The Emergence of Efficient Musical Texts during the Age of Reason

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Abstract

Modern Western musical notation is "efficient" in the sense that every element of a text corresponds to an essential element of the composition represented and to an essential element of every valid performance of that composition. Western notation became efficient only during the eighteenth century. Previously, much Western music — especially music for solo instrument and small ensemble — operated on pretextual, oral principles: it was performed in small communities dominated by celebrated performer/composers who re-created compositions with each performance; their students were taught to perform in this quasi-improvisational way. In such circumstances, a composition could be represented by many different texts. Notation became efficient when increasing numbers of recreational amateurs required music that did not have to be re-created with each performance and that could be learned by realizing texts literally. Printers and composers accommodated them. As texts became efficient, compositions became stable entities defined by texts established by their composers.

The history of Western musical notation is sometimes seen as a simple process in which more and more symbols have been invented to represent more and more elements of Western music. By the late seventeenth century, so this narrative runs, the means for indicating pitch and value — what is often thought of as content — had been firmly established, and attention turned to interpretive considerations (such as tempi and dynamics) and to technical matters (such as fingering and bowing). During the eighteenth century, existing symbols were refined, and new symbols were devised to represent newly invented effects and ornaments. There was also a steady increase in the frequency with which symbols were deployed in musical texts — the arrangements of musical and alphanumeric symbols by which music is represented in visible form. The process continued into the nineteenth century, as new conventions were developed for indicating more fully nuances that were becoming increasingly subtle. From the late seventeenth to the mid nineteenth century, the density of musical texts increased so steadily and so substantially that in 1846 the celebrated

pianist and pedagogue Carl Czerny could complain that the music of Mozart, written a mere sixty years earlier, contained so few interpretive markings that it was difficult to know how to perform it.[1]

On the page, the notation of the late seventeenth century may look much like modern notation, especially when encountered in modern engraving. But that notation served purposes quite different from those that it came to fulfill during the eighteenth century — and that it has continued to fulfill in most repertoires to the present day. The following paragraphs will suggest that the increasing number and density of symbols were artefacts of fundamental changes in the functions served by musical texts. Modern notation may be characterized as efficient: every symbol in a modern musical text is supposed to correspond both to an essential element of the composition represented and to an element of every valid performance of that composition. Before the mid eighteenth century, however, there was no such expectation. The seventeenth century was a "performerly" age, and competent performance of solo music required that a piece be re-created with each performance rather than that it be reproduced from a musical text, with each note sounded corresponding to a note in a text that was either being read or that had been read and memorized. Performers were expected to provide on their own initiative and extemporaneously detail that varied from performance to performance, and much of this detail could be — and often was — represented in musical texts. Consequently, no single text of a piece — even its composer's holograph — could be said to define a composition in the same way as would a composer's fair copy or an authoritative first edition in the nineteenth century.

The chief advocates and beneficiaries of these new, increasingly efficient texts, it is sometimes assumed, were composers, whom such texts enabled to gain greater control over how their compositions were performed. But composers were not the only stakeholders in musical texts: there were the amateur performers who were rapidly becoming the largest market for printed music, and there were the music publishers and printers whose profits — in fact, whose survival — depended upon being able to identify and satisfy those amateurs' needs. These less exalted members of the musical community

1. "Aber selbst da gibt es Fälle, wo vieles der Willkühr des Spielers überlassen bleibt, und in älteren *Clavier-Werken*, (z. B: von *Mozart*, *Clementi*, *etc*:) wo jene Zeichen äusserst sparsam sich angezeigt finden, hängt der Vortrag meistens von dem Geschmack und der Einsicht des Vortragenden ab. Daher ist der Vortrag dieser Werke in dieser Rücksicht weit schwerer" (Czerny 1846–1850, 3ter Theil, 1tes Kapitel, ¶1, 4).

provided much of the impetus for more precise notation. Before the arrival of recreational amateurs in substantial numbers, many composers, who were usually also performers, considered their compositions mere vehicles for performance, and since their performances varied from one to the next, these composers were not much concerned with the precision of the notation in which their compositions were recorded. There were, of course, other factors that influenced the emergence of efficient musical texts — among these may be mentioned the shift in esthetic theory that emphasized the expressive rather than the mimetic qualities of music, the growing respect for creative genius, and the Enlightenment concern for rationalizing many aspects of life — but the following paragraphs will concentrate on the effects of the changing demographics of Europe's musical communities and the new business model adopted by Europe's revitalized music industry.

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Although it is tempting to think of the music of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in terms of the large-scale compositions familiar to us today — the sacred music performed in major churches, the masques and ballets mounted at courts, and the operas produced at public theaters — much of the music heard on a day-to-day basis was composed for soloists and small ensembles. The music of these repertoires was created, performed, and enjoyed in relatively small, socially uniform, and geographically compact communities that functioned largely through personal contact. A music enthusiast experienced music by being present while musicians performed it; a student learned a new composition by studying with its composer; and a piece could circulate by being heard almost as easily as by being read from a manuscript or print. Such conditions encouraged a sort of music that operated to a considerable extent on pre-textual principles — on practices that we associate with orality. The men and women who made up such communities were musically literate but moved easily between oral practices and the culture of manuscripts and prints.

Necessarily, much of what we know about these repertoires we must infer from surviving texts. Songs for solo voice often appeared in print, but instrumental music circulated mostly in manuscripts that varied widely in the amount and kind of detail provided. It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that instrumental music began to circulate more widely in the prints that would be important factors in changing the functions of musical notation.

Until the early eighteenth century, Europe's musical communities were dominated by celebrated performers, men and women admired principally for their mastery of particular instruments or for their vocal skills. The institution of European music was managed largely for the benefit of these performers, who derived most of their income from salaries, fees for special performances, and teaching. Although the positions they held — royal harpsichordist, church organist, or choir director, for example — might have entailed the expectation that they would create new music, few of these men and women were composers in the commercial sense: they did not derive significant portions of their incomes directly from publications. Unlike the professional composers of later generations, they composed not for a general public but so that they, the ensembles they directed, and the students they taught would have new music to play, and so that their employers would have new music to hear. There was no steady supply of new printed music; there were relatively few printers to underwrite, print, and distribute new music; and, except perhaps in opera, there were few professional or semi-professional composers.

The elite musicians presided over a system in which certain skills and repertoires were acquired through personal interaction and practice rather than by reading instructional manuals or musical texts. Professional musicians underwent rigorous training, either in the form of formal apprenticeships or through informal arrangements that provided similar educational experiences. Serious amateurs might receive instruction along the same lines, but in diluted form, since they would not be expected to command the same range of skills as professionals. Imparting their knowledge to paying students was a source of income for many professionals, and the status of their students was an important element in establishing their own standing in their musical communities.

These conditions encouraged a certain sort of music performed in a certain way. Repertoires consisted of entities that were generalized musical conceptions defined in minimal detail, "thinly" constituted, in the lexicon of today's esthetic theory. The identity of such a composition lay not in an authorial manuscript or an authoritative edition but in the collective memories of those who had played and/or heard it, and it was accessible only through performances or texts, each of which would differ from the others. The task of accomplished performers was to transform such loosely defined conceptions into engaging performances by providing, *ex tempore*, the wealth of detail that made each performance a unique and exciting event. Harpsichordists and lutanists were expected to fill in the structural framework of melody and bass by providing interior voices. Singers might

alter details of melodic lines. All proficient performers added ornaments.[2] Freshness was an essential element in performance, and this in turn made spontaneity a valued quality. Writing in 1670, François Le Gallois commented admiringly on the ability of royal harpsichordist Jacques Champion de Chambonnières to vary his performances of a composition each time he played it:

> . . . every time he played a piece he incorporated new beauties by means of *ports de voix*, *passages* [two kinds of ornaments] and various [other] ornaments, with *doubles cadences* [still another kind ornament]. In short, he so varied his performances with all these different enhancements that a new grace was always to be found in each.[3]

Le Gallois's remark tells us not only how important were spontaneity and variety in performances but also that audiences had the sort of highly developed aural memory, common in many oral cultures, that enabled competent listeners to recall particular performances in detail. Novelty was expected not only from performance to performance but also within performances: binary dance types in which sections or subsections were repeated were among the most favored forms, and repetitions carried the expectation that they would be varied. To repeat a passage literally was to be deficient in musicianship. Even the amateurs for whom these professionals served as instructors were expected to re-create pieces each time they played them. In the dedication to his 1689 collection of *pièces de clavecin*, royal harpsichordist Jean Henry D'Anglebert praises his dedicatee, the Princesse de Conti, for her possession of this ability:

> The natural graces that attend all that you do have been reflected in your manner of playing since your earliest childhood; and when I have had the honor of teaching you some of these pieces, you would introduce

2. For discussions of the relationship between composition and performance in repertoires in which performers supplied much that would later be provided by composers, see, for example, two papers in Herissone and Howard 2013: Winkler 2013 and Gibsen 2013. See also Fuller 1989.
3. "[. . .] toutes les fois qu'il joüoit une piece il y méloit de nouvelles beautés par des ports de voix, des passages, & des agrémens differens, avec des doubles cadences. Enfin il diversissoit tellement par toutes ces beautez differentes qu'il y faisoit toûjours trouver de nouvelles graces" (Le Gallois 1680, 70). This translation and all others in this article are the authors'.

