

JUPITER: Reading the “Viennese Classics” in Nineteenth-Century Britain

Mark Everist

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 composed in Vienna in the half-century that straddles 1800, today considered the “Viennese classics.” With early nineteenth-century British audiences having little opportunity to hear orchestral performances of such pieces, a particular form of arrangement was the principal means of access to these works in the period up to 1860 and beyond. Arrangements for fortepiano, flute, violin, and cello—what may be termed the “JUPITER” ensemble—of works by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and their contemporaries were published in London for consumption by musicians and their audiences across the country anxious to consume what was rapidly emerging as a canonic repertory across Europe.

The term “JUPITER” is prompted by the fact that the first printed edition of Mozart’s Symphony No. 41 in C Major, K. 551, to be given the name “JUPITER” was an arrangement for the ensemble that forms the basis of this study. [Figure 1](#) gives the title page of this edition.¹ It explicitly reveals an edition of the work for the JUPITER ensemble of fortepiano, flute, violin, and cello. The term “JUPITER” is therefore employed not only as a shorthand for the ensemble, but also for the repertory of arrangements for that grouping, and the entire project destined to demystify it.² It is important, however, 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 described as playable by a flute. Whatever marketing ploys were adopted by their composers, arrangers, and publishers, the former remains a quartet and the latter a trio.³ With its rapidly developed and consistently deployed conventions, the JUPITER ensemble took on a generic status enjoyed, with the possible exception of piano reductions, by no other form of arrangement in Britain during this period; it therefore demands attention as a critical element in the early reception of, and attribution of canonic status to, large-scale works by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. It is furthermore of importance that JUPITER arrangements were described in some form on their title pages as being “arranged for pianoforte with the accompaniment of” or “accompanied by” flute, violin, and cello rather than as quartets. This did not, however, stop writers on music from describing the ensemble as a “quartetto,” as later citations will show.

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 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-century musical cultures. These adaptations were far from inadequate or even corrupt means of musical consumption, but much more conventional routes to understanding,



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 / No 6 / Ent. Sta. Hall / London, Published by R. COCKS & Co 2C Princes Street, Hanover Square, title page.

appreciation, and pleasure. Changing scholarly attitudes to adaptation away from the historical position of “fidelity criticism,” fueled by work in translation and adaptation (literature and film) studies over the last half-century, permit arrangements not only to be reconsidered 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.⁴

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 less clear.⁵ It might, for example, be asked how practices of arrangement changed over time, and how they were cultivated in distinctive ways in different places. Arrangements for keyboard (two- and four-hands) were a widespread phenomenon, as familiar in London and Lisbon as in Birmingham and Budapest.⁶ 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 theater.⁷ Given the modest 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.⁸ In the case of music that originated in the theater, such adaptations for solo keyboard were closely allied with the preparation and publication of piano-vocal scores whose tradition sits apart from that of the adaptation of non-vocal music.⁹

The analysis in this study of a specific set of conventions limited by time and place—Britain in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century—therefore seeks not only to explain some aspects of the practice of arrangement in Britain in the nineteenth century, but also to open 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 British use, JUPITER arrangements created an identifiable aesthetic space that is distinguished from the pan-European practice of, for example, the arrangement for keyboard, or for 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. Although it could be argued that the alignment of the JUPITER ensemble with London and the British provinces was a result of the advances in piano manufacture, at exactly the same time as arrangements for the JUPITER ensemble, there is little direct evidence for this affiliation.

Viewing the larger panorama across the continent and across the long nineteenth century suggests that traditions of ensemble arrangement that went beyond keyboard reduction—like those for the JUPITER ensemble—were conditioned by time and place. A 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 Peter Heckel's catalogue of Mozart arrangements shows very clearly, and seem to have been largely confined to German-speaking Europe.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

JUPITER arrangements are remarkable because of their consistent scoring; they are not mixed ensembles subject to regular modification but a stable and unchanging instrumental practice that took on a conventional status as the principal *Wirkungsträger* in Britain during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. London and the British provinces cultivated the JUPITER configuration with a single-mindedness that eclipsed other types of arrangement in a way that was not found anywhere else in Europe. Arrangements had been made for other ensembles in London before, but the city had a near monopoly on the JUPITER layout, and the rare instances of such arrangements published elsewhere in Europe are frequently later editions of those made and published originally in the city.¹²

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 Cimarosa who arranged, respectively, Haydn and Mozart symphonies for strings with flute but without keyboard.¹³ Cimarosa died in 1805 and Salomon's last set of arrangements was apparently prepared in 1810, with no apparent 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. It is difficult to be certain when the JUPITER 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 they were consumed is impossible to establish. The dates that delimit the current study must therefore be taken as conservative in the extreme.

The JUPITER arrangements of the Viennese classics furthermore complicate the relationship between the composer and arranger. The greatest scholarly attention is paid to arrangements made by the composer,¹⁴ 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 the composer expressed disapproval, at the bottom of the scale.¹⁵ This hierarchy is further inflected by the status of the arranger in the agreed canon of composers, with Liszt arranging Beethoven¹⁶ or Saint-Saëns arranging Rameau, where the arranger's stature as composer is deemed to enhance the status of the arrangement.¹⁷ Unlike, say, Viennese arrangements for strings that 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 any hierarchy based on the proximity to the composer, and consequently throw the principle 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.

