

DEDICATIONS AND THE RECEPTION OF THE MUSICAL SCORE,
1785-1850

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In the late eighteenth century, composers began dedicating works decreasingly to patrons and increasingly to their peers. The text announcing this new kind of offering, printed prominently on the title page, functioned simultaneously in a variety of ways, each affecting the reception of works in an age in which an expanding print culture connected composers to a new and growing musically literate public. Revising traditional views of the intention and function of dedications between composers, I argue that such paratexts, or fragments of text attached to the published score, were not simply respectful gestures of homage; they also operated as advertisements, as gifts requiring reciprocation, and as gestures towards biography and allusion. Drawing on theories of gift exchange, Chapter 1 argues that dedications afforded both dedicator and dedicatee gains in tangible and symbolic capital. Chapter 2 examines dedicatory epistles and advertisements in order to illustrate that dedicatees' names functioned promotionally for the works to which they were attached. Chapter 3 argues that the salutatory phrases attached to many dedications, such as "to my friend *x*" or "from his friend *y*," were, like contemporary composer biographies, interested in proving the credibility of composers by publicly showing them to be associated with their peers. Finally, Chapter 4 suggests that composer-to-composer dedications

invited readers to perceive allusions between the works of dedicator and dedicatee. In fact, dedications can be linked to a body of musical works popular at this time that explicitly referenced multiple authors; arrangements, transcriptions, and paraphrases all have title pages that boast connections to more than one composer, creating the impression that the works in question were not the product of a singular creative mind. Chapter 4, then, provides a paradigm for understanding the construction of multiple authorship by contemporaneous print culture. The dissertation also contains two appendices intended to be scholarly resources: Appendix A gives the texts and translations for all cited dedicatory epistles between 1780 and 1810, while Appendix B makes available a database of approximately three hundred composer-to-composer dedications published from 1700 to 1850.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Emily H. Green was born and raised in Evanston, Illinois. She earned her B.A., *summa cum laude*, from Cornell University in 2001, where she majored in Linguistics, participated in the College Scholar program, and studied piano with Malcolm Bilson. In 2003, she then earned her M.M. in Piano Performance from the University of Missouri—Kansas City, studying with Robert Weirich. In her tenure at Cornell for her Ph.D., Emily gave solo and chamber music recitals on fortepiano, modern piano, and harpsichord. She currently resides in Washington, D.C.

To M & D

I can think of no two people who are more deserving of my gratitude and affection in this meaningful space.

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INTRODUCTION

A mid-nineteenth-century consumer leafs through Breitkopf & Härtel's offerings at a local music seller, perusing a wide variety of works. She may choose to pull some examples from the pile and flip through their clean stiff pages, judging the playability of their contents—others, she may riffle past, deeming them unappealing based on their composers or titles. In fact, a consumer might choose a certain work over another for a variety of reasons: she knows and likes similar works by the composer, for instance, she wants to play variation sets, or she knows and likes the tune on which a particular set is based. Interestingly, she may also be affected by the dedication on the title page, particularly if that dedication is directed at another musician or composer. If this consumer encounters a work offered to Liszt, for example, she may wonder if the great performer played it or at least offered his approval. And if she respects Liszt, those surmises may attract her to the work to which his name is attached. Dedications, in other words, especially those to other musicians, have the potential to affect a work's reception.

Because they are intrinsically linked to, but not part of, the musical text, dedications are a kind of paratext. As first defined by Gérard Genette, paratexts are peripheral elements, such as titles and prefaces, that necessarily influence our readings of texts by subtly providing information regarding, for instance, their style, provenance, and quality.¹ Genette, in other words, was

¹ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, transl. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

interested in all facets of the work as a product in the hands of its reading audience, bringing into focus the moment in which it and its author are publicly received, the moment in which our consumer encounters and judges the score. Such an approach has so far been absent in musicological scholarship; reception studies have understandably been chiefly devoted to music as heard in concert halls or salons rather than as read on the page.

Why Dedications?

The dedication accomplishes a particular kind of work from its position on the title page. Specifically, it is not merely a kind of inanimate text greeting the consumer at the front of the musical score; each dedication is, rather, an action. In printing "dedicated to *x*" on the title page, a composer is in fact proclaiming "I dedicate this work to *x*," and, in so doing, dedicates the work. The phrase is, as J. L. Austin would argue, performative; the utterance of the language carries out the action of that language, as in "I do" in a wedding ceremony or "I bet" in the context of gambling.² So, when the consumer reads this phrase on the title page, she is witnessing a kind of active transaction between two parties. This perspective is especially important in Chapter 1, which examines dedications in the context of other kinds of public social acts.

All of the following chapters examine in particular the dedication to composers and performers (or composer-performers), a type of paratext that emerged in the late eighteenth century. It allows for richly layered investigation of all of the functions mentioned above, in part because of the musical associations attendant with the composer-dedicatee. In the history of

²J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

printed music, I have found only six composer-to-composer dedications that were published before 1785 (the date of Mozart's dedication to Haydn),³ and thirty-two by the end of the eighteenth century; but between 1800 and 1850, more than two hundred and fifty works were dedicated to composers or performers. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were thus a period of enormous growth in the popularity of this particular type of dedication.

Although in modern scores such dedications are hidden on the first page of music, relegated to small type between the title and initial staves, they dominated the printed page in the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries. Embellished in large letters on the title page, the names of dedicatees constituted a prominent component of the visual presentation of the work. (See Figures 0.1 and 0.2.) In Figure 0.1, Haydn's name, situated centrally and in large lettering, nearly overshadows that of Mozart, while in Figure 0.2, Liszt's name is framed by the curves of the title and composer of the work.

³ These dedications are Johann Pachelbel's *Hexachordium Apollinis* (1699) for Ferdinand Tobias Richter and Dietrich Buxtehude; Edme Foliot's set of motets for Michel-Richard de Lalande (1710); Jean-Marie Leclair's concertos, op. 7 (1737), for his teacher André Chéron; Godefroy Eckard's harpsichord sonatas, op. 1 (1763), for his friend Pierre Gaviniès; Labadens's *Nouvelle methode pour apprendre à jouer du violon* (1772), for Pierre Gavaniès; and Ignaz Pleyel's string quartets, op. 2 (1784), for Haydn.



Figure 0.1: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, String Quartets "op. 10" (K. 387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465), reprinted in Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrücke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1986).

FANTASIE
für das Pianoforte
componirt
und
HERRN FRANZ LISZT
zugeeignet
VON
ROBERT SCHUMANN.

Op.17.

Eigenthum der Verleger.

Pr:1.Thlr.8.Gr.

Leipzig, bei Breitkopf & Härtel.

6053.

Figure 0.2: Robert Schumann, Fantasy, op. 17, first edition. Reprinted in Kurt Hofmann, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Robert Schumann* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1979).

Dedicated to Franz Liszt

Fantasia

Edited by
Harold Bauer

Robert Schumann. Op. 17
Composed 1838

*Fanciful and impassioned ♩ = 160

Piano

sfp *ff*

rit.

Figure 0.3: Robert Schumann, Fantasy, op. 17. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1946).

SONATE

An Robert Schumann
Beendet am 2. Februar 1853

Lento assai

p *sotto voce*

Figure 0.4: Franz Liszt, Sonata in B minor.
Published in *Franz Liszt: Sonate*, ed. Ernst Herttrich. (Munich: Henle, 1973).

Compare Figures 0.1 and 0.2 to two twentieth-century editions. (See Figures 0.3 and 0.4.) More and less scholarly editions alike boast graphic design that minimizes the position of the dedication. Henle, in fact, puts it on a visual par with the date of compositional completion (Figure 0.4), revealing the degree to

which attitudes towards dedications (and chronology) have changed since the nineteenth century. And Henle's modern title page for Schumann's Fantasy (Figure 0.5) shows no record of the dedicatee.

Robert Schumann

Fantasie C-dur Opus 17

Fantasy in C major
op. 17

Herausgegeben von / Edited by
Wolfgang Boetticher

Fingersatz von / Fingering by
Hans-Martin Theopold

G. Henle Verlag



Figure 0.5: Schumann, modern title page for Fantasy, op. 17 (1987)

Most modern editions of Mozart's "op. 10" quartets erase any obvious visual reference to Haydn, as the dedicatee's name tends to appear only in the critical commentary or preface. Because this pattern of publication overtook earlier practices in the latter half of the nineteenth century, my study of dedications ends at approximately 1850.

Perhaps in part as a result of modern publishing templates, contemporary scholarship has neglected the role of dedications in the reception of music, treating them either as evidence of composers' private relationships or as ways into examining the music itself. Alan Walker, for instance, has traced the complex friendship between Schumann and Liszt with the goal of unveiling the private, personal reasons for their reciprocal dedications,⁴ and Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller has outlined the brief but intense correspondence and friendship between Schumann and Simonin de Sire, which culminated in reciprocal dedications as well.⁵ Other dedications have attracted musical analysis, most notably Mozart's dedication to Haydn of his six string quartets op. 10 (K. 387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465). Jan LaRue, Stanley Sadie, Elaine Sisman, Mark Evan Bonds and others have searched this set for stylistic or structural homage to Haydn, pointing to a wide variety of possible musical relationships between Mozart's quartets and Haydn's opp. 20 and 33.⁶

⁴ The works in question are Schumann's Fantasy, op. 17 (1839) and Liszt's B-minor Sonata (1854). Alan Walker, "Schumann, Liszt, and the C Major Fantasie, op. 17: A Study in Declining Relationships," in *Reflections on Liszt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 40-50. Originally published as "Schumann, Liszt, and the C Major Fantasie, Op. 17: A Declining Relationship," *Music and Letters* 60 (1979), 156-65.

⁵ These works are de Sire's *Meditations* for solo piano (1839) and Schumann's op. 26 *Faschingsschwank aus Wien* (1840). Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, "Simonin de Sire in Dinant und Robert Schumann: Eine Freundschaft in Briefen und Widmungen," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 47 (1993): 161-175.

⁶ Jan La Rue, "The Haydn-Dedication Quartets: Allusion or Influence?" *Journal of Musicology* 18:2 (Spring 2001): 361-373; Elaine Sisman, "Observations on the First Phase of Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets," in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honor of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 33-58; Mark Evan Bonds, "Replacing Haydn: Mozart's 'Pleyel' Quartets," *Music and Letters* 88 (May 2007): 201-225; "The Sincerest Form of Flattery?:"

Jim Samson's article on reciprocal dedications between Chopin and Liszt also uses dedications as a point of entry into a discussion of stylistic comparisons.⁷ Finally, Tom Beghin has examined the ways in which Haydn's dedications of keyboard sonatas may have affected the rhetoric of the works themselves.⁸

Two more comprehensive studies have emerged in recent years: Walburga Litschauer has compiled a compact but comprehensive study of Schubert's dedicated works, from name-day homage compositions to Schubert's only dedication to a composer—a set of four-hand piano variations for Beethoven. Litschauer also helpfully informs us that only 47 of Schubert's published works had dedications.⁹ And Ursula Schneewind's monograph is devoted entirely to the study of dedications, consisting of eight case studies, of one work each by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner, Mahler, Berg, and Schoenberg.¹⁰ Schneewind presents a detailed narrative—albeit more dramatic than scholarly—regarding each composer's struggle with the work, the dedication, and his relationship to the dedicatee. These dedications, in other words, are taken as pieces of larger biographical puzzles meant to be reconstructed primarily through the use of letters and diaries.

Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets and the Question of Influence," *Studi musicali* 22 (1993): 365-409. See also Wolfram Steinbeck, "Mozarts 'Scherzi': Zur Beziehung zwischen Haydns Streichquartetten op. 33 und Mozarts 'Haydn-Quartetten,'" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 41:3 (1984): 208-31; Friedrich Lipmann, "Zur Struktur der langsamen Sätze der mozartschen 'Haydn-Quartette' im Vergleich mit Haydns op.33," *Studi musicali* 35 (2006): 193-211; Rudolf Buckholdt, "Liebe zu einer unterschätzten Komposition Joseph Haydns: Die Finalsätze von Haydns 'russischem' Quartett in G-Dur und Mozarts 'Haydn'-Quartett in d-moll," in *Studien zur Musik der Wiener Klassiker: eine Aufsatzsammlung zum 70. Geburtstag des Autors*, ed. Christian Speck (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 2001), 61-70.

⁷ Jim Samson, "Dédicaces réciproques: Les études de Chopin et de Liszt," in *Frédéric Chopin: Interpretations*, Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, ed. (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 127-137.

⁸ Tom Beghin, "A Composer, his Dedicatee, her Instrument, and I: Thoughts on Performing Haydn's Keyboard Sonatas," *Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 203-225.

⁹ Walburga Litschauer, "Auf besonderes Ersuchen geschrieben...! Schuberts Widmungskompositionen," *Bach & Schubert: Beiträge zur Musikforschung* (1999): 37-43.

¹⁰ Ursula Schneewind, "Jede Note an Dich gerichtet!" *Musikalische Widmungsgeschichten* (Munich: Blessing 2004).

This study moves beyond such specialized approaches to consider the role of dedications in musical culture more broadly. Scholarship relevant to this task includes the work of Stephen Rose, who has examined the role of dedications in the early seventeenth-century Central German book-trade, as well as that of Claudio Annibaldi, who has suggested that dedications to patrons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were part of public representations of status.¹¹ Another strand of research related to this topic addresses the role of dedications in literature. Many of these resources describe in detail the inner workings of the patronage system behind dedications before 1700, often including records of fees and goods exchanged for dedications, and analyzing the texts of dedicatory epistles.¹² Meanwhile, Roger Chartier and Cynthia J. Brown have illuminated the intricacies of the book-trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹³ Curiously, there are not equivalent studies on the hierarchy of either musical or literary print culture in the eighteenth century.

Unlike much of the existing scholarship, however, the following chapters are interested not in explaining the reasons behind dedications but in

¹¹ Stephen Rose, "The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-1640," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005): 1-32. Claudio Annibaldi, "Towards a Theory of Musical Patronage in the Renaissance and the Baroque: the Perspective from Anthropology and Semiotics," *Recercare* 10 (1998): 173-182. See also Annibaldi, "Il mecenate 'politico': Ancora sul patronato musicale del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini (1571-1621)" *Studi Musicali* XVII:1 (1988): 101-76.

¹² See Wolfgang Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580-1715)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1965); Sharon Kettering, "Gift-giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2 (1988): 131-51; Ulrich Maché, "Author and Patron: on the Function of Dedications in Seventeenth-Century German Literature," in *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire: 1555-1720*, ed. James A. Parente, et al. (Chapel Hill: University of N. Carolina Press, 1991), 195-205; and Helmut Kiesel and Paul Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert. Voraussetzung und Entstehung des literarischen Markts in Deutschland* (Munich: Beck, 1977).

¹³ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Cynthia J. Brown, "Text, Image, and Authorial Self-Consciousness in Late Medieval Paris," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 103-42.

investigating their functions. The distinction is a slight but important one, as the former calls on composerly intention while the latter gravitates towards reception. Records of composers' intentions are not irrelevant, for they can highlight particular ways in which a work could have been received, but they are not an end unto themselves. It is important to recognize, for instance, that, in the late eighteenth century, the "I" of the dedicatory statement mentioned above did not always so clearly refer to the composer. Historically, most dedications from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries identified the composer as the subject of the dedicatory statement in a lengthy, signed epistle. When publishers began to gain widespread control over print culture in the eighteenth century in France, England, the German-speaking lands, and Vienna, they demonstrated this control partly by making dedications of their own, sometimes to the dismay or without the knowledge of composers. The Viennese publisher Artaria, for instance, made the dedication to the Auenbrugger sisters of Haydn's op. 30 sonatas (Hob. XVI: 35-9 and 20) over the composer's objections.¹⁴ Most of the dedications originating from publishers, however, would have been marked as such in one way or another: the score might explicitly have named the publisher as the source of the dedicatory gesture, or the composer might no longer have been living, making it impossible for him to make the dedication, as in the dedication of Mozart's Fantasy K. 396 to Constanze, published in 1802 by Cappi in Vienna. Despite the role that publishers often played in the provenance of dedications in the late eighteenth century, then, it is likely that these paratexts were still received, by default, as originating with composers. And by the mid-

¹⁴ Haydn approved of the dedication, but objected to the fact that the dedication was not printed as coming from him. See Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 2 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 432.

nineteenth century, publishers claimed very few of the increasing number of dedications to peers. They also seemed less interested in negotiations regarding the paratexts, as Breitkopf and Härtel's letters from the early 1840s reveal no correspondence addressing dedications.¹⁵ It is not that publishers were uninvolved in decisions about this part of the score; rather, they were simply less involved than in the transitional mid-eighteenth-century period, and rarely announced their involvement on the title page.

Thus, in the following chapters, I take the subject of the dedicatory statement to be the composer while focusing on the audience for that statement: the musically literate public. And in examining the evidence for traditional studies of reception—composer-biography, documents, and contemporary criticism—I interrogate music as an object with paratextual packaging rather than as a text that begins and ends with barlines. I argue that through their reception, dedications can be mapped onto other aspects of public musical culture of the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, namely those identified above: gifts, advertisements, biography, and multiple authorship.

It might at first seem limiting to examine exclusively composer-to-composer dedications, but in fact, of all types of non-patron dedications, this type provides the richest possibilities for interpretation. It raises questions regarding the relationship between dedicator and dedicatee, but also brings the possibility for discussion of stylistic connections. As Genette has remarked of dedications in literature, "'For So-and-So' always involves some element of 'By So-and-So.'"¹⁶ In music, this seems to be the case most

¹⁵ These letters are currently housed in the firm's Leipzig archive.

¹⁶ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts*, 136.

obviously with composer-to-composer dedications, as composer-dedicatees—as well as performer-dedicatees, who are not ignored here—seem more likely to have had an effect on the music itself than other kinds of dedicatees, as noted by Hermann Danuser as well in his work on homage-compositions.¹⁷

Historically, though some dedications center around particular cities, such as Paris or London,¹⁸ the majority from this period cross regional or international borders. Famous composers, for instance, elicited dedications from far and wide; Haydn received dedications from Pleyel in Strasbourg, Cramer and C. I. Latrobe in London, and Johann Wikmanson in Stockholm. In Schumann's time, as composer-to-composer dedications became yet more common, they were readily exchanged within an international peer group that included, for example, William Sterndale Bennett in London, Kalkbrenner and Chopin in Paris, Moscheles, Mendelssohn, and the Schumanns in Leipzig, and Liszt, in Paris, Italy and Germany. Of course composer-to-composer dedications in this period naturally limit themselves geographically to some extent; I have discovered, for instance, very few dedications between composers in Northern Europe and England and composers in Italy during this period. This study, then, is naturally limited chiefly to dedications from France, the German-speaking lands, and London. Such a limitation, however, makes room for detailed analysis of the context for these dedications—analysis that is meant to provide a model for the further study of any kind of published dedication.

¹⁷ Hermann Danuser, "Homage-Komposition als 'Musik über Musik,'" *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1996), 52-64.

¹⁸ Such dedications include, in the case of London, those shared between Clementi, Cramer, Dussek, Field, and Pinto; and, in the case of Paris, those shared between Kalkbrenner, Onslow, Camille Pleyel, Pixis, and Cherubini.

What Kind of Public?

Any study of reception depends on a clear concept of the nature of the receiving body. Here, I have used both "audience" and "consumer" as descriptors. Who in particular, though, would encounter dedications in the contexts that I explore in the following chapters? First, I want to be clear that this study does not concern the act of listening to music in the concert hall, salon, or home. This experience has its own paratexts—the concert program, the concert review, even the pre- and post-musical banter¹⁹—which may overlap with but are not equivalent to the dedication. Rather, this kind of text is particular to music in print, meaning that the audience in question here consists of individuals capable of and interested in purchasing and reading music. This is not the kind of group often conjured up by the phrase "musical public"; because of our interest in aural reception, studies of musical audience have tended to focus on the experience of listening rather than reading.²⁰ Non-musicological scholarship, however, has pointed to the importance of print culture in the creation of both a social and political public. Both Jürgen Habermas and Peter Hohendahl have stressed that the emergence of pamphlets and newspapers across Europe in the eighteenth century gradually produced a "sphere" appropriate for public opinion.²¹

¹⁹ See Genette, *Paratexts*, 1-15, for a discussion of the many kinds of paratexts.

²⁰ Mary Hunter, for instance, investigates public and private listening experiences in "Haydn's London Piano Trios and His Salomon String Quartets: Private vs. Public?" In *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 103-130. See also Sanna Pedersen, "A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 18 (Autumn 1994): 87-107; and Leon Botstein, "Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 16 (Autumn 1992): 129-145. Sisman acknowledges the many types of musical reception in "Haydn's Career and the Idea of Multiple Audience," in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3-16.

²¹ Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989); and Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *Building*

The same happened in music. With the expansion of music publishing in London and Paris, and later Vienna, in the eighteenth centuries, music became cheaper in its printed form. Publishing houses not only increased in number; they also printed certain types of music that indicate the growth of a musically literate public. Breitkopf & Härtel, for instance, began publishing sets of composers' complete works in the very early nineteenth century,²² and, in 1806, issued small "study scores,"²³ which were modeled on those that Pleyel had issued of Haydn's quartets in 1802.²⁴ The market was also flooded across Europe with transcriptions of all types of works beginning in the late eighteenth century. (See Chapter 4.) All of these developments in the publishing world suggest the existence of an audience interested in buying music to collect, read, and play in the home. The proof of the expansion of a musically literate population is also evident in the number of musical periodicals that emerged in the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries. (See Chapter 2.) Not coincidentally, then, in an age in which the frequency and availability of concerts and concert-societies vastly increased, so too did music publishing, implying that the growth in the body of amateur music-readers kept pace with that of the body of amateur listeners.

I am concerned with such amateur music-readers, as they formed a group that regularly sought out music in its printed form. Each chapter of this dissertation investigates a particular arena of print culture, meaning that each also addresses the interaction of a particular sub-class of amateurs with the

a National Theater: the Case of Germany, 1830-1870, trans. Renate Baron Franciscono (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

²² Michael Talbot, "The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness," in *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 171.

²³ Karen Painter, "Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie," *Musical Quarterly* 86 (Spring 2002): 186-235.

²⁴ Günther Thomas, "Griesingers Briefe über Haydn: Aus seiner Korrespondenz mit Breitkopf & Härtel," *Haydn Studien* 1 (1966): 92.

musical score. In Chapters 1 and 2, I examine the ways in which the broad class of music consumers might interpret the claims that the act of dedication makes regarding the status of the dedicatee. Chapter 3 concerns the overlap between the readership for musical biography and composer-to-composer dedications, while Chapter 4 deals with consumers of the body of transcriptions, variation sets, and paraphrases on the market.

A handful of examples from the period illustrates that the dedication was in fact a method by which composers and their scores might hope to communicate with a particular audience: several works of this time were dedicated to specific audience groups. (See Table 0.1.) These kinds of dedications, like those examined in the following chapters, can be interpreted in a number of ways simultaneously. They allow the scores to advertise themselves directly to certain musically active segments of the population. But because the type of music typically associated with those groups was simpler and less technically demanding for the performer, it is also possible that the dedications preemptively defend the works against criticism for being too "amateurish." In a way similar to that discussed in Chapter 1, the dedicatees in Table 0.1 end up protecting their dedicators. Both of these functions show that the dedication can directly affect the readership of the works to which they are attached. The composer-to-composer dedications examined here do so in a mediated way: by drawing on the practices of gift-giving, advertisement, biography, and multiple authorship.

Table 0.1: Selected dedications to audience groups

Composer	Work	Instr.	Dedicatée	Date
Colizzi, Johann Andrea Kauchlitz	Journal de la Haye, ou choix d'airs français	pf, v	Dames	1780?
Haydn, Joseph	Op. 59: Trios	hpd, fl, vc	Amateurs ²⁵	1790
Nolting, W. C.	Op. 6: Sonatines	pf, vn acc.	Beau sexe	1792
Kreutzer, Rodolphe	Concerto	vn, pf	Amateurs	1799
Gebauer, M. J.	Op. 14: 6 duos dialogues	2 cl	Amateurs	1802
Pleyel, Ignaz	Op. 7: 6 quartets	str qt	Amateurs	1805-08
Deviennes, François	Op. 74: 6 duos	2 fl	Amateurs	1812
Abeltshausen, J. G.	6 quartets	2 fl, 2 hn	Amateurs	1812-13
Keller, Carl	op. 16: 6 Divertissements	pf, fl	Amateurs	1827
[various]	Nouvel amusement de société, ou Choix des plus jolis morceaux modernes de la composition des plus célèbres auteurs	pf	Amateurs ²⁶	1827
Camus, Paul Hippolyte	Op. 18: Souvenirs	fl	Amateurs	1830
Cramer, J. B.	Six délassements musicales	pf	Amateurs	1834
Walckiers, Eugène	Op. 57: 6 duos brillants	2 fl	Amateurs	1836
Bosen, François	Walse brillante	pf	Amateurs	1841
Garcia, Manuel	Chansons espagnols	pf, v	Aficionados	1850

* * *

The large numbers of dedications to composers in the period from 1785 to 1850 might cause one to ask one fundamental question: why did composers begin dedicating works to their peers? Because of its focus on reception, the largely synchronic analysis of the functions of dedications in the following chapters does not seek to answer this query directly, but one can speculate. First, it is significant that the market was beginning to reorganize itself in this period, such that sponsorship from patrons was less and less common. In

²⁵ Dedicated by the publisher, J. Bland.

²⁶ Dedicated by the publisher, J. Vermaazen

order to fill what might have seemed an empty spot on the title page, composers and their publishers would have to look elsewhere. Tia DeNora has presented evidence that, in late-eighteenth-century Vienna, because positions in *Kapellen* of all types were increasingly unreliable, a new order of "quasi-freelance musicians now had an economic interest in widening their circles of admirers and in furthering their reputations."²⁷ Composers and musicians, in other words, had to find and build new audiences. I suggest that dedications helped them to do so, by using the title page to communicate with the types of consumer groups outlined above. Specifically, a dedication to a peer instead of a patron would have communicated to the consumer audience a number of things: that the composer was inspired by (Chapter 4) and had received the approval (Chapters 1 and 2) and friendship (Chapter 3) of his composer-dedicatee.

A study of the reception of this particular type of dedication, in the end, considers the intersection between composerly intention and readership reception. Kevin Korsyn has suggested that "one place to begin rethinking music lies at the frontier between text and context;"²⁸ in fact, part of this frontier exists on the musical score itself, suggesting that we can continue to rethink music by considering the many simultaneous roles of the dedication in the moment of reception.

²⁷ Tia Denora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 51.

²⁸ Kevin Korsyn, "Beyond Privileged Contexts: Intertextuality, Influence, and Dialogue," in *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 55.

CHAPTER 1

Not-so-simple Gifts: Musical Dedications and the Economy of Exchange

The only gift is a portion of thyself. Thou must bleed for me. Therefore the poet brings his poem; the shepherd, his lamb; the farmer, corn; the miner, a gem; the sailor, coral and shells; the painter, his picture; the girl, a handkerchief of her own sewing. This is right and pleasing for it restores society in so far to its primary basis, when a man's biography is conveyed in his gift, and every man's wealth is an index of his merit.

– Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Gifts"¹

Some fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts provide a characteristic image of the act of dedication: the author kneels at the feet of his patron, looking humbly up to his standing sponsor in front of a modest crowd. (See Figure 1.1.) Such a depiction freezes the moment of dedication, literally showing it to be a stylized version of a modern interaction with which we are all familiar: the presentation and acceptance of a gift.² Dedications, in fact, as argued by Rob Wegman and others,³ are a kind of gift. Specifically, the act of dedicating is a sub-category of the act of gift-giving. Though this statement may seem simple enough, the gift is a complex operation; it

¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Gifts," in *The Logic of the Gift: Towards an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (New York: Routledge, 1997), 26.

² Rob Wegman has written about this moment in "Musical Offerings in the Renaissance," *Early Music* 23 (2005): 425-437.

³ See Wegman, "Musical Offerings;" Sharon Kettering, "Gift-giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2 (1988): 131-51; and Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

involves the exchange, in this case between dedicator and dedicatee, of both the tangible and the intangible, or symbolic. An examination of the context for the dedicatory exchange as well as of the language of dedicatory epistles demonstrates the dual function of the dedication-as-gift.



Figure 1.1: *Chroniques de Hainaut*, from the atelier of Jean Wauquelin⁴

Historically, the many functions of dedications were established in the patronage system. A great deal of musicological effort has been spent investigating the relationship between patrons and composers, because it has formed the backbone of a large part of the musical economy since the Renaissance. Claudio Annibaldi's model for the study of patronage, examined in more detail below, assumes that, in the exchange between patron and

⁴ Reprinted in Wegman, "Musical Offerings," 427.

musician, the musician writes the score, recruits the performers, and takes part in the performance, while the patron "furnishes the financial support needed to train young musicians and provides the facilities and resources for music-making in his residence."⁵ Many studies have examined relationships between particular composers and their sponsors, including Iain Fenlon's work on Mantua, Allan Atlas's investigation of Dufay, Kelley Harness's rereading of the roles of female patrons, and several others.⁶ Tim Carter, meanwhile, has argued for the importance of "lower-ranking individuals and institutions in sixteenth-century music-making."⁷ His investigation of the habits of the Corsi family in sixteenth-century Florence reveals that this family of wealthy aristocrats engaged painters for their decorative furniture and composers for their entertainment and musical enrichment, and gave them loans, meals, clothes, and even doctor's expenses in addition to their artist fees. As Wegman has also argued, patrons offered composers court positions, lodging, payment, and general hospitality either before or after the receipt of a work.⁸ Sharon Kettering and Natalie Zemon Davis have presented similar findings regarding sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors of literature.⁹

⁵ Claudio Annibaldi, "Towards a Theory of Musical Patronage in the Renaissance and the Baroque: the Perspective from Anthropology and Semiotics," *Recercare* 10 (1998): 174.

⁶ Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Allan W. Atlas, "Dufay's *Mon chier amy*: Another Piece for the Malatesta," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren: Harmonie Park, 1997), 3-20; Kelley Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Patronage in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). See also Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: the Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁷ Tim Carter, "Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: the Case of Jacopo Corsi (1561-1602)," in *Music, Patronage and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), vii, 57.

⁸ Wegman, "Musical Offerings."

⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); and Sharon Kettering, "Gift-giving and Patronage."

Furthermore, particularly in seventeenth-century central Germany, composers offered works to patrons not only through dedication, but through *presentation* as well; as Stephen Rose has noted, composers often gave copies of works to patrons in the hopes of securing future contracts. Some such offerings were rewarded monetarily. Composers also sent copies of sacred works to city councils, hoping to encourage local churches to perform their music.¹⁰

Later, even as patronage waned in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, composers continued to seek and receive the benefits of moneyed individuals and institutions, often in the form of employment and commissions. Mozart, for instance, wrote about a dozen masses, litanies, and shorter works in the 1770s during his appointment as *Konzertmeister* at the Salzburg court. His main other institutional patron was the Hapsburg court, which he served as *Kammermusicus*. Mozart's individual sponsors included Princess Victoire of France, the dedicatee of piano sonatas K. 6-7; Countess de Tessé, the dedicatee of sonatas K. 8-9; Count Thun, the dedicatee of the *Linz* symphony, K. 425; King Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia, the dedicatee of the quartets K. 575, 589, and 590; Count Walsegg, the sponsor of the Requiem; and Baron van Swieten, who commissioned Mozart's arrangements of several Handel works.¹¹ Meanwhile, aside from the generous support from Prince Esterházy, Haydn also received various commissions throughout his life, including those from Count D'Ogny and Le Concert de la Loge Olympique in 1785 for the six "Paris" symphonies, from King Ferdinand of Naples in 1786-88 for works involving the regent's unusual *lira organizzata*, and from Cádiz in

¹⁰ See Stephen Rose, "The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-1640," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005): 24-25.

¹¹ Malcolm Boyd, "Mozart's Patrons," in *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 97-8. Boyd provides a comprehensive account of Mozart's relationship with patronage.

1786 for the *Seven Last Words*. Several of Haydn's exchanges involved more than money and music: the King of Prussia gave him a ring in recognition of symphonies that the composer had given the monarch; in turn, Haydn dedicated his string quartets op. 50 in 1787.¹² In 1784, Prince Heinrich of Prussia had received op. 33 from the composer and in return sent a gold medal and a portrait of himself—a self-interested present, to be sure.¹³ The composer also sent the score of his opera *L'isola disabitata* to the King of Spain in 1779 and received in return a gold snuff-box.¹⁴ And Beethoven made the most out of a changing system, as evident in the variety of aristocratic dedicatees that pepper his works list. Among his more famous sponsors were the Kinsky family, Prince Lobkowitz, and of course, Archduke Rudolf—the last of whom Beethoven provided with not only works in dedication, but also composition lessons in exchange for payment in the context of what turned out to be a close friendship.¹⁵

Gift Exchange in Theory and Practice

Crucially, the exchange between composers and their sponsors involved far more than money. Carter, Wegman, and Rose have detailed the particular objects and, indeed, gestures that patrons offered in return for works given to them. This type of exchange suggests that dedications, as records of patronage, operated within a gift economy, constituting symbolic,

¹² H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* vol. 2 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 625, 592.

¹³ Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* vol. 2, 457.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 453.

¹⁵ See Susan Kagan, *Archduke Rudolph, Beethoven's Patron, Pupil, and Friend: his Life and Music* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1988).

public offerings that required reciprocation. The act of dedication itself was the gift, identifying the giver and recipient of the gifted object—the music.

The gift was first recognized to be a complicated act by anthropologists in the early twentieth century, when studies of non-Western cultures began to generate generalized theories regarding human behavior. Bronislaw Malinowski, for instance, observed that most cultural and social interchange in the Trobriand Islands fell under two headings: gift and counter-gift.¹⁶ Expanding and refining many of Malinowski's ideas, Marcel Mauss claimed in his influential essay "Essai sur le don" of 1925 that gift-giving is not only universal, but also "one of the human foundations on which our societies are built."¹⁷ Specifically, Mauss argued that, while we may think that presents are "voluntary, in reality, they are given and reciprocated obligatorily."¹⁸ This is not to imply that gifts are necessarily selfish acts; on the contrary, one of Mauss's larger points was that the obligation built into gifts in fact builds and confirms relationships. Lévi-Strauss, an admirer of Mauss, adopted the idea of exchange as a lens through which one can understand nearly all social interaction, specifically using the notion of necessary reciprocity as the foundation for his broader theories of kinship.¹⁹

More pertinently here, however, Jacques Derrida's examination of the inherently paradoxical quality of the gift reveals that, in order for it to exist as such, the gift must not be returned or reciprocated, for it is precisely the absence of circularity that separates the gift economy from the consumer

¹⁶ Bronislaw Malinowski, "Kula: The Circulating Exchange of Valuables in the Archipelagoes of Eastern New Guinea," *Man* 20 (1920): 97-105.

¹⁷ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Mary Douglas (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 5.

¹⁸ Mauss, *The Gift*, 3.

¹⁹ See Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, trans. James Harle Bell and John Richard von Sturmer, ed. Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

economy in which the giver of money receives goods in return. In order for gifts to exist as we imagine and define them—as signs of pure generosity, in other words—reciprocation cannot play a role. On the other hand, Derrida argues, once we recognize the given object as a gift, all sorts of feelings come into play, such as guilt on the part of the receiver, or altruistic feelings on the part of the giver, and these feelings constitute the beginning of a symbolic reciprocation, annulling the gift by reining it in to a circular economy.²⁰ Pierre Bourdieu names this the "dual truth" of the gift: it is imagined as unrequited but functions within a context of exchange.²¹ Derrida's analysis acknowledges that gifts require reciprocation, but that it is exactly this reciprocation that invalidates them as "selfless" acts, thereby turning on its head the notion that the gift economy is fundamentally different in nature from the consumer economy. In the context of dedications, what we can take from Derrida is the idea that the crucial moment in the act of the gift is in its public reception; it is there that the gift is either (for Derrida) annulled or (for Mauss) created.

In short, gift exchange, particularly the type relevant here, involves not two parties but three: the giver, receiver, and observer. When gifts are given, they are not only received by a recipient, but also *perceived* by an audience. (This idea is especially important for gift-giving as a performance of status, considered below.) As noted above, the presentation of the book was visually represented in a number of works in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (See Figure 1.1.) Revealing the author kneeling before his dedicatee,²² such

²⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Given Time I: Counterfeit Money* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 7-14.

²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, "Marginalia – Some Additional Notes on the Gift," in *Logic of the Gift*, 231.

²² While this is the most common dedicatory scene, it was certainly not the only kind of illustration to appear in presentation copies of the sixteenth century. See Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 29-31.

"presentation pages" not only illustrate the relative low and high positions of dedicator and dedicatee; they also depict an audience for the presentation. In fact, because such images are most often from the perspective of the on-looker, they suggest that any reader of the book is a part of this audience, and create a productively recursive situation in which whoever holds the book and sees the image is also observing the past presentation of the very book that he or she is holding. The image thus depicts all the roles in the act of giving and becomes part of the act of dedication itself, linking the physical gesture of presentation with the more symbolic or abstract written dedication.

Tangible Reciprocation

Because of their relationship to patronage, published dedications of works of art have always involved some sort of reciprocation. In the later eighteenth century, when dedications came to be directed to friends, beloveds, musicians, and composers, such dedicatees certainly could not offer court positions or payment in return for offerings presented to them, nor were they expected to. Rather, this particular class of peer-dedicatees provided, in exchange for the works offered them, compositional or instrumental pedagogy, reviews or performances of works, or, most interestingly, return dedications. In fact, perhaps the oldest cause for the composer-to-composer dedication was the recognition of the exchange between student and teacher. The earliest such example that I have been able to locate is Jean-Marie Leclair's *op. 7* violin concertos (1737), for his teacher André Chéron.²³ Table 1.1 lists all

²³ Though absent a dedication, the title page of Monteverdi's first book of madrigals, published by Angelo Gardano in Venice, 1587, designates the composer as the student of Marc-Antonio Ingegneri.

subsequent student-teacher dedications between the years 1780 and 1840, extracted from Appendix B.

Table 1.1: Dedications between students and teachers, 1780-1840

Composer	Work	Instr.	Dedicatee	Statement on title page	Date
Pleyel, I.	op. 2: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn	Al celeberrimo estimatissimo fu suo Maestro il Signore Giuseppe Haydn, in segno di perpetua gratitudine ²⁴	1784
Cramer, J. B.	op. 7: 3 Sonatas	pf	Clementi	par son élève Cramer	1792
Tomes, Frantisek	op. 1: 3 Sonatas	pf	Haydn		1792
Haigh, Thomas	op. 8: Sonatas	pf, vn acc.	Haydn		1795
Haigh	op. 10: 3 Sonatas	pf, vn acc.	Haydn		1795
Haensel, Peter	op. 5: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		1795
Beethoven	op. 2: 3 Sonatas	kbd	Haydn		1796
Struck, Paul	op. 1: 3 Sonatas	kbd vn acc.	Haydn		1797
Lessel	op. 2: 3 Sonatas	pf	Haydn		1800
Neukomm, Sigismung	Fantaisie à grand orchestre	orch	Haydn		[1800-1809]
Field, John	op. 1: 3 Sonatas	pf	Clementi	by his pupil Field	1801
von Weber, Edmund	op. 8: 3 String Quartets	str qtt	Haydn	à Son Gran maitre, Joseph Haydn	1804
Graeff, J. G.	3 Quartets	fl, vn, T, c	Haydn		?
Ries	op. 1: 2 Sonates	pf	Beethoven	par son élève Ries	1806
Boildieu, F.-A.	2 Sonatas	pf	Mlle A	par son élève Boildieu	1807
Ries	op. 80: Simphonie à grand orchestre	orch	Beethoven	composée et dédiée à son ami Beethoven ²⁵	1818
Czerny	op. 27: Fantaisie	pf	Beethoven		?
Carulli, Ferdinando	op. 127: Nocturne	pf, gui	Abramowicz, M. T.	à son élève	1819

²⁴ Other editions of this work remove the dedication but describe Pleyel as "élève de J. Haydn," including those published by Schmitt (1784), Boyer (1787), and Naderman (1796). Sieber's edition (1788) contains both types of statements. See Rita Benton, *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), 107-8.

²⁵ Ries's curious move from marking Beethoven as a teacher (in op. 1) to claiming him as a friend (in op. 80) will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Table 1.1 continued

Halévy, J.-F.- F.-E.	Marche funebre	orch, choir	Cherubini	par son élève	1820
Mendelssohn	op. 2: Piano Quartet no. 2	pf qt	Zelter	par son élève	1823
Liszt	Etudes en douze exercises	pf	Czerny		1826
Mendelssohn	op. 7: 7 Character Pieces	pf	Berger, Ludwig	zugeeignet von seinem Schüler Mendelssohn	1827
Adam, A.-C.	<i>Pierre et Catherine</i>	opera in score	Boïldieu	par son élève Adam	1829
Webert, Antoinette	Walse très facile	pf	Kill, J.	à son maître	1830?
Schumann	op. 5: Impromptus on a theme by Clara Wieck	pf	Wieck, Friedrich		1833
Bennett, William Sterndale	Capriccio	pf	Potter, Cipriani	by his pupil Bennett	1834

Carulli's dedication to his student here is the exception; while a few composers, including Czerny and Schumann, offered works to their piano teachers, most used dedications to recognize the composition lessons they received, often stating so explicitly on the title page. The most famous student-teacher dedication is likely Beethoven's to Haydn. Though he received some instruction from Haydn, Beethoven did not mention it in the publication of op. 2. Ries reports, from Beethoven's perspective, that Haydn wanted to see the phrase "pupil of Haydn" on the title page,²⁶ an anecdote that suggests that it was expected that students somehow publicly acknowledge their teachers. Oftentimes such acknowledgements appeared more simply as title-page references to the student-teacher relationship. Anton Kraft, M. A.

²⁶ Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz: Bädeker, 1838), 86; quoted in James Webster, "The Falling-out between Haydn and Beethoven: the Evidence of the Sources," in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 25, 36.

Wranitzky, and Sigismund Neukomm, for instance, all published works that recognized their studies with Haydn.²⁷ Perhaps, then, pedagogy itself was a kind of gift that required public reciprocation, if not in the form of a dedication then at least in the form of published recognition.

