

Making, Collecting and Reading Music Facsimiles before Photography

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IN 1841, a subscriber to the *Revue et gazette musicale* (hereafter *RGM*) would have received not only his or her weekly dose of musical news, reviews and essays, but also a number of perks: concert tickets to Pleyel's salon; portraits of celebrated musicians; and printed music, including an album of new piano pieces entitled *Keepsake des pianistes*. As stated prominently on its title page and in advertisements, the album was 'ornamented by the facsimile of a waltz by Rossini' ('Orné du fac simile d'une Valse de Rossini'; see [Figure 1](#)). Hardly known for his pianism, Rossini would seem an odd choice for an album devoted to piano music. His odd-man-out status stands blazoned on the title page: while Chopin, Döhler, Fontana, Heller, Henselt, Kalkbrenner, Mendelssohn, Méreaux, Moscheles, Osborne, Rosenhain and Wolff are listed together as composers represented in the *Keepsake*, Rossini's name appears below, isolated – his contribution presented as merely a pretty hand.

Or perhaps not 'merely'. For there was much one could do with a facsimile of a composer's handwriting around 1840. Recovering just what one could do, however, requires setting aside modern musicological assumptions about the nature and uses of facsimile. Today, music facsimiles are made mainly to be examined by scholars and performers who seek insight into the composer's musical intentions – intentions potentially concealed or subverted by translation into print. The *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* currently defines 'facsimile' as 'a genre of book publishing based on photo-mechanical printing techniques that attempts to recreate the appearance of an original handwritten manuscript or printed edition', explaining that facsimiles are 'produced, conceived and used as tools for study or investigation by scholars, researchers, teachers and others who might not have access to the original material, although they occasionally become collectable in their own right owing to instances of exceptional craftsmanship or rarity'.¹ In this sense, the history of music facsimile

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¹ Steven Immel, 'Facsimile', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (accessed 20 June 2014).

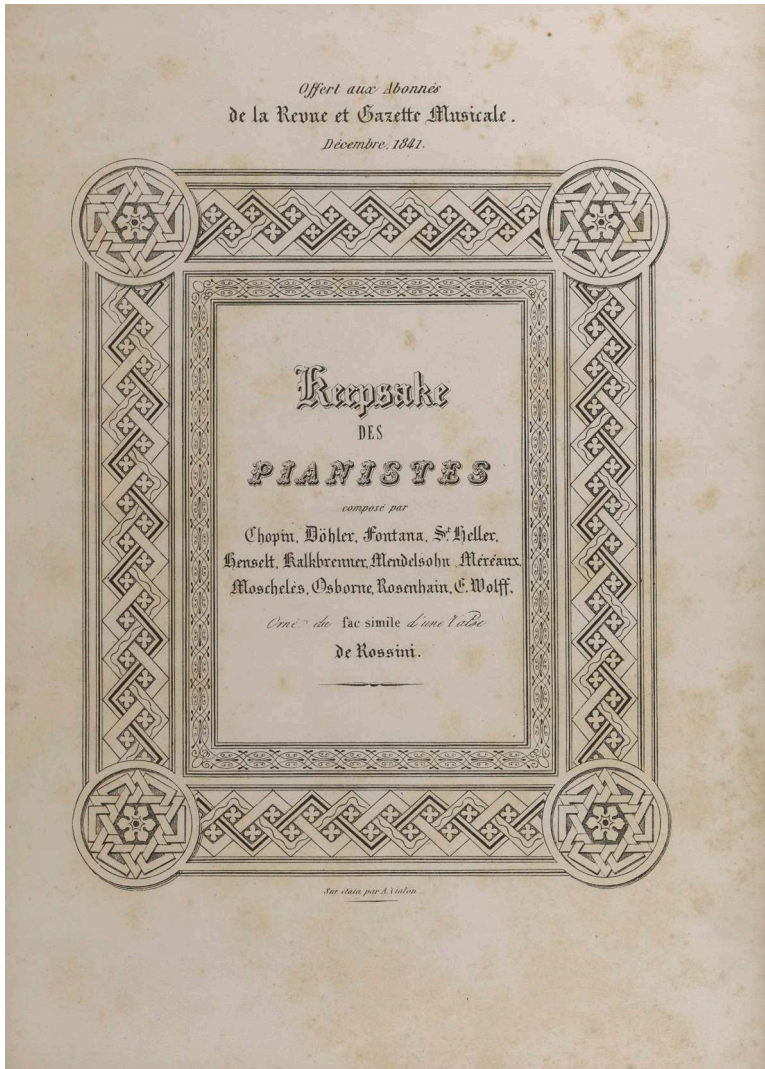


Figure 1. *Keepsake des pianistes* (1841), title page. Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, M1.K33 1839.

begins in 1868, when the newly invented technique of photolithography was used to produce facsimile editions of Handel's *Messiah* and Schubert's *Der Erlkönig*, in each case with an interest in bringing into public view the long-dead composer's conception of his celebrated masterwork.²

² *Fac-simile of the Autograph Score of Messiah: An Oratorio*, photolithography by Vincent Brooks, Day & Son (London, 1868); Franz Schubert, *Der Erlkönig*, photolithography by Photo-Lithographisches Institut der Gebrüder Burchard (Berlin, 1868). An announcement for the *Messiah* facsimile, which

But, as the *Keepsake* attests, music circulated in facsimile prior to the introduction of photo-mechanical printing techniques. The album belongs to another era of music facsimiles in which the first step was not to align the original document with a camera lens, but rather to cover it with paper and trace it by hand. The resulting tracing could then be mass-reproduced by means of lithography to yield prints that, by the 1820s, were known internationally by the Latin compound noun ‘fac-simile’.³

For today’s typical facsimile reader, the photographic method – with its ‘mechanical objectivity’ – guarantees fidelity to the original. A facsimile made by manual tracing sounds suspicious: the human hand introduces opportunities for interpretative selection, alteration and error.⁴ Indeed, discrepancies of a sort foreign to photographic reproduction can be found in lithographic specimens. Consider one of the earliest examples of music in facsimile: that of Mozart’s aria fragment ‘In te spero, o sposo amato’, which appeared in Georg Nikolaus von Nissen’s Mozart biography of 1828. Rather than an exact copy of the original manuscript, the facsimile is a reformatted version: where the autograph has nine bars on the first line, the facsimile has only eight – a pattern of truncation by which subsequent lines become further and further displaced from the original (see [Figures 2a–b](#)). By this means, the facsimile preserved the size and shape of the original notes while fitting them onto a page of shorter dimensions. ‘Fac-simile’, such instances may remind us, comes from the Latin for ‘make similar’, not ‘make exact’ copy.

With such room for discrepancy between original and reproduction, we might wonder how lithographic facsimiles became valued material objects; to put the matter another way, we might ask what was being reproduced, and what produced. The pre-photographic era of facsimile-making was characterized not only by a different technical process, but also by different sorts of original texts, different ways of reading and different assumptions about the uses to which facsimiles would and could be put. To be collectable was a primary function of facsimiles, rather than the exception. They were also to be read with particular attention to the writer’s character as betrayed by his handwriting. In the case of Nissen’s Mozart biography, the facsimile supported a

was produced in association with one of the great Handel festivals, observed that, ‘as evidencing the rapidity with which Handel noted down his immortal work, the *fac simile* will be most interesting to the musical student as well as to the lover of sacred harmony’. ‘The Handel Triennial Festival’, *Musical World*, 46 (21 March 1868), 199, quoting from a pamphlet by Robert K. Bowley, general manager of the Crystal Palace, entitled *The Third Great Triennial Festival at the Crystal Palace*. The *Erlkönig* facsimile held interest for showing an alternative conception of the work known from its 1821 publication; see Friedrich Chrysander, ‘Franz Schubert’s Erlkönig: Original-Manuscript der ersten Bearbeitung. Berlin 1868. Verlag von Wilh. Müller. Pr. 20 Sgr.’, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 12 (24 March 1869), 91.

³ The term ‘fac-simile’ was officially recognized by the *Dictionnaire de L’Académie Française* (6th edn, Paris, 1835) to mean ‘the copy, by exact imitation, printed or engraved, of a piece of handwriting, signature, etc.’ (‘la copie, de l’imitation exacte, imprimée ou gravée, d’une pièce d’écriture, d’une signature, etc.’; i, 719). See Emmanuel Pernoud, ‘The Art of Facsimile: Alfred Jarry and Reproduction’, *Word and Image*, 16 (2000), 352–62 (p. 352).

⁴ See Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

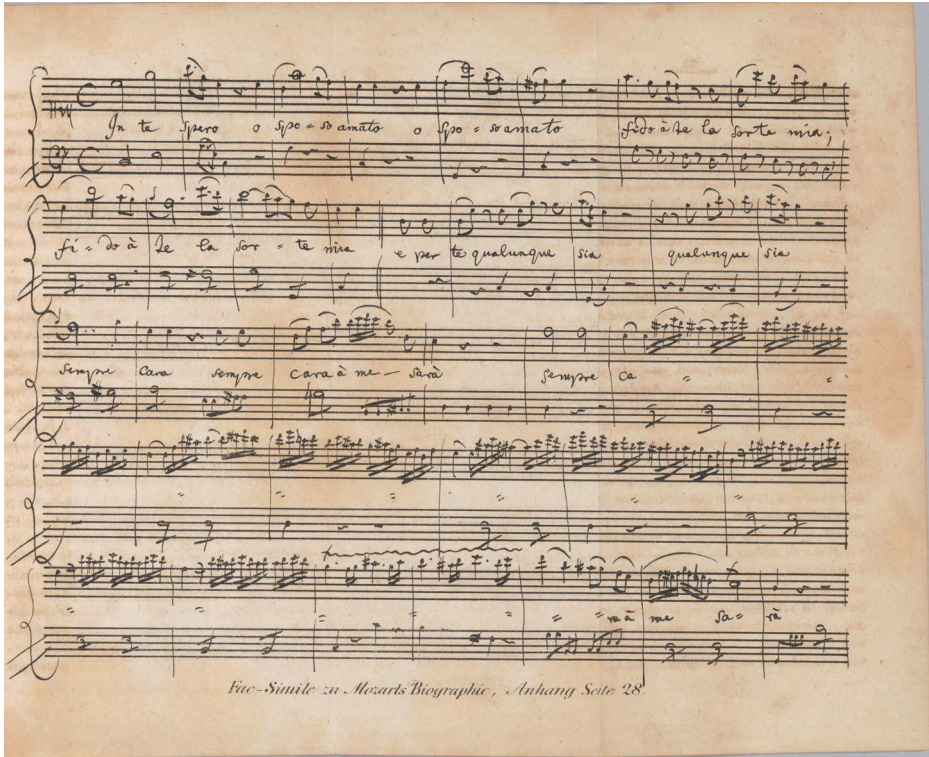


Figure 2a. Mozart's autograph of 'In te spero' in facsimile (20.5 × 25.5 cm). Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1828), facing p. 28.

narrative of the composer's personal development – not by establishing chronology, as autographs are often used by modern musicologists to do, but rather by making visible Mozart's essential being. Nissen described verbally the dimensions of Mozart's note heads and flags as a youth, letting the facsimile provide this data for Mozart's mature hand. The handwriting comparison, in turn, amplified a discussion of Mozart's flowering as an individual and an artist. Whereas Mozart sacrificed happiness and life for art in his adulthood, according to Nissen, he 'was less petulant in early childhood, not as intensely into art, not even consciously guided towards it, but rather was left to his own devices, even held back, until *his* singular nature irresistibly broke through and unmistakably made itself known'.⁵ Nissen thus presented the autograph to be read not for compositional process, authorial intent or chronology, but rather for the 'singular nature' of the composer breaking through in the dimensions of his flags and

⁵ 'Mozart wurde in früher Kindheit wenig gereizt, weniger in der Kunst angestrengt, nicht einmal wissenschaftlich zu ihr geleitet, sondern nur sich selbst überlassen, ja sogar zurückgehalten bis *seine* ganz eignthümliche Natur von selbst unaufhaltsam hindurchbrach und unverkennbar ankündigte.' Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1828), 27.