The JUPITER ensemble was reserved exclusively for the small-scale arrangement of larger-scale works; it never served as a medium for new composition. Most other ensembles that were vehicles for small-scale arrangement of the Viennese classics across Europe were ones that were also used for new compositions—piano and piano duet, most obviously—but also the piano trio and string quintet. Such an argument is made in the knowledge that the discovery of a single original work for the ensemble would require nuancing this general claim. Nevertheless, the absence of new compositions for the ensemble marks JUPITER arrangements out from those for other ensembles, and constitutes another essential difference between them.

Understanding JUPITER arrangements depends first of all on the close reading of practices of arrangement: asking what sources the arrangers used, what methods they employed, and what this reveals of the arrangers’ musical ideologies. These observations are then contextualized through the examination of the physical spaces and environment in which the arrangements were cultivated, and by an examination of the response to the JUPITER phenomenon in the press and other printed sources. With that evidence assessed, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that early nineteenth-century attitudes to the concepts of “original” and “arrangement” were very different to early twenty-first century ones, attitudes that led one critic to elide “original” and “arrangement” to the extent that he could praise a publication because “there is hardly a single trace that indicates [the arrangement] not being an original composition.”

JUPITER: Repertories and Techniques

Central questions concern the scope of the repertory arranged for the JUPITER ensemble, the technical resources underpinning the arrangements, the ways in which they were consumed, and how they sit in or complicate modern theorizations and contextualization of arrangement. Table 1 gives a summary of the repertory arranged for the JUPITER ensemble.¹⁸ 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 readings, which range from simple transcription to various forms of paraphrase, of the works 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, but alongside the works of the previous generation, this single Pleyel work (out of over thirty produced by the composer) retains nothing more than a liminal status in the JUPITER culture.²⁰ And finally, though it is unsurprising that Cramer and Hummel, the arrangers of Mozart’s piano concertos, were themselves world-leading pianists and composers, it is 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.²¹

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

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| Mozart Piano Concertos: K. 456 B-flat (Hummel); K. 466 D min (Hummel); K. 467 C (Cramer); K. 482 E-flat (Cramer); K. 491 C min (Hummel); K. 503 C (Hummel) |
| Beethoven Symphonies 1–7 (Hummel); Symphony 1 (Masi) |
| Haydn Symphonies 1–12, 18, 20 (Rimbault) |
| Mozart Symphonies 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41 (Clementi) |
| Mozart Symphonies 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41 (Hummel) |
| Pleyel Symphony B. 135 (Rimbault) |
| Andreas Romberg Symphonies 1, 2 (Rimbault) |
| 12 Oratorio collections |
| 10 Opera collections |
| 39 Overtures |
| Beethoven Septet Op. 20 (Hummel) |
| Mendelssohn Octet Op. 20 (Shuttleworth) |
| Callcott’s (<i>Sacred</i>) <i>Half-Hours with the Best Composers</i> (? >1850) |

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, the terms were used to distinguish between arrangements where melody instruments were essential and those that could be played by the fortepiano alone. 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 not only for describing the shifting relationships between original and arrangement as a work for orchestra is reconfigured for just four instruments, but also for identifying differing degrees of intervention and originality on the part of the arranger.

In principle, arrangements 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.²³ 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.” More rare are other formulations: “as a quartet” or “for pianoforte and flute with accompaniments for violin and cello.”

Example 1 gives a passage from the finale of Mozart’s Symphony No. 41 in C Major, K. 551, in its arrangement by Clementi alongside the same passage from the edition in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*.²⁴ 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 mm. 208–09 introduces an E in the left hand of the fortepiano that is not in Mozart’s scoring, and resolves differently. More importantly, this example 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 incomplete without the instrumental parts.²⁵ There are, however, three examples of *ad libitum* writing, shown boxed in **example 1**. Two are of the cello doubling the left hand of the piano—on the first and third staves of the arrangement—where the cello might be excluded. It is less clear that the doubling of the right hand of the piano with the flute in mm. 210–13 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 a 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 that point to Clementi’s understanding of the specific genre of Mozart’s first 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.²⁶ 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 (see **ex. 2**).

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 at the beginning of each measure develops the same resonance. The same happens at the trumpet fanfare in mm. 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. This instrumentation is as much *obbligato* as any other textural decision made by the arranger.

Example 3, taken from the opening of Cramer’s arrangement of Mozart’s Piano Concerto in C Major, K. 467, shows how the original first four *piano* measures outline a march antecedent and consequent, which is followed by a two-measure *cantabile* and a *piano* two-measure fanfare. These four measures

NMA IV/11/9: K: 551/04

250

Example 1a. Mozart, Symphony No. 41 in C Major, K 551, fourth movement, mm. 202–16.

are then repeated.²⁷ Although mm. 5–6 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 and a dominant 7–5–3. The fact that the change is repeated in mm. 9–10 removes the possibility that this is a textual error. Trying to reconstruct why this change might be made takes the discussion close to the aesthetic of Cramer’s arrangement and his reading of Mozart’s concerto. The move from measure 4 to 5 is rendered smoother by the bass line remaining 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 *piano*, perhaps in an attempt to reproduce the effect of the wind scoring of the 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 that one would conventionally expect—as they are in K. 551—to be *forte*.