Illustrating the circularity of the gift economy most clearly, the return dedication emerged as a method of recognizing others' musical offerings in the early nineteenth century. Table 1.2 presents all of the reciprocal dedications in Appendix B. Its eighteen examples suggest that composers—and perhaps their publishers—were aware of the expectation created by the public gift of music. Consider, for instance, the background to the exchange between Cramer and Ries. Cramer's op. 62 sonata was first published—with no dedication—in the early months of 1818.²⁸ Ries's variations appeared in print in July of the same year, carrying the dedication to Cramer. Cramer's sonata, when published in 1821 in London, was now accompanied by a dedication to Ries. It was quite unusual for dedications to be added to works in repeated printings; rather, they tended to disappear over time. This special case can be explained by the practice of reciprocation: the dedication to Ries fulfilled Cramer's debt of obligation in having received Ries's gift.

²⁷ Webster, "The Falling-out between Haydn and Beethoven," 25.

²⁸ Thomas B. Milligan and Jerald C. Graue, *Johann Baptist Cramer, 1771-1858: a Thematic Catalogue of his Works* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), 47.

Table 1.2: Reciprocal dedications

Composer	Work	Instr.	Dedicatee	Date
Cramer	op. 29: 3 Grandes Sonates	pf	Dussek	1803
Dussek	op. 55: Fantasia and Fugue	pf	Cramer	1804
Cramer	op. 42: Grand Sonata	pf	Onslow	1809
Onslow, Georges	op. 11: 3 Grand Sonatas	pf	Cramer	1817
Onslow	op. 7: Grand duo	pf 4 hands	Pleyel	1817
Pleyel, Camille	op. 6: Sonata	pf, vn obl.	Onslow	1821
Ries	op. 75: Variations on a favorite Rheinish Song	pf	Cramer	1818
Cramer	op. 62: Sonata	pf	Ries	1821
Clementi	op. 46: Sonata	pf	Kalkbrenner	1820
Kalkbrenner	op. 20: 24 Etudes	pf	Clementi	1820
Kalkbrenner	op. 79: Grand Sonata	pf	Onslow	1826
Onslow	op. 32: Quintet no. 5	2 vn, va, vc, db	Kalkbrenner	1827
Pixis	Trio no.1, sur des motifs du <i>Colporteur</i>	pf, vn, vc	Onslow	1827
Onslow	op. 33: Quintet no. 11	2 vn, va, vc, db	Pixis	1829
Pixis	Trio no. 3, sur le theme favori, <i>Le garçon Suisse</i>	pf	Moscheles, Ignaz	1828
Moscheles	op. 49: Sonate mélancolique	pf	Pixis	?
Moscheles	op. 77: Allegro di Bravura	pf	Mendelssohn	1829
Mendelssohn, Felix	op. 28: Fantasy	pf	Moscheles	1834
Liszt, Franz	Grande Fantaisie sur la Tyrolienne de l'opéra <i>La Fiancée</i> (Auber)	pf	Chopin	1829
Chopin	op. 10: Etudes	pf	Liszt	1833
Kessler	op. 31: 24 Preludes for Piano	Pf	Chopin	1835
Chopin	op. 28: Preludes	pf	Kessler	1839 ²⁹
Schumann, Robert	op. 11: Sonata no. 1 in F-sharp minor	pf	Wieck, Clara	1836
Wieck, Clara	op. 11: 3 Romances	pf	Schumann	1839
Schumann	op. 13: Symphonic Etudes	pf	Sterndale Bennett	1837
Bennett, William Sterndale	op. 16: Fantasy	pf	Schumann	1837 ³⁰
Schumann	op. 16: Kreisleriana	pf	Chopin	1838
Chopin	op. 38: Ballade	pf	Schumann	1840

²⁹ Only the Leipzig edition was dedicated to Kessler; the Paris and London editions were dedicated to Camille Pleyel.

³⁰ Rosemary Williamson claims that the work was written by June 11, 1837, the date that Bennett left Leipzig after an extended stay during which he became friends with Schumann. The Whistling-Hofmeister catalogue of September-October 1837 indicates that Bennett's work was published by September of that year. See Williamson, *William Sterndale Bennett: A Descriptive Thematic Catalogue* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 71.

Table 1.2, continued

Schumann	op. 17: Fantasy	pf	Liszt	1839
Liszt	Sonata in B minor	pf	Schumann	1854
de Sire, Simonin	<i>Méditations</i>	pf	Schumann	1839
Schumann	op. 26: <i>Faschingsschwank</i>	pf	Simonin de Sire	1840
Brahms, Johannes	op. 2: Sonata	pf	Schumann, Clara	1854
Brahms	op. 9: Variations on a Theme by Robert Schumann	pf	Schumann, Clara	1854
Schumann, Clara	op. 21: 3 Romances	pf	Brahms	1855
Rubinstein, Anton	op. 42: Symphony no. 2, "The Ocean"	orch	Liszt	1857-58
Liszt	Fantasy on themes from Beethoven's <i>Ruinen von Athen</i>	orch	Rubinstein	1865-66

The examples in Table 1.2 confirm that composers usually reciprocated dedications in a timely fashion. In all but three of these paired dedications, the time lag between the first dedication and its response is five years or less. And for those delays over five years, as Kettering has argued regarding seventeenth-century dedications, "the bond between participants was an ongoing affair that did not balance on a day-to-day basis. Months, even years, could elapse between a client's performance of a valuable service and his compensation by patronage."³¹ Liszt's remark in 1857 to Wasielewski that his dedication to Schumann was a *Gegenwidmung*, or return dedication (see below), demonstrates that composers in the early to mid-nineteenth century could in fact remember such exchanges over long spans of time.

Publishers may also have understood a kind of doctrine of reciprocity relating to dedications, as illustrated by one particular dedication in Table 1.2. In March of 1839, Chopin wrote to his friend Julien Fontana that he

would like very much that [his] *Préludes* be dedicated to [Camille] Pleyel (that's possible because they haven't been printed yet) and the *Ballade* to Schumann [sic]. The *Polonaises* to you, as they are. And

³¹ Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage," 143.

nothing to Kessler. If Pleyel is keen on the Ballade, then dedicate the *Préludes* to Schumann."³²

If Chopin wanted nothing dedicated to Kessler, then how did the Preludes come to be dedicated to him in the Breitkopf & Härtel edition? We have no documentation, but it seems reasonable to speculate that because Fontana was in contact with Heinrich Probst, Breitkopf & Härtel's agent in Paris, he must have sold Probst the rights to the Preludes, which Breitkopf & Härtel then published.³³ Someone at the firm—perhaps Probst himself—could have known that Kessler had previously dedicated a set of Preludes to Chopin, and could have used that information as the basis for a decision about Chopin's dedication.

Dedications also reciprocated, and were reciprocated by, published reviews, as illustrated by an examination of the Schumann and Liszt dedications. Schumann's dedication to Liszt in 1839 was not an unsolicited gesture. Liszt had already done Schumann a great service by reviewing, for the *Gazette musicale de Paris* in 1837, Schumann's *Concerto sans orchestre* in F minor, op. 14; *Impromptus* on a theme by Clara Wieck, op. 5; and *Symphonic Etudes*, op. 13. The review praises Schumann's works as being "most remarkable for individuality, novelty, and knowledge," and describes op. 14 specifically as "ravishing," and "true, deep, and appealing to our inmost sensibilities."³⁴ Liszt does note that Schumann's style might have a limited audience, as it is "especially addressed to meditative minds, to those serious souls who are never contented with a superficial view, who dive to the lowest depths to seek the hidden pearl," but this limitation is clearly a strength in

³² Frédéric Chopin, *Correspondance*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Bronislaw Édouard Sydow (Paris: Richard-Masse, [1960]), 319-20.

³³ *Ibid.*, n. 357.

³⁴ Quoted in Wasielewski, 265.

Liszt's imagination, for it leads him to conclude that Schumann's writing will cause "those who love art" to "rejoice in this new hope for the future." The only truly negative passage is Liszt's criticism of Schumann's choice of title for op. 14, which Liszt believes should be renamed *Sonata* (as, in fact, it later was).

Otherwise, however, Liszt's review is positive. And Schumann evidently interpreted it that way; in April 1838, through his friend Joseph Fischof, he sent Liszt a short greeting and a copy of the second Novelette.³⁵ Viewed through the lens of gift economy, this response is a sign of gratitude, a kind of reciprocation. But while Schumann acknowledged Liszt's generous review in this private correspondence, no public response to Liszt's very public gift appeared until his dedication of the Fantasy in 1839.

Because of the circularity of gift exchange, that dedication might then itself have been received both by Liszt and by Schumann's readership as a public offering that also required an equally public response. But what kind of response—another review from Liszt? Such a response never came, perhaps because directly following the publication of Schumann's Fantasy, Liszt embarked on his eight-year concert tour of Europe. In fact, for this reason, it is more likely that the dedication created the expectation among consumers that Liszt would respond with a performance of the work. Schumann's readership in Leipzig (the place of publication of the Fantasy) would have had two reasons for such an expectation: they would have known of Liszt's impressive performing career through the concert reports from Paris published regularly in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and they would have been encouraged by precedents. By this time, there was a notable tradition of

³⁵ This letter is lost, but it is referenced in the *Briefbuch*, which is quoted in Friedrich Schnapp, "Essai de reconstitution de la correspondance de Schumann et de Liszt," *La revue musicale* 16 (December, 1935): 105.

dedications to prominent performers, and it was not by chance that the works dedicated were typically in genres closely associated with those performers. (See Table 1.3.) Though few records of the performances of these works survive, the dedications themselves presumably would have created the expectation that the works were written for those performers, particularly because each work includes the instrument of its dedicatee in its scoring. Kreutzer, for instance, was offered violin works, while Bernhard Romberg, an accomplished cellist, received a cello sonata, and Kalkbrenner, Liszt, and Camille Pleyel received piano works.

Table 1.3: Selected dedications to performers, 1800-1840³⁶

Composer	Work	Instr.	Dedicatee	Date
Dufresne, Fidèle	op. 16: Concerto no. 2	vn, orch	Kreutzer, Rodolphe	1802
Beethoven	op. 47: Sonata	vn, pf	Kreutzer	1805
Demonchy, N.	3 duos	2 vn	Kreutzer	1809
Ries	op. 20-21: Grand Sonatas	pf, vc	Romberg, Bernhard	1810
Kalkbrenner	op. 8: Fantasie no. 3 and Fugue	pf	Hummel	1810
Couderc, Hippolyte	op. 1: Grand Sonata	vn, vc	Kreutzer	1819
Pleyel, Camille	op. 3: Quartet	pf, vn, va, vc	Kalkbrenner	1819
Clementi, Muzio	op. 46: Sonata	pf	Kalkbrenner	1820
Cramer	op. 69: Quintet	pf, 2 vn, va, vc	Moscheles	1823
Pixis	Trio no. 3	pf, vn, vc	Moscheles	1828
Mayseder, Joseph	op. 40: Variations	vn	Paganini	1828
Pixis	op. 109: <i>Fantasie sur la dernière pensée musicale de Weber</i>	pf	Liszt	1829-30
Kücken, Friedrich Wilhelm	Lieder und Gesänge	pf, v	Fassmann, Fräulein von	1830
Chopin	op. 10: Etudes	pf	Liszt	1833
Chopin	op. 9: 3 Nocturnes	pf	Pleyel, Marie	1833

³⁶ This list is not exhaustive; in a sense, most composer-to-composer dedications from this period can also be viewed as directed at performing musicians, mainly because most composers in this period were in fact performers as well. A brief scan through Appendix B reveals such dedicatees as Muzio Clementi, Joseph Wölfl, Ferdinand Hiller, and Camille Pleyel.

Table 1.3 continued

Chopin	op. 11: Concerto in E minor	pf, orch	Kalkbrenner	1833
Schumann	op. 5: Improptus on a theme by Clara Wieck	pf	Wieck, Clara	1836
Kalkbrenner	op. 120: <i>Fantaisie et variations sur une mazourka de Chopin</i>	pf	Pleyel, Marie	1833
Reißiger, Carl Gottlieb	op. 89: Lieder und Gesänge	pf, v	Schröder-Devrient, Wilhelmine	1833
Mendelssohn	op. 28: Fantasy	pf	Moscheles	1834
Schumann	op. 14: Sonata no. 3 in F minor	pf	Moscheles	1838
Liszt	Transcendental Etudes after Paganini	pf	Schumann, Clara	1840
Gade, Niels	op. 6: Sonatas	pf, vn	Schumann, Clara	1843
Mendelssohn	op. 62: Lieder ohne Wörter	pf	Schumann, Clara	1844

However, Liszt never publicly acknowledged Schumann's dedication of the Fantasy; while he taught it to his students and performed it privately in smaller salons, there is no record that he performed the work in concert.³⁷ How, then, did he ultimately reciprocate Schumann's public offering? One could interpret his dedication of the Paganini Etudes to Clara Schumann in 1840 as a kind of indirect reciprocation, particularly because Schumann himself had written his opp. 3 and 10 etudes based on Paganini caprices. But Liszt himself explained that the true reciprocation of Schumann's dedication was found in his dedication of the B-minor Sonata, which he called a *Gegenwidmung*,³⁸ or return dedication. In fact, this telling remark suggests that there was an understanding that dedications were acts whose purview could stretch either forwards or, in this case, backwards in time—that dedications could make demands for the future or, as in this case, amends for the past.

³⁷ Alan Walker, "Schumann, Liszt, and the C Major Fantasie," in *Reflections on Liszt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 50.

³⁸ 9 January, 1857. Liszt, *Briefe*, vol. 1, ed. La Mara (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893), 256. "Zur selben Zeit ungefähr erfolgte die Herausgabe der grossen *Fantasie* (C Dur) in drei Sätzen, die er mir widmete; meine *Gegenwidmung* für dieses hehre und herrliche Werk kam erst vor 3 Jahren mit meiner *Sonate* in H-moll."

Schumann's dedication to Chopin in 1838 also functions within a context of previous communication, both private and public. In December 1831, Schumann had reviewed Chopin's op. 2 variations, on Mozart's *Là ci darem la mano*, for piano and orchestra. Not only was this the first public contact between the composers, it was also Schumann's first published review of any kind.³⁹ In his praise for Chopin's vivid representation of the scenes and characters of *Don Giovanni*, Schumann presents a glowing account of Chopin's achievement as a young composer. Schumann continued to review Chopin's works in the *Neue Zeitschrift* throughout the 1830s and early 1840s, though never quite as enthusiastically as the first review, as Leon Plantinga has noted.⁴⁰ And perhaps Chopin noted this as well; the only one of Schumann's reviews mentioned in Chopin's correspondence is the first. In a letter to his Polish childhood friend, Titus Woyciechowski, Chopin refers to a review sent to him written by an "enthusiastic German" and proceeds to recapitulate some of its details in his own words, as if from memory, suggesting that he had indeed read it closely.⁴¹

When Chopin decided in early 1839 to dedicate his second Ballade to Schumann, then, he may have felt doubly pressured to respond publicly in some way. First, in all likelihood, he would have remembered the review because it was published early in his compositional career when such praise was scarce. He may have wanted to respond publicly to such praise, as Schumann responded to Liszt's review. And secondly, Schumann had just dedicated his *Kreisleriana* to Chopin one year earlier. Particularly telling is Chopin's letter to Julien Fontana, quoted above:

³⁹ Leon B. Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 226.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 226-235.

⁴¹ Frédéric Chopin, *Correspondance*, vol. 2, 42-3.

I would like very much that my *Préludes* be dedicated to [Camille] Pleyel [...] and the *Ballade* to Schumann [*sic*]. The *Polonaises* to you, as they are. And nothing to Kessler. If Pleyel is keen on the *Ballade*, then dedicate the *Préludes* to Schumann."⁴²

Here, Chopin certainly seems to be interested in dedicating a work to Schumann, but did not seem to care which one. Of utmost importance to him was that his friend Camille Pleyel receive the work that suited him; Schumann could have the leftovers. In fact, Chopin left the fate of these dedications in the hands of his friend. If he did not care which particular work went to Schumann, why offer a dedication at all? Because he may have felt obligated to reciprocate both Schumann's review and dedication.

One other pair of dedications supports the possibility that dedications can be responses to positive critical reviews. Schumann praised William Sterndale Bennett's works in enthusiastic reviews published in the *Neue Zeitschrift* in January and February of 1837. The composers had become friends around that time, as Bennett had come to Leipzig in order to visit Mendelssohn, whom he already knew. Williamson suggests that Bennett composed the *Fantasia* (the work dedicated to Schumann) before he left Leipzig in June.⁴³ Schumann's *Symphonic Etudes*, meanwhile, had been complete for quite some time, as he sold them to Haslinger in 1836.⁴⁴ Because Bennett's work was published after Schumann's, it seems that Bennett's dedication was, like Chopin's, a reciprocation of two public gifts: enthusiastic reviews and a dedication.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 319-20.

⁴³ Rosemary Williamson, *William Sterndale Bennett*, 71.

⁴⁴ The *Etudes* were advertised as being published by Haslinger in the *Neue Zeitschrift* in May 1836, but did not actually appear in print until July of the following year, partly because Haslinger had been ill. See Wolfgang Boetticher, *Robert Schumanns Klavierwerke*, vol. 2 (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1976), 245-6.

Dedications and Symbolic Capital

While dedications exist within a larger context of exchange of tangible items such as reviews and reciprocal dedications, they also involve the trading of symbolic capital, often with the goal of bettering the social status of the parties involved. As above, this is first and foremost evident in the practices of patronage. Claudio Annibaldi has argued that patrons used their sponsorship of artists and musicians to display their own wealth and learnedness. Drawing on ethnomusicological and anthropological methodology, Annibaldi claims that, particularly in the patronage system, music itself functioned as a status symbol, partly by demonstrating the "artistic sensibility and connoisseurship" of its sponsor.⁴⁵ In the sixteenth century, he notes, originality and artistry were coming to be associated with the nobility,⁴⁶ a development that may help to explain the interest of Renaissance patrons in funding the arts. Carter has provided some specific examples for the argument that gift-giving was a performance of status in his evidence that the Corsi family's loans to members of the Florentine nobility "were probably deemed worthwhile investments to establish a niche for the family in Florentine high society."⁴⁷

That patronage could be a demonstration of status is apparent in the practice of documenting large court-sponsored spectacles. Grand Duke Ferdinand, for instance, commissioned Michelangelo to compile a commemorative account of the musical and theatrical events of the wedding

⁴⁵ Annibaldi, "Towards a Theory of Patronage," 174.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁴⁷ Tim Carter, "No occorre nominare tanti musici: Private Patronage and Public Ceremony in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence," in *Music, Patronage and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), viii, 65.

of Maria de' Medici and Henri IV of France in Florence, October, 1660—a document that the Duke himself later annotated.⁴⁸ The wedding of Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine in 1589 had also received a published description that the Duke revised. The mere existence of these public records suggests that it was important to the Duke to broadcast the quantity and quality of his patronage of the arts; his acts of sponsorship were useful in securing his status in the eyes of the outside world. Moreover, the Duke's involvement in the production of these documents confirms his concern for their content. Gift exchange could also be manipulated to ameliorate the status of the composer. Rose has illustrated that, in Central Germany, Schütz used the act of presentation not only to disseminate his *Psalmen Davids* but also, because the title page claimed the composer's mastery in "the Italian style" and celebrated his marriage, "to assert his professional status and to earn social recognition from the elite of Germany."⁴⁹

Some of the traditional activities of patronage mirror gift-giving practices in other cultures; in particular, the potlatch, a Native American tradition, is particularly similar in its symbolic purpose. Mauss defined four types of potlatches,⁵⁰ all of which involve an extravagant feast and an opulent offering of gifts to guests of that feast. In fact, these offerings often include the majority of the possessions of the feast's host, typically the chief of the tribe. And Mauss argued that the purpose of this tradition is the following:

[The chief] can preserve his authority over his tribe and village, and even over his family, he can only maintain his rank among the chiefs—both nationally and internationally—if he can prove he is haunted and favored both by the spirits and by good fortune, that he is possessed

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴⁹ Rose, "The Mechanisms of the Music Trade," 27.

⁵⁰ Mauss, *The Gift*, 38-9. Mauss cites Georges Davy, *La foi jurée: étude sociologique du problème du contrat* (Paris: Alcan, 1922).

and also possesses it. And he can only prove his good fortune by spending it and sharing it out, humiliating others by placing them in the shadow of his name.⁵¹

The goal behind the potlatch, then, is the demonstration of one's wealth and social standing through gestures of extreme generosity. And much like other types of gifts, the potlatch functions in part because of the presence of an audience to observe—and be "humiliated" by—the giver's benevolence.

One can hardly say that the patronage system involved the shame or embarrassment of fellow patrons through displays of wealth, but there are some similarities. Julia Moore has argued, for instance, that, at least in eighteenth-century Vienna, when the court sponsored artists, aristocrats saw the need to prove their own status in relation to it by patronizing the arts as well.⁵² The kind and number of gifts offered by a public figure thus demonstrates the status or "good fortune" of the donor to the audience of his or her peers. Bourdieu has distilled this idea into a theory:

[the gift economy] is organized with a view to the accumulation of symbolic capital (a capital of recognition, honor, nobility, etc.) that is brought about in particular through the transmutation of economic capital achieved through the alchemy of symbolic exchanges (exchanges of gifts, words, challenges and ripostes, women, etc.).⁵³

As a result of the gifting process, then, the Native American chief initiating the potlatch and the Renaissance patron alike accumulate status or good fortune. Bourdieu's formulation is particularly relevant in the patronage system, in which "economic capital," or the payment or financial support of a composer, transforms, often through the act of dedication, into symbolic capital.

⁵¹ Mauss, *The Gift*, 39.

⁵² Julia Moore, "Beethoven and Musical Economics" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1987), referenced in Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 41.

⁵³ Bourdieu, "Marginalia," 234-5.

The rhetoric of dedicatory epistles illustrates this transformation, deliberately obscuring any monetary exchange in favor of the symbolic. These epistles never provide the details of contracts between composers and their sponsors, avoiding all language referring to the price for or particular type of services provided. Instead, they suggest that patronage gave the sponsors of music and art the opportunity to gain one particular form of capital: a reputation for connoisseurship and benevolence. Composers, meanwhile, could seek to accumulate recognition by the patron, and to improve their own reputation through association with their generous, tasteful benefactors. Somewhat circularly, then, it was in fact in a composer's best interest to claim the highest learnedness for his patron, as his own reputation was tied to that of his sponsor. References to such symbolic capital are reflected in Cambio's epistle of 1545 for a set of five-voice madrigals, which stresses the "virtue," "kindness," "courtesy," and "divine qualities" of his patron, Godardo Ochagna.⁵⁴ Cambio also subtly praises Ochagna's appetite for music:

Therefore, my lord, knowing that, among the many other such rare virtues in which my lordship delights, Music is one that pleases you exceedingly, I did not want to lose this opportunity [to dedicate to you.]

Later, Merulo's epistle to the Duke of Parma and Piacenza (1566) claimed that the composer offered his works in exchange for the patron's generosity and "goodness":

I am constrained to present to your most illustrious Excellency these madrigals set to music, the first offspring that I ever produced in the public theater of the world, since my career and my life are owed to your generous and truly most illustrious goodness towards me, shown many times with great evidence of affection.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Perissone Cambio, *Sixteenth-Century Madrigal*, vol. 2, ed. Martha Feldman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xi. Original Italian not provided in this edition

⁵⁵ Claudio Merulo, *Sixteenth-Century Madrigal*, vol. 18, ed. Jesse Ann Owens (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xi. Original Italian not provided in this edition.

And Marc'Antonio Ingegneri dedicated his first book of madrigals to Giacomo Gadio (1578), stating:

The many obligations I have to your excellency for the many courtesies you extended to me during the years I spent in serving you constrain me to offer to you as much recognition as I am able, if of nothing else, of a grateful spirit. And so I wanted to dedicate to you these first fruits, such as they are, of my musical exercises done in your house.⁵⁶

The composer presents his works in exchange for the "courtesies" offered him in the patron's "house." This typically flowery epistolary rhetoric was thus not merely decorative; it served a particular transformative purpose, ensuring that both parties gained symbolic capital.

Pleyel's later dedication of his op. 1 (1783) to Count Erdödy outlines a particular kind of such capital that composers could seek to acquire through dedications:

Regard this first offering of my public efforts as the smallest part of those very grateful feelings for which my whole life would be too short, were I to wish to express them to you in a worthy manner. [...] The name I affix on [these quartets], the one of a true connoisseur and lover of the noble art of music, will hide all the faults that may be there.

In entreating the Count to "hide the faults" of the work, Pleyel raises the topic of protection, a frequent one in dedicatory letters from any era. In the age of patronage, the sponsor of a work would in fact own it, at least for a time, and the composer would often reference this ownership in an epistle, expressing wishes that the music be well nurtured in its new home. Again, however, the more tangible exchange of music and monetary sponsorship easily transforms into a more symbolic one, as it does here. Pleyel is hardly suggesting that the Count owns the work; instead, the presentation of the music is folded into a larger effort to offer "grateful feelings" in exchange for something even less

⁵⁶ Marc' Antonio Ingegneri, *Sixteenth-Century Madrigal*, vol. 15, ed. Jesse Ann Owens (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xi. Original Italian not provided in this edition.

tangible: protection. The composer hopes that his patron's learnedness and reputation will fend off potential criticism.

All of this symbolic language is echoed in composer-to-composer dedications of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Labadens claims the following in his epistle to fellow violinist Pierre Gavaniés (1772):

Your superior talents have earned you the rights to my admiration; the points in which you truly wanted to enter with me on this method, the light that you shed [on the topic] and which encouraged me to make this [book] be issued – you give all of this to my gratitude: in dedicating this work to you, I am merely bearing public witness to these sentiments.

Here, the dedicatee has given advice and encouragement, while the dedicator offers his gratitude (and the dedication itself) in exchange. In particular, those who dedicated to Haydn sought to secure their own reputations by mentioning his, drawing on the oblique language of protection employed by Pleyel above. (This language of protection also plays a promotional role, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.) Mozart's famous dedication of 1785 relies on this type of language:

A father, having resolved to send his children into the great world, considered it necessary to entrust them to the protection and guidance of a man very celebrated at the time, who by good fortune was also his best friend. — In like manner, celebrated man and dearest friend, here are my six children. [...] May it therefore please you to receive them benignly and be to them a father, guide, and friend! From this moment I cede to you my rights over them.

Mozart invokes the topic of protection by employing the metaphor of fatherhood; he gives Haydn guardianship over the works, implying that they are now in the care of the composer as dedicatee. Eybler similarly entreats Haydn to "protect" his quartets, op. 1, 1794, explaining specifically that it is the composer's reputation, or "great name," that will do the protecting.

Accept it then with that same kindness that you show me, and, since it

is the first result of my efforts which I send into the great world, protect it, I pray you, with all your authority. The great name you have acquired throughout Europe with your unique works will quiet those who, purely out of envy, would try to discredit this work, and will make compassionate those who would argue with you. Both of these [effects of your name] will suffice to increase endlessly my obligations to you as well as the joy I feel in giving you, with my dedication, a public pledge of the great respect and special veneration I profess to you.

Furthermore, Eybler states directly that he offers his "respect and special veneration" to his dedicatee in exchange for this protection.

Brandl's dedication to Haydn of 1799 uses the same parenting metaphor in order to gain a similar kind of capital, that of "benevolent indulgence," from Haydn, explicitly drawing on Mozart's rhetoric:

Mozart's six children, as he called his quartets, have already enjoyed your valuable protection in the musical world. Permit me as well to present to You these current Six [quartets] of different parentage, and to recommend them to your same such benevolent indulgence.

This language is reflected in one of the latest elaborate dedicatory epistles, Ferdinand Ries's op. 1 piano sonatas for Beethoven, published in 1806:

the benevolence with which you welcome young artists, [and] the amicable protection that you give them, as I have so often had occasion to admire and to experience myself, encourage me and make me pass over all other considerations. I will seize this opportunity to address to you publicly my most sincere and keen thanks for the familiarity with which you have received me, for the friendship with which you have honored me. The memory of these pleasant hours passed with you will never be erased from my heart; and if my efforts are crowned with some success, it is to your counsel that I will be indebted.

Ries's letter joins many of the dedicatory topics discussed here, as the composer provides a list of the many things he feels he is reciprocating: Beethoven's protection, "familiarity," friendship, and "counsel."

Dedicatory epistles, then, outline the kind of symbolic capital involved in this particular type of gift exchange. As discussed above, patron and

composer also trade tangible items, the transformation of which is illustrated in Figure 1.2.

	Composer offers to the patron...	Patron offers to the composer...
tangible	works	money performing ensembles
	service	lodging, general care
↓	gratitude flattery	"goodness" "protection"
symbolic	reputation for benevolence, learnedness, generosity towards artists	honor of association with benevolent, learned, generous patron

Figure 1.2: Transformations from tangible into symbolic capital, as exchanged between composer and patron

The language of the dedication performs this transformation, as the composer expresses his gratitude for the generosity of the patron, in the end giving his sponsor a reputation for generosity and learnedness in exchange for the honor of association with such a figure. In her study of Viennese patronage, DeNora, relying on Moore, has confirmed that the symbolic capital available to patrons in this exchange was indeed meaningful, arguing that, particularly for Viennese aristocracy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "ranking was based on cultural consumption and money, as well as lineage."⁵⁷ From the composer's perspective, as Ronald Weissman has argued, the patron provides a number of marginally tangible but significant gestures: "brokerage, mediation, favours, and access to networks of friends."⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the intermediary "service" that the composer offers to the patron, for instance, can involve the composing of works for or performing at particular occasions, but

⁵⁷ DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 41.

⁵⁸ Ronald Weissman, "Taking Patronage Seriously, Mediterranean Values and Renaissance Society," in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 26.

it also demands loyalty in a more abstract sense, particularly regarding a kind of unwritten understanding that the composer will not cease, either in his music or words, to flatter his sponsor.

When dedications were offered to peers in the late eighteenth century, a similar rubric applies. As mentioned above, composers could not give payment or performing ensembles, but they could offer reviews, return dedications, and the like. (See Figure 1.3.) And in the symbolic realm, composers could exchange a kind of capital that enhanced the reputations of both parties involved.

	Composer offers to peer-dedicatee...	Peer-dedicatee offers to composer...
tangible	works	review performance return dedication pedagogy
↓	gratitude flattery	"friendship" "protection" praise
symbolic	confirmation of international reputation	honor of association with skilled, famous dedicatee

Figure 1.3: Transformations from tangible into symbolic capital, as exchanged between composer and composer-dedicatee

Composer-dedicatees can offer several tangible forms of reciprocation in return for the works offered them. If this exchange seems lopsided at the symbolic end, it is because the composer has more to gain from his peer-dedicatee than he can present in return. In the case of the dedications to Haydn, for instance, it is clear, particularly from the argument in Chapter 2, that Mozart, Eybler, and others sought to use their dedications as a way to earn a kind of honor of association with the composer, borrowing Haydn's

name to a promotional effect. But what could Haydn possibly gain from these offerings? The more than forty dedications to him between 1784 and 1810 can be seen as confirmation of the composer's fame and influence. (See Chapter 2.) Each offering relied on Haydn's status, but bolstered it simultaneously. As Webster has noted, there is evidence that Haydn appreciated acknowledgements of his teaching and influence (or at least that he may have been displeased when they were lacking, as in the purported cases involving Beethoven and Pleyel).⁵⁹

Interestingly, both of these rubrics imply the importance of the third-party observer—the audience—in the dedicatory exchange. In both cases, reputation is a key kind of symbolic capital. As a result of the dedicatory exchange, a patron can thus appear generous in front of his or her peers, much like the Corsi family giving away loans or the host of the potlatch. Similarly, the composer-to-composer dedication has the potential to improve the reputation of both parties in the eyes of the consuming public. Indeed, these types of symbolic capital would not function properly without an audience to observe and confirm them.

* * *

In its emphasis on the importance of reciprocation, gift exchange theory helps reveal that dedications involve two types of exchange: the tangible and the symbolic. Moreover, it is the dedicatory epistle—that text that seems to be mere decoration at the front of the score—that, in its very flowery language, creates the opportunity for the symbolic exchange of the dedicatory act. But crucially, no matter their context, some gifts are "incomplete" presents. With most gift-giving, as Mauss has argued, "it is indeed ownership that one

⁵⁹ See Webster, "The Falling-out between Beethoven and Haydn," 25.

obtains with the gift that one receives."⁶⁰ Do dedications afford ownership of the music to the dedicatee? Annette Weiner has suggested that certain gifts can simultaneously be taken by the receiver and kept by the giver.⁶¹ Dedications are part of this nuanced kind of exchange, as they seem to give musical works split ownership, adding one more near-paradox to the already complex function of gifts. There is no question, for instance, that the Fantasy belongs to Schumann, but when Liszt wrote to the composer in June of 1839, he referred to the work as "my Fantasy."⁶² In order to navigate this added nuance, then, it is necessary to distinguish between the act of giving and the given object. While the dedication constitutes the act of making a public offering, the offering is the work, the piece of music. And the work will, for the rest of its printed existence, bear the names of both dedicator and dedicatee, meaning that, while it has been symbolically given to the dedicatee, it simultaneously remains the property of the composer. As Chapter 4 explores more fully in its investigation of multiple authorship, the dedication affords the composer the opportunity to *give* the work, but to never fully give it *up*.

⁶⁰ Mauss, *The Gift*, 30.

⁶¹ Annette Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: the Paradox of Keeping-while-giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁶² Liszt, *Briefe* vol. 1, 27.

CHAPTER 2

Dedications as Advertisements

In February 1764, the Mozart family received 50 louis d'or from the French royal family in compensation for their performance at court.¹ One month later, "J. G. Wolfgang" Mozart's opus 1 (K. 6-7) appeared in print, dedicated to Madame Victoire de France, the fourth daughter of Louis XV, a dedication presumably meant as an expression of gratitude for the royal family's monetary generosity. Twenty-one years later, Mozart dedicated a set of works to a different figure, one who never would have paid him for such a gesture, and one from whom Mozart would have never expected compensation: Joseph Haydn. Why, in an age in which patronage remained a significant force in the arts, would a composer choose to dedicate a work to such a famous yet unpaying figure? Because he, or his publisher, suspected that such a dedication would result in profit from a different source: the consuming public.

As shown in the Introduction, Mozart's dedication to Haydn was part of a larger trend beginning in the late eighteenth century; while a few composers had previously dedicated works to their teachers and peers, the

¹ This figure was recorded in the "Comptes des menus plaisirs du Roi" in February, 1764; quoted in Otto Erich Deutsch and Joseph Heinz Eibl, *Mozart: Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), 23.

1780s marked the emergence of the composer-to-composer dedication as an increasingly common paratext of the musical score. In order to expose the economic function of this type of dedication, I will examine a subset of the more than forty dedications to Haydn, a group of works for which there is a great deal of contemporary evidence in the form of dedicatory epistles and announcements for sale. Mark Evan Bonds has drawn on some of this evidence, arguing that “in the days before publishers' blurbs, dedications provided artists with an opportunity to associate a famous name with their work.”² While Bonds uses this apt assertion to introduce his musical analysis of Mozart's quartets for Haydn, this chapter explores the practical, promotional function of dedications in their own right. A thorough study of the documents surrounding several of the dedications to Haydn will then lead to an examination of the later reciprocal pair of dedications between Schumann and Liszt: Schumann's *Fantasy*, op. 17 (1839) for Liszt and Liszt's *B-minor Sonata* (1854) for Schumann.

While thirty years separate the last dedication to Haydn (1809) and Schumann's dedication to Liszt (1839), there remains one significant constant that allows the broader scope of this analysis to span such a wide period: the prominence of the dedicatee on the title page. (See Figures 0.1 and 0.2.) Though they share the same format, however, these dedications were not publicly documented in the same way; compared to the dedications to Haydn, those of Schumann and Liszt have comparatively less attendant printed evidence in the form of epistles and advertisements, making any discussion of

² Mark Evan Bonds, “The Sincerest Form of Flattery?: Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets and the Question of Influence,” *Studi musicali* 22 (1993): 370. Bonds makes a similar argument regarding Ignaz Pleyel's quartets dedicated to Haydn in “Replacing Haydn: Mozart's Pleyel Quartets,” *Music and Letters* 88, no. 2 (May 2007): 218.

their promotional function slightly speculative. One must, therefore, weigh particulars of Schumann's and Liszt's reputations and the reception of their works in order to understand how the name of each might have been promotional for the other. I have chosen the Schumann and Liszt examples because they raise a number of issues common to the period, highlighting in particular the ways in which a composer might try to overcome his regional reputation, or to legitimize himself in the minds of critics. An analysis of these topics, then, is meant to serve as a model for the interpretation of other dedications in the early- to mid-nineteenth century, most of which similarly lack documentation.

When considered together, these two groups of case studies show that, between approximately 1785 and 1850, a composer could use her dedication to associate herself favorably with another composer's expertise in a particular genre, popularity in a particular geographical region, or reputation as a performer. In sum, this study of dedications in the marketplace explores the largely ignored economic function of these paratexts of the published score, and argues that dedications operated as advertisements, allowing composers—and often publishers—to attach peers' names to their own for the purposes of self-promotion.

Promotion in Musical Print Culture

In order to examine the promotional purposes of these dedications, we must understand the role of advertisements in musical print culture more generally at this time. Because of the overwhelming size of such a topic, this discussion is necessarily limited, aiming primarily to demonstrate that

promotion as a category—as a concept involved in the sale of works—did exist in the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries.

In the seventeenth century, the most basic kind of advertising—the public announcement—began to play a role in selling music. Stephen Rose has shown that publishers in Frankfurt and Leipzig from 1600 to 1640 transcribed entire title pages of works into their catalogues—title pages that often boasted the vocation and status of the composer and the newness of that particular work. These pages were also often hung in booksellers' windows, serving as advertisements there as well.³ Because of the lack of research in this area, one can only speculate that this practice extended to other cities with active musical print cultures. The following title page, for instance, would certainly have made an effective advertisement if displayed in a Venetian shop window:

Madrigals for five voices by the excellent musician Mr. Perissone Cambio, composed for the pleasure of various friends of his, and now brought to light at the request of the same, and corrected, revised, and arranged by the composer himself. Never before seen or printed. Five voices. Venice, 1545. With grace and privilege.⁴

In its insistence on the originality and, indeed, authenticity of the music, this language seems determined to promote Cambio's madrigals to the reader.

Later, when publishing houses gradually emerged across the continent in the eighteenth century, such announcements proliferated and took on a new importance. In order to make their output sell quickly, publishers and merchants began to place similar kinds of simple texts in periodicals, depending on them to inform the public of the prices and locations of sale for

³ See Stephen Rose, "The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-1640," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005): 8-9.

⁴ Reprinted and translated in Perrisone Cambio, *Madrigali a cinque voci*, ed. Martha Feldman (New York: Garland, 1990), xi. Original Italian not provided in this edition.

particular works; often the announcements also contained assurances of the quality of the works in more detailed favorable descriptions. Such announcements began to appear in periodicals in select European cities fairly early in the eighteenth century. Paris's *Mercure de France*, for instance, printed the following in its first issue in January 1724:

BOOK of Pieces for Harpsichord, containing many *Divertissemens*, of which the main ones are the characters of War, those of the Hunt, and the Village Celebration. Dedicated to the King. By François Dandrieu, Organiste of the Chapel of His Majesty & of the Parish of St. Merry 1724. In Paris, by the author, Sainte-Anne Street, near the Palace, & at the Regle d'Or, St. Honoré Street, by Boivin, in fol. 65 pages, plus Epistle, Preface, and Table. The price is 15 pounds. Unbound.⁵

The short paragraph that follows describes the work as a printed rather than musical object, stressing the quality of the frontispiece and the engraving more generally, and mentioning only briefly the "merit and reputation" of the composer:

This book is embellished with a very beautiful frontispiece, engraved by C. Simonneau, in which War, the Hunt, and the *Fête Champêtre* are very well characterized. This embellishment, the exactitude of the engraving of the entire work, and above all, the merit and reputation of the Composer should make these Pieces urgently sought by Musicians, and by Lovers of Music, of whom there is such a large number today.⁶

This announcement is typical in that it both informs the public of the vital information regarding the sale of the object and also emphasizes the skill of

⁵ *Mercure de France* (Jan., 1724): 96-97. "LIVRE de Pieces de Clavecin, contenant plusieurs Divertissemens, dont les principaux sont, les caracteres de la Guerre, ceux de la Chasse, & la Fête de Village. Dédié au Roy. Par François Dandrieu, Organiste de la Chapelle de S. M. & de la Paroisse S. Merry 1724. A Paris, chez l'Auteur, ruë Sainte Anne, près le Palais, & à la Regle d'Or, ruë S. Honoré, chez Boivin, in fol. De 65. pages, sans l'Epître, la Preface & la Table. Le prix est de 15. Liv. en blanc."

⁶ *Mercure de France* (Jan., 1724): 97. "Ce livre est orné d'un très-beau frontispice, gravé par C. Simonneau, où la Guerre, la Chasse, & la Fête Champêtre sont très-bien caractérisées. Cet ornement, la propreté dont tout l'ouvrage est gravé, & plus que tout, le merite & la réputation de l'Auteur, doivent faire rechercher ces Pieces avec empressement, par les Musiciens, & par les amateurs de Musique, qui sont aujourd'hui en si grand nombre."

those associated with the work—in this case the composer and the engraver—in order to assure the public of its quality.

In Germany, similar announcements were published with increasing frequency throughout the eighteenth century,⁷ as periodicals gradually appeared in several urban centers. The *Staats- und Belehrte Zeitung des hollsteinischen Correspondenten* of Hamburg, for instance, printed announcements for subscriptions to Telemann's works in 1723 and 1725.⁸ Later, the *Litteratur und Theaterzeitung*, published in Halle, included an announcement in 1778 for *Rosamund*, a *Singspiel* by Wieland and Schweizer for sale in Weimar by Hofmann, informing its readers not only of the work's price and number of pages, but also of its quality, described in a short glowing notice. German periodicals such as Berlin's *Musikalische Monatsschrift*, begun in 1792, as well as the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* and the *Wiener Zeitung*,⁹ continued to use similar kinds of simple advertisements through the end of the eighteenth and, in the case of the *Wiener Zeitung*, well into the nineteenth centuries. Typically, until approximately the second decade of the nineteenth century, advertisements for music in most German publications would appear together, often at the back of the issue, and would be organized by publisher; publishers' announcements would consist of a list of a small set of pieces, including a brief positive description usually only for one particular work. Some periodicals announced more works than others. Reichardt's *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* (1805-6), for instance, included few listings, and, tellingly,

⁷ Stephen Rose has shown that Central Germany developed a thriving music trade in the early seventeenth century, a trade that was disrupted by and only slowly recovered from the Thirty Years' War. See "The Mechanisms of the Music Trade."

