

# A PATRON AMONG PEERS: DEDICATIONS TO HAYDN AND THE ECONOMY OF CELEBRITY

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## ABSTRACT

*Between 1784 and 1809 more than forty composers dedicated works to Haydn, resulting in the largest group of offerings to a single composer in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whilst Horst Walter has suggested that certain of these works reveal the ways in which composers received Haydn's style, a study of the larger collection of dedications illuminates the broader nature of Haydn's fame and the ways in which other composers and their publishers both contributed to and capitalized on that fame. Making Haydn into a kind of pseudo-patron, the title-pages, advertisements and dedicatory epistles for these works allow for an exchange of various types of capital ranging from the material to the symbolic, ultimately enabling both dedicator and dedicatee to improve their reputations in the eyes of the consuming public.*

In the 1770s and 1780s his works were published (and pirated) widely across Europe. In the 1790s London welcomed him with a virtual multi-year festival of his music, and in the early 1800s his oratorios cemented his place as one of the most internationally respected composers of his time. It is, in fact, a truism that Haydn was a celebrity, his image and music recognized in London and on the Continent,<sup>1</sup> as recent scholarship has emphasized as part of efforts to redress the comparative indifference that the composer has suffered in the popular imagination since his late eighteenth-century heyday.<sup>2</sup> But in uncovering and highlighting evidence of Haydn's broad reputation, we have not fully investigated the ways in which the composer's peers both depended upon and contributed to this fame. As Mark Evan Bonds has justly asserted, Mozart used Haydn's name as 'an asset in the marketplace' by dedicating his 'Op. 10' quartets (K387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465) to the composer.<sup>3</sup> In fact, more than forty composers dedicated works to Haydn (see Table 1), effectively elevating

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- 1 Thomas Tolley is responsible for pointing out the prevalence of Haydn's image in his later years. See 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).
- 2 See, for instance, James Garratt, 'Haydn and Posterity: The Long Nineteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 226–238, and Leon Botstein, 'The Consequences of Presumed Innocence: The Nineteenth-Century Reception of Joseph Haydn', in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–34.
- 3 Mark Evan Bonds, 'The Sincerest Form of Flattery?: Mozart's "Haydn" Quartets and the Question of Influence', *Studi musicali* 22/2 (1993), 370. For stylistic comparisons of Mozart's set with Haydn's Opp. 20 and 33 see Friedrich Lippmann, 'Zur Struktur der langsamen Sätze der mozartschen "Haydn-Quartette" im Vergleich mit Haydns op. 33', *Studi musicali* 35/1 (2006), 193–211; Elaine Sisman, 'Observations on the First Phase of Mozart's "Haydn" Quartets', in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 33–58; Jan La Rue, 'The Haydn-Dedication Quartets: Allusion or Influence?', *Journal of Musicology* 18/2 (2001), 361–373; 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*



him to the status of a pseudo patron of the arts. This body of works is a historical anomaly, for no other composer in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries received nearly as many dedications, or from such an international group.<sup>4</sup> These offerings, then, as well as the complex of exchanges and symbolism behind them, provide new evidence regarding both the extent of Haydn's fame and the mechanisms of its creation. Much in the way that Tia DeNora has examined the context for Beethoven's reputation,<sup>5</sup> I consider the construction of Haydn's celebrity, relying chiefly on a class of undervalued evidence: the dedications for a group of chiefly forgotten works.

Before the late eighteenth century most dedications were directed to those who supported composers monetarily, and the title-pages of published editions boasted the names of such dedicatees in large ornate script, usually followed by lengthy metaphorical and rhetorically arcane dedicatory epistles.<sup>6</sup> As the patronage system began to give way in the later eighteenth century to a more capitalist economy, and composers gradually sought financial support from the growing publishing industry, the practice of dedication, interestingly, did not subside; composers and publishers honoured new sorts of individuals in this prominent position on the title-page, occasionally celebrating them with simplified epistles. Authors, friends, family and fellow composers soon found themselves recognized here, and, as a result, took on some of the same roles as the patron: by virtue of a series of operations discussed below, their names lent legitimacy to the works to which they were attached. Haydn was one such figure.

A complete catalogue of the works dedicated to Haydn is provided in Table 1, some entries of which were first introduced to the scholarly world by Horst Walter's exhaustive work on string quartets dedicated to the composer;<sup>7</sup> others are from Ellsler's catalogue of Haydn's library, compiled in 1804–1805.<sup>8</sup> By contrast with many dedications to patrons, there is little evidence that Haydn knew of these dedications in advance of their public offering, with the possible exception of those from students, as discussed below.

Two observations about this corpus readily present themselves: first, the preponderance of string quartets. While it may seem curious that there are no dedications representing Haydn's popular large-scale genres – the symphony and oratorio – the explanation is straightforward if one considers the practices of print culture in the late eighteenth century, when chamber music was published far more commonly than orchestral works. Particularly in Vienna, orchestral music typically circulated in manuscript, not in mass-produced engraved editions. As a consequence, if a composer wanted to dedicate a work to Haydn, it is likely that the genres available to him for publication would use smaller-scale instrumentation. The preference for the string quartet in particular speaks to the composer's reputation in this genre; his peers chose to honour and emulate him in the format that both they and their audience would most readily have associated with him.

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*Aufsatzsammlung zum 70. Geburtstag des Autors*, ed. Christian Speck (Bonn: Beethoven Haus, 2001), 61–70; Wolfram Steinbeck, 'Mozarts "Scherzi": zur Beziehung zwischen Haydns Streichquartetten op. 33 und Mozarts "Haydn-Quartetten"', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 41/3 (1984), 208–231; and Stanley Sadie, *Mozart* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1965), 108–110.

4 Clementi, for instance, received twelve dedications from peers, Clara Wieck/Schumann eleven, Pleyel and Moscheles ten, Robert Schumann eight, Beethoven only seven. See Emily H. Green, 'Dedications and the Reception of the Musical Score, 1785–1850' (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2009), 181–198.

5 Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

6 Dedicatory epistles are usually attached to published material rather than manuscripts, as is explicitly discussed in Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sources', in *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?: Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 81–108.

7 Horst Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', in *Joseph Haydn: Tradition und Rezeption* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1985), 17–53.

8 Ellsler's catalogue is published in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 5: *Haydn: The Late Years, 1801–1809* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 299–329.