Figure 2b. Photograph of Mozart's autograph of 'In te spero' (23 × 30 cm). Washington DC, Library of Congress, ML30.8b .M8 K.383 h (<<http://lccn.loc.gov/2008560638>>).

note heads. As ideas about individual character and its manifestations came together with the hobby of collecting to fuel interest in autographs, facsimiles did more than 'democratize' access to precious documents. They altered the means available to composers to cultivate their public image, the ability of publishers to entice music consumers, and the opportunities to define interpretative communities – professional and amateur, reverent and irreverent – around musical texts.

Making facsimiles

While facsimiles came to adorn high-end musical publications, the technology that made them possible originated with a desire to print more cheaply. Lithography was invented in the 1790s by Alois Senefelder. By his own account, Senefelder entered the business of printing after facing delays and high costs in his efforts to publish as a dramatic author. Having little in the way of start-up finances, he experimented with various material means of etching and engraving. Limestone plates were cheaper than the standard copper or pewter, and childhood memories of seeing notes etched

in stone at a local music printer's suggested that the material would make a suitable substitute. But it was in moving from the mechanical process of engraving to a chemical one – a move that involved the make-up of ink – that Senefelder invented a novel printing technique. Rather than relying on a raised or lowered surface to determine the distribution of ink, as in both letterpress and intaglio printing, lithography worked on the principle that oil and water repel one another. By writing on stone in oil-based ink and applying a water-based solution to the stone, one obtained a flat surface that would accept (oily) printing ink only where there was already writing. Running the inked stone together with paper through a press transferred the ink from the stone to the paper, and yielded an inverted print of the writing or drawing on the stone. Writing with ink on stone was less labour-intensive, and required less specialized skill and equipment, than engraving, making the process of lithographic printing quicker and easier. Senefelder foresaw special opportunities for his new method in music printing, and he built up his business with finances from the court composer Franz Gleissner, who was eager to have his compositions printed at high quality and low cost.

As an alternative to writing on stone, Senefelder described a method that involved writing with oil-based ink on paper, then transferring this writing from the paper to the stone. Calling this the 'transfer' or 'tracing' manner of lithography, Senefelder deemed it the most important part of his invention, for it eliminated the need for writing backwards and thereby put quick and cheap textual reproduction within reach of all writers. 'In order to multiply copies of your ideas by printing,' Senefelder explained, 'it is no longer necessary to learn to write in an inverted sense; but every person who with common ink can write on paper, may do the same with chemical ink, and by the transfer of his writing to the stone, it can be multiplied *ad infinitum*.'⁶ In addition to touting its use for copying routine communications in government and commerce, Senefelder predicted that the manner would give 'new life' to music printing by greatly reducing the cost of engraving. And although engraving continued to dominate music publishing into the 1860s, when the combination of lithography with the steam press increased reproduction speeds for high-volume jobs, transfer lithography did permit elaborate scores to be printed in small runs cost-effectively, making possible publications like the full score of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (Dresden, 1845), which the composer wrote directly onto lithographic transfer paper for a run of only 30 copies.⁷

The method of transfer lithography also facilitated the production of facsimiles. By using translucent paper, one could trace an existing document in greasy ink,

⁶ Alois Senefelder, *A Complete Course of Lithography*, trans. A[n-tonin] S[chlichtegroll] (London, 1819), 256.

⁷ Wagner also had small runs of *Der fliegende Holländer* and *Rienzi* published by this method, but in the handwriting of copyists; see Stanley Boorman *et al.*, 'Printing and Publishing of Music', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (accessed 5 February 2015). For the full score of *Lohengrin* (Leipzig, 1852), Wagner once again had his own autograph reproduced.

then transfer the tracing from paper to stone for printing. One of the first books thus to apply lithography to the reproduction of text in its original appearance was J. C. F. Aretin's *Ueber die frühesten universalhistorischen Folgen der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*, produced by Senefelder in 1808. This brief book, about the early history of printing and its revolutionary consequences, came with a 'complete lithographic facsimile of the oldest known German print' (a nine-page tract entitled *Die Manung der Christenheit wider die Türken*, dated by Aretin to 1454).⁸ The new facsimile technique was thus quickly put to antiquarian and historical use, reproducing a text significant not so much for what it said as for the way it was printed (indeed, for the sheer fact that it was printed). From the facsimile one gained a feel for the past; and by comparing it to present-day print, one could see how the art had progressed.

Reading facsimiles

Another impetus to facsimile production came from a different mode of textual engagement – one less historicist, more physiognomic. An ancient art of discerning inner character from outward appearance, physiognomy gained new scientific and fashionable status in the 1770s thanks largely to the work of Johann Caspar Lavater.⁹ Lavater famously discerned inner being in the features of the face, loading his publications with portraits and silhouettes which he interpreted for his readers – finding the craftiness of a knave in a long, somewhat pointed and prominent chin, for example, or the spirit of analysis and detail in the curvature from the eye to the back of the skull in profile.¹⁰ But Lavater also identified handwriting as an outward record of inner states. 'Isn't it true', he added in the revised, French version of his earlier German work, 'that the exterior form of a letter often leads us to make judgments about whether it was written in a calm or anxious state, in a hurry, or in a relaxed frame

⁸ 'Mit dem vollständiges lithographisches Fac simile des ältesten bisher bekannten teutschen Druckes'. Johann Christoph Anton Maria von Aretin, *Ueber die frühesten universalhistorischen Folgen der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst* (Munich, 1808), title page. See Michael Twyman, *Breaking the Mould: The First Hundred Years of Lithography* (London, 2001), 17.

⁹ See Barbara Stafford, *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 84–108; Joan K. Stemmler, 'The Physiognomical Portraits of Johann Caspar Lavater', *Art Bulletin*, 75 (1993), 151–68; and Melissa Percival, 'Introduction', *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture*, ed. Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler (Newark, DE, 2005), 15–23. On connections between Lavater's physiognomics and music, see Annette Richards, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Portraits, and the Physiognomy of Music History', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66 (2013), 337–96; and Tom Beghin, *The Virtual Haydn: Paradox of a Twenty-First-Century Keyboardist* (Chicago, IL, 2015).

¹⁰ Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, trans. Henry Hunter, 3 vols. in 5 (London, 1789–98), i, 152ff.

of mind? About whether the author is a solid or light man, a lively or heavy spirit?’¹¹ Lavater thus suggested extending physiognomic perception from faces to handwriting.

In Paris, Edouard Hocquart took up Lavater’s suggestion, building upon the Swiss theologian’s work to develop a physiognomical science of handwriting in his 1812 treatise *L’art de juger du caractère des hommes sur leur écriture* (*The Art of Judging the Character of Men by their Handwriting*). Like Lavater, Hocquart sought to know man’s character, his inner nature, a pursuit made enormously difficult by the fact that its object had ‘no material existence’ and so was ‘imperceptible to the senses’.¹² But this immaterial, inner nature could be expressed outwardly through various media. According to Hocquart, men expressed their sentiments through verbal language, but there was also a ‘language of action’ (*langage d’action*) made up of gestures; and while a person’s words were under the control of the will, gestures often occurred involuntarily. As a result, words could be chosen to manipulate or deceive, but gestures carried ‘the imprint of truth’ (*l’empreinte de la vérité*).¹³ Handwriting, being a product of gestures, captured those unconscious movements that revealed the true character and passions of the writer. An ‘attentive and sagacious observer’ (*observateur attentif, et doué de sagacité*) could thus learn to discern the character of a man from his handwriting, determining his essential nature in terms of qualities Hocquart helpfully broke down into binaries: vivacious or dull, impetuous or cautious, mild or obstinate, dexterous or awkward.¹⁴

Like Lavater, too, Hocquart required not only visible features from which to read character, but also ones that were amenable to reproduction. To demonstrate their respective sciences to readers, both had to present their objects of analysis along with their analytical conclusions. For Lavater, a key technology was an apparatus for taking silhouettes, which he described in the second volume of his *Physiognomische Fragmente* (see Figure 3). With the aid of this apparatus, the silhouette became not a limited likeness, a blunt reduction of a detailed portrait, but rather ‘the truest and most faithful image that one can give of a person [...] because it is an immediate imprint of nature, as none, even the most skilled drawer, is able to sketch freehand from nature’.¹⁵

¹¹ ‘N’est-il pas vrai que la forme et l’extérieur d’une lettre nous font juger souvent si elle a été écrite dans une situation tranquille ou inquiète, à la hâte ou à tête reposée? Si son auteur est un homme solide ou léger, un esprit vif ou pesant?’ Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essai sur la Physiognomonie, destiné à faire connoître l’homme et à le faire aimer*, 4 vols. (The Hague, 1781–1803), iii (1786), 225; partial trans. in Roxanne Panchasi, ‘Graphology and the Science of Individual Identity in Modern France’, *Configurations*, 4 (1996), 1–31 (p. 4).

¹² ‘N’ayant aucune existence matérielle, ne peut frapper nos sens’. Edouard Auguste Patrice Hocquart, *L’art de juger du caractère des hommes sur leur écriture: Avec vingt-quatre planches représentant les écritures de divers personnages célèbres, gravées d’après les originaux autographes* (2nd, rev. edn, Paris, 1816), 5. The first edition appeared in 1812; trans. as ‘On Phrenology, Or the Art of Deciding upon the Human Character by the Hand-Writing’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine, and Historical Chronicle*, 89/2 (1819), 204–7 (p. 204).

¹³ Hocquart, *L’art de juger du caractère*, 6 (my translation).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9; Hocquart, ‘On Phrenology’, 205.

¹⁵ ‘Das wahreste und getreueste Bild, das man von einem Menschen geben kann [...] weil es ein unmittelbarer Abdruck der Natur ist, wie keiner, auch der geschickteste Zeichner, einen nach der

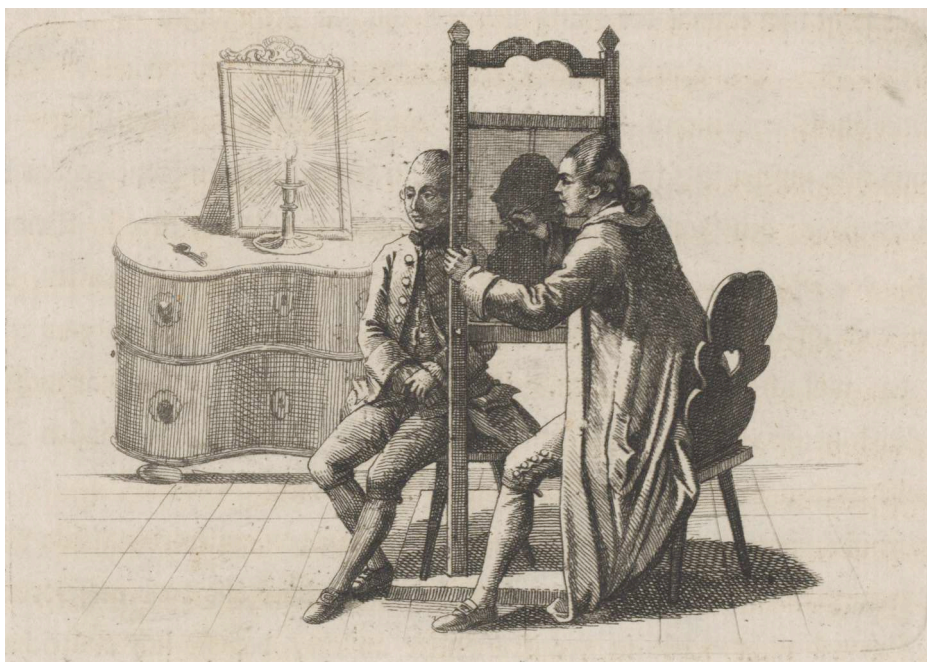


Figure 3. Silhouette machine, from Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1775–8), ii (1776), 93. Berkeley, CA, University of California Berkeley, The Bancroft Library, f BF843.L274 v. 2.

Lavater thus claimed for hand-tracing the same level of automatism that would later be claimed for photography. While the freehand artist could not help but put himself into his work, the one who traced a shadow imparted no qualities of himself; rather, he took the ‘immediate imprint of nature’.

Transfer lithography offered the same level of automatism in the reproduction of handwriting. Hocquart insisted on the impossibility of handwriters concealing their character or feigning emotion – a trained eye would always detect those involuntary motions that betray the truth.¹⁶ But Hocquart made no mention of the lithographic reproduction process; the accuracy of its tracing method was tacitly assumed. The bulk of Hocquart’s treatise consisted of facsimiles of different hands.¹⁷ More than 30 were included, each accompanied by Hocquart’s judgment of the writer’s character

Natur von freyer Hand zu machen im Stande ist’. Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1775–8), ii (1776), 90, trans. in Lyon, ‘“The Science of Sciences”: Replication and Reproduction in Lavater’s Physiognomics’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40 (2007), 257–77 (p. 262).