⁸ Steven Zohn, "Telemann in the Marketplace: The Composer as Self-Publisher," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (Summer 2005): 290-1.

⁹ For information on eighteenth-century German periodicals that contain some discussion of music, see Laurenz Lütteken, *Die Musik in den Zeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts: eine Bibliographie* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004).

those works that it did announce were often those that Reichardt either wrote or published himself.

Descriptive listings gradually disappeared in the early nineteenth century, as the promotion of music began to take another form. By the 1830s, announcements consisted only of the most basic information necessary for an interested consumer to buy the work. Instead, descriptions and discussion of works could now be found exclusively in less partial reviews written by independent critics who evaluated works on a somewhat regular basis for the periodical. Such reviews were not a new invention; they had existed in some eighteenth-century periodicals such as *Unterhaltungen* (1766-70), *Deutsche Bibliothek* (1765-96), and *Die Magazin der Musik* (1783-1786). Reviews in the mid-nineteenth century, however, were more widespread and more nearly criticism, written by signed authors, such as Fétis, Liszt, and Schumann, who often evaluated the musical materials, organization, and general aesthetic merit of particular works. Most importantly, they did not feel as persistently the pressure from music publishers to review recent works favorably, publishers who, earlier, had chiefly been interested in courting “the dilettante with money in hand.”¹⁰ These reviewers, in other words, may have achieved slightly more autonomy, and for that reason, their reviews could be either positive or negative. And though these reviews may not necessarily have been uniformly flattering, they still would have served a promotional function on a most basic level: they informed the public of the existence of the works. Furthermore, holding true to the modern aphorism that “no press is bad

¹⁰ For instance, Thomas Bauman has argued, using these words, that reviewers writing for the *Deutsche Bibliothek* were aware that publishers wanted their reviews to help sell the works in question. See Thomas Bauman, “The Music Reviews in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*,” *Acta Musicologica* 49 (1977): 79-80.

press,” it would have been a sign of a composer’s status even for his or her music to be reviewed at all.

From the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, then, there were two fundamental ways that a text could promote a musical work: by informing the public of its availability, or by attempting to convince the public of its quality.¹¹ Hence I consider to be promotional any published text that performs either or both of those functions. As we saw above, these functions could be joined together in one text, as in announcements published earlier in this period, or they could be split, as in periodicals from the early to mid-nineteenth century onwards.

We will see below the ways in which dedications to Haydn, Schumann, and Liszt functioned promotionally in the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, but the stage for this kind of promotion was set earlier in the eighteenth century, when the names of patron-dedicatees were often conspicuously included in advertisements. The announcement for Dandrieu’s works (1724, quoted above), for instance, names the dedicatee—the king—before it names the composer, ensuring by association with the king both the quality of the works and the skill of the composer.

BOOK of Pieces for Harpsichord, containing many *Divertissemens*, of which the main ones are the characters of War, those of the Hunt, and the Village Celebration. Dedicated to the King. By *François Dandrieu*, Organiste of the Chapel of His Majesty & of the Parish of St. Merry 1724.

This prominent placement of the dedicatee’s name (or title) in the announcement suggests that the publisher was aware of its promotional value. Of course, publishers may also have included the name of the

¹¹ As discussed in the Introduction to this dissertation, there emerged in the eighteenth century a “public” capable of supporting this kind of musical print culture.

dedicatee in such an announcement because they were or felt obligated to acknowledge publicly the financial support that enabled the composing or publishing of the works. The practical motivation for mentioning the dedicatee, however, does not negate the promotional effect of the name in the announcement.

This practice persisted later into the century; several announcements for Mozart's "op. 1" in 1764 mention the dedication to Madame Victoire, declaring specifically that

The Princess Victoire has been graciously pleased to accept the most submissive dedication of a few sonatas, which are shortly to appear in print, composed by this master, a child.¹²

The report then includes a German translation of the dedication letter in full. As with the Dandrieu advertisement, the works are associated first with their dedicatees and only subsequently with their composers, emphasizing the name and status of the princess over that of Mozart.

The fact that virtually identical announcements were simultaneously printed in Vienna, Regensburg, and Bamberg attests to the thriving, fairly widespread nature of musical print culture at this time, and also suggests that the broad public for published music would have been somewhat familiar with this kind of advertisement. Furthermore, the increasing competition between a growing number of publishing houses may have made this kind of

¹² *Hochfürstlich-Bambergische wochentliche Frag- und Anzeige-Nachrichten* (30 March, 1764); the same announcement was printed in Regensburg's *Kurzgefasste Historische Nachrichten* (1764), while a similar one appeared in the *Wienerisches Diarium* (4 April, 1764). This translation is from Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, transl. Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe, and Jeremy Noble (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), 31. Originally quoted in Otto Erich Deutsch and Joseph Heinz Eibl, *Mozart: Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), 23. "Die Prinzessin Victoire, haben die unerthänigste Zueignung einiger Sonaten, welche ehestens im Druck erscheinen werden, von der Composition dieses Meisters, einem Kind, gnädigst aufzunehmen geruhet."

announcement all the more necessary. It is in this context, then, that we shall consider the promotional function of dedications to composers.

Haydn as Accidental Patron

In the international musical community of the late eighteenth century, there was no greater celebrity than Haydn.¹³ The complete list of dedications to him in Table 2.1 spans the years 1784 and 1809. Interestingly, the majority of them are either string quartets or keyboard sonatas, genres in which Haydn himself was widely published.¹⁴ His op. 20 string quartets were published in five distinct locales between 1774 and 1800—in Paris, Offenbach, London, Amsterdam, and Vienna—and appeared many more times both in score and arranged in various guises. Many sets of Haydn’s keyboard sonatas were also published repeatedly, including Hob. XVI: 21-26, which appeared at least five times between 1774 and 1784 in Vienna, Amsterdam, London, and Paris.¹⁵

¹³ Haydn’s fame is illustrated most clearly in Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c.1750 to c.1810* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001).

¹⁴ Certainly Haydn was widely published in many genres, including the symphony, piano trio, and other chamber music genres, making it difficult to explain why composers chose to dedicate to him primarily string quartets and piano sonatas. A quick perusal of the works by Ries, Pleyel, and both Rombergs, however, reveals one possible explanation: those genres—including the string quartet, piano sonatas, and also chamber music more broadly—were more often adorned with dedications than other kinds of music. But that argument still does not explain why composers would choose the string quartet over other chamber genres. It is possible that this pattern of dedications in fact reveals a pattern of Haydn reception; perhaps these composers knew or respected Haydn’s string quartets and piano sonatas more than his other works.

¹⁵ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1 (Mainz: B. Schott, 1957), 750-754.

Table 2.1: Works dedicated to Joseph Haydn

composer	work	instr.	publ.	source
Pleyel, Ignaz**	op. 2: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Vienna: Graeffe, 1784	HW
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	6 String Quartets, "op. 10"	str qt	Vienna: Artaria, 1785	HW
Gyrowetz, Adalbert	op. 2: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Paris: Imbault, 1789	HW
Kospath, Otto Carl Erdmann	op. 8: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Offenbach: André, 1789	HW
Grill, Franz	op. 3: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Offenbach: André, 1790	HW
Tomes, Frantisek Václav	op. 1: 3 Sonatas	pf/hpd, vn, c	London: Longman & Broderip, 1792	NG
Latrobe, C. J.	op. 3: 3 Sonatas	pf	London: Latrobe, 1793	HV
Eybler, Joseph	op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Vienna: Eybler, 1794	HW
Bathelemon, Cecilia Maria**	op. 3: Sonata	hpd/pf	1794	HV
Jadin, Louis Emmanuelle	op. 12: 3 Sonatas	pf	Paris: Frères Gaveaux, 1794	HW
Bertini, Bénéoit-Auguste**	op. 1: 3 Grand Sonatas	pf with vn acc.	London: ? [1795]	HW
Haensel, Peter**	op. 5: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Offenbach: André, 1795	HW
Haigh, Thomas**	op. 8: 3 Sonatas	pf with vn acc.	London: ? 1795	NG
Haigh, Thomas**	op. 10: 3 Sonatas	pf with vn acc.	1795	NG
Jadin, Hyacinthe	op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Paris: Magasin de musique, 1795	HW
Beethoven**	op. 2: 3 Sonatas	hpd/pf	Vienna: Artaria, 1796	NG
Graeff, J. G.*	3 Quartets	fl, vn, T, vc	London: F. Linley, 1797	HV
Struck, Paul**	op. 1: 3 Sonatas	hpd/pf, vn acc.	Offenbach: André, 1797	HV
Wölfl, Joseph	op. 5: 3 Trios	pf trio	Augsburg ? 1798	HV
Brandl, Johann	op. 17: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Heilbronn: Amon, 1799	HW
Cramer, J. B.	op. 22: 3 Sonatas	pf	Vienna: Artaria, 1799-1801	LPF
Lessel* **	op. 2: 3 Sonatas	pf	Vienna: Veigl, 1800	HV
Neukomm, Sigismund Ritter von	Fantaisie à grand orchestre	orch	Leipzig: Kühnel, [1800-1809]	R
Bachmann, Gottlob	op. 15: String Quartet	str qt	[lost] 1800	HW
Romberg, Bernhard	op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Paris: Vogt, 1801	HW
Wikmanson, Johann	op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1801	HW
Eberl, Anton*	op. 12: Grande Sonate caractéristique	pf	Leipzig: Kühnel, [1802]	HV
Mederitsch-Gallus, Johann	op. 6: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Vienna: Traeg, 1802	HW
Romberg, Andreas	op. 2: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Bonn: Simrock, 1802	HW
Schultesius	Variations on "Ricociliazione Fra due Amici"	pf	Augsburg: Gombart, 1803	HV

Table 2.1 continued

Tomasini, Louis**	Trois duos	2 vn	Vienna: F. Mollo, 1803	AMZ
Weber, Edmund von**	op. 8: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Augsburg: Gombart, 1804	HW
Hummel, Johann Nepomuk	op. 13: Sonata	pf	Vienna: Bureau d'arts et d'Industrie, 1805	HV
Radicati, Felice Alessandro	op. 16: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Vienna: Artaria, 1809	HW
Ries, Ferdinand	op. 11: 2 Grand Sonatas	pf	Bonn: Simrock, 1808	FRTC
Benincori, Angelo	op. 8: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Paris: Naderman, 1809	HW
Leidesdorf, Maximilian Joseph	Grand Trio	pf, fl, va	Vienna: Bureau d'arts et d'Industrie, ?	HV
Campbell, Alexander*	12 Songs from the Mountains of Scotland	pf	Edinburgh: ?	HV
Albrechtsberger* ¹⁶	Canone perpetuo a 4. Voci	[4 voices]	?	HV
Dalberg*	Über die Musik der Indien.	[book]	?	HV
Stadler * ¹⁷	?	?	?	HV

- * dedications recorded only in Elssler's catalogue (1804-5) of Haydn's library¹⁸
- ** composers who were students of Haydn
- boldface works discussed below
- HV *Haydn Verzeichnis*: Elssler's catalogue of Haydn's works, as transcribed in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* vol. 5, 299-329
- HW Horst Walter, "Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette," in *Joseph Haydn Tradition und Rezeption* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1985), 17-53
- NG *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* articles on Beethoven, Haigh, and Tomes (accessed July 2007
(<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu:2048>))
- LPF *The London Pianoforte School 1766-1860*, vol. 10, ed. Nicholas Temperley (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984)
- FRTC Cecil Hill, *Ferdinand Ries: a Thematic Catalogue* (Armidale, N.S.W.: University of New England, 1977)
- AMZ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 6 (9 November 1803), 88
- R Sibley Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

¹⁶ Landon reproduces this little piece, and speculates that Albrechtsberger wrote it for Haydn's birthday in 1808. See Landon, vol. 5, 343-4.

¹⁷ Elssler lists no other information about this work, only that it was dedicated to Haydn.

¹⁸ These are works whose dedications can be verified only by Elssler's catalogue. Some of them may have been "presentation" copies, in which case the dedications might have been made privately by hand and never published in the score. We know this to be the case, for instance, of Albrechtsberger's work. (See above.) For a transcription of this catalogue, see H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* vol. 5 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 299-329.

One might conclude from this large number of dedications simply that Haydn had garnered a great deal of respect from his contemporaries. Certainly this is true. But why might these contemporaries have displayed their respect so publicly? Partly because they were doing more than showing respect. The epistles and announcements examined below suggest that composers and publishers were using Haydn's name as an advertisement, hoping that their works might sell more quickly if they could convince their readership that Haydn had inspired and possibly approved of them.

Six works or sets of works dedicated to Haydn contain epistles, which constitute the largest known corpus of composer-to-composer dedicatory epistles in the history of music. Mozart's set, the most famous, was also the first (1785), published one year after the first known dedication to Haydn, that of Pleyel's op. 2. Following Mozart's epistle were Joseph Eybler's in 1794, Johann Brandl's in 1799, Bernhard Romberg's in 1801, Andreas Romberg's in 1802, and Angelo Benincori's, published after Haydn's death in 1809. These epistles will be studied here because they are the earliest group of documents exemplifying the promotional use of the composer-to-composer dedication.

The dedicatory epistle, the most elaborate public dedicatory text, gradually fell out of fashion in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Historically, it emerged as a genre in literature in the third and fourth centuries C.E., gradually becoming common practice by approximately 1500.¹⁹ In music, dedicatory epistles are first found in sixteenth-century Italian

¹⁹ Wolfgang Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580-1715)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1965), 23; quoted in Ulrich Maché, "Author and Patron: On the Function of Dedications in Seventeenth-Century German Literature," in *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire: 1555-1720*, ed. James A. Parente, Jr., Richard Erich Schade, and George C. Schoolfield (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 195.

publications, most commonly in collections of madrigals.²⁰ The practice seems to have peaked in both literature and music during the absolutist age of the seventeenth century, in which dedicatory epistles became so lengthy and so excessively flattering that several contemporary authors published tracts mocking their writing style.²¹

As a more modern market economy gradually emerged in the course of the eighteenth century, however, the lengthy dedicatory epistle to the patron became increasingly infrequent. Self-published works, for instance, by composers such as Telemann and C.P.E. Bach tended not to have dedications, mainly because there was often no patron to thank for supporting the printing costs. Perhaps due in part to the decline of patronage beginning in the late eighteenth century and the emergence of powerful publishing houses in London in the early part of the century, Paris in the mid-century, and Vienna, Amsterdam, and Leipzig in the later eighteenth century, dedicatory epistles to patrons all but disappeared by 1800.²² A few of Mozart's works—mostly from the 1760s (K. 6-7, 8-9, 26-31, and, later, 301-306)—include dedicatory letters to

²⁰ Some examples of such publications with epistles include collections of five-voice madrigals by Perissone Cambio (1545), dedicated to Gottardo Ochagna; by Claudio Merulo (1566), dedicated to Ottavio Farnese; and by Marc-Antonio Ingegneri (1578), dedicated to Giacomo Gadio.

²¹ These include: Thomas Dekker, *O per se O* (London, 1648); Antoine Furetière, "Somme dédicatoire," in *Le Roman Bourgeois*, (1666); Pierre Richelet, "Réflexions sur l'Épître dédicatoire," in *Les plus belles lettres des meilleurs auteurs français* (Lyon, 1689); Thomas Gordon, *A Dedication to a Great Man, Concerning Dedications* (Dublin, 1719); and Friedrich Peter Tacke, *Commentatio Historica et Literaria Dedicationibus Librorum* (Wolfenbüttel: Christoph Meisner, 1733).

²² The possible causal relationship between the decline of the dedicatory epistle and the emergence of publishing houses has not been explored. In their study of German literature in this period, Helmut Kiesel and Paul Münch, however, have suggested that German writers in the second half of the eighteenth century came to stop dedicating works to patrons because patrons no longer paid them. In order to make a living, therefore, and inspired by rumors of independent writers outside their own borders (e.g., Pope in England), they began to seek financial support from publishers. They, as well as composers, may still have offered dedications to their peers (as we have seen here), but such acts seem not to have required as much flowery language. See Kiesel and Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1977), 79-80.

patrons, as does C.P.E. Bach's *6 Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen* (1760), but there are only a handful of dedicatory letters from composers to patrons between 1760 and 1783, and hardly any after 1783,²³ the date of Pleyel's dedication of his six string quartets, op. 1, to Count Ladislaus Erdödy, which includes an epistle. (See below.)

Given this historical context, then, the dedication letters to Haydn, dating from 1784 to 1811, seem to be attempts to reformulate a declining practice in order to accommodate a new kind of musical market, one in which composers earned their living increasingly from publishing houses rather than from patrons or employers. When, in the late eighteenth century, large numbers of composers began selling works directly to publishers, who would earn their profit from sales to the public, it came to be in the publisher's best interest to buy works that would sell quickly. A dedication to Haydn, therefore, would have appealed to the publisher because it promised to attract a broad paying public for Haydn's music. And it could attract this public most directly through the use of two kinds of texts: dedicatory epistles and announcements in periodicals.

* * *

In order to understand the promotional function of these texts—and dedicatory epistles in particular—we must first examine them in the context of their genres. Exactly what sorts of tropes define the epistle? When epistles reached their peak in popularity in the seventeenth century, their flowery, flattering language served several functions that might be considered

²³ Dedicatory epistles published between 1760 and 1783 include Carlo Graziani's dedication to Maximilien Joseph of his op. 2 cello sonatas (1760); Tommaso Giordani's dedication to John O'Neill of six quintets (1771); and Jean-Baptiste Canavas's dedication to Barbaut de Glatigny of his op. 2 violin sonatas (1773).

promotional in the way that it highlights the status of the dedicator and dedicatee (see Chapter 1): it typically acknowledged the generosity, wealth, and learnedness of the patron, stressed the quality of the relationship between composer and patron, and demonstrated the rhetorical skill of the author.²⁴ Eighteenth-century dedicatory epistles were generally shorter than their predecessors; much of their symbolic rhetoric was distilled into about half a page of text. A typical example of this kind of language exists in the epistle accompanying Pleyel's op. 1 string quartets (1783), dedicated to his patron, Count Erdödy; a brief analysis of it will elucidate some of the tropes common to the genre and facilitate the examination of epistles to Haydn.

Illustrious Count,

Permit me to dedicate to you with the deepest respect these musical compositions of mine that, by their publication, see for the first time the light of day. To your kindness, paternal care, and your encouragement are indebted all the graces and all the life of my art. Regard this first offering of my public efforts (*fatigue*) as the smallest part of those very grateful feelings for which my whole life would be too short, were I to wish to express them to you in a worthy manner. I wrote these quartets in Italy, and, therefore, according to the taste prevailing there, they are neither so difficult in their execution, nor so deep in their art as my previous ones, but composed for the purpose of being more approachable and agreeable. The name I affix to them, that of a true connoisseur and lover of the noble art of music, will hide all of the faults that they may have. May you only receive them with benign feelings . . . I will be rewarded enough.

His illustrious Lordship's most humble servant,
Ignaz Pleyel²⁵

²⁴ Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur*. For more on the exchange between patrons and composers in the Renaissance, see Rob Wegman, "Musical Offerings in the Renaissance," *Early Music* 23 (August, 2005), 425-437.

²⁵ Translated by David Rosen, Stefania Neonato, and the author. Reprinted in Rita Benton, *Ignaz Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), 100. This, and all other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century dedicatory epistles cited here, appears in its original language in Appendix A.

First, Pleyel flatters the dedicatee, mentioning specifically that the Count is kind, caring, and encouraging, and that these characteristics in fact contributed to the very existence of Pleyel's compositional skill. The implication that the dedicatee enabled the existence of the works—and thus was somehow an accomplice in their creation—is also typical, and will resurface in the discussion below. Pleyel then expresses humility, claiming that he does not have the means to show his full gratitude to the Count for some unnamed generosity. This remark, coupled with the earlier reference to the composer's "debt" to the Count, implies, in a typically veiled manner, the existence of some sort of past financial agreement between the two parties. (In fact, the Count had financed Pleyel's studies with Haydn at Eisenstadt, 1772-7.)²⁶ In another traditional rhetorical turn, Pleyel then refers to his works as "efforts" (*fatiche*), obliquely reminding us of the human exertion of composition.²⁷ (It should be noted, however, that Pleyel's remark regarding the works' Italian style is atypical; this kind of language about musical content was often reserved for the preface, when present.) Pleyel's closing remarks return to flattery of the dedicatee, specifically complimenting the Count's taste in music. The assertion that the Count's name "will hide all of the faults" of these works is also typical; it is a plea for the dedicatee's protection, in the hope that critics will be less inclined to find fault with works that are associated with such an "illustrious" figure. Finally, Pleyel closes the letter by naming himself as the dedicatee's "most humble servant," a phrase, common to most eighteenth-century dedications, that solidifies the difference in status between dedicator and dedicatee.

²⁶ Rita Benton, *Ignaz Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue*, 100.

²⁷ Bonds has noted that words related to *fatica* traditionally refer to labor in dedicatory epistles. See Bonds, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery," 368.

Pleyel's epistle, then, illustrates the following typical tropes: the author's humility; flattery of the dedicatee's generosity, taste, and status; the implication that the dedicatee's generosity has enabled and influenced the production of the works; the implication of a prior contract or relationship of some kind between the author and dedicatee; some mention of the process of creating the works; a plea for protection; and a reference to the author as a "servant" to the dedicatee.²⁸ Although the practice of the dedicatory epistle was in decline at this time, this example shows that the diminished number still in circulation maintained the standard rhetoric so firmly established in the seventeenth century—rhetoric also echoed in the composer-to-composer dedications examined below.

* * *

Of the six epistles to Haydn, only Mozart's has been previously considered in the literature. Historically, the letter has almost exclusively been taken to be a kind of published private letter to Haydn. H. C. Robbins Landon includes it in his collection of Haydn documents, presenting it as a letter like any other of Haydn's correspondence,²⁹ as do Emily Anderson, Wilhelm Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch in their collections of Mozart letters.³⁰ Mark Evan Bonds cites the epistle as the only evidence of a "correspondence" between the two composers,³¹ while Maynard Solomon reads it as confirmation that Mozart viewed Haydn as a kind of father-figure,³² and

²⁸ These topoi can be found in seventeenth-century French dedicatory letters as well, as argued by Leiner in *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur*. Ulrich Maché has argued that the practices of dedicatory epistles in Germany "did not vary appreciably from those in France and England." See Maché, "Author and Patron," 196.

²⁹ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: A Documentary Study* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), 87.

³⁰ *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, trans. and ed. Emily Anderson (New York: Norton, 1989), 891-2; *Mozart Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, vol. 3, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 404.

³¹ Bonds, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery," 365.

³² Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 315-6.

Köchel calls the letter a heartfelt dedication (*herzliche Dedikation*).³³ The document can, of course, be read as part of a sincere private relationship, as these scholars suggest; however, given the lack of any record of a private correspondence between the two composers, and because this letter was published and written in Italian—presumably not a language that the two native German speakers would ordinarily use for communication—it seems more appropriate to interpret this dedicatory epistle as a primarily public document, albeit one with possible private implications.³⁴

To my dear friend Haydn,

A father, having resolved to send his children into the great world, considered it necessary to entrust them to the protection and guidance of a man very celebrated at the time, who by good fortune was also his best friend. — In like manner, celebrated man and dearest friend, here are my six children. — They are, it is true, the fruit of a long and laborious effort, but the hope given to me by several friends that I shall see it in some degree rewarded gives me courage and tempts me to believe that these offspring will some day be a comfort to me. — During your most recent sojourn in this capital you yourself, my very dear friend, demonstrated to me your satisfaction with them. — This approval of yours above all encourages me to commend them to you, and makes me hope that they will not seem entirely unworthy of your favor. — May it therefore please you to receive them benignly and be to them a father, guide, and friend! From this moment I cede to you my rights over them. I entreat you, however, to view with leniency the

³³ Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts*, (Breitkopf and Härtel: Wiesbaden, 1964), 431.

³⁴ There is also uncertain evidence regarding the authorship of this letter. First, no autograph exists today, though Bauer and Deutsch report that at one time an autograph was in the possession of Artaria & Co. (See *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, vol. 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971), 238.) Even if such a document existed, there is no guarantee it would have been in Mozart's hand. We do know that Mozart's knowledge of Italian was quite good, and that, if he had not been able to complete the letter himself in its idiomatic, high style, he probably could have written at least a good deal of it on his own, and he could have drafted a German version. He then could have received help from a number of native Italians with whom he was friendly, including Lorenzo Da Ponte or Artaria himself, as has been suggested to me by James Webster and Neal Zaslaw. Because the topic here is reception and the letter is presented to the reader as Mozart's, the precise authorship is less of an issue. I refer to Mozart as the author, then, because it is plausible that he wrote it, and because the letter was certainly received to be by him. For a discussion of Mozart's knowledge of the Italian language, see Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Mozart und die italienische Sprache," in *Europa im Zeitalter Mozarts*, ed. Moritz Csáky and Walter Pass (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 372-380.

defects that the partiality of a father's eye may have concealed from me and, despite them, to continue your generous friendship towards one who so highly appreciates it. Meanwhile, I remain with all my heart,

dearest friend,
Vienna, 1 September 1785

your most sincere friend,
W. A. Mozart

Bonds is in fact the only scholar to read Mozart skeptically; he proposes that Mozart's dedication "cannot be accepted entirely at face value," and analyzes the epistle in the context of traditional dedicatory rhetoric.³⁵ He then proceeds to a Bloomian interpretation of the relationship between Mozart's set of string quartets published as op. 10 and Haydn's string quartets opp. 20 and 33. Because this chapter is not concerned with musical analysis, Bonds's conclusions will not be discussed here (though the issue of allusion is addressed in Chapter 4.) The following analysis is, however, indebted to his examination of Mozart's use of "clichés of dedicatory rhetoric."

First, Mozart is humble, in his reference to the "study" or labor (*fatica*) that these works required of him;³⁶ this epistle tells us, in other words, that the quartets were the result of work, not of sheer effortless inspiration. He also flatters the dedicatee, referring to Haydn as "celebrated," to Haydn's opinion as "good," and to Haydn's friendship as "generous." Evident in Pleyel's epistle as well, such phrases are typical rhetorical gestures of dedications, praising as they do the dedicatee's reputation, taste, and comportment.³⁷ Bonds also points to the metaphor of the parent-child relationship between author and work,³⁸ as well as to "the account of how the artist has overcome

³⁵ Bonds, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery," 370.

³⁶ See note 27.

³⁷ Wolfgang Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580-1715)* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1965), 51-72.

³⁸ Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 59-62. Cited in Bonds, 367.

doubts about his own work through the encouragement of friends and of the dedicatee himself, [the] request for indulgence toward the works' imperfections and [the] concluding appeal for their protection."³⁹ All of this language invokes the traditional topics of humility and flattery.

In his observation of such rhetoric, however, Bonds overlooks significant ways in which Mozart's letter differs from the traditional template. The most striking of these is Mozart's use of the word *friend* (*amico*). Contrary to much of the standard language of the dedicatory letter, here the word appears in excess. The dedication uses *friendship* (*amicizia*) once and *friend* seven times, all but once directly or indirectly referencing Mozart's relationship to Haydn, the most obvious instances being the salutation and closing. Even if they had referenced friendship from the dedicatee, earlier dedicators would refer to their own role in their relationship to the dedicatee as *obedient* or *obligated servants*, as seen above in Pleyel's dedication to Count Erdödy, thus emphasizing the dedicator's inferior position with respect to the dedicatee. Here, Mozart claims instead that he is Haydn's friend, and Haydn his—that the friendship is in fact mutual. This language is unusual; no other dedicatory letter from this period or earlier refers to the dedicatee in these terms, particularly in the salutation, a place usually reserved for the dedicatee's many honorary titles.⁴⁰ Further confirming the impression of equality between the two composers is Mozart's use of the familiar *tu*; dedicatory letters typically address the dedicatee with formal pronouns like *voi*, presumably to emphasize the difference in status between dedicator and

³⁹ Bonds, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery," 366-7.

⁴⁰ There are two exceptions to this statement: first, Godefroy Eckard's dedication to Pierre Gaviniès of his op. 1 harpsichord sonatas (1763) states that the dedicatee is Eckard's friend. Second, Mozart's title page does list Haydn's honorary titles. It would have been customary nonetheless to refer to the dedicatee's status in some way in the salutation.

dedicatee. Indeed, the letter, as Webster has noted, "may protest too much" the closeness between the two composers.⁴¹

Mozart alters yet another trope of the dedicatory letter in order to suggest that he and Haydn have equal status: the unusual use of the metaphor of fatherhood. This metaphor was subtly exploited in the Pleyel dedication⁴² and had been fairly common, at least in sixteenth-century English dedications, in which authors often referred to their works as their "children" and asked their patrons to assume the role of the surrogate parent in protecting those children.⁴³ Mozart is clearly drawing on this tradition,⁴⁴ but in an exaggerated and perhaps deliberately confusing manner. The letter's opening is an extended metaphor in which Mozart describes himself as the father of his pieces, pieces which he would like to "entrust" to Haydn's protection. Later, Mozart explicitly entreats Haydn to be their "father, guide, and friend," but then reemphasizes his own fatherly role, asking Haydn to overlook any mistakes that escaped the "partiality of a father's eye"; he seems to want Haydn to be the father of his quartets while still retaining that title himself. And if dedications are a kind of gift-giving, this attempt at acknowledging a split provenance for the music makes sense. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Weiner has argued that some gifts can be retained both by the giver and receiver.⁴⁵

⁴¹ James Webster and Georg Feder, *The New Grove Haydn* (Palgrave, NY: MacMillan, 2002), 28.

⁴² The second sentence of Pleyel's dedication reads: "Alla sua bontà, alla sua paterna cura, ed al suo Incoraggiamento devonsi le grazie, e tutto la vita dell'arte mia."

⁴³ Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, 59-62. The only example known to me of this kind of language in a musical context is in a letter written from Maria Theresia von Paradis to Gottfried August Bürger, published at the opening of her setting of his *Lenore* (1789). While this letter does not quite function as a dedication, it does use several typical dedicatory tropes, including this kind of parental metaphor.

⁴⁴ This tradition of referring to the work as a "child" does not seem to have carried over as strongly into the eighteenth century, perhaps because dedications in this period did not employ the kind of rich metaphorical language as before.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 1, note 61.

Behind this overwrought language of friendship and fatherhood lie deeper implications about the authorship of the quartets, and it is here that the epistle begins to look like an advertisement. First, the stated friendship between Haydn and Mozart, as well as the implied shared “fatherhood” of the quartets, gives the impression that the two composers have equal status, and, perhaps as a result, that they are equally skilled composers. And this implication of equality could be extended to the works in question, suggesting that Mozart’s quartets are equal in quality to Haydn’s. In fact, the epistle also implies that Haydn may have thought this himself, as it claims that, “during your last stay in this capital, you yourself, my very dear friend, expressed to me your approval of these compositions.” The letter is determined to prove that Haydn not only spent time with the author, but thought highly of his work.

In a yet more obvious appeal to Haydn's audience, and following in the tradition of advertisements like those for Dandrieu’s and Mozart’s earlier works, Artaria’s advertisement for Mozart’s quartets, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* in September 1785, names the dedicatee prominently:

Mozart’s works call for no special praise, so that it should be quite superfluous to go into details; it need only be affirmed that here is a masterpiece. This may be taken as the more certain since the author has dedicated this work to his friend Joseph Haydn, Kapellmeister to Prince Esterházy, who has honored it with all the approval of which a man of great genius is alone worthy.⁴⁶

Here, it is the dedication to Haydn that “affirms” the “certainty” that Mozart’s works are a “masterpiece.” In a final attempt to solidify the impression that Mozart’s works are of high quality, the announcement uses the dedication as

⁴⁶ *Wiener Zeitung* (17 Sept. 1785); quoted and translated in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, transl. Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe, and Jeremy Noble (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), 252.

an opportunity to mention Haydn's "approval" of Mozart's works—language that is itself borrowed from the rhetoric of dedicatory epistles.

Also written in Vienna by an aspiring young composer, the epistle and announcement for Joseph Eybler's set of string quartets of 1794 appeal to Haydn's audience, though through more uniformly standard dedicatory rhetoric.

To my dear Friend, Mr. Giuseppe Haydn,

Unique and having no equal,

The work which I present here and with all my heart dedicate to you is that same one of which you with so much kindness approved. He who will compare it to yours will see clearly that I'm too little for you, and you are too great for me; but he who knows those rare qualities with which you are adorned, and the unique kindness with which you honor me, will say that I could not choose a better patron, nor could I find a better way to express my gratitude. Accept it then with that same kindness you show me, and, since it is the first result of my efforts which I send into the big world, protect it, I pray you, with all your authority. The great name you have acquired throughout Europe with your unique works will quiet those who, purely out of envy, would try to discredit this work, and will make compassionate those who would argue with you. Both of these [effects of your name] will suffice to increase endlessly my obligations to you as well as the joy I feel in giving you, with my dedication, a public pledge of the great respect and special veneration I profess to you.

Your most obligated Friend and Servant,

Giuseppe Eybler

Vienna, 28 February, 1794⁴⁷

In most of the language of this letter, Eybler depicts Haydn as his patron, even identifying him as such. Unlike Mozart, he explicitly describes his own status as low and Haydn's as high, addresses Haydn with the more formal *voi*, and flatters his reputation. The two epistles do share, however, two obvious rhetorical gestures, and it is this similarity that leads me to agree with Bonds's

⁴⁷ Underlining marks passages relevant to this discussion. Reprinted in Walter, "Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette," 37-8. See Appendix A for original Italian.

assertion that Eybler may have used Mozart's letter as a model.⁴⁸ First, Eybler opens and closes the letter with the word *friend (amico)*, using rhetoric that creates the impression that the feeling of friendship between the two composers is mutual; he suggests that Haydn is his friend and that he is Haydn's. Eybler also states that Haydn has already approved his quartets, clearly aiming to assert, like Mozart, the quality of the works as well as the prior relationship between the two composers. Using more conventional language, Eybler's letter suggests, albeit more subtly than Mozart's, that his works will appeal to Haydn's audience.

Perhaps most striking about this letter, however, is that Eybler reveals to us exactly how Haydn's name in the dedication functions as an advertisement. Eybler tells Haydn that his "great name" will "quiet those who, purely out of envy, would try to discredit this work, and will make compassionate those who would argue with you." In effect, Haydn's name quiets all criticism because of his great reputation as a composer, and it is this reputation that will secure the "compassion" towards—the success of—Eybler's work. The letter acknowledges, therefore, that the dedication itself is enough to associate Eybler's works with Haydn's reputation.

And again, as with Mozart's dedication, the announcement for these quartets uses Haydn's name prominently as a promotional tool. Eybler publicized his own works by claiming that:

[Mr. Eybler] can say nothing more favorable to recommend these quartets to Amateurs than that they were so fortunate as to please the so famous and beloved Kapellmeister, Hr. Joseph Haydn, so much that he gave the accommodating consent to allow the work to be dedicated to him, and even expressly pledged that he wanted to promote their distribution as much as possible.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Bonds, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery," 369.

⁴⁹ *Wiener Zeitung* (2 May 1794); quoted in Walter, "Haydn gewidmete streichquartette," 38-9.

This announcement, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* in May of 1794, advertises Eybler's works by claiming, much like a dedicatory epistle, that Haydn himself approved the works and generously allowed them to be dedicated to him. In fact, Eybler's advertisement tells us that the dedication is, in effect, the most "favorable" (*vorteilhaft*)—literally, the most convincing—way to promote the work.

When compared to that of its predecessors, the language of Johann Brandl's epistle to Haydn might seem too modest to be considered promotional in any way. Published in 1799, it is more subtle and uses few of the rhetorical devices that I have examined here; instead, only in asking for Haydn's "indulgence" and "protection" does Brandl invoke traditional rhetoric to suggest a prior working relationship between dedicator and dedicatee.

Honorable Kapellmeister!

The unforgettable Mozart's six children, as he called his quartets, have already enjoyed your valuable protection in the musical world. Permit me as well to present to you these current six [quartets] of different parentage, and to recommend them to your benevolent indulgence. These little strangers hasten to find you in distant London, by which you are of late adored, in order to convince you of the unbounded adoration with which I am ever sincerely your most devoted servant,
J. Brandl⁵⁰

Brandl's dedication tells its readership more about his models than about himself or his works; the dedication informs us that Haydn is currently in London,⁵¹ where he is much "adored." And, unlike all other letters examined here after 1785, Brandl names straightaway the "unforgettable Mozart's"

⁵⁰ Reprinted in Walter, "Haydn gewidmete streichquartette," 37.

⁵¹ The publication of Brandl's dedication dates from 1799, when Haydn was in Vienna. As Walter (p. 37) suggests, Brandl may have been misinformed, or his dedication may have been written several years earlier.

dedication as his inspiration. This letter is then doubly promotional by invoking the names and reputations of two famous predecessors: not only Haydn, but Mozart as well. Incidentally, Brandl may have particularly appreciated the potential profits from such “extra” promotion, as he was currently between posts due to the collapse of his Kapellmeistership at Bruchsal.⁵²

* * *

The remaining dedication letters to Haydn exemplify a slight but significant shift in epistolary language after 1800. Whereas all earlier dedication letters were addressed directly to the dedicatee using second-person pronouns, these dedicatory epistles refer to the dedicatee in the third person. Through this new formulation, these epistles are more explicitly directed to the consuming public rather than to the dedicatee. Of course, as implied in the argument above, dedications such as Mozart’s, Eybler’s, and Brandl’s that address the dedicatee directly are also written for the music consumer; here, however, that public function of the epistle is made yet more readily apparent.

In this slightly new epistolary format, these later letters use Haydn’s name for promotion often by subtly implying that the dedicated works have been inspired by Haydn’s compositional style.

⁵² Klaus Häfner and Friedrich Leinert, “Johann Brandl,” *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil*, vol. 3, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994), 835.

To Joseph Haydn,
In presenting this work to the Famous Artist whose learned works are the admiration of Europe, it is an homage that I pay to his sublime Talents. If the Orpheus of the Danube deigns smile on my exertions and accept this feeble effort, it will be the sweetest satisfaction that my Heart could enjoy.
B. Romberg⁵³

To Joseph Haydn,
It is to the man of genius, to the immortal Haydn, whose approval alone is the most flattering praise, that I dedicate a Musical work to which I have given all my care. I dare present it to him as an homage that I owe his sublime talents.

A. Romberg⁵⁴

Nourished on the good principles of the Celebrated Haydn, I confess that it is to him alone that I owe a talent that indulgence has sometimes honored with recognition. It is the admiration that I have dedicated to this Great man that inspired me to the new work that I offer to the public. Nothing flattered me as much as the hope to have appear under his auspices a composition for which his immortal works have served as a model: Unfortunately the death of this Great Master preempted the completion of my enterprise, and discouraged me so much that I was ready to abandon a work upon which I so much desired to know his opinion. Revived by the memory of the attention and sleeplessness that it cost me, I put forth my last effort, and I publish it today, but with the sincere regret of only being able to offer it to the memory of the Author of so many Chef'-d'oeuvres.
Angelo Benincori⁵⁵

Both Rombergs refer to their works specifically as “homages,” implying that these pieces have been so deeply inspired by Haydn’s own writing, or “talents,” that they constitute tributes to his style. Benincori similarly claims Haydn’s influence, declaring that the elder composer's “immortal works” served as a “model.” Not surprisingly because of Haydn’s popularity with

⁵³ Reprinted in Walter, "Haydn gewidmete streichquartette," 45. Underlining indicates passages discussed here.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 44-5.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 36.

publishers and performing groups there, all three of these dedications are from Paris: Bernhard Romberg, a cello virtuoso, and Andreas, a violin virtuoso, had arrived there following several years of a European tour, while Benincori lived in Paris from 1803 until his death in 1821.⁵⁶

Though no extensive announcements akin to those for Mozart and Eybler survive for these three sets of quartets, Andreas Romberg did write a letter to his publisher in 1801 that constitutes perhaps the clearest evidence for the perceived economic advantage to be gained from these dedications. Bernhard, Andreas's cousin, had just published his string quartets dedicated to Haydn in Paris in 1801. Andreas wrote to Simrock in Bonn:

Bernhard has dedicated three quartets to Haydn that have just been published here [in Paris]. I too want to dedicate three quartets to Haydn, and they should be yours [to publish]. Begin right away with the engraving, and leave a page free in the first violin part for the dedication, which I will send you in due course. This dedication will surely not be unappreciated by you, as it will doubtless promote the sale of the works. Now tell me if we don't understand our public—or rather, the world!⁵⁷

Romberg clearly assumes that the dedication will increase the possibility of the works' success, causing him to adopt a strikingly immodest tone; he assumes that Simrock will simply accept the quartets as well as the dedication,

⁵⁶ Alessandro di Profio, "Angelo Maria Benincori," *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Personenteil*, vol. 2, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994), 1111. Haydn's popularity in Paris in this period is evident in the number of his works published there by Pleyel, as well as in the frequency with which his music was played at performance venues such as the *Exercices du Conservatoire* (1801-1815) and the *Concert des Amateurs* (1798-1805).

⁵⁷ Kurt Stephenson, *Andreas Romberg: ein Beitrag zur hamburgischen Musikgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1938), 70; quoted in Walter, "Haydn gewidmete streichquartette," 31-32. Andreas Romberg's quartets were subsequently published by Simrock with the dedication as planned. "Bernhard hat drei Quartetten an Haydn dediziert, die in diesen Tagen hier [in Paris] erscheinen werden. Auch ich will drei Quartette an Haydn dedizieren, und das sollen die Eurigen sein. Fanget den Stich nur gleich an und lasset bei der ersten Violine eine Seite frei für die Dedikation, die ich Euch schon zur rechten Zeit schicken werde. Diese Dedikation wird Euch gewiß nicht unlieb sein, da sie den Abgang der Werke ohne allen Zweifel befördert. Sagt nun einmal, ob wir das Publikum nicht kennen—oder vielmehr die Welt?"

telling him to begin engraving, and claims that his idea for the dedication proves that he understands “the world”!

