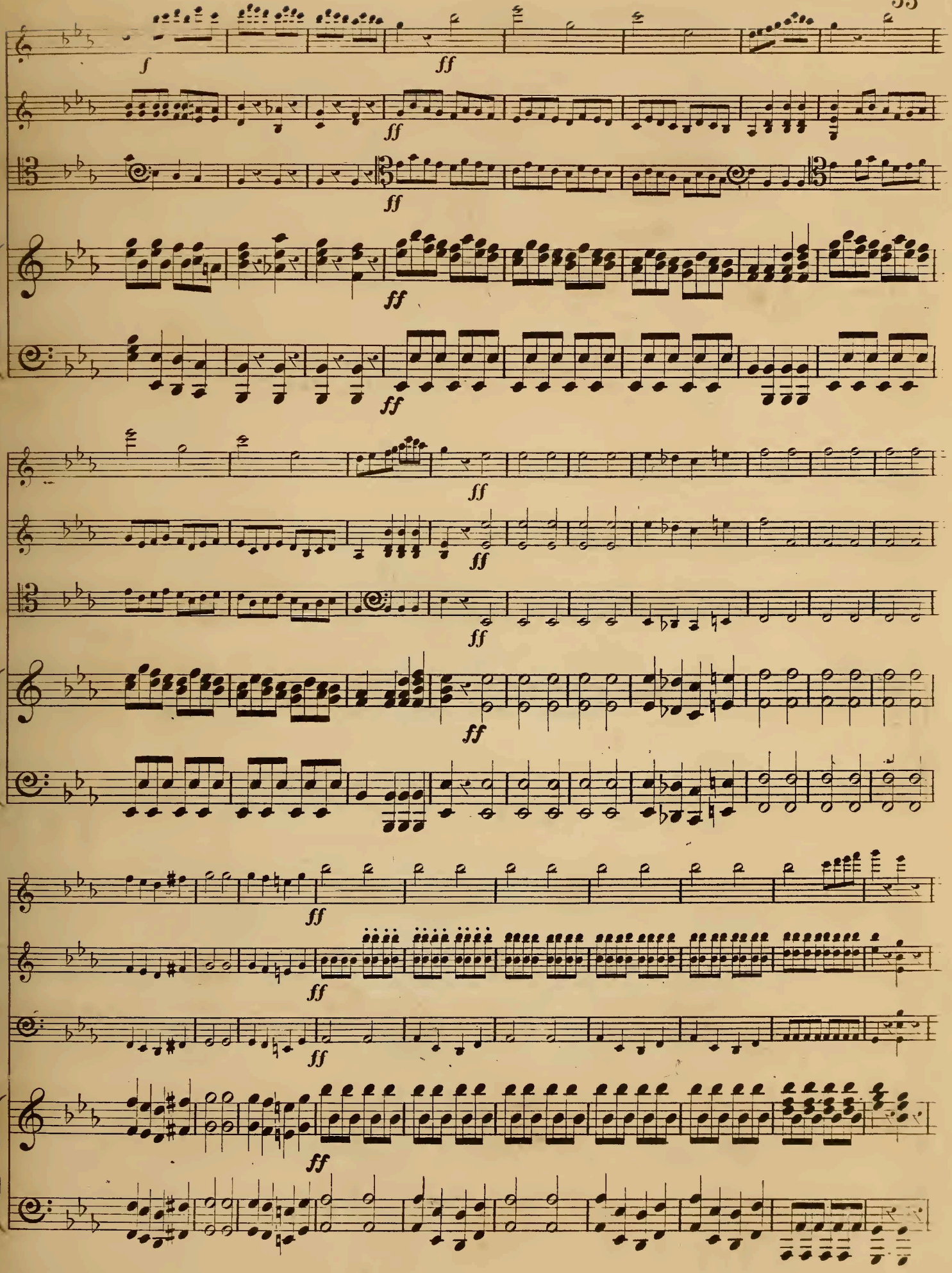
Symphony No. 1

Ludwig van Beethoven
Arranged by G. Masi



Everist: Example 10, page 1




f
ff

Everist: Example 11

HALF HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS.

WEBER.

Arranged by William Hutchins Callcott

ADAGIO SOSTENUTO.

pp espres: pp

CON MOTO.

pp Dol. Cres.

Ped Ped Ped Ped Ped

f Cres.

Ped Ped Ped Ped Ped

Cres. espres. Cres.

Dol. Ped

* From the Overture to Oberon.

* From the First Clarinet Concerto. Op. 73.