Table 1 Works dedicated to Joseph Haydn

composer	work	instruments	publisher	source of information
Ignaz Pleyel**	Op. 2, six string quartets	string quartet	Vienna: Graeff, 1784	HW
<b>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart</b>	<b>Op. 10, six string quartets</b>	<b>string quartet</b>	<b>Vienna: Artaria, 1785</b>	<b>HW</b>
Adalbert Gyrowetz	Op. 2, six string quartets	string quartet	Paris: Imbault, 1789	HW
Otto Carl Erdmann Kospoth	Op. 8, six string quartets	string quartet	Offenbach: André, 1789	HW
Franz Grill	Op. 3, three string quartets	string quartet	Offenbach: André, 1790	HW
Jan Ladislav Dussek	Op. 16, three sonatas	piano with violin accompaniment	London: Longman & Broderip, 1792	W
František Václav Toměš**†	Op. 1, three sonatas	piano or harpsichord, violin, cello	London: Longman & Broderip, 1792	W
Christian Ignatius Latrobe	Op. 3, three sonatas	piano	London: Latrobe, 1793	HBV
<b>Joseph Eybler</b>	<b>Op. 1, three string quartets</b>	<b>string quartet</b>	<b>Vienna: Eybler, 1794</b>	<b>HW</b>
Cecilia Maria Bathelemon**	Op. 3, sonata	harpsichord or piano	London: J. Bland, 1794	HBV
Louis Emmanuelle Jadin	Op. 12, sonatas	piano	Paris: Frères Gaveaux, 1794	HW
Benoit-Auguste Bertini**	Op. 1, three Grand Sonatas	piano with violin accompaniment	London: Longman & Broderip [1795]	HW
Peter Hänsel**	Op. 5, three string quartets	string quartet	Offenbach: André, 1795	HW
Hyacinthe Jadin	Op. 1, three string quartets	string quartet	Paris: Magasin de musique, 1795	HW
Thomas Haigh **	Op. 10, three sonatas	piano with violin accompaniment	London: Culliford, Rolfe, & Barrow [1796]	W
Ludwig van Beethoven **	Op. 2, three sonatas	harpsichord or piano	Vienna: Artaria, 1796	HBV
Paul Struck **	Op. 1, three sonatas	harpsichord or piano with violin accompaniment	Offenbach: André, 1797	HBV
J. G. Graeff **	three quartets	flute, violin, tenor, cello	London: F. Linley, 1797	HBV
Franz Xaver Niemetschek	<i>Leben des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart</i>	[book]	Prague: Herrliche Buchhandlung, 1798	
Joseph Wölfl	Op. 5, three trios	piano trio	Augsburg: ?, 1798	HBV
<b>Johann Brandl</b>	<b>Op. 17, three string quartets</b>	<b>string quartet</b>	<b>Heilbronn: Amon, 1799</b>	<b>HW</b>
Johann Baptist Cramer	Op. 22, three sonatas	piano	Vienna: Artaria, 1800	LPF

Table 1 *continued*

composer	work	instruments	publisher	source of information
Franz Lessel **	Op. 2, three sonatas	piano	Vienna: Veigl, 1800	HBV
J. B. Mayer	Op. 8, three Grand Sonatas	harp	London: Mayer, 1800	W
Franciszek Lessel*	theme and six variations	piano	1800	HBV
Gottlob Bachmann	Op. 15, string quartet	string quartet	[lost] 1800	HW
Sigismund Ritter von Neukomm **	Op. 1, <i>Fantaisie à grand orchestre</i>	orchestra	Leipzig: Kühnel[, 1800–1809]	R
<b>Bernhard Romberg</b>	<b>Op. 1, three string quartets</b>	<b>string quartet</b>	<b>Paris: Vogt, 1801</b>	<b>HW</b>
Edited by Johann Ambrosius Barth*	<i>Schlesische Musikalische Blumenlese</i> , II <sup>tes</sup> Heft	piano, violin; piano solo	Breslau: Grasses Erben und Barth, 1801	HBV
Johann Wikmanson	Op. 1, three string quartets	string quartet	Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1801	HW
J. F. H. Freiherr von Dalberg	<i>Über die Musik der Indier: Abhandlung des Sir William Jones</i> <sup>2</sup>	[book]	Erfurt: Beyer & Maring, 1802	HBV
Anton Eberl	Op. 12, <i>Grande Sonate caractéristique</i>	piano	Leipzig: Kühnel[, 1802]	HBV
Johann Mederitsch-Gallus	Op. 6, three string quartets	string quartet	Vienna: Traeg, 1802	HW
<b>Andreas Romberg</b>	<b>Op. 2, three string quartets</b>	<b>string quartet</b>	<b>Bonn: Simrock, 1802</b>	<b>HW</b>
Schultesius	Op. 12, Variations on ‘Ricociliazione Fra due Amici’	piano	Augsburg: Gombart, 1803	HBV, RISM A/I/S2316
Louis Tomasini **	Op. 11, three duos	two violins	Vienna: F. Mollo, 1803	AMZ
Edmund von Weber**	Op. 8, three string quartets	string quartet	Augsburg: Gombart, 1804	HW
Rodolphe Kreutzer	Concerto no. 16, on themes by Haydn	violin, orchestra	Paris: Magasin de musique, 1805	RISM A/I/K2227
Maximillian Stadler*	Haydn’s ‘Hin ist alle meine Kraft’, arr.	string quartet	Vienna: Cappi, 1805	HBV
Georg Carl Zulehner	Andante and Rondeau	piano four hands	Mayence: Zulehner, 1805	HBV

Table 1 *continued*

composer	work	instruments	publisher	source of information
Antoine Joseph Reicha	<i>Trente six Fugues pour le Piano-Forté composées d'après un nouveau système</i> <sup>3</sup>	piano	Vienna: Magasin de l'Imprimerie Chymique Imperiale, 1805	HBV
Johann Nepomuk Hummel	Op. 13, sonata	piano	Vienna: Bureau d'arts et d'Industrie, 1805	HBV
Maximilian Joseph Leidesdorf	Grand Trio	piano, flute and viola	Vienna: Bureau d'arts et d'Industrie, 1807	HBV
Ferdinand Ries	Op. 11, two Grand Sonatas	piano	Bonn: Simrock, 1808	FRTC
Felice Alessandro Radicati	Op. 16, three string quartets	string quartet	Vienna: Artaria, 1809	HW
<b>Angelo Benincori</b>	<b>Op. 8, six string quartets</b>	<b>string quartet</b>	<b>Paris: Naderman, 1809</b>	<b>HW</b>
Johann Georg Albrechtsberger*	'Canone perpetuo a 4 Voci'	[4 voices]	[not published]	HBV
Alexander Campbell*	'Twelve Songs from the Mountains of Scotland'	piano	Edinburgh: ?	HBV
Friedrich Kalkbrenner**	Op. 56, <i>Grande Sonate dédiée à la mémoire de J. Haydn</i>	piano	Paris: Pleyel, 1821	W

<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, Tomeš's sonatas were published, in a transcription for piano and violin, as Haydn's Op. 94 by Falter in Munich in 1799.

<sup>2</sup> This book was dedicated by Dalberg as the translator of the German edition, though the original text was written by Jones with the title *On the Musical Modes of the Hindus* (London, 1799).

