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TIME, PLACE, TRADITION: AUTHORIZING MUSICAL ADAPTATION IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

Abstract. Among the kaleidoscopic trajectories of arranging music for instrumental ensemble in the long nineteenth century, the questions of where the adaptations were made, what traditions they adopted and what view they took of their original subjects are paramount. The three issues entwine themselves in complex ways. Although there were pan-European traditions—the piano-vocal score of a lyric stage work, or the reduction of larger concerted works for piano trio—some local traditions are already apparent. At the beginning of the century, Viennese traditions entertained the most diverse range of adaptation with reworkings for string ensemble while London exploited perhaps the narrowest range with a predilection for the JUPITER ensemble (fortepiano, flute, violin, cello). By the mid-century in Paris, the music of previous generations collided with the development of the *orgue expressif*, which in combination with the fortepiano and at the hands of the virtuoso pianist Amédée Méreaux and others formed the core of domestic adaptations. When Hummel arranged Mozart in the 1820s or Eduard Steuermann arranged Schönberg's works from the 1910s they could point to apprentice status regarding their sources.

Keywords: arrangement; transcription; adaptation; nineteenth century; Paris; London; Vienna

CZAS, MIEJSCE, TRADYCA. AUTORYZOWANIE ADAPTACJI MUZYCZNYCH W DŁUGIM XIX WIEKU

Abstrakt. Spośród licznych kierunków, jakie w długim XIX wieku przybierały aranżacje muzyki na zespoły instrumentalne, kluczowe pozostają pytania o miejsce ich powstawania, przyjmowane tradycje oraz sposób odnoszenia się do oryginału. Wątki te splatają się w skomplikowany sposób. Choć istniały praktyki o charakterze paneuropejskim – jak fortepianowo-wokalne partytury dzieł scenicznych czy transkrypcje większych form na trio fortepianowe – już na początku stulecia dały się zauważyć lokalne

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różnice. Wiedeń prezentował wyjątkowo szeroki zakres adaptacji, zwłaszcza na zespoły smyczkowe, podczas gdy Londyn ograniczał się głównie do formatu JUPITER (fortepian, flet, skrzypce, wiolonczela). W połowie stulecia w Paryżu muzyka poprzednich pokoleń zderzyła się z rozwojem *orgue expressif*, który w połączeniu z fortepianem i w rękach takich wirtuozów jak Amédée Méreaux, stał się fundamentem domowych aranżacji. Gdy Hummel aranżował Mozarta w latach 20. XIX wieku, a Eduard Steuermann – dzieła Schönberga z drugiej dekady wieku XX, obaj mogli powołać się na status uczniów względem autorów aranżowanych dzieł.

Słowa kluczowe: aranżacja; transkrypcja; adaptacja; XIX wiek; Paryż; Londyn; Wiedeń

Musical cultures in the age before the broad availability of sound recording depended on arrangements of large-scale concerted music. Symphonies and concertos, sacred music and music in the theatre were all part of a culture of adaptation. In the long nineteenth century, recipients of such music were more likely to hear Haydn's *Drum-Roll* Symphony, Mozart's d minor piano concerto or Beethoven's *Fidelio* in one of several forms of transcription than they were to hear the fully-scored original.[1] Across Europe and its dependent territories, such ambitious music was arranged and received in several formats. Arrangements for piano two- and four-hands were ubiquitous, as were adaptations of music in the theatre both in piano-vocal score and in versions for piano alone.[2] Together with these traditions were adaptations for emerging ensemble formats that became familiar as the century progressed: piano trio, string quartet and quintet most obviously.[3] But together with these relatively clear patterns of arrangement, a kaleidoscope of versions for *ad hoc* instrumental ensemble existed that challenges generalisation or classification.[4]

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[1] "Transcription" and "arrangement" are terms found with some regularity across the nineteenth century, frequently to describe exactly the same musical process. They are, however, just two among a large number of terminological expressions to describe a process of "adaptation", which may be taken to subsume all of them.

[2] For the former, see Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999): 255–98, and for the latter, Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden, 67–93 Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 2027 (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000).

[3] The field remains relatively underexplored. For examples, triggered however by the canonic status of their original composers, see Fischer's "Die Klaviertrio-Fassungen des Septetts und der zweiten Symphonie," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 7 (1952): 88–91, and Marggraf's "Eine Klaviertrio-Bearbeitung des *Vallée d'Obermann* aux Liszts Spätzeit," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1986): 295–302.

[4] A good example is the range of scorings found in arrangements of Mozart for *Harmonie* ensemble. See Peter Heckl, "W. A. Mozarts Instrumentalkompositionen in Bearbeitungen für Harmoniemusik vor 1840," PhD diss., Universität für Musik und darstellungen Kunst Graz, 2011; published under the same name in 4 volumes, in the series Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft 81 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011).

Alongside these continuities of practice existed discontinuities in the process of adaptation: practices that emerged in particular places at particular times and that had a limited life span. Understanding these adaptations enriches interpretation of the cultures in which they were found and of the *mentalités* of the creators and consumers of those adaptations. Much has been written on Viennese processes of adaptation, characterised by arrangements of symphonies and concertos for string quintet and cognate ensembles;[5] by contrast, in London or Paris patterns of adaptation take on a radically different form.

Arrangements published in London—apart from versions for one or two pianos—were dominated by a practice of adaptation which rewrote symphonies and concertos—as well as many extracts of music in the theatre—for an ensemble consisting of fortepiano, flute, violin and cello. This ensemble, abbreviated to "JUPITER ensemble," was the standard format for arrangements in London between around 1810 and 1850, in addition to adaptations for keyboard or piano trio. These JUPITER arrangements represented an extraordinary moment of discontinuity in nineteenth-century music history, where a large repertory of a specific type of arrangement was published for around half a century in a single location, and clearly destined for use across the country.[6] The title page of the earliest edition to use the title "Jupiter" of Mozart's last symphony reveals that the work was arranged by Muzio Clementi specifically for the JUPITER ensemble (figure 1).[7]

Example 1 gives a passage from the finale of Mozart's Symphony 41 in C major, K. 551 in its arrangement by Clementi alongside the same passage from the edition in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*.[8] It illustrates many of the ways in which the arranger works with source material thirty years old in a very different instrumental context (example 1).

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[5] Wiebke Thormählen, "Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna," *Journal of Musicology* 27 (2010): 342–76; Nancy November, *The Age of Musical Arrangements in Europe, 1780–1830*, Elements in Music and Musicians 1750–1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

[6] For an account of these adaptations see my "JUPITER: Reading the 'Viennese Classics' in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *The Musical Quarterly* 106, nos. 3–4 (2023): 248–72.