¹⁶ Hocquart, *L’art de juger du caractère*, 28–9.

¹⁷ Rather than use the still-novel term ‘facsimile’, the treatise’s subtitle states that the plates are ‘engraved after the original autographs’ and ‘represent the handwriting of various celebrities’ (see above, note 12).

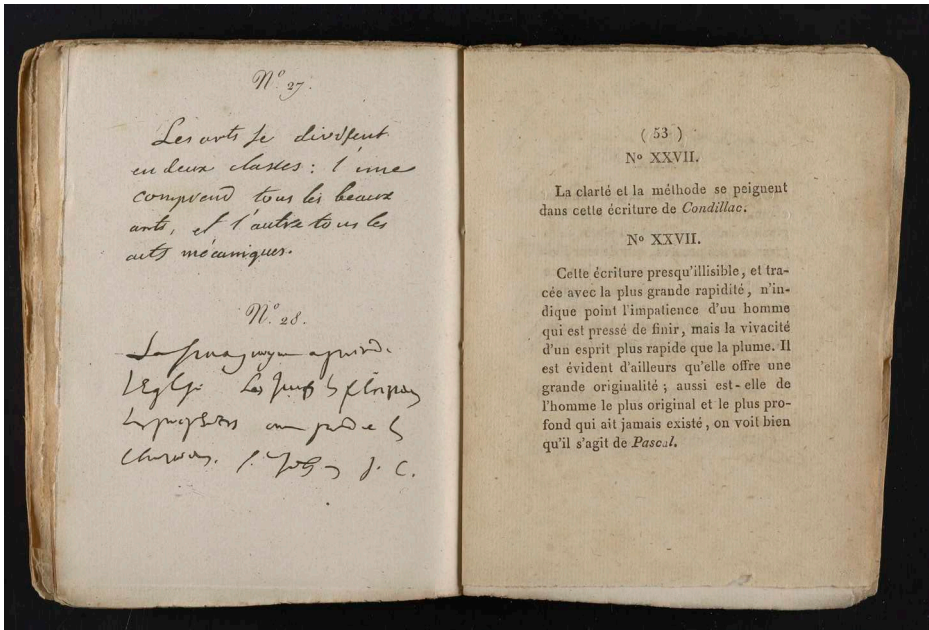


Figure 4. Facsimiles of handwriting and their analysis, from Edouard Hocquart, *L'art de juger du caractère des hommes sur leur écriture* (Paris, 1812). Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, BF892.H63 1816.

(see Figure 4). In no. 27, for instance, one is to see that ‘clarity and method’ (‘la clarté et la méthode’) are painted in Condillac’s handwriting, while in the more scrawling hand of no. 28 one is to recognize not impatience to finish but rather Pascal’s vivacity of spirit and great originality. Through careful observation, the reader could learn to detect such qualities in the incidental movements of the writer’s hand – the fleeting language of action captured in enduring form on the page.

Like physiognomy, handwriting analysis struck later generations (and indeed some contemporaries) as scientifically dubious. The posited relationship between exterior sign and inner being failed to hold up under rigorous standards of empiricism.¹⁸ But it is important to recognize that while some devotees held out hope for a complete science, a reading technique that would render character perfectly legible, in general practice neither the face nor the autograph alone disclosed all. Rather, character was to be triangulated from a person’s face, his handwriting and his life. As Hocquart observed, it was the ‘necessity of the most perfect harmony in all the movements of the physiognomy’ that assured that true character could be discerned, and efforts at disguise identified as such.¹⁹ This notion of harmony underwrites the ‘basic

¹⁸ See Panchasi, ‘Graphology and the Science of Individual Identity’.

¹⁹ ‘La nécessité d’une harmonie parfaite dans tous les mouvemens de la physionomie’. Hocquart, *L’art de juger du caractère*, 7; *idem*, ‘On Phrenology’, 205.

physiognomic hypothesis' identified by Ernst Gombrich: that 'of a unified character behind all the manifestations we register'.²⁰ In the case of composers, the harmonious manifestations of character included not only portraits, autographs and biographies, but also musical compositions.

Collecting facsimiles

Knowing no difference between original and reproduction, physiognomic perception was crucial to the collectability of facsimiles. Conversely, collecting was crucial to physiognomic perception, the individuality of each specimen becoming apparent through comparison with many others. From the 1820s, large numbers of autographs were reproduced in facsimile. Many were published in massive collections, which featured either signature–portrait pairings or autograph letters.²¹ These publications featured a diverse set of extraordinary individuals, historical and contemporary, considered to be of general interest. As the *Iconographie française* – a volume of 200 portraits and facsimile signatures first published in 1828 – explained in its lengthy subtitle (see note 21), its subjects had attained 'the greatest celebrity in the government, the church, the military, the sciences, the letters or the arts, or else by their intrigues, their virtues, their beauty or their faults'. This list sums up the types of people who had their handwriting reproduced in facsimile in the nineteenth century, and points to the biographical interests – in virtues and faults, intrigues and achievements – that supported portrait and autograph collecting. Other forms of publication left the act of collecting to consumers: books about particular celebrated individuals were often 'ornamented' by a facsimile of the person's signature together with his or her portrait.²² The pairing reflects the dual function of portraits and autographs as both attractive illustrations and visible traces of character; while they might remain in the ornamental position of frontispiece, they could also be cut out and resituated in a collection.

²⁰ Ernst Gombrich, 'On Physiognomic Perception', *Daedalus*, 89/1 (1960), 228–41 (p. 235).

²¹ Examples include *Iconographie des contemporains dont les noms se rattachent plus particulièrement aux divers événements qui ont eu lieu en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à 1829*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1823–32); *Iconographie française, ou choix de deux cents portraits d'hommes et de femmes qui se sont acquis en France depuis le règne de Charles VII jusqu'à la fin de celui de Louis XVI, le plus de célébrité, soit dans le gouvernement, l'Eglise, les armées, les sciences, les lettres et les arts, soit aussi par leurs intrigues, leurs vertus, leur beauté ou leurs fautes: accompagnés d'autant de fac-simile* (Paris, 1828); *Isographie des hommes célèbres ou collection de fac-simile de lettres autographes et de signatures*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1828–30; 2nd edn 1842); and Wilhelm Dorow, *Facsimile von Handschriften berühmter Männer und Frauen, aus der Sammlung des Herausgebers*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1836–8). On this type of book, see Michael Twyman, *Early Lithographed Books* (London, 1990), 226–42.

²² To cite one of many examples, Charles Joseph de Ligne, *Mémoire et mélanges historiques et littéraires, par le Prince de Ligne, ornés de son portrait et d'un fac-simile de son écriture*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1827–9).

Those who collected musicians' autographs did so either along with those of other celebrities or as a specialized interest. As Annette Richards has shown, a number of late eighteenth-century figures undertook portrait collecting with a particular focus on music, amassing galleries conceived at once as 'temples of worthies' – that is, of exemplary masters to be admired from a distance – and 'temples of friendship', filled with the likenesses of musicians known personally by the collector, and able to refresh feelings of affection and intimacy.²³ Both logics were also at work in musical autograph collecting, with one or the other usually taking the upper hand for any individual collector. But facsimile autographs differed from portraits, for behind the former was not just a person – something impossible to possess – but an original autograph. Coming straight from the hand of the composer, the original autograph participated in musical life in a different way from the portrait, having a direct role in the composer's social interactions, and potentially in the very coming into being of his compositions.

One of the first self-identifying collectors of original musical autographs was Aloys Fuchs of Vienna. A bureaucrat trained in philosophy and law as well as a singer and an author of musical biographies and catalogues, Fuchs began to collect musical autographs around 1820. In 1829, the *Revue musicale* alerted readers to his 'very interesting' musical autograph collection, and suggested (spuriously) that he would sell it to anyone willing to publish its more curious items, especially in facsimile.²⁴ Fuchs in fact remained committed to growing his collection, and to showing it to any serious music lovers who cared to pay him a visit.²⁵ By 1832 Fuchs possessed more than 500 composers' autographs, and by 1844 more than 1,000.²⁶ These formed part of his larger music library of early printed editions, music theoretical treatises and musicians' portraits. With them, he aimed to establish a comprehensive collection of the notational writing of celebrated composers (his focus was on composers and their works, rather than on musicians more generally) from all eras and countries. A laudatory *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* article on Fuchs's autograph collection

²³ Richards, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach', 355.

²⁴ 'Avis [Collections d'autographes de musiciens et d'écrivains sur la musique de Kandler et Aloys Fuchs de Vienne]', *La revue musicale*, 6/4 (August 1829), 93.

²⁵ On Aloys Fuchs's biography and autograph collecting, see Richard Schaal, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Wiener Musiksammlung von Aloys Fuchs* (Vienna, 1966); Albi Rosenthal, 'Tradition des Autographensammelns – Historisch', *Internationales Symposium Musikerautographe*, ed. Ernst Hilmar (Tutzing, 1990), 20–1; and Ingrid Fuchs, 'Aloys Fuchs (1799–1853): A Private Collector as a Public Institution', *Collectionner la musique*, ed. Denis Herlin, Catherine Massip and Jean Duron, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2010–12), i: *Histoires d'une passion*, 167–85. Although Fuchs did have manuscript copies made from his collection, I have found no evidence that he submitted his items for facsimile publication.

²⁶ [Raphael Georg Kiesewetter], 'Autographen-Sammlung der Tonsetzer älterer und neuerer Zeit des Hrn Aloys Fuchs in Wien', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 34 (1832), cols. 743–7 (col. 743); and Aloys Fuchs, 'Die musikalischen Kunst-Sammlungen in Wien', *Cäcilia: Eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt*, 23 (1844), 40–53 (p. 52).

by fellow bureaucrat-cum-music-historian Raphael Georg Kiesewetter attributed multiple values to musical autographs – a familiar set in keeping with the temples of worthies and friendship, and a more novel set unique to autographs: ‘The handwriting of famous men is in and of itself highly pleasing and edifying; it can also even be historically significant and many a doubt as to the authenticity of a questionable composition can be resolved by comparison.’²⁷

The use of autographs to establish a composition’s authenticity – clearly an exceptional use in Kiesewetter’s mind – had received recent impetus from a controversy over Mozart’s Requiem. Unfolding over several years, the controversy began in 1825 when Gottfried Weber proposed that the Requiem published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1800 as Mozart’s was in fact almost entirely by Franz Xavier Süssmayr.²⁸ Weber’s contention was roundly attacked by, among others, Abbé Maximilian Stadler, who based his rebuttal largely on Mozart’s autographs. In helping Constanze organize her deceased husband’s manuscripts, Stadler claimed, he acquired ‘the most exact knowledge possible of Mozart’s handwriting, which remained the same until his death’. He could thus attest that, with only minor exceptions, the first three movements ‘all flowed entirely from Mozart’s hand’.²⁹

The Mozart controversy occasioned reflection not only on the potential use of autographs to establish the true authorship and musical text behind printed editions, but also on the making of facsimiles. Weber sought to publish facsimiles of the Requiem autograph sources in his journal, *Cäcilia*, but to no avail. While facsimiles of the autograph sources held obvious relevance to the debate, none were produced. Stadler suggests the reason: such autographs were too precious to submit to lithographic reproduction – especially by someone lacking proper reverence for the music represented therein. ‘Nothing would be easier than to arrange for a facsimile in this city where there are so many lithographic printers,’ Stadler observed, ‘but to entrust the task to *Cäcilia*, of all things, seems most inadvisable, since the work is so lamentably misrepresented and denigrated in its pages. The celebrated Leipzig *Musikzeitung* would be a far more suitable place for it, for that has always given Mozart’s Requiem the praise it deserves.’ Yet even entrusting Requiem autographs to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* seemed a dubious proposition. ‘Who can blame the fortunate owner if he will not allow it to

²⁷ ‘Die Handschrift berühmter Männer hat an und für sich höchst Anziehendes und Belehrendes; es kann auch sogar manches Geschichtliche und mancher Zweifel an der Aechtheit einer fraglichen Composition durch Vergleichung berichtigt werden.’ [Kiesewetter], ‘Autographen-Sammlung der Tonsetzer älterer und neuerer Zeit’, col. 743.