> features in playing them that gave me new ideas, and that have made me compose things that people here will find even more pleasing.[4]

Perhaps D'Anglebert was exaggerating the *princesse*'s inventiveness, but the passage makes clear that having this ability was an important element of musicianship.

How a performer personalized a piece was an expression of personal style, and personal style was an important component of each performer/composer's professional capital.[5] Style was a compound of a performer's taste and technique, and a first-rate performer's style was recognizable at once by knowledgeable listeners. A respected performer's students were expected to begin forming their own styles by imitating their master's.

The pieces that a performer composed were personal pieces, meant to be performed in his or her personal style. In the remarks that preface the self-published collections of their compositions, composers often explain that they had never intended to make their compositions public but are doing so because those compositions are circulating in bad copies, i.e., texts presenting their compositions in styles other than the personal styles in which they were intended to be played.[6] Such declarations were not mere conventional expressions of authorial humility: composers were genuinely upset when their pieces were played in styles other than their own. For the sort of private music composed in such circumstances, a piece was best learned by studying with its composer, who would convey the style

4. "Les graces naturelles qui accompagnent tout ce que vous faites se réspondoient de votre maniere de joüer des votre plus tendre enfance; Et lors que j'avois eu l'honneur de vous môntrer quelques unes de ces piéces, vous mêliez des traits dans l'éxécution qui me donnoient de nouvelles Idées, et qui m'ont fait produire ce que l'on trouvera ici de plus agréable" (D'Anglebert 1689, b^{r}–b^{v}).
5. Style and taste (*manière* and *goût*) are important and much studied aspects of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century performance. For a concise discussion of personal style, see Broude 2017, 287–89.
6. Typical is the statement by Gaspard Le Roux: "Quoy que Je n'aye épargné ny mes soins ny mes peines, pour mettre mes compositions de musique au meilleur estat ou elles pouvoient sortir de mes mains, Je n'ay jamais eu en veuë de les exposer aux yeux du Public. Mais encouragé par des Gens qui ont beaucoup de connoissance, et touché des fautes grossieres que j'ay remarquées dans les copies qui ont couru malgré moy de mes pieces de Clavessin. J'ay enfin pris la resolution de les faire graver, et de pressentir le goust du Public, qui seul peut decider du merite des ouvrages [. . .]" (1705, preface).

in which the piece should be played.[7] Mature performers did add to their repertoires pieces composed by others, but in doing so they usually adapted them to their own personal styles.

Adding a piece to one's repertoire was a matter of working out how the piece might be re-created in each performance within the limits of a particular style. Learning a new piece in this way entailed a considerable investment of time and effort, and a piece once mastered was likely to remain in a performer's repertoire for a long while. Fortunately, because pieces were not defined in great detail, they could be updated as fashions changed, so that the better ones could remain in a performer's repertoire for decades. In 1747, Jean-Baptiste Forqueray, the foremost bass violist of his day, published a collection of *pièces de viole* composed by his father, Antoine, whose career had peaked some thirty years earlier and who had retired from active performing around 1730. Modern musicologists have observed that the texts published by Jean-Baptiste exhibit many mid-century qualities, and one scholar has suggested that the pieces display so many such qualities that they should be ascribed to Jean-Baptiste.[8] Jean-Baptiste, however, clearly regarded all but the three pieces he claimed for himself as his father's; probably, he had added them to his own repertoire some twenty or thirty years before he published them, and his print reflects how over the years and decades he had personalized and updated them.

Performer/composers of Baroque solo music were often ambivalent about committing their compositions to texts, and understandably so, since those compositions were their stock in trade. Some took great pains to restrict the dissemination of their compositions. Johann Jacob Froberger's

7. See, for example, Le Gallois 1680, 80–81: "[. . .] pour bien apprendre les pieces de chaque Maître, on doit les apprendre des Maîtres mêmes qui les ont composées, ou de leurs plus habiles ècholiers. Car encore que les autres Maîtres les puissent bien enseigner, il est certain neanmoins que ceux la mêmes qui ont fait les pieces les doivent mieux montrer que pas un autre [. . .]". See also Monsieur de Saint Lambert: "Lors même qu'on ne double pas les Parties on ne laisse pas de les harpéger encore. On repete même plusieurs fois un même accord, harpégeant tantôt en montant, & tantôt en descendant. *Mais cette repetition qui veut être bien managée, ne peut vous être enseignée dans un Livre, il faut que vous la voyez pratiquer à quelqu'un*" (1707, 62, italics added). On the pedagogical technique of a famous master, see Welter 2008.

8. Forqueray and Forqueray 1747. These mid-century qualities have been catalogued and discussed by Lucy Robinson, who concludes that Jean-Baptiste must be considered the composer of most of them; see Robinson 2006, 259–71. In support of Antoine's authorship, see Cyr 2012, 1:xliii–xlv.

pupil, patroness, and musical executrix, Sibylla, Duchess of Württemburg, explained that the composer closely controlled the circulation of his music because he feared that if others outside his circle were to obtain texts, they would play his compositions in their own styles rather than his.[9] Thomas Mace complained about the reluctance of French lutanists to provide texts that would enable performers to play their compositions properly:

> The *French* (who are generally accounted *Great Masters*) seldom or never would *prick* [i.e. notate] their *Lessons* [short compositions] as *They Play'd them*, much less *Reveal* any thing (further than of necessity they must) to the thorough understanding of the *Art*, or *Instrument* [. . .].[10]

The texts in which Italian singers of the early seventeenth century published their compositions were tantalizing combinations of detail and indeterminacy; Tim Carter has suggested that such texts may have been intended to attract students who could learn how to realize the texts properly only by studying with the composers.[11]

The texts in which pieces belonging to this repertoire circulated reflect these conditions. As noted above, they vary greatly in the amount of detail they provide. Some texts consist of nothing more than a melody line or a melody with bass. Figure 1 shows such a text, the text of a menuet for keyboard by Jean-Nicolas Geoffroy (d. 1694).[12] The text represents a simple piece in the most elemental form possible: melody and bass lines only, with no indication of the ornamentation, interior voices, or cadential formulae that would have been part of any competent performance. Working from such texts, performers were expected to provide on their own initiative the detail that would make for acceptable performances. Other texts are so detailed that they might represent actual performances. But those detailed texts are likely to differ from each other with respect to details in which performances would have varied. Figure 2 shows three detailed texts of the

9. "[. . .] er mir offt gesagt das vil von seiner Composition vor ihre Composition ausgeben, und doch nit wisten mit umbzugehen, sondern selbige nur verderben. Und also nit mege das seine Sachen under andere Leut Hände kommen täten" (Sibylla 1667, 241).
10. Mace 1676, 40.
11. Carter 2000, 22–28.
12. *Petit Menuet en G re sol b quar.* Geoffroy c. 1675, 139. Reproduced by arrangement with the publisher.

first strain of Chambonnières's *Allemande*, Gus 31.[13] The uppermost system is the text that Chambonnières himself published in 1670; it was not intended to be followed literally, but, rather, was offered as an example of the style in which the composer himself played the piece.[14] The middle and lowest systems offer the texts of two manuscript copies prepared by or for competent performers. All three texts clearly represent the same musical conception, but they realize that conception in differing ways: the texture differs from text to text, as do the number and placement of ornaments, the movement of the bass, and the details — though not the overall contour — of the melody.