Cramer also adds new contrapuntal lines to Mozart’s original. **Example 4** gives the opening solo, after the *Eingang*, in the first movement of K. 467 in both original and arranged forms. Cramer avoids the most obvious solution to the question of how to arrange this opening solo, to leave the line as it is, but instead takes the atypical step—for normal JUPITER practices—of putting the unison *piano* passage

Example 1b. Mozart Symphony 41 in C Major, K 551, fourth movement, arranged Muzio Clementi, mm. 202–17.

with the march topic in the three instrumental parts. Although he chooses this solution from measure 84 onward, he assigns 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 although complicating the part writing opens up a much wider sonic space than simpler arrangements of Mozart's original might have envisaged.

The presence of multiple, and more or less contemporary, JUPITER arrangements of the same work invites comparative analysis of the types of questions presented above. The most pressing of these is perhaps the relative degrees of *ad libitum* and *obligato* writing; a comparison of Clementi's and Hummel's arrangements reveal a much greater preference for *ad libitum* writing, and, in the hands of the latter, a more literal adherence to the original. As an example of how complex this might be, though, 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 Symphony No. 1 in C, Op. 21, ten years earlier; both for the JUPITER ensemble.²⁸

Jupiter Symphony
Adapted for the Piano Forte and Accompaniment

Mozart/Clementi

Allegro

Jupiter Symphony, vsn-2.2

Example 2. Mozart, Symphony No. 41 in C Major, K 551, first movement, arranged Muzio Clementi, mm. 1–14.

Example 5 gives the slow introduction and beginning of the first movement in both arrangements. 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 *obligato* 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. Masi removes the *pizzicato* string texture altogether, but 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 mm. 5–7, neither arranger attempts to replicate Beethoven’s octaves between the first and second violins (the latter in 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

Konzert in C

KV 467

Datiert: Wien, 9. März 1785

Allegro maestoso¹⁾

Flauto

Oboe I, II

Fagotto I, II

Corno I, II in *DolC*

Clarineto I, II in *DolC*

Timpani in *Do-Sol1C-6*

Pianoforte

Violino I

Violino II

Viola I, II

Violoncello e Basso

¹⁾ Tempebezeichnung, die im Autograph fehlt, nach Mozarts eigenhändigem Werkverzeichnis.
²⁾ Ausführung des Vorschlags: ♯

Example 3a. Mozart, Piano Concerto in C Major, K. 467, first movement, mm. 1–12.

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 to the flute by Hummel, but to the cello—in the bassoon’s register—by Masi. Hummel clearly prefers the precise adherence to Beethoven’s scoring while Masi chooses the fundamental of the octave, even if that means abandoning Beethoven’s 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. Indeed, 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.

Concerto

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 for the arranger; for example, how to handle cadenzas and the ornamentation of the original soloist’s line, especially in slow movements. Unsurprisingly, Cramer published a fully notated *Eingang* to the first movement of Mozart’s Piano

Piano Concerto in C Major

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

K467 London, vsm 3.1

Example 3b. Mozart, Piano Concerto in C Major, K. 467, first movement, arranged Johann-Baptist Cramer, mm. 1–13.

Concerto in C Major (shown in [ex. 4](#)), but 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 [fig. 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, although there is no surviving authentic cadenza for K. 467 with which to compare.

Cramer makes three types of modification to the superstructure of Mozart’s keyboard writing: rhythmic displacement, periphrastic ornamentation, and change of register. He makes use of added grace notes and arpeggiations of chords to blur downbeats and to desynchronize right and left hands in the keyboard parts. 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 (mm. 25, 28, and 32). 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. Examples of periphrastic ornamentation are an added *gruppetto* 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 before the cadential trill (Mozart’s original fills in the space between B-flat

NMA V/15/6: KV 467/01

100

80

86

Example 4a. Mozart, Piano Concerto in C Major, K. 467, first movement, mm. 80–89.

and E). In a further example, at *allegro* tempo, in measure 87 Mozart's eighth note, followed by two sixteenth and two eighth notes, is amplified through periphrasis by Cramer's 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 *tutti* of Mozart's piano concertos under discussion here.²⁹ This means that the 1820s' rescorings of the *tutti* section in the JUPITER arrangements to include keyboard would have been much less striking than they appear today, when the sense of the work is conditioned not only by later nineteenth- and twentieth-century performances that involve interpretative conducting and a soloist who remains silent in *tutti* but also by the tradition (apparently started in the 1950s by Edwin Fischer) of “conducting from the keyboard” without playing in *tutti*.³⁰ Arrangements by both Cramer and Hummel, sensitively interpreted, might yield valuable evidence of the detail of how keyboard players behaved in both *ritornelli* and shorter *tutti* sections in the context of a fully scored performance, and serve as the basis for modern performances. In the case of the Hummel arrangements, the solo and *tutti* keyboard sections are distinguished by the use of large and small notes.³¹

Study of the JUPITER arrangements of concerto and symphony elucidates the ways in which composers and performers of the 1820s and later reread the larger-scale concerted music of the previous generation; it also serves as the basis for a set of ways of approaching arrangement in general. The categories of *ad libitum* and *obligato* are central to any critique, showing how simple doubling can

K467 London, vsn 3.1

Example 4b. Mozart, Piano Concerto in C Major, K. 467, first movement, arranged Johann-Baptist Cramer, mm. 80–88.