²⁸ Gottfried Weber, ‘Über die Echtheit des Mozart’schen Requiem’, *Cäcilia*, 3 (1825), 205–28. See Paul Moseley, ‘Mozart’s Requiem: A Reevaluation of the Evidence’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114 (1989), 203–37.

²⁹ ‘Die genaueste Kenntniß der Mozartischen Handschrift, die sich immer bis zu seinem Ende gleich blieb; ‘ganz aus Mozart’s Hand geflossen’. Abbé Maximilian Stadler, *Vertheidigung der Echtheit des Mozartischen Requiem* (Vienna, 1826); trans. in Christoph Wolff, *Mozart’s Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Berkeley, CA, 1994), 150.

leave his hands?’ Stadler wrote. ‘How many own Mozart’s original manuscripts, and preserve them carefully, like a precious treasure!’ Rather than make facsimiles, Stadler suggested that the manuscripts be deposited ‘in a place where they will be preserved for study by those who know and admire Mozart, with as much care as a valuable, albeit uncopied, painting by Raphael in a public gallery’.³⁰ The analogy is significant, figuring the musical autograph – the text in the composer’s hand – as the original work of art, next to which both print editions and performances are reduced to interpretations. Stadler himself deposited the Requiem autograph fragment that came into his possession in 1826 (the Sequence to the Confutatis) with the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, in 1828 or 1829, while lending out other, less music-textually significant (and hence also less one-of-a-kind, more interchangeable) autographs to be reproduced in lithographic facsimile.³¹

Despite the example set by Fuchs and the high-profile debate over Mozart’s *Requiem*, musical autograph collecting in the era of transfer lithography rarely had to do with getting at the authentic texts of musical works. Instead, it had to do with getting at the person behind the music. The primary way to collect musicians’ autographs was in albums (although especially prized autographs perhaps might be framed and hung on a wall, as the Baron de Trémont did with his Beethoven letter).³² Albums typically had a more personal than a universal flavour, the autographs being valued first as souvenirs, and perhaps secondarily as historical documents. Most albums of this kind were dispersed after their collector’s death, individual items going on to fill gaps in other collectors’ albums. A few, however, have been preserved largely as their collectors left them, and from these we can gain some sense of mid-nineteenth-century musical autograph collecting. The London music publisher Vincent Novello began to collect autographs in 1829, when he journeyed to Austria to visit Mozart’s widow and gather material for a Mozart biography (which he never wrote, though his

³⁰ ‘Nichts wäre leichter, als hier ein fac simile zu veranstalten, da so viele lithographische Druckereyen zu Gebothe stünden; allein der Cäcilia solches anzuvertrauen, scheint keinesweges rathsam, da dieses Werk alldort so jämmerlich entstellt und herabgewürdigt erscheint. Einen weit anpassenderen Platz würde es in der berühmten Leipziger Musikzeitung einnehmen, wo von jeher Mozart’s Requiem nach Gebühr gepriesen worden; ‘Wer wird es dem glücklichen Besitzer verargen, wenn er sie nicht aus seinen Händen gibt? Wie viele besitzen Mozartische Urschriften, die sie sorgfältig als einen kostbaren Schatz aufbewahren!’; ‘an einem Orte hinterlegt, wo den Kennern und Verehrern Mozart’s zur Einsicht es eben so sorgfältig aufbewahrt wird, wie in einem öffentlichen Bildersaale ein schätzbares, wenn auch uncopirtes, Gemählde von Raphael’. Stadler, *Vertheidigung der Echtheit*, 13–14; Wolff, *Mozart’s Requiem*, 151–2.

³¹ Stadler lent a Mozart autograph of a four-part canon to be reproduced in Johann Aloys Schlosser’s Mozart biography, *Wolfgang Amad. Mozart: Eine begründete und ausführliche Biographie desselben* (Prague, 1828), and then gave the original autograph to Vincent Novello for his album, discussed below. He also lent a Beethoven letter to Schlosser for reproduction in his *Ludwig van Beethoven: Eine Biographie desselben, verbunden mit Urtheilen über seine Werke* (Prague, 1828).

³² Jacques-Gabriel Prod’homme and Theodore Baker, ‘The Baron de Trémont: Souvenirs of Beethoven and Other Contemporaries’, *Musical Quarterly*, 6 (1920), 366–91.

materials were used by the Mozart biographer Edward Holmes). The musical items in his album, collected through the 1840s, followed from his personal contacts with musicians and musical gatherings hosted at his home, or else were gifts passed on to him by others personally acquainted with the composers (as in the case of his Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven autographs).³³ Gustave Vogt, principal oboist of the Paris Opéra, collected autographs from 1840 to 1856 (most avidly from 1842 to 1844), amassing 63 specimens from his musical associates in Paris.³⁴ Musicians were among a variety of celebrities that interested the Baron de Trémont, who collected autographs from 1840 to 1850. Trémont hosted musical gatherings at his home, and the invited musicians often left a handwritten memento. Trémont's album blended the personal and the historical: along with autographs he also collected articles from the *RGM*, and added his own biographical essays and notes.³⁵ Female collectors are egregiously absent from the surviving sample held by libraries – a fact which, to judge from the couple of musical autograph albums of women that have turned up in private hands, has little to do with differences in the people or the kinds of texts they pursued.³⁶ Traces of female collectors' activities survive more copiously in other ways – in the many autographs inscribed to female recipients, and in the letters seeking them. For instance, when writing to Mendelssohn about a commission, Charles Bayles Broadley took the opportunity to request, 'if it be not intruding too much on your kindness ... a few bars of Music with your signature on a small piece of paper (about the size of this note) to be inserted in a Lady's manuscript-Book of musical Autographs'.³⁷

Facsimiles made the collecting activities of aristocrats, music professionals and their associates available to those without the same social connections. But it was not only those without access to original autographs who collected handwriting in reproduction. Chopin, for example, collected both original autographs and facsimiles. He received an original Beethoven autograph from Fuchs when he visited his collection in 1831, and preserved souvenir autographs (with and without music) written expressly for

³³ Pamela Weston, 'Vincent Novello's Autograph Album: Inventory and Commentary', *Music and Letters*, 75 (1994), 365–80. Weston reported that the album had been bequeathed to the British Library, but it is not at present among the library's holdings.

³⁴ Bea Friedland, 'Gustave Vogt's Souvenir Album of Music Autographs: A Beguiling Glimpse of Musical Paris in the 1840s', *Notes*, 31 (1974), 262–77. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, V886.A3.

³⁵ Prod'homme and Baker, 'The Baron de Trémont'. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 12756–12761. Similarly, the Viennese pianist Joseph Fischhof (1804–57) collected Beethoven autographs (letters, scores, notebooks) towards a biography; the resulting album is preserved as Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. theor. 285.

³⁶ See Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, 'Chopin, Bellini et le Théâtre-Italien: Autour de l'album de Mme d'Est', *D'un Opéra l'autre: Hommage à Jean Mongrédien*, ed. Jean Gribenski, Marie-Claire Mussat and Herbert Schneider (Paris, 1996), 347–59, and Constance Himelfarb, 'Un salon de la Nouvelle-Athènes en 1839–1840: L'album musical inconnu de Juliette Zimmerman', *Revue de musicologie*, 87 (2001), 33–65.

³⁷ Broadley to Mendelssohn (25 February 1841), quoted in David Brodbeck, 'Some Notes on an Anthem by Mendelssohn', *Mendelssohn and his World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 43–64 (p. 50).

him by the likes of Leopold Eustachius Czapek, Ferdinand Hiller and Mendelssohn.³⁸ Additionally, he kept a number of facsimiles published in the *RGM* between 1836 and 1844, among them Luigi Cherubini's corrections to his *Cours de contrepoint et de fugue*, letters between Paganini and Berlioz, and a set of 300 musicians' signatures.³⁹ Like original autographs in this period, these facsimiles circulated as 'gifts': the *RGM* did not sell them individually, but rather presented them as extras for subscribers. The journal's masthead regularly included facsimiles in the list of things to be 'given' to subscribers during the year.⁴⁰ As the journal promised when heading into its seventh year (1840), facsimiles – like portraits and concerts – were 'interesting accessories' that would 'continue to be for us the object of most special care'.⁴¹

Together with the steady supply of facsimiles, the *RGM* also offered subscribers reflections on their value. When it published a 'Nicolai Piccini' (*sic*) letter in facsimile in 1839, for example, a front-page article expounded on handwriting as a 'kind of mirror' of the character of famous men, and on the resulting 'use and usefulness of the collecting of autographs' – any difference between collecting original and facsimile autographs notably elided.⁴² Further evidence that subscribers collected the journal's facsimiles comes from a binder's volume from the period, now held by the University of Pennsylvania Rare Book and Manuscript Library, in which an unknown music consumer preserved two autograph letters in facsimile, along with the *Keepsake des pianistes* and other musical supplements to the *RGM*.⁴³ In

³⁸ On Chopin's visit to Fuchs, see the former's letter to his parents (Vienna, 25 June 1831), in *Selected Correspondence of Fryderyk Chopin*, ed. Arthur Hedley (London, 1962), 84. On autographs written for Chopin, see *Souvenirs inédits de Frédéric Chopin*, ed. Mieczysław Karłowicz, trans. Laure Disière (Paris, 1904), 212–16.

³⁹ 'Donation by Marek Keller', *The Fryderyk Chopin Museum*, <<http://chopin.museum/en/events/donation>> (accessed 20 March 2015). The facsimiles kept by Chopin and donated to the Fryderyk Chopin Museum by Marek Keller are: 'Fautes de gravure dans les pages de la première édition du Cours de contre-point [de Luigi Cherubini]' in Cherubini's hand, *RGM*, 3/23 (5 June 1836); three one-page letters, one from Paganini to Berlioz (Paris, 18 December 1838), one from Berlioz to Paganini (Paris, 18 December 1838) and one from Jules Janin to Berlioz (Paris, 20 December 1838), *RGM*, 5/51 (23 December 1838); and signatures of renowned musicians, *RGM*, 11/1 (7 January 1844). I am grateful to Jeffrey Kallberg for bringing Chopin's ownership of facsimiles to my attention.

⁴⁰ 'Il sera donné à MM. les Abonnés, outre les deux feuilles par semaine pendant les mois d'hiver et une feuille pendant les mois de l'été [...] 4. Des Portraits d'artistes célèbres; 5. Des Fac simile de l'écriture d'auteurs célèbres; 6. Plusieurs Concerts'. *RGM*, 8/2 (7 January 1841), 19.

⁴¹ 'Les accessoires si intéressants d'une publication pareille et tous les autres de même nature, tels que portraits, *fac-simile*, séances de musique comparée, continueront à être de notre part l'objet de soins tout spéciaux.' *RGM*, 7/1 (2 January 1840), 1.

⁴² 'L'écriture est une sorte de miroir où se reflètent quelque-fois certains défauts, certaines qualités, certains traits distinctifs du caractère des hommes célèbres. [...] Voilà l'usage et l'utilité des collections d'autographes.' Félix Danjou, 'Sur un autographe de Nicolas Piccini', *RGM*, 6/25 (23 June 1839), 193.

⁴³ The facsimiles reproduce a letter from the violin virtuoso Henry Vieuxtemps to Maurice Schlesinger, published as 'Lettre autographe de Mr H. Vieuxtemps, à M. Maurice Schlesinger', *RGM*, 8/25 (28

this subscriber's view, printed texts were disposable; printed music and facsimiles, however, were worth keeping.