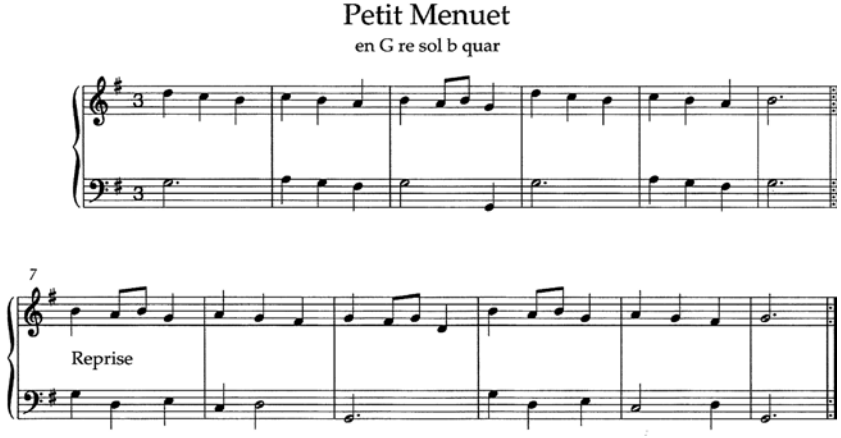

Figure 1. A Basic Text of a Harpsichord Composition. Jean-Nicolas Geoffroy: *Petit Menuet en G re sol b quar.* Text edited by Mary Tilton. Reproduced by arrangement with the publisher.

In such circumstances, texts could not be efficient. Because performances of the same piece varied from one to the next, often in ways that notation could represent, even the most detailed text could represent no more than a single performance. A musical text provided access to a piece in the same way as did a performance: it represented a single realization of a musical conception. As such, it served as a surrogate

13. *Allemande*, Gus 31. (Gus numbers are the numbers assigned by Bruce Gustafson; see Gustafson 2007.) Uppermost system: Chambonnières 1670, pp. 1–2; middle system: Chambonnières c. 1670, fol. 5^{v}; and bottom system Chambonnières 1680, pp. 120–21. Based on texts from Chambonnières 2017, I: 45, II:86, and II:87, respectively.
14. On the purpose of this and similar texts self-published by Chambonnières and other composers, see Broude 2017.

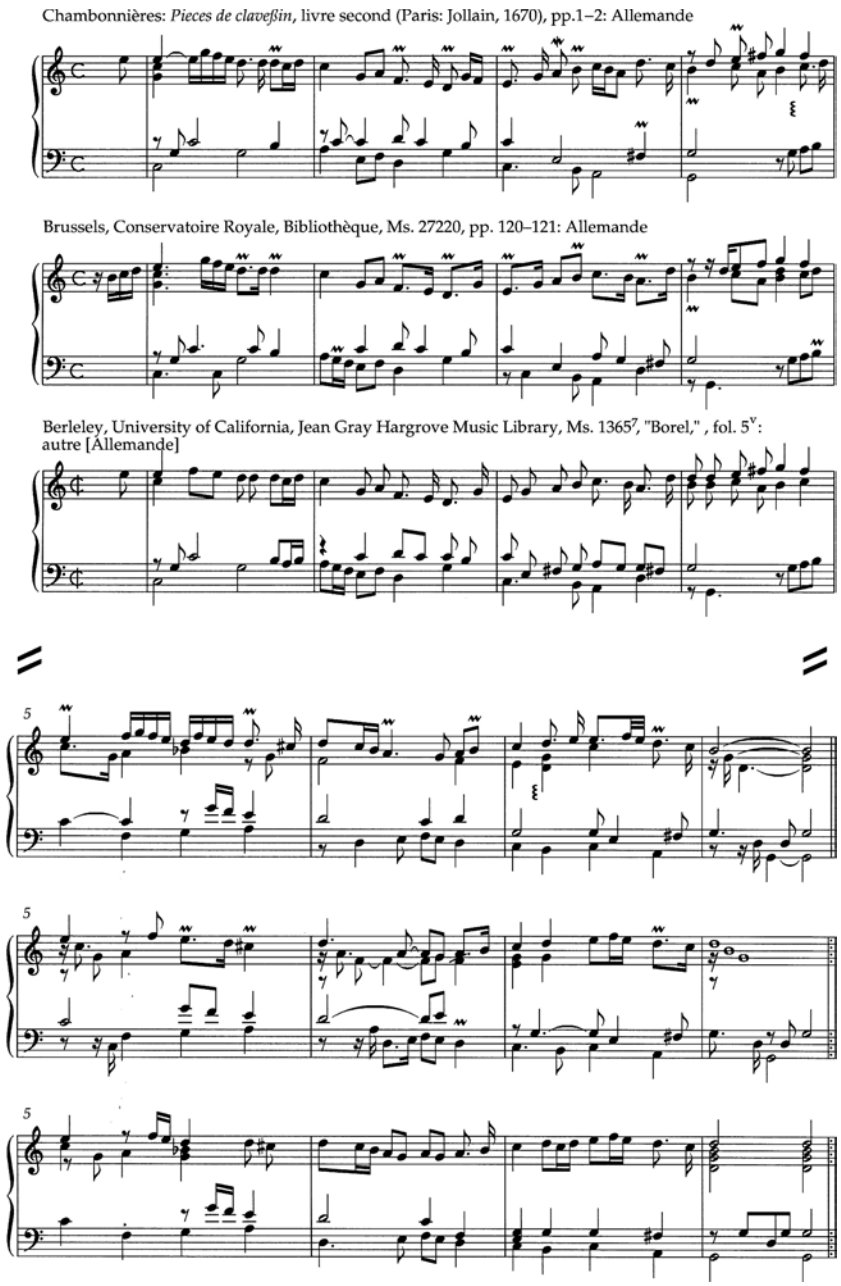

Figure 2. Three Detailed Texts of a Harpsichord Piece. Jacques Champion de Chambonnières: *Allemande*, Gus 31. Based on texts edited by Bruce Gustafson and Denis Herlin. Reproduced by arrangement with the publisher.

for performance: reading a text in the same way that one listened to a performance, one might penetrate the detail to identify the essential musical conception in which lay the identity of the piece, so that one could re-create it in a performance in which one would add detail reflecting one's own style. Alternatively, one might on a first reading realize the text literally, but on subsequent renderings one could vary more and more details, until eventually the piece had become one's own. (The values and processes involved are much the same as those operative in much commercial music today, with performers, both established and rising, "covering" songs in ways that enable them to think of those songs as "their own".) Bare-bones texts (such as the Geoffroy example) provided the essential conception already distilled. A piece could therefore have multiple texts, all valid representations of it — but valid in the sense that they enabled performance, not in the sense that they represented the composer's conception in every detail or that they set down every note a performer should play.

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Need for more efficient musical texts began to be felt in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when amateurs in increasing numbers began joining Europe's musical communities, and a music industry that had long been dormant began reconstituting itself, largely by providing new music for these amateurs. There is a substantial and informative body of scholarship dealing with the consumption of music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and not only can we understand the broad picture of how amateurism returned to European music, but we also know much about the changing demographics and preferences of many musical communities and about the printers, publishers, and composers who supplied those communities with the music they played.[15]

Amateurs had constituted an important segment of European musical communities ever since the birth of the music printing industry at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Music printers had recognized early on that religious institutions and professional musicians alone would not

15. On changing tastes, see the papers in Owens, Ruel and Stockigt 2011, Fader 2003, and Weber 1984. On amateurs as members of the musical community, among many other papers, see Green 2020, Rose 2005, and (from a feminist perspective) Austern 1993. On how printers and publishers addressed the amateur market, see Green 2017 and Carter 2016.

constitute a market large enough to sustain them in business and that it was to amateurs that they must look for customers in numbers sufficient to keep their presses busy. During the mid seventeenth century, however, the numbers of such amateurs — and of the music printers who depended upon them — had dwindled. There had been religious wars in the German-speaking lands, a power struggle in France between the Crown and the nobility, contention among the numerous Italian principalities, and two revolutions in England. Such political turmoil had economic and social consequences, and music had become a pursuit to which only the most secure members of society could devote much time or money. The amateur segment of the musical community had come to be dominated by royalty, the nobility, and the haute bourgeoisie, the only classes with the resources and position to cultivate their musical abilities. The professional performers whose practices are described above composed and performed the music to which these amateurs listened, and they furnished the instruction (as had D'Anglebert for the Princesse de Conti) that enabled these amateurs to play their music in the fluid styles of which those professionals were exponents.[16]

Then, when some measure of political stability had returned to Europe, and when economic activity had revived, the musical community had begun to expand, as the upper-crust amateurs were joined by enthusiasts from further down the socio-economic scale. Most new members of the musical community came from the middle classes, and many would not have been familiar at first hand with courtly culture in general and, specifically, with the musical styles and traditions cultivated by the noble and the wealthy in cultural centers.[17] These new arrivals represented a considerable range of ability. Some were seriously engaged: they might have access to centers of musical culture, and they might have the funds, commitment, and leisure to acquire considerable skill. But many were constrained by the lack of

16. On the musical education of the nobility, see two papers in Duron 2009: Massip 2009 and Cessac 2009.

17. On demographics, see Hume 2006. Among the many studies of amateur music-making and the training of young musicians, see especially Oleskiewicz 2011, 108. Talle 2018, Chapter 7, "Male Amateur Keyboardists", 142–70, addresses differences between the education of girls and boys with evidence from first-hand observations, autobiographical statements, inventories of private music collections, and manuscripts; see especially p. 161: "Whereas female musicians were encouraged in Bach's Germany to obediently play what was written, male musicians were expected to depart from the confines of the page."

time, money, and/or serious inclination, while still others were hindered by their distance from centers of musical activity.