While Romberg’s letter constitutes the only concrete evidence that these authors were aware of the promotional quality of their dedications, we can hypothesize that others shared his intentions. It is noteworthy that many of the composers who dedicated works to Haydn did not seem to have any personal relationship to the composer. While some were friends or at least friendly acquaintances of Haydn, such as Benincori, Gyrowetz, Latrobe, Mereditsch-Gallus, Radicati, and Wikmanson, others, such as the Jadin brothers, who lived in France and taught at the Paris conservatory, and Kospoth do not seem to have known him personally or professionally. One can assume, then, that these composers, with no friendship or mentorship to acknowledge, specifically intended to use Haydn’s name to promote their works.

Furthermore, whatever the intended purpose of these dedications, the claim of Haydn’s expert endorsement would have appealed to music consumers through the implication that the dedicated works had been inspired by Haydn’s works, and that Haydn himself had verified their quality. In manipulating the standard rhetoric of the dedication letter, these epistles and announcements created the impression that Haydn was a kind of patron, a patron whose expertise in the field lent their works credibility and quality.

Of course, Haydn was not the only composer at the time to receive such flattering epistolary dedications. Françoise-Elizabeth Caraque Desfossez’s offering of her op. 3 piano sonatas (1798) to her teacher, Pleyel, serves the same self-promotional function as the many dedications to Haydn:

To dedicate my work to you is almost to suggest that I would dare to believe it worthy of you, but these feeble sonatas, that your friendship towards me made you listen to with indulgence, will possibly be favorably received by the public when they know that you promised me [that I could] offer them to you, and that I join to the happiness of having you as a friend that of having you as my teacher.⁵⁸

Like so many of the examples cited above, Desfossez openly explains that Pleyel's name should entice the public, making her works "favorably received." Interestingly, she also has concluded that her readership would be curious to know that she not only claims Pleyel as a teacher, but "as a friend." Later, Ferdinand Ries echoes some of these same assertions in his first dedication to his teacher, Beethoven:

The memory of these pleasant hours passed with you will never be erased from my heart; and if my efforts are crowned with some success, it is to your counsel that I will be indebted; [I would be] happy, if I could one day justify a day in the eyes of the public the double and glorious title of the sole student and the friend of such a great master.

Ries says he is not worthy of but also simultaneously claims the title of Beethoven's student and friend, implying that the public would look on him well for being in such proximity to the "great master."

* * *

The analysis of the economic function of dedications thus far has focused on a small number of works published with epistles. Of course, most of the works dedicated to Haydn—as well as most composer-to-composer dedications—are without such attendant texts. Fundamentally, however, a dedication is an *act*; an elaborate letter may elevate the register of the act, but not its purpose. As discussed above, dedications had historically been a way for the author to secure or acknowledge financial generosity. Their purpose,

⁵⁸ Rita Benton, *Pleyel as Music Publisher* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1990,) 64.

in other words, has always been the economic betterment of the author.⁵⁹ The epistles and announcements examined above have revealed a particular way in which dedications functioned promotionally in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Haydn's name was used to lend the works and their authors credibility. One could argue, then, that Haydn's name functioned in the same way for the many other works dedicated to him without epistles. Because of the lesser quantity of evidence, such an argument would be more speculative and would require a detailed examination of each dedication and of the reputation of each composer. Though there is little room here for such an examination of dedications to Haydn, the following discussion presents examples of two such examinations, albeit in the context of a later period.

Liszt the Ambassador, Schumann the Legitimizing

Two factors complicate the interpretation of the socio-economic function of early-to mid-nineteenth-century dedications to peers: their increased number and, as discussed above, their lack of elaborate attendant texts. First, there was no single superstar after 1809 who received as many dedications as Haydn; instead, a larger number of dedications seems to have been spread more evenly across many peer groups. Of course, from the 1820s to the 1850s, Liszt received a number of dedications, but so did Beethoven, Bernhard Romberg, Cherubini, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Moscheles, and Schumann, among others. While the dedications to Haydn were often made

⁵⁹ Stephen Rose discusses these economic purposes of dedications and "presentations" in detail in "The Mechanisms of the Music Trade."

by composers of more limited repute, later dedications tended to involve composers of more nearly equal status, making the dedicatee's promotional role more complicated to identify. Furthermore, the dedicatory epistle had disappeared, and the culture of advertisement had changed gradually such that new works were announced with only the most minimal information.

In order to understand the promotional function of dedications in this period, then, we must ask more questions regarding the context in which the dedications were made: What was the reputation of the dedicator, particularly with regard to the genre being dedicated? And what was the reputation of the dedicatee in that genre? The following discussion will answer those questions with regard to two dedications: Robert Schumann's *Fantasy*, op. 17 (1839), dedicated to Franz Liszt, and Liszt's *B-minor Sonata* (1854), dedicated to Schumann. As we shall see, each composer's name had the potential to function promotionally in quite specific ways: contemporary evidence suggests that Liszt's name promoted Schumann's music in Paris, while Schumann's name helped establish Liszt's reputation as a legitimate composer in Germany.

Prior to Schumann's dedication to Liszt, only two of his works had been published in Paris: the *Impromptus on a Romance by Clara Wieck*, op. 5, published by Richault in 1834, and parts of *Carnaval*, op. 9, published by Schlesinger in 1837.⁶⁰ Petra Schostak has suggested that Richault only took on the variations because of Clara Wieck's reputation in Paris as a performer, making her a kind of ambassador for Schumann's music.⁶¹ Five years later,

⁶⁰ Schumann's reception in Paris is described in Petra Schostak, "Der Kritiker Robert Schumann aus französischen Sicht" and in Damien Ehrhardt, "Der französische und der deutsche Erstdruck von Robert Schumanns *Carnaval*, op. 9," both of which appear in *Robert Schumann und die französischen Romantik*, ed. Ute Bär (Mainz: Schott, 1997), 175-204, and 205-217, respectively.

⁶¹ Schostak, "Der Kritiker Robert Schumann," 178.

Liszt's name may have functioned similarly when published on the score of Breitkopf and Härtel's edition of the Fantasy.

Breitkopf and Härtel had an agent in Paris, Heinrich Probst,⁶² whose job it was both to acquire the rights to music that the firm could publish in Leipzig as well as to sell the rights to the firm's own music to publishers in Paris. Liszt's name on the title page of Schumann's music would have been attractive to those publishers; Schumann may therefore have placed it there as a way to entice those publishers to buy the rights to the work through Probst, much as Andreas Romberg attempted to use Haydn's name to make his quartets attractive to Simrock. In fact, in 1837, Liszt publicly requested that Schumann expand, through whatever means, his distribution to include Paris, writing in a review that he hoped that Schumann would "soon make known to France such of his productions as have hitherto been confined to Germany."⁶³

In 1839, Liszt's name would have helped "expand" the "distribution" of Schumann's Fantasy primarily because of Liszt's reputation in Paris as a performer. At this time, Liszt was on the cusp of his most professionally successful period as a pianist; in that very year, he embarked on an eight-year tour that secured his place as the most famous pianist in Europe at the time. Previously, he had spent his young adult life already touring Europe fairly extensively; he had, for instance, performed in western and southern France in 1826, Switzerland in 1827, in Paris (following a period of illness) from 1832-6,⁶⁴

⁶² Information regarding Breitkopf and Härtel's relationship with Probst comes primarily from his letters, published in *Breitkopf and Härtel in Paris: the Letters of their Agent Heinrich Probst between 1833 and 1840*, transl. Hans Lenneberg (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990).

⁶³ Franz Liszt, *Gazette Musicale de Paris* (12 Nov., 1837), quoted and transl. in Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, *Life of Robert Schumann*, transl. A. L. Alger (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1975), 268-9.

⁶⁴ Liszt's concerts from 1832 to 1834 were chiefly collaborative; he did not give a solo concert in Paris between the years 1828 and 1835, when he appeared in concert on April 9 at the Hôtel de Ville. This long hiatus was partly due to his long period of illness from 1829 to 1832. See

and in Milan, Venice, and Vienna in 1837-8. Above all, because of his years of residence there from 1827-36, Liszt had cultivated the largest following in Paris, where he had quickly become a prominent member of a circle of composer-performers including Thalberg, Chopin, Hiller, Kalkbrenner, and Herz. Many accounts survive attesting not only to his pianistic abilities but also to his general popularity. Berlioz, for instance, reports on Liszt's appearance at Erard's salons:

Never, perhaps, has this great artist excited the Parisian musical world to such a degree as during these last weeks. [...] Mr. Erard's salons were invaded more than once in a way that seldom occurs even when a full concert is trumpeted in all the newspapers and advertised on huge placards at all the street corners.⁶⁵

Later in this same review, describing Liszt's interpretation of Beethoven's *Hammerklavier* Sonata, op. 106, "that sublime poem which until now has been the riddle of the Sphinx for almost every pianist," Berlioz proclaims that "Liszt, a new Oedipus, has solved it in a manner which would have made the composer, had he heard it in his grave, thrill with pride and joy."⁶⁶ Though Liszt still had not performed in any major German cities by December 1838, the month in which Schumann may have decided on the dedication, Schumann would have known of Liszt's virtuosic style and reputation from the concert reports that regularly appeared in his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, describing the musical life of Paris and other cultural centers.

Schumann would have had ample reason to seek help from Liszt's reputation in the advertisement of his works, for in 1838 his reputation as a

Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt by Himself and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 66-7.

⁶⁵ Hector Berlioz, *La Revue et Gazette Musicale* (12 June, 1836); transl. and quoted in *Portrait of Liszt*, transl. and ed. Adrian Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 77.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

composer was still limited. In Paris in particular, where Liszt was creating such a sensation, Schumann was known more as an editor than as a composer; only two of his works had been published there.⁶⁷ In fact, Liszt had reviewed these works for the *Gazette Musicale*, and in this review had acknowledged the lack of popular appeal of Schumann's music, stating that it belonged to a type "whose veiled beauties are only visible to the watchful eye of him who seeks lovingly and perseveringly, but which the fickle and absent crowd pass coldly by."⁶⁸

Schumann's invisibility as a composer at this time was certainly caused by his fundamental difficulty in getting his works published. In the early stages of writing the Fantasy, for instance, when he still considered it a "Sonata for Beethoven," he had offered the work to two publishers—Carl Friedrich Kistner in Leipzig and Tobias Haslinger in Vienna—and had received no response.⁶⁹ Kurt Hofmann has argued, in fact, that until the "middle of the nineteenth" century, it was a "losing deal" (*Verlustgeschäft*) for any publisher to issue Schumann's works.⁷⁰ Schumann himself alluded to his own limited reputation when he wrote on 8 February 1838, to Simonin de Sire: "I know my path is a fairly lonely one, with no large crowd cheering along the way to spur [me] on to work."⁷¹ Because of this discrepancy in popularity between Schumann and Liszt, particularly in Paris, Schumann may have considered a dedication to Liszt to be an attempt to ride on his coat-tails, an

⁶⁷ Schostak, "Der Kritiker Robert Schumann," 177-8.

⁶⁸ *Gazette Musicale* (12 November, 1837); quoted and transl. in Wasielewski, *Life of Robert Schumann*, 263.

⁶⁹ Nicholas Marston, *Schumann, Fantasie, op. 17* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3-4. For a more detailed discussion of Schumann's difficulties in getting his works published, see Kurt Hofmann, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Robert Schumann* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1979).

⁷⁰ Hofmann, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Robert Schumann*, x.

⁷¹ *Robert Schumanns Briefe: neue Folge*, ed F. Gustav Jansen (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1904), 109-110; quoted in Marston, *Schumann, Fantasie, op. 17*, 85.

attempt to claim the same sort of flair and accessibility associated with Liszt as for the piece dedicated to him. In this way, the dedication functions as a kind of self-promotion through the use of another's name.

* * *

Fifteen years later, Liszt's and Schumann's reputations had changed significantly, so much so that Schumann's name as dedicatee could now function promotionally for Liszt on the score of his B-minor Sonata. 1854 found Liszt in Weimar, somewhat more removed from public life and spending far more time on composition and conducting than he had in the 1840s. Several of his publications reveal a figure keenly interested in fashioning himself anew in the public eye. His Hungarian Rhapsodies, when published in the early 1850s, for instance, created the impression that he was an authentic Hungarian musical expert. The Sonata can be seen as an attempt to authenticate another musical identity. Liszt publicly revered Beethoven, as evident from his avid participation in the festival inaugurating the Beethoven monument in Bonn in 1845.⁷² Despite (or perhaps because of, to take a Bloomian stance) this reverence, however, by 1854, the year of the completion of the Sonata, Liszt had not yet chosen to ally himself visibly with a Beethovenian tradition; he had neither written nor published any string quartets, piano sonatas, or symphonies. To be sure, some of his previous works employed sonata form, including several of the Grands Etudes and the Impromptu on Themes of Rossini and Spontini, but it is significant that the B-minor Sonata was his first published, original work to carry such a generic

⁷² On Liszt's reverence for Beethoven, see William S. Newman, "Liszt's Interpreting of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas," *The Musical Quarterly* 58 (April 1972): 185-209. See also Alexander Rehding, "Inventing Liszt's Life: Early Biography and Autobiography," in *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 14-27.

title.⁷³ With the exception of the Etude sets and an early Scherzo, all of Liszt's previously published works, particularly those for piano, carried titles that either referenced others' material or were programmatic. Of his hundreds of works that had appeared on the marketplace, the Sonata was thus the first whose title page the consumer would readily see as an open reference to the earlier Viennese tradition.

Beginning in the 1840s, Schumann, on the other hand, had found critical acclaim in his recent shift away from composing salon music, mainly comprised of piano miniatures and Lieder, to composing in more established, larger-scale genres—symphonies, string quartets, and chamber music with piano.⁷⁴ While the reception of Schumann's music cannot be characterized as wholly glowing,⁷⁵ his more recent works were generally well received. In fact, an anonymous review from 1849 in the *Neue Zeitschrift* of Schumann's four-hand arrangement of his own second symphony claims Schumann to be Beethoven's successor:

What Beethoven wanted and completed in the works of his last creative period—compositions which hold open a distant future for music—that has been expressed by nobody else but Schumann. What the former announced has been further elaborated by the latter. The great drama

⁷³ The "Dante Sonata" (*Après une Lecture de Dante: Fantasia quasi sonata*) was written in 1839 but not published until 1858. Early in the 1840s, Liszt had published arrangements of several Beethoven symphonies and the septet. More than an attempt to claim Beethoven's heritage, however, these arrangements can be seen as a way to capitalize on Beethoven's reputation. Liszt, of course, was not alone in these efforts, as many, including Ries, Hummel, Czerny, and Kalkbrenner, had arranged some of the symphonies as well.

⁷⁴ Jürgen Thym, "Schumann in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* from 1845 to 1856" in *Mendelssohn and Schumann: Essays on Their Music and Its Context*, ed. Jon W. Finson and R. Larry Todd (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1984), 21-36; and Newcomb, "Schumann and the Marketplace." Ironically, it was Liszt who suggested to Schumann that he begin writing chamber music in 1839: "I think I have already expressed to you, in one of my former letters, the desire I felt to see you write some *ensemble* pieces, Trios, Quintets, or Septets. [...] It seems to me that you would be more capable of doing it than any one else nowadays. And I am convinced that success, even *commercial success*, would not be wanting." Franz Liszt, *Briefe* vol. 1, ed. La Mara (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893), 27; quoted in Barbara Turchin, "Schumann's Conversion to Vocal Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 67 (July 1981): 398.

⁷⁵ See Thym, "Schumann in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*."

of the Ninth Symphony with all its magnificent aspects appears here again.⁷⁶

One year later, Ernst Gottschald offered a similar assessment in an open letter to A. Dörffel, also published in the *Neue Zeitschrift*.⁷⁷ This was high praise, to be sure, particularly considering that the periodical was not wholly friendly to the composer's music after Schumann turned the editing duties over to Brendel.⁷⁸ And though such a claim for Schumann could be considered, in Thym's words, a "trial balloon" because not all critics concurred, it is important to note that it was rare for most composers to be favorably compared to Beethoven. Furthermore, Anthony Newcomb has shown that Schumann's second symphony was received as Beethovenian by a variety of peers and critics outside of the Leipzig circle as well.⁷⁹

Given Liszt's reverence for Beethoven, therefore, one would assume that, like many nineteenth-century composers, he might attempt at some point to authenticate his new compositional stage by assuming Beethoven's legacy in a public manner. In its clear reference to a genre in which Beethoven was the acknowledged master, Liszt's Sonata seems to have represented such an encounter.⁸⁰ And because Schumann was considered by some to be an heir to the great composer, the dedication was a yet more obvious way for Liszt to

⁷⁶ *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 30 (1849): 187-88; translated and quoted in Thym, "Schumann in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*," 34.

⁷⁷ *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 32 (1850): 137-139, 141-142, 145-158, 157-159; referenced in Thym, "Schumann in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*," 27.

⁷⁸ See Thym, "Schumann in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*," 27-31.

⁷⁹ Anthony Newcomb, "Once More 'Between Absolute and Program Music:' Schumann's Second Symphony," *19th-Century Music* 7 (April 1984): 233-250.

⁸⁰ The form of Sonata has been the topic of much debate, all of which acknowledges that the work plays with sonata form in some way. See in particular Kenneth Hamilton, *Liszt B-minor Sonata* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 31-48; Sharon Winkhofer, *Liszt's Sonata in B minor: A Study of Autograph Sources and Documents* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 115-168; and R. M. Longyear, "Liszt's B minor Sonata: Precedents for a Structural Analysis," *The Music Review* 34 (1973): 198-209.

mark himself and this particular compositional effort as a legitimate extension of his distinguished Austro-German heritage.

* * *

Harold Bloom has described the many ways in which the influence of an artist's predecessors can affect that artist's creative process.⁸¹ His theory, however, does not sufficiently account for the role of influence in reception. Certainly, in the case of music, claims of influence can be richly productive for the listener or reader, causing him or her to perceive a variety of types of musical dialogue between composers, as Christopher Reynolds argues.⁸² But claims of influence can also be richly productive for a more literal kind of reception; as shown above, the references to approval and homage in these dedications and announcements can be designed to help sell works. These composers and their publishers seem to have had little "anxiety" about claiming any sort of influence; rather, they prominently named a source of inspiration on the title page, in the dedication, and in announcements.

One might object that Bloom predicts this happy claim of influence for most of the composers discussed here because they are "weak" poets. After all, the music of Johann Brandl or Angelo Benincori has not stood the test of time. Bloom paraphrases Eliot in claiming that "the good poet steals, while the poor poet betrays an influence."⁸³ But who are the "poor poets"? Brandl? Mozart? Schumann? Because all of the works discussed here claim some sort of influence from Haydn, Bloom would force us to assume that their creators are all poor. So, let us take Bloom's label of "poor" literally, and assume that

⁸¹ Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁸² Christopher Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

⁸³ Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 31.

these composers needed to make money. From this perspective, Bloom's/Eliot's remark makes sense; these poor composers needed to "betray" influence in their dedications in order to sell their works. In general, the role of influence in reception, or the way in which suggestions of influence operate not on creators but on audiences, is still undertheorized; this will be explored in Chapter 4. Here, however, it may be argued that the claim of another's influence was positively and profitably intended and received.

Until now, this study has tried to tread the delicate line between composerly intention and public reception, focusing on the promotional work of the dedications themselves. Some evidence has suggested that these composers intended their dedications to operate in this way—including specifically Andreas Romberg's letter to Simrock as well as the many "blind" dedications to Haydn.

So, did these composers intend for their dedications to be promotional? If we can not be certain of this, we do know that these composers and their publishers intended for their dedications to exist publicly—to be printed with their works. Schumann, for instance, explicitly told Härtel that the dedication should "read to Liszt."⁸⁴ And while little correspondence survives between Mozart or Liszt and their publishers, particularly on the topic of dedications, other evidence from the late eighteenth century shows composers' own interest in controlling their dedications. Haydn, for instance, wrote to Artaria in 1780 expressing regret that the dedication of his op. 30 sonatas (Hob. XVI: 35-9 and 20) to Caterina and Marianna von Auenbrugger was ultimately

⁸⁴ Quoted in Marston, *Schumann, Fantasie, op. 17*, 18. Also discussed in Walker, "Schumann, Liszt, and the C Major Fantasie," in *Reflections on Liszt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 41-2.

printed as having come from the publisher and not from Haydn himself.⁸⁵

Later, possibly in an attempt to restore his power over this aspect of his dedications, he demanded that Artaria either give him a certain number of copies of the op. 50 string quartets (presumably so that he could sell them by subscription) or let him have his "choice of dedication."⁸⁶ So, particularly because none of the dedications discussed in this chapter were printed as having come from the publisher, as was often the custom, we can assume that these dedications were dictated by the composers themselves, particularly in the nineteenth century. (See Introduction.)

And in allowing these dedications to reach the marketplace, both composers and publishers ensured that they could be received in a number of ways: as gifts, clues about composers' relationships, allusions, or, as discussed here, advertisements. And they would have functioned in these ways regardless of the intentions behind them. That dedications were in fact received as promotional is confirmed by reviews like that of Andreas Romberg's quartets in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1802:

When a truly great Artist who combines refined taste with an extraordinary knowledge assures [us] that, in composing a work, he has taken great pains and devoted as much effort as possible; moreover, when this artist seems to esteem his work so highly that he dedicates it to the greatest, most beloved musical genius of his time, a Jos. Haydn: so must one rightly expect something excellent from such a work.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Letter quoted in Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 432.

⁸⁶ These quartets (Hob. III: 44-9) were ultimately dedicated to Frederick Wilhelm II, King of Prussia, hence their nickname ("Prussian"). Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 490.

⁸⁷ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (May, 1802): 535-6. "Wenn ein wahrhaft grosse Künstler, der einen geläuterten Geschmack mit ungewöhnlichen Kenntnissen vereinigt, versichert, dass er sich bey der Verfertigung eines Kunstwerks Mühe gegeben und möglichsten Fleiss angewandt habe; wenn dieser Künstler sein Werk noch überdies dadurch vorzüglich selbst zu schätzen scheint, dass er es dem grössten, geliebten musik Genie seiner Zeit, einem Jos. Haydn, zueignet: so darf man auch von einem solchen Werk etwas Vorzügliches mit Recht erwarten."

As the evidence presented here suggests, other dedications to Haydn, or to Schumann or Liszt, must similarly have caused the consuming public to “expect something excellent” from composers and their works.

CHAPTER 3

Dedications, Biography, and the Creation of the Credible Composer

Between the title page and the opening sentence of Franz Niemetschek's biography of Mozart (1798) lies a curious statement. (See Figure 3.1 for facsimile.)

To the father of the noble art of music
and the favorite of the Muses

Joseph Haydn
Kapellmeister to Prince Esterházy

is dedicated this small memorial to the immortal
Mozart
with deepest veneration

[by] the author

Twenty years later, long after Haydn's death, Johann Schlosser published the first biography of Beethoven.¹ As one might expect, Beethoven's name appears on the top of the title page in large letters, with the author's name several inches below. But, surprisingly, another name lies at the center of the page, precisely in the location reserved for dedicatees; this biography, we learn, is published "with the aim of erecting a monument to [Beethoven's] teacher, Joseph Haydn." (See Figure 3.2)

¹ Though the title page states 1828, contemporary evidence suggests that the first edition appeared in 1827. See Barry Cooper's introduction to *Beethoven: The First Biography*, trans. Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996), 9-10.

Dem
Vater der edlern Kunst,
dem
Lieblinge der Grazien
Ludwig van Beethoven.

Eine
Biographie
verfaßt, verbunden mit Urtheilen über seine Werke.
Herausgegeben

zur Erinnerung eines Monuments für dessen Lehrer,
Joseph Haydn,
von

Joh. Aloys Schloffer.

Mit einem lithographirten Briefe Beethovens.

N. G. Schloffer

Prag:
bei Buchler, Stephani und Schönbauer
1828.

Figure 3.1: Title page of Niemetshchek's biography of Mozart (1798). Reprinted in *Vie de W. A. Mozart* (Saint-Étienne: Centre interdisciplinaire B. d'études et de recherches sur l'expression contemporaine, 1976), 166.

Figure 3.2: Title page of Schlosser's Biography of Beethoven (1828). Reprinted in Barry Cooper, *Beethoven: The First Biography*, (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1996), 23.

Both of these pages connect the subjects of their biographies—Mozart and Beethoven—to Haydn and his legacy through a dedication of sorts; one implies in its figurative language that Mozart's music would not have been possible without that of Haydn, as the "father" of music itself, while the other suggests that any recognition of Beethoven's accomplishments should also serve a monument to Haydn. While the relationship between dedications and particular biographies may not always be so obviously indicated on the title page, these two kinds of texts are nevertheless intrinsically connected; composer-to-composer dedications in particular arose from the same impulse as the anecdotal composer-biography that became popular in the late eighteenth century.

Biography and Musical Print Culture

Romantic biography and autobiography have long been viewed as an exploration of the self, a public narrative of an individual's innermost thoughts and struggles. As Eugene Stelzig has noted, this kind of writing, "a full-fledged literature of the subject," was one of the significant developments of the later eighteenth century.² Such literature includes autobiography, biography, the fictional memoir, the epistolary and first-person novel, and even the travelogue—all genres that recount tales from a perspective particular to a single individual. From Rousseau to Wordsworth, Goethe, and Coleridge, Romantic "self-writing" turned inward, seeking to take on the

² Eugene Stelzig, *The Romantic Subject in Autobiography: Rousseau and Goethe* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 1.

"problematic relationship of the self to the world";³ each of these writers used the autobiography as a kind of public diary, probing their own emotional and spiritual states. Robert Folkenflik attributes the popularity of this kind of writing to the rise of Romantic subjectivity as well as "the Romantic search for origins"—evident in particular in the bias towards recounting tales of youth in many memoirs.⁴ He also observes that autobiography has never needed to be strictly truthful in its accounts of a life's events, a claim that we shall see substantiated in examples below.

Folkenflik, like Stelzig, Charles Taylor and many others, situates autobiographical writing within literary and intellectual history, validating it as part of the foundation of Romanticism itself.⁵ But it is possible to read this genre from a different perspective. Biography and autobiography, as mentioned above, formed part of an emerging kind of literature that made truth claims from a subjective perspective; travelogues and memoirs alike reported one individual's experiences in life, presenting the author in a strong, ever-present position in the narrative. Fictional memoirs from the era then drew on this tradition in an attempt to create a compelling central character. If we put ourselves in the position of lay readers, as John Sturrock has suggested, we experience such texts first as genuine windows onto the private lives of notable personalities. Biographies and autobiographies, in other words, present themselves to the lay reader as accurate non-fictional accounts. According to Sturrock, an autobiography, for such a reader, "is not one more

³ Ibid.

⁴ Robert Folkenflik, "Introduction: The Institution of Autobiography," in *The Culture of Autobiography*, ed. Robert Folkenflik (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 8.

⁵ Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989). Other analyses include Jerome Hamilton Buckley, *The Turning Key: Autobiography and the Subjective Impulse since 1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); and William C. Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of the Literary Genre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

contribution to a genre or typology, but the unique self-presentation of author X or author Y, some public figure this reader already knows, and about whom he or she wants to know more."⁶ It is possible, therefore, to consider biographies and autobiographies of composers not for their literary value—not comparing, for instance, their narrative arcs or the degree to which they probe a composer's psychological state, or even the information that they provide on a composer's music—but for the kinds of plain and simple facts that they purport to reveal regarding a composer's personal and professional life. Biographers can provide such information in manners that are more or less anecdotal, some merely mentioning their subjects' personal and professional relationships, and others elaborating on that aspect of their subjects' lives extensively. In general, we shall see that much self-writing of this period validated its subject by clearly placing the composer in the context of his peers and predecessors.

* * *

The composer biography and autobiography emerged as substantial and popular genres in the mid- to late eighteenth century. Until then, public chronicles of composers' lives had been mainly limited to collections of brief accounts on living artists,⁷ like Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (1740). Marpurg's later periodical *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754-78) includes longer, more extensive entries in its initial volumes, including a particularly lengthy autobiographical account by Quantz.⁸ The biographical dictionary also emerged as a space to give brief outlines of

⁶ John Sturrock, "Theory Versus Autobiography," in *The Culture of Autobiography*, 22.

⁷ One exception is Thomas Whythorne's memoir from 1576. See Hans Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars: Studies in Musical Biography* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 47. Georg Telemann's early autobiographies are also more thorough than was typical for his time.

⁸ Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars*, 26-7. For a list of the biographies in both Mattheson and Marpurg, see Lenneberg, 64-5.

composers' professional lives. While short biographies continued to be printed in dictionaries and periodicals well into the nineteenth century, a significant body of monographs devoted to single composers began to emerge in the late eighteenth century, as is confirmed by the number of sources listed in Table 3.1.

While not all of the biographies and autobiographies included here were initially published as independent texts, most are more substantial and anecdotal than earlier exemplars, with the exception of Haydn's biography, which will be discussed below. Furthermore, all of these sources were written to be published; they were written for a wide audience, setting them apart from earlier examples, such as J. S. Bach's brief autobiographical remarks in a letter to Georg Erdmann (28 October, 1730). Two particular observations of the data in Table 3.1 illustrate the popularity of composer-biographies in the early nineteenth century: Rochlitz's piece on Mozart inspired imitations and elaborations by Arnold, Cramer, Winckler, Suard, and Schlosser—writers among those keen to capitalize on what was clearly a public demand for this kind of literature.⁹ And Beyle (popularly known as Stendhal) plagiarized his biographical offerings, clearly willing to risk being reprimanded for intellectual theft in order to cash in on that same demand.

The popularity of such texts is also confirmed by the fact that many of these biographies propagated false anecdotes, indicating that an author's desire to profit from publishing something—anything—regarding a public figure was often greater than the desire for that information to be correct.

⁹ Maynard Solomon, "The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in Early Mozart Biography," in *Mozart Studies* ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 1-2.

Table 3.1: Selected composer biographies and autobiographies, 1760-1850

Subject (or author)	Author (if other than subject)	Title
Handel, G. F.	Mainwaring, J.	<i>Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel</i> (London, 1760)
Bach, C. P. E.	(trans. J. J. C. Bode)	Selbstbiographie, in the German translation of Burney's <i>Present State of Music in France and Italy</i> vol. 2 (Hamburg, 1773)
Häßler, J. W.		<i>Lebenslauf, Sechs leichte Sonaten fürs Clavier oder Piano-Forte</i> (Erfurt, 1787)
Marcello, B.	Sacchi, G.	<i>Vita di Benedetto Marcello</i> (Venice, 1789)
Neeffe, C. G.		<i>Lebenslauf</i> , AMZ (January, 1789)
Grétry, A.-E.-M.		<i>Mémoires ou essais sur la musique</i> (Pluviôse, 1797)
Mozart	Schlichtegroll, F.	Johannes Chrysostomus Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart (<i>Nekrolog auf das Jahr 1791</i>)
Mozart	Niemetschek, F. X.	<i>Leben des k.k. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart nach Originalquellen beschrieben</i> (Prague, 1798)
Mozart	Rochlitz, F.	Verbürgte Anekdoten aus Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozarts Leben: Ein Beitrag zur richtigeren Kenntnis dieses Mannes, als Mensch und Künstler, AMZ (October, 1798)
Handel	Coxe, W.	<i>Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith</i> (London, 1799)
Dittersdorf, C. D. von		<i>Lebensbeschreibung</i> (Leipzig, 1801)
Mozart	Cramer, C. F.	<i>Anecdotes sur W. G. Mozart</i> (Paris and Hamburg, 1801)
Mozart	Winckler, T. F.	<i>Notice bibliographique sur Jean-Chrysostome-Wolfgang-Theophile Mozart</i> (Paris, 1801)
Bach, J. S.	Forkel, J. N.	<i>Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke</i> (Leipzig, 1802)
Mozart	Arnold, I. F.	<i>Mozarts Geist: seine kurze Biografie und ästhetische Darstellung seiner Werke</i> (Erfurt, 1803)
Mozart	Suard, J.-B.-A	<i>Anecdotes sur Mozart, Mélanges de littérature</i> 10 (Paris, 1804)
Haydn	Griesinger, G. A.	Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn, AMZ (July-August, 1809)
Haydn	Dies, A. C.	<i>Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn</i> (Vienna, 1810)

Table 3.1, continued

Haydn	Carpani, G.	<i>Le Haydine, ovvero Lettere su la vita e le opere del celebre maestro Giuseppe Haydn</i> (Milan, 1812)
Schubart, C. F. D.		<i>Schubarts Leben und Gesinnungen von ihm selbst im Kerker aufgesetzt</i> (Stuttgart, 1813-14)
Haydn, Mozart	Bombert, A.-C. (Henri Beyle, pen-name of Stendhal)	<i>Lettres écrites de Vienne en Autriche, sur le célèbre compositeur Joseph Haydn, suivies d'une vie de Mozart, et de considérations sur Métastase et l'état présent de la musique en France et en Italie</i> (Paris, 1814; Engl. trans. 1817 [plagiarism of Carpani and Schlichtegroll])
Mozart	Lichtenthal, P.	<i>Cenni biografici intorno al celebre maestro Wolfgang Amadeo Mozart</i> (Milan, 1816)
Hasse, J. A.	Kandler, F. S.	<i>Cenni storico-critico intorno ... del celebre compositore Giuseppe Adolfo Hasse</i> (Venice, 1820)
Beethoven	Schlosser, J. A.	<i>Ludwig van Beethoven</i> (Prague, [1827]; ¹⁰ Engl. trans. London, 1827)
Palestrina	Biani, G.	<i>Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina</i> (Rome, 1828)
Mozart	Nissen, G. N. von	<i>Biographie W. A. Mozarts nach Originalbriefen</i> (Leipzig, 1828)
Mozart	Schlosser	<i>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart</i> (Prague, 1828)
Liszt	D'Ortigue, J.	<i>Franz Liszt</i> (<i>Gazette musicale de Paris</i> , June 1835)
Beethoven	Wegeler, F. G., and F. Ries	<i>Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven</i> (Koblenz, 1838)
Beethoven	Schindler, A.	<i>Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven</i> (Münster, 1840)
Liszt	Christern, J. W.	<i>Franz Liszt, nach seinem Leben und Werke, aus authentischen Berichten dargestellt</i> (Hamburg, 1841)
Liszt	Rellstab, L.	<i>Franz Liszt: Beurtheilungen-Berichte-Lebensskizze</i> (Berlin, 1842)
Liszt	Schilling, G.	<i>Franz Liszt: sein Leben und Wirken aus nächster Beschauung</i> (Stuttgart, 1844)
Gyrowetz		<i>Biographie des Adalbert Gyrowetz</i> (Vienna, 1848)
Mendelssohn	Magnien, V.	<i>Etude biographique sur Félix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy</i> (Beauvais, 1850)

¹⁰ See note 1.

Friedrich Rochlitz famously embellished or invented several anecdotes from Mozart's life,¹¹ while Anton Schindler later fabricated many of Beethoven's statements and conversations.¹² Interestingly, Rochlitz introduced his anecdotes with strong affirmations of their truthfulness and authenticity, asserting that

I therefore *ratify* with my signature and make reference thereby that I *personally* came to know Mozart during his stay in Leipzig; that I was *present* there at most of the social occasions which he attended [...] and that I later on made the *personal acquaintance* of his widow and of assorted *trusted* friends of Mozart and spoke *often* with them at *great length* about the deceased, and *everything* that I knew about him was *confirmed, corrected, or contradicted*.¹³

All of this language is designed to prove not only the veracity of his anecdotes but also the legitimate and unique means by which they were collected. In fact, Rochlitz's title itself also seems to "protest too much" the veracity of his information: "*Authentic Anecdotes from Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart's Life: A Contribution to the More Accurate Knowledge of this Man, both as Human Being and Artist.*"¹⁴ Rochlitz's claims of "accuracy" gained through "personal" knowledge are akin to modern-day television's attempts to attract viewers to "exclusive" interviews with particular celebrities; the hope is to draw the reader in with promises of newer, truer, and more personal information on their favorite personalities. In particular, by stressing his knowledge of Mozart as a "human being," Rochlitz reveals an attempt to appeal to an

¹¹ Solomon evaluates the veracity of each anecdote in "The Rochlitz Anecdotes."

¹² Schindler's falsehoods have been widely discussed. See, for instance, Helga Lühning, "Das Schindler- und das Beethoven-Bild," *Bonner Beethoven Studien* 2 (2001): 183-199; William S. Newman, "Yet another Beethoven Forgery by Schindler?" *Journal of Musicology* 3 (Autumn 1984): 397-422; Dagmar Beck and Grita Herre, "Anton Schindler's fingierte Eintragungen in den Konversationsheften," in *Zu Beethoven: Aufsätze und Annotationen*, ed. Harry Goldschmidt, (Berlin: Neue Musik, 1979), 11-89; Peter Stadlen, "Zu Schindlers Fälschungen in Beethovens Konversationsheften," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 32 (1977): 246-52.

¹³ Quoted and trans. in Solomon, "The Rochlitz Anecdotes," 3-4. Italics mine.

¹⁴ Italics mine.

audience already interested in the private lives of artists. Karen Painter has even argued that Rochlitz's reliance on certain anecdotes regarding musical pleasure and improvisatory skill was expressly tailored to his north German Protestant audience.¹⁵

Friedrich Deyks's 1828 review of Schlosser's biographies of Mozart and Beethoven reveals broader trends in composer biography of the day by prescribing the following:

First of all, we want from him [the author of a biography] the most faithful and detailed account as possible of the public career of his hero; then we want to see the magnificent spirit itself in its germinating and blossoming, and to accompany him, as it were, from the earliest dawn to the bright, high noonday of his happiness and glory, and in that way understand more closely the interplay between inner and outer life and the mysterious fabric of the spirit, as well as the craft from which spring his creations and works, like electrical sparks from a galvanized chain.¹⁶

Deyks then argues that a true biography is more than a "mere list" (*blosser Aufzählung*) of an artist's accomplishments; it is an artwork in itself. His ideal examples include Giorgio Vasari's biography of Michelangelo and Goethe's autobiography—choices that indicate that, at least for Deyks, autobiography and biography were comparable genres. He defends biography against what he perceives to be a corruption from the superficial, stressing the importance of revealing some sort of metaphysical "spirit" (*Geist*) of the artist in addition to "mere" life experiences. Other biographies fit Deyks' description; Hans Lenneberg names Forkel's biography of Bach (1802) and Baini's biography of

¹⁵ Karen Painter, "Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie," *Musical Quarterly* 86 (Spring 2002): 198.

¹⁶ Friedrich Deyks, *Cäcilia* 8 (1828): 125. "Erstlich verlangen wir von ihm die möglichste Treue und Ausführlichkeit in Darstellung der äussern Schicksale seines Helden; dann aber wollen wir auch den herrlichen Geist selbst schauen in seinem Entkeimen und Blühen, ihn gleichsam die früheste Morgenröthe bis zum hellen, hohen Mittag seines Glückes und Ruhmes hinauf, begleiten, und so die Wechselwirkung inner und äussern Lebens, das geheimnissvolle Gewebe des Geistes und der Kraft, aus welchem die Schöpfungen und Werke des Mannes, wie elektrische Funken der Galvanischen Kette, entspringen, näher erkennen."

Palestrina (1828) to be the "first scholarly biographies"¹⁷ because of their reliance on those composers' music and documents as the records of the "craft from which sprang the creations and works of the man." But I am interested in biographies from this time not for the ways in which they might be accurate or informative by today's standards of scholarship, but for the kinds of anecdotes that they related in order to capture the attention of their readership. In fact, the urgency of Deyks' prose suggests that he was railing against some sort of popular tradition already in place, one that did concentrate on anecdotes regarding artists' "youthful activities, teachers, travels, prizes, and woes"—one, in other words, that told the public more of composers' relations to their peers and the outside world than of their innermost selves.¹⁸

Rochlitz's Mozart anecdotes exemplify such a tradition, as does Schlosser's biography of Beethoven. It begins with a brief story of the composer as a young boy, listening eagerly to his father's keyboard practice. Later, Schlosser seems at pains to prove Beethoven's musical skill and social status, stressing the high opinions of him often in circuitous ways:

The best keyboard player in Bonn was van der Eden, the court organist. Ludwig's father could not afford him as a teacher for his son, but van der Eden offered to teach the boy free of charge.¹⁹

An excellent musician, in other words, according to Schlosser, thought highly enough of the young Beethoven to teach him gratis. Later, we are told that the Elector Maximilian Friedrich took great interest in Beethoven's musical education, and that he assigned him to Neeffe, who was pleased to teach the

¹⁷ Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars*, 83-85.

¹⁸ Deyks, *Cäcilia* 8 (1828): 126.

¹⁹ Schlosser, trans. Cooper, *Beethoven: The First Biography*, 40-1.

boy because he thought him so talented. Not surprisingly, Schlosser also notes Beethoven's contact with Haydn:

Anxious to have Beethoven receive more advanced training than his local teacher could provide, the Elector in 1793 sent him to Vienna, paying all expenses, so that Ludwig could perfect his compositional skills under the great Haydn's tutelage. The instruction had the desired results. Haydn was happy with his task and became fond of his young pupil. Ludwig, in turn, clung to him like a child to his father.²⁰

Again, according to Schlosser, not only did Beethoven study with Haydn, but Haydn was so delighted to work with Beethoven that the two became as close as father and son. This repeated emphasis on the quality of a composer's relationships with other composers or influential figures is typical of biographies of the day. These texts are often peppered with superfluous references to culturally or politically important figures; Schlosser, for instance, could easily give his narrative without, for instance, highlighting Neefe's or Haydn's high opinion of Beethoven. But the writer's decision to include this information shows that his biographical project was a product of a culture interested in such personal or professional details.