[7] Mozart's celebrated Symphony. A facsimile of the title page has been available since 1955 in Alec Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect: Studies in Criticism and Bibliography* (London: Geoffrey Cumberledge; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), frontispiece; the status of the publication as an arrangement is not mentioned in King, 264.

[8] *Mozart's Celebrated Symphony "THE JUPITER"*, 24; H. C. Robbins Landon, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Sinfonien*, 187–266.

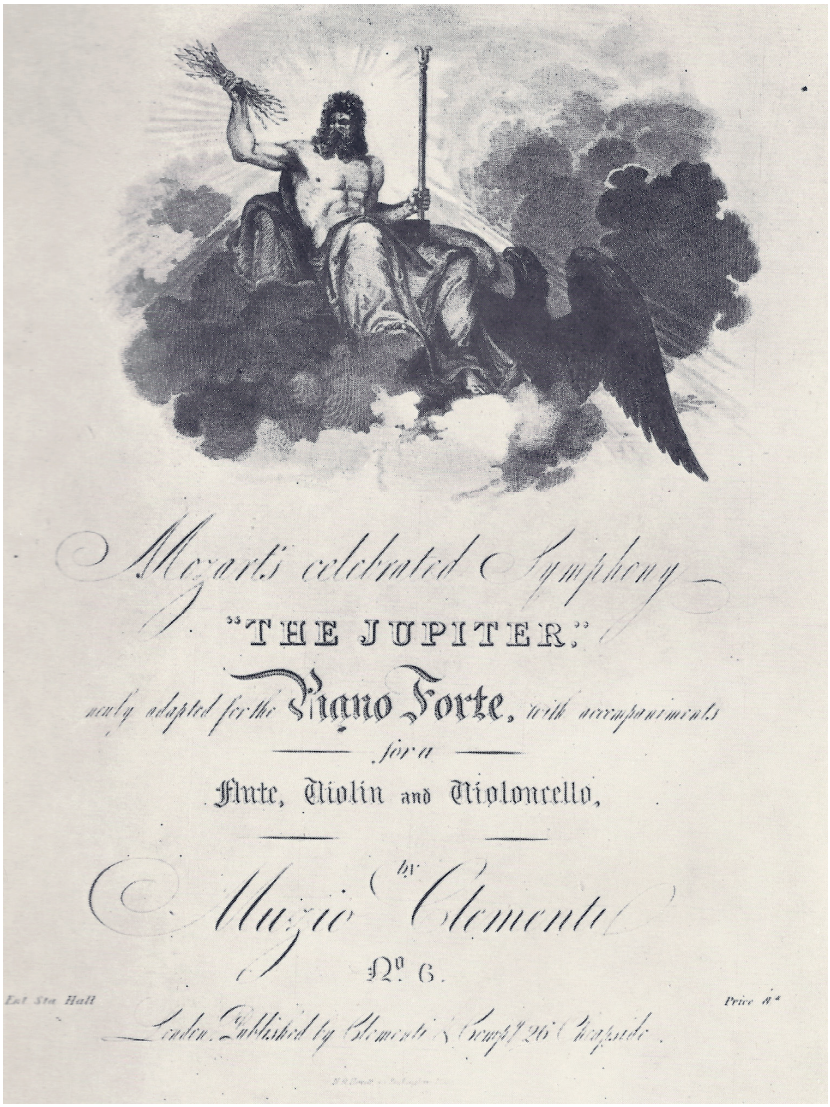
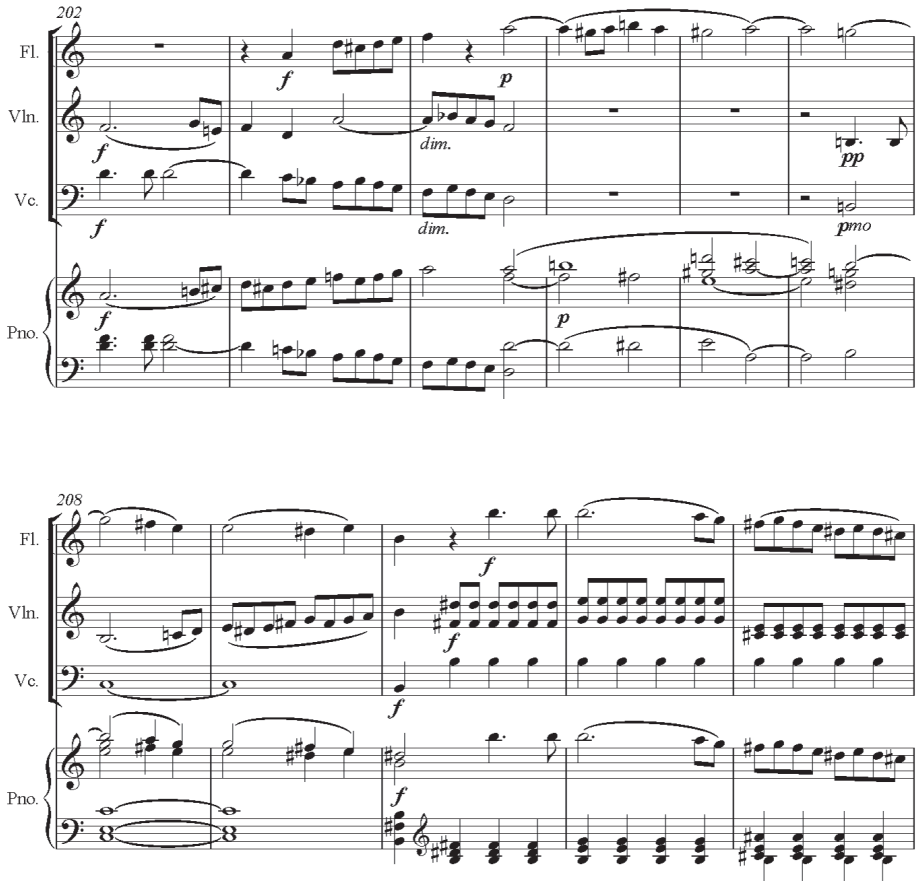


Figure 1. Arrangement of Mozart's Symphony 41 in C major, K. 551 for the „JUPITER" ensemble" by Muzio Clementi, title page



Example 1. A passage from Mozart's Symphony 41 in C major, K. 551, 4th movt., arranged by Clementi

For example, Mozart's original tenths between first violin and viola in measure 203 are transformed into thirds between the right hand of the fortepiano and the flute, and the part writing around the pedal-point in 208 to 209 introduces an *e* in the left-hand of the fortepiano that is not in Mozart's scoring, and resolves differently. More importantly, the example well illustrates the difference between *ad libitum* and *obbligato* writing in the context of an arrangement. Most of the activity in example 1 is *obbligato*: it is indispensable to the score, and the arrangement would simply be incomplete without the instrumental parts.[9] There are however two examples of *ad libitum* writing, visible in example 1a. One example is of the cello doubling the