For many such amateurs, the system dominated by celebrated performers did not provide a viable context in which to take up music as a recreational activity. In fact, some recreational musicians resented the professionals and the effect that they were having on the repertoires available to perform. Roger North, writing after the Restoration, fondly recalls the days earlier in the century when music was "plain and practicable, and most sober familys in England" were able to enjoy playing music that was within their abilities. "Now," he complains, "it is come to pass, that few but professors can handle it, and the value is derived upon high flights and numbers of capitall performers".[18] To add insult to injury, the fees charged for instruction by these professors — i.e., these celebrated performers in their role as teachers — were outrageously high.[19]

The reviving music industry set about to fashion an alternative to the system over which the celebrated professionals presided. The programs that these music publishers and printers implemented varied from region to region and depended on local and regional circumstances, but all shared a common goal: to recruit new members for their musical communities and to retain them as purchasers of printed music. To gain new adherents, these publishers and printers provided manuals that offered instruction in the basics of musical literacy and tutors that introduced would-be performers to specific instruments. They also began to provide music that the new middle-class members of Europe's musical communities could purchase, understand, and perform without having to be initiated into the mysteries of taste and technique by celebrated professionals charging substantial fees.

In England, the pioneer of music for the middle class was the publisher John Playford. English theaters were closed between 1642 and 1660, and music, which could be enjoyed in private settings, had become a preferred form of cultural recreation.[20] Recognizing, as Donald Krummel has put it,

18. North 1726, 314. On such sentiments as expressed in Italy, see Collins 2001, 149–50.

19. Rose 2005, 59, observes that Samuel Pepys' music instructor received £5.00 per month at a time when a servant in London might expect £3.00 per year plus lodging and board. On various ways in which professional musicians were compensated during the eighteenth century, see Talle 2018, 205–21. On music in Georgian England, see Kassler 2011.

20. As was appropriate for a publisher, Playford's genius lay in his grasp of the music market; he did not himself print any of his publications. On Playford, see

"that the noble patron had been superseded by the humble purchaser",[21] Playford devised strategies to make the most of the new circumstances. He cultivated beginners by offering both instructional manuals — *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, first published in 1654, retained its popularity for three quarters of a century — and collections of simple pieces for instruments including bass viol, cithern, flageolet, flute (recorder), keyboard, lyra viol, and violin; some of these publications were prefaced by elementary instructions.[22] Although he is noted for his cultivation of beginners, Playford covered the entire range of music available in mid- and late-seventeenth-century England, so that there was music on offer for every taste and every level of proficiency. Playford's policies were followed by his son Henry, by the Walshes father and son, and by the other publishers and printers who in the eighteenth century helped make London one of the music capitals of Europe.

In mid-seventeenth-century Paris, music printing had been dominated by the house of Ballard, to which the Crown had granted a monopoly on printing music from movable type (such music was called *la musique imprimée*). The Ballards had long been active in the amateur market, but their activity there had been confined largely to successful series of song collections; they were reluctant to test the market in music for solo instruments such as the harpsichord, lute, and bass viol, which were becoming popular with French amateurs.[23] That segment of the market was pioneered by several performer/composers who were upset by seeing their music circulating in texts that did not reflect their personal performing styles. In the 1670s and 1680s, these composers — among them Chambonnières, the Gaulthiers Denis and Ennemond, Francesco Corbetta, and Marin Marais — obtained royal *privilèges* that enabled them to self-publish their music in volumes printed from engraved metal plates (*la musique gravée*).[24] The development of a music industry more

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Carter 2013. More generally on music publishing in Restoration England, see Herissone 2010 and 2020.

21. Krummel 1975, 116.
22. Playford 1654, *A Breefe Introduction*, went through numerous editions (nineteen numbered editions and six unnumbered ones is a figure commonly given); the last appeared in 1730. Its title and contents changed from edition to edition; some editions included re-written versions of Thomas Campion's *A New Way for Making Foure Parts in Counterpoint*, originally published in 1618.
23. On the Ballards through 1715, see Guillo 2003 and Guillo 2021. On French music printing from engraved plates during the early eighteenth century, see Devries 1976. On the Boivins, a prominent publisher, see Milliot 1968.
24. On these performer/composers and their publications, see Broude 2017, 283–96.

inclined to meet the needs of amateurs was held back by the Ballards, who used the courts aggressively to suppress the wider use of engraved metal plates for printing music. However, in 1713 those courts ruled that the Ballards' patent applied only to *la musique imprimée* and that it did not extend to *la musique gravée*. With this decision, engravers and printers were free to join with composers to develop an active industry that catered to a broad range of abilities and tastes. Even admired performers in the old "virtuoso" tradition, figures such as François Couperin and Jean-Marie Leclair, recognized the potential of this new market and began composing and self-publishing for it.

Amsterdam not only had a lively music market but also served as a distribution point for the former Hanseatic cities along the coasts of the North and Baltic seas. Estienne Roger established himself as a printer in Amsterdam at the end of the seventeenth century, and began repackaging Italian and French music for distribution in Northern Europe.[25] Roger published the full range of contemporary music, both chamber and orchestral, accessible to amateurs of all levels of proficiency, and it was largely through his often piratical activities and those of his son-in-law, Michel-Charles LeCène, that the music of Italians such as Tomaso Albinoni, Arcangelo Corelli, and Antonio Vivaldi became known in the North.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the territory that is now Germany was divided into a number of units of varying sizes and political structures, and, while there were wealthy cities and courts with ambitious music programmes and local influence, there were no centers that dominated music in the way that London dominated England's cultural activities or Paris France's.[26] The music publishers and printers who sprang up in these regional centers sought primarily to cultivate local markets, but they sent their publications to regional fairs and to printers in other cities, so that not infrequently a publication gained currency beyond the city in which it had been published. Prominent German printers included

25. On Roger, see Rasch 2016. For a catalogue of the publications of Roger and LeCène, see Lesure 1969. Where Roger's name is used in the authors' prose, the spelling of Estienne follows the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (www.grovemusiconline.com, accessed October 23, 2022); where the name is part of a citation, the orthography of the citation is reproduced.

26. For a survey of music publishing in eighteenth-century Germany, see Beer 2005. On Berlin as a growing musical center and its amateur music scene, see Oleskiewicz 2011. On late eighteenth-century Austria, see Ridgewell 2005. For a discussion of amateurs and music published expressly for them in Venice, see Sardelli 2007.

Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf and his son Immanuel in Leipzig,[27] Johann Ulrich Haffner in Nuremburg,[28] and Johann Jakob Lotter in Augsburg.[29] All catered to the developing market of middle-class amateurs.

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The reconstituted music industry reconceived the business of music. Whereas profits from music had previously accrued to professional musicians deriving their income primarily from performing, teaching, and patronage, with the new business model, the principal source of income was the sale of music in printed form, and that income went mostly to the publishers, printers, and composers who composed, printed, and sold new music. This new business model required a steady level of sales, which in turn required a steady level of demand. Sustaining continuous demand necessitated a stream of new compositions, an ongoing market for which could be created and maintained by encouraging frequent changes in musical fashion. But to thrive in a market in which musical compositions were, effectively, consumables, printers were obliged to offer new pieces in ways that made learning them quick and easy, so that the time and money spent on acquiring and learning them did not seem disproportionate to the relatively brief time that purchasers would be playing them.

Many of the amateurs who made up the new market lacked the musical self confidence and the familiarity with musical styles that could come only with immersion in a style-conscious musical community. In fact, many lived far from centers of musical fashion. Such instruction as they might receive came from figures such as local church organists or music masters, who might be able to teach the rudiments of music but who were not necessarily conversant with the latest urban musical fashions. What was needed by such amateurs were compositions that they could play satisfyingly without having always to be re-creating them and without — a necessary condition of being able to re-create a piece effectively — having to hear them played by their composers or by other musicians proficient in current styles. For these amateurs, mastering a composition would have to consist of reading it from a musical text and perfecting a rendering the details of which could remain more or less constant from performance to performance.