Examples from the pages of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Cäcilia*, and the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* also verify the very tradition that Deyks sought to reject. The first volume of the *Neue Zeitschrift* (1834), for instance, offers several serially-published biographies: of Beethoven in his youth, of the singer Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, of "Vater Doles und seine Freunde," and of Handel, as well as an autobiography of composer-organist Ludwig Böhner. Both those of Beethoven and Doles (presumably Johann Friedrich Doles of Leipzig) consist largely of anecdotes and include a great deal of dialogue certainly fabricated by the author. We witness conversations

²⁰ Ibid., 62-3.

between these figures and those closest to them: between Beethoven as a child and his mother and brother, and, in his young adulthood, with friend Peter Pirad; and between Doles and his wife and colleagues. Both biographies also tell of meetings with Mozart,²¹ while the biography of Handel narrates an encounter with William Hogarth.²² Biographical sketches from *Le Ménestrel* often contain or allude to similar anecdotes: a paragraph on Ferdinand Ries, for instance, details the composer's friendships with Daniel Steibelt, John Field, and Louis Berger, while one on Andreas Romberg claims that Haydn called Andreas and his brother Bernhard his "sons in music."²³ Finally, Dittersdorf's extensive autobiography, published in 1801, is rife with anecdotes regarding other composers, including a particularly lengthy account of a trip he took with Gluck as a young man as well as a quick friendship he struck up with Reichardt when visiting Berlin later in life.²⁴

The early biographies of Haydn also exemplify this tendency towards gratuitous personal information. Griesinger's text (1809), for instance, which provides several anecdotes that paint a picture of the composer's musical development, also informs us that "in the same house in which Joseph Haydn was quartered dwelt also the celebrated poet Metastasio."²⁵ Griesinger asserts that, through Metastasio, Haydn got to know Nicolo Porpora, for whom he allegedly "acted as a servant," and from whom he claimed to have "profited

²¹ The Doles biography was published in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 18 (2 June 1834): 68-9; the Beethoven biography was published in *Neue Zeitschrift* 37 (7 August 1834): 144.

²² *Neue Zeitschrift*, 67 (20 Nov, 1834): 265-6.

²³ The Ries biography is printed in *Le Ménestrel* 2:37 (10 August 1834); the Romberg biography is printed in *Le Ménestrel* 2:39 (24 August, 1834).

²⁴ Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Lebensbeschreibung* (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1967), 106-128, 241-250.

²⁵ G. A. Griesinger, "Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn," in *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius*, trans. Vernon Gotwals (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 12.

greatly [...] in singing, in composition, and in the Italian language."²⁶ Griesinger also recounts a brief conversation between Mozart and Haydn in which Mozart advised Haydn on the life he might expect in his visits to London.²⁷ Dies's biography reports many of the same relationships, confirming, for instance, Haydn's relationships with Porpora as well as his friendship with Dittersdorf.²⁸ Dies provides more information than Griesinger on a contentious encounter with Ignaz Pleyel in London resulting from the competition between the performing groups with which each composer was contracted,²⁹ and reproduces a friendly letter from Karl Friedrich Zelter to Haydn.³⁰ It seems that it was important to both of these biographers to position Haydn in relation to his peers or predecessors, even if it meant calling or elaborating on the most minor of anecdotes.

Published correspondence and reviews of such correspondence similarly reveal a growing interest in composers' relationships. The first issue of the *Neue Zeitschrift*, for instance, as well as issues four through nine, reviews the recently published collected correspondence between Goethe and Zelter, and praises the collection for disclosing nearly everything about the affairs of these artists' lives. The review concludes that these letters may be the best way for us to get to know Goethe and Zelter as individuals, suggesting that the study of correspondence is in fact a kind of biographical inquiry.

Not surprisingly, because of his fame, Liszt was among the first figures to have inspired multiple biographies during his lifetime. In the first,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

²⁸ A. C. Dies, "Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn," in *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius*, trans. Vernon Gotwals (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 92.

²⁹ Griesinger, "Biographische Notizen," 33; Dies, "Biographische Nachrichten," 127-9.

³⁰ Dies, "Biographische Nachrichten," 136-7.

published in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* of 1835 when Liszt was only twenty-four, Joseph D'Ortigue piques his readers' curiosity by suggesting that Liszt had had direct or indirect relationships with two famous composers. The first of these may seem the least likely: D'Ortigue describes Liszt's father's friendship with Haydn.

Adam Liszt was a frequent card-game partner of Haydn, and was on close terms with him. Haydn, whose character was always calm and whose imagination was seldom fired up, was kept mercilessly busy at work. The card game was nearly the only pastime the great man enjoyed.³¹

D'Ortigue is clearly trying to show that Liszt's father had close friendship with Haydn; in fact, painting a stark portrait of the older composer, this passage implies that Adam Liszt provided Haydn the rare opportunity to enjoy himself. But why would D'Ortigue choose to mention Haydn, when he had died before Franz Liszt was even born? Perhaps D'Ortigue hoped that the mention of Haydn's name and the implication that Haydn had somehow influenced the father's musical taste would raise the public opinion of his biographical subject. Or he may have been playing into a public interest in Liszt's family and pedigree, specifically into an interest in Liszt's connections to other artists or composers. D'Ortigue also enumerates more direct connections, detailing that, in Paris, Liszt became friends with writers de Lamartine, Hugo, and Sainte-Beuve, as well as composers Chopin, Hiller, Mendelssohn, Dessauer, Alkan, and Berlioz, "who was for him an apparition."³²

³¹ Translated in Benjamin Walton, "The First Biography: Joseph d'Ortigue on Franz Liszt at Age Twenty-Three," in *Franz Liszt and his World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 311.

³² *Ibid.*, 324.

The other composer whom D'Ortigue singles out is Beethoven, who heard Liszt in concert in Vienna:

Far from intimidating the child, the presence of the illustrious composer exalted his imagination. Beethoven encouraged him, albeit with the reserved tone he invariably took in the last years of his life.³³

This passage marks the beginning of the development of the famous but apocryphal *Weihekuss* encounter between the two composers.³⁴ Allan Keiler has argued that the source of the myth was probably Adam Liszt, who apparently told Cherubini, when trying to convince him to admit Franz to the Paris Conservatory, that Beethoven "heard him and kissed him."³⁵ But it was D'Ortigue's biography that set the basic outline of this myth in motion, emphasizing Beethoven's encouragement and approval of Liszt as a child. And we can be certain that many read the biography, both in French and in German, as it was translated, on Schumann's initiative, and reprinted in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in January and February, 1836.

Later, in 1842, Ludwig Rellstab published another biography of Liszt which first, like d'Ortigue's, stresses Liszt's connection to famous composers through his father's friendships:

Adam Liszt lived in close contact with Joseph Haydn, and Hummel, who frequented Eisenstadt over a long period, also numbered among his musical friends; even Cherubini came there a few times.³⁶

³³ *Ibid.*, 313.

³⁴ Both Alan Walker and Allan Keiler have concluded that the incident, in which Beethoven supposedly responded to one of Liszt's concerts in Vienna with an approving kiss on the forehead, probably never occurred. See Walker, "Beethoven's *Weihekuss* Revisited," in *Reflections on Liszt*, 1-10; and Allan Keiler, "Ludwig Rellstab's Biographical Sketch of Liszt," in *Franz Liszt and his World*, 356-7; as well as Keiler, "Liszt and Beethoven: The Creation of a Personal Myth," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 12 (1988): 116-31. Benjamin Walton, however, has noted that Walker falsely attributes the *Weihekuss* tale to D'Ortigue; in fact, Rellstab was the first to allude to it, though D'Ortigue mentions that the two composers did meet. See Walton, "The First Biography," in *Franz Liszt and his World*, 331.

³⁵ See Keiler, "Ludwig Rellstab's Biographical Sketch," 358.

³⁶ Ludwig Rellstab, *Franz Liszt: Beurtheilungen – Berichte – Lebensskizze* (Berlin: J. Petsch, 1842); quoted and trans. in Keiler, "Ludwig Rellstab's Biographical Sketch," 341.

Rellstab then discusses Liszt's relationships with his teachers in more detail: both Czerny, as Liszt's piano teacher, and Salieri, who taught him composition, are depicted as having had warm, respectful interactions with the young composer. And of course, the Beethoven *Weihekuss* incident appears here as well, in a more elaborate form; Rellstab explains that the composer gave Liszt "the most decisive—though in its way the most formal—sign of praise."³⁷

Not every biography shows as much concern for composers' relationships with their mentors and peers. Carpani and Forkel, for instance, are more concerned with discussing the musical output of Haydn and Bach. And Haydn's early autobiographical account, perhaps limited by its brevity, supplements a simple rags-to-riches narrative with a defense of his music against Berlin critics. Hidden in this text, however, are gestures toward the kind of language discussed above. Haydn subtly slips in references to his relationships with Kapellmeister von Reutter and Porpora, and manages to add to his worklist a claim that the *Stabat Mater* had elicited a "testimonial from our great composer Hasse."³⁸ C. P. E. Bach's slightly longer autobiography, meanwhile, while without direct references to fellow composers, somewhat defensively (and vaguely) claims that

It would not be hard for me to fill up a lot of space merely with the names of composers, women and men singers, and instrumentalists of all sorts that I have learned to know, if I were to be discursive and strain my memory. This much I know for sure, that there were geniuses among them of a kind and stature such as yet to reappear.³⁹

³⁷ Quoted and trans. in Keiler, "Ludwig Rellstab's Biographical Sketch," 344.

³⁸ Trans. in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* vol. 2 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 398.

³⁹ Translated in William S. Newman, "Emanuel Bach's Autobiography," *The Musical Quarterly* 51 (1965): 367-8.

Bach seems to be at pains here to prove that he could situate himself within a group of high-profile peers if he desired to do so; in fact, he implies that he has known such a quantity of "geniuses" that he can no longer remember them all.

More specifically, then, no matter the thrust of their narratives, most biographies from this period mention composers' associations in order to prove the credibility of their subjects; the kinds of deliberate allusions to famous peers or predecessors outlined here were meant to confirm the skill of the composer by association. D'Ortigue's and Rellstab's references to Haydn and Hummel suggest such a function in their gratuitousness, as does Schlosser's language describing Beethoven's relationships. The examples above indicate that there was not only an interest in displaying the many facets of a composer's life, but also a need to use those facets to create a viable sense of a composer's pedigree.

Biographical Allusions in Dedicatory Epistles

Another kind of self-writing circling around composer-to-composer dedications in the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries was the widespread and codified practice of letter writing. As we saw in Chapter 1, the epistolary form had long been a part of the standard procedure of dedication. In fact, dedicatory epistles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries set the stage for a biographical interpretation of dedications by demonstrating the nature of the relationship between composer and dedicatee. Generally, flowery language illustrated the difference in status between artist and patron.

To the most illustrious and excellent prince and lord, his lordship,
Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza,
If by ancient law we are held always to offer to God the first fruits of
the earth, by age-old and praiseworthy custom we are also obliged to
give to great princes the first offspring of our creativity that we send
forth into the light. But if anyone was ever bound by this honored
custom, so much more am I constrained to present to your most
illustrious Excellency these, my madrigals set to music, the first
offspring that I ever produced in the public theater of the world, since
my career and my life are owed to your generous and truly most
illustrious goodness towards me, shown many times with great
evidence of affection. I beg your most illustrious Excellency that kindly
judging worthy this small gift of mine you receive these, my humble
madrigals with a courteous mind, and count me in the number of your
most devoted servants, that I pray God always for your happiness.
From Venice. 20 July 1566
Of your most illustrious Excellency,
most humble servant
Claudio da Correggio⁴⁰

In mentioning the "honored custom" of offering "fruits" to God, Correggio (Merulo) puts his patron in a position parallel to a deity, one who has granted the composer his "career and life." He then, in a move typical of such letters, closes by identifying himself as a kind of servant, solidifying his low position in relation to the high status of his patron. In another characteristic turn of phrase, Correggio demonstrates the strength of his relationship with the duke, by indicating that he received his patrons' generosity "many times" and "with great affection." Much like the biographies discussed above, Correggio praises himself by association, first asserting that his patron has a certain divinity, and then stressing the degree of his proximity to that deity.

⁴⁰ Underlining indicates passages discussed here. Claudio Merulo, *Sixteenth-Century Madrigal*, vol. 18, ed. Jesse Ann Owens (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xi. Original Italian not provided in this edition.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such epistles drastically decreased in number but continued to exhibit similar, though simplified, rhetoric. Consider the following example from 1766:

To Her Most Serene Madam, Princess of Nassau Weilbourg &cc.,
Madam!
Ready to leave Holland, I could not, without pain, think of that time. The virtues of your Serene Highness, the generosity, the kindnesses that called me back to life, the gentleness of her voice, the pleasure of accompanying it, the honor of offering her my homage through my feeble talents, all accustomed me to her agreeable Court and my tender heart will be eternally attached to it. Deign, Madame, receive a proof of it! Deign to accept the fruit of my sleepless nights and deign to regard it as a sign of my just gratefulness and of the profound respect with which I am,
Madam,
Your highness's very humble,
very obedient, and very little servant
J. G. Wolfgang Mozart of Salzburg

In mentioning the princess's generosity, describing her voice, and implying that Mozart had made music with her, this letter creates the impression that the ten-year-old composer had spent at least some valuable time with his patron—time enough to know her court to be "agreeable."⁴¹ The lay reader, then, would assume that Mozart's relationship with the princess was not only strong, but also musical.

The connection between dedications and biography became yet more apparent around the turn of the nineteenth century, when offerings to peers were increasingly common, and such dedications often explicitly specified the nature of the relationship between composer and dedicatee. Several dedications to Haydn, for instance, appropriate traditional epistolary rhetoric in order to demonstrate publicly their author's relationship to the great

⁴¹ As mentioned by Bonds, this letter was probably written by Friedrich Melchior Grimm. See Mark Evan Bonds, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery?: Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets and the Question of Influence." *Studi musicali* 22 (1993): 365-66.

composer. Mozart, for instance, briefly implies that he and Haydn had spent time together in Vienna: "during your most recent sojourn in this capital you yourself, my very dear friend, demonstrated to me your satisfaction with [the quartets]." And by similarly claiming that Haydn had "approved" of his works and had "adorned" him with "kindness,"⁴² Eybler also suggests in his dedication that the two composers shared some sort of relationship.

One of the latest epistolary dedications that I have located, Ries's dedication to Beethoven of his op. 1 piano sonatas (1806), continues this kind of rhetoric:

Sir!

To whom to dedicate these first fruits of my labor? Gratitude dictates that it is to him to whom I owe my progress in the art of music. However, the distinguished place that you occupy among the great classical composers and your superior genius should, I feel, prevent me from offering you a work that has that much more need for indulgence because it is the first that I brought to light: but the benevolence with which you welcome young artists, [and] the amicable protection that you give them, as I have so often had occasion to admire and to experience myself, encourage me and make me pass over all other considerations. I will seize this opportunity to address to you publicly my most sincere and keen thanks for the familiarity with which you have received me, for the friendship with which you have honored me. The memory of these pleasant hours passed with you will never be erased from my heart; and if my efforts are crowned with some success, it is to your counsel that I will be indebted; [I would be] happy, if I could one day justify a day in the eyes of the public the double and glorious title of the sole student and the friend of such a great master. Please accept my homage as kind-heartedly as I present it to you in these lines.

Ferdinand Ries

In highlighting the "pleasant hours" with the "great classical composer" as well as the "protection" that he has experienced "so often," Ries verifies the strength

⁴² See Appendix A for complete dedication.

and quality of his relationship to Beethoven. He also takes pains to stress that he was alone in having had the privilege of Beethoven's tutelage.⁴³

Like only a few other composers including Johann Baptist Cramer, Robert Schumann, and Franz Liszt, Ries made a great number of dedications to composers and performers in his lifetime. Among them was one other dedication to Beethoven, published twelve years after this initial elaborate epistle. In 1818, Ries offered him his second symphony, op. 80, specifically designating himself now not as Beethoven's student, but as his friend. The observant reader therefore would have observed that Ries and Beethoven's relationship had changed over the course of these twelve years; these two dedications create the impression of a linear progression from a student-teacher relationship to one between equals. In fact, one could conjecture that Ries used the dedications to suggest a narrative of his own success, at least as measured by his relationship to Beethoven.

This claim of friendship between composer and dedicatee, also present in the epistles of Mozart and Eybler, became common by the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The dedicatory epistle became less and less common around the turn of the nineteenth century and left its legacy only in a remnant; the salutation remained, still serving its purpose of signaling the status of the dedicatee in relation to the composer. Most commonly, these new stranded salutations described the dedicatee to be a friend. (See Figure 3.3 and Table 3.2.)

⁴³ Clearly Ries either did not know or think much of Beethoven's tutelage of Archduke Rudolf, who appears to have been the composer's only other composition student.

⁴⁴ Sharon Kettering has given evidence that epistolary exchange between patrons and authors in seventeenth-century France also involved the language of friendship. I have found few examples of this in musical dedications before the late eighteenth century, however. See Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2.2 (1998): 131-151.



Figure 3.3: Robert Schumann, *Kreisleriana*, op. 16. First edition, reprinted in Kurt Hofmann, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Robert Schumann* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1979).

Table 3.2: "Friendly" dedications, ca. 1800-1850

Composer	Work	Instr.	Dedicated to ...*	Dedicatee	Date
Peichler, A.	op. 1: 3 Duos concertants	2 fl	son ami	Devienne, François	1799
Kreutzer, R.	op. 2: 6 String quartets	str qtt	son ami	Pleyel, [I]	1800
Dussek, J.	op. 44: Sonata ("The Farewell")	pf	his friend	Clementi	1800
Cramer	op. 20: Grand Sonata	pf	his friend	Clementi	1800
Pinto, G. F.	Grand Sonata	pf	his friend	Field	1802-3
Pleyel, I.	op. 67: 3 Quartets	str qtt	son ami	Boccherini	1803
Cramer	op. 29: 3 grandes Sonates	pf	son ami	Dussek	1803
Schultesius	Variations on <i>Ricociliazione Fra due Amici</i>	pf		Haydn	1803
Dussek	op. 55: Fantasia and Fugue	pf	son ami	Cramer	1804
Beethoven	op. 47: Sonata	pf, vn	son ami	Kreutzer	1805
Cramer	op. 36: Grand Sonata	pf	his friend	Woelfl	1805-6
Roesler, J.	op. 13: Symphony	orch	son ami	Wranitzky, Anton	1808
Thollé, Thomas	Amanda: Romance	pf, v	son ami	Pleyel, Ignaz	1808
Weber, C. M. von	op. 12: Momento Capriccioso	pf	suo amico	Meyerbeer	1808
Kalkbrenner	op. 8: Fantasie no. 3 and Fugue	pf	son ami	Hummel	1810
Marchal, P.	op. 15: Duo	pf, harp	son ami	Pleyel, Ignaz	1813
Hänsel, Peter	op. 28: Quintet	2 vn, 2 va, vc	son ami	Dragonetti, Domenico	1814
Mansui, Charles	Variations on <i>Vive Henri IV</i>	pf	son ami	Pleyel, Camille	1814
Spohr, Louis	op. 29: 3 String quartets	str qt	son ami	Romberg, Andreas	1815
Onslow, W.	op. 7: Grand duo	pf 4 hands	son ami	Pleyel, Camille	1817
Ries, F.	op. 68: Grand Quintuor	2 vn, 2 va, vc	ses amis	Andreas and Bernhard Romberg	1817
Ries	op. 80: Symphony	orch	son ami	Beethoven	1818
Ries	op. 75: Variations on a favorite Rheinisch Song	pf	his friend	Cramer	1818
Moscheles	op. 49: Sonate mélancolique	pf	son ami	Pixis	?
Cramer	op. 62: Sonata	pf	<i>dedicated by his friend Cramer</i>	Ries	1821
Baillet, P.	op. 22: Concerto no. 8	vn, orch	son ami	Kreuzter	1819
Clementi, M.	op. 46: Sonata	pf	his friend	Kalkbrenner	1820

Table 3.2, continued

Pleyel, C.	Sonata no. 6	pf, vn acc.	son ami	Onslow	1821
Cramer	op. 63: Sonata	pf	<i>dedicated by his friend Cramer</i>	Hummel	1822
Ries	op. 115: Piano Concerto no. 4	pf, orch	<i>dedicated by his friend Cramer</i>	Moscheles	1823
Mendelssohn, Felix	op. 28: Phantasie	pf	seinem Freunde	Moscheles	1824
Ries	op. 90: Symphony	orch	son ami	Spohr	1825
Cramer	<i>Amicitia</i>	pf, vn/fl acc.		Moscheles	1825
Cramer	op. 74: Sonata	pf	his friend	Attwood, Thomas	1827
Reicha	op. 105: grand quintet	fl, 2 vn, va, c	son ami	Bonjour, François	1828
Moscheles	op. 77: Allegro di Bravura	pf	his friend	Mendelssohn Bartholdy	1829
Pixis	op. 109: Fantasia sur la dernière pensée musicale de Weber	pf	son ami	Liszt	1829-30
Cramer	op. 77: Fantasia on themes from "La Fiancée"	pf	<i>dedicated by his friend Cramer</i>	Auber	1830
Ries	op. 160: Grande Sonate	pf 4 hands	<i>dédiée par son ami Ries</i>	Czerny	1831
Martin, Alexis	op. 18: Fantaisie	hn, pf	son ami	Bayle, Théophile	1832
Chopin	op. 10: Etudes	pf	son ami	Liszt	1833
Mendelssohn	op. 28: Fantasy	pf	seinem Freunde	Moscheles	1834
Kessler, J. C.	op. 31: 24 Preludes	pf	son ami	Chopin	1835
Czerny, C.	op. 400: Die Schule des Fugenspiels	pf + treatise	aus freundschaft- licher Achtung	Mendelssohn	1836
Schumann, R.	op. 13: Symphonic Etudes	pf	son ami	Sterndale Bennett	1837
Meyerbeer	6 Songs	pf, v	son ami	Moscheles	1838
Schumann, R.	op. 16: Kreisleriana	pf	seinem Freunde	Chopin	1838
Wolff, E.	op. 39: Grand Allegro de Concert	pf	son ami	Chopin	1840
Hiller, Ferdinand	op. 24: <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i>	oratorio	seinem Freunde	Mendelssohn	1840-41
Heller, S.	op. 24: Scherzo	pf	son ami	Liszt	1841
Liszt	op. 6: Grande valse di bravura	pf	son ami	Wolff, Peter	1843
Franz, Robert	op. 4: 12 Songs	pf, v	seinem Freunde	Gade	1845
Gungl, Josef	op. 60: Walzes	pf	seinem Freunde	Strauss, Johann	1846

* This column lists phrases as they appear on title pages. *Italicized entries* are those that do not follow the common construction "dedicated to my friend *x* by *y*."

Two of the works in Table 3.2, Schultesius's *Variations* and Cramer's *Amicitia*, boast titles that overtly use some derivation of the word *amici*, implying that the score is presented in recognition of a friendship between dedicator and dedicatee. Most of the remaining dedications in Table 3.2 were displayed much like Schumann's in Figure 3.1, with the dedicatee's name and relationship to the dedicator given typographical prominence on the title page. With the kind of biographical and epistolary practice described above as its backdrop, then, these many dedications would have been drawn into the orbit of biography, functioning as signs of composers' relationships, as paratextual windows onto composers' lives.

Reading Dedications Biographically

All of these kinds of self-writing helped create a public persona for the composer. As a result of published letters and biographies, the composer was now a well-rounded figure in the consumer's imagination—a figure with a childhood and adulthood, with friends, family, and artistic pedigree. But the consumer would not have understood the composer to be such a complex figure without the development of the self in the larger literary world; the establishment of the genre of the autobiography and confessional in the later eighteenth century created the modern notion of a unified individual, one whose life's narrative was linear and coherent. Biography, in fact, came to be viewed as a reliable source of historical information, as Herder claimed that it was among the most fruitful sources of information about history.⁴⁵ Works in

⁴⁵ Günter Niggel, *Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im 18. Jahrhundert: Theoretische Grundlegung und literarische Entfaltung* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1977), 47-51. Herder's ideas are adumbrated in *Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity* (1784-91).

this genre, then, were accepted as public documents and historical records, making their subject matters into figures whose lives were not beyond scrutiny.

Certainly the public display of a complete composerly persona had its precedents; Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* commemorating Ockeghem could be taken as, among other things, a public sign of a composer's private affection, while the publishing of subscription lists beginning in the early eighteenth century can also be interpreted as an open record of composers' professional circles. The composer-patron dedication was a similar record of a composer's professional sponsorship. But later, when peers and friends came to be included in the category of dedicatee, because of the emergence of the biographical self, the consumer would be more likely to make assumptions regarding the personal life of the composer. Composer-to-composer dedications thus were a kind of snapshot in the public narrative developing around composers at this time, affirming composers' credibility by association, much like the anecdotes in biographies cited above.

* * *

While this is ultimately a study of reception, it may help our understanding of the relationship between dedications and biographical writing to examine some composers' possible intentions in making such friendly offerings. Why might Schumann, for instance, have claimed that Chopin was his friend, as shown in Figure 3.2? The two composers had met in 1836, when Chopin had visited Schumann in Leipzig. According to Schumann, Chopin had played several works for him, including the Ballade in G minor, and a number of études, mazurkas, and preludes. It seems, from Schumann's account, that the two composers got along fairly well; they were

both delighted, for instance, that each found the Ballade the best of Chopin's works to that point.⁴⁶ Aside from this encounter and Schumann's reviews of Chopin's works in the late 1830s, the composers appear to have had no other contact—no other meetings or correspondence—until the dedication of *Kreisleriana* in 1838.

If Schumann had wanted to renew his friendship with Chopin, such a public offering would have been one way to catch Chopin's eye and remind him of the musical taste that they seem to have shared. But there were other more private avenues available to Schumann as well; he could have sent a letter, for instance, or, as he did with Liszt, a note accompanied by a short piece that was not, in fact, publicly dedicated to its private recipient.⁴⁷ Why, then, choose the public gesture of dedication? Schumann must have wanted to do more than solidify his friendship with Chopin. Read alongside the various traditions of public self-representation in this period, Schumann's paratextual act can be interpreted as an attempt to validate himself by demonstrating a connection to another composer, particularly one based in Paris, where Schumann was struggling to have his works known, as we saw in Chapter 2.

Chopin's public exchange with Joseph Christoph Kessler also betrays a possible awareness of the effect of public claims of friendship. As discussed in Chapter 1, Kessler dedicated his 24 piano preludes to "son ami" Chopin in 1835. Chopin, however, expressed in a letter to Julien Fontana that he wanted no work dedicated to Kessler in return.⁴⁸ His letters provide no reason for this

⁴⁶ Frédéric Chopin, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Bronislaw Édouard Sydow (Paris: Richard-Masse, [1960]), 197.

⁴⁷ Schumann sent Liszt his second Novelette in 1838 along with an invitation to give a concert in Germany.

⁴⁸ See note 31 in Chapter 1.

wish, but one can speculate that he did not want to reinforce Kessler's assertion that the two were friends. Chopin may have understood, in other words, that a return dedication would have signaled the existence of a true biographical connection between the composers. Ultimately, the Breitkopf and Härtel edition of Chopin's Preludes was indeed dedicated to Kessler, substantiating publicly precisely what the composer may have wished to deny.

The dedication to Kessler, like many others at the time, lacked any claim of friendship on the title page. In fact, a large number of composer-to-composer dedications were not marked with any kind of salutation. But because current biography was demonstrably concerned with relationships between composers, and because of the frequency of friendly dedicatory mottos, the musical public of the early to mid-nineteenth century would have been encouraged to read unmarked dedications as allusions to the publicly disclosed private lives of those involved—as allusions to the biographies of those composers.

By the time of Liszt's dedication to Schumann of the Sonata, for instance, the public would have had reason to suspect a personal relationship between the two composers. In a kind of extended series of public gifts, Liszt had directed performances of Schumann's *Faust*, as well as the premiere of *Manfred* at Weimar.⁴⁹ It would have been natural, therefore, for Liszt and Schumann's readership to view Liszt's dedication to Schumann, though unmarked by any friendly mottos, as proof that their friendship had endured since Schumann's initial dedication to Liszt of the Fantasy in 1839.

⁴⁹ Walker, *Franz Liszt: the Weimar Years, 1848-1861* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 342.

One last practice of the day would have encouraged the audience for unmarked composer-to-composer dedications to read them biographically: the developing tradition of dedicating works to non-composer friends and family. As evident in Table 3.3, a significant new trend emerged in the early to mid-nineteenth century, in which composers marked on title pages their relationships to any kind of dedicatee—fellow composer or family member alike.

Table 3.3: "Friendly" dedications to non-composer friends and family

Composer	Work	Instr.	Relationship of dedicatee to composer*	Dedicatee	Date
Clementi	op. 35: 3 Sonatas	pf	"to his friend"	Rev'd John Cleaver Banks	1796
Isouard, Nicolo	<i>L'impromptu de campagne</i>	opera in score	"dédié à son père"		1803
Baldenecker, N.	3 Duos concertants	2 vns	"par son ami Baldenecker"	Mrs. Schmidt	1808
Bohrer, A.	op. 7: 3 Thèmes varies	pf	"par son ami Bohrer"	Mrs. F. Fränzel	1808
Kollmann, G. A.	3 Grand sonatas	pf	father	Kollmann, A. F. C.	1808
Spoehr, L.	op. 11: Quatuor brilliant	str qtt	"à son ami"	Kleinwächter	1808
Ries	op. 37: Grant Quintet	2nv, 2va, vc	"à son ami"	Schuppanzich	1810
Baillot, B-M-F de Sales	Concerto no. 6	vn, orch	"son beau frère"	Guynemer, Charles	1812
Ries	op. 48: Sonate	pf	"à son ami"	Meyer, F. C.	1814
Ries	op. 57: Introduction and Rondo	harp	"to his friend"	Smart, G. T.	1815
Pleyel, Camille	op. 1: 3 trios	pf, vn, vc	"à sa mere"		1816
Cramer	op. 54: Nocturne	pf	"to his friend"	Collard, F. W.	1816
Onslow	op. 9: 3 Quartets	str qtt	"par son petit fils"	Lord Onslow	1817
Ries	op. 38: 3 Sonates	pf, vn	"à son ami"	Simrock, N.	1817
Kalkbrenner	op. 40: Sonata for the left hand	pf	"to his friend"	Collard, F. W.	1819
Weber	op. 65: Aufforderung zum Tanze	pf	wife	"Seiner Caroline gewidmet"	1821

Table 3.3: continued

Clementi	op. 47: 2 Capriccios	pf	wife	Mrs. Clementi	1821
Ries	op. 107: Quintuor	fl, vn, 2 va, vc	"à son ami"	Saust, Charles	1823
Cramer	op. 65: Introduzione ed Aria All'Inglese	pf	"to his friend"	Broadwood, Thomas	1823
Ries	op. 135: Grand Introduction and Rondo	2 pf	"to his friend"	Collard, F. W.	1824
Ries	op. 132: Abschieds Concert von England	pf, orch	"an seinem Freunde"	Eilender, P. J.	1824
Mendelssohn	op. 4: Sonate	pf, vn	"an seinem Freunde"	Ritz, Eduard	1825
Cramer	Fairy Rondo	pf (fl ad lib.)	Miss Stephens	"his much esteemed Friend"	1827
Sowinski, Albert	op. 6: Le depart, rondeau	pf	Angeleri, Antoine	<i>"par son ami"</i>	1828
Loder, E. J.	Rondo Brillant	pf	Mr. Henry Field	<i>"by his friend Loder"</i>	1830
Kreutzer	3 grand duos	2 vn		"à son frère"	1830
Cramer	op. 78: Rondeau expressif	pf	Neukomm, Sigismond	"to his friend"	1831
Ries	op. 167: Grand Quintuor	2vn, 2va, vc	Springsfield, Charles	"à son ami"	1833
Schumann	op. 7: Toccata	pf	Schunke, Louis	"à son ami"	1834
Reissiger, Karl Gottlieb	op. 40: Grand trio no. 3	pf, vn, b	Charles Hérolde	"à son ami"	1834
Benedict, J.	Fantasia: Remembrance of Scotland	pf	Neate, Charles	"to his friend"	1842
Cramer	op. 96: 2 styles, ancient and modern	pf	Rev'd Edward Goddard	"to his friend"	1842
Sterndale Bennett	op. 25: Rondo Piacevole	pf	Barnett, Robert	"to his friend"	1842
Horsley, C. E.	op. 12: Impromptu	pf	Werner, Louis	"to his friend"	1847
Mendelssohn	op. 20: Ottetto	2 str qtt	Ritz, Eduard	"à son ami"	1848
Mendelssohn	op. 61: Ein Sommernachts traum von Shakespeare	orch	Schleinitz, Heinrich Conrad	"an seinem Freunde"	1848
Backe, F. E.	op. 13: 4 Mazuraks	pf	Kelly, E. A.	"à son ami"	1855
Leidesdorf	op. 48: Grande Sonate	pf (vn obl.)	Gelly, F. Vincent	"à son ami"	?
Ries	op. 19: Grande Sonate	pf	Kirchhoffer et Maurer	"à ses amis"	?
Ries	op. 8: Grandes Sonates	pf		"à son père"	?

* Phrases in quotation marks are those from title pages of editions. *Italicized entries* are those that do not follow the common construction "dedicated to my friend *x* by *y*."

Table 3.3 provides only a sample of this kind of dedication; in fact many works on the market boasted such relationships between dedicator and dedicatee, further solidifying the impression that composers intended to publicize their associations.

Some works from this time draw these biographical relationships into the music itself. Most famously, Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* (1830) contains a program that, as Francesca Brittan has argued, would have been interpreted at the time as a kind of confessional text on the part of the author.⁵⁰ The subject of the program, a "young musician," collapses into the public persona of Berlioz himself, partly because the work draws on narrative devices typical of confessions of the day—confessions billed, of course, as authentic. The text explains at the outset that its seemingly biographical narrative can be heard in the music itself: "[the musician's] emotions, memories are transformed in his sick mind into musical thoughts and images."⁵¹ His loved one famously becomes a musical *idée fixe*, a melody whose transformations one is encouraged to hear as signals of changes in the inner life of the artist. In fact, Brittan has given evidence that this association between the musical and biographical was prefigured in the writings of Hoffmann and Duras.⁵²

Carl Maria von Weber's *Aufforderung zum Tanz* involves a similar though less elaborate program, in which Weber marks each musical passage with a brief biographical description:

⁵⁰ Francesca Brittan, "Berlioz and the Pathological Fantastic: Melancholy, Monomania, and Romantic Autobiography," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 29.3 (Spring 2006): 211-239.

⁵¹ Hector Berlioz, *Fantastic Symphony*, ed. Edward T. Cone (London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1971), 33.

⁵² Brittan, "Berlioz and the Pathological Fantastic," 213.

Erste Annäherung des Tänzers	First approach of the gentleman
Ausweichende Erwiderung der Dame	Evasive response of the lady
Er äußert seinen Wunsch dringender	He expresses his desire more urgently
Nunmehr geht die Dame darauf ein.	Now the lady accepts
Konversation: er beginnt	Conversation: he begins
Sie antwortet	She answers
Er mit erhöhtem Ausdruck	He, with more passion
Sie wärmer zustimmend	She, more warmly in agreement
Jetzt gilt's dem Tanz. Er bittet um die Ehre	Now the dance begins. He begs for the honor
Sie antwortet bejahend	She answers in the affirmative
Das Paar tritt zusammen an und erwartet den Beginn des Tanzes	The couple takes its place and awaits the beginning of the dance

Though these descriptive fragments are nominally about dance, they can be seen as a metaphor for courtship, an interpretation encouraged by the presence of a female dedicatee (Weber's fiancée, as few would have known).

* * *

There was a larger force at work fueling these impulses to expose to the public the inner workings of the lives of artists, thus enticing lay readers to be interested in those inner workings and creating the kind of circular supply-and-demand exchange that drives cultural developments: sometime in the mid- to late eighteenth century, composers and music readers became interested in telling stories from their own perspective and consuming those of others. The market for these stories, furthermore, favored texts that

validated their biographical subjects by situating those subjects in relation to their peers. One broader conclusion, then, may be that it required the existence of this larger interest in biography in order for the composer-to-composer dedication to take hold in the imagination of musical audiences as a meaningful public gesture. That it still holds sway as a clue into the lives of composers is evident in contemporary scholarship: Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, for instance, uses the exchange of dedications between Simonin de Sire and Schumann as evidence in his exploration of the larger personal correspondence shared by these two mutually admiring personalities.⁵³ And Nicholas Temperley uses the reciprocal dedications between Schumann and William Sterndale Bennett to prove the "assured equality" between the two composers in their relationship.⁵⁴ It is not wrong to have been tempted by dedications into contemplating biography; our continuing interest in the personal lives of artists—manifested in everything from the near-constant stream of books on the life of Mozart to the contents of *People* magazine at the checkout line—suggests that we have an insatiable curiosity regarding our cultural icons.

⁵³ Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, "Simonin de Sire in Dinant und Robert Schumann: Eine Freundschaft in Briefen und Widmungen," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 47 (1993): 161-175.

⁵⁴ Nicholas Temperley, "Schumann and Sterndale Bennett," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 12.3 (Spring 1989): 207-220.

CHAPTER 4

Dedications, Allusion, and the Construction of Multiple Authorship

Dedications and Allusion

Barbara Barry claims that Mozart's minuets in the string quartets K. 387, K. 428, and K. 458 "owe much to Haydn in their off-beat dynamics, rhythmic gesture, elliptical, quirky phrasing and swooping leaps across the range."¹ Mark Evan Bonds, meanwhile, argues that the finale of K. 464 was modeled on Haydn's "fuga a Quattro soggetti" of Haydn's op. 20, no. 2,² and Elaine Sisman draws attention to the similarity in length between the slow movements of op. 20 no. 1 and K. 428.³ Many, in fact, have speculated on the parallels between the quartets that Mozart dedicated to Haydn and Haydn's opp. 20 and 33.⁴ Perhaps even absent the knowledge of Mozart's dedication,

¹ Barbara Barry, "Debt and Transfiguration: Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets by Way of Haydn's Opus 33," in *The Philosopher's Stone: Essays in the Transformation of Musical Structure*, (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000), 78.

² Mark Evan Bonds, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery?: Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets and the Question of Influence," *Studi musicali* 22 (1993): 377.

³ Sisman, "Observations on the First Phase of Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets," in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honor of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 42.

⁴ Most recently, these include Friedrich Lippmann, "Zur Struktur der langsamen Sätze der mozartschen 'Haydn-Quartette' im Vergleich mit Haydns op.33," *Studi Musicali* 35 (2006): 193-211; Rudolf Buckholdt, "Liebe zu einer unterschätzten Komposition Joseph Haydns: Die Finalsätze von Haydns 'russischem' Quartett in G-Dur und Mozarts 'Haydn'-Quartett in d-moll," in *Studien zur Musik der Wiener Klassiker: eine Aufsatzsammlung zum 70. Geburtstag des Autors*, ed. Christian Speck (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 2001), 61-70; Jan La Rue, "The Haydn-Dedication Quartets: Allusion or Influence?" *Journal of Musicology* 18:2 (Spring 2001): 361-373; Wolfram Steinbeck, "Mozarts 'Scherzi': Zur Beziehung zwischen Haydns Streichquartetten op. 33 und Mozarts 'Haydn-Quartetten,'" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 41:3 (1984): 208-31; and

we would be tempted to make this comparison because of Haydn's stature at the time as a preeminent composer in that genre. But the dedication makes the comparison more inevitable. In fact, recent reception of certain composer-to-composer dedications indicates that we often contemplate dedicated works through the lens of the compositional style of the dedicatee; we allow the dedication to draw us into the language of musical allusion or influence, as in Jim Samson's work on reciprocal dedications between Chopin and Liszt.⁵ This kind of reception, however, is not particular to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; dedications were in fact a part of a rich web of allusive references in their own day.

The recent increase in investigations into musical borrowing and allusion has revealed a broader culture of exchange in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music. Many studies of the music of Handel and Mozart show that borrowing was a common practice in the eighteenth century.⁶ In the most comprehensive study of allusions in the nineteenth century, Christopher Reynolds has argued that composers deliberately commented

James Webster, "Mozart's and Haydn's Mutual borrowings: levels of Plausibility," in *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference*, ed. Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Serwer, and James Webster (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), 410-412.

⁵ Jim Samson, "Dédicaces réciproques: Les études de Chopin et de Liszt," in *Frédéric Chopin: Interpretations*, Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, ed. (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 127-137. Another example of such work is Tom Beghin's "A Composer, his Dedicatee, her Instrument, and I: Thoughts on Performing Haydn's Keyboard Sonatas," *Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 203-225.

⁶ The scholarship on the borrowing habits of both of these composers is vast. Examples include, for Mozart: Walther Siegmund-Schultze, "Mozarts Handel-Rezeption" in *Georg Friedrich Händel als Wegbereiter der Wiener Klassik* (Halle: Martin-Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittenberg, 1977), 72-87; Monika Holl, "Nochmals: Mozart hat kopiert! Das Kyrie-Fragment KV 1861/91 – Teil einer Messe von Georg Von Reutter der Junger," *Acta Mozartiana* 30:2 (1983): 33-36; Balázs Mikusi, "Mozart Copied! But Did he Pay Tribute?" *Mozart Society of America Newsletter* 10:1 (2006): 11-14. For Handel, see Steffen Voss, "Händels Entlehnungen aus Johann Matthesons Oper Porsenna (1702)," *Göttinger Handel-Beiträge* 10 (2004): 81-94; Gregory Barnett, "Handel's borrowings and the disputed Gloria," *Early Music* 34:1 (Feb 2006): 75-92; Ian Payne, "Capital gains: Another Handel Borrowing from Telemann?" *Musical Times* 142:1874 (spring 2001): 33-42; John E. Sawyer, "Irony and Borrowing in Handel's Agrippina," *Music & Letters* 80 (Nov 1999): 531-559; and John T. Winemiller, "Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowings," *Journal of Musicology* 15 (Fall 1997): 444-470.

musically on each other's works in ways that were either open and recognizable or more concealed.⁷ In fact, borrowing and allusion have generated a number of studies, some taxonomical and some theoretical. Kenneth Hull, for instance, has suggested that instances of contrastive allusion to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in Brahms's Fourth create a space for musical irony,⁸ while John Daverio has argued that Schumann's references to himself and Beethoven can be best understood by applying the contemporary vocabulary of the arabesque, particularly as theorized by Friedrich Schlegel.⁹

As a result of such work, there are almost as many descriptive terms for allusion as there are studies of the phenomenon. While Raymond Knapp writes of "generic resonance," for instance,¹⁰ Peter Burkholder prefers the simpler term "musical borrowing," though he does enumerate several sub-categories.¹¹ Borrowing, as a term, implies that an author actively and deliberately incorporated another's material into his or her own. The concept of intertextuality, as introduced by Julia Kristeva and examined by Roland Barthes and others, is another powerful way to explain multifarious stylistic similarities between works. It decentralizes the notion of the solitary author by fracturing the text into a collection of many voices or subjectivities. As Barthes explains:

a text is [...] a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations. [...] The writer can only imitate a gesture that is always

⁷ Christopher Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion: Context and Content in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

⁸ Kenneth Hull, "Allusive Irony in Brahms' Fourth Symphony," *Brahms Studies* 2 (1998): 135-168.