[9] The title page of the arrangement avoids the use of the term "ad libitum." See Everist, "JUPITER," 2.

left hand of the piano—on the first stave of the arrangement—where the cello might be excluded. It is however less clear that the doubling of the right hand of the piano with the flute in measures 210-212 and beyond also constitutes *ad libitum* writing. Certainly, the pitches are doubled, but the dynamic context suggests that there is a real question about the degree to which an 1828 Broadwood fortepiano at that pitch might penetrate the texture against contemporary double-stopped violin and a cello in its strongest register. The flute's *obbligato* status may result from dynamic power rather than avoidance of pitch doubling.[10]

A similarly localised practice of arrangement existed slightly later in the nineteenth century and from the other side of the English Channel. From around 1840 until the 1890s, there was a tradition of arranging large-scale concerted music and music in the theatre for ensembles based around the pairing of fortepiano and *orgue expressif*—what would later become known the world over as the harmonium. This pairing of keyboard instruments could be enhanced by the addition of violin, cello or both, but unlike the JUPITER tradition, this scoring also served as the basis for a wide range of original composition. Just to take an example of a single genre, there were no fewer than seventy works published in Paris for this scoring entitled "Méditation" alone, and this is the context for Charles Gounod's near-legendary "Méditation sur le 1er Prélude de piano de S[ébastian] Bach," more commonly known as the Bach-Gounod "Ave Maria."[11] The analysis of two sets of transcriptions by the ex-touring virtuoso and friend of Liszt and Thalberg, Amédée Méreaux, prepared in the 1860s and 1870s will cut through this vast but consistent repertory of arrangement; these are the *24 Transcriptions concertantes,* op. 83 (1861 and 1874).[12] These traditions from London in the early nineteenth century and from Paris in the later part of the century fall into alignment with Viennese practices in the first quarter of the twentieth century as the virtuoso pianist Eduard Steuermann arranged two works by Arnold Schönberg for piano solo and piano trio: the *Erste Kammersymphonie* op. 9 and *Verklärte Nacht*, op. 4, respectively.

It could be argued that scholarly focus until very recently has been on the source material for arrangements—on the music and its composers that were the subject of adaptation—with the result that the process has been subsumed into a history of reception, for which there are endless models: Beethoven, Haydn, Schubert, even Mozart. More recent published work points towards alternatives and to an understanding of nineteenth-century culture that recognises the importance—the primacy,

[10] This paragraph and the music example it discusses are taken from Everist, 6–7 where the distinction between *obbligato* and *ad libitum* in the repertory of JUPITER arrangements is laid out in full.

[11] *A Monsieur J. Zimmerman Méditation sur le 1er Prélude de Piano de S. Bach*.

[12] *24 transcriptions concertantes de Amédée Méreaux (Op. 83)*.

even—of the practice of adaptation, and its agents: the arrangers, publishers and others involved in the practice.[13] And these scholarly trajectories underpin questions of authority. There are issues around who authorises the preparation of an arrangement, who polices its quality; there are issues concerning the relationship between recipients and the authority of the arranger, composer, performer or publisher. The question may be expressed concisely as the relationship between artistic authority and the process of adaptation.

These are topics to probe using the three localised traditions of arrangement outlined here: London between 1810 and 1850; Paris between 1840 and 1890; and Vienna before the Second World War. These examples permit the identification of individual actors, works and transcriptions, as well as probing the aesthetics of authorising musical adaptation. The three traditions are summarised in table 1.

Table 1. Arrangement traditions

Tradition	Arrangers	Source material	Performing forces	Witnesses
London, c.1810–c.1850	Muzio Clementi; Johann Baptist Cramer, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Giralomo Masi	Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven (symphonies and concertos)	fortepiano, flute, violin, cello	press
Paris, c.1840–c.1890	Jean-Amédée Lefroid de Méreaux	*24 Transcriptions concertantes*, op. 83 (1861 and 1874): Weber and Mozart stage works + Haydn, Beethoven, Gluck and Handel	piano, *orgue expressif*, violin, cello (various combinations)	editorial preface
Vienna, c. 1900– c. 1930	Eduard Steuermann	Schönberg, *Verklärte Nacht*, op. 4; *Erste Kammersymphonie*, op. 9	piano trio (for op. 4); solo piano (for op. 9)	relationship with composer

For London, arrangements by Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Johann Baptist Cramer and Clementi were made of symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, and concertos by Mozart;[14] for Paris, Méreaux's *24 Transcriptions concertantes* arranged arias from Weber, the Mozart-Da Ponte works for the stage, movements

[13] See, for example, Jonathan Kregor, *Liszt as Transcriber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), and Nancy November, *The Age of Musical Arrangements in Europe, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

[14] A complete listing of the JUPITER arrangements is found at my website, https://everist.eu/interventions/data/jupiter-list-of-works, see under "JUPITER: List of Arrangements."

from instrumental works by Haydn and Beethoven, and single movements by Gluck and Handel.[15] Steuermann transcribed Schönberg's 1899 *Verklärte Nacht* in 1928 for piano trio[16] and his 1906 *Erste Kammersymphonie* for solo piano in 1916.[17] All the arrangements published in London were for the JUPITER ensemble of fortepiano, flute, violin and cello, without exception. Méreaux, at the head of the tradition of arrangement based on the pairing of fortepiano and *orgue expressif*, deployed a wider range of combinations of the two keyboard instruments, violin and cello. Steuermann arranged as part of what were earlier described as pan-European practices for piano trio and for piano solo. Each of the three witnesses left a different type of clue to its interpretation beyond the published score, each typical of its age, and each critical for what it reveals today of the authority sitting behind the act of adaptation. The early nineteenth century in London left a significant trace in the press;[18] Amédée Méreaux and his editor Jacques-Léopold Heugel wrote an extensive preface to the *24 Transcriptions concertantes*;[19] and Steuermann not only studied initially with Schönberg but played the piano in the premiere of *Pierrot lunaire* in 1912; he was both the pianist in the *Verein für Musikalische Privataufführungen*, and premiered almost all of Schönberg's works for piano (Steuermann accompanied Schönberg when he moved permanently to the United States in the 1930s).[20]

Understanding how musical authority and the process of adaptation might interact can usefully begin with considering the relationships between, on the one hand, an adaptation and, on the other, its original source and composer. It goes without saying that the authorial rights of a composer were highly variable within different countries, and largely non-existent between them. There are at least seven ways in which creation engages with adaptation:

1. Composer adapts
2. Composer supervises

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[15] For a complete inventory and discussion of Méreaux's *24 Transcriptions concertantes*, see Everist, "'*Un caractère tout à fait classique*': Parisian Practices of Arrangement and the Domestic Debt to the Past," in *Amateur Musicians in the Nineteenth Century: Markets, Practices, and Identities*, ed. Nancy November and Imogen Morris (London: Bloomsbury, 2026), 51–85.