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 *sinfonia* being a case in point) and to more general regularization of the irregular and vice versa. The arrangements creatively modify 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 *tutti*, 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, they continued to be used 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

Symphony No. 1

Ludwig van Beethoven
Arranged by J. N. Hummel

Beethoven Symphony No. 1, arr. Hummel - vsn 1.1

Example 5a. Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 in C Major, Op. 21, first movement, arranged Johann Nepomuk Hummel, mm. 1–33.

were forthcoming. Edward Francis Rimbault, the musical antiquarian (his father was also a JUPITER arranger), published a series of JUPITER arrangements of overtures by Mozart, Beethoven, and others as late as 1844 before turning his attentions to music-historical scholarship,³² and Cramer seems to have made a late foray into JUPITER arrangements of Mozart's symphonies in the 1830s and 1840s.³³

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 that survives today is Edward Shuttleworth's arrangement of Mendelssohn's Octet for Strings in E-flat Major, Op. 20.³⁴ It is striking because the arrangement represents 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 *obligato* writing for the rest of the ensemble—with the finale of Mozart's K. 551. 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 titled *Half-Hours with the Best Composers* and *Sacred Half-Hours with the Best Composers*, both of which were

Symphony No. 1

Ludwig van Beethoven
Arranged by G. Masi

Beethoven Symphony No. 1, arr. Masi - vsn 1.1

Example 5b. Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 in C Major, Op. 21, first movement, arranged Giralomo Masi, mm. 1–33.

immensely popular.³⁵ Callcott explained that they were modeled on Charles Knight’s *Half-Hours with the Best Authors* that were published incrementally from 1847 onward, and were so successful that the latest edition preserved in the British Library dates from 1969.³⁶

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; whatever the scoring of the original, they were arranged for the JUPITER ensemble. 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 disparate musical sources sewn together, as its opening shows (fig. 3).³⁷

Callcott gives the first five and a half measures of the overture to Weber’s *Oberon*, which are allowed to lead directly into the slow movement of the composer’s Clarinet Concerto No. 1, Op. 72, which in turn, 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

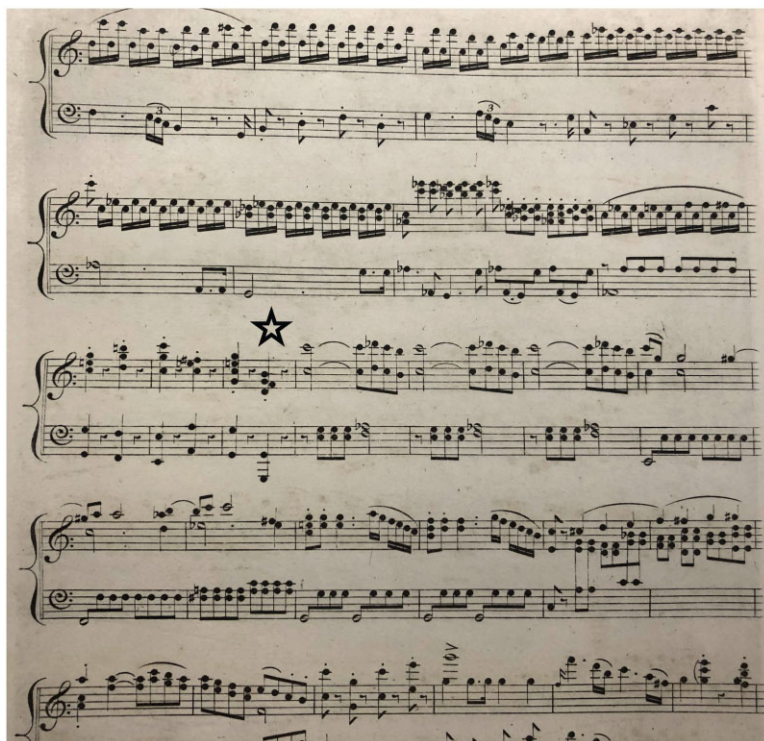


Figure 2. Mozart's / CELEBRATED CONCERTOS, / Newly Arranged for the / Piano Forte. / with additional keys and Accompaniments of / Violin, Flute and Violoncello / By / J. B. CRAMER / Ent. Sta. Hall / London, Published by J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Street, / Corner of Conduit Street, 17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

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 Peter Winter. The *Sacred Half Hours* were dedicated to Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, Weber, and Mendelssohn. Such collections as Callcott's *Half-Hour* publications cast some light on the social practice to which the JUPITER arrangements contribute. As will be seen in the next section, even Mozart's piano concertos could be found arranged for intimate domestic surroundings, but Callcott's collections strongly suggest not only a small-scale domestic context for the *Half-Hours* but a domestic ritual context for the *Sacred Half-Hours*. Despite the obvious functional differences between the two collections, the physical places in which they were performed could well have been identical.