The *RGM* twice (in 1838 and 1844) published supplements consisting of hundreds of signatures of celebrated musicians, mostly composers but also performers such as the singer Maria Malibran (see Figure 5). These pages mimicked those found in albums of original autographs (including Novello's), where each signature had to be obtained individually (usually they were cut from letters), and part of the appeal lay in the pleasure of the hunt. The ready-made collections would thus seem a poor substitute, short-cutting the process of collecting, evacuating the sense of accomplishment to be derived from it, and presenting the fruits of autograph collecting at its least historically minded, its most celebrity-hounding. Yet there was more to the signature collection. A notice accompanying the 1838 set suggested that with them the reader – or perhaps better, given the leading metaphor, the viewer – would 'browse a sort of biographical gallery', which was also to unfold week by week through articles about the main events in the artists' lives, and with an eye to appreciating the nature of their talents and the value of their works.⁴⁴ The notice accompanying the signatures in 1844 placed greater emphasis on their revelatory power, advancing what it declared to be a new dictum: 'Let's see how you sign your name, and I'll tell you who you are.'⁴⁵ Like Hocquart, the anonymous author of this article held that one learnt to discern character essentials from handwriting through careful study, and deciphered character in terms of binaries such as calm or violent, modest or ambitious. Yet at the same time, the musicians' signatures were said to be a 'necessary supplement to all the stories, to all the biographies, to all the notices relating to those same artists; it is the indispensable appendage to all their most lifelike portraits'.⁴⁶ Signatures were thus both sources and indexes of information: they could be analysed for their signers' essential being and used to point to biographical knowledge acquired otherwise (including from other issues of the journal). These facsimile pages thus constituted not so much an instant autograph collection as an invitation to further gathering – of portraits, biographies and music.

March 1841), 200; and one from Henri-Montan Berton to fellow opera composer Adrian Boieldieu, published as 'H. Berton: Épitre à Boyeldieu', *RGM*, 8/59 (14 November 1841), 508. *Keepsake des pianistes* (binder's volume of music issued as supplements to the *Revue et gazette musicale*), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Rare Book and Manuscript Library, M1.K33 1839.

⁴⁴ 'La Gazette Musicale contient aujourd'hui le fac-simile de la signature d'un grand nombre de musiciens, virtuoses et compositeurs plus ou moins célèbres. Peut-être ne sera-t-il pas sans intérêt pour le lecteur de parcourir une sorte de galerie biographique dans laquelle, en retraçant succinctement les principaux événements de la vie de ces artistes, nous chercherons à apprécier, sans préjugés ni passions, la nature du talent, la valeur des oeuvres et la tendance des doctrines de chacun d'eux.' 'Biographies', *RGM*, 5/27 (8 July 1838), 273.

⁴⁵ 'Voyons comment tu signes, et je te dirai qui tu es.' 'Les fac-simile', *RGM*, 11/1 (7 January 1844), 2.

⁴⁶ 'C'est le supplement obligé de toutes les histoires, de toutes les biographies, de toutes les notices relatives à ces memes artistes; c'est l'indispensable appendice de tous leurs portraits les plus ressemblants.' *Ibid.*

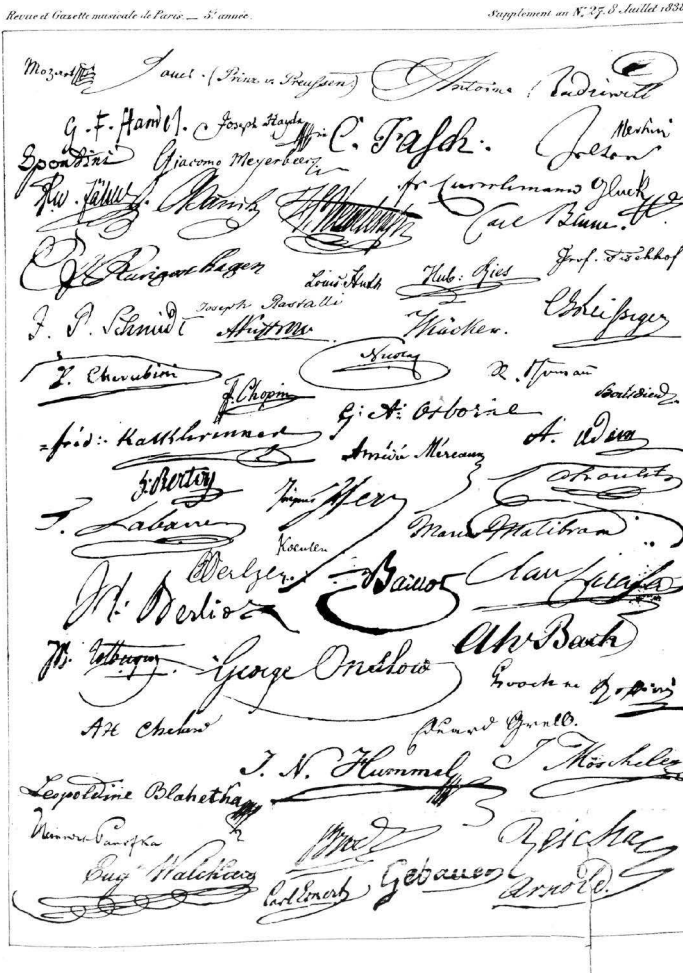


Figure 5. Facsimiles of musicians' signatures, *Revue et gazette musicale*, 5/27 (8 July 1838), supplement, first of four pages. RIPM Online Archive (<<http://www.ripmfulltext.org/RIPM/Source/ImageLinks/1107219>>).

Music in facsimile

Whereas the alphabetic writings of musicians could be read in the same manner as those of any other celebrities, music notation raised special considerations; for while words were assumed to represent conscious thought, such was not the case for music. In a distinction commonly drawn since the mid-eighteenth century, words were a medium of reason whereas tones and gestures alike were media of the heart.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Classic statements appear in Charles Batteux, *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* (Paris, 1746), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (Geneva, 1781).

In nineteenth-century terms, the languages of gesture and of tones were less governed by the will and so closer to a person's authentic character and passions: both handwriting and music bypassed words to give true impressions of inner being.⁴⁸

Yet seeing tones in handwriting opened up the possibility of discovering discrepancies between the two media – if the reader was equipped to detect them. François-Joseph Fétis recognized this in an announcement for a special publication entitled 'Gallery of Celebrated Musicians', to be made up of portraits, facsimiles and biographies.⁴⁹ Musical autographs in facsimile had great value, Fétis explained, but the nature of that value depended on the reader. For an average person, music facsimiles satisfied a certain curiosity, as did alphabetic facsimiles. For an artist, by contrast, music facsimiles could grant insight into the composer's artistic process. They could reveal, for instance, the composer's hesitation or confidence in the creation of a work. Significantly, Fétis observed that the evidence of the handwriting might contradict the impression of spontaneity or careful reflection given by the music.⁵⁰ In such cases, Fétis suggested, handwriting represented the more reliable testimony to compositional process.

While Fétis presented the different ways of appreciating musical autographs as determined by the reader, modes of facsimile reading also depended on the kinds of musical texts reproduced and on their biographical framing. A morbid curiosity surrounded some of the earliest musical autographs selected for facsimile reproduction. Shortly after Beethoven's death, Schlesinger advertised his complete edition of Beethoven's string trios, quartets and quintets as including 'a facsimile taken from Beethoven's last work, the seventeenth quartet', by which he meant op. 135.⁵¹ The chosen page – the first-violin part of the *Lento assai, cantante e tranquillo* – features a suitably reflective and sentimental melody, the heart-tugging power of which only gains from imagining it to come from a man on his deathbed. Around the same time, Novello tried to persuade Johann Edler von Eybler – who possessed a partial manuscript of Mozart's Requiem – to have a facsimile made of what he evocatively described as 'the last Page which Mozart wrote before the pen dropped from his weak hand'. Novello's concern was not with clarifying the Requiem's authorship for the public, but rather with the same sort of curiosity as that tapped by Schlesinger's Beethoven facsimile: 'This would be [a] most interesting engraving', Novello added, 'to

⁴⁸ On this point, see also Alfred W. Cramer, 'Of Serpentina and Stenography: Shapes of Handwriting in Romantic Melody', *19th-Century Music*, 30 (2006–7), 133–65.

⁴⁹ 'Contenant leurs portraits lithographies par les meilleurs artistes, des "fac simile", et leurs biographies'. 'Galerie des musiciens célèbres', *Revue musicale*, 2/40 ([November] 1827), 375–8.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ 'Monument érigé à Beethoven', *Revue musicale*, 5/12 (17 April 1829), 284–6. Ludwig van Beethoven, *Collection complète des trios, quatuors et quintetti composés pour instrumens à cordes par L. van Beethoven* (Paris, [1827]).

all lovers of Mozart.⁵² What made these autographs interesting was their connection to a poignant point in the composer's life, their record of the body in the last moments of its being inhabited by a soul. A facsimile promised a faithful trace of those final gestures.

For the mere purposes of collecting, or for lending a sense of uniqueness and intimacy to mass-produced publications, the nature of the music autographs reproduced in facsimile would seem immaterial. Such might explain the eclectic set of five facsimiles that appeared in *Apollo's Gift, or the Musical Souvenir*, a musical annual for the year 1829 produced collaboratively by three music publishers in London: Chappell, Muzio Clementi and J. B. Cramer.⁵³ The five facsimiles represent a veritable catalogue of autographic possibilities: Weber's 'first sketches' for *Oberon* exemplify a working document of the compositional process; Mozart's 'Andantino für Clavier', from André's collection of Mozart autographs, supplies an unpublished work; Clementi's Canon ed diapason for piano 'composed and dedicated to J. B. Cramer by his friend' and Haydn's three-part 'puzzle' canon to be read the right way up and upside down represent the kinds of autographs composers regularly supplied for the albums of friends and acquaintances; and the opening bars of the Andante from Beethoven's Piano Sonata op. 79 came from the autograph sent by the composer to Clementi in order to have the work published in London. If most readers saw these as equivalent objects of curiosity for their collections, the assembly of reproductions also allowed them to become matters of public discourse, wherein critics responded to differences not only in the musical hands (Beethoven's being found 'the most singular we ever beheld') but also in the nature of the musical texts.⁵⁴ Weber's sample, for example, showed 'the germ of his original' musical conception, while Mozart's raised questions about whether the unpublished composition constituted a legitimate work by Mozart or a derivative exercise.⁵⁵

Canons were especially abundant in musical autographs, for composers often chose to write canons for the express purpose of giving a musical souvenir to friends or new acquaintances. With their ability to generate multi-voice harmony from a single line of music, canons had a visual dimension and spatial economy that no

⁵² Vincent Novello, *A Mozart Pilgrimage* (1829), quoted in Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, 128. A further example comes from the *Gazette musicale*, 2/40 (4 October 1835), following the death of Vincenzo Bellini on 23 September. The issue features a facsimile of what it claims to be Bellini's last composition, written on 18 August for the prominent piano teacher and salon host Pierre-Joseph Zimmerman. The issue describes the piece (a canon) as a 'precious souvenir left by that dying hand in the album of his friend Zimmermann!' ('Précieux souvenir qu'a laissé cette main mourante sur l'album de son ami Zimmermann!'). *Gazette musicale*, 2/40 (4 October 1835), 328.

⁵³ James Davies, 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 131 (2006), 287–309 (p. 302).

⁵⁴ 'Apollo's Gift, or, the Musical Souvenir for 1830. Edited by Muzio Clementi and J. B. Cramer', *Atlas*, 4/189 (27 December 1829), 844.

⁵⁵ See Davies, 'Julia's Gift', 299–300. Quotation from *The Spectator*, 1/77 (19 December 1829), 807b.

doubt contributed to their appeal for autographic purposes. But more than this: since the strict contrapuntal procedures epitomized by canons had largely fallen out of public favour during the eighteenth century, and canons were vanishingly rare in printed music in the first half of the nineteenth century, their circulation in autograph defined an inner circle of intimacy and friendship within musical culture. Canons demonstrated compositional skill, but of a sort allied with learning and craftsmanship at odds with the inborn talent and inspiration prized by Romantics. To make a gift of an autograph canon was thus to disclose the practised mastery behind the public face of musical genius. As albums were often shown to visitors, Luciane Beduschi has suggested that puzzle canons additionally created a form of private communication between composer and recipient, a musical message not to be deciphered by the casual interloper.⁵⁶

Facsimiles meant that the privacy once assumed for autographic gifts was no longer certain – a fact that some composers greeted with enthusiasm. One of the first facsimiles to appear in the *Gazette musicale* was, in fact, an ‘enigmatic canon’ composed by Henri-Montan Berton for the album of his ‘illustrious friend’ and fellow composer Cherubini. Berton sent the canon to the *Gazette* in its first year, 1834, along with a letter in which he explained that the canon, as a type of piece, held little importance, but had the merit of being a species of witty composition (‘jeux d’esprit’). Since the *Gazette* set out to treat ‘all questions that relate to the culture of musical art’, Berton thought his canon for Cherubini’s album would have a place in its pages. He recommended that the puzzle canon appear in one issue, and its solution in a following issue.⁵⁷ This recommendation was followed. But surprisingly, Berton’s single-line, enigmatic version of the canon – the version designed for Cherubini’s album – appeared in print, while his written-out solution to the canon – a writing specimen that would have no place in a traditional album – appeared in facsimile (see Figures 6a–b). Perhaps Berton and the *Gazette* were less interested in collapsing than they were in maintaining, or even revealing, a distance between composers’ private and public communications. Another reason for this particular facsimile production is suggested by the note included in Berton’s hand: ‘Dear Maurice, here is the key to my canonic enigma, that is to say, the witty musical conversation written in score. You can do with it what seems suitable to you.’⁵⁸ The marginal inscription might easily have been omitted, obviating the need

⁵⁶ Luciane Beduschi, ‘Survivance du canon énigmatique au début du XIXe siècle: Le cas de Sigismund Neukomm’, *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History: Proceedings of the International Conference, Leuven, 4–6 October 2005*, ed. Katelijne Schlitiz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Dudley, MA, 2007), 445–56.