[16] Martin Zenck, "'… das "Wirre" ist ja nicht ungewollt…'. Zum zweiten Streichquartett *Diary* (1960/61) in den Uraufführungen mit dem Juilliard String Quartet 1963 in New York," in *Edouard Steuermann, "Musiker und Virtuose:" Symposiumsbericht*, ed. Lars E. Laubhold, 463–89 (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2022), 480n22.

[17] Lars E. Laubhold, "Zeittafel und chronologisches Werkverzeichnis," in *Edouard Steuermann, "Musiker und Virtuose:" Symposiumsbericht*, ed. Lars E. Laubhold (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2022), 495–96.

[18] Everist, "JUPITER. List of Arrangements," 16–18.

[19] Idem, "'*Un caractère tout à fait classique*'."

[20] Martin Zenck, Volker Rülke, and Gwendolin Koch, eds., *Kontroverse Wege der Moderne: der exilierte Komponist und Pianist Eduard Steuermann in seinen Briefen (Korrespondenz mit Arnold Schönberg, Theodor W. Adorno und René Leibowitz)* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2022), 151, 267–72.

3. Composer and arranger collaborate
4. Composer approves adaptation undertaken without their knowledge
5. Composer decries adaptation undertaken without their knowledge
6. Composer oblivious of arrangement
7. Arrangements of arrangements

Composers frequently adapted their own works: for example, Brahm's reduction of the op. 102 Double Concerto for piano trio or his arrangement of the clarinet sonatas for violin.[21] More common is the supervision of another's adaptation of a work by the originator; this is the case for any successful composer for the theatre, for instance: the piano-vocal score of Meyerbeer's 1831 *Robert le diable* was arranged under the composer's careful gaze by the pianist-composer Johann Peter Pixis who had been in Paris since 1824.[22] The composer and arranger could collaborate, as in the case of Liszt and Berlioz working on the *Symphonie fantastique* transcription,[23] and composers can approve adaptations undertaken without their knowledge by others; a good example of this fourth type is Haydn's well-known approval of Anton Wranitzky's arrangement of *The Creation* for string quartet that impressed the composer so much that he requested the publisher Artaria to secure Wranitzky's services to arrange *The Seasons* as well for the same ensemble.[24] When composers decry adaptations made by others without their knowledge, it is more frequently because of perceived theft rather than because of the quality of the arrangement. When Beethoven wrote to the *Wiener Zeitung* in 1802 about Tranquillo Mollo's publication of his first symphony and septet in string quintet versions, he was exercised mostly by the fact that their status as arrangements was not made clear on the title pages; in fact, Mollo had used the title page for his publication of Beethoven's op. 4 string quintet (a work that has its own complex history) as a model for that of the adaptations of the symphony and septet, disguising the origins of the adaptation still further.[25]

The most common cases must be those where the composer was oblivious to the adaptation of their work. If the arrangement is made posthumously, the legal

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[21] Michael Struck, "Main and Shadowy Existence(s): Works and Arrangements in the Œuvre of Johannes Brahms" in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall: Between Private and Public Performance*, edited by Katy Hamilton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 110-136.

[22] *Robert le diable […].*

[23] Kregor, *Liszt as Transcriber*, 76–157.

[24] H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works: The Late Years: 1801–1809* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 79–80.

[25] Nancy November, *Beethoven's Symphonies arranged for the Chamber: Sociability, Reception and Canon Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 63–64. For the history of Beethoven's op. 4 String Quintet and the composer's other original work and arrangements in the genre, see Kurth, "Beethovens Streichquintette," PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1994; published under the same title in the series Studien zur Musik 14 (Munich: Fink, 1996).

possibilities for the estate to claim against the transcriber—especially across national boundaries—were thin before the Berne Convention of 1886, and many composers less committed to policing the fates of their works than Beethoven may only have been subliminally aware of some of the arrangements of their works.[26] Finally, arrangements themselves were the subject of further adaptation: the Bach-Gounod "Méditation" is a case in point, and when Sigismond Neukomm arranged Beethoven's Septet for fortepiano and *orgue expressif* in 1841, he claimed that he was retaining a fidelity not to Beethoven's original but to the composer's own op. 38 transcription of the work for piano trio.[27]

The relationship between composer, work and arranger is a preliminary index of how one might consider questions of authority. The original publisher, the publisher of the adaptation, dedicatees of both versions, and a host of other actors play different roles in individual cases; these relationships must be carefully inflected by time and place. But equally important are the genealogies of contact, study and performance in which all such actors are enmeshed. Beethoven asked his pupil Ferdinand Ries, then in London, to acquire arrangements of his symphonies and bring them back to Vienna.[28] When Hummel arranged Mozart's symphonies and concertos for the JUPITER ensemble, he was doing so with the advantage of having been Mozart's pupil from 1786 to 1788. Cramer was involved in networks that included both Haydn and Beethoven. And when Clementi made the arrangement of the "Jupiter' symphony (figure 1 and example 1), he was working against the background of his celebrated pianistic duel with Mozart on Christmas Eve 1781.[29]

While Hummel, Cramer and Clementi all had contact with the composers they were arranging, the arrangements were made much later in life and after the deaths of the composers in question, or—in the case of Beethoven—when the composer was at the other end of the continent. Amédée Méreaux was born in 1802, and had nothing to do with any of the composers he arranged. Indeed, in his early career as a touring virtuoso pianist, he shared the circuit with Émile Prudent, Henri Herz, Sigismond Thalberg and Franz Liszt; Méreaux's near-Damascene conversion in the late 1830s from a career as a touring virtuoso to an arranger, pedagogue and critic rechannelled his reverence for the music of the past into his work as an arranger, so