<sup>3</sup> The opening contains a poem by Reicha, 'À Joseph Haydn', and the third fugue is labelled 'Thème de J. Haydn'.

HBV *Haydn Bibliothek Verzeichnis: Elssler's Catalogue of Haydn's Library (1804–1805)*, as transcribed in *Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 5, 299–329

HW Horst Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', in *Joseph Haydn: Tradition und Rezeption* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1985), 17–53

LPF *The London Pianoforte School 1766–1860*, volume 10, ed. Nicholas Temperley (New York: Garland, 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 (information courtesy of Mathew Colbert)

W Worldcat/OCLC database, accessed 10 August 2009

\* dedications recorded only in HBV. These works were either presentation copies (published without the dedication but presented to the dedicatee privately with a handwritten dedication in a personal copy) or were never published at all (as in the case of Albrechtsberger's canon)

\*\* students of Haydn

**bold** works with epistles, discussed below and contained in Appendix



Secondly, it is clear from Table 1 that many of these individuals had studied with Haydn to a greater or lesser extent. Some, like Pleyel and Hänsel, had extensive lessons, while others, like Barthelemon or Bertini, probably received only a small amount of instruction. Regardless of the amount of valuable time that their authors spent with the older composer, editions of the dedicated works by Pleyel, Struck, Hänsel, Neukomm and Kalkbrenner mention explicitly on their title-pages that each was an ‘élève de Haydn’. (In fact, this epigraph recalls the legend regarding Haydn’s expectation for such a statement to accompany Beethoven’s dedication.<sup>9</sup>) Haydn may not have been surprised to receive offerings from these individuals, as the practice of dedicating works to teachers was well established; it was one of the oldest reasons for the composer-to-composer dedication. One earlier such example is Jean-Marie Leclair’s Op. 7 set of violin concertos (1737), for his teacher André Chéron, while the title-page of Monteverdi’s first book of madrigals (1587), though lacking a dedication, designates the composer as the student of Marc’Antonio Ingegneri. Some of Haydn’s students, in fact, similarly honoured him by stating the pedagogical relationship on the title-page, without furnishing a dedication (see Table 2).<sup>10</sup>

Table 2 Title-page references to studies with Haydn

composer	work	instruments	printed on title page	publisher
P. Wranitzky	Op. 15, <i>six quatuors concertants</i>	string quartet	‘élève de m. Haydn’	Paris: ?, 1780
Ignaz Pleyel	Op. 1, <i>six grand quatuors</i>	string quartet	‘élève très digne du célèbre J. Haydn’	Amsterdam: Schmitt[, 1783]
Ignaz Pleyel	Op. 3, <i>six quatuors concertants</i>	string quartet	‘élève de m. Haydn’	Offenbach: André, 1786 <sup>1</sup>
Ignaz Pleyel	Op. 4, <i>six quatuors concertants</i>	string quartet	‘élève de m. Haydn’	Offenbach: André, 1786 <sup>2</sup>
Ignaz Pleyel	Op. 5, <i>six quartets</i>	string quartet	‘élève de m. Haydn’	Offenbach: André, 1787
A. Gyrowetz	Op. 1, <i>six quartets</i>	string quartet	‘élève de m. Haydn’	Paris: Imbault, 1788
A. Wranitzky	Op. 1, <i>six quartets</i>	string quartet	‘élève de Mr. J. Hayden’	Vienna: Hoffmeister, 1790–1791
J. G. Graeff	Op. 8, <i>three quartets</i>	string quartet	‘composed & ded. to Dr. Haydn by his late pupil’	London: F. Linley, 1797
Paul Struck	Op. 2, <i>quartet</i>	string quartet	‘élève de m. Haydn’	Offenbach: André, 1797
Anton Kraft	Op. 2, <i>sonatas</i>	cello, continuo	‘Schüler von Haydn’	Offenbach: André, 1799
A. Wranitzky	<i>La création du monde</i> , par. J. Haydn	two violins, two violas, cello	‘élève de l’auteur’	Paris: Sieber, 1802

<sup>1</sup> Published similarly by Boyer (1785), Sieber (1788) and Naderman (1796)

<sup>2</sup> Published similarly by Sieber (1788) and Naderman (1796)

9 Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Coblenz: Bädeker, 1838), 86; discussed 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, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 25.

10 DeNora has also discussed the promotional function of such title-page statements in *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 94.



As it stands, however, the fourteen students in Table 1 are far outnumbered by thirty-five non-students. The contexts for Haydn's relationships with these composers vary: Albrechtsberger is certainly the closest friend in this set, having known the composer from the 1750s until their time together in Vienna in the 1790s and early nineteenth century. Meanwhile, Benincori, Eberl, Eybler, Gyrowetz, Kreutzer, Leidesdorf, Mederitsch-Gallus, Niemetschek, Radicati, Reicha, Ries, the Rombergs, Stadler and Wölfl would have met Haydn while passing through or residing in Vienna, and Brandl and Tomasini would have known him at Eszterháza. Latrobe, famous in Haydn scholarship as the German translator of Burney's poem, became his acquaintance in London,<sup>11</sup> as did Hummel and Cramer. He knew a Mayer family in London, but it is not clear if this particular J. B. Mayer is of that lineage.<sup>12</sup> Haydn knew Dussek through Dussek's father, and Wikmanson through Silverstolpe, whose brother Gustaf Abraham had been the young Swede's teacher.<sup>13</sup> Barth corresponded with Haydn at the time of his dedication.<sup>14</sup> We cannot be completely certain whether he knew Dalberg, Zulehner (a printer in Mainz) or Kreutzer, but we do know that he heard Kreutzer's dedicated quartets.<sup>15</sup> Finally, there is little or no evidence to date that Haydn knew the Jadins, Kospoth or Schultesius.

Personal reasons do explain the dedications from some individuals in Table 1: Albrechtsberger's offering is indeed quite intimate, constituting an unpublished canon given on the occasion of Haydn's birthday; Eybler may have been thanking Haydn for his advocacy on the younger composer's behalf, including his recommendation of a set of Eybler's piano sonatas to the publisher Artaria in 1787.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Stadler's dedicated presentation copy of his arrangement of Haydn's 'Hin ist alle meine Kraft' may have been sent as a sign of gratitude for the elder composer's aid in publishing the piece.<sup>17</sup>

#### A TYPOLOGY OF EXCHANGE AND ITS HISTORICAL BASIS

Regardless of Haydn's personal or professional relationship with any of these composers and the possibility of private meanings behind their dedicating works to him, his name would have served a multitude of purposes when placed on the title-page for all potential consumers to see: as a sign of respect and admiration, as an acknowledgement of the composer's support for and influence over the dedicator's compositional process, or as an open claim to a personal connection with the composer.<sup>18</sup> In fact, all of these can overlap, forming a larger series of roles that is at once sincere and self-serving, private and public. Ultimately, however, as published on the title-page, the dedication operates in the public eye and in that respect has mainly a promotional function. More specifically, here the dedication governs a series of reciprocations of material and symbolic capital, affording Haydn and his dedicators varied opportunities to improve their reputations (see Figure 1). The top tier of Figure 1 is more easily mapped onto economic measures: pedagogy and musical works have a fairly quantifiable monetary value, while items in the medial category – gratitude, flattery and approval – are exchanged verbally between dedicator and dedicatee. Finally, symbolic capital, a

11 One meeting in particular between Latrobe and Haydn is documented in a letter, transcribed in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 3: *Haydn in England, 1791–1795* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 57–58.