⁵⁷ ‘Toutes les questions qui se rattachent à la culture de l’art musical’. Henri Berton, ‘À M. le gérant de la *Gazette musicale de Paris*’, *Gazette musicale*, 1/37 (14 September 1834), 297.

⁵⁸ ‘Voici le Mot de mon Enigme Canonique, C’est à dire ce Badinage Musical mis en partition. Vous pouvez en faire l’usage qui vous paroitra convenable.’ Henri-Montan Berton, ‘Canon perpétuel à la 4^{te} et à la 12^{me} supérieures’, *Gazette musicale*, 1/38 (21 September 1834), [308].

d'un grand nombre d'autres ouvrages recommandables à plus d'un titre.

Si quelques personnes ont le désir de connaître ce qui a été composé de plus remarquable en ce genre; elles peuvent d'abord consulter l'ouvrage que nous avons déjà cité et qui a pour titre : *Storia della musica, per Giam-Batista Martini*, édition en trois volumes, in-4°, imprimée à Bologne, en 1757. Elles trouveront des canons énigmatiques de différentes espèces. Tous les cartouches placés au commencement ou à la fin de divers chapitres en sont ornés; les problèmes qu'offrent plusieurs de ces canons énigmatiques restent encore à résoudre. *Cherubini* fut un des premiers qui sut pénétrer dans les détours de ce labyrinthe harmonique; ce fait ne doit étonner personne; un tel honneur appartenait de droit au maître des maîtres. Je pourrais citer encore une foule d'auteurs qui ont produit d'excellentes compositions en ce genre, mais en prononçant le nom de mon ami, je sens qu'il faut revenir au motif de ma lettre qui déjà me paraît un peu longue; je reviens donc à mon canon, et vous le fais parvenir; si vous trouvez bon de l'insérer dans l'un de vos numéros, je crois qu'il faut d'abord n'en produire que le thème, et, par suite, dans l'un des numéros suivans, donner le mot de l'énigme, c'est à dire le canon en partition.

CANON ÉNIGMATIQUE.

Faire un ca-non é-ni-gma-ti-que! Mon cher Che-ru-bi-ni, c'est par trop dia-bo-li-que! C'est bon pour toi qui fais la ni-que A tous nos grands sa-vans, nos ma-lins en mu-si-que!

J'ai l'honneur d'être, monsieur, avec une parfaite considération,

Le Chevalier,

H. BERTON,

Médaillé de l'Unité, officier de la Légion-d'Honneur,
Professeur au Conservatoire.

— On nous prie d'insérer la note suivante, extraite du *Constitutionnel* du 9 septembre :

M. Pierre Erard, dans une nouvelle et longue note adressée aux journaux, a essayé de soutenir sa précédente assertion par laquelle il disputait la première médaille d'or décernée à M. Pape par le jury de cette année. Pour justifier ce qu'il avait avancé, M. P. Erard a imaginé de dire dans cette seconde note que s'il n'avait pas reçu cette première médaille d'or, c'est parce que le jury de 1834 avait décidé que pour économiser le métal on ne redonnerait point de médailles d'or aux fabricans qui en auraient obtenu aux expositions précédentes. L'explication est au moins bizarre, car la liste des récompenses décernées prouve évidemment qu'à cet égard le jury n'a pas été plus économe du métal et qu'il n'a pas opéré différemment cette année que lors des autres expositions, puisque sept fabricans de diverses branches d'industrie qui, en 1827, avaient obtenu des médailles d'or, en ont encore reçu en 1834; dans la partie des instrumens de musique, trois fabricans ont également obtenu en 183; des médailles pareilles à celles qui leur avaient été accordées en 1827.

On sait d'ailleurs quelle distance met le jury entre une nouvelle médaille accordée à un exposant et un simple rappel; l'une constate un progrès, l'autre est quelque fois un témoignage de tolérance et d'égards.

Après avoir vu dans la liste des récompenses publiée au *Monteur*, M. P. Erard porté pour rappel de la médaille d'or, il devait réclamer pour les soutenir; mais ne voulant opposer que des faits positifs à des allégations inexactes, il sollicitait avec instances la publication du rapport qui devait rétablir les choses dans leur entière vérité, lorsqu'a paru dans le *Journal du Commerce* du 25 août un document qui, évidemment, est une analyse de ce rapport; nous en citerons ce qui concerne M. Erard et M. Pape, après avoir expliqué le mode d'après lequel le jury a opéré. Deux classifications distinctes ont été établies par lui, savoir : le son et le mécanisme. La première médaille était destinée au piano qui réunirait à la force, à la qualité du son et à la facilité du toucher, un mécanisme simple et solide; c'est sur cette base que le jury a rendu sa décision. « Sous le point de vue de la qualité des sons, mais sous ce point de vue seulement, dit l'analyse que nous venons de citer, M. Erard, pour les pianos à queue, a été placé au premier rang, et M. Pape a été placé en première ligne pour ses pianos de nouvelle construction. Quant à la construction, M. P. Erard a fait usage dans ses pianos à queue du mécanisme à double échappement imaginé par son oncle Sébastien Erard, et dont l'emploi permet de redoubler la note avant que la touche soit entièrement relevée. On peut lui reprocher d'être d'une complication extrême et par conséquent d'offrir peu de chances de durée. »

Relativement au nouveau mécanisme de M. Pape, voici comment s'exprime le même document :

« A diverses reprises, on avait tenté, mais sans succès, de placer le mécanisme des marteaux en dessus du plan des cordes, au lieu de le placer en dessous, comme on le fait habituellement. M. Pape, reconnaissant combien cette modification serait avantageuse, soit pour les qualités du son, soit pour les chances de durée de l'instrument, a adopté ce système dans ses pianos, et, après avoir vaincu de nouvelles difficultés, a réussi à construire un mécanisme en-dessus,

Figure 6a. Berton's puzzle canon, composed for Cherubini's album, *Gazette musicale*, 1/37 (14 September 1834), 298. RIPM Online Archive (<<http://www.ripmfulltext.org/RIPM/Source/ImageLinks/1562401>>).

*Canon Perpetuel à la 2^{me} et à la 2^{me} Suprieur
pour Bass, Tenor,*

*Monsieur Maurice, Voici le mot de mon Enigme Canonique, C'est à Dieu, ce Adieu de Musique
m'a en Partisan, Vous pouvez en faire l'usage qui Vous paraîtra Commode.*
*Est à Vous ledit Enigme, Boston
Monsieur de l'Épiscopat*

Figure 6b. Solution to Berlioz's puzzle canon, *Gazette musicale*, 1/38 (21 September 1834), [308]. Boston, MA, Boston Public Library, Arts Department, ML5.R51.

for the extra-long paper on which the facsimile was printed (and in fact the note has been omitted, entirely or in part, from microfilm and digital reproductions of the page).⁵⁹ But the inscription was significant, for it branded the facsimile with both an expression of affection between composer and publisher and the licence to reproduce it.

Another canon facsimile that appeared in an early issue of the *Gazette* came from its recipient rather than its author: Fromental Halévy – a student of Cherubini who collaborated with his teacher on the *Cours de contrepoint et de fugue* (1835) – offered to the public a facsimile of three canons by Cherubini (see Figure 7). In a preface to the facsimile, Halévy marvelled at the canon's contradiction between apparently inspired melody and underlying compositional process: 'It is impossible to believe, reading this theme, that it is not the result of a spontaneous inspiration, yet it required Cherubini to calculate each phrase note by note.' The look of Cherubini's notation – neat, orderly, even dainty – suggests no rush to capture spontaneous inspiration; on the contrary, it seems to have been carefully penned. Halévy's assessment focused on the text, not the handwriting, a point reiterated when he instructed that 'one considers the charm of these canons by *reading* the three that make up the facsimile' (emphasis added).⁶⁰ From these remarks, the reproduction of the canons in facsimile seems gratuitous, delivering the notes where print would do equally well.

But the facsimile did present more than a musical text. For again, the musical autograph bore traces of the composer's social life: it was written for a particular individual to whom it was given as a gift. As Halévy explained, the canons were written out by Cherubini specifically for him, and he had 'long resisted in proceedings with the editor of the *Gazette musicale* prior to consenting to publish a *fac simile*'. Since Cherubini had approved the publication, however, Halévy hoped readers would 'forgive him for having made public this testimony of the friendship of a great man'.⁶¹ Sensitive to the potential impropriety of publishing Cherubini's gift, Halévy recognized the music facsimile as exposing the composer's private life as well as providing evidence of his friendship.

⁵⁹ In the RIPM Online Archive reproduction (<<http://www.ripmfulltext.org/RIPM/Source/ImageLinks/1562433>>), a digitized version of that previously available on microfilm from the Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, the bottom foldout of the page was missed, and so the bottom (empty) staff and the inscription beneath it are lacking. As digitized by Google Books (<<https://books.google.com/books?id=9L5CAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA308#v=onepage&q&f=false>>), only the left half of Berton's inscription below the staves is captured.

⁶⁰ 'Il est impossible de croire, en lisant ce thème, qu'il n'est pas le résultat d'une inspiration spontanée, et cependant il a fallu calculer chaque phrase note par note. On jugera du charme de ces canons en lisant les trois qui composent ce *fac simile*.' Fromental Halévy, 'Des canons de M. Cherubini', *Gazette musicale*, 1/10 (9 March 1834), 75.

⁶¹ 'Ces canons ont été copiés par M. Chérubini, pour l'auteur de cet article; lequel a résisté long-temps aux instances de l'éditeur de la *Gazette musicale* avant de consentir à ce qu'on en publiât un *fac simile*; mais M. Chérubini lui-même y ayant donné son approbation, il espère qu'on lui pardonnera d'avoir rendu public ce témoignage de l'amitié d'un grand homme.' *Ibid.*

Supplément au 10^e Numéro.

GAZETTE MUSICALE DE PARIS.
Troisième de l'écriture de M^{re} Cherubini

1^{re} Année. 9 Mars 1834.

Canoni a 3 Voci Composti da L. Cherubini e copiati di sua propria mano per il suo caro Halévy.

Andantino
Mascio Zef-firetto se trovi se trovi il caro oggetto il te che sei sospiro ma ma non la dirò chi ma non la dirò ma non la dirò
chi; l'impero ruscollet-co, se mai se mai l'incontrerò ille che pianto sì ille che pianto sì ma non lo dir qual diglio,
crescenti fe crescenti fe te fe - - - co-si.

Andante con moto
Se voi siete Bona quanto siete bella bella io sarò Bonino io sarò Bonino tanto tanto tanto se mostrate Regno
ve ne mostro se mi fate il grugno o pur ve lo farò sì, sì.

Allarghetto
A-mici che ora è ebbeni!... ebbeni!... voi non sapete niente chi diavol vi capisce chi diavol vi capisce per nostra buona sorte siam
matti tutti tre siam matti siam matti tutti tre set'ore... ott'ore... nov'ore... diec'ore e voi meno di me sì sì e voi meno di me meno di me per nostra buona
sorte siam matti tutti tre sì si siam matti tut-ti tre oibò... oibò... oibò... voi non sapete niente no no voi non sapete niente oibò... per nostra buona
sorte siam matti tutti tre sì tutti tre a =

Figure 7. Facsimile of autograph canons by Cherubini gifted to Fromental Halévy, *Gazette musicale*, 1/10 (9 March 1834), supplement. RIPM Online Archive (<<http://www.ripmfulltext.org/RIPM/Source/ImageLinks/1561840>>).