⁹ John Daverio, "Schumann's 'Im Legendenton' and Friedrich Schlegel's 'Arabesque,'" *Nineteenth-Century Music* 11 (1987): 150-163.

¹⁰ Raymond Knapp, *Brahms and the Challenge of the Symphony* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), 103-4.

¹¹ J. Peter Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes: Charles Ives and the Uses of Musical Borrowing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

anterior, never original. His only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any one of them.¹²

The style or language of a text is itself a web of references over which the author has control only in part; she may construct the design of the web, but not its fabric. Perhaps one of the most useful interpretive tools to come from this concept, then, is the ease with which it allows one to remove agency from the author regarding the similarities between her works and those of her peers and predecessors.

However, though intertextuality in the abstract is about "a work's participation in a [general] discursive space,"¹³ as Jonathan Culler has noted, it has taken on other meanings in practice; the concept has come to refer to relationships between specific works. In other words, when used in the interpretation of texts, intertextuality begins to look like allusion or transtextuality, another of Genette's neologisms, which refers to precisely these kinds of more particular similarities between texts.¹⁴ In fact, John Milsom has pointed to several such applications of the term in musicological scholarship.¹⁵ Much of this work does not explore the presence or construction of a broad discourse or collection of multiple subjectivities within works as much as it analyzes resonances between examples of a limited repertoire. It turns out that the concept of intertextuality is difficult to apply in textual analysis.

¹² Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, selected and transl. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 146. Barthes also explores intertextuality in *S/Z* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1970).

¹³ Jonathan Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, and Deconstruction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 103.

¹⁴ Gérard Genette defines transtextuality in *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, transl. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 1-6.

¹⁵ John Milsom, "'Imitatio', 'Intertextuality', and Early Music," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 142-44.

In any case, because the goal of my discussion is the investigation of the functions of the composer-to-composer dedication, which constitutes a kind of statement that requires and promotes a strong authorial position, intertextuality, in its abstract form, is not the best framework here. First, when found in the printed medium, as are all of the examples examined here, dedications involve a format that, particularly in exemplars from the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, visually highlights the authority of the composer by placing his name prominently on the title page, as is evident in Examples 4.4-4.6 below. Secondly, as argued by Genette himself and discussed in the Introduction, dedications have illocutionary force; they engage a speaker in a performative speech act,¹⁶ a kind of utterance that necessarily involves a subject. As explained in the Introduction, it is not possible to dedicate a volume without at least implying the source of that dedication; a statement such as "this work is dedicated to *x*" presupposes the statement "*y* dedicates this work to *x*." Though intertextuality can be useful for contextualizing the content of works within certain stylistic trends, I wish here to interpret the content of works by way of their title pages, a move that, because of the visual appearance of such pages at this time, ensures that each is considered in relation to a particular composer.

Like Reynolds, then, I prefer the concept of allusion, because it keeps intact the notion of the author—the *y* in the above statement of dedication. Simultaneously, allusion allows for a subtle kind of agency for the readership of the work: the author, though a participant, does not create the allusion on her own; rather, the allusion is realized in the moment of reception. When

¹⁶ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, transl. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 11.

perceived by the reader, allusion, unlike intertextuality, implies a deliberate intention on the part of the composer, but it is the reader who, in perceiving some sort of musical reference, bestows the agency of that allusion on the author. The reader, in other words, assigns subjectivity to the composer, an idea to which we will return below.

Specifically, dedications implicate the dedicatee in allusion to some degree by providing the reader, up front, with the name of a secondary influence, the source for a possible allusion. Historically, dedicatory epistles to patrons implied metaphorically that the dedicatee played a role in the creation of the work; for example, in Claudio Merulo's dedication of his first book of madrigals (1566) to the duke of Parma:

If by ancient law we are held always to offer to God the first fruits of the earth, by age-old and praiseworthy custom we are also obliged to give to great princes the first offspring of our creativity that we send forth into the light. But if anyone was ever bound by this honored custom, so much more am I constrained to present to your most illustrious Excellency these, my madrigals, set to music—the first offspring that I ever produced in the public theater of the world.¹⁷

This grand metaphor implies that the duke, like God, is partially responsible for the creation of the "fruits" of the author's labor. Other less elaborate formulations persisted in epistles of the eighteenth century. Pleyel, for instance, in the dedication of his op. 1 string quartets, informs Count Ladislaus Erdödy that his "kindness, paternal care, and encouragement have enabled the graces and all the life of my art."¹⁸

This kind of suggestion that the dedicatee "enabled" the creation of the works was common even in shorter eighteenth-century epistles, and

¹⁷ Claudio Merulo, *Sixteenth-Century Madrigal*, vol. 18, ed. Jesse Ann Owens (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xi. Original Italian not provided in this edition.

¹⁸ Reprinted in Rita Benton, *Ignaz Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), 100.

transferred easily to the language of composer-to-composer dedications. In one of the first such dedications (1772), Ernest Labadens gives credit to his dedicatee, the famous violin virtuoso Pierre Gaviniés, for some of the ideas in the method book that he is offering:

the points into which you truly wanted to enter with me on this method, the light that you shed [on the topic] and which encouraged me to make this [book] be issued—you give all of this, to my gratitude: in dedicating this work to you, I am merely bearing public witness to these sentiments.¹⁹

Labadens readily admits that many of his ideas were informed by those of Gaviniés.

There is another subtle way to implicate the dedicatee in allusion. In the dedicatory rhetoric of composer-to-composer dedications, the dedicator often openly acknowledges the approval of the dedicatee, as discussed in Chapter 2. Though such a gesture does not explicitly claim influence from the dedicatee, it does mark him or her as a potential influence; it plants the seed of allusion by encouraging the reader to look to that particular figure when searching for the artist's inspiration for the work. Mozart's epistle to Haydn (1785), for instance, claims the following:

during your most recent sojourn in this capital you yourself, my very dear friend, demonstrated to me your satisfaction with [these quartets]. — This approval of yours above all encourages me to commend them to you.²⁰

Implicit in Mozart's remark is that Haydn's approval encourages him to "commend them" to *us*, the readers. Eybler's dedication (1794) also asserts that his works were approved with "kindness," and echoes this language in his own advertisement:

¹⁹ Ernest Labadens, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer du violon et à lire la musique enrichie de plusieurs estampes en taille douce* (Paris: Gérardin, 1772).

²⁰ Reprinted in Walter, "Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette," 42-43.

[Eybler] can say nothing more favorable to recommend these quartets to Amateurs than that they pleased the so famous and beloved Kapellmeister, Hr. Joseph Haydn, so much that he gave the accommodating consent to allow the work to be dedicated to him.²¹

Benincori's epistle to Haydn (1809) continues this trend by stating that the elder composer was both the source for his "talent" and his "inspiration," while Ries purports to owe any success of his op. 1 sonatas dedicated to Beethoven (1806) to the "counsel" of the great composer. We can take these statements of approval to be akin to endorsements; as any good political spin-doctor knows, endorsements have the potential to be powerful signs of ideological kinship. The public is apt to associate the views or, in this case, the talent of the endorser with that of the endorsee; the public is apt, in other words, to assume that endorsement is an acknowledgement of influence. Or, at the very least, this is what these documents encourage them to assume.

These epistles show that the act of dedication more generally names the dedicatee as a potential source of inspiration for the author. This allusive function of dedications persists even when an epistle is absent, as is the case with most dedications from the late eighteenth century to the present. Whether or not this function is spelled out in an epistle, it is built into the act of dedication, which is rooted in the acknowledgement of enablement or endorsement of some kind. Simple, unmarked dedications, then, invite allusion, in the sense discussed here; they invite the reader to look for similarities between the work at hand and those of the dedicatee, and to place the agency for those references on the primary composer of the work at hand. Ries's dedication to Beethoven of his second symphony, for instance, would have encouraged the audience of the printed score to search for Beethovenian

²¹ Ibid., 37-38.

elements in the orchestral work, while Hummel's dedication to Haydn of his piano sonata, op.13, might have elicited comparisons to Haydn's own larger-scale works in that genre.

My avoidance of any specific discussion of the ways in which allusion functions in particular works is deliberate. Reynolds has richly illustrated the many kinds of allusions that can be detected in nineteenth-century music. He notes that allusions are not simply straightforward comments on another's work; they can represent a complex, often contentious dialogue that one composer has with another. He identifies the opening of Schumann's second symphony, for instance, as such a dialogue with Haydn's Symphony no. 104—contentious because it uses a similar motive set in a movement of an entirely different character. Similarly, Reynolds agrees with Schumann's assertion that the references to Beethoven's op. 101 in Mendelssohn's piano sonata op. 6 represent Mendelssohn's "intellectual relationship" with the earlier composer's work.²²

However, dedications do not necessarily invite such specific allusions. As mentioned above, allusions are a kind of mediated act, one in which the listener confers the agency of the allusion onto the author. The nature of the allusion, then, depends on the body of knowledge of the listener. I will not perceive an allusion to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Brahms's First, for instance, if I am not familiar with Beethoven's work. And though dedications offer the reader the name of the author of a potential source for an allusion, they do not suggest a particular work as that source. The only factor that might narrow the reader's search for a particular antecedent would be the genre of the work in question; one would be encouraged, for instance, to

²² Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion*, 33.

consider Haydn's string quartets as possible sources for allusion for the string quartets dedicated to him.

As mentioned above, some such allusions have been exhaustively considered, the most obvious case being Mozart's quartets dedicated to Haydn. Bonds has also claimed that several of Pleyel's op. 2 string quartets were modeled on Haydn's op. 20, though not as "successfully" as Mozart's.²³ Horst Walter, meanwhile, has pinpointed possible Haydnesque elements in many of the string quartets dedicated to the composer.²⁴ And in Schumann's *Fantasy*, op. 17, dedicated to Liszt (1839), the famously difficult leaps at the close of the second movement might seem to be a general reference to Liszt's known virtuosic style. (See Figure 4.1.) And as Nicholas Temperley has noted, the opening melody and rolling accompaniment of William Sterndale Bennett's *Fantasie* (1837) dedicated to Schumann seems to project forward to Schumann's seventh Novelette, published in 1839.²⁵ The dedication of Bennett's piece, then, would encourage the perception of two kinds of allusion: Schumann's reading audience might locate similarities to Bennett's *Fantasie*, while Bennett's audience in 1839 might retroactively find similarities to Schumann's Novelette.

²³ Mark Evan Bonds, "Replacing Haydn: Mozart's 'Pleyel' Quartets," *Music and Letters* 88 (2007): 201-225.

²⁴ Horst Walter, "Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette."

²⁵ Nicholas Temperley, "Schumann and Sterndale Bennett," *19th-Century Music*, 12:3 (Spring, 1989): 218.

Figure 4.1: Schumann Fantasy, op. 17, ii, mm. 230-241

The notion of the "retroactive" allusion—an allusion that is perceived but could not have been deliberate because the "source" work was written or published after the "original"—may seem a dubious one. In our traditional understanding of allusion, we have somewhat uncritically assumed and have worked hard to prove that when we perceive an allusion, it must have been intentional on the part of the author. My formulation of allusion, however, not only acknowledges but requires the role of the listener in its creation, making it entirely possible for the listener to confer the agency of an allusion onto the author retroactively.

Some of these allusions, whether retroactively perceived or not, may seem weak. In fact, in some cases, the search for allusion may prove fruitless. Cramer's sonata dedicated to Haydn (1799), for instance, seems to lack anything Haydnesque, using for thematic material the type of arpeggiated figuration typical of the London piano school. And the same is true of Ries's op. 11 piano sonatas also dedicated to Haydn (1810), which recall Clementi far more readily than their dedicatee, particularly in their reliance on melody and accompaniment style involving rolling left hand arpeggiation, lyrical melodies set in octaves in the right hand, and elaborate right-hand figuration. (See Figures 4.2-4.4.) But there need be no actual musical allusion for the dedication to have performed its function. Rather than proving the existence of particular allusions, in other words, the dedication raises questions of allusion; the dedication serves as a kind of allusive query, inviting the reader to look but not guaranteeing a discovery.

Dedications to performers are an example of this kind of invitation. As noted above, Schumann's Fantasy would have recalled Liszt's virtuosity, while many of the dedications in Table 4.1 would cause the reader to search for styles characteristic of those performers' improvisations and repertoire. Romberg, for instance, was a famous cellist and frequent performer across Europe from the late eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries; the placement of his name on a title page would cause a consumer to assume the cello part of Ries's work to be formidable, perhaps involving the generous use of thumb position common in Romberg's own works.²⁶

²⁶ Kurt Stephenson and Valerie Walden, "Romberg," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43995pg2> (accessed December 13, 2008).

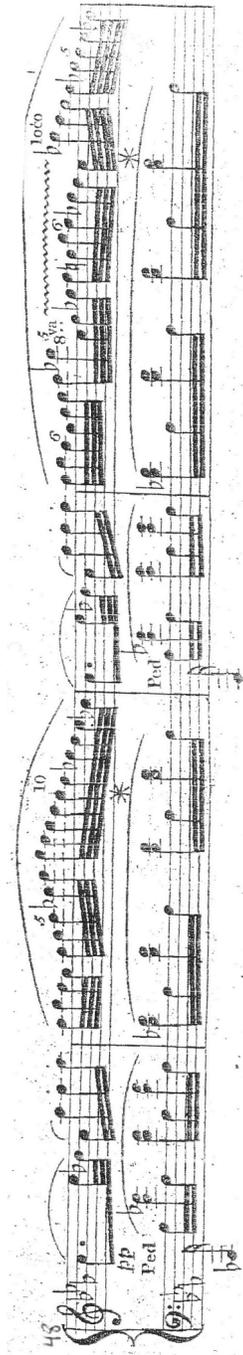


Figure 4.2: Ries, op. 11, no. 1, i, mm. 48-51, melody and accompaniment with right-hand figuration

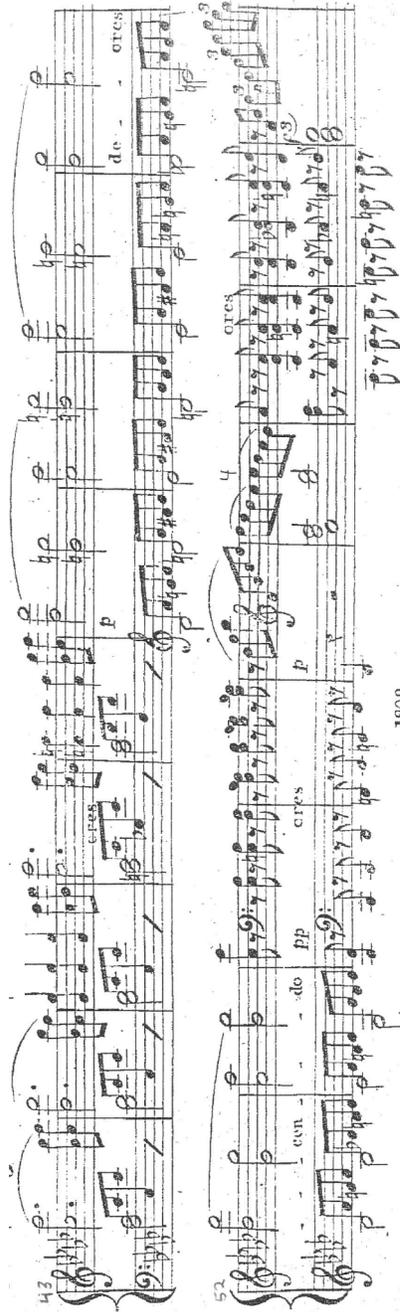


Figure 4.3: Ries, op. 11, no. 2, i,, mm. 43-60, melody and accompaniment, with right-hand melody in octaves

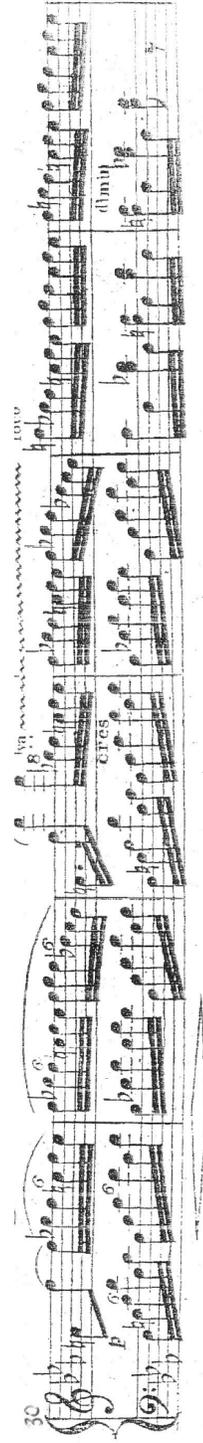


Figure 4.4: Ferdinand Ries, op. 11, i, no. 1, mm. 30-35, elaborate melody with arpeggiated accompaniment

In fact, the reputations of all of the performers in Table 4.1 would invite potential consumers to search for and expect demanding writing for the instrument of the dedicatee. In his autobiography, C.P.E. Bach implies that dedicatees can indeed leave a mark on the compositional process:

Because I have had to compose most of my works for specific individuals and for the public, I have always been more restrained in them than in the few pieces that I have written merely for myself.²⁷

Though he does not name such "individuals" as performers, Bach suggests that any kind of recipient significantly affects his writing in some way.

Table 4.1: Selected dedications to performers, 1800-1840

Composer	Work	Instr.	Dedicatee	Year Publ.
Dufresne, Fidèle	op. 16: Concerto no. 2	vn, orch	Kreutzer, Rodolphe	1802
Beethoven	op. 47: Sonata	vn, pf	Kreutzer	1805
Demonchy, N.	3 duos	2 vn	Kreutzer	1809
Ries	op. 20-21: Grand Sonatas	pf, vc	Romberg, Bernhard	1810
Pleyel, Camille	op. 3: Quartet	pf, vn, va, vc	Kalkbrenner	1819
Clementi, Muzio	op. 46: Sonata	pf	Kalkbrenner	1820
Cramer	op. 69: Quintet	pf, 2 vn, va, vc	Moscheles	1823
Pixis	Trio no. 3	pf, vn, vc	Moscheles	1828
Mayseder, Joseph	op. 40: Variations	vn	Paganini	1828
Pixis	op. 109: <i>Fantaisie sur la dernière pensée musicale de Weber</i>	pf	Liszt	1829-30
Chopin	op. 10: Etudes	pf	Liszt	1833
Chopin	op. 9: 3 Nocturnes	pf	Pleyel, Marie	1833
Kalkbrenner	op. 120: <i>Fantaisie et variations sur une mazourka de Chopin</i>	pf	Pleyel, Marie	1833
Mendelssohn	op. 28: Fantasy	pf	Moscheles	1834
Schumann	op. 14: Sonata no. 3 in F minor	pf	Moscheles	1838

²⁷ Translated in William S. Newman, "Emanuel Bach's Autobiography," *The Musical Quarterly* 51 (1965): 371.

What dedications do have in common with allusion, then, at a most basic level, is that they both involve a kind of game or play. As Reynolds has argued, in allusion, "intricate and complementary acts of concealment and interpretation bring artist and reader together in an intellectual game of symbolic hide-and-seek."²⁸ Dedication seems to involve a similar pattern of "concealment and interpretation," simultaneously revealing the name of a source of inspiration and leaving the reader with the task of deciphering the precise manifestation of that influence.

Dedications and Multiple Authorship

I have suggested some ways, then, that the dedication penetrates the consumer's experience of the music itself. Genette similarly argued that the paratext is the threshold of the text and therefore necessarily affects a reader's encounter with it. With reference to dedications specifically, however, he does not describe particular ways in which these effects might manifest themselves. He gracefully avoids the question, hinting only, in a curiously under-explained statement:

On the threshold or at the conclusion of a work, one cannot mention a person or a thing as a privileged addressee without invoking that person or thing in some way (as the bard of old invoked the muse—who couldn't do anything about it) and therefore implicating the person or thing as a kind of ideal inspirer. "*For So-and-So*" always involves some element of "*By So-and-So*." The dedicatee is always in some way responsible for the work that is dedicated to him and to which he brings, willy-nilly, a little of his support and therefore participation.²⁹

²⁸ Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion*, 21.

²⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 136. Emphasis added.

Genette implicitly draws upon the history of dedicatory rhetoric, which often credited the patron with enabling and inspiring the work and subtly implied that the patron had played a role in the creative process, as shown above.

Martin Kemp has shown, in his work on literary history, that "the patron was often expected to 'invent' the artist's subject matter."³⁰ Roger Chartier echoes this sentiment in his assessment of Corneille's dedication of *Horace* to Richelieu (1640):

The dedication to the prince is not to be understood simply as the instrument of an unsymmetrical exchange between one person who offers a work and another who accords his patronage in a deferred and generous countermove. It is also a figure by means of which the prince seems himself praised as the primordial inspiration and the first author of the book that is being presented to him, as if the writer or the scholar were offering him a work that was in fact his own.³¹

Chartier thus spells out the slippage from inspiration to authorship that is central to my argument. When the dedicatee is a composer, such "inspiration" adds another layer of meaning, because inspiration turns even more easily into influence. To alter Genette's statement, one could claim that "for so-and-so" implies "because of so-and-so," which itself suggests "influenced, in some way, by so-and-so."

Harold Bloom's shadow looms over any discussion of influence and allusion. His investigation into the nature of the artist's confrontation with his predecessors has shown the importance of considering the effects of one artist's voice on another's.³² In fact, what we can take from Bloom, despite his problematic embrace of the concept of the master and the masterwork, is the

³⁰ Martin Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia: the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977), 347-98.

³¹ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 42.

³² Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

insight that behind every artist's voice, there is always the possibility of the presence of another's; any work has the potential to be, in perhaps a Bakhtinian way, multiply-voiced.³³

Allusion, more broadly, tends to involve another author's voice. When we hear the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in the finale of Brahms's First, we are recognizing not only a similarity to a previous work but one composer's affinity with another. As Christopher Reynolds has observed, recalling Bakhtin's notion of dialogism, allusion is a kind of dialogue present in the music, and such "musical utterances thus contain two voices, with the voice of the speaker transmitting (and interpreting) the words of the other."³⁴ By referencing the material of another author, in other words, the primary author encourages the reader to perceive a secondary voice in the work. It is crucial to recognize that the composer quoted does not directly participate in the authorship of the work at hand, but the existence of the allusion invites the reader to place this composer in an authorial position behind the primary composer. This is the kind of multiple authorship that will be investigated here; much like the notion of allusion employed above, it is one that is perceived, constructed by the listener. Certainly many composers draw on material of their peers and predecessors, and much of that activity is not readily apparent to listeners. This kind of subtle intertextuality that makes up a musical style is not necessarily a gesture towards multiple authorship. But when these references become identifiable and, most importantly, *identified* by virtue of a work's paratexts—specifically, its title and title page—they pull the explicitly named second composer into a position of passive collaborator.

³³ See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

³⁴ Reynolds, *Motives for Allusion*, 16.

Dedications, of course, are not audible, but, particularly in the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, they made quite an impression on the eye. It is this visual impression, as well as the history of the function of composer-to-patron dedications, that causes them to participate in a culture of multiple authorship. As has been discussed in previous chapters, title pages in this era present the name of the dedicatee with equal or near-equal prominence to that of the composer. This presentation is similar to other kinds of title pages from the time: those for arrangements, transcriptions, variation sets, and paraphrases, all of which draw on the work of more than one composer. Here, I refer to the composer of the work at hand—the arrangement or paraphrase—as the primary composer, and that of the source material as the secondary composer. These two roles are not in a fixed relationship with one another; one may have more of a voice than the other depending on the work in question, as we shall see below.

Arrangements, transcriptions, and paraphrases rose to popularity in the same period as composer-to-composer dedications; not coincidentally, all of these genres involve title-page references to more than one composer. Some of Mozart's reworkings of other composers' material, for instance, were published during his lifetime or directly thereafter. In a visual representation typical of the day, the title page of his variations on a minuet by J. P. Duport lends equal prominence to each composer's name. (See Figure 4.5.) Mozart published variation sets during his lifetime on works by more than ten other composers, many of which boasted similar title pages. Perhaps his largest-scale reworking of another composer's original material appeared only posthumously: his re-orchestration of Handel's *Messiah*, published by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1803.



Figure 4.5: Mozart, K. 573. First edition, as reprinted in Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, v. 2 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986), 295.

Simultaneously to this heightened interest in variations, a culture of arrangements developed, particularly in Paris and Berlin. The Imbault publishing house in Paris, for instance, advertised a number of arranged works in 1802, including the following:

Gyrowetz, [?], arranged by Schmutz
 Haydn, op. 82 [Hob. XV:24], arranged for piano quartet by Dussek
 Haydn, op. 51 [Symphony no. 84], arranged for 2 pianos by Rigel
 Jarnowick, viola concerto, [orchestral reduction] by Breval
 Neubauer, [?], arranged for 3 flutes by Weisse
 Pleyel, "1^e and 2^e liv.," arranged for flute quartet by Devienne
 Pleyel, "8^e liv.," arranged for clarinet quartet by Devienne
 Pleyel, "3^e liv.," arranged for two flutes by Devienne
 Pleyel, "1 et 2^e," arranged for two flutes by Hoffmeister; also arranged by Vanderhagen

Pleyel, sonatas, arranged for flute by Holuba
 Pleyel "1, 2, 3," arranged for clarinet quintet by Solere
 Pleyel, [?], arranged for two clarinets by Vanderhagen
 Pleyel, [?], arranged as a clarinet sonata by Solere
 Pleyel, op. 10, arranged for piano trio by Lachnit; also arranged by Hemmerlin
 Pleyel, "2^e liv.," arranged by Rigel; also arranged by Boquestan
 Pleyel, [?], arranged for piano quartet by Adam
 Pleyel, op. 12, arranged for two horns by Bisch
 Pierlot, symphony, arranged for piano by Sehnal
 Yaniewicz, piano concerto, [orchestral reduction] by Dussek³⁵

In this year alone, Imbault advertised 21 arrangements, many of which were derived from Pleyel's works. In addition, a perusal through Hoboken's catalogue of Haydn's works shows that many string quartets were reissued in several arranged forms immediately after publication,³⁶ while Thomas Christensen notes that as early as the 1790s, many of his symphonies had appeared in four-hand transcription.³⁷ As the nineteenth century progressed, simple arrangements and more elaborate paraphrases or fantasies only gained in popularity. Periodicals such as the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the *Wiener Zeitung*, and the *Revue et Gazette musicale* advertised and reviewed an increasing number of such works between 1800 and 1850. In January 1830, one reviewer claimed to have been overwhelmed by the "mass of arrangements," whose "rich and inexhaustible source" was "Berlin's great Arranger-Factory [*Arrangir-Fabrik*]."³⁸ Examples of such works include the following:

³⁵ Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1979), plates 107 and 108.

³⁶ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisches-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* vol. 1 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957).

³⁷ Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (Summer 1999): 255-298. See also Karl Gustav Fellerer, "Klavierbearbeitungen Haydn'scher Werke im Frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift Jens Peter Larsen*, Nils Schiørring, Henrik Glahn, and Carsten E. Hatting eds. (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1972), 301-16.

³⁸ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 32 (27 January 1830): 54.

F. I. Freystädtler, 14 Variations for piano on Haydn's "Andante si renommé" [from Symphony no. 94, "Surprise"]. (Advertised in *Die Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (AMZ), June 1800)

Abbé Gelinek, Variations for piano from a quartet by Haydn, op. 97 ["Erdödy" quartets]. (Advertised in AMZ, December 1803)

Abbé Gelinek, Variations for piano on the air "J'ai de la raison" from Méhul's *L'Irato*. (Advertised in AMZ, September 1804)

A. E. Müller, piano reduction of Mozart's *Clemenza di Tito* (advertised in AMZ, October 1804)

Joseph Lipavsky, *Grand Rondeau Fantaisie sur la première Romance de l'Opéra Helène de Méhul*. Vienna: Bureau d'arts et d'industrie. (Advertised in AMZ, October 1807)

Louis Jadin, Two fantasies on romances by Méhul. (Advertised in AMZ, October 1807)

Such works continued to be published in abundance towards the mid-nineteenth century as well.

C. G. Haepfner, *Variations sur une Valse favorite* (advertised in AMZ, January 1830)

J. F. Kelz, *Alegretto grazioso de l'opera: Oberon*, op. 114 (advertised in AMZ, January 1830)

Carl Czerny, *Fantaisie brillante sur trois Thèmes de Haydn, Mozart et Beethoven*, op. 171, (advertised in AMZ, January 1830)

A. Mühling, 3 Grand duos arranged after the quartets of Bernhard Romberg, (advertised in AMZ, January 1830)

F. Mockwitz, Quintet by George Onslow, arranged for piano four-hands (advertised in AMZ, February 1831)

J. Freudenthal, *Potpourri pour pianoforte et violon, tiré de l'opéra "La Muette de Portici" par Auber* (advertised in AMZ, February 1831)

J. P. Schmidt, Beethoven, piano concerto op. 37 concerto, arr. for piano four-hands (advertised in AMZ, April 1831)

F. Mockwitz, Piano four-hand arrangement of Bellini's *I Capuleti è Montecchi* (advertised in AMZ, March 1833)

J. Benedict and T. Bucher, *Premier grand potpourri et variations concertantes sur deux themes de Rossini et un air favori napolitan* (advertised in *AMZ*, April 1833)

F. Kuhlau, *3 leichte Rondos über beliebte melodien aus der oper "Fra Diavolo" von Auber*, op. 118. (*AMZ*, April 1833)

This list constitutes only a small sample of the large repertoire of arrangements, variation sets, and fantasies circulating between 1785 and 1850. Christensen has noted that there were nearly 9000 publications of four-hand piano music listed in the Hoffmeister catalogue of 1844,³⁹ many of these were arrangements. Nearly all of Liszt's compositional output before 1850 consisted of paraphrases and fantasies based on others' works; a list of these hundreds of examples, published in Paris and elsewhere, is too long to include here.

The title pages for later such works continue the trend begun in the late eighteenth century; the names of the composers of source material are strikingly prominent typographically. (See Figures 4.6 and 4.7.) Much like those of dedicatees, the names of Weber and Rossini, as secondary authors, are the same size and equally ornate as Herz and Thalberg, the primary composers of these works. As printed, then, from the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, the musical score highlighted the authors of source material.

³⁹ Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription," 257.



Figure 4.6: Henri Herz, *Variations Brillantes* (1835), reprinted in Herz, *Selected Works*, ed. Jeffrey Kallberg (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 239



Figure 4.7: Sigismond Thalberg, *Divertissement*, op. 18 (1836), reprinted in Sigismond Thalberg, *Selected Works*, ed. Jeffrey Kallberg (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 103

It is the popularity of these "derived" genres, coupled with the appearance of their title pages, that suggests the existence of a culture of multiple authorship at this time. First, while Pleyel's prevalence in the Imbault catalogue certainly attests to the composer's popularity, it simultaneously provides an important glimpse at the motivation for many arrangements. At the turn of the century, Pleyel was one of the most widely published composers, particularly in Paris; one may presume that arrangements of his music were designed to capitalize on that popularity. As we saw in Chapter 2 with dedications, those genres sold as "derived" in some way could function as promotional tools for arrangers, as a way for them to attach themselves to the more famous composer of the source material. The audience would purchase the work because of an interest in the original source, but would consequently become familiar with the name of the arranger associated with it. If they enjoyed the arrangement, they might be inclined to buy more offerings from the same arranger. Situations such as these persist today: if I watch a BBC adaptation of a favorite novel and find it compelling, I might be inclined to watch other similar BBC adaptations. The creator of the arrangement is dependent, therefore, on the fact that the consumer is looking for a work composed similarly to its source, but also simultaneously hopes to benefit from the consumer's observation that, somewhere along the way, another author's efforts made that source accessible in its current form.

Some reviews and advertisements attest to the fact that such a perception was possible at the time. Breitkopf and Härtel's 1802 advertisement for Mozart's reworking of Handel's *Messiah*, for instance, highlights the skills of both composers:

that Handel was, in his time, the greatest composer of this genre that he himself created and that the *Messiah* is the most sublime and great of his works is well known. [...] However, that his work is lacking in the more enjoyable charms of the newer music [...]; that it is difficult to perform in our times, because the singing parts are written only as obbligato and without instrumental support, particularly in the movements for soloists; [...] that finally some arias are too long and too monotonous [...], according to the spirit of Handel's time—all of this is likewise to be granted.

The great Mozart sensed [these problems] very well, [...] and undertook this work on the *Messiah*. He proceeded with the greatest care, and cleared away all the above hindrances to the wider distribution of this work, but also, with the greatest delicacy, did not disturb anything.⁴⁰

The advertisement first stresses Handel's reputation, but then notes that the "great" Mozart has fixed any shortcomings of the *Messiah*; this version, then, has the stamp of two famous composers. Reviews of other arrangements from the time emphasize the role of the secondary composer more subtly. One of the most famous arrangements of the mid-nineteenth century was Liszt's piano reduction of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*. In fact, because the full score of the symphony was not published until 1845, it is only because of this arrangement (1834) that Schumann was able to write his equally famous review in 1835, which, despite its focus on Berlioz's work, acknowledges Liszt's role. Schumann discusses the arrangement as if it is somewhat

⁴⁰ Reprinted in Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts*, (Breitkopf and Härtel: Wiesbaden, 1964), 646. "Dass Händel in der von ihm selbst geschaffenen Gattung der grösste Tonkünstler der vorigen Periode war, und dass der *Messias* das erhabenste und grösste aller seiner Werke ist, ist zu bekannt. [...] Dass aber sein Werk der angenehmen Reize der neuern Musik ermangelt [...]; dass es, weil die Singstimmen, besonders in den Solosätzen, nur obligat und ohne Unterstützung der Instrumente geschrieben sind, für unsere Zeiten [...] schwer ist, gut auszuführen; [...] dass endlich manche Arien, dem Geist der Zeit Händel's gemäss, zu lang und zu einförmig [...] bearbeitet sind, das ist ebenfalls zuzugestehen. Der grosse Mozart [...] fühlte das sehr gut, und [...] er übernahm diese Bearbeitung des *Messias*. Er ist dabey mit der grössten Sorgsamkeit verfahren, hat alle oben angeführte Hindernisse der weitem Verbreitung dieses Werkes weggeräumt; aber auch mit äusserst Delikatesse nichts berührt."

parasitic on the symphony; it is not quite its own artistic creation, though it has been artfully done:

Liszt has applied so much industry and enthusiasm that the result, *like an original work* summarizing his profound studies, must be considered as a complete manual of instruction in the art of playing the piano from score.⁴¹

The arrangement, Schumann readily admits, is not an original work; it is praiseworthy, yes, but as a "manual of instruction" rather than as an artistic creation. This language is typical of discussions of arrangements of orchestral works and concertos: arrangers are usually commended for making the material accessible to their piano-playing readership rather than for the pure artistic merit of their effort. An earlier review of an arrangement by J. P. Schmidt of Beethoven's third piano concerto states:

One knows, one loves the splendid concerto of our unforgettable Beethoven. Far too seldom does one have the opportunity to hear it performed with orchestral accompaniment. Who would not be pleased to receive an arrangement of this masterpiece that makes the repetition of this enjoyment so easy?⁴²

The implication is that Schmidt's work does indeed make Beethoven's more accessible. A similar review from 1808 of Müller's piano reduction of Mozart's *Clemenza di Tito* praises the arrangement as playable and as adequately representing the full range of orchestral parts.⁴³

While arrangements afford a stronger voice to the secondary author, other kinds of works suggest a more nearly equal partnership between their two authors. A review of Kuhlau's "3 leichte Rondos über beliebte melodien

⁴¹ Schumann, "A Symphony by Berlioz," in Berlioz, *Fantastic Symphony*, ed. Cone (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971), 244. Italics mine.

⁴² *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (April, 1831). "Man kennt, man liebt das vortreffliche Concert unsers unvergesslichen Beethoven. Viel zu selten hat man Gelegenheit, es mit Orchesterbegleitung vortragen zu hören. Wem sollte es nicht willkommen seyn, ein Arrangement dieses Meisterwerkes zu erhalten, das ihm die Wiederholung eines solchen Genusses so leicht macht?"

⁴³ *Ibid.* (October 1804).

aus der oper *Fra Diavolo* von Auber," op. 118, for instance, in April 1833, compliments Kuhlau's original introduction, while also suggesting that those who love Auber's melodies will find "special enjoyment" in these works.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, a short announcement for J. Freudenthal's *Potpourri pour pianoforte et violon, tiré de l'opéra: La Muette de Portici par Auber* praises the way in which the work itself is written for the instruments.⁴⁵ Finally, Abbé Gelinek's variations on Haydn's "op. 97," for instance, is described in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of December, 1803, as "an enjoyable [angenehmes] piece," but one that is written too simply, as it misses the many "voices" present in Haydn's original.⁴⁶ Primary authors of such works could be praised or criticized, then, for their manipulation of others' material

The fact that composers of variation sets, paraphrases, and fantasies were considered to have more artistic autonomy than those of arrangements should not be surprising; the latter works are indeed more musically dependent on their sources for material than the former. Arrangements are generally aimed at remaining as true to the original as possible, while other derived genres may be based only on a theme or short section of material extracted from their source or sources. This difference in the strength of the musical presence of the secondary author suggests that the concept of multiple authorship existed as a spectrum rather than a fixed category. If we define the secondary author as the composer of the source material and the primary author as the composer of the new work, we can outline this spectrum in the following manner. (See Figure 4.8.)

⁴⁴ Ibid. (February, 1831).

⁴⁵ Ibid. (February 1831).

⁴⁶ Ibid. (December 1803).

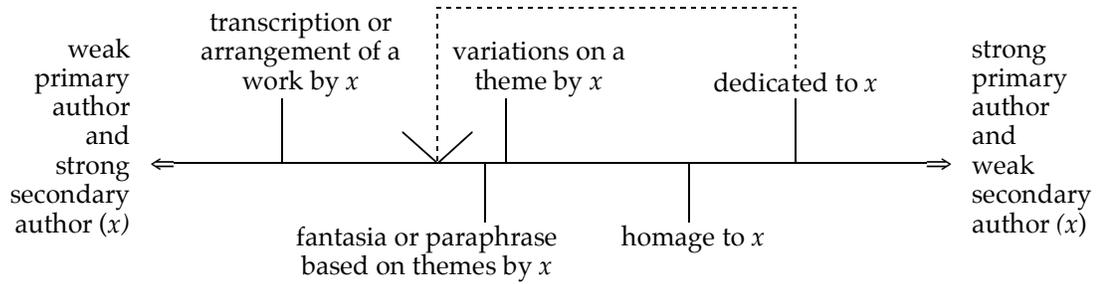


Figure 4.8: Spectrum of multiple authorship

Transcriptions and arrangements invoke the strongest sense of a secondary author, as they are the most dependent on their source material. Homages and dedications to composers, meanwhile, use the names of other composers, subtly inviting their readership to place those people in the position of secondary composer. Finally, fantasies and variation sets, as we saw above, imply a near equal partnership between primary and secondary composers, as it is evident that these kinds of works draw on but also significantly rework preexisting material. Figure 4.8, however, is meant to illustrate the existence of a spectrum for multiple authorship, not to carve in stone the places of those references on the spectrum. For instance, as the dotted arrow indicates, the act of dedication can be construed to exist closer to the center of the paradigm, for reasons that will be discussed below. One could also argue that variation sets should be placed to the left of paraphrases. Furthermore, types of works from other periods could easily find a place here; one obvious example would be the Renaissance parody mass, which, though absent a direct reference to a secondary author by name, conspicuously drew on the material of another composer in a way that some of the audience would have immediately recognized. Morales's *Missa vulnerasti cor meum*, for

instance, based much of its imitative material on Févin's motet of the same title. We might place such an example near the center of this spectrum.

Now, there is an obvious objection to this argument: most secondary authors have no direct hand in the primary composer's work, making it impossible for the authorship of the new work to be shared in a literal sense. The only type of secondary author who might actively participate in the creation of works such as those in Figure 4.8 is, in fact, the dedicatee. And this is the reason for the dotted arrow in the figure; the dedication implies that the dedicatee participated in authorship in some way, suggesting that the balance between the primary and secondary authors is more flexible. Historically, as noted above, dedicatory epistles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries implied that the dedicatee played a role in the creation of works, and one could argue that this implication persists with unmarked dedications. I am concerned here with the moment of reception, however, not creation, diminishing the importance of proving actual collaboration between authors. The title pages and reviews of the types cited above encouraged the audience for printed music to receive the musical material of a given work as having ties to two musical creators: one who wrote the new material, and another who wrote the preexisting material that endures in some recognizable form in the new work.

Previous efforts to complicate traditional notions of authorship have their roots in post-structuralist ideas of multiple subjectivities— subjectivities that may be evident in the text itself through allusion or broader intertextual references. Raymond Monelle's consideration of the "death and resurrection of the composer," for instance, places the subjectivity of music squarely in the

domain of the text.⁴⁷ Jack Stillinger, by contrast, exhumes secondary authors by exposing the many instances in which texts contain unacknowledged material from others.⁴⁸ I am, however, concerned not with deconstructing authorship by way of an examination of the complex references within the text, but with the manner in which the notion of multiple authorship is constructed by the text itself, as a material object, by way of its paratexts, the most relevant of which here are titles, dedications, and, more generally, title pages.