The 1860s seem to have seen the end of the publication 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 toward 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.

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*:

HALF HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS.
WEBER.
Arranged by William Hutchins Callcott

From the Overture to Oberon. 4881. * From the First Clarinet Concerto. Op. 73

Figure 3. HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS, / WEBER, / Arranged as SOLOS and DUETS for the / Piano Forte, / With ad lib. Accompts for Flute, Violin & Violoncello / By / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / No. [6] / ... / LONDON / C. LONSDALE, 26 OLD BOND STREET, / Where may be had be the same Arranger, / HALF HOURS WITH / BEETHOVEN, MENDELSSOHN, SPOHR, &c., 1 (keyboard part only).

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.³⁸

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 Festival in 1824.³⁹ The provincial is an important context 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. Both locate activity not only in the provinces but also well away from provincial centers.

Cramer dedicated his arrangement of K. 467 as follows: “To / Miss Greatheed / (of Landford Lodge Wilts) / This Concerto / Is Inscribed by / The Adapter / 201, Regent Street, May 1827.”⁴⁰ The dedicatee, Sophia Greatheed was born in Chelsea in January 1806 and 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 the house sometime before 1831. Sophia married Richard Burgess, the Rector of Upper Chelsea in July 1837. The couple lived in Cadogan Place until Richard moved to Ickworth in Suffolk. Sophia had celebrated her twenty-first birthday at Landford just a couple of months before Cramer’s dedication, and it is more than possible that the arrangement was a gift.⁴¹ 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.⁴²

Although little is known of the library or instruments that were at Landford, the building survives in its early nineteenth-century form. With four reception rooms and ten bedrooms, the former 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 8.04 m x 5.88 m.⁴³ Although this would seat between ten and twelve in addition to the four musicians and the instruments, 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 with other pieces of furniture.⁴⁴ Such dimensions give a very real sense to the performative conditions that must have obtained when K. 467 was given in Cramer’s arrangement for the first time. Sophia herself may have played the keyboard, with members of the family or friends 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 at least up to 1817.⁴⁵

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 what is known of the environment for Shuttleworth’s arrangement of Mendelssohn’s Octet. In this instance, it is 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 1849.⁴⁶ He married Letitia Cary the same year, and his son, the lyricist Henry Cary Shuttleworth, was born in 1850.⁴⁷ 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 1883.⁴⁸

Shuttleworth’s arrangement of the 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. The first half of the concert was given over to extracts from Handel, and the second was dedicated to Mendelssohn’s Piano Concerto No. 2 in D Minor, Op. 40.⁴⁹ Given the family participation, the fact that the concert was a benefit for Shuttleworth’s church and the second half 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. According to Shuttleworth—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 wish to inform you that [St. Paul] was performed almost entire in my church of Egloshayle.”⁵⁰ 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 (280 km east of Egloshayle) a quarter of a century earlier.

Evidence throughout the century points to a provincial as well as a metropolitan, domestic and largely nonprofessional engagement with JUPITER arrangements. The same sources point to views on the relationship between the 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 preeminently 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].⁵¹

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 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.” Horsley’s comment downplays the importance of the original and brings 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. Presumably, although he does not say it, Horsley would have preferred Hummel’s arrangements of Mozart’s symphonies to those of Clementi or Cramer (which he was not reviewing and so could not be expected to provide an opinion on). The extent to which Horsley’s debt to the fact that Mozart taught Hummel between 1786 and 1788 might override purely musical considerations (what Horsley might have considered “good” or “bad” in an arrangement) cannot be judged. The author’s criterion here, as is clear from the last line of the citation, is style.

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—toward those who purchased these arrangements and toward 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 an 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 No. 39 in E-flat, K. 549, and Beethoven’s Symphony No. 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.⁵²

Even in London, where the arrangements were published, opportunities to hear original, fully scored performances 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 had risen only slightly: Beethoven with six; Haydn, four; and Mozart, three.⁵³ The Philharmonic Society was not the only organization in the capital, and it is possible that London musicians who bought, played, listened to, and studied JUPITER arrangements would have had a knowledge of the originals. It would have been likely, however, for that knowledge to have been based on nothing more than having heard a single performance; 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 arrangements of other sorts, there frequently was no original with which the arrangement could be compared. All the JUPITER arrangements were effectively original works in their JUPITER form; they were what the reviewer 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 took 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, 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 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 article, “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.”⁵⁴ His challenge to the status of what he calls the “model” (what has been called here 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, even if the evidence for fully scored performances of such works is much more slender than that for arrangements. 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. 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 elementary sites of reception, both constitute and exert a pressure on a canonic discourse: promoting Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven above their uncanonized and unarranged contemporaries. Deleuze goes even further: 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 nature of the JUPITER arrangements of the early nineteenth century in the early twenty-first. It is unclear if he ultimately rejected the concept of the *simulacre*,⁵⁵ and even less clear whether this is in the context of a revision or repudiation of Platonism,⁵⁶ and it is furthermore doubtful what status the *simulacre* enjoys in discussions of Deleuze’s broader attitude to Platonism.⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸

The relationships between musical arrangements for reduced forces and their originals are more complex in the early nineteenth century than usually assumed; the early nineteenth-century commentaries on the JUPITER arrangements are just the tip of an iceberg. They all—piano transcriptions, arias for the theater arranged for voice and keyboard, the JUPITER arrangements, and Salomon’s versions for larger forces—sit somewhere that overlaps 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 his third order to be so extreme as to reduce the possibility of critical engagement to nothing.⁵⁹ 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 into more and more homes, the explosion in the printing industry that 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 piano-forte 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, associated with the higher degree of leisure, and also the development of a music press that could bring these changes into a regular literary discourse where they 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 rarity of fully scored performances of symphonies and concertos by Viennese composers, these originals most certainly existed, and they call into question Baudrillard’s neat distinction between the “pre-modern” and the “industrial”: how the processes discussed here clearly overlap with his perhaps too neat chronological strata. 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.

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 nineteenth 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 works from Haydn to Mendelssohn. Such arrangements contributed so much more to the musical culture of the early nineteenth century than performances of fully scored originals that the status of the original may be called into question.

Notes

Mark Everist is Professor of Music at the University of Southampton. His research focuses on the music of western Europe, 1150–1330; music for the stage in nineteenth-century France, Mozart, reception theory, and historiography. He is the author of six monographs, the most recent of which are *Genealogies of Music and Memory* (Oxford, 2021) and *The Empire at the Opera* (Cambridge, 2021), editor of three volumes of the *Magnus Liber Organi* for Editions de l’Oiseau-Lyre (2001–3), and has published over 80 articles in peer-reviewed journals and collections of essays. The recipient of the Solie (2010) and Slim (2011) awards of the American Musicological Society, he was elected a fellow of the Academia Europaea in 2012. Everist was President of the Royal Musical Association from 2011–17, and was elected a corresponding member of the American Musicological Society in 2014. He was visiting professor at the Sorbonne in 2021–22. He is currently completing three monographs for Oxford University Press on *opéra de salon*, on the early history of *opérette*, and on the *Ars Antiqua*.

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1. *Mozart’s celebrated Symphony / “The Jupiter” / newly adapted for the Piano Forte, with accompaniments / for a / Flute, Violin and Violoncello / - BY - / Muzio Clementi / No 6 / Ent. Sta. Hall / London, Published by R. Cocks and Co 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 “The Origin of the Title ‘The Jupiter Symphony’” (Alec Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect: Studies in Criticism and Bibliography* [London, New York, and Toronto: Geoffrey Cumberledge; Oxford University Press, 1955], 264), the status of the publication as an arrangement is not mentioned.
2. This is exactly the sense in which the term is used in the CD recording that includes the two key works discussed in this article, and that was designed, rehearsed, and recorded in tandem with it: Mozart’s Symphony No. 41 in C Major, K. 551, and his Piano Concerto No. 21 in C Major, K. 467. See David Owen Norris, Katy Bircher, Caroline Balding, and Andrew Skidmore, *JUPITER: Mozart in the 19th-Century Drawing Room*, Hyperion, CD-A68234 (2019). This recording reached no. 3 in *Billboard’s* U.S. Classical Charts in August 2019.
 3. In subsequent discussions, arrangements for “piano-trio” encompass not only versions for keyboard, violin, and cello, but also for 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.
 4. 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.
 5. 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, NZ: Artaria [sic], 2015); of Clementi’s edition of Mozart’s Symphony No. 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, UK: Edition HH, 2013–17); 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, WI: A-R Editions, 2000). 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, WI: A-R Editions, 2003). Nancy November has edited a range of Beethoven arrangements; see Nancy November, ed., *Chamber Arrangements of Beethoven’s Symphonies, Wellington’s Victory and Symphonies Nos. 7 and 8 Arranged for String Quintet*, *Recent Researches in Nineteenth-Century Music* 77 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2019); *Chamber Arrangements of Beethoven’s Symphonies, Symphonies Nos. 1, 3, and 5 Arranged for Quartet Ensembles*, *Recent Researches in Nineteenth-Century Music* 75 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2019); *Chamber Arrangements of Beethoven’s Symphonies, Symphonies Nos. 2, 4, and 6 Arranged for Large Ensembles*, *Recent Researches in Nineteenth-Century Music* 79 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2020).
 6. See Thomas Christensen, “Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999): 255–98.
 7. 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 *Wirkungsträger* 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’s *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,” in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 378–402, esp. 382–83 and the sources cited there.
 8. For a recent overview, see Nancy November, *The Age of Musical Arrangements in Europe, 1780–1830, Elements in Music and Musicians 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).
 9. Thomas Christensen, “Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera,” in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 2027 (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 67–93.
 10. Peter Heckl, “W. A. Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen in Bearbeitungen für Harmoniemusik vor 1840” (PhD diss., Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Graz, 2011), published under the same name, 4 vols., *Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft* 81 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011).