With these facsimiles of musical autographs we see composers' handwriting becoming part of their public image. We also see a gap opening up between autographs and their copies. Whereas other modes of apprehending facsimiles minimized the difference between original and reproduction (both preserved exterior traces of inner being), the autograph as testimony of friendship emphasized the difference, the non-transferable social relationship that inhered in the original artefact. Facsimiles like Cherubini's gift allowed people to collect the testaments of friendships – the souvenirs of experiences they never had.

Yet even if facsimiles seem like poor surrogates for participation in the inner circles of musical life, their collectors bought into a social world. To become a subscriber to the *RGM* was to become a member of a community of readers, affiliated with a certain cadre of writers and composers some of whom – as the Halévy and Cherubini facsimiles attested – could call each other friends. Music publishers could thus use facsimiles selectively, strategically to expose the social relationships behind their mass-produced commodities – as Schlesinger and Eugène-Théodore Troupenas did around 1840 in presenting to the public new works by Rossini.

The case of Rossini's waltz

Rossini's waltz, the facsimile with which we began, appeared in the *Keepsake des pianistes* published at the end of 1841 for subscribers to the *RGM*. The main events surrounding the publication of this facsimile are chronicled in Table 1, and they trace a tale of marketplace competition, music publishers' machinations and legal disputes. The *Keepsake* was first announced in a July issue of the *RGM* as part of a new suite of incentivizing gifts for subscribers, who could look forward to receiving in November the collection of previously unpublished piano pieces by Chopin, Kalkbrenner, Liszt and others, 'with facsimiles of their handwriting'.⁶² This phrase was by now routine, a part of the *RGM*'s standing practice of enriching both their weekly issues and special publications with facsimiles, to be appreciated as objects of curiosity, mirrors of character and collectables. The *RGM* continued to advertise the *Keepsake* 'with facsimiles of [the composers'] handwriting' for nearly three months, until 3 October 1841.

Plans for the *Keepsake* changed, however, after *La France musicale* (*FM*) announced on its front page a new work by Rossini, to be published by Troupenas. As the unnamed author of the announcement observed, this news was sure to produce 'a great sensation in the musical world'.⁶³ While any announcement concerning Rossini would pique public interest, the publication of a new work was especially significant,

⁶² 'Avec fac-simile de leur écriture'. 'MM. les abonnés recevront gratuitement [...]', *RGM*, 8/42 (18 July 1841), 341.

⁶³ 'Une nouvelle qui produira une grande sensation dans le monde musical'. 'Nouvelle Partition de Rossini', *FM*, 4/41 (10 October 1841), 345.

TABLE 1
EVENTS LEADING TO AND FOLLOWING THE PUBLICATION OF ROSSINI'S WALTZ IN FACSIMILE

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
18 July 1841	<i>RGM</i> ad.: 'Le 15 Novembre; Keepsake des Pianistes / Morceaux nouveaux et inédits Par MM. Chopin, Doehler, Henselt, Kalkbrenner, Liszt, Osbourne, Rosenhain, E. Wolff / Avec fac-simile de leur écriture'. <i>RGM Keepsake</i> ads. continue, with added composers (St Heller, Méreaux, Mendelssohn, Moscheles) to 3 Oct. 1841.
Sept. 1841	Aulagnier contacts Rossini about publishing <i>Stabat mater</i> acquired from the estate of its deceased dedicatee, Varela of Spain. Rossini refuses Aulagnier and forms agreement with Troupenas to publish <i>Stabat mater</i> , with newly composed movements, for payment of 6,000 francs.
10 Oct. 1841	<i>FM</i> announces publication of Rossini's <i>Stabat mater</i> , accompanied by facsimile of letter from Rossini to Troupenas regarding same.
17 Oct. 1841	<i>RGM Keepsake</i> ad.: 'Avec fac-simile de leur écriture' replaced by 'Et une Valse de Rossini en fac-simile de son écriture'.
24 Oct. 1841	<i>RGM</i> article attacking Troupenas's <i>Stabat mater</i> .
31 Oct. 1841	<i>FM</i> response to <i>RGM</i> attack.
Dec. 1841	Publication of <i>Keepsake des pianistes</i> , 'orné du Fac simile d'une Valse de Rossini'.
Jan. 1842	Troupenas wins <i>Stabat mater</i> court case.
Jan. 1843	Troupenas wins waltz court case.

ABBREVIATIONS

RGM *Revue et gazette musicale**FM* *La France musicale*

for Rossini had brought forth no large-scale works since *Guillaume Tell* in 1829, and his disappearance from the public eye had come to seem a permanent retirement. The forthcoming work was to be a *Stabat mater*, raising the question of how the master of the operatic stage would meet the demands of sacred music. Here, Rossini's compositional hiatus could be spun to advantage: while he had devoted himself to teaching in Bologna, the *FM* reported, Rossini had been 'able completely to strip the dramatic style' found in *Guillaume Tell*, making the *Stabat mater* 'the product of a new transformation: it is the third way of Rossini, it is the transfiguration of the Raphael of music'.⁶⁴ Music lovers should not expect more of the same from the master of melody, but something better.

Not only was the *FM* interested in generating excitement about the new Rossini work, but also it was concerned to demonstrate the authenticity and legitimacy of its

⁶⁴ 'Il a pu se dépouiller entièrement du style dramatique [...]. Le Stabat est donc le produit d'une nouvelle transformation, c'est la troisième manière de Rossini, c'est la transfiguration du Raphaël de la musique.' *Ibid.*

announcement. Much of the text was given over to establishing its own credibility. Readers of the *FM* were told to have confidence in the announcement, which had nothing in common with those of 'speculators'. Troupenas, far from being such a dubious profit-seeker, was described as both a business associate and a close intimate of Rossini. Identified on one occasion as Rossini's 'editor', he was repeatedly called his 'friend'. The *FM* offered hard evidence for such claims in the form of a facsimile of a letter from Rossini to Troupenas.⁶⁵ In the published extract, the composer complained that he often read promises of new Rossini compositions in the newspapers, but since he 'had not made anything for anyone' he asked Troupenas to do what he could to prevent his 'very respectable' ('fort respectable'; in other words, valuable) name being thus used to deceive the public.⁶⁶ The text of the letter also confirmed the intimacy between Troupenas and Rossini: Rossini closed with the regret that ill health 'prevents me from going to kiss you' and the sign-off 'your affectionate, G. Rossini'.⁶⁷ Rossini's signature, meanwhile, was said to be certified by Francesco Guidotti, senator of Bologna, and by another government official.⁶⁸ The facsimile was thus not offered as an ornament, a collectable or a mirror of character, but first and foremost to verify a printed text, in which it was all too easy to lie or mislead. Troupenas was Rossini's sole authorized publisher, and their relationship was grounded in friendship – the proof was in the composer's hand.

The week following the *FM* announcement, the *RGM* revised its advertisement for the *Keepsake* from 'with facsimiles of their handwriting' to 'and a waltz by Rossini in facsimile of his handwriting'.⁶⁹ Thus began a campaign in the pages of the *RGM* against Troupenas's publication of Rossini's *Stabat mater*, which soon spilled over into multiple lawsuits over publication rights to Rossini's music. The particular interests behind the production, and contexts for the reception, of the Rossini waltz facsimile thus made it far more than an 'ornament' to the *Keepsake*. The facsimile provoked new adjudications – both popular and legal – with regard to the meaning of composers' handwriting and the value of gift manuscripts within a commercial economy under the conditions of mass reproduction.

⁶⁵ 'Les lecteurs de la *France Musicale* peuvent avoir une entière confiance dans cette nouvelle. Elle n'a rien de commun avec les annonces que se permettent de temps à autre des spéculateurs aux abois, auxquels le spiritual *maestro* donne un démenti si positif dans la lettre dont nous offrons le *fac simile*.' 'Nouvelle partition de Rossini'.

⁶⁶ 'Je n'ai composé rien pour qui que ce soit.' With the facsimile the *FM* also printed a transcript of the letter, explaining that 'we believe it our duty to reproduce here the extract of the letter for people who would have had some difficulty reading the autograph' ('nous croyons devoir reproduire ici l'extrait de cette lettre pour les personnes qui éprouveraient quelque difficulté à lire l'autographe'). 'Autographe de Rossini', *FM*, 4/41 (10 October 1841), 345.

⁶⁷ 'Je sais que votre santé est rétablie; je ne puis en dire autant de la mienne, et c'est ce qui m'empêche d'aller vous embrasser. / Votre affectionné, G. Rossini.' *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ 'Ajoutons que cette signature est certifiée véritable par *il signor marchese cavaliere Francesco Guidotti*, sénateur de la ville de Bologne, et par un conseiller gouverneur.' 'Nouvelle partition de Rossini'.

⁶⁹ 'Et une *Valse* de Rossini en fac-simile de son écriture.' 'MM. les abonnés recevront gratuitement [...]'], *RGM*, 8/55 (17 October 1841), 449.

To understand the Rossini dispute, we must go back ten years to a time shortly after Rossini's departure from the opera houses of Paris. In 1831, the Spanish archdeacon Manuel Fernández Varela, a friend of a friend of Rossini, asked the composer to write a *Stabat mater*. Suffering from illness, Rossini had completed only half the work by the following spring, and he asked the composer and director at the Théâtre-Italien in Paris, Giovanni Tadolini, to complete the remaining movements. The resulting *Stabat mater* was performed once, on Good Friday 1833 in Madrid. Thereafter, at Rossini's request, it remained unperformed and unpublished – the manuscript a silent but cherished object among Varela's possessions.⁷⁰

After Varela's death in 1837, however, his possessions were put up for sale. In 1841, the Parisian publisher Antoine Aulagnier acquired the *Stabat mater* with the intention of publishing it together with Schlesinger. When Aulagnier notified Rossini about his plans (accounts differ as to whether he asked permission to publish, or simply asked if Rossini wished to supervise the publication), Rossini objected.⁷¹ To prevent the unwanted publication of his joint composition with Tadolini, he turned to Troupenas with the offer of a revised *Stabat mater*, composed completely by himself.

Against this background, the *RGM* notice of Rossini's waltz in facsimile thus seems a direct response to the *FM* announcement of the *Stabat mater* and its publication of Rossini's letter in facsimile – a deliberate challenge to Troupenas's claims, calculated to establish an alternative set of facts in the eyes of the public. By printing the waltz in facsimile, Schlesinger not only furnished the *Keepsake des pianistes* with a fitting, ornamental frontispiece, but he also claimed for his firm a new Rossini composition authenticated by the composer's handwriting, in contradiction to Rossini's statement that he 'had not made anything for anyone'.

When the facsimile appeared in the *Keepsake* in December, Rossini's intended recipient of the waltz was, significantly, not evident (see Figure 8). The original autograph from which the *Keepsake* facsimile was made does not survive, but two versions of the waltz in Rossini's hand do. Each bears a dedication to an upper-class woman: 'Alla carissima Eugenia Puerati il Suo candido estimatore' and 'Alla Sig.ra Elena Bandieranata Ricci'.⁷² In all likelihood, the autograph of the *Keepsake* facsimile likewise bore a dedication, which the lithographer intentionally failed to trace. By suppressing the dedication, the *Keepsake* facsimile depersonalized Rossini's manuscript, making the musical text appear intended for the public.

How the reading public might have interpreted the Rossini facsimile is suggested by Henri Blanchard, who reviewed the *Keepsake* for the *RGM*. Blanchard, it must be said, was hardly an unbiased reviewer. As a regular contributor to the *RGM*, he had

⁷⁰ On the history of the *Stabat mater* composed for Varela, see Reto Müller, 'Die Urfassung von Rossinis *Stabat mater*', *Rossini in Paris: Tagungsband*, ed. Bernd-Rüdiger Kern and Reto Müller (Leipzig, 2002), 105–24.

⁷¹ Compare, for example, Richard Osborne, *Rossini: His Life and Works* (New York, 2007), 133, with 'Thursday, March 3 1842', *Musical World*, 17/9 (1842), 65–6.

⁷² The latter is dated Florence, October 1849; the former is undated. See Gioacchino Rossini, *3 valzer – Un rien – Moderato – Allegretto – Thème*, ed. Marco Sollini (Rome, 2002).