12 Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 4: *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation', 1796–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 474.

13 Landon, *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation'*, 569.

14 Quoted in Landon, *Haydn: The Late Years*, 254.

15 Landon, *Haydn in England*, 268.

16 *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 62–63. For whatever reason, Haydn's recommendation did not have the desired effect: Eybler's Op. 1 was a self-published set of string quartets (dedicated to Haydn, as discussed here), and his first piano sonatas (with violin accompaniment) were not published until 1808 as Op. 9.

17 Landon, *Haydn: The Late Years*, 344.

18 For an expanded discussion of the many functions of dedications see Emily H. Green, 'Between Text and Context: Schumann, Liszt, and the Reception of Dedications', *Journal of Musicological Research* 28/4 (2009), 312–339; and Green, 'Dedications'.

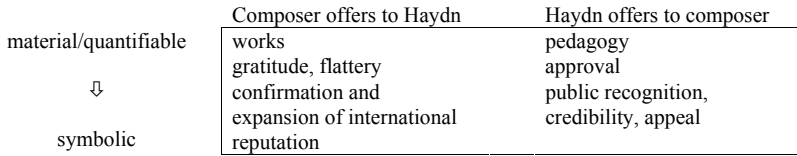


Figure 1 Exchange of capital between Haydn and his dedicators, as observed by the consumer

Bourdieuian term that I will examine more closely below, trades in credibility and reputation. This rubric applies not only to the set of dedications to Haydn, but also to dedications historically.

The various tiers of this kind of exchange are laid bare most clearly in dedicatory epistles, which have recorded the public face of dedications since the sixteenth century. Six examples were offered to Haydn, five of which are reproduced in Appendix I. Such letters are, however, not the only evidence for dedicatory exchange. An epistle explicates the dedication, but it does not constitute the dedication itself, which is, in essence, an act. In fact, through the eighteenth century, dedicatory epistles were published with decreasing frequency, and were nearly a rarity in this era, making these open letters to Haydn the largest corpus directed to a single individual.<sup>19</sup> Those dedications without epistles still carry all of the meaning of their epistolary counterparts. My analysis, then, uses the epistles to Haydn to demonstrate the kinds of promotional exchanges inherent in all of the dedications listed in Table 1.

The practice of dedication was born of the patronage system, and has always involved exchanges beneficial to both parties. As illustrated in Figure 1, dedicator and patron earn symbolic capital by way of the material or the quantifiable. Typically, the composer offers the music, recruits the performers and takes part in the performance of the work in return for financial support and access to facilities and resources from the patron.<sup>20</sup> Many studies have detailed the nature of other sorts of concrete dealings between particular composers and their sponsors:<sup>21</sup> Tim Carter, for instance, in arguing for the importance of 'lower-ranking individuals and institutions' in sixteenth-century music-making, has revealed that the Corsi family in sixteenth-century Florence engaged painters for their decorative furniture and composers for their entertainment and musical enrichment, and gave them loans, meals, clothes and even doctors' expenses in addition to their artist fees.<sup>22</sup> As Rob Wegman has also noted, patrons offered composers court positions, lodging, payment and general hospitality either before or after the receipt of a work.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Stephen Rose has presented evidence that, particularly in seventeenth-century central Germany, composers often

19 See Green, 'Dedications', 1–14.

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

21 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* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

22 Tim Carter, 'Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Case of Jacopo Corsi (1561–1602)', *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 1 (1985), 57–104.

23 Rob Wegman, 'Musical Offerings in the Renaissance', *Early Music* 33/3 (2005), 425–437. Sharon Kettering and Natalie Zemon Davis have presented similar findings regarding sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary authors. See Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), and Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France', *French History* 2 (1988), 131–151.





furnished patrons with unsolicited copies of works in the hope of securing future contracts, and sent sacred music to city councils, aiming to elicit performances at local churches.<sup>24</sup>

Subsequently, even as patronage waned in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, composers continued to earn benefits from moneyed individuals and institutions. Haydn himself 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 1786–1788 for works involving the regent's unusual *lira organizzata* and from Cádiz in 1786 for the *Seven Last Words*. In fact, several of Haydn's exchanges with patrons involved more than money and music: the King of Prussia gave him a ring in recognition of copies of symphonies that the composer had given the monarch; in turn, Haydn dedicated to him the string quartets Op. 50 in 1787.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> Haydn also dispatched the score of his opera *L'isola disabitata* to the King of Spain in 1779 and received in exchange a gold snuff-box.<sup>27</sup>

In the context of patronage, such reciprocal exchange of tangible or quantifiable goods transforms into symbolic capital by virtue of its public nature. The process of this transformation is best explained by way of theories of gift exchange, as dedications are a kind of gift; that is, the music is the gifted object offered from composer to patron, and the dedication is the act of presentation.<sup>28</sup> Jacques Derrida in particular recognized that, in the popular imagination, gifts are signs of pure generosity, meaning that they must not involve reciprocation; their presentation must be altruistic and voluntary. In practice, however, Derrida notes, once we recognize the given object as a gift, then 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, seemingly annulling the voluntary nature of the gift and reining it into a circular economy.<sup>29</sup> Pierre Bourdieu names this the 'dual truth' of the gift: it is imagined as unrequited but functions within a context of exchange.<sup>30</sup> 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 gift economy is fundamentally different in nature from consumer economy.

In the context of dedications, what we can take from Derrida is the idea that the crucial moment in the act of giving lies in its public reception; it is there that its true economy is revealed. In short, gift exchange, particularly the type relevant here, involves not two parties but three: giver, receiver and observer. When gifts are offered, they are not only received by a recipient, but also *perceived* by an audience. It is therefore the statement of offering itself, as a public display in front of an audience, that transforms the tangible into the

24 See Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–1640', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130/1 (2005), 24–25.

25 H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, volume 2: *Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 625, 592.

26 Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 457.

27 Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 453.