11. 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): 342–76, and esp. Thormählen, “Art, Education and Entertainment: The String Quintet in Late Eighteenth-Century Vienna” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2008), 213–77. For a sense of the kaleidoscopic range of ensembles used for arrangement in Paris, the exhaustive listing of arrangements of Mozart is instructive. See 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, 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. See Halina Goldberg, “Chamber Arrangements of Chopin’s Concert Works,” *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002): 39–84. For an analysis of a single work arranged across a wide range of instrumental media, see Christopher Howard Gibbs, “The Presence of *Erlkönig*: Reception and Reworkings of a Schubert Lied” (PhD diss., Columbia University 1992), 251–336.
12. There is a JUPITER 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 any sort of purchase in Paris. The suggestion that the arrangement was for piano alone or with the three instruments was hopelessly misleading give the *obligato* nature of Hummel’s writing for the flute, violin, and cello in this arrangement. A rare exception is 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, a collection of extracts from the works of the three named composers for the JUPITER ensemble. But not only was this arrangement prepared in Germany, it also dates from 1882.
13. The best account of Salomon’s Haydn arrangements is in Christopher Hogwood, “In Praise of Arrangements: The ‘Symphony Quintetto,’” in *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. Cimarosa’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 No. 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.
14. 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 Dorfmueller et al., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, revidierte und wesentlich erweiterte Neuauflage des Verzeichnisses von Georg Kinsky und Hans Halm*, 2 vols (Munich: Henle, 2014).
15. See for example the case of Anton Wranitzky’s arrangement of Haydn’s *The Creation* for strings which pleased Haydn (Wranitzky’s teacher) so much that he suggested Wranitzky should undertake a similar arrangement of *The Seasons*. Thormählen, “Art, Education and Entertainment,” 217.
16. Liszt’s canonic status has guaranteed that his arrangements of Beethoven symphonies have been extensively investigated: William Michael Cory, “Franz Liszt’s *Symphonies de Beethoven: Partitions 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).
17. For Saint-Saëns on Rameau, see Christine Wassermann Beirão, “Die Wiederentdeckung Rameaus in Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50 (1993): 164–86; Marie-Gabrielle Soret, “Regards de Saint-Saëns sur la musique ancienne,” in *Noter, annoter, éditer la musique: Mélanges offerts à Catherine Massip*, ed. Cécile Reynaud, Herbert Schneider, Jacqueline Sanson, and William Christie, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Sciences historiques et philologiques 5; Hautes études médiévales et modernes 103 (Geneva: Droz, 2012) 551–56; Graham Sadler, “Saint-Saëns, d’Indy and the Rameau Œuvres complètes: New Light on the Zoroastre Editorial Project (1914),” in *Historical Interplay in French Music and Culture (1860–1960)*, ed. Deborah Mawer (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) 64–80.
 18. Full details of each publication discussed in this article are given here in the notes; a complete listing of all publications is provided at “JUPITER: List of Arrangements,” <https://everist.eu/interventions/data/jupiter-list-of-works/> (consulted 31 October 2023).
 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 & Co 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 Accompts as above.*
 21. The activity of these composers locates the JUPITER phenomenon within the so-called London Piano School, a term of recent coinage. See Nicholas Temperley, “London and the Piano, 1760–1860,” *The Musical Times*, 129 (1988): 289n3, where he attributes the phrase to Alexander L. Ringer, “Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School,” *The Musical Quarterly* 66 (1970): 742–58.
 22. 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.
 23. The listing of works in “JUPITER: List of Arrangements,” cited above, gives abundant evidence of the two nomenclatures.
 24. Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Sinfonien*, Neue Mozart Ausgabe IV/11/9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), 187–266.
 25. The title page of the arrangement avoids the use of the term “ad libitum”: *Mozart’s Celebrated Symphony / “THE JUPITER” / newly adapted for the Piano Forte, with accompaniments / – for a – / Flute, Violin and Violoncello / – BY – / Muzio Clementi / No 6 / Ent. Sta. Hall / London, Published by R. COCKS & Co 2C Princes Street, Hanover Square.*
 26. A. Peter Brown, “Eighteenth-Century Traditions and Mozart’s “Jupiter” Symphony K. 551,” *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003): 163–70.
 27. 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 Kadenzten*, Neue Mozart Ausgabe V/15/6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961) 93–176. The dynamic of the piano opening is present in every source that Cramer could possibly have seen, although that does not rule out his having heard a performance that ignored the dynamic indication, or having access to a manuscript copy with different dynamic indications.
 28. *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 / ... / No. [1] / LONDON/Printed & Sold for the Proprietor / by Chappell & Co 50, New Bond Street, and / where may be had Mozart’s Six Grand Symphonies, arranged in the same manner also by Hummel; No 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.*
 29. 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), 104–8.
 30. For the history of conducting Mozart piano concertos “from the keyboard” in the second half of the twentieth century, see Everist, *Mozart’s Ghosts*, 237–39.