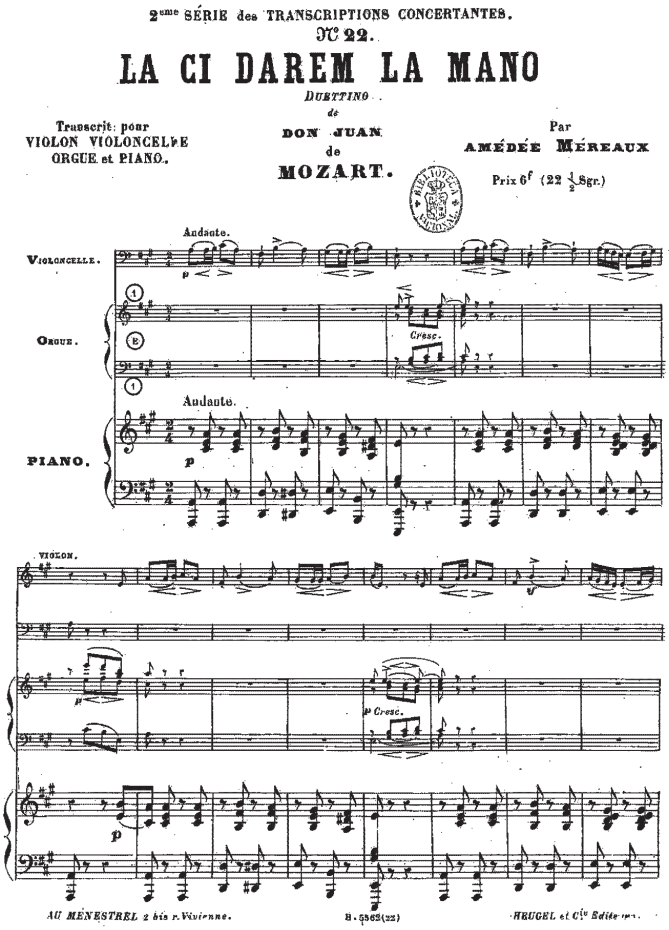
[26] The Berne Convention was initially of limited reach, only originally signed by Belgium, France, Germany, Haiti, Italy, Liberia, Spain, Switzerland, Tunisia and the United Kingdom. Signatories were added over a period of a century. The United States only signed the convention in 1988. See World Intellectual Property Organisation, "Summary of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886)," https://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ip/berne/summary_berne.html#:~:text=The%20Berne%20Convention%20deals%20with,to%20make%20use%20of%20them.

[27] *Grand Septuor de Beethoven [...] Op. 38 […]* (Paris: Mme Vve Canaux).

[28] November, *Beethoven's Symphonies*, 105–6.

[29] Everist, "JUPITER," 20.

when he arranged ensembles from Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, he was working with compositions that could be set in a discourse around the classic, and for which he could invoke issues of textual fidelity; this, together with an enthusiasm for the combination of piano and *orgue expressif* as what he and Heugel liked to think of as "the orchestra in the *salon,*" underpinned work on the *24 Transcriptions concertantes*. Example 2 gives the opening of Méreaux's transcription of Mozart's "Là ci darem la mano" from the first act of *Don Giovanni* and Mozart's full score on which it is based (example 2).[30]



Example 2. W. A. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, "La ci darem la mano" beginning. Amédée Méreaux, *24 Transcriptions concertantes* op. 83, no. 22

[30] The example compares *24 transcriptions concertantes* with Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm, eds., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Don Giovanni*, Neue Mozart Ausgabe II/5/17 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1968; 4/ 2014), 111.

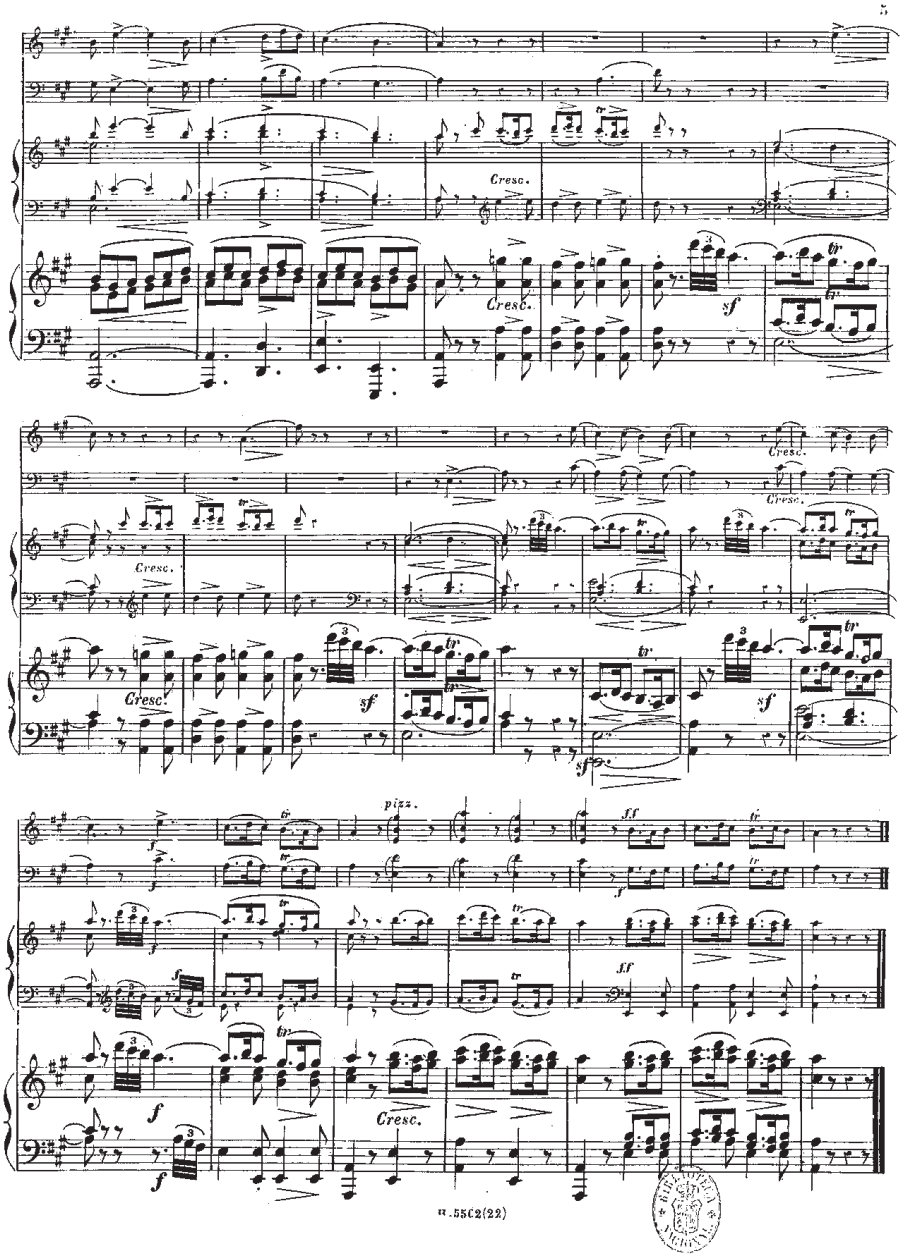
Méreaux deploys his instruments *concertants* by assigning Don Giovanni's line to the cello and Zerlina's to the violin, retaining not only different tone colors for each voice but also their original register. In this extract, the *orgue expressif* is reserved for the transcription of the interpolations from the orchestral woodwind. Méreaux uses the piano to replicate the string textures of the original, usually only picking up melodic interest in tuttis. Violin and cello are exclusively used for the vocal lines from the original duettino except for the final few measures, where Méreaux uses them to recall the *pizzicato* from the original scoring—a texture that neither piano nor *orgue expressif* can emulate.