The door for this type of analysis was opened by Genette, who famously argued that things like titles, prefaces, notes, publishing information, and, of course, dedications cannot but affect our readings of the texts to which they are attached.⁴⁹ Genette, in other words, was interested in all facets of the work as a tangible product in the hands of its readership, thus bringing focus to the moment of reception. The text is not, in his consideration, an abstract thing; it is a concrete document whose content is mediated by its packaging. And although Genette does not claim as much specifically, this mediation does not exist in a vacuum; it is dependent upon the reader's reception.

One way of interpreting the author function at this time, then, is similar to my proposed definition of allusion: authorship is something that the material text invites the reader to assign. The titles and title pages of arrangements, paraphrases, and variation sets encourage the conferral of two kinds of authors: primary and secondary. Existing in a culture in which this

⁴⁷ Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 158-169.

⁴⁸ Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of the Solitary Genius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁴⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*.

kind of dual authorship was such a prominent tradition because of the sheer bulk of these derived genres on the market, composer-to-composer dedications, then, would seem like a weaker invitation to assign influence, or secondary authorship, to another composer. This type of dedication is drawn into the world of multiple authorship because of its history of epistolary rhetoric, which affords significant influence to the dedicatee, and because of its appearance on title pages. Michael Talbot has convincingly argued for the emergence of "composer-centredness" at the turn of the nineteenth century; in fact, he cites as evidence the appearance of editions of entitled "complete works" (*oeuvres complètes* [sic]), including Mozart's in 1798, Haydn's in 1800, and Clementi's in 1803, all issued by Breitkopf and Härtel.⁵⁰ Talbot has argued, in other words, that the emerging notion of the composer was aided by printed, paratextual claims regarding a composer's output. The point here has been to show that a kind of multiple authorship emerged at this same time, created by similar means.

This multiple author, of course, is in opposition to the concept of the solitary author that emerged in tandem with Romanticism. Schlegel touches on the importance of solitary authorship in his claim that "the modern poet must create all things from within himself [...] like a new creation out of nothing."⁵¹ Various reviews from the mid-nineteenth century practically apply such an idea to their criticism. In fact, the preference that critics like Tieck, Wackenroder, and later Hoffmann began to develop for absolute music can be cast as a preference for the solitary genius as well. In his reviews of

⁵⁰ Michael Talbot, "The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness," in *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 171.

⁵¹ Friedrich Schlegel, *Dialogue on Poetry and Literary Aphorisms* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), 81; quoted in Stelzig, 4.

operas, for instance, Hoffmann rarely if ever mentions the librettist; this particular strand of music criticism erased the efforts of collaborators, venerating works that could only have been created alone: non-programmatic instrumental music. Hoffmann went so far as to claim that such music was the only true music:

When music is spoken of as an independent art the term can properly apply only to instrumental music, which scorns all aid, all admixture of other arts, and gives pure expression to its own peculiar artistic nature.⁵²

And when music "scorns all aid," the implication is that composers should as well. As a result, music that was found to be derivative in some way was judged as lacking. Hoffmann's criticism of Spohr's first symphony, for instance, claims that the work is effective only despite the fact that parts are not "entirely original" and the conclusion of the last movement is based on a phrase that is "too ordinary."⁵³ Both comments imply that the work might be taken to be inferior because it relies on pre-existing material, or at least a pre-existing musical discourse; the work uses allusion or intertextuality to some extent, and is therefore not wholly original. The valorization of solitary creation is also evident in the erasure of certain secondary authors. No matter what Franz Xaver Süßmayr's role in the completion of Mozart's Requiem, the composer was never given public credit; Simon Keefe has shown that the work was marketed and distributed from the outset as a creation solely by the late composer.⁵⁴

This practice marks the beginning of our modern-day preference for the

⁵² E. T. A. Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 236.

⁵³ Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 275, 284.

⁵⁴ Simon Keefe, "'Die Ochsen am Berge': Franz Xaver Süßmayr and the Orchestration of Mozart's Requiem, K. 626," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61 (Spring 2008): 1-65.

original and neglect of the collaborative. Though in our scholarship we acknowledge the role of librettists, for instance, they frequently disappear in the popular conception of opera. At a Metropolitan Opera HD Cinema broadcast of *Peter Grimes* in the spring of 2008, for instance, Montagu Slater's name appeared nowhere on the program distributed at the door; in fact, the librettist was buried only in an intermission documentary. The works that we do acknowledge as collaborative in some way are, or have been until recently, considered second-class citizens in musicological scholarship: musicals (Gilbert *and* Sullivan, Rodgers *and* Hammerstein), jazz arrangements, popular songwriting, and nineteenth-century arrangements, paraphrases, and fantasies on others' themes. I have concentrated here on the last of these, but many of my remarks could be used to interpret the authorship of these other categories. And though arrangements, paraphrases, and fantasies were ignored in the most durable strand of music criticism in the nineteenth century, they held a larger market share than non-collaboratively composed works; though critics neglected them, the consuming public did not, and this public interest is the impetus for my work here.

* * *

In his assessment of the role of subjectivity in musical texts, Monelle suggests that performers are a kind of reader.⁵⁵ But a collapse between the acts of reading and performing the musical text should not be a revelation; if it is, we have been seduced by the availability of recorded and publicly performed music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. From the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, by contrast, the most ready way to hear music was to read it, to play it oneself, privately or semi-privately at

⁵⁵ Monelle, *The Sense of Music*, 168-9.

home. The reader, therefore, was always a kind of performer, and in order to choose her music, that performer had first to be a consumer. At this time, arrangements, variation sets, and paraphrases allowed the reader-performer-consumer to experience reworkings of music that she might not otherwise be able to hear in the home or play themselves, including in particular symphonies, concertos, and operas. But this tradition has been lost in the last century; in order to hear her favorite large-scale work, an amateur merely has to buy a recording of it. The derived genres examined here no longer flood the market in the way that they once did. Interestingly, in the same period, another notable change occurred in the practices of printed music: dedications came to be printed not prominently on title pages, but subordinately on the first page of music, nearly hidden between the title and the score. It is likely that this move reflected an increased dominance of the concept of composer-centeredness; the information deemed most important—title and composer, perhaps also the publisher—was left on the title page, while everything else either disappeared or was relocated. (See Figure 4.9.)

It is no wonder, then, because of these developments, that musical scholarship has not adequately dealt with the possibility of a constructed multiple author. If we return to reconsider music as it was printed in the nineteenth century, however, while also taking stock of the difference in popularity of arrangements, variation sets, and, in particular, paraphrases and fantasies, a spectrum of multiple authorship begins to come into focus, one that functioned alongside the notion of the Romantic solitary composer,

PHANTASIE
für das Pianoforte
von
ROBERT SCHUMANN.

Op. 17.

Franz Liszt gewidmet.

Motto: Durch alle Töne Güet
Im bunten Erdentraum
Ein leiser Ton gezogen
Für den der heimlich lauscht.
Fr. Schlegel.

Durchaus phantastisch und leidenschaftlich vorzutragen. M. M. $\text{♩} = 80$.

sf
mf
p
sf

Pedal.

Figure 4.9: Robert Schumann, Fantasy, op. 17. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1946).

whose history has been tracked by Lydia Goehr and Michael Talbot.⁵⁶

Furthermore, composer-to-composer dedications, in their subtle reference to

⁵⁶ See Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), and Talbot, "The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness."

the voice of another author, can be seen as defining one end of this spectrum. Over the course of history, the voices of many composers have been lost, partly because we have not had a paradigm that adequately deals with instances in which they may be speaking simultaneously. This project has been designed to suggest such a paradigm.

APPENDIX A

Dedicatory Epistles

This Appendix contains, chronologically, all of the dedicatory epistles quoted in the previous chapters. When not explicitly indicated, the original language of each has been transcribed from first editions and translated by the author.

HW Horst Walter, "Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette," in *Joseph Haydn Tradition und Rezeption* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1985), 17-53

W. A. Mozart, 6 Sonatas for keyboard and violin, K. 26-31 (1766), dedicated to Princess of Nassau Weilbourg

Facsimile printed in Gertraud Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986), 17.

To Her Most Serene Madam, Princess of Nassau Weilbourg &cc.,
Madam!

Ready to leave Holland, I could not, without pain, think of that time. The virtues of your Serene Highness, the generosity, the kindnesses that called me back to life, the gentleness of her voice, the pleasure of accompanying it, the honor of offering her my homage through my feeble talents, all accustomed me to her agreeable Court and my tender heart will be eternally attached to it. Deign, Madame, receive a proof of it! Deign to accept the fruit of my sleepless nights and deign to regard it as a sign of my just gratefulness and of the profound respect with which I am, Madam,
Your highness's very humble,
very obedient, and very little servant
J. G. Wolfgang Mozart of Salzburg

A Son Altesse S n nissime Madame la Princesse de Nassau Weilbourg.
Madame!

Pr t   quitter la Hollande, je ne puis, sans douleur, penser   cet instant. Les vertus de Votre Altesse S r nissime, sa g n rosit , ses bont s qui m'ont rappell    la vie, la douceur de sa voix, le plaisir de l'accompagner, l'honneur de lui rendre mes hommages par mes foibles Talents, tout m'accoutumoit   son aimable Cour et mon tendre Coeur y sera  ternellement attach . Daigner, Madame, en recevoir une preuve ! Daignez agr er ce fruit de mes veilles & Daignez le regarder comme une marque de ma juste reconnaissance et du profond respect avec lequel je suis, Madame,
Votre Altesse S r nissime, le tr s-humble, tr s obeisant, et tr s-petit serviteur,
J. G. Wolfgang Mozart de Salzburg

Labadens, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer du violon* (1772), dedicated to Pierre Gaviniés

Sir,
Your superior talents have earned you the rights to my admiration; the points in which you truly wanted to enter with me on this method, the light that you shed [on the topic] and which encouraged me to make this [book] be issued – you give all of this to my gratitude: in dedicating this work to you, I am merely bearing public witness to these sentiments. May it form Artists that resemble you!
I am, with the most profound veneration,
Sir, Your very humble and fond servant
Labadens

Monsieur,
Vos talens superieurs vous avoient acquis des droits à mon admiration; les details dans lesquels vous avés bien voulu entrer avec moi sur cette méthode, les lumieres que vous avés repandues et qui m'encouragent à la faire paroître, vous en donnent à ma reconnaissance: en vous dédiant cet ouvrage, je ne fais que vous rendre un témoignage public de l'un et de l'autre de ces sentimens. Puisse t'il former des Artistes qui vous ressemblent!
Je suis avec la veneration la plus profonde, Monsieur, Votre très humble et très affectionné serviteur
Labadens

Ignaz Pleyel, *String quartets, op. 1* (1783), dedicated to Count Erdödy

Reprinted in Rita Benton, *Ignaz Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), 100. Translated by David Rosen, Stefania Neonato, and the author.

Illustrious Count,
Permit me to dedicate to you with the deepest respect these musical compositions of mine that, by their publication, see for the first time the light of day. To your kindness, paternal care, and your encouragement are indebted all the graces and all the life of my art. Regard this first offering of my public efforts as the smallest part of those very grateful feelings for which my whole life would be too short, were I to wish to express them to you in a worthy manner. I wrote these quartets in Italy, and, therefore, according to the taste prevailing there, they are neither so difficult in their execution, nor so deep in their art as my previous ones, but composed for the purpose of being more approachable and agreeable. The name I affix to them, that of a true connoisseur and lover of the noble art of music, will hide all of the faults that

Illustrissimo Signore Conte,
Permetta, che io le dedichi col più profondo rispetto queste mie composizioni musicali, che ora per la prima volta veggono per mezzo della stampa la luce pubblica. Alla sua bonta, alla sua paterna cura, ed al suo Incoraggiamento devonsi le grazie, e tutto la vita dell'arte mia. Consideri questa prima offerta delle pubbliche mie fatiche unicamente, come la menoma parte di quei gratissimi sentimenti, per i quail tutto il mio vivere sarebbe troppo breve, se io glieli volessi dimostrare condegnamente. Scrisi questi quartetti in Italia, e quindi secondo il gusto dominante di colà; non sono nè si difficili nell'esecuzione, nè si profondi nell'arte, come i miei precedenti, ma composti cosi a bella posta, accio si rendano più comuni, e piacevoli. Il nome, che ci metto innanzi, come di un vero conoscitore ed Amatore delle nobile musica arte, coprirà

they may have. May you only receive them with benign feelings ... I will be rewarded enough.
His illustrious Lordship's most humble servant,
Ignaz Pleyel

ogni difetto che vi potesse essere. Gli accolga sol tanto con benignità ... sarò premiato abbastanza.
di V.S. Illustrissimi, umilissimo Servitore,
Ignazio Pleyel

Mozart, String quartets "op. 10" (K. 387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465) (1785),
dedicated to Joseph Haydn

New translation by James Webster and David Rosen

To my dear friend Haydn,
A father, having resolved to send his children into the great world, considered it necessary to entrust them to the protection and guidance of a man very celebrated at the time, who by good fortune was also his best friend. — In like manner, celebrated man and dearest friend, here are my six children. — They are, it is true, the fruit of a long and laborious effort, but the hope given to me by several friends that I shall see it in some degree rewarded gives me courage and tempts me to believe that these offspring will some day be a comfort to me. — During your most recent sojourn in this capital you yourself, my very dear friend, demonstrated to me your satisfaction with them. — This approval of yours above all encourages me to commend them to you, and makes me hope that they will not seem entirely unworthy of your favor. — May it therefore please you to receive them benignly and be to them a father, guide, and friend! From this moment I cede to you my rights over them. I entreat you, however, to view with leniency the defects that the partiality of a father's eye may have concealed from me and, despite them, to continue your generous friendship towards one who so highly appreciates it. Meanwhile, I remain with all my heart,
dearest friend, your most sincere friend,
Vienna, 1 September 1785

W. A. Mozart

Al mio caro Amico Haydn,
Un Padre, avendo risolto di mandare I suoi figlj nel gran Mondo, stimò doverli affidare alla protezione, e condotta d'un Uomo molto celebre in allora, il quale per buona sorte, era di più il suo migliore Amico. — Eccoti dunque del pari, Uom celebre, ed Amico mio carissimo i sei miei figlj. — Essi sono, è vero il frutto di una lunga, e laboriosa fatica, pur la speranza fattami da più Amici di vederla almeno in parte compensata, m'incoraggisce, e mi lusinga, che questi parti siano per essermi un giorno di qualche consolazione. — Tu stesso Amico carissimo, nell'ultimo tuo Soggiorno in questa Capitale, me ne dimostrasti la tua soddisfazione. — Questo tuo suffragio mi anima sopra tutto, perchè Io te li raccomandi, e mi fa sperare, che non ti sembreranno del tutto indegni del tuo favore. — Piacciati dunque accoglierli benignamente; ed esser loro Padre, Guida, ed Amico! Da questo momento, Jo ti cedo I miei diritti sopra di essi: ti supplico però di guardare con indulgenza i difetti, che l'occhio parziale di Padre mi può aver celati, e di continuar loro malgrado, la generosa tua Amicizia a chi tanto l'apprezza, mentre sono di tutto Cuore, Amico Carissimo, il tuo Sincerissimo Amico,
Vienna il pmo Settembre 1785

W. A. Mozart

Joseph Eybler, String quartets, op. 1 (1794), dedicated to Joseph Haydn

HW, 37-8. Translated by Stefania Neonato and the author.

To my dear Friend, Mr. Giuseppe Haydn,

Unique and having no equal, The work which I present here and with all my heart dedicate to you is that same one of which you with so much kindness approved. He who will compare it to yours will see clearly that I'm too little for you, and you are too great for me; but he who knows those rare qualities with which you are adorned, and the unique kindness with which you honor me, will say that I could not choose a better patron, nor could I find a better way to express my gratitude. Accept it then with that same kindness that you show me, and, since it is the first result of my efforts which I send into the big world, protect it, I pray you, with all your authority. The great name you have acquired throughout Europe with your unique works will quiet those who, purely out of envy, would try to discredit this work, and will make compassionate those who would argue with you. Both of these [effects of your name] will suffice to increase endlessly my obligations to you as well as the joy I feel in giving you, with my dedication, a public pledge of the great respect and special veneration I profess to you.

Your most obligated Friend and
Servant,
Giuseppe Eybler
Vienna, 28 February, 1794

Al mio caro Amico Signore Giuseppe Haydn,

Unico, e uguale a se stesso, Il componimento, che qui vi presento, e che con tutto il cuor vi dedico, e quell'istesso, che voi con tantà bontà approvaste. Chi lo confronterà coi vostri, vendrà a chiare note, che io sono troppo piccolo per voi e voi troppo grande per me; chi però conoscerà le rare qualità che vi adornano, e la singolar bontà, di cui mi onorate, dirà, che io non poteva nè scieglier miglior Mecenate, ne meglio dimostrar la mia riconoscenza. Accoglietelo dunque con quell'istessa bontà, che avete per me, e siccome egli è il primo parto de' miei sudori, che mando nel gran mondo, così proteggetelo, vi prego, contutta la vostra autorità. Il nome grande, che coi rari vostri componimenti vi siete acquistato in tutta l'Europa farà tacer quelli, che per pura invidia vorrebbero discreditarlo, e lo farà compatir da quelli, che pur troverrebbero che ridirvi. L'un, e l'altro basterà ad accrescere in infinito le mie obbligazioni verso di voi, ed il contento, che provo nel darvi con questa mia dedica un publico testimonio della perfetta stima, e particolar venerazione, che vi professo. Vostro obligatissimo Amico e Servitore,
Giuseppe Eybler
Vienna li 28 febrajo 1794

Françoise-Elizabeth Caraque Desfossez, Piano Sonatas, op. 3 (1798), dedicated to Ignaz Pleyel

Rita Benton, *Pleyel as Music Publisher* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1990,) 64.

To Ignace Pleyel,
To dedicate my work to you is almost to suggest that I would dare to believe it

A Ignace Pleyel,
Vous dédier mon Ouvrage c'est Presque faire soupçonner que j'oserais le croire

worthy of you, but these feeble sonatas, that your friendship towards me made you listen to with indulgence, will possibly be favorably received by the public when they know that you promised me [that I could] offer them to you, and that I join to the happiness of having you as a friend that of having you as my teacher.
Françoise-Elizabeth Caraque Desfossez

digne de vous, mais ces foibles Sonates, que votre Amitié pour moi, vous a fait écouter avec indulgence, seront peut être accueillies favorablement du Public, lors'qu'il saura que vous m'avez promis de vous les offrir, et que je joins au bonheur de vous avoir pour ami, celui de vous nommer mon maitre.
Françoise-Elizabeth Caraque Desfossez

Johann Brandl, String quartets, op. 17 (1799), dedicated to Joseph Haydn

HW, 37. Translated by Catherine Mayes and the author.

Honorable Kapellmeister!

The unforgettable Mozart's six children, as he called his quartets, have already enjoyed your valuable protection in the musical world. Permit me as well to present to you these current six [quartets] of different parentage, and to recommend them to your benevolent indulgence. These little strangers hasten to find you in distant London, by which you are of late adored, in order to convince you of the unbounded adoration with which I am ever sincerely your most devoted servant,
J. Brandl

Verehrungswürdiger Herr
Kappelmeister!

Schon genoßen sechs Kinder des unvergeßlichen Mozarts, der seine Ihnen gewidmete quartetten so zu nenen pflegte, ihres würdigen Schuzes in der musikalischen Welt. Erlauben Sie auch mir Ih[n]en gegenwärtige Sechse von anderer Abkunft vorzustellen, und solche ihrer gütigen Nachsicht zu Empfehlen. Diese kleinen Fremdlinge eilen, Sie in dem entfernten London, von welchem Sie dermalen bewundert werden, aufzusuchen um Sie von der unbegränzten Verehrung zu überzeugen, mit welcher ich stets bin dero ergebenster Diener J. Brandl.

Bernhard Romberg, String quartets, op. 1 (1801), dedicated to Joseph Haydn

HW, 45

To Joseph Haydn,
In presenting this work to the Famous Artist whose learned works are the admiration of Europe, it is an homage that I pay to his sublime Talents. If the Orpheus of the Danube deigns smile on my exertions and accept this feeble effort, it will be the sweetest satisfaction that my Heart could enjoy.
B. Romberg

A Joseph Haydn,
En présentant cet ouvrage à l'Artiste Célèbre dont les savants productions font l'admiration de l'Europe, C'est un hommage que je rends à ses sublimes Talents. Si l'Orphée du Danube daigne sourire à mes efforts, et agréer ce foible essai, c'est la plus douce satisfaction dont mon Coeur puisse jouir.
B. Romberg.

Andreas Romberg, String quartets, op. 2 (1802), dedicated to Joseph Haydn

HW, 44-5

To Joseph Haydn,
It is to the man of genius, to the
immortal Haydn, whose approval alone
is the most flattering praise, that I
dedicate a Musical work to which I have
given all my care. I dare present it to
him as an homage that I owe his
sublime talents.

A. Romberg

A Joseph Haydn,
C'est à l'homme de génie, à l'immortel
Haydn, dont l'approbation seul est
l'éloge le plus flatteur, que je dédie un
oeuvre de Musique au quel j'ai donné
tous mes soins. J'ose le lui présenter
comme un hommage que je dois à ses
talens sublimes.

A. Romberg.

Ferdinand Ries, Two piano sonatas, op. 1 (1806), dedicated to Ludwig van Beethoven

Sir!

To whom to dedicate these first fruits of
my labor? Gratitude dictates that it's to
him to whom I owe my progress in the
art of music. However, the
distinguished place that you occupy
among the great classical composers
and your superior genius should, I feel,
prevent me from offering you a work
that has that much more for need for
indulgence because it is the first that I
brought to light: but the benevolence
with which you welcome young artists,
[and] the amicable protection that you
give them, as I have so often had
occasion to admire and to experience
myself, encourage me and make me
pass over all other considerations. I will
seize this opportunity to address to you
publicly my most sincere and keen
thanks for the familiarity with which
you have received me, for the friendship
with which you have honored me. The
memory of these pleasant hours passed
with you will never be erased from my
heart; and if my efforts are crowned
with some success, it is to your counsel
that I will be indebted; [I would be]
happy, if I could one day justify a day in
the eyes of the public the

Monsieur!

A qui dédier les prémices de mes
travaux? La reconnaissance me dit, que
c'est à lui à qui je dois me progress dans
l'art de la musique. Cependant le rang
distingue, que vous occupez parmi les
grands compositeurs classiques, et votre
genie supérieur devraient, je le sens,
m'empêcher de vous offrir un oeuvre
qui a d'autant plus besoin d'indulgence,
qu'il est le premier que je mets au jour:
mais la bienveillance avec laquelle vous
accueillez les jeunes artistes, la
protection amicable, que vous leur
accordez, comme j'ai eu si souvent lieu
de l'admirer et de m'en convaincre par
moi même, m'encouragent et me font
passer sur toute autre considération. Je
saisirai cette occasion pour vous
adresser publiquement mes
remerciment les plus sinceres et les plus
vifs pour la familiarité, à laquelle vous
avez bien voulu m'admettre pour
l'amitié, dont vous m'avez honoré. Le
souvenir des heures agréables passées
près de vous ne s'effacera jamais de
mon cœur; et si mes efforts sont
couronnés de quelque success, c'est à
vos conseils que j'en serai redévable;
heureux, si je puis justifier un jour aux
yeux du public le double et glorieux

double and glorious title of the sole student and the friend of such a great master. Please accept my homage as kind-heartedly as I present it to you in these lines.

Ferdinand Ries

titre d'élève unique et d'ami d'un si grand maître. Puissiez vous agréer mon hommage d'aussi bon cœur, que je vous le présente dans ces lignes.

Ferdinand Ries

Angelo Benincori, String quartets, op. 8 (1809), dedicated to Joseph Haydn

HW, 36

Nourished on the good principles of the Celebrated Haydn, I confess that it is to him alone that I owe a talent that indulgence has sometimes honored with recognition. It is the admiration that I have dedicated to this Great man that inspired me to the new work that I offer to the public. Nothing flattered me as much as the hope to have appear under his auspices a composition for which his immortal works have served as a model: Unfortunately the death of this Great Master preempted the completion of my enterprise, and discouraged me so much that I was ready to abandon a work upon which I so much desired to know his opinion. Revived by the memory of the attention and sleeplessness that it cost me, I put forth my last effort, and I publish it today, but with the sincere regret of only being able to offer it to the memory of the Author of so many Chef'-d'oeuvres.

Angelo Benincori

Nourri des bons principes du Célèbre Haydn, j'avoue que c'est à lui seul que je dois un talent que l'indulgence à quelque fois honoré de suffrages. C'est l'admiration que j'ai vouée à ce Grand homme qui m'a inspiré la nouvelle production que j'offre au public. Rien ne me flattait autant que l'espoir de faire paroître sous ses auspices, une Composition à la quelle ses immortels Ouvrages ont servi de modèle: Malheureusement la mort de ce Grand Maître devança la fin de mon entreprise, et me découragea tellement que j'étois prêt d'abandonner un oeuvre sur le quell j'enviois de connaître son sentiment. Ranimé par le souvenir des soins et des veilles qu'il m'avait couté, j'y portai la dernière main et je le publie aujourd'hui, mais avec le sincere regret de ne pouvoir l'offrir qu'aux Mânes de l'Auteur de tant de Chef'-d'oeuvres.

Angelo Benincori.

APPENDIX B

Dedications to Composers and Performers: A Database

Notes:

This database contains as many dedications to composers and performers published from 1700 to approximately 1850 as could be found to date; the information has been gathered mainly from thematic catalogues, first editions, facsimile editions, and publishers' records. List 1 catalogues the database by composer, while List 2 alphabetizes by dedicatee. When known, publication information is given in List 1. A handful of dedications to Haydn bear the abbreviation *HV*, which signifies that the work was found only in Haydn's library (and thus may not have been published). In the interest of space, publication information does not appear in List 2, but the reader can refer to List 1 to find the complete information on any entry. List 1 also reproduces title-page dedicatory embellishments, such as "to his friend Cramer," or "par son élève."

Abbreviations:

Instrumentation abbreviations are the same as those in the *New Grove Dictionary*.

HV *Haydn Verzeichnis*: Elssler's catalogue of Haydn's works, as transcribed in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* vol. 5, 299-329. This abbreviation indicates that the work in question could only be found in Elssler's catalogue.

List 1: Dedications to composers and performers

Composer	Work	Instr.	Dedicatee	Statement on title page	Publ.
Adam, Adolphe-Charles	<i>Pierre et Catherine</i>	opera in score	Boïldieu	dédié par son élève	Paris: Pleyel, 1829
Adam, Johan Ludwig	Op. 10: Grande sonate dans le style dramatique	pf	Clementi		Paris: Pleyel, 1810
Albrechtsberger	Cannone perpetuo a 4. Voci	4 voices	Haydn		HV
Bachmann, Gottlob	Op. 15: String Quartet	str qt	Haydn		lost
Baillot, Pierre-Marie-François de Sales	Op. 22: Concerto no. 8	orch, vn	Kreutzer, Rodolphe	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1808-15
Barrière, Etienne-Bernard-Joseph	Op. 12: 3 Grands duos concertants	2 vn	Pleyel, [I]		Paris: Pleyel, 1803
Barthelemon, Cecilia Maria	Op. 3: Sonata	hpd / pf	Haydn		London: John Bland, ?
Baudiot, Charles Nicolas	Op. 25: Méthode de violoncelle, pt. 1	vc	Cherubini		Paris: Pleyel, 1826
Baumgartner, Wilhelm	Op. 12: Liederkreis: <i>Eine Frühlingsliebe</i>	pf, v	Wagner, Richard	an seinem Freunde	Leipzig: [s.n.]
Beethoven	Op. 2: 3 Sonatas	hpd / pf	Haydn		Vienna: Artaria, 1796
Beethoven	Op. 12: 3 Violin Sonatas	pf, vn	Salieri		Vienna: Artaria, 1796
Beethoven	Op. 47: Sonata	pf, vn	Kreutzer, Rodolphe	al suo amico	Bonn and Paris: Simrock, 1805
Benincori, Angelo	Op. 8: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Paris: Naderman, 1809
Bennett, William Sterndale	Capriccio	pf	Potter, Cipriani	dedicated by his pupil	London, 1834

Bennett, William Sterndale	Op. 11: 6 Studies in the form of Capriccios	pf	Macfarren, F. A.		Leipzig: Kistner; London: Coventry & Hollier; Moscow: Lehnhold, 1837.
Bennett, William Sterndale	Op. 13: Sonata in F minor	pf	Mendelssohn		London: Wessel and Co., 1837
Bennett, William Sterndale	Op. 16: Fantasia in A	pf	Schumann		Leipzig: B&H, 1837
Berbiguier, Benoit-Tranquille	Op. 89: Fantaisie sur plusieurs motifs de l'opéra du colporteur par Onslow	pf/orch, fl	Onslow		Paris: Pleyel, 1828
Berg, Conrad Mathias	Op. 11: Grosse Trio	pf, vn, vc	Beethoven		Vienna: Steiner, 1816
Berger, Louis	Op. 5: Prelude and Fugue	pf	Crotch		London: Clementi, 1813
Berger, Louis	Op. 7: Sonata	pf	Clementi	dedicated by his pupil	London: Clementi, 1813-14
Berlijn, Anton	Op. 66: Grande Ouverture triomphale	orch	Mendelssohn		Amsterdam: Roumen, 1842
Berlioz, Hector	Damnation of Faust	orch	Liszt		Paris: Richault, 1854
Bertini, Benoît-Auguste	3 Grand Sonatas	pf, vn acc.	Haydn		[1795] HV
Bertini, Henri-Jerome	Fantaisie concertante sur des thèmes de Robin des bois par Weber	pf, vn	Plantade, Charles-Henri		Paris: Pleyel: 1815
Bertini, Henri-Jerome	Op. 37: Rondeau brillant	pf	Plantade, Charles-Henri		Paris: Pleyel, 1824
Boëly, Alexandre-Pierre-François	Op. 6: Etudes	pf	Kalkbrenner		Paris: Pleyel, 1830
Boildieu, François-Adrien	Deux Sonates	hp	Mademoiselle A	dédiées par son élève	Paris: Pleyel, 1807

Bonjour, F.	Op. 1: Quintetto	2 vn, va, vc, b	Onslow		Paris: Pleyel, 1830
Bosen	Walse brillante	pf	aux Amateurs		Bonn: Simrock, 1841
Brahms	Op. 1: Sonata	pf	Joachim		Leipzig: B&H, 1853
Brahms	Op. 2: Sonata in F# minor	pf	Schumann, Clara		Leipzig: B&H, 1854
Brahms	Op. 9: Variations on a Theme by R. Schumann	pf	Schumann, Clara		Leipzig: B&H, 1854
Brandl, Johann	Op. 17: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Heilbronn: Amon, 1799
Campbell	12 Songs from the Mountains of Scotland	pf	Haydn		HV
Carulli, Ferdinando	Op. 127: Nocturne	pf, gui	Abramowicz, M. T.	à son élève	Paris: Pleyel, 1819
Chopin	Op. 9: 3 Nocturnes	pf	Pleyel, Mme Marie		Leipzig: Kistner, 1832
Chopin	Op. 10: Etudes	pf	Liszt	à son ami	Leipzig: Kistner; Paris: Schlesinger; London: Wessel, 1833
Chopin	Op. 11: Concerto in E minor	pf	Kalkbrenner		Leipzig: Kistner, 1833; Paris: Schlesinger, 1833
Chopin	Op. 13: Fantasie	pf, orch	Pixis		Leipzig: Kistner; Paris: Schlesinger; London: Wessel, 1834
Chopin	Op. 15: 3 Nocturnes	pf	Hiller		Leipzig: B&H, 1833
Chopin	Op. 28: Preludes	pf	Kessler		Leipzig: B&H, 1839
Chopin	Op. 28: Preludes	pf	Pleyel, Camille		Paris: Adolphe Catelin; London: Brown, 1839
Chopin	Op. 38: Ballade	pf	Schumann		Leipzig: B&H; Paris: Troupenas; London: Wessel, 1840

Chopin	3 Etudes	pf	Moscheles		Berlin: Schlesinger; Paris: Schlesinger, 1840
Chopin	Op. 26: Polonaises	pf	Dessauer, Joseph		Leipzig: B&H; Paris: Schlesinger; London: Wessel, 1836
Clementi	Op. 46: Sonata	pf	Kalkbrenner		London: Clementi, 1820
Clementi	Op. 50: 3 sonatas	pf	Cherubini		London: Clementi, 1821
Couderc, Hippolyte	Op. 1: Grand Sonata	vn, vc	Kreutzer, Rodolphe		Paris: Pleyel, 1819
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 7: 3 Sonatas	pf	Clementi	par son élève	London: J. Bland, 1792
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 20: A new Grand sonata	pf	Clementi	to his friend	London: Longman, Clementi, & Co., 1800
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 22: 3 Sonatas (or op. 23)	pf	Haydn		Vienna: Artaria, 1799
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 29: 3 grandes Sonates	pf	Dussek	à son ami	London: Clementi, Bang er, Hyde, Collard & Davis, 1803
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 36: Grand Sonata	pf	Woelfl	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1809
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 42: Grand Sonata	pf	Onslow		London: Birchall, 1809
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 63: Sonata	pf	Hummel	dedicated by his friend	London: The Royal Harmonic Institution, 1822
Cramer, J. B.	Amicitia	pf, vn/fl acc.	Moscheles		London: Cramer, Addison & Beale; Paris: Pleyel, 1825
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 74: Sonata	pf	Attwood, Thomas	to his friend	London: Cramer Addison & Beale, 1827
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 77: Fantasia on themes from "La Fiancée"	pf	Auber	dedicated by his friend	London: Cramer, Addison & Beale, 1830
Cramer, J. B.	Fantasia: Reminiscences of Paganini	pf	Paganini		London: Cramer Addison & Beale, 1831

Cramer, J. B.	Op. 69: Quintet	pf, 2 vn, va, vc, b	Moscheles		London: Cramer, Addison & Beale, 1833
Cramer, J. B.	Six Délassements Musicales	pf	aux Amateurs		London: Cramer Addison & Beale, 1834
Czerny	Op. 27: Fantaisie	pf	Beethoven		Vienna: Haslinger; Vienna: S. A. Steiner, ?
Czerny	Op. 400: Die Schule des Fugenspiels	pf + treatise	Mendelssohn	aus freund- schaftlicher Achtung	1836
Dalberg, Freiherr von	[Book] Über die Musik der Indien.	[book]	Haydn		HV
Dandrieu	Livre de Sonates	vln	De la Lande		Paris: Dandrieu, [1720]
Demonchy, N.	3 duos	2 vn	Kreutzer, Rodolphe		Paris: Pleyel, 1809
Desfossez, Françoise- Elizabeth Caraque	Op. 3: 3 Sonatas	pf	Pleyel, Ignaz		Paris: Pleyel, 1798
Donaldson, John	Sonata	pf	Clementi, esq.		London: Clementi & Co., ?
Dufresne, Fidèle	Op. 16: Concerto no. 2	pf, vn	Kreutzer, Rodolphe		Paris: Pleyel, 1802
Dumonchau	Op. 23: 3 Sonatas	pf, vn	Pleyel, [I]		Paris: Pleyel, 1806
Dumonchau	Op. 24: 3 Sonatas	pf, fl acc.	Woelfl		Paris: Pleyel, 1806
Dussek	Op. 44: Sonata ("The Farewell")	pf	Clementi	to his friend	London: Longman, Clementi, & Co.; Paris: Pleyel, 1800
Dussek	Op. 55: Fantasia and Fugue	pf	Cramer	to his friend	London: Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard, and Davis, 1804
Eberl, Anton	Op. 12: Grande Sonate caractéristique	pf	Haydn		HV
Eckard, Godefroy	Op. 1: 6 sonatas	hpd	Gaviniés, Pierre	to his friend	Paris, 1763

Eler, André-Frédéric	Op. 6: 3 Quartets	fl, clar, hn, bsn	Punto, Giovanni		Paris: Pleyel, 1796
Eybler, Joseph	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn	al mio caro amico	Vienna: Eybler, 1794
Fabre d'Olivet, Antoine	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Pleyel	dedicated by his friend	Paris: Pleyel, 1804 London: Clementi, 1801
Field, John	Op. 1: 3 Sonatas	pf	Clementi		
Foliot, Edme	Motets a I., II., et III voix	v	de la Lande		Paris: Foliot, 1710
Forest, Jules	Rondo	pf, vc	Franchomme, Auguste-Joseph		Paris: Pleyel, 1834
Franz, Robert	Op. 2: Schilflieder	pf, v	Schumann		Leipzig: B&H, 1844
Franz, Robert	Op. 4: 12 Songs	pf, v	Gade, Niels	an seinem Freunde	Leipzig: Kistner, 1845
Gade, Niels	Op. 6: Sonatas	pf, vn	Schumann, Clara		Leipzig: B&H, 1843
Gade, Niels	Op. 21: Sonata	pf, vn	Schumann		Leipzig: B&H, ?
Garcia, Manuel	Chansons espagnols	pf, v	Aficionados		Paris, 1850
Georgeon, Henriette-Sophie	L'insulaire	pf, v	pour moi		Paris: Pleyel: 1829
Gerke	Op. 10: Overture	orch, vn	Spohr		Leipzig: B&H, ?
Graeff, J. G.	3 Quartets for flute, violin, tenor, and cello	fl, vn, tn, c	Haydn		HV
Grill, Franz	Op. 3: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Offenbach: André, 1790
Gungl, Josef	Op. 60: Wälzer	pf	Stauss, Johann	an seinem Freunde	Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1846
Gyrowetz, Adalbert	Op. 2: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Paris: Imbault, 1789
Haensel, Peter	Op. 5: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Offenbach: André, 1795
Haigh, Thomas	Op. 8: 3 Sonatas	pf, vn acc.	Haydn		London: Preston and Son, 1795

Haigh, Thomas	Op. 10: 3 Sonatas	pf, vn acc.	Haydn		London: Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow, 1795
Halévy, J.-F.-F.-E.	Marche funèbre	orch, choir	Cherubini	par son élève	Paris: Pleyel, 1820?
Hänsel, Peter	Op. 28: Quintet	2 vn, 2 va, vc	Dragonetti, Domenico	à son ami	Vienna: Artaria, 1814
Hatzfeldt, H.	Six Romances	pf, v	Dalberg, Freiherr von	dedié par son ami	Berlin: Wekmeister, 1808
Heller, Stephen	Op. 24: Scherzo	pf	Liszt	à son ami	1844
Herz, Henri	Op. 21: Exercises et preludes	pf	Hummel		1835
Hetttersdorf, E. von	6 Songs	pf, v	Dalberg, Freiherr von	an seinem Freunde	Bonn: Simrock, 1811
Hiller, Ferdinand	6 Suites d'Etudes	pf	Meyerbeer		
Hiller, Ferdinand	Op. 24: <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i>	oratorio	Mendelssohn		Leipzig: Kistner, 1840-41
Hummel, Johann Nepomuk	Op. 13: Sonata	pf	Haydn	an seinem Freunde	HV
Jadin, Hyacinthe	Op. 3: 3 Quartets	str qt	Baillot		Paris: Imbault
Jadin, Hyacinthe	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Frankfurt: Gahl & Hedler, 1795
Jadin, Louis Emmanuelle	Op. 12: 3 Sonatas	pf, vn acc.	Haydn		Paris: Frères Gaveaux, 1794
Jensen, Adolf	Piano Trio	pf, vn, vc	Liszt		1856
Kalkbrenner	Op. 8: Fantasie no. 3, and Fugue	pf	Hummel	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1810
Kalkbrenner	Op. 28: Grand sonata	pf	Cramer		Paris: Pleyel, 1817
Kalkbrenner	Op. 48: Grand sonata	pf	Cherubini		Paris: Pleyel, 1819
Kalkbrenner	Op. 56: grande sonate déd à la mémoire de J. Haydn	pf	Haydn		Paris: Pleyel, 1821
Kalkbrenner	Op. 66: Gage d'amitié	pf	Moscheles	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1828
Kalkbrenner	Op. 68: <i>Effusio musica: grande fantaisie</i>	pf	Catel, Charles-Simon		Paris: Pleyel, 1823

Kalkbrenner	Op. 79: Grande Sonate	pf 4 hands	Onslow		Paris: Pleyel, 1826
Kalkbrenner	Op. 120: Fantaisie et variations sur une mazourka de Chopin	pf	Pleyel, Mme Camille		Paris: Pleyel, 1833
Kalkbrenner	Op. 20: 24 Etudes	pf	Clementi		Paris: Pleyel, 1834
Kalkbrenner	Op. 116: Rondo brillant sur un motif de l'opéra <i>Le Serment</i> de Auber	pf	Bertini, Henri		Paris: Pleyel, 1834
Kalkbrenner	Op. 49: Duo	pf, vn	Baillot		Paris: Pleyel, 1834
Kalkbrenner	Op. 113: <i>La rêve</i>	pf	Czerny		Paris: Pleyel, 1832
Kessler, Joseph Christoph	Etudes	pf	Hummel		Vienna: Haslinger, 1827
Kessler, Joseph Christoph	Op. 31: 24 Preludes for Piano	pf	Chopin	à son ami	Milan: Ricordi, 1835
Kittl, J. F.	<i>Jagd-Symphonie</i>	orch	Mendelssohn		?
Klengel	Concerto	pf, orch	Clementi		Paris: Pleyel.
Kospoth, Otto Carl Erdmann	Op. 8: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Offenbach: André, 1789
Kraft, Nicolaus	Op. 12: <i>Der Freyschütz: Pot-pourri</i>	vc, orch	Weber		Offenbach: André, 1823
Kreutzer, Rodolphe	Concerto	vn, pf	Amateurs		Paris: Pleyel, 1799
Kreutzer	Op. 2: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Pleyel, [I]	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1800
Kreutzer, Rodolphe	Op. 11: 6 duos	2 vn	Isouard de Malte, Nicolo	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1803
Kruffet, Nicolas, baron de	Grande sonate	pf	Pleyel		Paris: Pleyel, 1817
Kücken, Friedrich Wilhelm	Lieder und Gesänge	pf, v	Fassmann, Fräulein von	Königl. Preussischen Hof-Opern-Sängerin	Leipzig, Hamburg: Schuberth, 1830
Kuhlau, Friedrich	Op. 32: Grand Quatuor	pf qt	Romberg, Andreas		Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, ?