27. On Breitkopf & Härtel in the eighteenth century, see the official history of the house, Von Hase 1917–1919, Erster Band; Stauffer 1996 and Stauffer 1996a.
28. On Haffner, see Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1954 and Heussner 1968.
29. On the house of Lotter, see Reinfurth 1977 and Layer 1964.

The publishers, printers, and composers who were shaping the new music industry realized that it would be necessary for the musical texts they produced to provide much of the information and guidance that would formerly have come from hearing pieces played by and receiving personal instruction from their composers. The growth in the number of symbols used in musical notation and the increasing frequency with which interpretive and technical symbols appeared in musical texts was in large measure a response to this realization. The increase in the complexity of music notation that began in the late seventeenth century has been discussed in several useful studies, and, therefore, only a few examples need be given here.[30] Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the management of ornaments, which performers had traditionally provided on their own initiative, began to change. Texts now began to include symbols that specified the types and placement of ornaments, and, since the symbols for representing ornaments were not standardized and since new ornaments and expressive effects were being invented by performer/composers, publications often contained introductions in which the symbols devised to represent ornaments were explained in prose or in tables in which they were expanded (an example of such a table is given in Figure 3).[31] Dynamics, which in the seventeenth century had distinguished merely between soft and loud, acquired gradations: by 1800, the simple distinction between *p* (*piano*) and *f* (*forte*) had been subdivided into dynamic levels as fine as *ppp* and *fff*; "hairpins" to mark the beginnings and ends of crescendi and decrescendi began to appear early in the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, indications of meter might sometimes imply tempi as well; during the eighteenth century, these functions were separated, and tempi were indicated by verbal means (e.g., *presto*, *andante*), which might be qualified (e.g., *allegro ma non troppo*); in fact, the use of verbal instructions, some standard and some drafted to meet specific circumstances, to convey nuance increased steadily during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

30. On changes in music notation, see especially the comprehensive and detailed study Bouissou, Goubault and Bosseur 2005. For changes in notation towards the end of the eighteenth century, see Brown 1999; see also Butt 2002, 96–122. James Grier's 2021 book-length study distributes observations on eighteenth-century developments throughout a chapter headed "The Transition to the Modern Era", 142–80.

31. D'anglebert 1689, p. [*e*]. Neumann 1978 catalogues more than 200 ornaments (and other signs, including Greek and Hebrew letters, dots, lines, crosses, and combinations thereof) used by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers; see his "Appendix, Selective Glossary of Terms and Symbols", 577–604.

Symbols that might seem vague or ambiguous were replaced by others with meanings that could not be mistaken. The seventeenth century had often used the double-bar enclosing dots to mark the limits of sections which, at the performer's discretion, might be repeated one or more times (for this symbol, see measure 8 in the Brussels and Borel texts in Figure 2); during the 1700s, this symbol was replaced by the modern repeat sign, which, sometimes accompanied by multiple endings, specified how many times a section was to be repeated. Texts also provided technical indications, such as fingerings, bowings, and breathing indications.

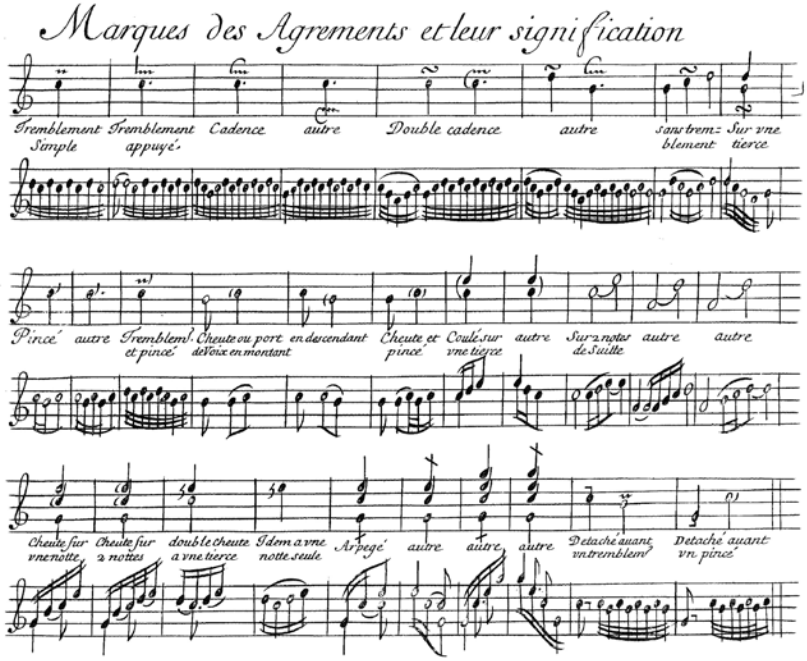

Figure 3. A Table of Ornaments. Jean Henry D'Anglebert: *Pieces de clavecin, Livre premier,* p. [*e*]. Reproduced from a copy in a private collection.

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The process by which the functions of musical texts were transformed to meet the needs of recreational amateurs was a gradual one that proceeded in different ways at different rates in different territories and repertoires. Publishers, printers, and composers understood early on that texts would be

a key factor in satisfying their customers' needs, but determining how texts might be made to do so required experimentation. In the event, several strategies were tried to meet needs that were continually changing.

No doubt the simplest way that existing pieces could be performed by recreational amateurs unable to re-create pieces on their own initiative was for those amateurs to repurpose the existing texts that had been published by performer/composers such as Chambonnières. Those texts were exemplary rather than prescriptive; performers had not been intended to realize them literally. But they could do so. Realizing these texts literally would sacrifice the spontaneity that had been an essential aspect of this repertoire, but that spontaneity was not necessarily understood and appreciated by many amateurs, and its absence would probably not have bothered them or their audiences. Copies of Chambonnières's *Pieces de claveßin* were being advertised as late as 1752, more than eighty years after they were published, and it is doubtful that many prospective purchasers would have been familiar with the conventions or styles in which those texts had originally been intended to be performed.[32]

Exemplary texts were not the only sorts of text that performer/composers published. In the early eighteenth century, a familiar form of publication for solo-instrument-and-continuo pieces (e.g., pieces for solo violin and continuo) was a two-staff score with the continuo on the lower staff and an unadorned solo part on the upper; performers of the solo parts were expected to provide elaboration in the traditional way, entirely on their own initiative. But compositions published in this form could be adapted for amateurs who could not provide embellishment themselves; those compositions could be engraved and printed in new editions in which embellishment provided by the composer was written out. Francesco Geminiani was one of the composers who applied this strategy.[33] When his first collection of violin sonatas, *Sonate a violino, violone, e cembalo* [Opera prima], was self-published in 1716, it had been laid out in systems consisting of staves for continuo and unadorned solo line. In 1739, Geminiani brought out a newly engraved edition in which he provided for the soloist not only written-out embellishment but technical guidance; the title of the new publication included an advertisement of the aids this second edition offered: *Le prime sonate a violino, e basso nuovamente, ristampate e con diligenza corrette, aggiuntovi ancora per maggior facilità le grazie aglie adagj,*

32. On the appearance of Chambonnières's prints in the catalogues of mid-eighteenth-century music dealers, see Gustafson and Herlin 2017, I: xxxiv.

33. Geminiani 1716 and Geminiani 1739.

ed i numeri per la trasposizione della mano. [*The first (collection of) sonatas for violin and bass newly reprinted and corrected with diligence, to which have been added for greater ease of performing, embellishments for the adagio (movements) and numbers to indicate hand position (i.e., to indicate shifts of the left hand).*] The written-out embellishment could either serve as a model for performers who could devise their own embellishment or be followed literally by those who could not. Re-engraving was an expensive process, but presumably Geminiani anticipated that the resulting sales would justify the expense.

An approach that permitted publishers and printers of solo-and-continuo pieces to have the best of both the new world and the old was to offer pieces in a layout with systems of three staves, with the continuo line occupying the lowest staff, one of the upper staves presenting the unadorned solo part, and the remaining staff offering fully written-out elaboration. Figure 4 offers an example of this layout, the first page of the "Adagio" from Arcangelo Corelli's *Sonata in* C, Opus 5, No. 3, in the edition published by Estienne Roger in 1710.[34] The soloist could realize literally the fully written-out solo part (the topmost staff in the example), use the fully written-out part as a model to emulate, or, ignoring the fully written-out part, realize the unadorned solo part (given on the middle staff) in whatever manner he or she pleased.