Even in the opening measures, Méreaux's best intentions cannot fully be realized: he is very careful to give all the octave doublings from the original bass, but in the woodwind interpolation from the *orgue expressif*, he does not give us the lower octave in the second horn, and while the pitch in question is struck at the beginning of the measure in the piano, Mozart's sustained octave is sacrificed on the altar of part-writing for the flute, oboes and bassoons. Méreaux over-engineers dynamics in the same passage. Mozart designates these interventions as "piano—crescendo—[subito] piano," whereas Méreaux complicates them with overlaid *messe di voce*: a crescendo up and down within the measure at the same time as Mozart's original dynamic. The *messa di voce* is one of the techniques that the *orgue expressif* does superbly, and the instance here represents a collision between two of Méreaux's aesthetic imperatives: on the one hand the "orchestral" abilities of the *orgue expressif* and on the other the claims of authenticity and precision.

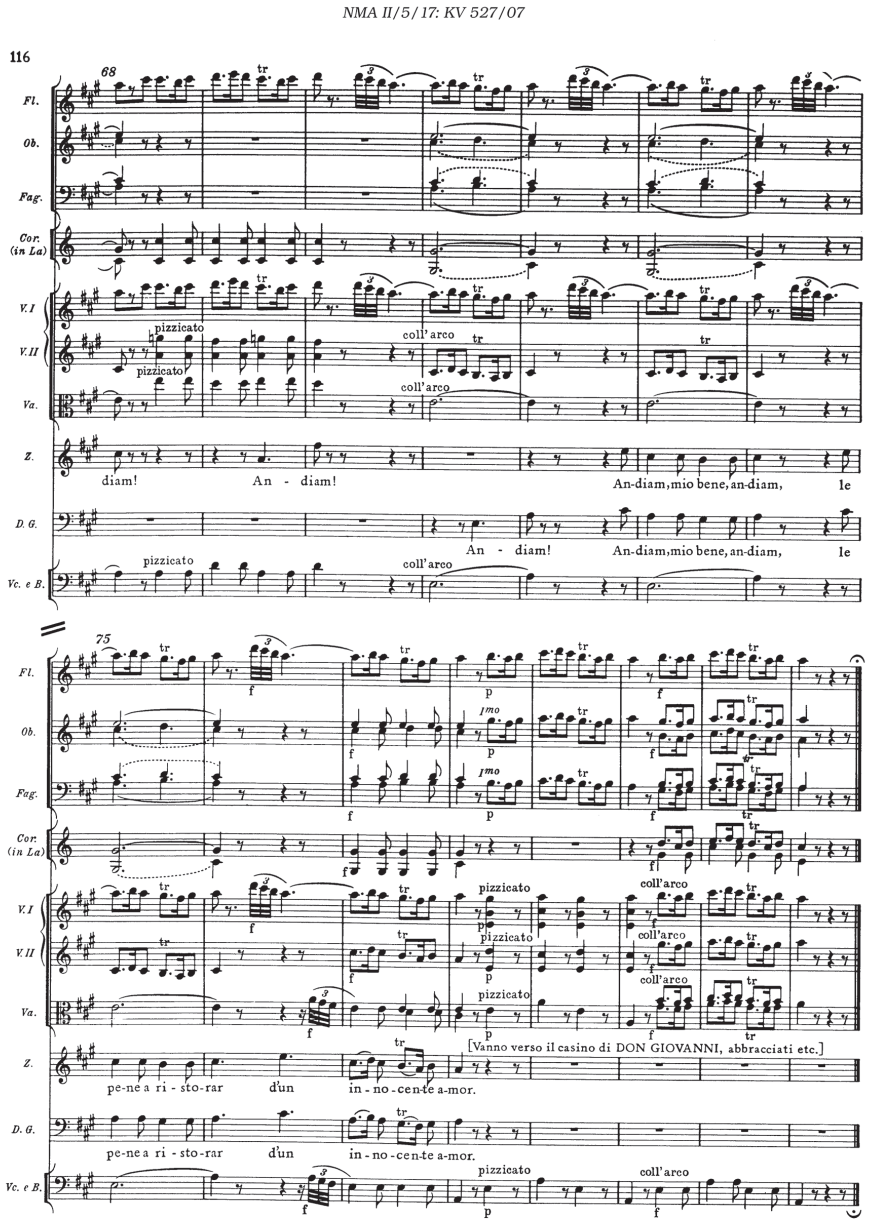
In the closing section of the *duettino*, Méreaux retains some parts of the orchestral pizzicato strings in the arrangement (example 3).[31] There are places where he declines to follow the same procedure, and although he makes the recognition of the presence of string pizzicato in the original a key element in his adaptation, he does not act slavishly. Nevertheless, Méreaux's version foregrounds the question of timbre, a parameter that would usually be considered the first to be disrupted in any form of adaptation. If using strings in an adaptation of an original work that employs stringed instruments, *pizzicato* is a technique available throughout the process.

Steuermann acted in the same way, but with perhaps more precision, when he arranged Schönberg's *Verklärte Nacht*. Schönberg's original was only composed twenty-eight years after Méreaux's arrangement of "Là ci darem la mano," completed in the closing hours of the nineteenth century. When Steuermann came to arrange the work for piano trio in the summer of 1928, he was also interested in preserving as

[31] *24 transcriptions concertantes* and Plath and Rehm, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Don Giovanni* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968, NMA II/5/17, 4th printing), 116.