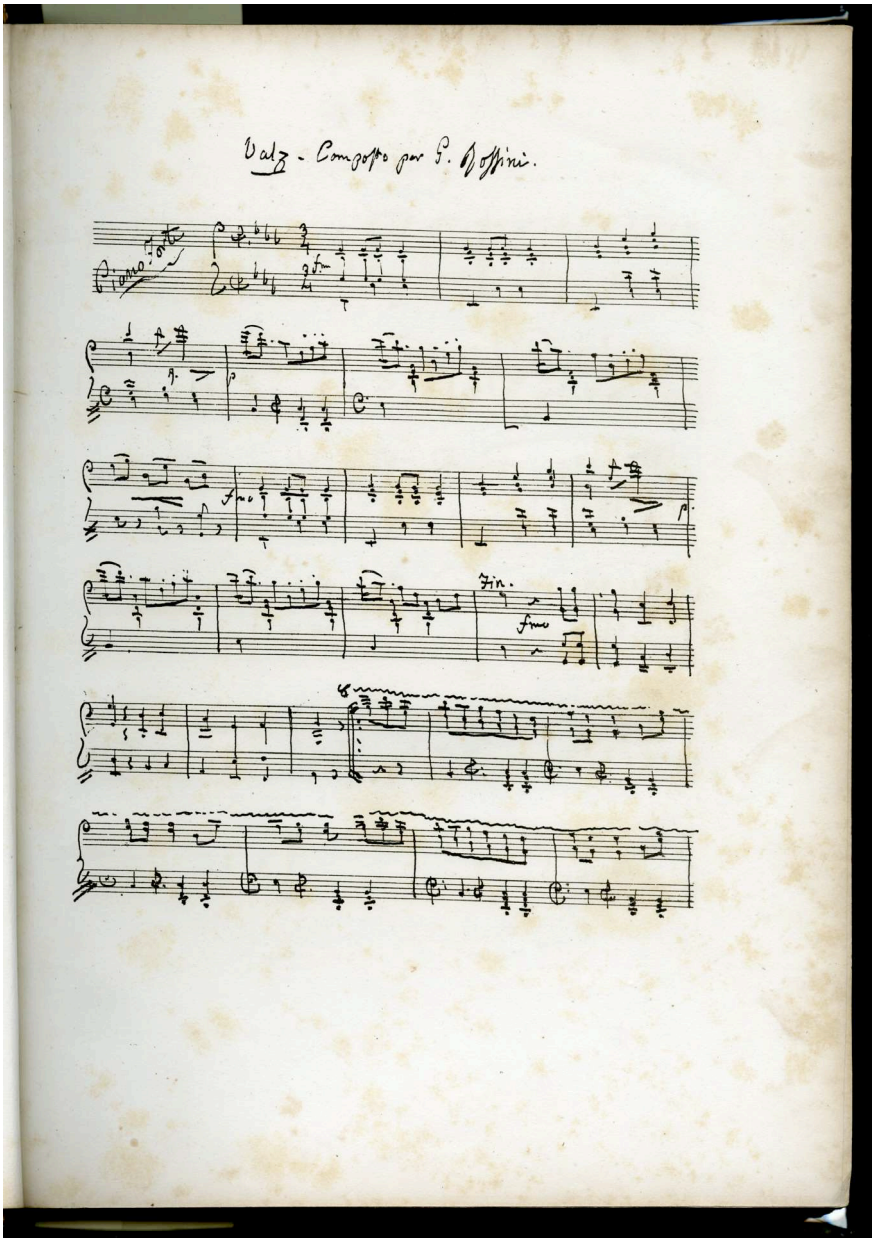


Figure 8. Autograph of Rossini's Waltz, *Keepsake des pianistes* (1841), frontispiece. Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, M1.K33 1839.

already participated in the Rossini war by writing a review of the *Stabat mater* based on the score held by Aulagnier before Troupenas's was available.⁷³ In his review of the *Keepsake*, one can see Blanchard trying to have it two ways at once: preserving the value of the facsimile for owners of the *Keepsake*, while also using it to discredit Rossini. To the former end, he observed that 'this musical spark in *facsimile* of the great composer opens the volume'; to the latter, he wrote that '[Rossini] is represented in the compilation by a lovely waltz which he undoubtedly gave to the first comer as one might offer a plug of tobacco, and to which, presumably, the master does not attach much greater importance'.⁷⁴ This facsimile – in keeping with its absent dedication – was not to be seen as a testimony of friendship between two individuals but as a product of merely mercantile exchanges (however 'great' the composer might be).

The tobacco remark referred directly to the legal case that Troupenas brought against Aulagnier and Schlesinger with regard to the copyright of the *Stabat mater*. At issue was whether Rossini had sold the *Stabat mater* to Varela, or had only dedicated the composition to him as a gift. In the former case, the *Stabat mater* became Varela's property and Rossini had no legal standing to halt its publication. In the latter, rights to the work remained with Rossini, and his consent was required for publication. Varela had given Rossini a snuffbox (worth 10,000 francs according to Schlesinger, but no more than 1,500 francs according to Troupenas) for the composition, and the case hinged on whether this snuffbox constituted a form of payment or a token of thanks.⁷⁵ On 28 January 1842, the case was decided in Troupenas's favour: Rossini's right to dispose of his work as he saw fit was upheld, and Aulagnier and Schlesinger were left with only the portions of the *Stabat mater* composed by Tadolini.

Matters did not end there, however, for Troupenas also took Schlesinger to court over the publication of Rossini's waltz in the *Keepsake des pianistes*. In this case, Schlesinger argued that Rossini had written the waltz for the album of a princess who then shared the waltz with the public. Because this occurred in Germany, and copyright protections did not extend internationally, the waltz was in the public domain in France. Rossini's argument, once again, was that he had given the waltz as a gift and did not want it to be published.⁷⁶

The court ruled in Rossini's favour, finding that the supposed prior publication of the gift manuscript in Germany – in the form of a facsimile by Schlesinger of Berlin, brother of the Parisian publisher – had not been authorized by Rossini and

⁷³ Henri Blanchard, 'Revue critique: Stabat mater de Rossini (premier article)', *RGM*, 8/57 (31 October 1841), 482–3.

⁷⁴ 'Rossini, qui figure dans le recueil par une jolie valse qu'il a sans doute donnée au premier venu comme on offre une prise de tabac, et à laquelle, probablement, le maître n'attache pas plus d'importance. Cette étincelle musicale en *fac simile* du grand compositeur ouvre le volume.' Henri Blanchard, 'Revue critique: *Keepsake des pianistes*', *RGM*, 9/2 (9 January 1842), 11–12 (p. 12).

⁷⁵ 'Stabat mater de Rossini', *RGM*, 8/56 (24 October 1841), 470; 'Le Stabat de Rossini', *FM*, 4/44 (31 October 1841), 374.

⁷⁶ 'Un procès pour une valse', *RGM*, 10/3 (15 January 1843), 23–4.

so took place in violation of the composer's rights. The resulting ruling clarified the imperative to protect composers' private writings: 'One does not have the right to dispose of a work that was written on the basis of intimacy, and which was given as a souvenir; it is an infringement of the author's property to deliver to the public ideas he may have intended to use later; it is an infringement of his reputation to issue test-pieces to which he attached perhaps no importance.'⁷⁷ The technical means of and commercial drives to reproduction posed a mounting threat to works 'written on the basis of intimacy'. These were often pieces that would hold little interest for the public appearing under the regular conditions of print, but that became fascinating when reproduced in the composer's hand, with its traces of individual character and social life.

Fascination with composers' handwriting has persisted, even as other reasons for valuing autographs and their facsimiles have come to the fore. A turn from handwriting to musical text can be dated to the 1860s, the impetus coming from the interests of a growing community of music scholars. In his pioneering publication on Beethoven's sketches (1865), Gustav Nottebohm offered not facsimiles but diplomatic transcriptions: it was the musical text that revealed how the composer 'began a piece, advanced step by step, stopped short, modified, combined, developed, etc. – and how he proceeded in various stages from the initial conception to the final product'.⁷⁸ Beethoven's notoriously 'individual' handwriting (to recall the *Atlas's* characterization) constituted a barrier to be overcome and – by means of transcription – removed for the reading public. Modern facsimile editions likewise emphasize the importance of the musical text, but justify its reproduction in the composer's handwriting by invoking the superior conveyance of the composer's intentions. For example, the introduction to a recent facsimile edition of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony notes that 'this working autograph represents a highly organized document, imparting the musical text intended by the composer with great, sometimes even pedantic precision', while a preface to a facsimile of Dvořák's G minor Piano Concerto proclaims: 'Let us forget [the revisions to the piano part by Vilém] Kurz and return to the original, exactly as Dvořák composed it.'⁷⁹

The turn from handwriting to text represents less a transformation in reading practices than a divergence of interpretative communities and a reordering of the hierarchy of motivations for reproducing music in facsimile. Both of these phenomena are reflected in a 2006 *New York Times* article on music manuscripts at the Morgan

⁷⁷ 'Qu'on n'a pas le droit de disposer de l'oeuvre qui a été écrite pour l'intimité, qui a été donné à titre de souvenir; qu'en porte atteinte à la propriété de l'auteur, en livrant à la publicité les idées dont il peut avoir l'intention de faire usage ultérieurement; qu'on porte atteinte à sa réputation en faisant paraître des essais auxquels il n'attachait peut-être aucune importance.' 'Un process pour une valse', 24.

⁷⁸ Gustav Nottebohm, *Two Beethoven Sketchbooks: A Description with Musical Extracts*, trans. Jonathan Katz (London, 1979), 6.

⁷⁹ *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fünfte Symphonie c-moll Opus 67*, ed. Rainer Cadenbach (Bühl, 2002), 19; *Antonín Dvořák: Klavierkonzert g-moll Opus 33*, pref. Andrés Schiff (Munich, 2004), 6.

Library, which music critic Anthony Tommasini began with the observation: 'Autograph manuscripts by master composers are, naturally, invaluable resources for music scholars and specialists.' Tommasini, however, found himself 'struck more by what [an autograph] reveals about the character of its [...] composer. And this is something that all music lovers, not just specialists, can glean from seeing the score.' Going further, he suggested that autographs are in fact of dubious value as documents of compositional intention, often reflecting earlier versions of works superseded in the publication process; but 'what always comes through in an autograph manuscript is the personality of the composer'.⁸⁰

Like nineteenth-century readers, Tommasini discovered meaningful harmony between composers' personalities, handwriting and music. He gave Grieg as one example: 'Grieg was a generous soul and an accessible composer, qualities reflected in his manuscript, which is readable, open and unpretentious.'⁸¹ Similarly, Friedrich Chrysander, reviewing the photolithographic facsimile of Schubert's *Erlkönig* produced in 1868, noted that 'Schubert's handwriting is clear and effortless like his work'.⁸² The compelling nature of such observations attests less to the merits of graphology than to the latitude for interpretation in biographical data, handwritten marks and musical works alike – to the importance of correspondences between sources for winnowing down the possibilities, and to the process of selecting what resonates across media. Today, handwriting is rarely acknowledged as a source of information about the character of a composer or his music. But its centrality during the nineteenth century – its circulation in facsimile – meant that it shaped the perception of composers and their compositions, both for the general public and the emerging community of music historians.

ABSTRACT

Facsimiles of musical autographs are typically thought to require photography, and to have a primary purpose of clarifying composers' intentions. But there was a robust culture of music facsimile prior to photography. Made by transfer lithography, these facsimiles served different purposes and reading habits. The activity of collecting handwriting samples was paramount, as was the idea that handwriting was a mirror of character. This article surveys ways of using and finding meaning in composer autographs in the 1820s to the 1840s, focusing especially on music facsimiles in Paris. Here, composers used facsimiles to help shape their public image, and publishers used them to entice consumers. When facsimiles reproduced documents of friendship, they crossed private and public expression in ways that could be advantageous or problematic, as seen through a look at the publication in facsimile of a Rossini waltz by the *Revue et gazette musicale* and the ensuing legal battles.

⁸⁰ Anthony Tommasini, 'Composers' Autograph Manuscripts at the Morgan Museum', *New York Times* (25 June 2006).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² 'Schubert's Handschrift ist klar und leicht wie sein Schaffen.' Chrysander, 'Franz Schubert's Erlkönig', 91.