Repurposing texts or obtaining new, more detailed texts enabled performers of modest abilities to play existing pieces; making newly composed music accessible to such performers required other strategies. Some composer/performers who had been brought up in the fluid and florid tradition of the late seventeenth century sought a compromise by offering pieces that were intended to capture the feeling of earlier improvisatory styles presented in texts in which the elaborations that would previously have been extemporized were written out in full. This was the approach essayed by François Couperin with his four collections of *pièces de clavecin*, self-published between 1713 and 1730. These were pieces in the elaborate manner of preceding generations, but instead of being re-created with each performance, they were offered in detailed texts that performers were expected to follow scrupulously. Figure 5 shows *La Boulonoise* from Couperin's *Second Livre:*[35] note the profusion of ornaments, the indications of phrasing, and the verbal instruction

34. Corelli 1710, 22. This collection originally appeared as a self-published edition, Corelli 1700, which was laid out as a continuo staff above which was engraved a staff with an unadorned solo violin part.

35. Couperin 1717, 81.

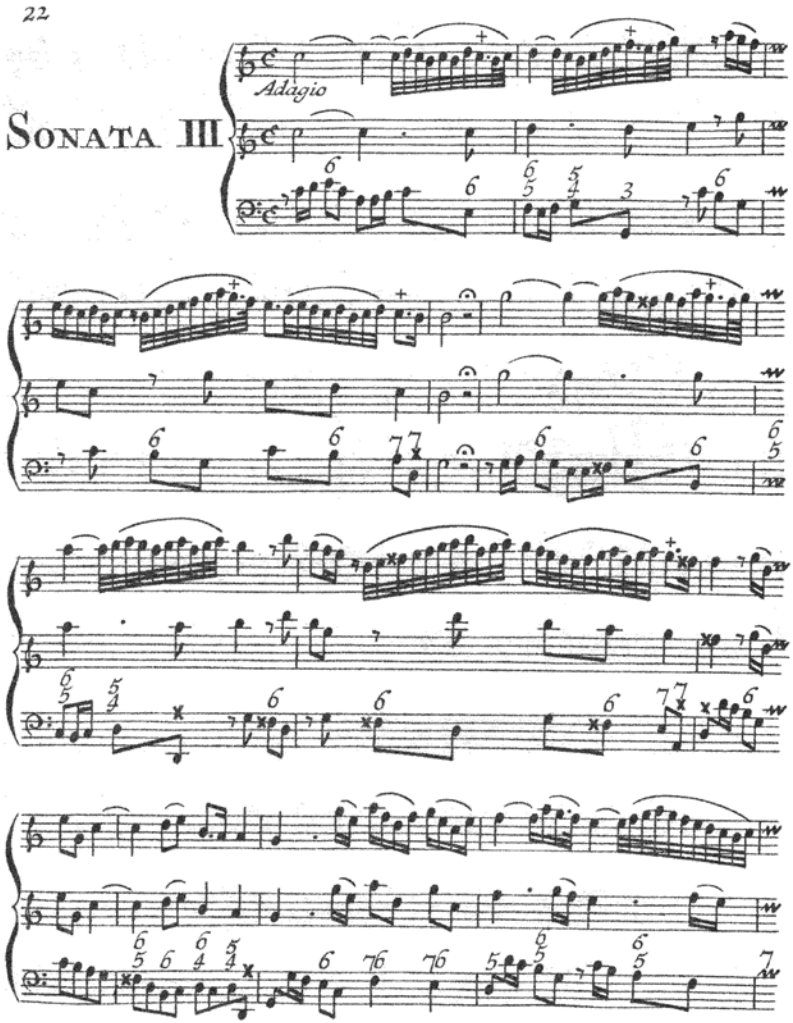

Figure 4. A Piece for Violin and Continuo in a Layout with Unadorned Solo Part and Ornamentation Fully Written Out. Arcangelo Corelli: *Sonata in* C, Opus 5, No. 3, Adagio. Reproduced from a copy in a private collection.

"Tendrement, sans lenteur." The petite reprise is a fully written-out variation of the reprise. On the page, Couperin's composition may seem much like Chambonnières's *Allemande* of Figure 2: both consist of a simple melody that is laid out over a bass and that lends itself easily to performerly elaboration. But Couperin, unlike Chambonnières, expected his texts to be realized literally, and he was upset when some performers used those texts in the

traditional way, as means of access to essential musical ideas that they would then realize, with elaboration supplied *ex tempore*, in their own styles rather than his. Couperin responded to such performers with an outburst, printed in the preface to his third collection (1722):

> I am continually surprised (after the pains to which I have put myself to mark the ornaments appropriate to my pieces [. . .]) to hear people who play them without heeding them. It is an unpardonable negligence, the more so as one simply cannot arbitrarily put ornaments where one pleases. I declare then that my pieces must be played just as I've marked them, and that they will never make that certain impression on people of real taste unless one observes to the letter everything that I have indicated, without adding or omitting anything.[36]

As succeeding generations of recreational amateurs grew up learning to play music from texts that were becoming increasingly detailed and prescriptive, the fundamental nature of performance began to change. Certain essential principles of European music — and of European art music in particular — remained unaltered: performance required a sense of freshness and spontaneity, whether in the rendering of a composition familiar to both performer and audience or in the performance of a piece being played and/or heard for the first time. That sense could be achieved locally by the tasteful application of ornamentation; for larger units such as passages or entire sections that were to be repeated, it could be achieved by applying ornaments differently with each iteration. However, repetition of a passage or section also required variation of elements such as melody, bass, texture and/or harmony. The ability to provide this ornamention and variation had been an essential element of musicianship, and among the best professionals and amateurs it remained so. But the gap between the best professionals and amateurs on the one hand and average recreational

36. "Je suis toujours surpris (apres les soins que je me suis donné pour marquer les agrémens qui conviennent à mes *Piéces*, dont j'ay donné, à part, une explication aßés intelligible dans une *Méthode* particuliere, connüe sous le titre *L'Art du toucher le Clavecin*) d'entendre des personnes qui les ont aprises sans s'y assujétir. C'est une négligence qui n'est pas pardonnable, d'autant qu'il n'est point arbitraire d'y mettre tels agrémens qu'on veut. Je déclare donc que mes piéces doivent être exécuter comme je les ay marquées: et qu'elle ne feront jamais une certaine impression sur les personnes qui ont le goût vray, tant qu'on n'observera pas à la lettre, tout ce que j'y ay marqué, sans augmentation ni diminution" (Couperin 1722, Préface, unnumbered second page).

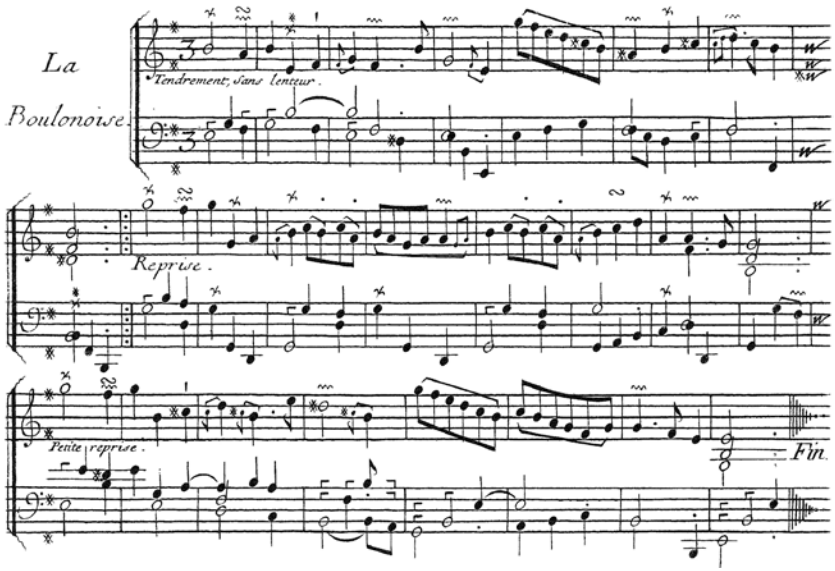

Figure 5. A Detailed Text of a Harpsichord Piece Intended to be Realized Literally. François Couperin: *La Boulonoise*. Reproduced from a copy in a private collection.

amateurs on the other was widening, as recreational amateurs came increasingly to depend on texts to provide much that their parents and grandparents had been expected to supply on their own initiative. The more such amateurs came to rely on texts the less they found themselves able to do for themselves. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, the ornamentation and variation that performers had once supplied themselves was now expected to be provided by the composer, and performance had become largely a matter of following texts. In the introduction to his *VI. Sonates pour le clavecin avec des reprises variées*, published in 1760, C. P. E. Bach diplomatically explains why he has provided written out variations:

> Today, when one repeats oneself, & when one reiterates something, it is indispensable that one introduce alterations [. . .].
>
> In the composition of these sonatas I have had in mind principally those beginners or those amateurs who, because of their age or occupations, have neither the time nor the patience to master pieces of a certain difficulty. I have wanted to furnish for them and for others, by easy means, the satisfaction arising from elaborating the pieces they play without

> their having to invent the elaborations themselves or to have recourse to others' written out elaborations that they can learn only with great difficulty. I have therefore provided in the most precise way whatever will enable such persons to render these pieces in the most advantageous manner, so that they can play them with an entire freedom, even though they are not well prepared. [37]

As in the past, more capable performers could provide their own variations, either proceeding entirely on their own initiative or taking their cue from the variations that the composer had provided, while less able performers could simply follow the texts.