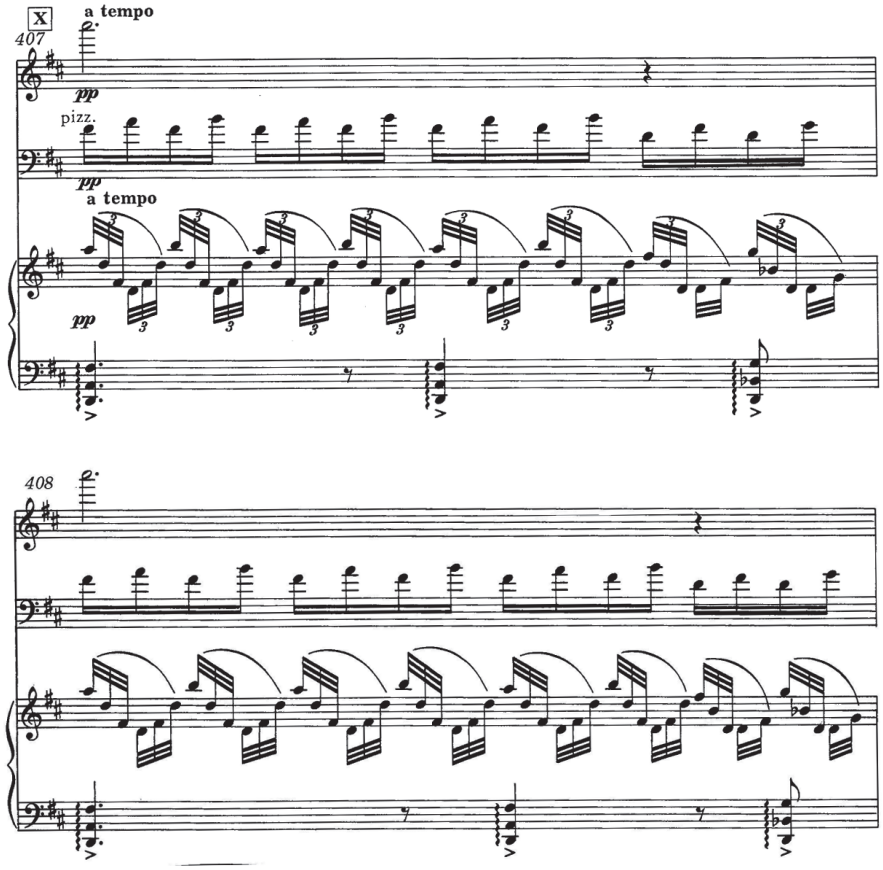


Example 3a. W. A. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, "La ci darem la mano," end. Amédée Méreaux, *24 Transcriptions concertantes* op. 83, no. 22



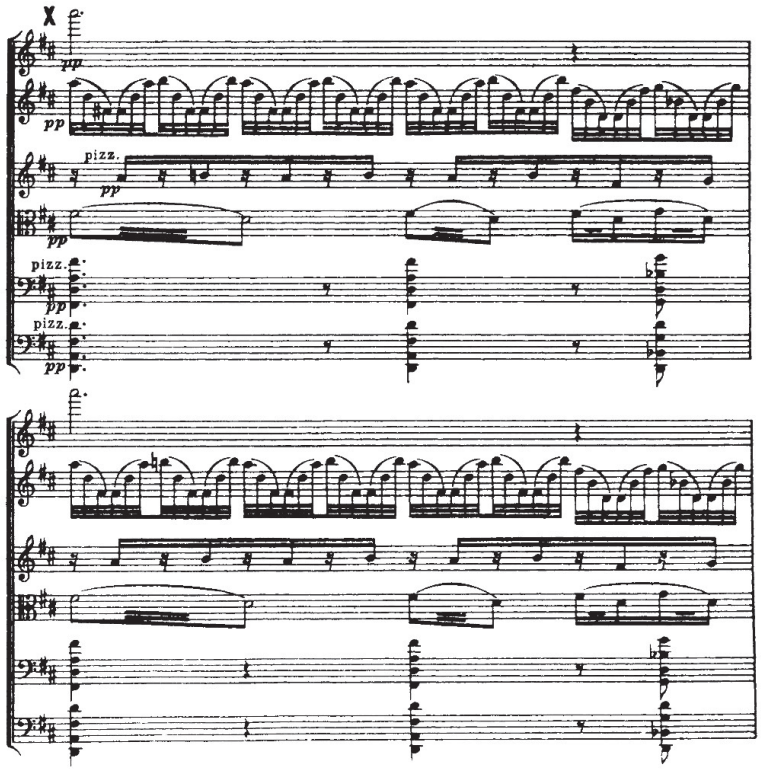
Example 3b. W. A. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, "La ci darem la mano," end. Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm, eds. *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Don Giovanni*, NMA II/5/17

much of the original sonority as possible, and that meant working with such string techniques as pizzicato (example 4).[32]



Example 4a. A. Schönberg, *Verklärte Nacht Op. 4 für Violine, Violoncello und Klavier bearbeitet von Eduard Steuermann* (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Verlag Dreililien [Richard Birnbach]), 54

[32] Arnold Schönberg, *Verklärte Nacht*, 49.