28 For a more extensive discussion of musical dedications as gifts see Emily H. Green, 'Between Text and Context'. Relevant anthropological and theoretical work on gifts includes: Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Kula: The Circulating Exchange of Valuables in the Archipelagoes of Eastern New Guinea', *Man* 20 (1920), 97–105; Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Mary Douglas (New York: Norton, 2005); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, trans. James Harle Bell and John Richard von Sturmer, ed. Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon, 1969); Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983); Jacques Derrida, *Given Time I: Counterfeit Money* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 7–14; Annette Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

29 Derrida, *Given Time I*, 7–14.

30 Pierre Bourdieu, 'Marginalia: Some Additional Notes on the Gift', in *The Logic of the Gift: Towards an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (New York: Routledge, 1997), 231.



symbolic and makes the dedication an instrument of promotion. Furthermore, as a result of the proliferation of publishing houses and increased ease of printing, statements of dedication wielded increasing symbolic power through the eighteenth century as mass-produced music reached larger groups of consumers.

#### DEDICATORY EXCHANGE IN PRACTICE

In the first tier of Figure 1, a dedicator presents works to Haydn in return for teaching, an interchange that may seem relevant only to composer-dedicatees, as fellow artists are the only individuals who can offer legitimate tutelage; however, early dedicatory epistles presaged this sort of function in passages wherein composers praised a patron's taste or virtue, thereby implying a kind of instructive influence over the creative process, as demonstrated by Wolfgang Leiner and others.<sup>31</sup> The historical evidence, then, for this category of exchange lies in examples such as Perissone Cambio's epistle of 1545 for a set of five-voice madrigals addressed to Godardo Ochagna, which stresses the patron's good character and generosity:

My most honorable lord, your virtue, kindness, and courtesy, having obliged me as much as anyone else who considers and experiences them, I cannot but wish ever to find a way whereby I might somehow show you some sign of the love that I bear for you, thanks to your divine qualities.<sup>32</sup>

Marc'Antonio Ingegneri dedicated his first book of madrigals (1758) to Giacomo Gadio, similarly celebrating the patron's 'excellent qualities':

And so I wanted to dedicate to you these first fruits, such as they are, of my musical exercises done in your house, and owed to you, whom I wish to and should hold always in the greatest observance, as much for the special debt I owe as for the excellent qualities that make you illustrious and that make you be appreciated by all who know how precious a thing it is to find a rare virtue, doctrine and goodness joined together.<sup>33</sup>

Immediately predating the dedications to Haydn, Pleyel offered his Op. 1 string quartets to Count Erdödy in 1783 and commended his patron's taste in a short but elaborate epistle:

Il nome, che ci metto innanzi, come di un vero conoscitore ed Amatore delle nobile musica arte, coprirà ogni difetto che vi potesse essere. Gli accolga sol tanto con benignità.<sup>34</sup>

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 receive them with only benign feelings.

By flattering their patrons' musical knowledge or general virtue, composers implied that they traded their works for an instrumental and affecting proximity with such favourable qualities.

Finally, Eybler (see Appendix) translates this tradition to the composer-to-composer dedication: in referring to Haydn as a 'Mecenate' – a word derived from Maecenas, the name of an ancient Roman patron

31 See Wolfgang Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580–1715)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1965); Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-Giving and Patronage'; 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 and others (Chapel Hill: University of North 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).

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

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

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



whose name became synonymous with this sort of sponsorship – Eybler, who was never his student officially, describes the ‘rare qualities’ and ‘unique kindness’ showed him by his dedicatee.<sup>35</sup> Of course, those in Table 1 and Table 2 who studied with Haydn (and claimed as much on their title-pages) demonstrate the most literal exchange of material capital. Furthermore, because the act of dedication has always implied a certain kind of tutelage, one could argue that the remaining dedications in Table 1 embodied echoes of this sort of exchange as well.

The second tier in Figure 1 also has its roots in older dedicatory practices. Historically an offering reflected favourably on its participants by suggesting that the two shared more than the title-page: in dedicating a work publicly to any figure, a composer implied to the audience that he or she had some sort of history with his or her recipient. Specifically, the act of dedication asserts that the dedicatee has sponsored the artist’s endeavours, an assertion that is encoded in the stylized language of an accompanying epistle.<sup>36</sup> Among the most flattering early examples of this practice is Claudio Merulo’s statement on offering 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.<sup>37</sup>

This grand metaphor implies that the Duke, like God, has at least partially enabled the creation of the ‘fruits’ of the author’s labour. As is typical with such texts, Merulo does not spell out the ways in which the Duke made his writing possible; rather, the dedication merely hints at whatever formal agreement existed between the two parties, simultaneously disguising and highlighting particulars of this agreement through flowery wordplay.

In the traditional dedication, then, the composer is promoted by the mere suggestion of a relationship with a revered patron, demonstrated in the simplified epistles of the eighteenth century by the language of approval. Early examples include Jean-Jacques-Baptiste Anet’s dedication of his first book of continuo sonatas for violin (1724), in which he claims outright to have been given the approval of the Comte D’Eu:

Je suis redevable à Votre Altesse Serenissime de l’approbation qu’elle a bien voulu donner jusqu’à présent à mes compositions, et du plaisir qu’elle a temoigné prendre à les entendre exécuter.<sup>38</sup>

I am indebted to Your Serene Highness for the approval that you have been kind enough to give to my compositions up to the present, and for the pleasure that you seemed to take in listening to them.

With the same vocabulary, Jean Barrière offered his second book of continuo sonatas for cello to one Madame Jourdain in 1733, boasting that the patron had already praised his past work:

L’approbation, dont vous avez honoré mes premiers ouvrages, m’engage aujourd’huy à vous dedier celuy ci, si je suis assez heureux, Madame, qu’il soit de vôtre goût, je me flatte, qu’il sera bientôt de celuy du public.<sup>39</sup>

35 The complete texts and translations of all dedicatory epistles to Haydn, save that of Mozart, are provided in the Appendix.

36 Wolfgang Leiner explores this function in more detail with regard to earlier literary dedications in *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580–1715)*.

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

38 A facsimile, which includes the title-page and dedication, is published in *Early Eighteenth-Century French and German Masters: Continuo Sonatas for Violin*, ed. Jane Adas and Jaap Schröder (New York: Garland, 1991), 255–317.

39 A facsimile, which includes the title-page and dedication, is published in *Mid-Eighteenth-Century Cello Sonatas: Continuo Sonatas for Cello*, ed. Jane Adas and Myron Lutzke (New York: Garland, 1991), 1–23.



The approval with which you honoured my first works obliges me to dedicate this one to you today. Madame, I hope that it is to your taste, and I flatter myself to think that it will soon be to that of the public.

Such language is intended to demonstrate to the consumer the existence of a prior relationship between dedicator and dedicatee; the two parties, after all, must have been in some sort of contact in order for the epistle to boast that the patron had expressed approval.