Kullak, Theodor	Op. 37: <i>Perles d'écume</i>	pf	Schumann, Clara		Dresden: Friedel, 1850
Labadens	Nouvelle methode pour apprendre à jouer du violon	treatise	Gavaniès, Pierre		Paris: Gerardin, 1772
<i>Lachner, Ignaz</i>	<i>Der Ungenannten</i>	pf, v, waldhorn/vc	Württemberg, Doris Hans K.	Kammer Sängerin	Prague: P. Bohmann's Erben, ?
Lafillé, Charles	Hymn à la nuit	pf, v	Pleyel, Ignaz		Paris: Pleyel, 1813
Lafillé, Charles	<i>Plaire et changer</i>	pf, v	Rigel, Henri- Joseph		Paris: Pleyel, 1815
Lafillé	Roland désarmée	pf, v	Cherubini		Paris: Pleyel, 1815
Lamare, Jacques Michel Hurel de	Concerto no. 2	orch, vc	Baillot		Paris: Pleyel, 1803
Latrobe, C. J.	Op. 3: 3 Sonatas	pf	Haydn		London: Bland, 1793
Leclair, Jean-Marie	op. 7: Concertos	vn, str, bc	Chéron, André		Paris, 1737
Leidesdorf	Grand Trio	pf, fl, va	Haydn		HV
Lessel	Op. 2: 3 Sonatas	pf	Haydn		HV
Lewy, Carl	<i>Elegie an Sie</i>	pf, hn	Liszt		Vienna: Haslinger, 1838
Liszt	Etudes en douze exercices	pf	Czerny		Vienna: Haslinger, 1839
Liszt	Transcendental etudes after Paganini	pf	Schumann, Clara		Vienna: Haslinger, 1840
Liszt	Op. 6: Grande valse di bravura	pf	Wolff, Peter	à son ami	Vienna: Haslinger, 1843
Liszt	<i>Tarantelle di bravura d'après la Tarantelle de 'La muette de Portici' d'Auber</i>	pf	Pleyel, Marie		Vienna: Mechetti; Paris: Troupenas; Milan: Ricordi, 1846
Liszt	Scherzo and March	pf	Kullak, Theodor		Braunschweig: Litolff, 1854
Liszt	Hungarian Rhapsody, no. 12	pf	Joachim		Berlin: Schlesinger, 1853

Liszt	Hungarian Rhapsody, no. 10	pf	Béni, Egressy		Mainz: B. Schott, 1853
Liszt	Sonata in B minor	pf	Schumann		Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1854
Liszt	Concerto no. 1	orch, pf	Litolff, Henry		Vienna: Haslinger, 1857
Liszt	Symphony to Dante's 'Divina Commedia'	orch	Wagner		Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1859
Liszt	Mephisto Waltz no. 1, arr. for piano solo	pf	Tausig, Carl		Leipzig: Schubert, 1860
Liszt	2 Episodes from Lenau's 'Faust'	orch	Tausig, Carl		Leipzig: Schubert, 1862
Liszt	Piano Concerto no. 2	pf, orch	Bronsart von Schellendorf, Hans		Mainz: B. Schott, 1863
Liszt	Fantaisie über Motive aus Beethovens <i>Ruinen von Athen</i>	pf	Rubinstein, Anton		Leipzig: Siegel, 1865
Liszt	Mephisto Waltz no. 2, arr. for piano solo	pf	Saint-Saëns, Camille	verehrungsvoll und freundschaftlich gewidmet	Berlin: Fürstner, 1881
Mansui, Charles	Variations sur <i>Vive Henri IV</i>	pf	Pleyel, Camille	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1814
Marchal, Pedro Anselmo	Op. 15: Duo	pf, hp	Pleyel, Ignaz	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1813.
Martin, Alexis	Op. 18: Fantaisie	pf, hn	Bayle, Théophile	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1832
Mayer, I. D.	Variations prédédées d'une introduction	pf	Reicha		Paris: Pleyel, 1815
Mayseder, Joseph	Op. 40: Variations	pf, vn	Paganini		Paris: Pleyel, 1828
Mederitsch-Gallus, Johann	Op. 6: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Vienna: Traeg, 1802
Mendelssohn	Op. 2: Piano Quartet no. 2	pf qt	Zelter	par son élève	Berlin: Schlesinger, 1824

Mendelssohn	Op. 28: Phantasie	pf	Moscheles	an seinem Freunde	Bonn: Simrock; London: N. Mori, 1834
Mendelssohn	Op. 37: Präludien und Fugen	organ	Attwood, Thomas		Leipzig: B&H; London: Novello, 1837-38
Mendelssohn	Op. 62: Lieder Ohne Wörter (bk.5)	pf	Schumann, Clara		Bonn: Simrock; Lyon: Benacci & Peschier; Mailand: J.Lucca; London: Ewer & Cie, 1844
Mendelssohn	Op. 66: Trio in C minor	pf trio	Spohr, Ludwig		Leipzig: B&H; London:Ewer & Co.; Paris: Schlesinger; Milan: Ricordi, 1846
Mendelssohn	Op. 7: 7 Character Pieces	pf	Berger, Ludwig	von seinem Schüler	Berlin, 1827
Méreaux, J. A. L. de	Op. 18: Polonaise brillante	pf	Roucourt, Jean-Baptiste		Paris: Pleyel, 1834
Meyerbeer	6 Songs (op.?)	pf, v	Moscheles	à son ami	Leipzig: B&H, 1838
Moke, Camille	Op. 1, Rondo parisien	pf	Kalkbrenner		Paris: Pleyel, 1827
Moscheles	Op. 41: Sonata	pf	Beethoven		Vienna: Haslinger, 1818
Moscheles	Op. 49: Sonate mélancolique	pf	Pixis	à son ami	Paris: Aulagnier, ?
Moscheles	Op. 92: Grand duo: Hommage à Handel	2 pf	Czerny		Leipzig: Kistner, 1819
Moscheles	Op. 77: Allegro di Bravura	pf	Mendelssohn Bartholdy	to his friend	Berlin: Schlesinger, 1829
Moscheles	Op. 105: Deux Caprices	pf	Sterndale Bennett		London: Chappell, 1842
Moscheles	Op. 121: Sonata no. 3	pf 4 hands	Schumann, Clara		Leipzig: Kistner, 1850
Moscheles	Fantaisie à la Paganini	pf	Paganini	en hommage à son génie	Leipzig: Kistner, ?
Mozart	6 String Qtts, "op. 10"	str qt	Haydn		Vienna: Artaria, 1785

Musard, Phillip	Quartet no. 3	str qt	Baillet		Paris: Pleyel, 1830
Neukomm, Sigismund Ritter von	Rantaisie à grand orchestre	orch	Haydn		Leipzig: Kühnel, [1800-1809]
Onslow, G.	Op. 3: 3 Grands Trios	pf, vn, b	Dussek		Paris: Pleyel, 1810
Onslow, G.	Op. 11: 3 Grandes Sonatas	pf	Cramer		Paris: Pleyel, 1817
Onslow, G.	Op. 7: Grand duo	pf 4 hands	Pleyel, Camille	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1817
Onslow, G.	Op. 16: 3 sonatas	pf	Baudiot, Charles		Paris: Pleyel, 1820
Onslow, G.	Op. 30: Sextuor	pf, fl, clar, cor, bsn, cb	Hummel		Paris: Pleyel, 1826
Onslow, G.	Op. 32: Quintet no. 5	2 vn, va, vc, b	Kalkbrenner		Paris: Pleyel, 1827
Onslow, G.	Op. 34: Quintet no. 12	2 vn, va, vc, b	Bohrer brothers		Paris: Pleyel, 1829
Onslow, G.	Op. 33: Quintet no. 11	2 vn, vna, vnc, b	Pixis		Paris: Pleyel, 1829
Pachelbel, Johann	<i>Hexachordium Apollinis</i>	org/hpd	Richter, Ferdinand and Dietrich Buxtehude		Nuremberg: Nicola, 1699
Peichler, A.	Op. 1: 3 Duos concertants	2 fl	Deviennes, François	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1799
Philip Cogan	Op. 8: 3 Sonatas	pf	Clementi		London: Longman, Clementi, & Co., 1799
Pierson, Henry Hugh	3 Romances (musical meditations)	pf	Meyerbeer		1844
Pinto, Francisco Antonio Norberto dos Santos	Orchestral Overture no. 8	orch	Liszt		1845

Pinto, George Frederick	Grand sonata	pf	Field	his friend	London: Birchall, 1802-03
Pixis	Trio no. 1 sur des motifs du Colporteur	pf, vn, vnc	Onslow	à leur ami ... par Pixis et les frères Bohrer	Paris: Pleyel, 1827-28
Pixis	Trio no. 3 sur le thème favori <i>Le Garçon suisse</i>	pf, vn, vc	Moscheles	à leur ami ... par Pixis et les frères Bohrer	Paris: Pleyel, 1828
Pixis	Op. 76: Trio	pf, vn, vc	Cherubini		Paris: Pleyel, ?
Pixis	Op. 86: Trio	pf, vn, vc	Spohr		Paris: Pleyel, ?
Pixis, Johann Peter	Trio no. 2 sur Le Ranz des vaches de G. Meyerbeer	pf, vn, vc,	Meyerbeer		Paris: Pleyel, 1828
Pixis, Johann Peter	Op. 109: Fantasia sur la dernière pensée musicale de Weber	pf	Liszt	à son ami	1828-29
Pleyel, Ignaz	Op. 2: 6 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Vienna: Graeffner, 1784
Pleyel, Ignaz	Op. 67: 3 Quartets	str qt	Bocherini [sic]	à son ami	Strasbourg: Reinhard, 1803
Pleyel, Camille	Op. 3: Quartet	pf, vn, va, vc	Kalkbrenner	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1819
Pleyel, Camille	Sonate no. 6	pf, vn acc.	Onslow	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1821
Potter, Cipriani	Op. 28: 3 Amusements, no. 1	pf	Jewson, Bowen	dedicated to his pupil	London, 1848
Potter	Op. 28: 3 Amusements, no. 2	pf	Barnett, Robert	dedicated to his pupil	London, 1848
Potter	Op. 28: 3 Amusements, no. 3	pf	Bennett, William Sterndale	dedicated to his pupil	London, 1848
Radicati, Felice Alessandro	Op. 16: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Vienna: Artaria, 1809
Randhartinger, Benedict	<i>Ins stille Land</i>	SATB	Schubert	to the memory of	1830

Reicha	Op. 105: Grand quintet	fl, 2 vn, va, vc	Bonjour, François	pour son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1828
Reißiger, Carl Gottlieb	Op. 89: Lieder und Gesänge	pf, v	Schröder- Devrient, Wilhelmine		Dresden: Paul, 1833
Ries	Op. 1: Deux Sonates	pf	Beethoven	dédiée par son élève	Bonn: Simrock, 1806
Ries	Op. 11: 2 Grand Sonatas	pf	Haydn		Bonn: Simrock, 1808
Ries	Op. 20: Grande Sonate	pf, vc acc.	Romberg, Bernard		Bonn: Simrock, 1810
Ries	Op. 21: Grande Sonate	pf, vc acc.	Romberg, Bernard		Bonn: Simrock, 1810
Ries	Op. 55: Concerto no. 3	orch, pf	Clementi		Bonn: Simrock, 1815
Ries	Op. 68: Grand Quintuor	2 vn, 2 va, vc	Romberg, André et Bernard	à ses amis	Peters: Leipzig, 1817
Ries	Op. 80: Simphonie à grand orchestre	orch	Beethoven	dédiée à son ami	Bonn: Simrock, 1818
Ries	Op. 75: Variations on a favorite Rhinish Song	pf	Cramer	to his friend	London: Clementi, 1818
Ries	Op. 115: Piano Concerto no. 4	pf, orch	Moscheles	dedicated by his friend	London: Birchall, 1823
Ries	Op. 90: Simphonie no. 3	orch	Spohr	à son ami	Bonn: N. Simrock, 1825
Ries	Op. 160: Grande Sonate	pf 4 hands	Czerny	dediée par son ami	Leipzig: H. A. Probst, 1831
Roesler, J.	Op. 13: Symphony	orch	Wranitzky, Anton	à son ami	Offenbach: André, 1808
Romberg, Andreas	Op. 2: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Bonn: Simrock, 1802
Romberg, Andreas	Op. 7: 3 Quartets	str qt	Bernhard Romberg	à son frère	Offenbach: André, 1820
Romberg, Andreas	Op. 33: Symphony no. 3	orch	Antoni	son maitre de l'harmonie	Leipzig: Kühnel, 1813

Romberg, Bernhard	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Paris: Vogt, 1801
Rembt, Johann Ernst	50 vierstimmige Fugetten	org	Hiller, Johann Adam		Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1791
Rubinstein, Anton	Op. 42: Symphony no. 2, <i>L'océan</i>	orch	Liszt		Leipzig: Senff: 1857-58
Schneider, Friedrich	Grande sonate brillante	pf	Müller, A. E.		Leipzig: Kühnel, 1850
Schubert	8 Variationen on a French song, e minor, op. 10 (D. 624)	pf 4 hands	Beethoven		Vienna: Cappi & Diabelli, 1822
Schultesius	Variations on "Ricociliazione Fra due Amici."	pf	Haydn		HV, 1803
Schumann	Op. 4: 6 Intermezzi	pf	Kalliwoda		Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1833
Schumann	Op. 5: Impromptus on a theme by Clara Wieck	pf	Wieck, Friedrich		Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1833
Schumann	Op. 11: Sonata no. 1	pf	Wieck, Clara		Leipzig: Kistner, 1836
Schumann	Op. 13: Symphonic Etudes	pf	Sterndale Bennett	à son ami	Vienna: Haslinger, 1837
Schumann	Op. 14: Konzert ohne Orchester [Sonata no. 3 in F minor]	pf	Moscheles		Vienna: Haslinger, 1838
Schumann	Op. 16: Kreisleriana	pf	Chopin	an seinem Freunde	Vienna: Haslinger, 1838
Schumann	Op. 17: Fantasie	pf	Liszt		Leipzig: B&H, 1839
Schumann	Op. 21: Noveletten	pf	Henselt, Adolph		Leipzig: B&H, 1839
Schumann	Op. 24: Songs	pf, v	Viardot, Pauline		Leipzig: B&H, 1840
Schumann	Op. 26: Faschingsschwank	pf	Simonin de Sire		Vienna: Mechetti, 1840
Schumann	Op. 41: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Mendelssohn	an seinem Freunde	Leipzig: B&H, 1843

Schumann	Op. 44: Piano Quintet	pf qnt	Schumann, Clara		Leipzig: B&H, 1843
Schumann	Op. 45: Romanzen und Balladen	pf	Hiller, Ferdinand		Leipzig: Whistling, 1844
Schumann	Op. 48: Dichterliebe	pf, v	Schröder- Devrient, Wilhelmine		Leipzig: Peters, 1844
Schumann	Op. 54: Concerto in A minor	pf, orch	Hiller, Ferdinand		Leipzig: B&H, 1846
Schumann	Op. 89: Sechs Gesänge	pf, v	Lind, Jenny		Leipzig: Kistner, 1850
Schumann	Op. 110: Piano Trio no. 3	pf trio	Gade		Leipzig: B&H, 1852
Schumann	Op. 131: Fantasie in C major	orch, vn	Joachim		Leipzig: Kistner, 1854
Schumann	Op. 134: Introduction and Allegro	orch, pf	Brahms		Leipzig: Senff, 1855
Schumann	Op. 136: Overture to Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea"	orch	Schumann, Clara		Winterthur: Rieter- Biedermann, 1857
Schumann	Op. 139: 'Des Sängers Fluch'	orch, SATB	Brahms		Elberfeld: Arnold, 1858
Schumann, Clara	Op. 20: Variations on a Theme by Robert Schumann	pf	Schumann		1853
Schumann, Clara	Op. 21: 3 Romances	pf	Brahms		1853-55
Schunke, Charles	Quatres ouvrages: No 1. Grand Caprice caractéristique pour le piano, sur deux choeurs des "Huguenots"	pf	Liszt	à son ami	1837?
Schunke, Charles	Quatres ouvrages: No 3. Morceau de concert : grandes variations brillantes pour le piano, sur la sicilienne favorite de "Robert-le-Diable"	pf	Meyerbeer		1837?
de Sire, Simonin	Méditations	pf	Schumann		
Sloper, H. Lindsay	Op. 6: Capriccio	pf	Moscheles		London: Wessel, 1846

Smetena, Bedrich	Opp. 4-5: Skizzen	pf	Schumann, Clara		1858
Spohr, Louis	Op. 7: Concerto	orch, vn	Kreutzer, Rodolphe		Leipzig: Kühnel, 1806
Spohr, Louis	Op. 29: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Romberg, Andreas	à son ami	Vienna: Mechetti, 1815
Spohr, Louis	Op. 106: Quintet	2 vn, 2 va, vc	Reißiger, Carl Gottlieb		Dresden: Paul, 1839
Spohr, Louis	Op. 125: Sonata	pf	Mendelssohn	freundschaftli chst gewidmet	Vienna: Mechetti, 1843
Stadler, Daniel Gottlieb	?	?	Haydn		HV
Steibelt	Op. 49: Sonate	pf	Pleyel		Paris: Pleyel, 1802
Struck, Paul	Op. 1: 3 Sonatas	hpd, vn acc.	Haydn		Offenbach: André, 1797
Szymanowska, Maria agata (née Wolowska)	Caprice sur la Romance de Joconde	pf	Field		?
Thollé, Thomas	La Mort d'Atala, romance	pf, v	Garat, Fabry		Paris: Pleyel, 1807
Thollé, Thomas	Une jeune troubadour, romance d'Eremond	v, gui	Garat, Fabry		Paris: Pleyel, 1807
Thollé, Thomas	Amanda: romance	pf, v	Pleyel, Ignaz	à son ami	Paris: Pleyel, 1808
Tomasini, Louis	3 duos concertants	2 vn	Haydn		Vienna: F. Mollo, 1803
Tomes, Frantisek	Op. 1: 3 Sonatas	pf	Haydn		HV
von Weber, Edmund	Op. 8: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Augsburg: Gombart, 1804
von Weber	Op. 12: Momento Capriccioso	pf	Meyerbeer	al suo amico	Augsburg: Gombart, 1808
Webbe, Sam Jr.	Duett	pf	Cramer		1809?
Weber, Antoinette	Walse très facile	pf	Kill, J.	à son maître	Mayence, Anvers: B. Schott, 1830?

Weimar, Georg Peter	Versuch von kleinen leichten Motetten und Arien für Schul- und Singechöre	choir	Hiller, Johann Adam		Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1782
Wesley	"Will Putty" by Mr. Reeve arr. as a Rondo	pf	Mr. Reeve		London, 1809
Wesley	"Willow Waddle" by Mr. Reeve arr. as Rondo	pf	Mr. Reeve		London, 1810?
Wieck, Clara	Op. 7: Piano Concerto	pf, orch	Spohr, Ludwig		1837?
Wieck, Clara	Op. 11: 3 Romances	pf	Schumann		1838-9
Wikmanson, Johann	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	str qt	Haydn		Stockholm, 1801
Woelfl, Joseph	Op. 6: 3 Sonatas	pf	Beethoven		Augsburg, 1798
Woelfl	Op. 40: Symphony in G minor	orch	Cherubini		1803
Woelfl, Joseph	Op. 19: 3 Sonatas	pf	Clementi		London: Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard, and Davis, ?
Woets, Joseph-Bernard	Op. 69: Trio	pf, vl, vc	Kalkbrenner		Paris: Pleyel, 1828
Wolff, Edouard	Op. 39: Grand Allegro de Concert	pf	Chopin	à son ami	Paris: Schlesinger, ?
Wölfl, Joseph	Op. 5: 3 Trios	pf trio	Haydn		HV
Wuerst, Richard	Op. 13: 2 Romances	pf, vn	Kullak, Theodor	freundschaftlichst zugeeignet	Leipzig: Hofmeister, ?

List 2: Dedications to composers and performers, alphabetized by dedicatee

Composer	Work	Dedicatee
Carulli, Ferdinando	Op. 127: Nocturne	Abramowicz, M. T.
Garcia, Manuel	Chansons espagnols	Aficionados
Kreutzer, Rodolphe	Concerto	Amateurs
Romberg, Andreas	Op. 33: Symphony no. 3	Antoni
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 74: Sonata	Attwood, Thomas
Mendelssohn	Op. 37: Präludien und Fugen	Attwood, Thomas
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 77: Fantasia on themes from "La Fiancée"	Auber
Bosen	Walse brillante	Amateurs
Cramer, J. B.	Six Délassements Musicales	Amateurs
Jadin, Hyacinthe	Op. 3: 3 Quartets	Baillot
Kalkbrenner	Op. 49: Duo	Baillot
Lamare, Jacques Michel Hurel de	Concerto no. 2	Baillot
Musard, Phillip	Quartet no. 3	Baillot
Potter	Op. 28: 3 Amusements, no. 2	Barnett, Robert
Onslow, G.	Op. 16: 3 sonatas	Baudiot, Charles
Martin, Alexis	Op. 18: Fantaisie	Bayle, Théophile
Berg, Conrad Mathias	Op. 11: Grosse Trio	Beethoven
Czerny	Op. 27: Fantaisie	Beethoven
Moscheles	Op. 41: Sonata	Beethoven
Ries	Op. 1: Deux Sonates	Beethoven
Ries	Op. 80: Simphonie à grand orchestre	Beethoven
Schubert	8 Variationen on a French song, e minor, op. 10 (D. 624)	Beethoven
Woelfl, Joseph	Op. 6: 3 Sonatas	Beethoven
Liszt	Hungarian Rhapsody, no. 10	Béni, Egressy

Potter	Op. 28: 3 Amusements, no. 3	Bennett, William Sterndale
Mendelssohn	Op. 7: 7 Character Pieces	Berger, Ludwig
Romberg, Andreas	Op. 7: 3 Quartets	Bernhard Romberg
Kalkbrenner	Op. 116: Rondo brillant sur un motif de l'opéra <i>Le Serment de Auber</i>	Bertini, Henri
Pleyel, Ignaz	Op. 67: 3 Quartets	Bocherini [sic]
Onslow, G.	Op. 34: Quintet no. 12	Bohrer brothers
Adam, Adolphe-Charles	<i>Pierre et Catherine</i>	Boildieu
Reicha	Op. 105: Grand quintet	Bonjour, François
Schumann	Op. 134: Introduction and Allegro	Brahms
Schumann	Op. 139: 'Des Sängers Fluch'	Brahms
Schumann, Clara	Op. 21: 3 Romances	Brahms
Liszt	Piano Concerto no. 2	Bronsart von Schellendorf, Hans
Pachelbel, Johann	<i>Hexachordium Apollinis</i>	Buxtehude, Dietrich and Ferdinand Richter
Kalkbrenner	Op. 68: <i>Effusio musica: grande fantaisie</i>	Catel, Charles-Simon
Leclair, Jean-Marie	op. 7: Concertos	Chéron, André
Baudiot, Charles Nicolas	Op. 25: Méthode de violoncelle, pt. 1	Cherubini
Clementi	Op. 50: 3 sonatas	Cherubini
Halévy, J.-F.-F.-E.	Marche funèbre	Cherubini
Kalkbrenner	Op. 48: Grand sonata	Cherubini
Lafillé	Roland désarmée	Cherubini
Pixis	Op. 76: Trio	Cherubini
Woelfl	Op. 40: Symphony in G minor	Cherubini
Kessler, Joseph Christoph	Op. 31: 24 Preludes for Piano	Chopin
Schumann	Op. 16: Kreisleriana	Chopin
Wolff, Edouard	Op. 39: Grand Allegro de Concert	Chopin
Adam, Johan Ludwig	Op. 10: Grande sonate dans le style dramatique	Clementi

Berger, Louis	Op. 7: Sonata	Clementi
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 7: 3 Sonatas	Clementi
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 20: A new Grand sonata	Clementi
Dusseck	Op. 44: Sonata ("The Farewell")	Clementi
Field, John	Op. 1: 3 Sonatas	Clementi
Kalkbrenner	Op. 20: 24 Etudes	Clementi
Klengel	Concerto	Clementi
Philip Cogan	Op. 8: 3 Sonatas	Clementi
Ries	Op. 55: Concerto no. 3	Clementi
Woelfl, Joseph	Op. 19: 3 Sonatas	Clementi
Donaldson, John	Sonata	Clementi, esq.
Dusseck	Op. 55: Fantasia and Fugue	Cramer
Kalkbrenner	Op. 28: Grand sonata	Cramer
Onslow, G.	Op. 11: 3 Grandes Sonatas	Cramer
Ries	Op. 75: Variations on a favorite Rhinish Song	Cramer
Webbe, Sam Jr.	Duett	Cramer
Berger, Louis	Op. 5: Prelude and Fugue	Crotch
Kalkbrenner	Op. 113: <i>La rêve</i>	Czerny
Liszt	Etudes en douze exercices	Czerny
Moscheles	Op. 92: Grand duo: Hommage à Handel	Czerny
Ries	Op. 160: Grande Sonate	Czerny
Hatzfeldt, H.	Six Romances	Dalberg, Freiherr von
Hetttersdorf, E. von	6 Songs	Dalberg, Freiherr von
Dandrieu	Livre de Sonates	De la Lande
Foliot, Edme	Motets a I., II., et III voix	de la Lande
Chopin	Op. 26: Polonaises	Dessauer, Joseph
Peichler, A.	Op. 1: 3 Duos concertants	Devienne, François
Hänsel, Peter	Op. 28: Quintet	Dragonetti, Domenico

Cramer, J. B.	Op. 29: 3 grandes Sonates	Dussek
Onslow, G.	Op. 3: 3 Grands Trios	Dussek
Kücken, Friedrich Wilhelm	Lieder und Gesänge	Fassmann, Fräulein von
Pinto, George Frederick	Grand sonata	Field
Szymanowska, Maria agata (née Wolowska)	Caprice sur la Romance de Joconde	Field
Forest, Jules	Rondo	Franchomme, Auguste- Joseph
Schumann	Op. 110: Piano Trio no. 3	Gade
Franz, Robert	Op. 4: 12 Songs	Gade, Niels
Thollé, Thomas	La Mort d'Atala, romance	Garat, Fabry
Thollé, Thomas	Une jeune troubadour, romance d'Eremond	Garat, Fabry
Labadens	Nouvelle methode pour apprendre à jouer du violon	Gavaniès, Pierre
Eckard, Godefroy	Op. 1: 6 sonatas	Gaviniés, Pierre
Albrechtsberger	Cannone perpetuo a 4. Voci	Haydn
Bachmann, Gottlob	Op. 15: String Quartet	Haydn
Barthelemon, Cecilia Maria	Op. 3: Sonata	Haydn
Beethoven	Op. 2: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
Benincori, Angelo	Op. 8: 6 String Quartets	Haydn
Bertini, Benoît-Auguste	3 Grand Sonatas	Haydn
Brandl, Johann	Op. 17: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Campbell	12 Songs from the Mountains of Scotland	Haydn
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 22: 3 Sonatas (or op. 23)	Haydn
Dalberg, Freiherr von	[Book] Über die Musik der Indien.	Haydn
Eberl, Anton	Op. 12: Grande Sonate caractéristique	Haydn
Eybler, Joseph	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Graeff, J. G.	3 Quartets for flute, violin, tenor, and cello	Haydn
Grill, Franz	Op. 3: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Gyrowetz, Adalbert	Op. 2: 6 String Quartets	Haydn

Haensel, Peter	Op. 5: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Haigh, Thomas	Op. 8: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
Haigh, Thomas	Op. 10: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
Hummel, Johann Nepomuk	Op. 13: Sonata	Haydn
Jadin, Hyacinthe	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Jadin, Louis Emmanuelle	Op. 12: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
Kalkbrenner	Op. 56: grande sonate déd à la mémoire de J. Haydn	Haydn
Kospoth, Otto Carl Erdmann	Op. 8: 6 String Quartets	Haydn
Latrobe, C. J.	Op. 3: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
Leidesdorf	Grand Trio	Haydn
Lessel	Op. 2: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
Mederitsch-Gallus, Johann	Op. 6: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Mozart	6 String Qtts, "op. 10"	Haydn
Neukomm, Sigismung Ritter von	Fantaisie à grand orchestre	Haydn
Pleyel, Ignaz	Op. 2: 6 String Quartets	Haydn
Radicati, Felice Alessandro	Op. 16: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Romberg, Andreas	Op. 2: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Romberg, Bernhard	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Schultesius	Variations on "Ricociliazione Fra due Amici." "Saggio de composizione patetico = caratteristica per il Forte Piano."	Haydn
Stadler, Daniel Gottlieb	?	Haydn
Struck, Paul	Op. 1: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
Tomasini, Louis	3 duos concertants	Haydn
Tomes, Frantisek	Op. 1: 3 Sonatas	Haydn
von Weber, Edmund	Op. 8: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Wikmanson, Johann	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	Haydn
Wölfl, Joseph	Op. 5: 3 Trios	Haydn
Ries	Op. 11: 2 Grand Sonatas	Haydn

Schumann	Op. 21: Noveletten	Henselt, Adolph
Chopin	Op. 15: 3 Nocturnes	Hiller, Ferdinand
Schumann	Op. 45: Romanzen und Balladen	Hiller, Ferdinand
Schumann	Op. 54: Concerto in A minor	Hiller, Ferdinand
Rembt, Johann Ernst	50 vierstimmige Fugetten	Hiller, Johann Adam
Weimar, Georg Peter	Versuch von kleinen leichten Motetten und Arien für Schul- und Singechöre	Hiller, Johann Adam
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 63: Sonata	Hummel
Herz, Henri	Op. 21: Exercises et preludes	Hummel
Kalkbrenner	Op. 8: Fantasie no. 3, and Fugue	Hummel
Kessler, Joseph Christoph	Etudes	Hummel
Onslow, G.	Op. 30: Sextuor	Hummel
Kreutzer, Rodolphe	Op. 11: 6 duos	Isouard de Malte, Nicolo
Potter, Cipriani	Op. 28: 3 Amusements, no. 1	Jewson, Bowen
Brahms	Op. 1: Sonata	Joachim
Liszt	Hungarian Rhapsody, no. 12	Joachim
Schumann	Op. 131: Fantasie in C major	Joachim
Boëly, Alexandre-Pierre-François	Op. 6: Etudes	Kalkbrenner
Chopin	Op. 11: Concerto in E minor	Kalkbrenner
Clementi	Op. 46: Sonata	Kalkbrenner
Moke, Camille	Op. 1, Rondo parisien	Kalkbrenner
Onslow, G.	Op. 32: Quintet no. 5	Kalkbrenner
Pleyel, Camille	Op. 3: Quartet	Kalkbrenner
Woets, Joseph-Bernard	Op. 69: Trio	Kalkbrenner
Schumann	Op. 4: 6 Intermezzi	Kalliwoda
Chopin	Op. 28: Preludes	Kessler
Weber, Antoinette	Walse très facile	Kill, J.

Baillot, Pierre-Marie-François de Sales	Op. 22: Concerto no. 8	Kreutzer, Rodolphe
Beethoven	Op. 47: Sonata	Kreutzer, Rodolphe
Couderc, Hippolyte	Op. 1: Grand Sonata	Kreutzer, Rodolphe
Demonchy, N.	3 duos	Kreutzer, Rodolphe
Dufresne, Fidèle	Op. 16: Concerto no. 2	Kreutzer, Rodolphe
Spohr, Louis	Op. 7: Concerto	Kreutzer, Rodolphe
Liszt	Scherzo and March	Kullak, Theodor
Wuerst, Richard	Op. 13: 2 Romances	Kullak, Theodor
Schumann	Op. 89: Sechs Gesänge	Lind, Jenny
Berlioz, Hector	Damnation of Faust	Liszt
Chopin	Op. 10: Etudes	Liszt
Heller, Stephen	Op. 24: Scherzo	Liszt
Jensen, Adolf	Piano Trio	Liszt
Lewy, Carl	<i>Elegie an Sie</i>	Liszt
Pinto, Francisco Antonio Norberto dos Santos	Orchestral Overture no. 8	Liszt
Pixis, Johann Peter	Op. 109: Fantasia sur la dernière pensée musicale de Weber	Liszt
Rubinstein, Anton	Op. 42: Symphony no. 2, <i>L'océan</i>	Liszt
Schumann	Op. 17: Fantasia	Liszt
Schunke, Charles	Quartres ouvrages: No 1. Grand Caprice caractéristique pour le piano, sur deux choeurs des "Huguenots"	Liszt
Liszt	Concerto no. 1	Litolff, Henry
Bennett, William Sterndale	Op. 11: 6 Studies in the form of Capriccios	Macfarren, F. A.
Boildieu, François-Adrien	Deux Sonates	Mademoiselle A
Bennett, William Sterndale	Op. 13: Sonata in F minor	Mendelssohn
Berlijn, Anton	Op. 66: Grande Ouverture triomphale	Mendelssohn
Czerny	Op. 400: Die Schule des Fugenspiels	Mendelssohn

Hiller, Ferdinand	Op. 24: <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i>	Mendelssohn
Kittl, J. F.	<i>Jagd-Symphonie</i>	Mendelssohn
Schumann	Op. 41: 3 String Quartets	Mendelssohn
Spohr, Louis	Op. 125: Sonata	Mendelssohn
Moscheles	Op. 77: Allegro di Bravura	Mendelssohn
Hiller, Ferdinand	6 Suites d'Etudes	Meyerbeer
Pierson, Henry Hugh	3 Romances (musical meditations)	Meyerbeer
Pixis, Johann Peter	Trio no. 2 sur Le Ranz des vaches de G. Meyerbeer	Meyerbeer
Schunke, Charles	Quatres ouvrages: No 3. Morceau de concert : grandes variations brillantes pour le piano, sur la sicilienne favorite de "Robert-le-Diable"	Meyerbeer
von Weber	Op. 12: Momento Capriccioso	Meyerbeer
Chopin	3 Etudes	Moscheles
Cramer, J. B.	Amicitia	Moscheles
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 69: Quintet	Moscheles
Kalkbrenner	Op. 66: Gage d'amitié	Moscheles
Mendelssohn	Op. 28: Phantasie	Moscheles
Meyerbeer	6 Songs (op.?)	Moscheles
Pixis	Trio no. 3 sur le thème favori <i>Le Garçon suisse</i>	Moscheles
Ries	Op. 115: Piano Concerto no. 4	Moscheles
Schumann	Op. 14: Konzert ohne Orchester [Sonata no. 3 in F minor]	Moscheles
Sloper, H. Lindsay	Op. 6: Capriccio	Moscheles
Wesley	"Will Putty" by Mr. Reeve arr. as a Rondo	Mr. Reeve
Wesley	"Willow Waddle" by Mr. Reeve arr. as Rondo	Mr. Reeve
Schneider, Friedrich	Grande sonate brillante	Müller, A. E.
Berbiguier, Benoit-Tranquille	Op. 89: Fantaisie sur plusieurs motifs de l'opéra du colporteur par Onslow	Onslow
Bonjour, F.	Op. 1: Quintetto	Onslow
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 42: Grand Sonata	Onslow

Kalkbrenner	Op. 79: Grande Sonate	Onslow
Pixis	Trio no. 1 sur des motifs du Colporteur	Onslow
Pleyel, Camille	Sonate no. 6	Onslow
Cramer, J. B.	Fantasia: Reminiscences of Paganini	Paganini
Mayseder, Joseph	Op. 40: Variations	Paganini
Moscheles	Fantaisie à la Paganini	Paganini
Chopin	Op. 13: Fantasia	Pixis
Moscheles	Op. 49: Sonate mélancolique	Pixis
Onslow, G.	Op. 33: Quintet no. 11	Pixis
Bertini, Henri-Jerome	Fantaisie concertante sur des thèmes de Robin des bois par Weber	Plantade, Charles-Henri
Bertini, Henri-Jerome	Op. 37: Rondeau brillant	Plantade, Charles-Henri
Fabre d'Olivet, Antoine	Op. 1: 3 String Quartets	Pleyel
Kruffet, Nicolas, baron de	Grande sonate	Pleyel
Steibelt	Op. 49: Sonate	Pleyel
Barrière, Etienne-Bernard-Joseph	Op. 12: 3 Grands duos concertants	Pleyel, [I]
Dumonchau	Op. 23: 3 Sonatas	Pleyel, [I]
Kreutzer	Op. 2: 6 String Quartets	Pleyel, [I]
Chopin	Op. 28: Preludes	Pleyel, Camille
Mansui, Charles	Variations sur <i>Vive Henri IV</i>	Pleyel, Camille
Onslow, G.	Op. 7: Grand duo	Pleyel, Camille
Desfossez, Françoise-Elizabeth Caraque	Op. 3: 3 Sonatas	Pleyel, Ignaz
Lafillé, Charles	Hymn à la nuit	Pleyel, Ignaz
Marchal, Pedro Anselmo	Op. 15: Duo	Pleyel, Ignaz
Thollé, Thomas	Amanda: romance	Pleyel, Ignaz
Liszt	<i>Tarantelle di bravura d'après la Tarantelle de 'La muette de Portici' d'Auber</i>	Pleyel, Marie
Kalkbrenner	Op. 120: Fantaisie et variations sur une mazourka de Chopin	Pleyel, Mme Camille

Chopin	Op. 9: 3 Nocturnes	Pleyel, Mme Marie
Bennett, William Sterndale	Capriccio	Potter, Cipriani
Georgeon, Henriette-Sophie	L'insulaire	pour moi
Eler, André-Frédéric	Op. 6: 3 Quartets	Punto, Giovanni
Mayer, I. D.	Variations prédédées d'une introduction	Reicha
Spohr, Louis	Op. 106: Quintet	Reißiger, Carl Gottlieb
Pachelbel, Johann	<i>Hexachordium Apollinis</i>	Richter, Ferdinand and Dietrich Buxtehude
Lafillé, Charles	<i>Plaire et changer</i>	Rigel, Henri-Joseph
Ries	Op. 68: Grand Quintuor	Romberg, André et Bernard
Kuhlau, Friedrich	Op. 32: Grand Quatuor	Romberg, Andreas
Spohr, Louis	Op. 29: 3 String Quartets	Romberg, Andreas
Ries	Op. 20: Grande Sonate	Romberg, Bernard
Ries	Op. 21: Grande Sonate	Romberg, Bernard
Méreaux, J. A. L. de	Op. 18: Polonaise brillante	Roucourt, Jean-Baptiste
Liszt	Fantaisie über Motive aus Beethovens <i>Ruinen von Athen</i>	Rubinstein, Anton
Liszt	Mephisto Waltz no. 2, arr. for piano solo	Saint-Saëns, Camille
Beethoven	Op. 12: 3 Violin Sonatas	Salieri
Reißiger, Carl Gottlieb	Op. 89: Lieder und Gesänge	Schröder-Devrient, Wilhelmine
Schumann	Op. 48: Dichterliebe	Schröder-Devrient, Wilhelmine
Randhartinger, Benedict	<i>Ins stille Land</i>	Schubert, to the memory of
Bennett, William Sterndale	Op. 16: Fantasia in A	Schumann
Chopin	Op. 38: Ballade	Schumann
de Sire, Simonin	Méditations	Schumann
Franz, Robert	Op. 2: Schilflieder	Schumann
Gade, Niels	Op. 21: Sonata	Schumann
Liszt	Sonata in B minor	Schumann

Schumann, Clara	Op. 20: Variations on a Theme by Robert Schumann	Schumann
Wieck, Clara	Op. 11: 3 Romances	Schumann
Brahms	Op. 2: Sonata in F# minor	Schumann, Clara
Brahms	Op. 9: Variations on a Theme by R. Schumann	Schumann, Clara
Gade, Niels	Op. 6: Sonatas	Schumann, Clara
Kullak, Theodor	Op. 37: <i>Perles d'écume</i>	Schumann, Clara
Liszt	Transcendental etudes after Paganini	Schumann, Clara
Mendelssohn	Op. 62: Lieder Ohne Wörter (bk.5)	Schumann, Clara
Moscheles	Op. 121: Sonata no. 3	Schumann, Clara
Schumann	Op. 44: Piano Quintet	Schumann, Clara
Schumann	Op. 136: Overture to Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea"	Schumann, Clara
Smetena, Bedrich	Opp. 4-5: Skizzen	Schumann, Clara
Schumann	Op. 26: Faschingsschwank	Simonin de Sire
Gerke	Op. 10: Overture	Spohr
Pixis	Op. 86: Trio	Spohr
Ries	Op. 90: Simphonie no. 3	Spohr
Mendelssohn	Op. 66: Trio in C minor	Spohr, Ludwig
Wieck, Clara	Op. 7: Piano Concerto	Spohr, Ludwig
Gungl, Josef	Op. 60: Wälzer	Stauss, Johann
Moscheles	Op. 105: Deux Caprices	Sterndale Bennett
Schumann	Op. 13: Symphonic Etudes	Sterndale Bennett
Liszt	Mephisto Waltz no. 1, arr. for piano solo	Tausig, Carl
Liszt	2 Episodes from Lenau's 'Faust'	Tausig, Carl
Schumann	Op. 24: Songs	Viardot, Pauline
Liszt	Symphony to Dante's 'Divina Commedia'	Wagner
Baumgartner, Wilhelm	Op. 12: Liederkreis: <i>Eine Frühlingsliebe</i>	Wagner, Richard
Kraft, Nicolaus	Op. 12: <i>Der Freyschütz: Pot-pourri</i>	Weber
Schumann	Op. 11: Sonata no. 1	Wieck, Clara

Schumann	Op. 5: Impromptus on a theme by Clara Wieck	Wieck, Friedrich
Cramer, J. B.	Op. 36: Grand Sonata	Woelfl
Dumonchau	Op. 24: 3 Sonatas	Woelfl
Liszt	Op. 6: Grande valse di bravura	Wolff, Peter
Roesler, J.	Op. 13: Symphony	Wranitzky, Anton
<i>Lachner, Ignaz</i>	<i>Der Ungenannten</i>	Württemberg, Doris Hans K.
Mendelssohn	Op. 2: Piano Quartet no. 2	Zelter

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