31. Hummel was also the last composer to be engaged by George Thomson to contribute accompaniments to his legendary series of national folksongs, 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). See Dieter Zimmerschied, “Die Kammermusik Johann Nepomuk Hummels” (PhD diss. Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 1967) and Joel Sachs, “Hummel and George Thomson of Edinburgh,” *The Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970): 270–87.
32. 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, 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 Edward’s father’s death in 1837.
33. 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 Co. 201 Regent Street /. Published from 1831 onward, this edition is an early example of the fortepiano being replaced by four hands at one keyboard.
34. Mendelssohn’s / OTTETTO / OP. 20 / ARRANGED AS A QUARTETT / FOR THE / Piano, Flute, Violin & Violoncello / By / EDWD SHUTTLEWORTH, M. A. / ... / London / EWER & CO 390 OXFORD ST.
35. HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS / HANDEL / Arranged as SOLOS and DUETS for the / Piano Forte, / With ad lib. Accompts for Flute, Violin & Violoncello / By / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / No. [1] / ... / LONDON / C. LONSDALE, 26 OLD BOND STREET / Where may be had by 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. Accompts for Flute, Violin & Violoncello / BY / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / NO. [6] / ... / LONDON / LEADER & COCK, 63 NEW BOND STREET.
36. HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS, back cover. 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).
37. HALF-HOURS WITH THE BEST COMPOSERS / WEBER / Arranged as SOLOS and DUETS for the / Piano Forte, / With ad lib. Accompts for Flute, Violin & Violoncello / By / WILLIAM HUTCHINS CALLCOTT / No. [6] / ... / LONDON / C. LONSDALE, 26 OLD BOND STREET / Where may be had by the same Arranger, / HALF HOURS WITH/BEETHOVEN, MENDELSSOHN, SPOHR, &c.
38. *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 4 (1822): 229, emphasis added. 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), 1:249–66. I am grateful to Dr. Langley for an exchange on this subject (private communication, 15 July 2017).
39. See John Warrack, “Bacon, Richard Mackenzie (1776–1844), newspaper editor and music critic,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, consulted 19 July 2019, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref : odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1006> (consulted 31 October 2023); 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> (consulted 31 October 2023).
40. Mozart’s / CELEBRATED CONCERTOS / Newly Arranged for the / Piano-Forte, / with additional Keys, and Accompaniments of / Violin, Flute and Violoncello / J.B. CRAMER / No [5] / Ent. Sta. Hall. /-/ London, Published by J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Street, / Corner of Conduit Street [3].
41. See Jan Cooper, “The Worldwide Greathead Family,” <http://www.greathead.org/greathead2-o/p562.htm#i14050> (consulted 31 October 2023).
42. “Historic England: Landford Lodge,” <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1023914> (consulted 31 October 2023). The house sits midway between Salisbury and Southampton, about 35km from Winchester. Grades I, II* and II are UK government (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission) designations for historic buildings. “Principles of Selection for Listing Buildings,”

- Department of Culture, Media and Sport. March 2010; https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20121204113822/http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/Principles_Selection_Listing.pdf (consulted 31 October 2023).
43. Although now in private hands, Landford Lodge was for sale during 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,” <https://search.savills.com/property-detail/gbsarulac180100> (accessed 19 July 2021).
 44. 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 percent longer than Landford, and 5 percent broader; the positions of the fireplace and windows are almost identical), which should be consulted alongside this article and the CD from the project cited in note 3. The video reconstructs early nineteenth-century listening and participatory practices, and features excluding the four performers, thirteen individuals in shot. See <https://sound-heritage.ac.uk/projects/jupiter-mozart-drawing-room> (consulted 31 October 2023).
 45. Samantha Carrasco, “The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770–1820” (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013), 121.
 46. 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 REVD THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, &c. / BY THE / REVD EDWD SHUTTLEWORTH. 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 Mr Beale, Music Seller, Manchester, / and Mr Green, Music Seller, Church St Preston.*
 47. George W. E. Russell, *Henry Cary Shuttleworth: A Memoir* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1903), 1.
 48. Augustus Blair Donaldson, *The Bishopric of Truro: The First Twenty-Five Years (1877–1902)* (London: Rivingtons, 1902), 144.
 49. *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular*, 1 February 1866. The performance of the Mendelssohn concerto was presumably with some sort of orchestra; there is no evidence of any of the performances at the concert having anything to do with the JUPITER ensemble.
 50. *The Musical Standard*, 5 February 1881.
 51. *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 5 (1823): 234, emphasis added. 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.
 52. 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.
 53. 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.
 54. “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.
 55. 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): 117–18.
 56. 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.
 57. See Williams, *Gilles Deleuze*, 79; Mayell, “The Rise and Fall of the Simulacrum,” 467.
 58. Jean Baudrillard, “L’ordre des simulacres,” in *L’échange 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 Baudrillard, *Simulacres et simulation, débats* (Paris: Galilée, 1981), 17.
 59. 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*, SUNY Series in Postmodern Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 65–76.