If the act of dedication is traditionally used to substantiate a patron's endorsement, it carries heightened significance when applied to Haydn later in the century. Instead of suggesting that the works appealed to some sort of cultured official, the dedications in Table 1 advance the notion that the music to which they are attached suits the taste of a known composer. Further, several of the epistles accompanying these dedications make this implication literal. Mozart, for instance, claims that:

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.<sup>40</sup>

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, and makes me hope that they will not seem entirely unworthy of your favour.

As James Webster and Mark Evan Bonds have both noted, the language of Mozart's epistle is overwrought;<sup>41</sup> this passage is no exception, stressing Haydn's 'approval' with two synonyms: satisfaction (*soddisfazione*) and favour (*favore*). In a similarly flattering letter, Eybler professes that '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' (see first dedication in Appendix below). And his advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 1794 suggests that Haydn's approval was in fact the reason behind the (consent for) dedication:

[Hr. Joseph Eybler] kann zu derselben [Quartetten] den Hrn. Musik-Liebhabern nichts vortheilhafteres sagen, als daß sie dem eben so berühmten als allgemein beliebten Kapellmeister Hrn. Joseph Haydn so zu gefallen das Glück hatten, daß er die gefällige Einwilligung gab, ihm dieses Werk zueignen zu dürfen, und noch ausdrücklich zusicherte, dessen Verbreitung bestmöglichst befördern zu wollen.<sup>42</sup>

[Herr Eybler] can say nothing more favourable to recommend these [quartets] to amateurs than that they were so fortunate as to please Herr Joseph Haydn – the Kapellmeister who is as famous as he is universally beloved – so much that he kindly gave 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.

In return for this approval, dedicators offered gratitude, as apparent in a sample of dedicatory epistles. Eybler claims:

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*.<sup>43</sup>

40 Mozart: *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, volume 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 404. Translated by James Webster with David Rosen.

41 James Webster and Georg Feder, *The New Grove Haydn* (Palgrave: MacMillan, 2002), 2; Bonds, 'The Sincerest Form of Flattery', 366–368.

42 *Wiener Zeitung* (2 May 1794), quoted in Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', 38–39.

43 My italics.



By way of this indirect and typically ornate dedicatory language, Eybler highlights ways in which he feels indebted to Haydn. With yet more veiled language, Mozart expresses the following:<sup>44</sup> ‘may it therefore please you to receive them benignly and be to them a father, guide, and friend!’ (‘Piaciati dunque accoglierli benignamente; ed esser loro Padre, Guida, ed Amico!’).<sup>45</sup> In politics, we often hear non-apology apologies – moments in which public figures admit to wrongdoing without showing exactly the empathy necessary to make their apologies sound sincere. These statements are, similarly, non-thank-you thank-yous – gesturing towards gratitude, but never quite making it there. ‘May it please you to do x’ is not the same as ‘thank you in advance for doing x’, but it is in the same direction, politely entreating the interlocutor to perform a certain action.

These epistles also record the kind of flattery – directed towards the dedicatee – implied by the dedicatory act. Mozart refers to Haydn as ‘very’ and ‘most’ celebrated, while Eybler flatters Haydn by comparison, claiming that ‘he who will compare [this work] to yours will see clearly that I am too little for you, and you are too great for me’. Eybler also wrote an advertisement for the quartets that appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* in 1794, wherein he, like Mozart, complimented Haydn’s reputation, referring to him, as we have seen, as ‘the Kapellmeister who is as famous as he is universally beloved’. Bernhard Romberg’s flowery and, I dare say, sweet dedication consists entirely of flattery:

In presenting this work to the famous artist whose learned works are the admiration of Europe, it is a homage that I pay to his sublime talents. If the Orpheus of the Danube deigns to smile on my exertions and accept this feeble effort, it will be the sweetest satisfaction that my heart could enjoy.

Bernhard’s cousin Andreas refers to Haydn as ‘immortal’, while a review of Andreas’s set of quartets, in mentioning the dedication, names Haydn as the ‘greatest, most beloved musical genius of his time’ (‘grössten, geliebsten musik Genie seiner Zeit’).<sup>46</sup> Similarly, in the brief dedication of his biography of Mozart, Niemetschek describes Haydn as ‘the father of the noble art of music and the favourite of the Muses’ (‘dem Vater der edlern Tonkunst, dem Lieblinge der Grazien’) (see Figure 2). Drawing on epistolary language, many simpler statements of dedication emphasize that they are offered ‘to the celebrated’ Haydn, including works by Kreutzer, Mayer, Gyrowetz and several nineteenth-century Parisian editions of Beethoven’s sonatas published by Fourmage, Richault, Farrenc and Launer.

## THE ECONOMY OF SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

In order to understand the ways in which the dedications to Haydn affected the reputations of the parties involved, we have to understand them as public social acts. As discussed above, the dedicatory act is a type of gift-giving, and as such is neither selfless nor unidirectional; gifts always involve some sort of exchange, benefiting both giver and receiver. We have so far seen the ways in which approval, gratitude and flattery

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44 There is uncertain evidence regarding the authorship of Mozart’s 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*, volume 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 high style, he could probably have written at least a good deal of it on his own, and also could have drafted a complete German version. He then could have received help from a number of native speakers of Italian 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 as being 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.

45 *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, volume 3, 404. Translated by James Webster with David Rosen.

46 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (12 May 1802), 535–536.



Dem

Vater der edlern Tonkunst,

dem

Liebliche der Grazien

J o s e p h H a n d e n

Fürstl. Esterhazischen Kapellmeister

widmet dieses kleine Denkmal des unsterblichen

M o z a r t s,

aus besonderer Verehrung

der Verfasser.

Figure 2 Dedication page of Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Leben des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart* (Prague: Herrliche Buchhandlung, 1798). Reprinted by Université de Saint-Etienne, Centre interdisciplinaire d'études et de recherches sur l'expression contemporaine. Used by permission



circulate as part of this reciprocation, but more abstract notions like improved recognition and credibility have a role to play as well. In fact, the third tier of Figure 1 is best understood under the heading of symbolic capital, as explained by Pierre Bourdieu, a particularly appropriate resource here as the bulk of his work concerns perception and exchange on the public stage:

[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.).<sup>47</sup>

Bourdieu has written extensively about various other sorts of capital, mainly cultural and social, but notes that the symbolic variety is ‘the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate’.<sup>48</sup> Later he refines this definition, referring to symbolic capital as that which goes ‘unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence’<sup>49</sup> and operates as ‘the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition’.<sup>50</sup> We can thus understand symbolic capital as the form that cultural and social capital take when they are ‘transubstantiated’<sup>51</sup> into power and a belief, among one’s peers, in one’s skill and authority. For Bourdieu, then, symbolic capital trades fundamentally in recognition, and his framework, wherein both sides of an exchange accumulate this capital by way of a transformation of more material ‘economic’ resources through gift-giving, is useful in drawing out and uniting that which circulates under the radar in dedicatory acts, as well as in understanding the ways in which the dedicatory exchange results in the improved reputations of both sides.