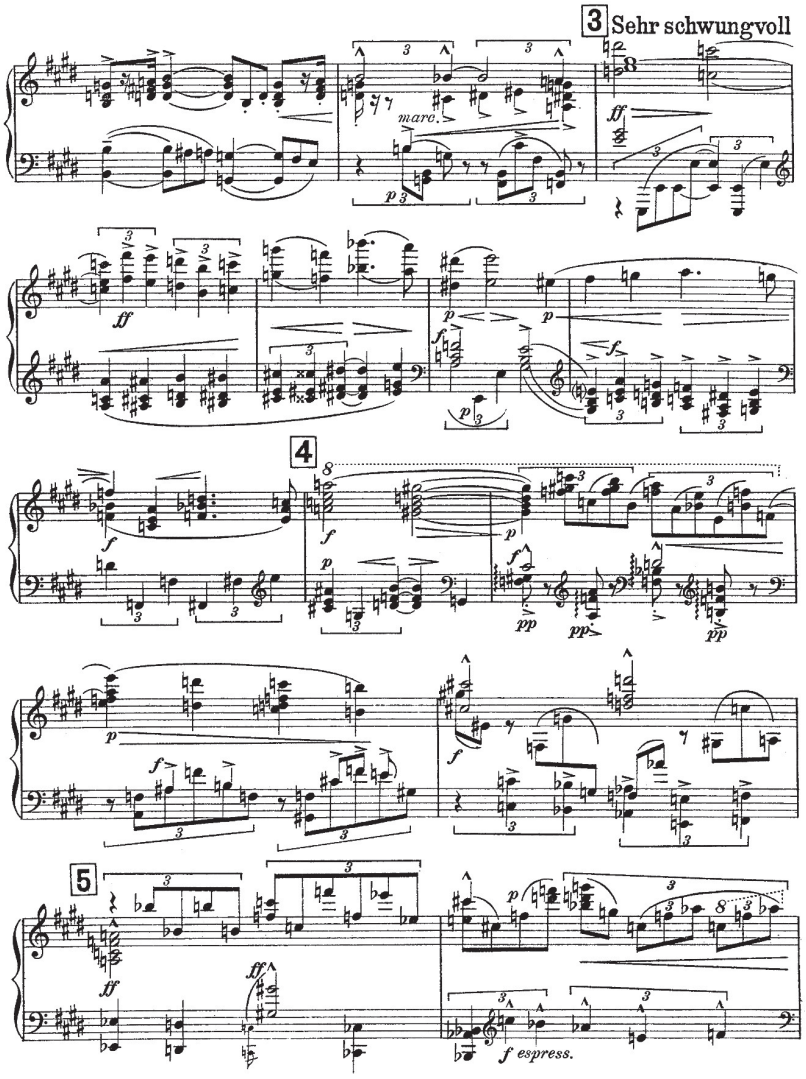


Example 4b. A. Schönberg, *Verklärte Nacht Sextett für zwei Violinen, zwei Violen und zwei Violoncelli Op. 4* (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Verlag Dreililien [Richard Birnbach]), page 49

Comparing Schönberg's original 1899 score with Steuermann's 1928 arrangement shows how the latter manages to effect a transcription that keeps Schönberg's pizzicati in the middle of the texture, and—in the same way as Méreaux half a century earlier—transfers elements of Schönberg's sonorities into his adaptation.

In addition to showing Steuermann's careful handling of *pizzicati*, example 4 also shows his attempts to render Schönberg's limpid accompaniment in the second violin and second viola; the adaptation is undertaken with the aim of replicating the string-crossing in the second violin by means of arpeggios in the piano; here, it betrays little of Steuermann's virtuosic pedigree. Unlike Méreaux, however, who had at least the same level of recognition as a piano virtuoso a century earlier, Steuermann felt comfortable bringing virtuosic techniques to bear for musical emphasis (example 5).[33]

[33] *Kammersymphonie*, Op. 9, p. 4.



Example 5. A. Schönberg, Kammersymphonie, Op. 9 [First] Chamber symphony (for 15 solo instruments) 19060. Transcribed for solo piano by Eduard Steuermann, [2]; Schoenberg, Kammersyphonie für 15 Solo Instrumente op. 9, Partitur UE 1747. Universal Edition, 4

Example 5 shows the repeat of the opening phrase of the second tempo change in the *Erste Kammersymphonie—Sehr schwungvoll*—for the first phrase of which Steuermann simply emulated the octaves between first and second violin with octaves in the right hand of the piano; for the repeat, however, he transfers some of the harmony from the middle strings and winds into triplets in the right hand to create

a convincing enhancement of the repetition, but a passage that raises the technical stakes to a point where modern performers struggle.

Although Steuermann was a central member of the Schönberg circle, it is unclear what were the latter's view on the former's arrangements of his works. In a letter from Steuermann to Schönberg from March 1921, the pianist explains how Emil Hertzka at Univeral Edition wanted to publish Steuermann's piano transcription of the *Erste Kammersymphonie*, but he declared that he "would first like to wait for your arrival to show it to you again. I kindly request a few words on this matter."[34] Schönberg's reply has not been preserved (and it may well have been part of a verbal interchange), but the exchange comes just two years before Schönberg published his article "Die moderne Klavierauszug;"[35] this was one of a number of responses to Max Broeskike-Schoen's article of the same name from the previous year,[36] and this complex of sources is a plausible tool for the reconstruction of Schönberg's and others' views of Steuermann's transcription.

If the adaptation of eighteenth-century music in the nineteenth, or nineteenth-century music in the twentieth is to take its place as a key element in understanding musical cultures in that period, several interrelating trajectories need to be considered:

- Time
- Place
- Agency
- Revelatory discourses
- Types of practice
- Genealogy
- Performance contexts
- Scholarly prejudice and the episteme

The same criteria cannot be applied to arrangements in London in the early nineteenth century as to transcriptions in Vienna in the early twentieth, for example. The discourses around questions of adaptation are always going to be different, and extremely difficult to align; furthermore, the types of practice, and the relationship between composer, arranger, arrangement, editor and other actors—agency, in short—frame a series of interlocking dialogues. These relationships co-exist with

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[34] "Ich möchte aber erst Ihre Ankunft abwarten, um sie Ihnen noch einmal zu zeigen. Ich bitte herzlichst uns ein paar Worte in dieser Angelegenheit" (Letter from Steuermann to Schönberg, 3 March 1921; Zenck, Rülke and Koch, *Kontroverse Wege der Moderne*, 271–72).

[35] Arnold Schönberg, "Contribution to 'Die moderne Klavierauszug'," *Die Musik* 16 (November 1923): 96–97, trans. Leo Black in *Style and Idea*, edited by Leonard Stein (London: Williams and Northgate, 1951; new edition Faber and Faber 1975), 348-350. Other respondents included Paul Bekker, Ferruccio Busoni, Erich Korngold and Franz Schreker.

[36] Max Broesike-Schoen, "Die moderne Klavierauszug," *Die Musikwelt*, 15 September 1922.

the genealogies between those agents: an arranger might not have had any contact with the original composer, but an older editor might have, for example. Strictly instrumental concerns have their own traditions: Méreaux's and Steuermann's interest in pizzicati is a case in point, or the Second Viennese School's attentiveness to the communicative power of the *orgue expressif* which suffused all parts of the group's efforts in the field of adaptation and so clearly echoed Parisian concerns from the period immediately before.[37]

The terms "arrangement," "transcription" and "adaptation" cannot be essentialised for the nineteenth century, or for the twentieth. What this article suggests is that questions of authority, of genealogies of composition and arrangement, and of networks of actors and practices, are more productive interpretative strategies than the borderline hagiography that reception studies threatens. What used to be thought of simply as "arrangement" may then then subsumed into the broader culture of music making in western Europe and beyond.

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[37] Schönberg had already used the harmonium in two works in 1910–11: three untitled pieces for wind quintet, harmonium, celeste, string quartet and double bass (February 1910); and *Herzgewächse*, op. 20; for soprano, celeste, harp and harmonium. At the same time as his early transcriptions (Mahler, *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*; for harmonium, piano and string quartet [May 1921] and Strauss, *Rosen aus dem Süden* op.388 for the same forces and at the same date) he wrote the *Weihnachtsmusik* for two violins, cello, harmonium and piano (December 1921). Berg followed suit with his arrangement of his own 1912 *Altenberg Lied*, op. 4, no. 5 for piano, harmonium violin and cello (exactly Méreaux's favourite combination), and Webern adapted Strauss *Schatzwalzer* for harmonium, piano, and string quartet.

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