The sort of text that Bach provides marks a subtle but important shift in the relationship among composition, text, and performance. With Bach's publication, we are no longer dealing with a composition that is a sort of Platonic essence to which a text provides one of many possible means of access. We now have a composition that has a specific form recorded in a specific text established by its composer, and if elaboration is to be supplied by the performer, that text sets down precisely what it is that is to be elaborated. In this text-based paradigm, the composer's text has become the repository of the work's identity, providing a specific, visible, and fully defined point of reference from which performerly initiative, if exercised, departs.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the essentially prescriptive functions of musical texts were firmly established throughout Europe, and composers were specifying as many aspects of performance as there were symbols or conventions with which to specify them. The "Largo e Mesto" from Beethoven's *Piano Sonata in c Minor*, Op. 10, No 3, published in 1798, exemplifies this tendency; the first page of this piece is reproduced from the

37. "Dès qu'on se répéte aujourd'hui, & qu'on reproduit une chose, il est indispensable d'y faire des changemens [. . .]. Dans la composition de ces Sonates, j'ai eu principalement en vuë ces Commençans & ces Amateurs, qui, a cause du nombre de leurs années, ou de leurs occupations, n'ont, ni le tems, ni la patience de se livrer à des exercises d'une certaine difficulté. J'ai voulu leur procurer les moyens aisés de se procurer & aux autres la satisfaction d'accompagner de quelques changemens les Pieces qu'ils exécutent, sans qu'ils ayent besoin pour cela de les inventer eux-mêmes, ou de recourir à d'autres qui leur prescrivent des choses qu'ils n'apprendroient qu'avec une extreme peine. J'ai donc exprimé de la manière la plus formelle tout ce qui peut rendre le débit de ces Pieces le plus advantageux, afin qu'ils puissent les jouër avec une entière liberté, lors même qu'ils ne sont trop bien disposés" (Bach 1760, Préface, A[r]).

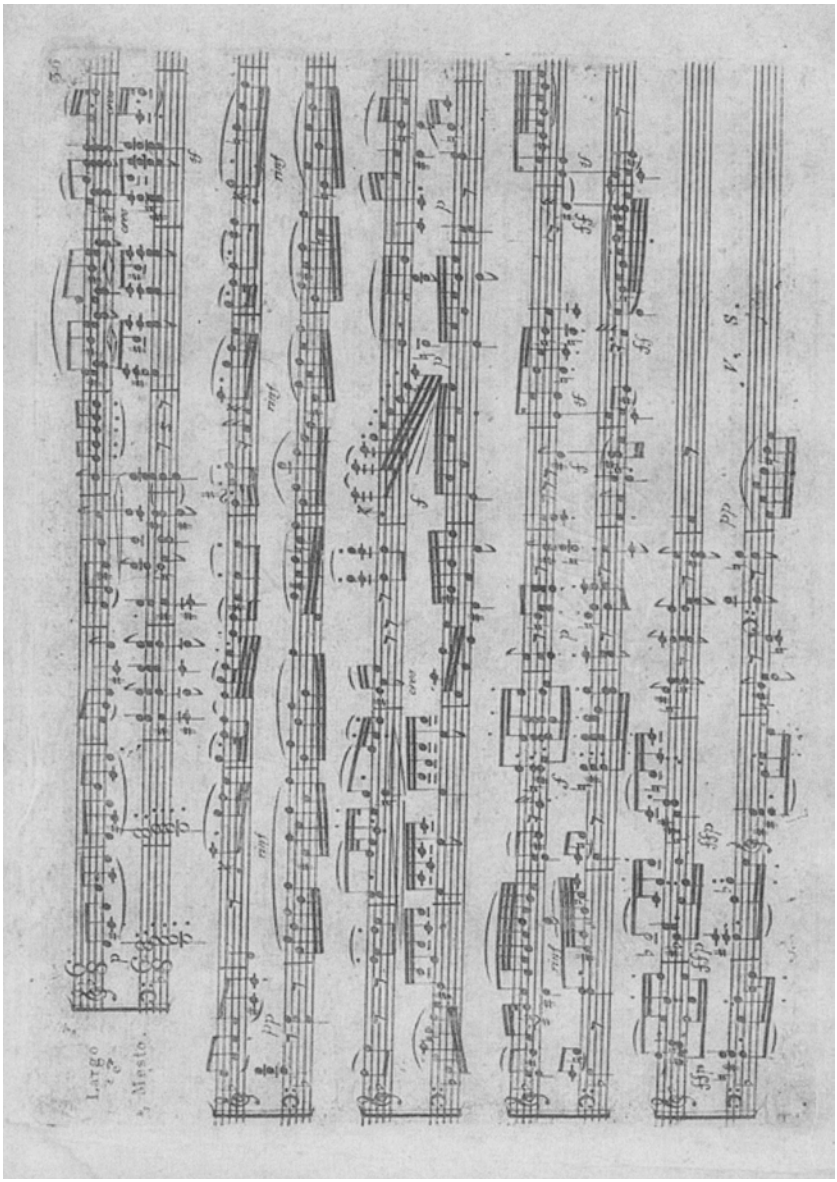

Figure 6. A Detailed Text Intended to be Realized Literally. Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonata in c*, Opus 10, No. 3, Largo e Mesto. Reproduced from a copy belonging to the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, from images available online.

first edition as Figure 6.[38] This repertoire favored fewer ornaments than would have been appropriate in Chambonnières's day, but those ornaments that the composer wanted are indicated and obligatory. Dynamic levels are carefully controlled by means of indications such as *p*, *pp*, *f*, *ff*, and *sf*, and transitions from one level to another are indicated verbally — e.g., by "cresc" — or graphically by hairpins. Articulation is specified: there are staccato marks, and there are slurs to indicate how notes should be grouped. Beethoven expected his texts to be followed faithfully: his insistence that his publishers reproduce every detail of his manuscripts accurately and that performers follow his published texts is attested both by surviving correspondence and by anecdotes.[39]

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The new functions acquired by musical texts during the eighteenth century had ramifications in the nature of the music being composed. As musical texts became more efficient, musical practices and forms that depended upon performerly initiative began to fall out of fashion. The solo harpsichord piece to which a violinist or flautist could ad lib an accompaniment by picking out notes from the top line of the harpsichordist's score was replaced by keyboard pieces in which both parts were fully written out.[40] The solo-and-continuo pieces so popular well into the eighteenth century — pieces offered in collections with titles such as *Six Solos for a Violoncello with a Thorough Bass* (c. 1735) by Willem De Fesch — were bit by bit replaced by pieces with fully-specified keyboard parts. In fact, notwithstanding the plethora of eighteenth-century figured-bass manuals, the figured bass as a component of newly composed music was effectively gone by 1800: the

38. Beethoven 1798, 36. The image is reproduced from the copy belonging to the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, and is available online, open access, at //www.beethoven.de/en/media/view/5229807956656128/scan/36. Accessed July 19, 2022. The authors are grateful to the Beethoven-Haus for making the image available.

39. There is a substantial literature on Beethoven's relationship with his publishers and his insistence on accuracy in editions of his music. For a recent monograph dealing extensively with the subject, see Kahn 2010, especially 31–71. Czerny famously tells how he once performed one of Beethoven's compositions (probably the *Quintet for Piano and Winds*, Opus 16) with Beethoven present, and how he was afterwards rebuked by Beethoven for having departed slightly from the master's text; see Czerny 1845 for his account of the incident.

40. On such realizations, see Cyr 2015, 12–13.

co-ordination of parts so essential to late eighteenth-century music could not afford to grant continuo players freedom to realize their parts in their own variable ways. And, whereas seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century solo pieces were often marketed as appropriate for several instruments,[41] by the late eighteenth century solo pieces were rarely regarded as appropriate for more than one instrument: composers attended to the unique sound and technical possibilities of each instrument for which they wrote.