Symbolic capital thus exists mainly in the mind of the observer, and manifests itself here in the third tier of Figure 1 as recognition, credibility and appeal – or ‘legitimate competence’, in Bourdieu’s terms. The full transmutation from material to symbolic in this context can occur only by virtue of the spectator of the dedicatory exchange, a fact evident in Bourdieu’s thinking above, where symbolic capital itself is a measure of recognition. The relevant observers here, those who bestow this recognition, are those who encounter the score and have the opportunity to view the dedication in its printed form; these observers are consumers. Of course, there is no archetypal ‘music consumer’; many sorts of people have historically had access to many types of music. Furthermore, Elaine Sisman’s work on the ‘multiple audience’ suggests that Haydn himself was aware of the various consumers of his music.<sup>52</sup> And so, I mean ‘music consumer’ here in the broadest sense; just as we use the term ‘audience’ to refer to individuals who encounter music aurally, I use ‘consumer’ to refer to any individual who encounters the score as a material object, regardless of class or station.

Advertisements and reviews provide the first clue that dedications were a mechanism for earning public credibility. In his announcement for Mozart’s quartets, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* in September 1785, for instance, Artaria suggests that the act of dedication should cement the legitimacy of the already esteemed composer:

Mozarts Werke bedürfen keines Lobes, einiges anzuführen würde also gänzlich überflüssig seyn; nur kann man versichern, daß solches ein Meisterstück sey. Man kann sich dessen um so mehr

47 Bourdieu, ‘Marginalia: Some Additional Notes on the Gift’, 234–235.

48 Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’, *Sociological Theory* 7/1 (1989), 17. For an extended discussion of the distinction between cultural and social capital see ‘The Forms of Capital’, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg (Boulder: Westview, 2001), 96–111.

49 Bourdieu, ‘The Forms of Capital’, 98.

50 Bourdieu, ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’, 23.

51 Bourdieu himself uses this term in ‘The Forms of Capital’, 97.

52 Elaine Sisman, ‘Haydn’s Career and the Idea of the Multiple Audience’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, 3–16. See also Richard Leppert, ‘Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music: The Politics of Sound in the Policing of Gender Construction in Eighteenth-Century England’, in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), 514–534.



versichern, da der Verfasser dieses Werk seinem Freund, Joseph Haydn, fürstl. Esterhaz. Kapellm. zueignete, der es mit allem dem Beyfalle beehrte, dessen nur ein Mann von grossen Genie würdig ist.<sup>53</sup>

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 honoured it with all the approval of which a man of great genius is alone worthy.

Here, it is the dedication that 'affirms' the 'certainty' that the works are a 'masterpiece'. The same is true in an anonymous review of Andreas Romberg's quartets in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1802:

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.<sup>54</sup>

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, one Joseph Haydn, then one would rightly expect something excellent from such a work.

The dedication is a guarantee of 'excellence' in these examples – a guarantee directed at the reading public by reviewers and publishers.

Composers sought, too, to use their offerings to Haydn to improve their own reputations in the eyes of consumers. Those who wrote epistles not only stress Haydn's reputation in order to flatter him; in doing so, these composers also flatter themselves. By dedicating a work to someone that they present as so famous and celebrated, 'the Orpheus of the Danube', and by claiming that this 'genius' approved their works, these composers are suggesting that they are worthy of being associated with such a figure. Eybler explicitly states, in a passage discussed briefly above, the ways in which he believes this association to be beneficial:

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.

As dedicatee, Haydn lends credibility and appeal to Eybler's quartets. In fact, his use of Italian for a dedication to a fellow Viennese composer, as well as the register of his language, suggests that he used Mozart's letter as a model, as Bonds has argued,<sup>55</sup> and that he may have wished to capitalize on Mozart's reputation as much as Haydn's. Johann Brandl (1799) goes one step further, subtly aligning himself with the legacies of both composers (see letter in Appendix below):

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.

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

54 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (12 May 1802), 535–536.

55 Bonds, 'The Sincerest Form of Flattery', 369.





In repeating metaphors of kinship, Brandl implies that, when compared to Mozart's quartets, his own works are equally deserving of praise and sponsorship.<sup>56</sup>

When epistles were lacking, it was the act of dedication itself that caused such recognition to accrue; in these examples, the simple record of the offering on the title-page became a way of demonstrating to one's readership that one had a significant enough connection with Haydn as to be able to dedicate a work to him. DeNora has noted, for instance, that Beethoven's tutelage with, and unmarked dedication to, Haydn benefited the status of the younger composer.<sup>57</sup> Published in the same year as his dedication of Op. 2 to Haydn (1796), the following report on Beethoven's activities neglects to mention his musical offering but accurately summarizes its intended effect:

A living proof of [Beethoven's] true love of art lies in the fact that he has put himself in the hands of our immortal Haydn in order to be initiated into the holy secrets of the art of music. The latter great Master, during his absence, has turned him over to our great Albrechtsberger. What cannot be expected when such a great genius places himself under the guidance of such excellent masters!<sup>58</sup>

Haydn's tutelage becomes the proof of Beethoven's competence and promise, and the dedication, as we have seen, is one public record of that tutelage. Five years later, Andreas Romberg wrote a letter to his publisher that discusses the impact of Haydn's influence in even starker terms:

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?<sup>59</sup>

Bernhard has dedicated three quartets that are about to be published here [in Paris] to Haydn. 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 shall 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!

Romberg views the dedication as the ultimate promotional tool and as evidence that he knows the ways of the marketplace. Like Beethoven and Romberg, many composers in Table 1 dedicated works to Haydn early in their publishing careers; nearly half of these works fall within the range of their composers' Op. 1 to Op. 5. Clearly many of these composers and their publishers believed that Haydn's name would advertise their works and further their burgeoning careers in a similar vein.

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56 The metaphor of fatherhood was not new; in particular, sixteenth-century English dedicators often referred to their works as their 'children' and asked their patrons to assume the role of the surrogate parent in protecting those children. See Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 59–62 (referred to in Bonds, 'The Sincerest Form of Flattery', 367). 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.

57 DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 84.

58 Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, 1796, quoted and translated in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* (New York: MacMillan, 1970), 59; also quoted in DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 87.

59 Kurt Stephenson, *Andreas Romberg: ein Beitrag zur hamburgischen Musikgeschichte* (Hamburg: H. Christian, 1938), 70; quoted in Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', 31–32.