The emergence of detailed and prescriptive texts encouraged the creation of increasingly complex forms dependent solely on the manipulation of purely musical elements. The sonata form was a beneficiary of efficient texts, as was the theme-and-variations. Such forms were evolved for instrumental music, which, unlike settings of liturgical texts and secular poems, had no meaning beyond itself.[42] In these forms, interest lay in motives (basic but carefully defined musical ideas) which, once stated, could be developed (expanded and elaborated in various ways). In such forms, the component elements form an organic whole in which each detail has its proper place and function. Forms depending upon this sort of complexity required a stability extending to each note and nuance, and this stability could be guaranteed only by texts that were detailed and prescriptive. By the late eighteenth century, the sonata form was being used regularly not only in solo music (e.g., the piano sonata) and in music for small ensemble (the string quartet) but also in the concerti and symphonies that were coming to be regarded as among the most important musical works of the day.

Efficient musical texts helped to make music less an art of performers and performances and more an art of composers and their compositions; it had come to be understood that a composition transcended particular performances of it. True, audiences flocked to concerts that featured famous performers, but those audiences came to hear those performers performing one or another of the compositions some of which have come

41. See, for example, Marin Marais's *Troisième livre de Pièces de violes* (1711). The *avertissement* asserts that these idiomatic viol pieces may be played also on organ, harpsichord, violin, treble viol, theorbo, guitar, transverse flute, recorder, and oboe.

42. It was relatively late in the eighteenth century that distinctions began to be made between vocal music, in which the lyrics provided meaning, and instrumental music, in which meaning was dependent solely on musical elements; for an early discussion making this distinction, see Smith 1795. Such discussions led eventually to the nineteenth-century idea of "absolute music", on which there is a substantial literature, both primary and secondary. Of the latter, see, for example, Dahlhaus 1979 and Pederson 2009.

to form the standard repertoire from which orchestras have constructed their programs down to the present day.[43] And people began to speak of musical compositions as "works", stable entities defined by detailed texts which had been inscribed by their composers and to which performers were expected to be faithful. (It was only during the eighteenth century that it had become widely acceptable for musical compositions to be referred to as works.[44])

As texts became increasingly prescriptive and precise, the focus of performers' initiative was transferred to the interpretation of texts. To guide interpretation, there developed a musical heremeutics supported by what has become an extensive literature. Couperin's *L'Art de toucher le clavecin* was among the earliest works to offer guidance for playing specific pieces; in this manual Couperin tried to convey a sense of how he performed his own compositions. By the mid nineteenth century, the genre had come to include such monumental works as Czerny's multi-volume *Die Kunst des Vortrags der älteren und neueren Klavierkompositionen*, which offered detailed instruction on how to realize the texts of standard pieces in what had become the standard piano repertoire. The genre remains alive and well today, with numerous "performer's guides" or publications with similar titles available for performers of all levels of proficiency.[45]

But there are important elements of musical performance that cannot be transmitted by even the most carefully crafted prose. Many of these elements are components of the personal styles of particular performers and of regional or national schools. Such essentials must be transmitted in the old-fashioned way: they must be handed down from generation to generation by students listening to their teachers play. Today, as in the past, an important part of a first-rate performer's resumé consists of the names of the teachers with whom he or she has studied; some modern performers proudly trace their musical pedigrees back to celebrated virtuosi

43. On the formation of musical canons during the eighteenth century, see Weber 1994 and Weber 2021.

44. Ever since its publication, Goehr 1992 has been a flashpoint for discussions of the emergence of what she calls the "work concept". For responses to Goehr, see the essays in Talbot 2000. For a survey of further discussions through 2013, see Steingo 2014. For an application of the work concept to literature, see Eggert 2019. The authors are preparing a paper dealing with the eighteenth-century acceptance of musical compositions as works.

45. See, for example, Jaap Schröder, *Bach's Solo Violin Works: A Performer's Guide* (Schröder 2007). In the digital age, such guides have assumed audio/visual forms, especially useful for illustrating such things as fingering strategies.

of the nineteenth century. The advent of electronic recordings has affected this tradition but has not altered its fundamental principles: one learns by listening.

As succeeding generations came increasingly to expect — and increasingly to rely on — detailed texts, editors of historical editions — editions presenting the music of bygone eras — feared that potential performers would be put off by the relative absence of markings in the texts in which these pieces had originally been published. (This is the situation about which Czerny expresses anxiety in the passage mentioned at the beginning of this essay.) And so there began the practice of adding to the original texts of earlier compositions the instructions that contemporary users were assumed to expect. It is in this context that "interpretive editions", editions that incorporated editorial suggestions for performance not present in authoritative sources, flourished.[46] So excessive were the markings added by some interpretive editors, that towards the end of the nineteenth century there arose in reaction a movement that advocated printing historical editions of pieces just as they had originally been inscribed by their composers or printed in early editions, devoid of markings added by later editors. Such editions were designated by the term *Urtext,* which was borrowed from philology. Although frowned upon by scholarly editors, interpretive editions remain an important form of edition, since a substantial portion of today's music-buying public wants — and expects — guidance in negotiating music of earlier eras.

Notwithstanding the many eighteenth-century exhortations to follow texts faithfully, true-to-the-text performance has always been more a theoretical ideal than a practical reality. Perhaps its most elaborately reasoned form was the nineteenth-century assertion that a performance must be *noten-* or *texttreue* because texts were the mechanism by which composers communicated what they wanted their compositions to express, and only by adhering to those texts could performers hope to produce performances that were *werktreue*, true to the expressive content of compositions.[47] In assessing such theories, however, it is important to

46. On the interpretive edition, see Broude 2021. After World War II, the meaning of *Urtext* as an edition devoid of editorial suggestions for performance underwent what lexicographers call "definition drift", so that it is now employed to mean any historical edition prepared from original sources, whether or not editorial suggestions for performance have been incorporated in the text; on the misprision of *Urtext* by certain German publishers, see Broude 2021, 15–16.

47. The *werktreue* performance, however, is a distinctly nineteenth-century concept of the relationship among work, text, and performance (the term first occurs in

remember that they were articulated in an age of famous performers — Niccolò Paganini, Hans von Bülow, and Franz Liszt, for example — who routinely departed from their texts.[48] Throughout the age of prescriptive texts, there has always been some sense that a text offers a sort of norm from which good performances depart to a greater or lesser extent for expressive purposes. Most departures tend to be in interpretive elements — a passage may be played at a different tempo and/or a different dynamic level from that specified by the text — but there are sometimes departures in respect of content — a singer may hold a high note much longer than the text specifies, and conductors have been known to re-score orchestrations to suit the acoustics of particular venues.[49]

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Efficient musical texts were consistent with the Enlightenment conviction that the world was organized on rational principles and that to understand those principles one needed only to find the right answers to the right questions. Enlightenment thinkers were suspicious of systems the principles of which could not be inferred and understood from observation but which required mediation by elites possessed of esoteric knowledge. To understand a non-material cultural artifact such as a musical composition, one needed something less elusive than a Platonic essence accessible only through performances or texts that varied one from another. Far more consistent with Enlightenment thinking were musical compositions possessed of stability and specificity conferred by texts established by their composers. Efficient texts enabled musical compositions not only to be performed but also to be studied, discussed, and evaluated.

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the late 1800s, but the idea was fully formed by the first decade of the century). The *werktreue* performance depends upon the performer's ability to express what the composer, by means of a text, is trying to convey. Such a concept was made possible only because of the new attitudes towards text that developed during the eighteenth century. On the *werktreue* performance, see Goehr 1992, passim, but esp. 1–3, 260–86. For an important theme in nineteenth-century writings about performers' responsibilities, see Hunter 2005.

48. For a collection of essays on improvisatory practices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Rasch 2011.
49. Eugene Ormandy was one conductor who re-scored received texts; on his modifications, see Bewly 2004.

The musical amateurs for whose benefit efficient texts had been developed were not the movers and shakers of their musical communities. Collectively, however, they exerted considerable influence on the music being composed and published, since they greatly outnumbered professionals and were therefore the market that composers and publishers sought to satisfy. More difficult music intended for professional musicians to play at courts, in churches, and at the public concerts that were becoming an important feature of eighteenth-century musical life continued to be composed: that is the music of the period best known to us today. But increasingly it was composed on the premises of efficient texts. The emergence of efficient musical texts was one of those cases, which occur from time to time in the arts, in which an important development in the history of music was encouraged by efforts to accommodate humbler members of Europe's music community.

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