But Haydn's own reputation also stood to benefit from these dedications. If there were pockets of consumers not entirely familiar with his name or his music, these dedications would demonstrate the composer's prestige to this new audience in two ways: by designating him as dedicatee, and by marking him as Kapellmeister, as many title-pages did. As mentioned above, this is the largest group of dedications to any single composer in this period, and possibly in history. Just as dedications to patrons were meant in part to illustrate the degree of the patron's wealth and stature, these dedications to Haydn, partly in their epistolary content and partly in their sheer numbers, both reflected and advanced the composer's broad reputation, his status as a respected individual in 'a position to impose recognition', in the words of Bourdieu. In fact, there is evidence that Haydn offered his own gratitude in exchange for one dedication in particular: when Christina Wikmanson published her father's quartets posthumously, Haydn wrote to Silverstolpe: 'I take the liberty of enclosing 10 fl. for the kind Mademoiselle [Wikmanson], and would ask you, my dear Herr von Silverstolpe, to send it to her *as a small token of my gratitude for the Quartets she dedicated to me*'.<sup>60</sup>

Haydn was also probably aware that several of the dedicatory epistles as well as other undedicated works were marked as written by 'students of Haydn' (Table 2). As mentioned above, there is evidence, though second-hand via Ferdinand Ries, that Haydn had wanted Beethoven to place such a motto on his Op. 2 sonatas, and that he wanted to be remembered as Pleyel's teacher.<sup>61</sup> If this is true, it suggests that Haydn himself was aware of the effect of public acknowledgements of his teaching.

Finally, if dedications, as gifts, afford the recipient at least partial ownership of the offered object, then Haydn is a kind of steward of the works in Table 1. And Bourdieu notes that:

of all the conversion techniques designed to create and accumulate symbolic capital, the purchase of works of art, objectified evidence of 'personal taste', is the one which is closest to the most irreplicable and inimitable form of accumulation.<sup>62</sup>

Though Haydn did not purchase this set of works, he nevertheless acquired them, much like a patron, publicly proving his sense of 'personal taste' and causing him to acquire the attendant symbolic capital.

When a consumer encountered title-pages for some of these works, such as those by Mozart, Beethoven or Ries, the adorned large script and central location of Haydn's name, along with the brief note of his official title as 'maitre de Chapelle', would verify his role as a pseudo-patron, as one who had both inspired and made possible the work at hand (see Figures 3–5). Tia DeNora has shown the concrete ways in which Haydn benefited from a cadre of students, with several of them, including Paul and Anton Wranitzky and Sigismund Neukomm, acting as his aides in various ventures. DeNora also argues that, as a student, Beethoven offered Haydn not assistance but rather access to aristocratic contacts as more nearly an equal.<sup>63</sup> Here I have focused on the ways in which dedications buttressed what we understand to be Haydn's already developing international fame beginning in the late 1780s, demonstrating that the composer had a viable reputation among his peers, and in the end causing him to gain what Bourdieu would term 'the capital of recognition' among consumers. Haydn was, of course, in no way directly responsible for the accumulation of this particular kind of capital; he could not control the source or timing of the dedications that came his way. But when these many composers chose to make their offerings, the effects were significant; encoded therein were the many types of exchange illustrated in Figure 1: pedagogy for works, flattery and gratitude for approval, and finally symbolic capital for symbolic capital. Forming a neglected body of evidence, these dedications not only helped increase Haydn's fame and influence at the turn of the century, but also gave dozens of composers and their publishers the opportunity to use that reputation to their own advantage in an increasingly competitive musical marketplace.

60 Quoted and translated in Landon, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, 201. My italics.

61 Both anecdotes are discussed in Webster, 'The Falling-Out between Beethoven and Haydn', 25.

62 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 282.

63 DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, 98–111.



Figure 3 Title-page of first edition of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, String Quartets 'Op. 10' (K387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465) (Vienna: Artaria, 1785). Reprinted in Gertraud Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, volume 2 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1986). Used by permission



**TROIS ~ SONATES**  
*Pour le Clavecin ou Piano-Fortel*  
 Composées et Dediées  
 à M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Haydn  
 Maître de Chapelle de S. A. Monseigneur le Prince Esterhazy & c.  
 par  
**LOUIS van BEETHOVEN**  
 Oeuvre II.  
 à Vienne chez Artaria et Comp<sup>l</sup> F. 3.

Figure 4 Title-page of first edition of Ludwig van Beethoven, Sonatas Op. 2 (Vienna: Artaria, 1796). Reprinted by Tecla Editions www.tecla.com. Used by permission

U 43207

*Deux*

**Grandes Sonates**  
 pour le Pianoforte  
 composées et dédiées

*Joseph Haydn*  
 Maître de Chapelle de S. A. le Prince Reinald d'Estershazy

par  
**FERD. RIES**

N<sup>o</sup> 11. Prix 3 Francs. Oeuv. 11.

*Bonn chez M<sup>r</sup>. Simrock*  
 Propriété de l'Éditeur.  
 1808. 1809

Gesch. v. Herrn Franz Ries

Figure 5 Title-page of first edition of Ferdinand Ries, Sonatas Op. 11 (Bonn: Simrock, 1808). Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz: DMS o.43261. Used by permission



## APPENDIX: DEDICATORY EPISTLES

The following five dedicatory epistles appeared between the years 1794 and 1809. Mozart's, published in 1785, is not included here, as it has been translated many times.<sup>64</sup>

Joseph Eybler, String Quartets Op. 1 (1794), dedicated to Joseph Haydn (Horst Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', 37–38; translated by Stefania Neonato and the author)

To my dear Friend, Signore 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 honour 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 troverebbero 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

64 See mainly Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family* (New York: Norton, 1989), 891–892, and Bonds, 'The Sincerest Form of Flattery', 366. The original Italian can be found most easily in *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, volume 3, 404.



Johann Brandl, String Quartets Op. 17 (1799), dedicated to Joseph Haydn (Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', 37; translated by Catherine Mayes and the author)

Honourable 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 pflęgte, 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 unbegrenzten Verehrung zu überzeugen, mit welcher ich stets bin dero ergebenster Diener

J. Brandl

Bernhard Romberg, String Quartets Op. 1 (1801), dedicated to Joseph Haydn (Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', 45; translated by the author)

To Joseph Haydn,

In presenting this work to the famous artist whose learned works are the admiration of Europe, it is a homage that I pay to his sublime talents. If the Orpheus of the Danube deigns to 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 Célębre dont les savantes 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 (Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', 44–45; translated by the author)

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 a 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 talents sublimes.

A. Romberg



Angelo Benincori, *String Quartets Op. 8* (1809), dedicated to Joseph Haydn (Walter, 'Haydn gewidmete Streichquartette', 36; translated by the author)

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 honoured 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 gave it one final effort, and I publish it today, but with the sincere regret of being able only to offer it to the memory of the author of so many masterpieces.

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 a 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 laquelle ses immortels Ouvrages ont servi de modèle: Malheureusement la mort de ce Grand Maître devança la fin de mon enterprise, 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 sincère regret de ne pouvoir l'offrir qu'aux Mânes de l'Auteur de tant de Chef-d'oeuvres.

Angelo Benincori